### NATIONAL CONVENTION AGENDA

**REGISTRATION BEGINS SATURDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 27. THE SPECIAL CONVENTION ISSUE OF NEW LEFT NOTES CONTAINING WORKING PAPERS AND STATEMENTS BY NATIONAL OFFICERS WILL BE DISTRIBUTED AT THAT TIME. A PARTY WILL BE HELD IN THE EVENING. ATTENTION: $20.00 REGISTRATION INCLUDES THREE MEALS PER DAY AND BED FOR FIVE DAYS OF CONVENTION.**

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| **First plenary session** | **State of Organization Report by President, Nat’l Sec., officers of regional offices, and REP. These will be short summations of reports in special issue of NLN. Brief question and answer period. Adoption of convention agenda for next two days.**

### Convention Agenda

#### Aug. 28
- **Breakfast (coffee & donuts) served in main hall.**
- **9:30** Panel on Electoral Politics: Charlie Cobb (SNCC), Carl Paladino (Schecter). Moderator: Roy Dahlberg.
- **11:00** Workshops on electoral politics. Will include at least one on an electoral low.
- **1:00** Lunch served in cafeteria, will be served cafeteria style.

#### Aug. 29
- **Breakfast in main hall.**
- **Panel on Black Power, Charlie Cobb, Tom Hayden, Ann Braden, Richie Rothstein.**
- **Workshops on Black Power, Weismen, Branden, CORE, SSOC.**
- **2:00** Panel on American interventions in the 3rd world. Todd Gitlin and Carl Oglesby. Moderator: Jim Jacobs.
- **3:30** Workshops on 3rd world will include Locke on imperialism, Booth on S. Africa.
- **6:30** Dinner at Coliseum.
- **7:30** Special workshops: Adult organization, Art & The movement, Non-violence, violence.
- **9:00** Workshops on working with liberals REP Workshop.

#### Aug. 30
- **Special workshops**
- **Basic skills of community organizing, Carol McDowell.**
- **Anti-war Draft.**
- **Workshops continue.** Special workshops continue.
- **Organizational Welfare organizing — Rich Clover.**
- **Dinner in cafeteria.**
- **Luncheon in main hall.**

#### Aug. 31
- **Special workshops continue.**
- **Dinner in Coliseum.**
- **Announcement of special workshops.**
- **Program workshops.**
- **Anti-war Draft.**
- **Draft important issues in society.**

### Convention Instructions

As per the mandate of the last National Council, the August National Convention is responsible for clarifying the issues upon which a document stating the basic ideological precepts and assumptions of SDS will be built. The convention should seek to outline areas of both agreement and divergence of thought and should attempt to articulate rationales for positions in terms of assumptions and analyses.

In addition to laying the basic groundwork for such a document, the convention should serve as an educational tool for its attendants and as a forum wherein viable analyses of the arenas in which we work can be evolved and strategies for dealing with them developed. To facilitate this, the convention can be evolved and strategies for dealing with them developed. To facilitate this, the convention can be evolved and strategies for dealing with them developed. To facilitate this, the convention can be evolved and strategies for dealing with them developed. To facilitate this, the convention can be evolved and strategies for dealing with them developed. To facilitate this, the convention can be evolved and strategies for dealing with them developed. To facilitate this, the convention can be evolved and strategies for dealing with them developed.

### Steering Committee

The administration of the convention will be handled by a committee composed of one delegate elected by each of eight regional caucuses, the national secretary, president, vice-president and the convention coordinator. This body will make administrative decisions concerning the allocation of resources, discipline, and procedure. Further, it will attempt to gain a sense of the body and make an agenda proposal for the plenary, as well as choosing chairmen subject to ratification by the plenary. This is being done to try to keep agenda debate to a minimum so that all the business of the convention can be handled in the time allotted.

The agenda proposal will include a prioritization of issues and time limits. People who have suggestions concerning the agenda should approach the committee prior to the first plenary session. A suggestion box will be available and the committee’s meetings will be announced beforehand. If people will make use of the existence of this committee to create a coherent agenda proposal prior to the consideration of the agenda by the entire body, we can be spared a time-consuming, inherently undemocratic, and extremely unpleasant agenda debate and move quickly to substantive material.

The following are the eight regions, each of which will elect a delegate to the steering committee:

2. **New York City**: New York
3. **New York State**: Penn., Delaware, Md.
4. **Ill., Ind., Ohio, Mich., Mo.**
5. **W.Va., Va., Ky., Ark., Tex., Oklahoma, Fla., and the rest of the South.**
6. **Minn., Wis., Iowa, N.Dakota, S.Dakota, Neb., Kansas.**
7. **Mountain States, Arizona, New Mexico, Wash., Ore., Alaska, Hawaii.**
8. **California**.

Areas will be split out during lunch on Sunday for various regions to caucus and elect delegates to the steering committee.

### Voting

Members at the convention have one vote per chapter and are allowed one additional vote for each five members, with no member having more than two votes. There will not be a credentials committee for the convention, so that delegates from a particular chapter should decide who is to have the extra vote(s) and respect that decision.
ELECTORAL POLITICS

As SDS begins to seek ways to leave the confines of the campus and involve new segments of the population in the movement for basic, radical change in the economic and political structures of America, this national state, it is only natural that one of the directions it looks toward is the voting booth. It is equally natural that direction raises questions that are answers, it would seem, will have to be worked out, as the NDP, the Labor Party and, in our history, the New Deal, have shown. There are independent bids for change, such as the labor or civil rights movements, have begun to revolutionize our energies and show our weakness. But, as ever, the real question is not whether or not we do work on the issues but the type of organizing we do. Some of these, like the Scher campaign and the various Committees for Independent Political Action, have been initiated and run by movement people. Others, like the Adams campaign in Massachusetts or the United Freedom Party collaboration for the removal of all military installations from their county or the Freedom Party collaboration for the removal of all police cars, Willis wagons, property, etc. How will we let them endure, as the NDP, the Civic and anti-American, their tendencies for power movements become more nationalistic? How will we relate to black people, to Latin American "democracy"? Can real power be gained through the winning of an election, or will a radical candidate be refused his seat, as in the case of Julian Bond in the South, in the manner of this panel are directed toward the political and social affairs of a nation). With increasing frequency we have seen American action in the Third World upset the balance of power and achieving democratic radicalism in these countries. While we believe these interven­ tions are understandable, it is not clear why neutrality motivates United States Behavior. Are we faced with an American policy based upon less economic and more ideological considerations? Does the rhetoric of United States officials merely "cover" economic motives or serve to legitimate these transgressions seriously by those who make them? The energies of this panel are directed toward a discussion of the motivating forces behind the United States role in the Third World. This is not simply an academic question. The attempt at establishing criteria for explaining the behavior of the United States toward the Third World has three "payoffs" for SDS program. (1) A clearer understanding of the United States actions in the Third World will enable SDS to focus its protest programs in a more effective manner. Clearly, if policies are dominated by economic considerations more than ideological myths in Viet­ nam, then SDS strategy must be changed to confront corporate power rather than participation in the election of dove candidates. (2) A clearer understanding of the United States policy toward the Third World will allow SDS to anticipate American behavior. Too often SDS protests have come as a healthy response to an unacceptable United States inter­vention. We need an analysis that will allow us to see the probable paths of United States intervention. (3) An understanding of the motivating forces behind United States policy will reveal more specific and clear the power relationships among the American elites. We will be able to see more clearly the interdependence (if there is one) between domestic and international decision-making.

The Arguments: To put it briefly, four general views have been advanced among American radicals to explain the behavior of American foreign policy.

1. The question of tactics: As the black power movement becomes more nationalist and anti-American, their tendencies for power movements - that are deliberately violent (destruction of police cars, Willis wagons, property, etc.) - how will we relate to the violence of these movements? How will we react to the Third World nations in the same manner in which we relate to them?

2. Another approach believes the superplus capital theory. The argument here is that United States policy is oriented by the need to invest capital in undeveloped areas. The capitalist economy cannot absorb all of its pro­ ducts and thus must be invested in political system in some stable. In order that it can invest its capital without fear of a loss of profit, the United States must have some control over the Third World nations. A variant of this approach, but resting upon similar assumptions, is the view that United States policy is motivated by the desire for scarce materials which can only be found in many Third World nations.

3. Another approach believes the superplus capital theory is a necessary but not sufficient reason for explaining United States behavior. The economic superstructure has been created on an "ideology" that demands justification. We are at war in Vietnam, accord­ing to this view not because specific economic goals are being threatened, but because we see the Vietnamese struggle as a test for our system. Our economic motivations have been extended to ideological and more irrational behavior.

4. The third view sees the motivation for United States policy coming from the perceptions and opinions developed by American policy makers during the early days of the Cold War. This approach focuses on the val­ ues held by specific policy makers. America reacts to the Third World nations in the same manner in which it had toward the Soviet Union and China. There is little comprehen­sion of indigenous rebel movements, or!!
LAWBORDER WORKSHOP

By Nat Stillman

The discussion in the labor workshops will cover three main areas:
1. We will exchange reports and experiences about work in the labor movement over the past year.
2. We will formulate plans for the future, both specific plans for left labor work including possible resolutions for the convention plenary session, dealing with SDS labor program, and a longer-range perspective for the direction of the labor movement and our relation to it.
3. We will engage in dialogue with people working in other areas concerning possible resolutions for the convention over the past year.

Coming in October

A PROPHETIC MINORITY

By Jack Newfield

"The New Left, the best of our America in this new generation, in all its anarchistic creativity, splendid nonconformism and saintly devotions."

-I. F. Stone

"Things about the present time that will be the cherished memories of the future."

-Murray Kempton

The UNIVERSITY PANEL

By NOT STILLMAN

The university is the place where many of us come to learn: to develop ourselves, to recognize our tradition, to understand the possible course of our lives or to live in general. Most of us have been disappointed. The university shows itself as a place where we can live our lives or to live in general.

A PROVIDENTIAL MINORITY

By STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"The only solution is to prevent students from having any control over questions of curriculum, living conditions, and the like, of the university with the military, etc."
NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society. 1606 W. Madison. Chicago, Ill. 60612. Phone (312) 666-3874. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Subscription: $1 a year for members, $5 a year for non-members. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the Editor, Greg Caufield.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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Chicago Region: 2059 N. Larrabee, Chicago, Ill. (312) 944-3624.

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Vol. 1, No. 32

let the people decide

AUGUST 24, 1966

VICE-PRESIDENT'S REPORT

by Jeff Sher

One is struck when traveling around the country by the diversity among SDS chapters, particularly the differences in their political understanding. While campus traveling in the last six months in the plains, south, and west, I attempted to share in a few brief days lessons that the movement has learned through several years of experience. From this experience I have concluded that the typical notion of campus traveling is incorrect, that much more is required than giving speeches and talking to groups.

A three-day disorder in El Paso was the most effective organizing attempt that I made at the time. Alice Embree and myself were traveling together and arrived at Texas Western in El Paso where a meeting of their liberal foreign relations club had scheduled me as a speaker. It was a rather typical meeting about the nature and issues of the Movement designed for ultra-conservatives. Afterward we all adjourned to a professor's house to drink beer and discuss the problems of their area. In the course of the conversation the lack of civil liberties on the campus became apparent and I suggested that we begin Hyde Park Stomp speaking the following day. They were enthusiastic and wanted me to speak around noon in the patio of the student union. They were too enthusiastic. It soon was evident that they wanted to let an outsider attempt to win this right for them. Alice and I thought it better that they become involved from the beginning, so we argued that instead, we should set up a Vietnam literature table in the patio which would involve more people and raise broader issues of civil liberties with the administration. The rest agreed.

The next day at a quarter of twelve a literature table was set up and expectantly the club members waited for the students to get out of class. It was a short wait. Soon there were about 200 hundred students surrounding the table cursing about the communists, enraged at the sight of an anti-war table. Some of the more frenzied pro-war advocates attacked, ripping up the literature, breaking down the table and punching around some of the guys. A girl ran for the campus cops, but they told her it was none of their business. We retreated.

That afternoon the group discussed what had happened and decided that they must return the next day. The administration attempted to get us to accept a cooling off period, but the faculty sponsor, Richard Trexler, was adamant and we replied that we would return the next day. Several of the students who had been punched around went to the court house to file assault charges and found the judges unavailable and then unenthusiastic. Liberal professors scurried around bleating that they just didn't realize that things were so bad at Texas Western.

The next day the table was put up and about 500 students surrounded the table to scream and tear up the literature. 20 cops from the city were on hand, but did nothing as our adversaries threw eggs in amazingly beautiful orbs that ended about us. The crowd was goaded on by some of the just returned number one in America basketball team as tempers grew to a fever pitch the President of the university appeared, climbed upon the table, and received a tumultuous roar from the crowd. A dean jumped up in his first known public contact with the administration, the cops, the judges, and professors exposed. The instruction had been better than a hundred speeches. The student body had witnessed an important political event, had themselves learned in a real way about campus civil liberties.

While traveling, I found that speeches are an exceedingly poor organizing tool. People come to a speech with the attitudes they attend most lectures with, and as a whole, are not touched in any deep way. I found that in most speeches, I recruited the speech for the chapter, but that the importance of the event in their lives was nil. Speeches serve the purpose of getting introductions to many people on the campus. The more rewarding aspect of a visit was from the conversations that informally arise during a stay. Discussing the grinding meaningless ness of campus life as an occupation, the travel, the beer and the Steens on the stereo has much more personal impact than lecturing people. The conversations that happened into about what the group might attempt on campus after your speech have several days usually have much more insight than a talk on movement tactics and strategy. Campus travelers should spend three minimum of three days at a campus, or instead of using common pains and inspirations, the traveler becomes a personage projecting his image.

The most vital role that I see SDS campus travelers in the future playing is that of guinea pig. That is offering themselves as a catalyst to create a local confrontation. An incident at our Arizona State meeting. An incident at our Arizona State
SUMMER ACTIVITIES

Most of our resources have been used to plan the convention. Roy Dahlberg was hired to coordinate the planning, which he has done quite efficiently and to the interest of many more people interested in the organization. The response in terms of working papers, regional and chapter discussions, etc., points to a positive change in membership enthusiasm. We have managed to pay staff salaries each week since the end of June, pay for NFN, and keep our creditors of the back. But our debts are still large and will be larger after the convention. (See financial report.) Other programs which took up chunks of time were: The polling of the NIC on the

PAUL BOOTH - OUTGOING SECRETARY - JUNE 1966

Our movement has changed its priorities dramatically at a number of junctures: in specifically moving to an intellectual center into a community organizing program; in Spring 1963 we moved SDS, the leader of the movement this year, we have moved to make it a rather well defined and broad program. SDS has been politicized in several ways:

(1) it decided to evaluate traditional problems and the phenomenon of the alienation of youth culture on campus
(2) its relationship to forces for change in the university (sample copies available)
(3) its relationship to forces for change in the national and international community
(4) its standards for the internal functioning of chapters and regional conferences
(5) attempt to make explicit and elaborates its program analysis, strategy, and values.

The December Conference was the occasion of our recognition of SDS's new character. The National Secretary's report was a collective self-definition for many of us; at the same time, we were struggling with the internal problems caused by the rapid growth of SDS. My report at that time tried to address both problems. To summarize it here:

It started by noting the organization's crisis of coherence. "The most elementary problem of SDS is that it straddles two social functions; it serves as the most powerful and important organized expression of the left in America, and it serves as a radical educational and organizational force for change."

"The compelling calls on SDS energy have made it impossible to function in the political arena in a sustained way. To take ourselves seriously as a political factor would mean that..." we would ovulate ourselves of our ability to function in the political arena available in (SDS) and actually make decisions and develop new leaders and new members to the decision of the National Secretary..."

The phenomenal growth of SDS during 1964-65 compels it to assume the antithesis of student alienation. As an organization, our response to this mass student movement has been the following: in the summer of the year; in the summer we almost abandoned and went after a frontal attack by the Administration did we take up the commitment that led to our bringing thousands of students to the University of Michigan who had the opportunity. "We could have tied a goodly number of these committees (to end the war) to their constituents, regularly and in such a way that they are able to learn and make significant political decisions which are more unidimensional than any leader who denies he is a leader, refuses to organize meetings in which he can listen to the other people know what's going on, refuses to file report in the N.O. so that other people can know what's going on two years later as a matter of record to take roots at the campus he has since abandoned, etc."

The National Council took several important initiatives at the January meeting. First, it recommended regional organizational pilots (there were now four regions where in September there had been none) and provided the first opportunity for the offices to harmonize their activity.
REP is an education and research program. But its reason for existing is SDS, political activism, and a political failure. The staff has outlined a program of research and educational work that it hopes will be of great help to the growth of the left. REP has attracted the interest of many sympathetic intellectuals and older radicals. But, so far, it has failed to attract any meaningful commitment from most SDS people - from those people now active in the movement, whose primary commitments have been to social change. Yet it is only from participation by people with political as well as intellectual interests will REP be able to maintain close ties and relevance to political activism. There are just too many SDS people - or they will not be done. REP needs staff, researchers, coordinators. Lip service commitment is not enough. The lack of staff, the lack of money, the lack of interest in the movement are/Subsiding to the development of a great number of professional aspirations. But the majority of SDS people lists, papers, bibliographies, literature to collect or prepare seminar guides, and make valuable suggestions. This group is composed largely of graduate students, professors, and young professionals (architects, city planners, clergymen, students, professors, young professionals). To expose and analyze some of the "moo organizations" such as churches, unions, etc. Not only must the radical sym­pathizers of the process, but these people must be included and engaged in developing a radical program for the transformation of the structure of American science and culture. The attempt to broaden the scope of the movement.

REP has begun the "nitty gritty" work preliminary to fulfillment of these goals:

1. The original REP prospectus has been reorganized and rewritten. Ten thousand copies of the new prospectus have been printed in Lawrence, Kansas, and are ready for distribution.

2. The summer staff was recruited, of which no one has resigned. Three members have de­cided to remain in the fall instead of return­
ing to school.

3. A recruiting and fundraising brochure, with several variations of cover letter, has been written, describing the aims and pro­gram of the research and providing an intellectual participation. Several mailing lists totaling over 100,000 names have been procured (students, professors, teach-ins, Dis­ent, Studies, etc.) and a mailing to the first three-thousand of these has been sent out. The cost of the campaign money both to finance a mailing to the rest of the list and to give us some immediate success. Some were encouraging, others were unenthusiastic. We aim to locate and encourage elements of the mass organizations such as churches, unions, etc. Not only must the radical sym­pathizers of the process, but these people must be included and engaged in developing a radical program for the transformation of the structure of American science and culture. The attempt to broaden the scope of the movement.

4. Several foundations have been approached for money, although with little success. Some were encouraging but required more detailed information on the names of people who would be responsible.

5. Fundraising for the SDS Convention Program has carried on efficiently.

6. Three panels have been prepared by REP staff. These panels will be held at the convention, including one on rep.

7. Several hundred letters have been answered, although not always as fully or promptly as they should have been.

8. The coordinators for several of the areas outlined in the prospectus have been found, and have begun contacting people in those areas. In addition, the staff is working on a number of studies on the nature of class structure in America, its relationship to the mass media, the role they actually play in the shaping of political and economic life, and the potential of the arts and mass media as instruments of change. Research will examine the way in which the arts and media are controlled and manipulated, and in what way they are affected by the social, political, and economic pressures. The arts and media are created and controlled, how are they perceived by the public, and the roles which are played.

9. The arts and media REP seeks to understand the ideological functioning of the arts and the role they play in the development of a critical perspective on society and culture, the mass media, the relationship between aesthetic and political consciousness, and the potential of the arts and media as instruments of change. Research will examine the way in which the arts and media are created and controlled, how they are perceived by the public, and the roles which are played.

10. Nations Series: REP is attempting to prepare a series of pamphlets summarizing information on: the nature of their politics, parties, factions, contending positions, economic structure and development, character of the democratic opposition, their international relations, the role of U.S. business, political and military interests in the country, the position in the cold war among world power centers, etc. These will include annotated bibliography and a guide to primary source material. We know of re­search to be done that is in progress on the Dom Rep, Guatamala, South Africa, Algeria, China.

11. International Intelligence Network: REP hopes to provide a series of pamphlets for people in the U.S. and abroad, closely attuned to international events, who will serve the movement as a source of intelligence on issues as they develop and be­fore. Such a network, including scholars, (continued on page 31).
Chicago, Ill.

Avthile back a fellow from Delaware SDS wrote a letter to New Left Notes, it concerned Black Power and the implications that concept has for white radicals re-evaluation of their own work. He seemed to be saying that "white radicals" weren't needed or wanted in the black people's struggle. He suggested that they are middle class, can't escape that fact, and face extreme difficulties in relating to poor blacks. He suggested that the home for radical middle-class white students is the American middle class—that is where they should be working to change America.

Based on our experiences and the nature of the organization, the JOIN office, or be referred to the committee, and the general impression of the community have taken on leadership, and do exert increasing power within the organizing committee.

Key to our work are the committees such as welfare, housing, the steering committee and the Upstate Goodfellows, a group of young people who work mostly around police brutality. Before coming to work with JOIN I was usually very anti-structure oriented, quoting Bakunin on "authority is freedom when it's self-imposed." The concept may work for some students, but not for a lot of community people. It was a reply from Kentucky who made clear to me that people need roles, positions and jobs that they can see and understand, that are their own. It may be office duty, running the clothes room, handling a welfare problem, distributing the newsletter or that talk to others about a march coming up.

Most committees meet weekly to discuss the local district office each morning, tabled needs and issues. Some meetings have over twenty people, the majority of whom are community people like "what's Doug says about police brutality? What can we do for urban people who are getting on welfare? What can we do for urban people who are getting on welfare?"

JOIN in April, I met an old fiddle-playing mountaineer who had known briefly during the late '60s while I was working on a research project in Upton. He told me about his health problem and the runaround coming from the welfare office. He said: "Aron, why don't you come over to the JOIN office and see if something can be done. We answered: 'Oh, I belong to the Community Union' and pulled out his pick.

The point is that JOIN was becoming known and built a reputation in a large area of the community.

The approach has been one of helping people, with clothes, food, problems, cases, children, the welfare system. There has been harassment on the part of social agencies and churches, and citywide organizing. JOIN started working with people in the community who are a lot like JOIN.

When we talk to people in the community we suggest something such as; "Ya know, workers in factories and the men in the mines are..."

The point is that JOIN was becoming known and built a reputation in a large area of the community.

"What is it becoming, a group of poor people helping each other in the world of ghetto life?"

JOIN started working with people in the community who are a lot like JOIN.

A store-front office was opened in April, and the staff was bolstered by Ronnie Davis, Harry Steinman and other people who left Ann Arbor after the decision to "decentralize" ERAP, the community action arm of SDS. About thirty students come in for the summer, and for most the experience was not exactly rewarding, because there was no real program, structure or direction. Without concrete jobs most people couldn't find it difficult to go out on their own. Important work was going on. Some people worked with welfare offices, developing ideas that helped the groundwork for a growing welfare union. Others met and talked with people in areas where the union had not yet developed. "Got a Problem?" was one place that people would call about a month later. I was usually very anti-structure oriented, quoting Bakunin on "authority is freedom when it's self-imposed." The concept may work for some students, but not for a lot of community people. It was a reply from Kentucky who made clear to me that people need roles, positions and jobs that they can see and understand, that are their own. It may be office duty, running the clothes room, handling a welfare problem, distributing the newsletter or that talk to others about a march coming up.

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JOIN, and taking on leadership position.

To develop more and more people within

the framework of this plan, I believe, critical to the future power and success of

JOIN marches on welfare office as part of its many-foceted program to gain control of

a bureaucratic and indifferent system.

They were interested in JOIN and liked the students who they were just beginning to understand a little. Yet there was natural re­

dress or class hostility. It erupted. For a couple of hours a few of us "bourgeoisie students" (they use it, but I don’t know where they got it) took the verbal attacks, were
told that they could and should run their own show, and that we could serve as ad­

dicators when asked. Things got pretty hot, cooled down, and then a plan was

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PREAMBLE

Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left. It seeks to create a sustained community of education and action, bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty.

It maintains a vision of a democratic society, which is called for in the third of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent. It seeks a world in which the focus is on realities and on the programs necessary to effect change at the most basic levels of political and social organization. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical democratic program, whose methods embody the democratic vision.

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of the organization shall be Students for a Democratic Society.

ARTICLE II: AFFILIATION

Students for a Democratic Society shall be affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy, Inc., a tax-exempt educational foundation concerned with the extension of democracy into all areas of social, political, and economic life.

ARTICLE III: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Membership is open to students and faculty, and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social and political end.

Section 2. S.D.S. is an organization of and for democracy. It is civil libertarian in its orientation to the opposition of the required information to the National Council after it has been ratified by the Board of Directors, if such ratification is necessary.

ARTICLE IV: CHARTERS AND AFFILIATES

Section 1. Any group of five or more members may apply to the National Office for charter as a chapter.

Section 2. A chapter may be chartered at any meeting of the National Council and the National Council must be considered for chartering at the next National Council meeting, the chapter may be given a provisional charter at the discretion of the President.

Section 3. Chapters are expected to operate within the broad terms of policy set by the National Council and the National Council, Points of conflict should be referred to the National Council and a procedure established by the S.A.C. shall be within the bounds of the principles of the S.A.C. and the L.I.D. by vote of their membership and designated representatives, to the L.I.D. Board of Directors with vote.

ARTICLE V: CONVENTION

Section 1. The National Convention shall meet in convention annually, at a time and place fixed by the National Council, with at least three months prior notice being given to all members.

Section 2. The Convention shall serve to debate major issues and orient the organization, to set programs, to select candidates to the national staff, and to elect national officers. The Convention shall not be the S.D.S. to determine specific legislative action taken by the National Council. The Convention shall draft rules, accreditation procedures, and other requirements.

ARTICLE VI: NATIONAL COUNCIL

Section 1. The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative elected from each chapter with five or more members, and one additional representative from an additional twenty-five members in each chapter, each delegate to have one vote at the Convention. Individual S.D.S. members shall have the right to attend the Convention with one vote each. Delegates from associated and fraternal groups shall be elected by a procedure determined by the National Council. The National Council shall draft rules, accreditation procedures, and other requirements.

ARTICLE VII: NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE

The President shall have the power to call a meeting of a temporary National Interim Committee, to be composed of the seventeen National Officers, for emergencies only. Decisions of this body shall be subject to the National Council approval.

ARTICLE VIII: NATIONAL OFFICERS AND STAFF

Section 1. The national officers shall be the President, the Vice-President, and sixteen other officers, all to be elected at the Convention and to serve as members of the National Council. The Convention may on a year-to-year basis create other officers as seem necessary and shall designate their voting rights in the various bodies of S.D.S.

Section 2. The National Officers must have been members of the S.D.S. of at least two years prior to election.

Section 3. The National President is the spokesman of S.D.S. He shall be responsible for carrying out the policy and shall convene the National Council. He shall be assisted by the Vice-President, and in case of vacancy, the President shall assume his functions.

Section 4. The National Secretary shall be the chief administrative official of the organization. He is to stimulate and coordinate educational programs with in S.D.S. He shall be responsible to the President and National Council.

Section 5. The National Treasurer shall be charged with the financial and accounting aspects of the organization, Shall be elected at the Convention and to serve as members of the National Council. He shall be appointed by the National Secretary. He shall be assisted by the Secretary-Treasurer, and in case of vacancy, the President shall assume his functions.

Section 6. The National Executive Secretary shall be the chief administrative official of the organization. He is to manage the affairs of the S.D.S. and shall be responsible to the President and National Council.

Section 7. The National Publicity Officer shall be responsible for the promoting of S.D.S. and shall be assisted by the Secretary of Publicity and in case of vacancy, the President shall assume his functions.

ARTICLE IX: RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Section 1. The S.D.S. shall be autonomously constituted, though its policy and functioning shall be within the broad aims and principles of the L.I.D.

Section 2. The determination of policy, programs, administrative procedures of S.D.S. shall be subject to the review of the National Council.

Section 3. Matters of difference not resolved by consultation shall be resolved by the internal democratic channels of the groups concerned.

ARTICLE X: CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended by the S.D.S. constituting bodies, in the following manner: a. by a two-thirds vote of the Convention in the case of constitutional amendments, b. by a national referendum, or c. by a national convention in a manner jointly determined by the National Council.

ARTICLE XI: POLICY AND DISCIPLINE

Section 1. Any member of the organization, including the Officers, may be expelled or relieved of duties by a two-thirds vote of the National Council. The vice-president shall be appointed by the President and in case of vacancy, the President shall assume his functions.

Section 2. Any two chapters, or one-third of the National Council, or a national convention may call a convention and shall then draft rules, accreditation procedures, and other requirements.

Section 3. All statements of organization policy shall have the approval of the National Council.

Section 4. The National National Council may also create and fill additional positions of Assistant National Officers. Other staff positions shall be created by the National Secretary.
PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Kissinger amendments

Proposed by Clark Kissinger

The principal problems addressed by the following suggested Constitutional amendments are: (1) reducing the size of the National Council to a functional size, (2) increasing the size of the Regional Councils by modifying the membership of regions, and (3) reducing the size of the National Council to a functional level.

Amendment 1: Repeal of Articles II and IX. Repeal Article II (which lists the regional officers of SDS and requires Regional Councils to organize regional representatives in a given geographical area) and Article IX (which lists who on any issue can be recognized provisionally by the President or appointed by the National Council). Reasons: This one-man-one-vote system was the original wording of the Constitution. It was changed at the 1963 Convention because of the size of the National Council has been always been difficult to apply because of the party's growth. Amendment 2: Repeal of Article VI, Section 4. This article requires that in the election of the National Officers, the Notional Council shall be divided into two equal parts. Reasons: This proposal would greatly reduce the number of voting representatives, making it more difficult for the National Council to function effectively. Amendment 3: Amendment 6: Repeal of Article VIII, Section 1. This article states that all candidates for the National Council shall be elected at large, with each member of the National Council having no more than one vote. Reasons: This proposal would greatly increase the number of voting representatives, making it more difficult for the National Council to function effectively.

Section 2. The membership of each recognized Region shall be the same as that of the National Council for each of its fiscal or political regions. Each member of the Regional Council shall be elected by the voting members of the region. Each member shall hold office for a term of one year, and may be re-elected as many times as he or she desires.
Anti-draft Proposals for SDS Convention

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The increase in the size of the war makes it no longer possible to ignore this issue, no matter how more moderate and subservient than any of us knew about. On paper our accomplishments in America, among the various sit-ins, the Vietnam test, etc. But there are noations, and, more important, few would claim that they even begin to relieve us of the burden of the war. Few if any, but the white liberals: they are not serious enough.

We litigate some of the possible consequences of the very real contradiction--it might be called--of the movement's need for the democratic forums in which it is held to function, and for the right to be able to function without coercion, and which we should think of as the defining of our view of the democratic society.

Draftable People

We have wondered about the problem that our program might become too sectarian, that it will be possible to get the various sit-ins, the Vietnam test, etc. But we do not have any brains, they can cut the ground under us--especially our liberal support.

The heart of the proposed approach is a multi-stage campaign. Although we welcome people who take a strong position in opposition to the war. But the fact is that, when it comes right down to it, they will not join the army. Can we help more people to do so at least those who are willing to leave the country? We must force ourselves always to operate with the courage to renounce my privilege, but I feel deeply enough about my alienation from the American people to do so. I believe there is no real contradiction in which most American citizens support the war and have considered the problem to be a judgment. If we are revolutionaries, we must think clearly: unless we are, we will be called. And when we reach the end of the line, we will be there. If we have succeeded in educating them, many of them will then be ready to refuse induction. And yet we must make sure that there is no escape from decisions and so involved them in the moral contradiction of accepting induction is overwhelming. They will be the one step in a struggle which can go on for quite a while before all legal remedies are exhausted. We have been too quick to attribute the failure of other programs aren't we simply giving legitimacy to the garrison state? We must think clearly: although Johnson's brand of McCorthyism has alienated possible support and participation, we should think of the willingness to give our program might become too sectarian, that it will be possible to get the various sit-ins, the Vietnam test, etc. But we must get to the point where they are not on the ballot and where they are on the ballot. If we do, we may be able to get the support of the Civil Liberties Union.

The trial, to be conducted in the fall in Paris by Bertrand Russell and Gordon Wiener, is the pivot point of SDs' political efforts. It seems to me that we think their deferment gives them the courage to renounce my privilege, but I feel deeply enough about my alienation from the American people to do so. I believe there is no real contradiction in which most American citizens support the war and have considered the problem to be a judgment. If we are revolutionaries, we must think clearly: unless we are, we will be called. And when we reach the end of the line, we will be there. If we have succeeded in educating them, many of them will then be ready to refuse induction. And yet we must make sure that there is no escape from decisions and so involved them in the moral contradiction of accepting induction is overwhelming. They will be the one step in a struggle which can go on for quite a while before all legal remedies are exhausted. We have been too quick to attribute the failure of other programs aren't we simply giving legitimacy to the garrison state? We must think clearly: although Johnson's brand of McCorthyism has alienated possible support and participation, we should think of the willingness to give our program might become too sectarian, that it will be possible to get the various sit-ins, the Vietnam test, etc. But we must get to the point where they are not on the ballot and where they are on the ballot. If we do, we may be able to get the support of the Civil Liberties Union.

vote for peace

On November 7 voters in most congressional districts throughout the country will have a chance to vote for peace, for a sane and rational war policy. This proposal could be served since the political criteria for being a candidate are no longer sufficient. The proposal for protest focus on implementation of the court's decision.

The proposals made above suggest a general approach towards making these programs more specific and unified on technical aspects of draft resistance. They need further discussion. In summary, we propose to undertake a militant program for draft resistance focusing on refusing induction.
There are three factors which help keep politics out of the hands of the students. The first is the fact that the idea of a campus movement is not a large enough idea to be a factor in the lives of most students, and the second is the fact that most students are too busy with action tasks to find the time to think about the movement. The third factor is the fact that many students are not interested in politics at all, and prefer to have their lives organized by the professionals and the authorities.
PROPOSAL: citizens for a democratic society

Stanley Aronowitz
New York, N. Y.

Every year around this time, rumblings arise that the civil rights movement has come for a change of the guard. Cries are heard to the effect that an elite exists in the movement which is causing damage and is mostly non-student. The proposals of Paul Buhle and other SDS members (based on the re-examination of their primary theme) should open a broad discussion leading to the formation of a new left political movement. The aim of this essay is to go beyond them in order to brood areas of agreement among SDS people. This essay is a brief superficial survey does not exhaust the problems brought by the present relations of power in America society lies entirely in the democratic relationships... One year... It has seen several graduating classes pass... (1) The NC should request SDS members... (2) Selection of anyone to fill responsible positions in SDS should be preceded by a thorough discussion of the candidates’... (3) These Issues should be discussed thoroughly at the coming convention, as well as the more substantive ideological questions... (4) It is clear that any attempt to organize every effort should be made to ascertain that how organization’s... (5) Infiltration and takeover are real, if unjustified, fears held by a number of SDS members. If... (6) Freedom to carry arms is...
Some NIC Nominations

Convention Proposal

The history of the failures of political movements shows that the scope or range of real movements begins at one level and doesn't broaden. The history of the New Left is basically one of change brought in Theoretical Economics and Political Science. These changes have been carried out by writing about the theories and "organizing" around them. On a practical and intellectual plane, we have worked with the slogans LEFT THE PEOPLE DECIDE. But there is a spirit in the movement that is not in the world. It's a kind of spirit that we have not directed enough attention.

What is organization? Are we talking about the politics, the disciplines, or the atmosphere in which we live? The spirit of that kind of politics is that we want to, and can easily keep the records necessary to do political work, which we are working to build a participatory society. The New Left would have to be organized to support that kind of work.

If SDS wants to let the people decide, what does that mean? Let's define in writing and send the proposal to the National Left Notes. Let's have a convention out of the left with whose participation all those running on the list of nominations agree. The history of the New Left movement shows that such methods aren't the only way to organize.

The national convention of the New Left should be as a means of giving voice to the inner forces which will keep the dynamic of the New Left Notes.

That the New Left Notes, as the information organ of what National movement we have, should take the lead in organizing these particular lilacities. We imagine there are only a few of us who have met many people and with whom these people of the international community divided. A few of us have in Iowa City feel that the commitment of any group can't be taken for granted. We have communicated with a few such people in India and Africa. We would like to suggest that the New Left Notes committee set up a convention to discuss existing problems as a means of giving voice to the inner forces which will keep the dynamic of the New Left Notes.

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I appeal to you, citizens of America, as a person concerned with liberty and social justice. Many of you may not be fully aware that the United States possesses a revolutionary tradition which, in its origins, was true to the struggle for human freedom and for social equality. It is this tradition which has been trade by the few who rule the U. S. today. Many of you may not be fully aware that the extent to which your country is controlled by industrialists who depend for it upon partly economic holdings in all parts of the world. The U. S. today controls over 60% of the world’s natural resources, although it contains only 6% of the world’s population. The minerals and produce of vast areas of the planet are possessed by a handful of men. I ask you to consider the words of your own leaders, who sometimes reveal the exploitation they have practiced.

The New York Times of Feb. 12, 1950, said: “Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the North are exportable tin, tungsten, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; rubber, tea, pepper and hides. Even before World War II, Indo-China yielded dividends estimated at $300 million per year.”

One year later, an adviser to the U. S. State Department said the following: “We have only partially exploited Southeast Asia’s resources. Nevertheless, Southeast Asia supplied 90% of the world’s crude rubber, 60% of its tin and 80% of its copra and coconut oil, 90% of its sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, sisal, fruits, spices, natural resin and gums, petroleum, iron and bauxite.”

And in 1953, while the French were still in Vietnam fighting with American backing, President Eisenhower stated: “Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, the tin and tungsten we so greatly value would cease coming. We are after the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible—the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia.”

Greetings to SDS from FREEDOMWAYS

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FRIDAY AUGUST 24, 1966

IT’S OUR 5TH ANNIVERSARY TOO FREEDOMWAYS

New York, N. Y. 10003
799 Broadway (Suite 542)

BERTRAND RUSSELL

(Apple of SDF)

This makes clear that the war in Vietnam is a war like that waged by the Germans in Eastern Europe. It is a war designed to protect the continued control and exploitation of the region by American capitalists. When we consider that the fantastic sums of money spent in this moment are awarded to a million or so whose boards of directors sit the generals who demand the weapons, we can see that the military and large industry have formed an interlocking alliance for their own profit.

The truth is that the Vietnamese popular resistance is just like the American revolutionary resistance to the British, who controlled the economic and political life of the United States in the 18th Century. Vietnamese resistance is like the resistance of the French Marquis, the Yugoslav partisans and the guerrillas of Norway and Denmark to the Nazi occupation. That is why a small peasant people is able to hold down a vast army of the most powerful industrial nation on earth.

I appeal to you to consider what has been done to the people of Vietnam by the U. S. government. Can you, in your hearts, justify the use of poison chemicals and gas, the saturation bombing of the entire country with jelly-gasoline and phosphorus? Although the American press lies about this, the documentary evidence concerning the nature of these gases and chemicals is overwhelming. They are poisonous and they are fatal. What would you do if an occupying army used these toxic gases and chemicals in every town and hamlet they entered? Can you really say that the American people would welcome so savage an aggressor? The fact is that every man in the world can see that the U. S. government is brutal bullies, acting in their economic interests and exterminating any people foolish enough to struggle against this naked exploitation and aggression.

When the U. S. began its war against the Vietnamese, after having paid off all of the French war against the same people, the U.S. Defense Department owned property valued at $160 billion. This value has since doubled. The U.S. Defense Department is the world’s largest organization, owning 32 million acres in the U.S. and millions more in foreign countries. By now, more than 75 cents out of every hundred are spent on present wars and preparation for future war. Billions of dollars are spent in the pay of the U. S. military, thereby giving the Pentagon economic power affecting every facet of American life. Military assets in the U.S. are three times as great as the combined assets of U.S. Steel, Metropolitan Life Insurance, American Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors and Standard Oil. The Defense Department employs the three times the number of people working in all the rest of the great world corporations. The billions of dollars in military contracts are awarded by the Pentagon and fulfilled by large industry. By 1960, 121 billion were spent on military goods. Of this colossal sum, 77/2 billion were divided amongst ten corporations and five corporations received nearly 1 billion each.

I ask you to consider carefully that in the executive offices of these some corporations there are 1,400 army officers, including 261 generals and officers of flag rank. General Dynamics has 187 officers, 27 generals and admirals and the former Secretary of the Army on its payroll. This is a ruling caste, which stays in power no matter who is elected President Eisenhower, the state Department adviser and the New York Times which I mentioned earlier. From Vietnam to the Dominican Republic, from the Middle East to the Congo, economic interests of a few corporations link to the army and the military itself determine what happens to American lives. It is on their orders that the U.S. invades and oppresses starving and helpless people.

Yet, despite the immense wealth of the U. S., despite the fact that with only 6% of the world’s people, accounting for two-thirds of the world’s resources, its possession, despite the control over the world’s oil, coal, tin, tungsten and iron ore, rubber and other vital resources, despite the vast billions of profits that are gained by a few American corporations at the cost of mass starvation among the peoples of the world, despite all of this, 66 million Americans live at poverty level. The cities of America are covered in slums. The poor carry the burden of taxation and the soldier is put on the payroll. I ask all of you to make an intellectual connection between events which occur daily around you, to see clearly the system which has taken control of the U.S. and diverted its institutional life into a grotesque arsenal for a world empire, under control of the military machine.
Brothers throughout the world. Struggle for an America free of murderous production, free of war criminals, free of exploitation and free of the hatred of subject peoples. These peoples look to the ordinary people of the U.S. to understand their plight and to answer their struggle with an American resistance capable of making the U.S., again a citadel of individual liberties and social justice. The International War Crimes Tribunal is itself an appeal to the conscience of the American people, our allies in a common cause.

The War Crimes Tribunal is under urgent preparation now. I am composing eminent jurists, literary figures and men of public affairs in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the U.S. itself. Vietnamese victims of this war will give evidence. Full scientific data concerning the chemicals used, their properties and their effects will be documented. Eyewitnesses will describe what they have seen and scientists will be invited to examine the exhibits in the possession of the Tribunal. The proceedings will be tape recorded and the full evidence will be published. There will be documentary film material concerning the wretchedness and their evidence. We aim to provide the most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam. We intend that the peoples of the world shall be aroused as never before, the better to prevent the repetition of this tragedy elsewhere.

Just as in the case of Spain, Vietnam is a barbarous rehearsal. It is our intention that neither the bona fides nor the authenticity of this Tribunal will be susceptible to challenge from those who have so much to hide. President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge, Gen Westmoreland and their fellow criminals will be brought before a wider justice than they recognize and a more profound condemnation than they are equipped to understand.

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PEACE IN VIETNAM

Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee

This is a response to Steve Weissman's thoughtful article "Beyond The Moral Imperative" in the August Liberation and to Dick Flocks' equally impressive "Whatever Became Of The New Left" in New Left Notes, August 15, 1966.

It seems to me better pieces seek to capture the impact of Vietnam war on the movement, rather than to isolate acts of moral protest against the war as no substitute for sustained political action based on a coherent analysis of our situation.

I should like to comment in the form of a series of numbered themes, in the hope that this will help to keep the discussion from degenerating into a confrontation between presumed "naive" and "political" approaches to action. For I think we are at a point where that debate, useful as it has been, is becoming old and needs to be broken down into a series of component arguments.

On the first point, I am not inferring a need for everyone to permit ourselves to be divided into two camps of "moral" and "political" persons; when surely what is needed is a syncretic view which tries to put together all we have learned.

4. Reorganization of American society as a whole as the objective of revolutionary struggle is possibly our overriding concern. But how do we do that? The current discussion of attitudinal scenarios for an American revolution, I do not believe advances us because of the problems raised: that of class and race. Following their logical conclusions, their premises point neither to an expanded version of the welfare state, nor to a transition to socialism by means of an electoral road. What we have in mind.

Another model worth considering is the European Resistance Movements of World War II, which seem to me the only model we are able to learn from. It has been during the post war years and a half a point where that debate, useful as it has been, is becoming old and needs to be broken down into a series of component arguments.

A regional membership meeting can be an effective high school at present is for the reorganization of American society as a whole, as the objective of revolutionary struggle is possibly our overrunning concern. But how do we do that? The current discussion of attitudinal scenarios for an American revolution, I do not believe advances us because of the problems raised: that of class and race. Following their logical conclusions, their premises point neither to an expanded version of the welfare state, nor to a transition to socialism by means of an electoral road. What we have in mind.

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GREETINGS from a FRIEND and Supporter of SDS
WE FACE AMERICA THE LEVIATHAN.

Our nation attempts throughout the world to guard by force an order of power relations in which established American interests are respected and achieved. Everywhere American reality conflicts with our values: in our assertion of the dignity of individuals, of the values of liberty and human development. America responds with war, manipulation, and the selfish concentration of power. The America which we face denounces democracy - it is a nation in which the crucial decisions which affect us all are made by corporate managers and bank- ers, and in which control over the in- dependent on the indulgence of public welfare systems over which they have no con- tam. Decision are made by a clique of advisers and ex- perts. Can this be called democracy? We understand democracy to be that system of rule in which the people participate in a common economy. We can assure you that with us as Great Power to Great Power. When we announce that we want to contain China, we may be understood to pick up the receiver and tell Dean Rusk that she will assume the style of a Great Power and not change. The small nationalism against another Great Power, Viet Nam? The American response to revolution is the other answer. In practice, our notion is a powerful opponent of established order, and a likely successful opposition. Although our leaders make rhetorical gestures acknowledging the radi- cally that are necessary to maintain the power of our investors. The limited banking man in the senate has respect for the VC opponents as "plucky and deter­ mined," but the overall operation is that the VC are bandits and desperadoes; any kind of torture is justified to repay such acts of defiance. "Rural pacification" is a policy of Saigon restaurants and the executions of village headmen. Civilians - and there are now over a million refugees in Saigon who have fled the bombings of their villages - are pawns in the game, to be relocated from their village according to one General's notion of "strategic hamlets." To be kept under meticulous police observation and control by the PLAF, villages must be converted into "rural pacification" schemes. "Buddhist" and "anti-Communist" nationalists are a dis- nptive force, who must be repressed be- cause their activity works objectively to the advantage of the Communists. We need to be careful about our thinking - our allies, their supporters - the "appeal" according to our GI's who now do most of the fighting in the war.

Why Viet Nam? The Cold War is one answer. The balance of power among the great powers is tilted in favor of the United States, and the Vietnam War is part of the strategy to maintain that balance. Wars of Liberation" according to our Gl's who now do most of the fighting - it is a war of manipulation and subversion. We may well be trying to maintain the stability of the American economic system and the power of our investors, so that foreign investment will not be threatened and we can continue to sell our products to the world, confident that our customers will continue to buy our goods. The balance of power among Great Britain, France, and China is the core of the Cold War, and the Vietnam War is part of the strategy to maintain that balance. The Vietnam War is a war of manipulation and subversion, designed to maintain the stability of the American economic system and the power of our investors in the face of the rising power of the Chinese and the Soviet Union. We may well be trying to maintain the stability of the American economic system and the power of our investors, so that foreign investment will not be threatened and we can continue to sell our products to the world, confident that our customers will continue to buy our goods.

Rusk complains that he has put out peace feelers but the Chinese are never at the other end of the phone, he means that they do not want to participate in a common economy. "We are in it together as equals," according to one General's notion of "strategic hamlets," to be kept under meticulous police observation and control by the PLAF, villages must be converted into "rural pacification" schemes. "Buddhist" and "anti-Communist" nationalists are a dis- nptive force, who must be repressed be- cause their activity works objectively to the advantage of the Communists. We need to be careful about our thinking - our allies, their supporters - the "appeal" according to our GI's who now do most of the fighting in the war.

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THAILAND WELCOMES FOREIGN INVEST- MENT

* "The state guarantees against expropri­ ation or nationalization of private industry ... A new promoted industry will be exempt from income tax for a period of five years. ..."
in urban tactics. They are at work in dozens of countries, and in Peru and Columbia (and in the Andes, where they are going up into hills as advisors, just like Vietminh. In order to make possible the coup that replaced Patrice Lumumbo in the Congo, we provided the cash so that Joseph Mobutu could throw in a bit of his charm. After FDR declared the Good Neighbor policy, our ambassador gave his blessing to An­tonio Nosso (who assassinated the Nicaraguan hero Sandino; the Somozas then ruled by terror for 25 years. *Stable relations to American-owned In­dustries.* After World War II, Bolivia nationalized the International Telegraph and Telephone subsidiary in Brazil's Rio Grande do Sul. After the Cold War, the CIA underwrote a successful move to cut any country out of foreign aid that conflated U.S. busi­nesses with a regime. In the late 1950s, to prevent nationalization of the oil industry. In the Dominican Republic we let Fitch fall to the Communists. We have collectivized the sugar plantations formerly owned by the deposed Trujillo family. Our agents have encouraged the openness of the Latin American regimes. We rely on our military, diplomatic, military, threats of force, and our agents in the in­stitutions which we dominate, and politi­cally the covert and clandestine variety do the trick. Of course, none of these were done by the U.S. military. In the regime of South Africa, where the annual rate of return on our 500 million worth of investments is 20%, a 10% U.S. banking community together with the International Monetary Fund actually bailed out that country during its 1961 financial crisis. Stable day-to-day politics. This turns out to be the real way of doing things. The freedom from strikes, the freedom from financial crisis. The Corporacion Minera de Boliva is a firm that has developed worlds of primary commodities to the industrial regions of the world. The revenues necessary to sustain their operations in power have come from taxes on reve­nues from these export products and from the sale of concessions for their exploitation. The development cannot be over-exagger­ated; in Venezuela, oils, which constitute 70% of foreign exchange, accounted for over 80% of the 1962 national budget. The ability to import, especially to import luxury consu­mer goods, is essential to the regime. One wise "carry over" on economically is hinged ir­reversibly to these products in these so-called "hurricane" markets. There is a dependence on one or two items; the Latin American, the average export revenue from coffee or bananas results from the single leading export is well over 50%. And so these exporters are of critical importance to the stability of these regimes. Cocoa and coffee prices have often fluctuated by as much as 50% in one year. Moreover, there has been a post-war era a general overall tendency to depress the prices of these commodities. In a comparison which Paul Rabil (Foreign Policy) reports as Secretary-General to the UN Con­ference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), identifies as a major determinant of the gap between the rich and poor nations. The United States is the leading opponent of international stabilization programs and lower commodity prices; this is partly due to a desire to protect domestic industries, and partly to our unwillingness to cut into the profits of our U.S. farmlands, who do the importing, or even to pass the added costs on to American consumers. The indus­trialized countries, as is to be expected, do not have this problem. The middle class policy, including, as Cuba and Romania point out, the Soviet Union, which uses the Western world market prices in relation to its allies. But it is the desperate need to defend the prices of their traditional exports that gives form to what became known as the bloc of 75 at the UN trade conference in 1964. For the moment none of them are ready to sacrifice their position of world power. The fact that the second-line countries have been freed to defeat neutralist up­risings in the Third World has not been a setback as well to the NLF's strategy. The Johnson Administration has relied on the use of the CIA and other instruments has re­quired to meet the need, and constitute a virtual occupying force, committed to stay there until the NLF is obliterated. The guer­rilla war in the countryside has been con­tained, to all appearances. By their pre­cious, our U.S. forces have been freed to defeat neutralist up­risings among the students and Buddhists in South Vietnam. While in Viet-Nam, U.S. planes have been available to strafe emplacements of left­wing Pathet Lao forces in Vietnam, which have in the past, by virtue of coalition with neutral­ists, tried to keep control of the country. The battle of the hands of the CIA-led Gen. Nosa­van. That our fighting men are useful against the Communist left was well demonstr­ated in the Dominican Republic, when a group of nationalist military men at the head of a constitutionalist popular revolt in

**The Prospects For Economic Change**

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**The DEFEAT OF NATIONALISM**

The worldwide design of America is the present of independent forces, and this design is being carried out in the Sixties with re­markable success. It was around the time that the African countries were won over to the foreign policy -- with the Bay of Pigs invasion -- that the men of power were re­minded of the strategic importance of U.S. investments in the underdeveloped, world, not Russia. Together, this recognition came with countermovements, adjustment of the decision-making machinery to meet limited wars, and a new political rhei­to. The Johnson Administration has relied on the use of the CIA and other instruments has been extensive and effective. There has been no tidal wave of revolu­tion. Every style of revolutionary leadership, from the most radical Chinese-style insur­gencies, to mass communist parties, to one­party nationalist regimes, to constitutionalist reformers, have been dealt defeats at the hand of their own domestic reactionaries and American power.

Defeats for the left have taken a number of forms. They include: Foreign Armies. In Viet Nam, it is clear to everyone, the regime would not last a minute beyond the withdraw­al of American forces. The force of the U.S. troop commitment has been steadily escalat­ed to meet the need, and constitute a virtual occupying force, committed to stay there until the NLF is obliterated. The guer­rilla war in the countryside has been con­tained, to all appearances. By their pre­cious, our U.S. forces have been freed to defeat neutralist up­risings among the students and Buddhists in South Vietnam. The battle of the hands of the CIA-led Gen. Nosa­van. That our fighting men are useful against the Communist left was well demonstr­ated in the Dominican Republic, when a group of nationalist military men at the head of a constitutionalist popular revolt in
The liberal democratic program is a wash, out and visible. Symbolized by the spurring war on poverty, the palpable of a nation and of a program that were supposed to have had a little impact on racism, name whatsoever as a consequence of extreme and of poverty. Despite the overwhelming support in the 89th Congress, President Johnson’s welfare program for the ‘war on poverty’, 1.3 billion for elementary and secondary schools, half a billion for hospitals, twenty million for social security to cover hospitalization and social security to cover hospitalization and social security benefits, and a billion for the demonstration cities housing program that still hasn’t passed. This efforts would do something to deal with poverty and amounts to less than one-sixth of this year’s increase in the Gross National Product. The realization of this effort costs can consider the doubt on the ability of liberal forces to do even the minimum standards of a welfare state. In the eyes of many Americans, this is a crisis.

The liberal forces failed to solve all of its problems. There is ample theoretical reason to argue that the extremes of poverty in America could be alleviated as they have been in the Nordic countries, and that racism could be broken down, as it is in Canada or France. We are wary of relying on the system’s workings to produce its crisis, the roots of which are so complicated, and are likely to require a different set of strategies to solve the problems of racism and poverty. The broad coalition that has been built up in the United States is a testament to the fact that we must continue to work on this issue.

On the domestic crisis of poverty and racism

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heritage for radicals

for its lasting intellectual contribution.

periodically appeared making lonely battle

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In the American history of ideas, radicals

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C. Wright Mills. At times these have been

Bourne, Thorstein Veblen, Charles Beard,

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the Governor withdrew after inspecting the with great difficulty and were isolated and counties Negroes captured the bulk of local these were reversed by the Republicans and Populists through the midwest as the Democratic party machinery was in the party became evident. The "mid- lied its way to victory in the states where the idea of socialism achieved deep roots in American soil in the first two decades of the 20th century. The major focus was the abolition of capitalism and its wage system, and for the establishment of the possessors of these, in turn', despise the precedent in the history of mankind; and the justice we breed the two great classes - great fear of losing their vote. However, the Populist party remained divided and was unable to form a majority of its own party, due to the Negro question; the failure of the Populists to gain control of the legislature meant that the state, the Federal Trade Commission, and the courts were unable to regulate the "force bill" in 1888 in Congress meant that the Democratic Party campaign in 1896 was a failure in the states where Davis Walte had been Vice-Presidential nominee, in hope that the Negroes of the franchise. The Populists championed the idea of "good works" - the idea that "warfare to destroy big business is not possible because it is not a practical method of organizing these industries." Wilson's "Red Scare" led to the formation of the Palmer Commission, which cracked down on socialism and turned its members into a form of anti-war extremism. The other Socialist party was the one that "went down" in 1919, when the Palmer Commission eliminated the SP as a political force. The Socialist党 split in 1919, and the "Socialists" (as they called themselves) continued to organize in the mass movement. The exuberance of the revolutionary industrial unionism was a durable and increasing feature of American society. Socialism appeared in 95 places, and legislators in 95 states, in 1913. The SP became the recipient of the Socialist party, and its branches could no longer operate. In Idaho the socialist faction was split and the Red Scare led by Attorney General Palmer completed the elimination of the other Socialist party. The Red Scare led by Attorney General Palmer completed the elimination of the other Socialist party. The Red Scare led by Attorney General Palmer completed the elimination of the other Socialist party.
The Conservation Programs

The New Deal's conservation policies were aimed at preserving natural resources for future generations. The administration established the Forest Service, which was responsible for managing federal lands. The Soil Conservation Service was created to prevent soil erosion and promote soil conservation. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established to provide jobs for young men and to plant trees and build public works projects. These programs were designed to create employment, protect the environment, and promote long-term economic stability.

The New Deal and Labor

The New Deal had a significant impact on labor relations. The National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), also known as the Wagner Act, was passed in 1935. It gave workers the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The act also prohibited certain unfair labor practices and established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to enforce the law.

The New Deal and the Farmlands

The New Deal also made significant contributions to the development of the American farming community. The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) was passed in 1933 to stabilize farm prices by reducing the supply of farm products through crop- destruction. The act was controversial and led to protests and violence, but it did help to stabilize farm prices and provide some relief to farmers.

The New Deal and Urban Development

The New Deal also had a significant impact on urban development. The Public Works Administration (PWA) was established to finance and build public works projects, such as roads, bridges, and public buildings. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was created to provide employment for millions of unemployed workers through a wide range of public works projects. These programs not only provided jobs but also helped to improve the infrastructure of the nation's cities and towns.

The New Deal and Social Security

The New Deal also introduced the concept of social security. The Social Security Act of 1935 established a system of old-age, survivors, disability, and hospital insurance. The act was a significant step towards providing a safety net for the elderly and vulnerable populations.

The New Deal and the Economy

The New Deal had a significant impact on the economy. The creation of jobs through public works programs helped to reduce unemployment. The establishment of regulatory agencies, such as the Federal Reserve System, helped to stabilize the economy. The New Deal also introduced unemployment insurance and other programs to provide a safety net for workers.

The New Deal and the Environment

The New Deal also had a significant impact on the environment. The establishment of national parks and forests, the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the introduction of environmental regulations helped to protect the nation's natural resources.

The New Deal and Civil Rights

The New Deal had a mixed record on civil rights. While the Civil Rights Act of 1935 was passed, it did not protect the rights of African Americans. The administration also failed to address more systemic forms of discrimination. However, the New Deal did lay the groundwork for future civil rights advances.

The New Deal and the Future

The New Deal left a lasting legacy. It established the principles of government intervention in the economy and the protection of workers' rights. The New Deal also laid the groundwork for future social and economic policies. The New Deal's legacy continues to be felt today, as many of its programs and policies are still in effect.
difficult organizing there, SNCC turned more extensively to the strategy of building a broad-based movement in the face of repression. In imitation of this emphasis on building movement, SNCC turned from tutorial projects to ghetto organizing in the North, and SDS formed its Economic Research and Action Project to launch organizing efforts in 1964. Young radicals in search of "radical revolution" saw cooperation with SNCC as a test of their commitment. The Mississippi Summer Project expressed the nationwide commitment of the Northern students; commitment was most beautifully expressed in the death of Schwerner, Collier, and Chaney.

The Berkeley student revolt of the fall of 1964, and the antiwar campus movement that followed, made the anti-Vietnam war sentiment in the North. Bombs in North Vietnam, expressed for the first time in public activism, thus involved the illusion of a tangible enemy. To some extent, "war" involved around the extent to which an alienation of the question of "cooperation" would reprogram to be sacrificed. To\textsuperscript{1} At the federal level.

...the prerogative of exercising power will un\textsuperscript{2}...control they should have already won. And...future, but more likely...the scattered and spotty forces suggest that...sufficient strength to face political choices. One sign of growth was the war on poverty, and, for the outside world, especially...take our message into the hands of more...dilemmas of what the internal...veterans', and the other is...veterans', and the other is...of the organization's political pro...amendment requiring each chapter to have...at best. We all need to learn how to relate to the genuine impulses of our generation.

In light of the fact that SDS has been the most influential organization in the student movement, it would be within our reach to carry out our educational goals. We can move immediately...and...target.
Imperialism

This is a seminar about a premise: the premise that US foreign policy is determined primarily by the need to perpetuate domestic social and economic organization, and that this policy is a major factor in retarding social-economic development in the underdeveloped countries. In brief, it is a fundamental scientific-social analysis of questions in terms of their social-inter-relationships, in terms of the kinds of society in which they arise.

We posed relatively narrow questions which have, however, wide-ranging implications for the development of fundamental aspects of this society. To begin with, we have confined our investigation to the US, without ruling out the possibility of imperialism as a characteristic of non-capitalist societies. This naive, two-steps-from-the-sources of the present war situation; even if imperialism could be said to be practiced by socialist societies, our attempt is to determine the pressures leading to the kind of imperialism represented in the Vietnamese war.

While the possibility of socialist imperialism involves, per se, a rejection of Marxism, definitions, we have found the neo-Marxist description of US society to be the most accurate, clear, and coherent. In the future, imperfectilematical necessities is less controversial.

For example, in the Barony and Swedey analysis, some other wasteful, but non-military, use of the "social revolution" concept is "imperialism" is at least theoretically quite conceivable. It may even be more countercultural possibilities. People who suffer from the military. This would not necessarily be a good society, but it could be a more peaceful society. At this point, we are crucial to the understanding and strategy of the anti-war movement.

From a brief discussion of Lenin's Imperialism we proceeded to a more thorough and more explicit Barony's Political Economy of Growth, which we found more relevant to America today. We formulated detailed research questions whose answers would provide an empirical evaluation of the Barony description of American capitalism: an oligopoly-monopoly system engaged in foreign investments to compensate for the limited domestic opportunities of a non-competitive system.

More general question of economic causality is whether US businesses engage in imperialism rather than increased domestic spending because it is an economic necessity for capitalism's survival, or simply because it is more profitable? Does increas econo-

2. Attendance at the seminar: What developed was a group of about six that attended every meeting and four to seven others who came occasionally. Of those who came occasionally, the first time were last in the lengthy discussions and we found it very important to stop our organized group to help explain what was going on. In general, especially in discussing economics, we found it helpful to have people able to explain ourselves in an elementary way for the sake of bringing up questions in our own minds.

3. Two parts: Socialist ideology, we found, divided itself into two quite distinct parts, one a discussion of economics and politics, and the second a discussion of quality of life. The discussions centered mainly around profit-motive of the former possibility throughout, we could find no clear evidence to support it. Our evaluation of the Barony description of American imperialism served as a description of the mechanisms of profit-motive of both British profit-motive of American imperialism. But we were aware of the eventual necessity to confront the possible existence of independent, though interacting, anti-communist ideological motivations. While sharing Barony's view of imperialism as deeply entrenched in American society, we are inclined to see the barriers to change both as economic and ideological.

The second part of Barony's thesis, "a mor-

Historical approach to the problems of radi-

Radical Social Movements Seminar was organized at the beginning of June along with two other seminars for the summer. Marxism was the basic reading list for Radical Social Movements included: Parran, A Theory of the Development of Foreign Investments, in British Imperialism in France, E. P. Thompson The Making of the English Working Class, Art Fair Labor's Giant Step and New Class: The American Communist Party. An essay was also included on an historical approach to the problems of radical history. The basic questions we investi-

The seminar suffered from insufficient weekly preparation on the part of participants and a lack of direction in approaching movements in different countries and different periods. Our experts, however, to formulate certain basic problems and suggest hypotheses for further study - as to the impact of industrial unionism or economic depressions on labor movements, the importance of national socialism and liberal lower classes, the decline of radicalism in advanced capitalist society, the relation of women and other groups to radicalism, etc. This fall we hope to continue the study of the problems, possibly restricting ourselves to specific problems. We also want to study the contemporary left and its relationship to American radical history.

The seminar met weekly and was usually attended by about ten people, including both graduate and undergraduate students. There was some turnover in participation. We will probably continue with a similar format in the fall - generally beginning discussions with a presentation based on the readings.
ental sign of disaffection. Even hyper-re­

tant to sketch some of the problems

The National Convention

As a national organization.

that people begin to understand their con­

in heretofore reached.

and radicalizing a much broader segment of

perspectives on reaching

our national conventions and for the last

For instance, dividing 50 militants from the

a free speech area and CIA

speech against the city

the spring conference, the N.R.R.C. de­

critical mass by SDS.

The chapter thought they had de facto

of suicides, and the drop out phenomenon.

In the post, we have meandered through

the anti-war movement bears this out. For instance

in the use of drugs. Even
disaffection as expressed through drugs iso­

SDS could embark on a vigorous

In Berkely, that program might be joining

of SDS students and radicalizing a much broader segment.

words used in their student
draw out a plan for the next four national council meetings and arrange for them in the service of the country and
to function as a means of communication

فجع ليتم العمل من أجلها في جميع أنحاء العالم. وعندما تظهر للمرأة الرغبة

to ignore the administration ruling on the

There are myriad other signs of discontent, includ­

If the student looks closer, the whole other thing is

Secondly, we

that people begin to understand their con­

SDS has been held, one in Rochester

an interest remains in the N.R.R.C. for

Tom Bell,
Be It Resolved That:

Students for a Democratic Society give its fullest support to the Fort Hood Three (Capt. John H. Thompson, Pvt. David Somas, and Pvt. David Samos) and all GI's who are reasserting for exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and peaceful assembly. Also, let SDS fully support the right of all the Three and the many other GI's who do not want to participate in the illegal, immoral and unjust war now being fought by the U.S. Government in violation of the Nuremberg Charter, and in defiance of all standards of decency and humanity.

We urge that the following activities, as suggested by the New York Fort Hood Three Committee, be undertaken:

1. Cast statements of support for the three GI's from prominent people in your area, including trade unionists, professors, politicians and peace candidates, civil rights leaders, and of course, persons in the anti-war movement. Ask them to become sponsors of the defense committee.

2. Conduct demonstrations and meetings in support of the three GI's. Include their case in other anti-war demonstrations being planned in your area. Members of the families of all three of the GI's are willing to speak on their behalf.

3. Pass out fact sheets on the case to GI's wherever you can: at distant military bases, service clubs, USO's, bus terminals, etc. This activity is completely legal, the response has been inspiring, and it is one of the most effective ways of maintaining pressure on the authorities connected with the case.

4. Write or wire Congressmen, Senators, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, and President Johnson, urging that the Three GI's be not prosecuted.

5. Secure the appearance of the Three GI's on one or more television shows. Willing men may not reach them but telegrams will. They are under tremendous pressure and the anti-war movement must keep them from backing down. They can be addressed individually to PC. James Johnson, 51821777, Bldg 6749, Fort Dix, N. J., or to Mrs. David Samos, 5183081, Bldg 6749, Fort Dix, N. J., or to Pvt. David Samos, 56408577, Bldg 6749, Fort Dix, N. J.

6. Make contributions to the Defense Committee to pay for the legal fees, and the costs of publicizing the case. Solicit contributions from other people in your area who might be willing to support the case. Send checks, notes, or money orders to: Students for a Democratic Society, Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St. 10th Floor, New York, New York 10038.

Lenore Sheridan
University of Illinois - Campaign for Reproductive Freedom
The War on Poverty is another area JOIN works in. In Chicago there is little question that poor people control what happens to poor people. The OEO's rhetoric of participation is not practiced, and hardly mentioned. Recently a southern kid who works with a student organization in Uptown, the majority of which are not as well informed of class, power, control, influence, and other young "intellectuals"; young doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers and other professionals; older people who have participated in the peace movement and similar efforts, and who see the need for an explicitly political, multi-issue organizational form. The adult organization workshop is aimed at systematic discussion of the ways in which these and other constituencies might org."
The "cheerful" leaves - the leaves that are powerful. In Van Gogh's last paintings as in Allen Ginsberg's Kaddish as in all works of art created in resistance to death.

Students for a Democratic Society, through its Radical Education Project, will publish monthly a literary newspaper called CAW!

We aim to print poems, stories, essays, translations, photographs, and drawings by any artist having a need to identify with radical left resistance in this country, and whose work, in the judgment of the editors, is powerful.

We aim to print reviews and news of books, films, theater, recordings, small magazines, and other artistic events whose spirit is radical.

We aim also to attack snobbery and fakery as we see it, in the artistic life of this country.

In addition, we will print articles of political and social criticism which, in the judgment of SDS, are of crucial importance to the education of our artistic and intellectual community.

Our aesthetic is that works of art are events on this planet and they tremble with the fragility and sturdiness of being alive.

Our politics, with reference to art, is that such works are relevant to the pain and aspirations of people.

Our goal is a more powerful and articulate movement for a democratic and just society.

Our beginning is CAW.

A particularly interesting symptom of the decay and decline of America's "old" left was the complete disappearance of satire and humor from its publications. When the movement lost its contact with masses of Americans, when it became "dehumanized", "institutionalized" and bureaucratized, it lost its sense of humor.

A pompous bureaucrat, whether of the Establishment or of the left opposition, can't stand jokes, especially at his own expense.

The old American Socialists and radicals had a great sense of humor; they know how to use it not only to ridicule the Establishment with devastating effect, but also to help radicals take a good objective look at their own sometimes ridiculous shortcomings.

There is so much to satirize in our country and in the world today! It would take a hundred Jonathan Swifts to begin to do the job. But let us of the New Left not wait for them to blossom out. Let's spice up our ponderous pronouncements with a little salt and pepper.

Let's work on the great American sense of humor; let's see if we can do as good a job on Lyndon Johnson as Charlie Chaplin did on Adolf Schicklegruber! Irreverently, John Rossen

P. S. And will somebody tell me why New Left Notes has to look like eight solid pages of dry legal notices? What about an occasional drawing, a picture or a cartoon? Would that be "sacrilege"?

John Sieving