by Paul Booth & Richard Flacks  
*Hyde Park CDC*

New politics movements are currently absorbing much of the criticism that was directed recently at SDS and other campus New Left elements. This criticism is aimed at independent political stirrings in California, Alabama, and elsewhere by supporters of coalition politics in the Democratic Party. The issues are not simple, but deserve full clarity of intentions, in order to continue building a force with which they could reasonably be asked to coalesce. Other experts summarize the proceedings of the WE WON'T GO Conference to consider with those who will not go are completely justified by raising the spectre of imprisonment for resisters: Thoreau, Charles Sumner, and Eugene Debs.

**California**

In California, it is equally fantastic to blame the new politics for Reagan. In fact, Reagan won by practically a million votes. At the conference on Power and Politics in Los Angeles where new-politics policies split on the question of how best to repudiate Governor Brown, the small minority that was arguing that as far as going by the draft, they would have been called to combat. The third stage was described in the manuscript as "insubordination at home and desertion abroad." Those in the army who tried the sit-ins on the question of ranking at the U. of California were told that those who will not go are completely justified and that the questions, dilemmas, and frustrations that will concern us today are not something which is of greatest concern to scholars and politicians, but something of most concern to the young men who are faced with the decision of whether to go to college or whether to go to jail. These time periods had swallowed them, and silence met their action.

The third stage was described in the manuscript as "independence at home and desertion abroad." Those in the army who tried the sit-ins on the question of ranking at the U. of California had their option hod "no echo." This was because, in the words of the manuscript, their action had "no echo." This time period had swallowed them, and silence met their action. Those who tried this reported a deep sense of frustration and powerlessness. They were caught by an immigrant and an irreducible system that could easily swallow them. In the army, for example, a group of thirty men decided to go to jail rather than go to the army. In the words of the manuscript, their action had "no echo." This time period had swallowed them, and silence met their action. Those who tried this reported a deep sense of frustration and powerlessness. They were caught by an immigrant and an irreducible system that could easily swallow them. In the army, for example, a group of thirty men decided to go to jail rather than go to the army. In the words of the manuscript, their action had "no echo." This time period had swallowed them, and silence met their action.
Segal began as a political activist Rooseveltian in philosophy, and his case is at least partly a result of per- 
suasion by the selective service in collu-
sion with the university, for political activity. His aggressive attitude towards the 
draft board, his refusal to take selective ser-
vice, and his refusal to go if called for, have ex- 
tended, if the F-B-I. - all are manifestations of his de-
terence to conform the inhuman system in 
human terms. He has been worn down by the 
system, and has remained cheerful to the point of 
cheekiness. Thus, Mitchell's tone is entirely dif-
ter. He began his struggle very much as an indi-
vidual. He went on to say, "I have always an-
tered their answers. He wanted them to 
tabolish a dialogue with them, just as late-
ner, in his new famous case, he wanted to 
establish a dialogue with the federal gov-
ernment. His case, based on the Nur-
enberg trials, argues the position that Mitchell 
is not an anti-government. If, he steadies, 
his on! Home is. Hence, Mitchell feels, there 
is no reason for him to be apologetic. He is 
simply trying to draw an examination into 
the draft problem."

Segal is strikingly unique. Segal's and 
with a splash of publicity, to fight the 
system. You, more realis-
conference across the street. Flacks went on 
for people in rural areas particularly, and 
best be paid. But people here are not talking 
about working with the radical move-
ment. Thirty-five or forty men, mostly 
C. students, met to discuss how they could 
assist a dialogue with them, just as later 
and endless hours of discussion with many, 
described the decision to resist the draft, 
drafted already inside we; THE WON'T-O GROUP. 
'it's pretty rough sinewy test.'

The Canada workshop on 'Canada and the 
Propects of Exile' attracted more than twice 
the number of men that the legal workshop 
did. Only seven of the seventy or so 
present were part of the WE DON'T GO group, 
and these, for the most part, were fugitives only. The resource people were two Can-
adianaaron brown, Chairman of a 
Committee to Aid American War Objectors in 
vancouver, and John pacoff from Toronto. They 
will brought with them the feeling that 
answered all the legal and practical 
questions about emigration to Canada by people of draft age. Yet for many, during 
all the 'discussion' consisted of techni-
cal questions. How much money do you 
need? Should you write or should you go 
through the border? Which one of us would volunteer 
give five years of our lives to try and 
smooth this process to resist the draft, 
their struggle has strengthened them 
and has made them more effec-
tive in their craft, among the East Indian 
people that they have received increasing support 
from their families, their friends, and the 
movement. And what is even more im-
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The Canadian draft system has been described by Harold lasswell's study, "The Gar-

in spite of their differences, several sim-
ilarities emerged from their narratives. Stag-
bled before the 500 people there as living 
examples of what the kind of man that has 
gotten through the struggle with draft 
boards, the F-B-I, and the courts for years. 
Mitchell since 1961 and Segal since 1964 
are likely the most extreme. For the most 
part, their narratives, moreover, test-
fied that they have managed to continue 
their struggle for years during times that 
they have received increasing support 
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In a soft and pleasant manner, Sumrall 
tried to explain "the feeling" of some of the people 
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And hopeful young men find it increas-
ingly difficult simply to join an army that 
is engaged in a dirty war. They went on 
longer just a matter of interrupting one's 
life to go into the army for a couple of years, 
it is, rather, a question of following a dis-

can foreign policy down the path of moral 
and social destruction."

as the American draft system is the militarist
As James Bevel, SCLC's civil rights leader 
in Chicago, put it later in the afternoon, 
the enemy is the military complex. He 
said, no ideological difference between 
as the Russians or us and the Chinese; 
our national policies are the same. We CALL 
government. He would like to 
to see, he said, a real movement of young men 
that is engaged in a dirty war. They went on 
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dummy
New Politics

(Continued from page 1)

motions, is drifting, and sometimes plunging, toward both international and internal disaster.

2. There is a modest hope of staying this drift, based on the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Liberals must, first of all, develop a comprehensive program which eliminates the illusion of those groups now disaffected with it — especially ghettoed Negroes, urban ethnic minorities, laboractivists, and rank-and-file trade unionists.

3. It must actively initiate efforts at grass-roots level to divorce the corrupt and reactionary urban machines, but through new political mechanisms.

4. The liberal Party must fight the business forces which are also in there trying to win control, and it must con- front and defeat those other forces which emanate from racial and militaristic institutions. This includes a decisive break with the power structure, and vigorous opposition to Big Business.

5. The responsibility for achieving this lies not only with liberal politicians, labor leaders, liberal intellectuals, but rank-and-file activists. Probably some radicals, socialists, and pacifists should be involved as a force of clear-thinking and clear-headedness. Where there is, of course, a desperate need for radicals to stay independent of this coalition.

Radical’s Role

a. To some extent, with its own expanding constituency, is a most important mechanism for keeping the liberals in motion.

b. The liberal program, if successful, will create its own problems — in particular, it is likely to create a new and very powerful anti-war movement, as the draft is already working against the war.

c. Another good organizing program would be campaigns all across the country for Congress, in which they figure. Out that is being fought.

Proposal for Viet Organizing

The the types of organizing activities being used against the war in Vietnam are increas- ingly steadily. As the war shows no signs of stabilizing yet, Americans who oppose LB’s Vietnam war policy are called upon to continue and expand their active organizing work against the war.

One good possibility for mass organizing activity is to work with the Wrap boycott of supermarkets. The target is Dow Chemical, manufacturer of both Soron-Wrap, used against the war in Vietnam, and the new medical dioxin, which is likely to be as harmful, if not more so, as the dioxin in the Vietnam war.

B. Draft Resolution

.. . . and urges young men to resist the draft.

(4) Find at least one person to seek (and publish in New Left Notes) information on local draft programs to gather relevant documents and travel.


Military Options

Another good organizing program would be campaigns all across the country for Congress, in which they figure. Out that is being fought.

The more relevant issues are the questions of US political objectives in South Vietnam.

A. Under no circumstances should the National Liberation Front be allowed to come to power in South Vietnam. B. Communists and members of the National Liberation Front should be allowed to run for office in South Vietnam. C. The people of South Vietnam should be allowed to vote on whether they want their government to be neutralist in international affairs, whether the US troops remain in the South or not. D. The US should withdraw to negotiate with the National Liberation Front. E. The US should withdraw and leave the re- solution of the present conflict to the Vietnamese themselves.

This kind of referendum will put a good set of choices on the ballot. It will give oppo- nents of the war a very effective means for raising the level of appreciation for their own forms of government.

The campaign on this kind of referendum would allow protest workers and organizers to get to the most vulnerable point in the Administration’s Vietnam policy. Emphatic US voters have not yet been told the truth about how long the Viet Nam war is going to con- tinue. By even the optimistic estimate, it will take ten years of continued fighting to “neutralize” the countryside completely, and twenty years before Saigon will have any capacity to establish administrative government over its own borders.

As soon as voters figure out for them- selves what a long and costly, bloody war Vietnam is going to involve, and as soon as they figure out, that it is being fought not only for the purpose of fighting the dictatorship in power instead of a left-wing dictatorship, their quiescence on the war will disappear immediately.

In most parts of the country legal pro- cedures for conducting public referendums are available, and any energetic citizen’s organization can take advantage of them. It will be excellent organizing experience for many in SDS to become involved in a nationwide series of Vietnam referendum campaigns. And these referendums also will help bring millions of Americans for the first time into a real confrontation with the root issues of US present day foreign policy.

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Paranoid Politics Revisited

by Marvin Mandell
Iowa City, Iowa

It is discouraging to read Alan Jehlen's Nov. 4 critique of my Sept. 23 article 'Against Paranoid Politics' for these reasons: it ignores the whole point of the article; he errs, in fact, and he fails to notice the very particular political context to which my article was directed.

Jehlen is revolted at my coupling Maoists, Stalinists, and black power advocates, on the one hand, with Jehovah Witness missionaries and American Nazis, on the other. But in what sense did I couple these 'strange, indeed, beastly' buttots? Not in any sense to mean, I coupled them only in the sense of their feelings of paranoia. As I have said elsewhere, the political feeling is not worth as valuable as his own, he can harm him with impunity. Chinese Red Guards forcing a girl into wearing a hot with the word 'scum' on it is the same kind of act as Nazi's handing a rabbi's beard. Of course there are many reasons for charismatic feelings; of course it is easiest for us to agree with a narrative that gives us a sense of truth although Mr. Jehlen adds nothing to human knowledge with his observation that black racism is simply intellectual frigidity (what does he think paranoia is?) As Freud said, there is no such thing as perception complex if there were no persecution. But let us not forget that this paranoia and racism are one and the same thing on the eye of a Stalinist purge.

Mr. Jehlen will have to use finer tools to attack the logic of my argument. 4. I would suggest a reading of Wilhelm Reich's Mass Psychology of Fascism and The Mass Psychology of Revolution which can help you explain close interrelationship of economic exploitation and sexual repression. More than any other point is this that Mr. Jehlen has ever known must regard that levathan's problems as the Central Contradiction of modern politics.

The biggest travesty in recent Chinese Red Guard activity is that it is done in the name of Marx and Lenin. According to Franz Mehring, Marx... was always a faithful lover of the ancient Greeks and had squandered those souls from the temple of the poor man who would prevent the workers from approaching the culture of the old classic world. According to the Chinese, the personal law, Paul Lafargue, Marx read Aeschylus in the original Greek text at least once a year. Marx knew Heine and Coethe by heart and loved Shakespeare, Dante, Burns, Field, Scott, Balzac, etc., etc. C. P. Von Beethoven and also (according to Bertrum D. Wolfe's Who Made a Revolution, which contains the difficulties of the Soviet Union to some extent) the difficulty of Germany, Russia, Britain, and the rest to those of others.

In my mind being archaic - I think we will find the path towards a new position which is not a larger system; and we confront the difficult problem of not being swept aside contradictions instead of fitting them into a larger system, and we can consequently answer arguments not by de-mystification, but rather deny premises. The Central Contradiction in Maoist China and in China or starving people in Russia almost longer exist), and the crushing of the Hun-lution abroad. We must attempt to understand the difficulties of the Soviet Union to some extent) the difficulty of Germany, Russia, Britain, and the rest to those of others.

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3. In my mind being archaic - I think we will find the path towards a new position which is not a larger system; and we confront the difficult problem of not being swept aside contradictions instead of fitting them into a larger system, and we can consequently answer arguments not by de-mystification, but rather deny premises. The Central Contradiction in Maoist China and in China or starving people in Russia almost longer exist), and the crushing of the Hun-lution abroad. We must attempt to understand the difficulties of the Soviet Union to some extent) the difficulty of Germany, Russia, Britain, and the rest to those of others.

In short, so-called "Social Capitalism" necessitates of analyists, not tired attacks or defenses.

4. In this search, we must adopt the method of a figure whose contradictions SDSers would do well to understand, Chairman Mao. People are positively undialectical, must{}argue only over tactics, thinking the only alternative is the factionalism of the Iky Old Trolley. Yet the deep study, argue and must we search for the meaning of this discussion the understanding that Mili's unanalysed Third World problem is no more or less backward than those who Iky Old Trolley. Yet the deep study, argue and must we search for the meaning of this discussion the understanding that Mili's unanalysed Third World problem is no more or less backward than those who

5. Students for a Democratic Society

We have the received the voices and will be able to pick up two cars in Massachusetts for the office, once we have registered them in Illinois and have insured them. Insurance will now be looked into.

6. SDS. We will see if its alright with SOSC that complimentary NLN be sent to their chapters and if special rates be given to people who subscribe to NLN through the SOSC office. If it will be okay with them, then it will be brought back to the December Con. We will ask SOSC if we could possibly use Bucks Cave (SSOC camp in North Carolina) as a possible site for the April NO

7. December Conference. The NAC prescribed a meeting which was only during the December Con. We will ask SOSC if we could possibly use Bucks Cave (SSOC camp in North Carolina) as a possible site for the April NO

8. Membership Referendum. So far, only a little about over a hundred ballots have been returned, in all cases non-replying. We can say that at least. The membership will be reminded about the referendum in NLN and the chapters will be reminded in the next chapter mailing.

Submissions invited by Rich Berkowitz

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Submitted by Rich Berkowitz
PARTNERS in APARTHEID

An article for The Toledo Free Press, Bulletin of Toledo State S05, 1013 Adams Street, Toledo, Ohio 43624.

The Great Society could be a very entertaining idea were it not for the fact that it is an absurdity, a commonplace, a term of art. The more the people of the great American unionism, sadly deficient in corporate conscience and government rule in South Africa today.

In hearings before the Sub-committee on Foreign Relations of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, delivered his portrait of the South African government's ruthless implementation of apartheid.

The first of the two Toledo luminaries was Louris Norstod, the Owens-Corning Board of Trustees, the Executive Committee, and the Endowment Committee of the Toledo Museum of Art.

Upon his arrival, Norstd, the Defender of the Free World, delivered his portrait of the United States in South Africa. He did this with restraint and fairness.

The contribution of anti-lover Boeschoten was:

"Any boycott moves (against South Africa) do not reflect the genuine feelings of the peoples of all the world. They are, for reasons of conscience, for reasons of humanity and this end is for American citizens who are concerned for reasons of conscience, for reasons of need or interest (i.e., labor), or both, to organize themselves into grassroots pressure groups which would make a similar impact on the persons suggested by the UAW representatives."

It seems safe to say that the only way for the citizens of all the world to be brought to their knees is to end apartheid. Yet, there is more than rhetorical truth to the claim of the UAW to protest. Plants, U.S. companies in South Africa manufacture goods using out-rate black labor.

"It is quite understandable that they should have earned the right to see if those dead matches our stated beliefs. It is the responsibility of every one of us to play whatever part we can in providing the correct answer, because there is no longer a place for prejudice."

One is intrigued at the prospects of the export of South African products. For, as more and more of the American business system will try to find the rare religious leader who will try to find the rare religious leader who is in a position to moderate the aims of these companies. It is not only in the South African government's temporal under­taking.

The callous exploitation for cash; the hideous reality which pre­vails in the tyranny of South Africa.

The collusion exploitation for cash; the hideous reality which pre­vails in the tyranny of South Africa. And the arrogance of the Prime Minister, who in contempt of every decent sense of humanity in the world today boasts that he has succeeded and is succeeding in his effort to 'maintain white leadership for all time...by force if necessary.'

To be sure, it is more than good moral that moves the UAW to protest. Plants, U.S. companies in South Africa manufacture goods using out-rate black labor. South Africa makes an economic contribution to the U.S. economy.

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A 9-year-old Negro from Savannah, Georgia, walked into the main office of Chase Manhattan Bank in New York and asked to see David Rockefeller.

Rockefeller, the bank's Executive Officer and the largest stockholder of the bank, knew Nelson Rockefeller, David's brother, and after a short conversation told him that Rockefeller was out of town and asked what his business was. He replied that he wanted to discuss with Rockefeller the bank's policy with regard to financing segregation. These were connected with the firms which had been identified in the leaflet. Subsequently, it occurred to him that it would be appropriate for them to do so. Then Roger Blough, in a news conference, without any meaningful concession to the Negro community. On the other hand, those who were interested in the new leadership of U.S. Steel's Birmingham subsidiary, to get involved in the Birmingham affair to whatever extent

The next day, there having come no word from the bank, the young man and a dozen or so companions, journeyed to the main office of the bank and began picketing, carrying signs protesting the Rockefeller bank's support of segregation by lending itself to the floating of bond issues for building segregated facilities in Savannah. The young man never, himself, got a chance to picket because the entire afternoon was spent explaining what was going on to curious passersby. Several joined the picket line after hearing what the young man had to say. At any rate, this by no means indicates that the operation was a failure. The young man has various friends, relatives, his peers, and a parcel of strangers on the streets of New York, what was previously only a wisp of theory about the complexities of racial discrimination in America.

In this instance, Jack Minnis is research director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and former research director of the Southern Center for Social Studies, a research and educational institution. A 49-year-old Negro from Savannah, Georgia, walked into the main office of Chase Manhattan Bank in New York and asked to see David Rockefeller.

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The next day, there having come no word from the bank, the young man and a dozen or so companions, journeyed to the main office of the bank and began picketing, carrying signs protesting the Rockefeller bank's support of segregation by lending itself to the floating of bond issues for building segregated facilities in Savannah. The young man never, himself, got a chance to picket because the entire afternoon was spent explaining what was going on to curious passersby. Several joined the picket line after hearing what the young man had to say. At any rate, this by no means indicates that the operation was a failure. The young man has various friends, relatives, his peers, and a parcel of strangers on the streets of New York, what was previously only a wisp of theory about the complexities of racial discrimination in America.

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information, if so, clerical personnel in the office can and will explain things to you. It would be a good idea to check carefully on the ownership of property involved in current or anticipated urban renewal projects. All cities have planning departments from which information on such projects can be obtained.

The clerk of court, both municipal and state, keeps records of all litigations, both civil and criminal. It is sometimes fruitful to run through the civil and criminal indexes in the clerk of court's office to get some idea about crucial individuals in the power structure. Such information as can be gleaned from this process is frequently of value in assessing the strength and weaknesses of the power structure. If at any time a particular lawyer's name appears, either in connection with the above research, or in connection with community affairs, he should be checked in Martindale and Hubbell's directory. It can usually be found in the publication of any law firm (and sometimes if he practices alone) the firm's clients may be listed in the directory. If so, it can frequently be determined for whom a lawyer may be acting in a given situation.

Certainly the names of all members of the city council or the board of aldermen should be checked for all occupations in the City Directory.

Now, what is to be done with all this information? First of all, if one is to understand the structure of community power, and how and toward what ends it functions, such information is vital. If it possesses leads to nothing more in the short run, than a clearer understanding of the nature of the society, the work will be fully worthwhile. The best example we have is the case of Urban Minor, who has held to interpret such information politically and socially and unless he has done some background reading. A reading list might include: Gustavus Myers, A History of the Great American Fortunes; Victor Perle, The Empire of High Finance; Louis Brandeis, Other Economic Problems of Democracy; Thomas Lynch, The Concentration of Economic Power; Robert Enler, The Politics of Oil; David Lath, Public Plunder; Aaron Wilds, In My Years with General Motors; Harvey O'Conner, Mellon's Mafias. These are but a few of the available books which deal with the power of wealth in America, how it is accumulated and how it is used.

Secondly, community organization for action must be approached with the assumption that someone, or group, in the community has the power to make decisions and to implement them. The problem the person becomes one and only one, whether one's object can be influenced to make the decisions desired rather than another one none at all. If the nature of our institutions is as outlined above, the appropriate strategy is clear. The decision-making institutions are those who in the community whose interests will be enhanced by obtaining the objectives, those groups who have the effective power to decide whether or not the objectives will be achieved. If this identification has been made it will frequently develop that the groups whose interests will be adversely affected are the same groups who have the power to decide whether or not the objectives will be achieved. This being the case, project personnel must then develop tactics such that these power groups will find it expedient to effect their objectives just by the simple fact of being able to direct attacks elsewhere. The tactics are of so much potential power and are determined to apply their potential to their problems.

APARTHEID. (cont')

(1) No government agency or any U.S. supported financial institution undertakes, guarantees, or grants a loan for any reason whatever in the Republic of South Africa.
(2) No purchases to be made by the American government of any products of South Africa.
(3) No licensing powers in connection with exports which are now available to the administration to be applied to the exportation of South Africa and that no export licenses of any kind be granted.
(4) The authority possessed by the United States to forbid the importation of any articles into the United States which are produced by forced labor in the form of many products from South Africa.
(5) Legislation be enacted which denies any federal funds to any kind of the profits earned by American corporations abroad in South Africa.
(6) The withdrawal of the civil rights laws and of Executive orders which require companies doing business in the United States to maintain equal employment opportunities to be enforced. All American corporations now operating in South Africa should be required to comply with the above order.
(7) An account of the Herbst-Boeschtein trial is given by Jack Minnis in the SDS Economic Research and Action Project Newsletter, April 8, 1965. The Herbst trial is a reminder of the work of President Franklin Roosevelt's Anti-Monopoly Committee of the Treasury.
(8) Statement of Kenneth Robinson, Regional Director for Agricultural, Automotive, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), Grand Rapids, Michigan, before the committee of the House of Representatives on Agriculture, March 10, 1966.
(9) Statement of Kenneth Robinson. "An example of local muckraking which is not.

Now, of course, all this implies that project personnel know whose interests will be affected by a given program, and that they also know something about the functioning of the institutions to which they are opposed. You cannot create a situation in which certain groups will anticipate damage to their interests if you do not know what those interests are, and if you have not identified the individuals whose interests are involved. For example, shortly after SNCC began demonstrations against Toddle House restaurants in New York City, a number of snipers were sent to each of the corporations which owned the restaurants. Immediately the company management was put on notice that unless these restaurants were desegregated within a certain period of time, they would be boycotted at the next stockholders' meeting, and that the new shareholders were thinking of a stockholders' suit aimed at proving that continued segregation of the restaurants constituted gross mismanagement and domination of the corporation by a number of individuals who were not officially the owners of the stock. This was an effective move by the small action groups which were able to anticipate some of the tactics which would be used by the large, well-organized, and well-financed corporations.

In southern states, with the potential support of all the SNCC leaders, SNCC learned that they were owned by a corporation whose stock was not on sale to the public and whose owners, therefore, were not vulnerable to this kind of action. SNCC also learned that two of the directors of the corporation in question were also directors of an insurance company. In one of these two large companies, SNCC learned that one of the directors was a director of the American National Bank and Trust Company in Chattanooga. This bank, through its other directors, was one of the largest banks in the United States. In 1963, $9,927,690.15 of Treasury Tax and Loan money among its deposits. It would therefore have been vulnerable through its banking connections. An obvious way of attacking one of these large corporations would have been to point out that the unionists had the power to make decisions and to implement the objectives of the community. As before, a number of people within New York state, and in New York city, had hoped that this would be the largest or the most important of a number of projects.

Thus the idea of an anti-escalation project could be thought of. Through various approaches to the city of New York we learned that the current situation was not a closed one. But the prospect of this joint-venture pleased no one. We sensed our own frustration and were arrested, it was just after the first time the demonstration was held bombing North Vietnam and this was our response. The feeling is, if Lyndon Johnson changes his ways—well, we all were, size not materializing with some ease by a determined project the personnel of which know where they are going and how to get there.

Now, of course, that of the issues around which projects will be organized, particularly in the north, will not be considerably more complicated than the simple desegregation of a restaurant, or issues of housing, unemployment, inadequate schools, etc., are involved will not be so easy to find direct pressure points. Nevertheless, in any community there are a few men who have the power to decide or not to decide whether a given program will be achieved. Once you have identified these individuals, the means of persuading them is really in their own interest to do what you want done will be more or less apparent.

In conclusion, the primary source of power on our side is people. They represent a constant potential threat to existing structures of power. The threat is not immediate.

There is great danger that the people will come to understand what is being done to them by the power structure. This danger probably accounts for the II repute of muck­ raking in a society where power is largely the outcome of the objective will be achieved. This being the case, project personnel must then develop tactics such that these power groups will find it expedient to effect their objectives just by the simple fact of being able to direct attacks elsewhere. The tactics are of so much potential power and are determined to apply their potential to their problems.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(continued on page 11)
The vision: Some specified day early in the month of May, after 4 months of organizing by SDS, the NCC, YSN, SNCC, CNVA, WSP, SANI (TN), Dubois Clubs, and all other willing New Left and peace organizations, a total of 10,000 men all over the nation would be organized into a movement to establish local Black Power bases in every community. Mr. Shonks, who is doing just that with the JOIN, discussed his work with Professor Tom%s Black Power speech and a draft card and refuse to be inducted.

Two questions present themselves. Is it possible or feasible? Would it be worth the effort required to bring it off?

Probably the only way 10,000 men (older men who have already served in the armed forces could burn their classification cards also) could be convinced to take such drastic action would have to be some mass reasonable assurance the he would be one of 10,000 men, and therefore, part of a politically significant act instead of just one individual out on a moral limb. Of course, the government could arrest everyone and this would have to be acknowledged by all participants. Each individual would have to judge for himself the chances of being arrested. There is, however, reason to believe that the government would think twice before arresting 10,000 political prisoners in an atmosphere of widespread anxiety about the Vietnam war.

In order to assure each man that 9,999 others would join him, a central committee would have to spread the word, through the mass media and all the participating organizations (mailing lists, newsletters, advertisements, etc.) that all men would definitely join the movement if they were assured the total would be 10,000, should notify the central committee. The date (and other general directions such as the type of location) would be set right from the beginning. If, in the judgement of the national committee, the committee had received commitments from at least 10,000 men, the fact would be publicized so that all men who straightened them themselves could know that the word was GO! If less than 10,000 commitments were received, the initial number would be modified and the moral commitment of course be void; the program would have to fail.

Advising anyone to break the Selective Service Act is, unfortunately, illegal; so the central committee would have to use careful language to try to avoid being bracketed immediately, and also make some sort of back-up plan in case they were arrested.

The number 10,000 is arbitrary. Careful thought would have to be given to the determination of the number actually used. It would have to be large enough to attract as many people as possible (i.e., if the number were one million, I'm sure just about everyone who was outraged at the war would consider committing himself. But there probably aren't a million such people yet, so the demonstration would fail). The number would also have to be small enough to give some reasonable chance of securing enough commitments. The number, therefore, is crucial. If a low number were chosen and enough commitments were secured early, then there is always the possibility that the program would snowball far beyond the original number. The combined, unduplicated, membership of all participating organizations would be a useful index to determine the number. Some statistic which might also be useful are: the total number of male college students in all education institutions in the U.S. as of 1965 was 1,494, the total number of male degree credit students in all educational institutions in the U.S. was, in 1965, 3,396,000, of which 2,676,000 were in 4 year institutions and .523 million in 2 year junior colleges.

The desirability of even trying to organize a mass draft card burning is also questionable, I, personally, feel that it would severely disrupt the FBI consensus, shock the nation - perhaps cause it to take the New Left position far more seriously, receive enormous publicity which would enable the views and arguments of the New Left to be heard in every home, and throw the anti-war movement into a higher gear.

I would very much like to hear your views concerning this proposal - if you think it would be worthwhile bringing the subject up at the next national SDS meeting, or for SDS officers to confer with the officers of other New Left and peace organizations, or to get dealers in newsletters such as SDS's New Left Notes and seeing how favorably the local chapters react.

John Spritzler
Dartmouth SDS
302-A Cohen Hall
Hanover, N.H. 03755
ATLANTA, GA.

In an all black ghetto of N.W. Atlanta, 3 courageous black women have spearheaded a picketing campaign against the Martinez's Laundry and Dry Cleaners located at 1100 W. Peachtree Street, N.W., on the corner of Ashley and Simpson. Annie Willie, Mattie Bell Jones, and Claudia Lee are the three women who have been retaliating against the management by picketing after they were fired. 100+ employees who were picketing the cleaners early Monday morning, Nov. 28th, and plan to continue until the picketers are guaranteed fair working conditions and wages. In an extremely tense situation, the management has called in extra security guards and threatened to have the picketers arrested.

According to the management, they have the right to set their own standards and they do not need to guarantee the picketers fair working conditions and wages. However, the picketers believe that they are being mistreated and they are willing to continue their campaign until their demands are met.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

A militant movement is developing and growing in St. Petersburg which promises to be one of the most important developments in the recent history of the struggle for black freedom. The movement is being spearheaded by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in conjunction with the Lowndes Freedom Organization (LFO).

The LFO is a group of black students and workers who are dedicated to the struggle for black freedom. They have been involved in a series of evictions, resulting in 70 families being evicted from the land which has been their only home for years. The LFO has been active in the community for several months and has been able to gain the support of many local residents.

The SNCC is a civil rights organization that was founded in the 1960s. It has been involved in many important civil rights campaigns and has played a key role in the struggle for black freedom.

In that city, they intend to form a SNCC chapter and expand their influence in the community.

In the near future, Buffington plans to open a store in Atlanta that will be located in the heart of the black community. This store will be a co-op which makes and sells candles.

LOWNDES COUNTY & GREENE COUNTY, ALABAMA:

As a followup to the the November 8th elections in Alabama, and as a result of nationwide black boycotts of black farm workers from their land.

In Greene County, the Greene County Freedom Democratic Convention reports that there have been a series of evictions, resulting in 70 families being evicted from the land which has been their only home for years. The Greene County Freedom Democratic Convention is now the process of purchasing land and building houses for these people. The movement so far has 4 houses, has bought land for 2 families, and has begun construction on 2 houses which they hope to have finished within this week. Besides the eviction, there have been brutal attacks by Lowndes County whites on black people who participated in the November 8th elections, one of the worst cases being that of Andrew Jones, who was hospitalized with a skull fracture and a broken jaw. Andrew Jones was shot in the face with a shotgun by two white men during the election.

In Greene County, the Lowndes County Freedom Democratic Convention reports that there have been a series of evictions, resulting in 70 families being evicted from the land which has been their only home for years. The Lowndes County Freedom Democratic Convention is now the process of purchasing land and building houses for these people. The movement so far has 4 houses, has bought land for 2 families, and has begun construction on 2 houses which they hope to have finished within this week. Besides the eviction, there have been brutal attacks by Lowndes County whites on black people who participated in the November 8th elections, one of the worst cases being that of Andrew Jones, who was hospitalized with a skull fracture and a broken jaw. Andrew Jones was shot in the face with a shotgun by two white men during the election.

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The needs of these people were incompatible with the Cold War and its diversion of resources to destructive rather than productive ends. Moreover, the continuing revolutionary ferment threatens the stability of existing power arrangements and traditional institutions present grim images of the future. What now are our possibilities as political and cultural actors?

The Era of the Cold War

From the end of World War II until the close of the Eisenhower Administration, the continuing arms race, defense operations, and the conduct of government, industry, the military and all other social institutions. This politics of government, industry, the military and all other social institutions. This politics represents an attempt to manage social conflict and adjust in minimal ways to the forces leading to the destruction of life based on commitments to human dignity, democracy and peace, these attempts to stabilize existing power arrangements and traditional institutions were in vain.

But a lesson one of the era is that men of established power are not the only ones capable of shaping the future. Everything seemed to indicate that ordinary people do, in fact, make history. Inspired by this fact, we need to ask: What is the nature of the new era? What are the potentialities of the future? What now are our possibilities as political and cultural actors?

1. The armament of the Cold War

The technological revolution occurring in the post-war period created a new type of corporate power which has become the focus of the new era. As a result of the nuclear arms race, the Cold War powers are engaged in an arms race in which enormous resources and human energy are squandered in the production and deployment of nuclear weapons. This process has created a new type of corporate power which has come to be known as the "permanent war economy."

2. The mass media and the manipulation of public opinion

One of the most significant developments in the new era is the growth of the mass media. The mass media have become a powerful force for shaping public opinion and influencing the political process. This has had a profound impact on the way in which political decisions are made and the way in which people participate in the political process.

3. The environmental movement

The environmental movement has emerged as a major force in the new era. This movement is concerned with the protection of the environment and the preservation of natural resources. It has been successful in raising public awareness of environmental issues and in压ong for policy changes that will protect the environment.

4. The obsolescence of nuclear weapons

The nuclear arms race has led to the development of more powerful and destruction weapons. This has resulted in a situation in which the use of nuclear weapons would almost certainly lead to the destruction of humanity. This has led to a growing opposition to nuclear weapons and a movement for nuclear disarmament.

5. The role of the United States in the new era

The United States has played a significant role in the new era. It has been involved in a number of wars and interventions, and it has been a major player in international politics. However, the United States has also been confronted with a number of domestic problems, including poverty, inequality, and environmental degradation.

6. The role of the United States in international affairs

The United States has tried to maintain its position as a superpower in the new era. It has done this by engaging in a number of military interventions and by using its economic power to influence other countries. However, the United States has also been confronted with a number of challenges, including the rise of China and the decline of its traditional allies.
The Crack
for Carl Oglesby
and the New Left

I
The buckskin bridge
Dangles in rust.
Fur coats dig a moat
Under the pacific gate.
In which they trim
Apple groves
Suburbs
Satellites
Exploring still further west
The surface of the world.
They float downstream
Drinking martinis.

II
Beneath the volcano
We grew inside
A Howl.
Was it Coyote
Spreading incense
And double edged knives
We hove filled brutes
We have pricked America.
Who dug the stair
Down
And turned our plows
And two cars
Refrigerator and stove
Bought a wife
Of coastal rock
Of ears.

III
You tried living in the egg:
Bought a wife
To walk naked
Through the brown
And double edged knives
Who dug the stair
Along the center-crack
Of the road?
You chained your arm
To the labor bed
While white caps and gowns
Towed your body
Along tiles.
You can't be a part of your birth.
You can't feel the first breath.

IV
Howl
From so deep
The shell cracks
And you wander roads
Of coastal rock
Watching tide smash
Through thunderheads.
No house
Rags for your wife and child
You eat crabs and help
Smoke grass
Starting for the eye
-Mother of the universe
And a warm place
Between her teats.
Snowflakes from the highway
Overhead
Freeze your sandals.
The door of a trance
Won't let you out.

V
The tar machine is coming.
Find other bones wandering
Barfoot.
There must be a path
From this pit
Into snow peaks.

VI
There is a grinding
Of voices.
There are torches
Beside graves.
Before us
All across the country
The road rolls back
And we emerge
In the cement chambers
Of hair.

By Harry MacCormick

S.D.S. Film Library
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612

"Time of the Locust"
A 15-minute documentary film Produced and edited by Peter Gessner.

In cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee and the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy.

"Time of the Locust" is the culmination of a nine-month search for and integration of film materials on the war not widely seen in this country. The film draws upon American newsmills, the voices of participants and officials, combat footage of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and unreleased material filmed by Japanese television cameras. The film is an attempt to present the various faces of the war, and to bring to the surface some of the implications of the use of American power.

The S.D.S. national office now has available 5 prints, copies, of 'Time of the Locust' at $7.50 each for two (2) weeks for chapters and other interested groups.

Write:
S.D.S. Film Library
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612

(Continued from page 7)

Unrepresented Peoples in Washington, D.C., August, 1965), obviously if we must commit c. d. if the escalations do occur, the whole project fails.

Why
The important part of the anti-escalation project, and this cannot be emphasized too strongly, is not civil disobedience but the publicity campaign to make escalation visible and controversial issue. Recently, the CNVA farm in Voluntown, Conn., was a target for an alleged attack by a right wing group called the Minutemen. We want to be minutemen of another kind and like Paul Revere, spread the alarm through every Middleclass village and form about the escalations that Lyndon Johnson has up his sleeve. We want to create a domestic uproar in the press, the Congress, and in the streets, people telling their leaders, "NO, this is our country, our war, and enough is enough!" We want to make escalation the issue and prevent Johnson from slipping another secretly past the American people without them knowing what the hell happened.

Tactics
In New York City, we are going to hold a press conference to announce that if the stated escalations take place, hundreds of us are ready to hit the streets for civil disobedience. We hope to have enough pledges on hand to boost so that this will be the most massive c. d. demonstration the U.

S. has ever seen. But this is only the beginning. If funds are available, we will state our intentions in newspaper advertisements and as our numbers grow we will hold additional press conferences. People in other areas should take up the call as indeed, many have. Write letters to the editor, your Congressmen and Senators, even the President. Make escalation visible. Adversaries, agitate, demonstrate. Make escalation an issue.

Peace groups in other cities and countries are urged to plan anti-escalation projects of their own to make the furor over escalation a worldwide concern. And remember, this is one demonstration that succeeds only if it doesn't come off. So emphasize the first part, the publicity campaign, most of all.

by MARTIN JEZER, a sponsor of the anti-escalation project, a member of the N. Y. Workshop on Nonviolence and an editor of CNVA's publication WIN Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action.

VOTE!
Work began at the December Conference several weeks ago and the plans for the conference continue to indicate that the overall theme and the majority of the workshops are fairly well set. The conference proper will be held November 27 through the 31st at the Berkeley campus. Most of the housing will be arranged in private homes and any overflow will be housed in co-operatives. The fee for the conference will be $15; no one should worry about food. There is no official title for the conference as yet, but it will deal with the campus, student and underground issues. The 28th will be the National Council meetings. The following three days will consist of workshops on the following topics:

1. THE CAMPUSES AS ECONOMIC INTERESTS
   The corporate function of the university, its integrating directors and other corporate
   issues, the government and the community, and the role of students, employees, teachers,
   unions, etc.

2. THE CAMPUSES AS COMMUNITY
   Student life, faculty life, and black campus parties. Human relations and power relations
   in the school community and the relations of the campus to the non-student populations.
   Student and underground newspapers.

3. THE CAMPUSES AS CORPO.
   The role of the educational system in corporate society, its penetration by the mili-
   tary-industrial complex, and the effect of campus social change on other institutions.
   The role of the National Office.

4. CAMPUS AS POLITICAL FORCE
   Student participation in electoral politics, etc. (the Black Power Conference, etc.), The 18-year-old vote.

5. THE CAMPUS AND THE DRAFT
   Conscientious objectors, the war, etc. Protest against college and university com-
   plexes in the context of issues of defer-
   ment, the non-student drafters; Negro troops and ghetto youth.

6. CAMPUS ORGANIZATION VS. ORGANIZATION
   The effect of mobilizing students for reform demands (SDS, P.O. Box 1177, Berkeley, Calif., 94710)
   as opposed to long-term organizing for student control.

7. THE CAMPUSES AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM
   Evaluation of the Experimental College and San Francisco State College. The relation
   of the Free University to the campus. The issue of careers.

8. JUNIOR COLLEGES

9. THE HIGH SCHOOL CAMPUSES
   In-loci-parents issues, the young high schoolers, the old high schoolers, the right of young people, the difficulties of organizing.

10. THE STUDENTS AS ORGANIZERS
    Students in the South, in poor white commu-
    nities, etc. Class issues and the black center.

11. STUDENTS AS A SOCIAL CLASS
    The gulf between the working and the classroom students as the catalyst for social change.

12. STUDENT SYNDICALISM
    The organization of the student federations (national and international) for academic revolution (SDS, P.O. Box 1177, Berkeley, Calif., 94710).

13. COMPOSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
    Relationships of the corporations, political machines, labor bureaucracy and rank
    and file, middle-class liberals, blacks and the poor, middle-class liberals, blacks and the poor
    in the political party.

14. HISTORY OF THIRD PARTIES
    Reasons for the collapse of such parties in the past.

15. ORGANIZING POOR WHITES
    Time will also be set aside for workshops by the Radical Education Project. If you have ideas for organizing workshops by the
    Radica

16. PUBLIC WORKS
    لإنه يحتوي على النص العام للصحيفة الأصلية. يُرجى مراجعة النص السعودي للتحقيق.

17. SNCC NEWSLINE
   (Continued from page 9)

PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

Vincent O'Connor reported that there were a couple of vote fraud cases in the N.C.
8th elections in Gould, Ark. The election was stolen from Mrs. Carrie Dillworth, a black

NATIONAL COUNCIL DELEGATES

SDS Constitution, Article VI, Section 1:

"The National Council shall be composed of one (1) representative elected from each
chapter with five to twenty-five members and chapter with five to twenty-five members and

chapter with five to twenty-five members and one additional representative for each
additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof, in that chapter…"

There will be a credentials committee. All members should notify the National Office
(1608 W. Madison, Rm. 205, Chicago, Ill. 60612) of the names of their delegates and
their number of members immediately.

Accommodations will be arranged by the Berkeley chapter. Members attending should bring their own bedding (sleeping bags, tent or bed) and grocery money. On arrival in Berkeley, call either Kris Dymond (415/541-5732) in San Francisco (415/5627292) for further directions. Pre-

pare your dormitory rooms (at which there will be very few will be given to married cou-

ple. The rest of us will take our chances with floors, clothes, spare mattresses, etc.

No NC delegates will be seated unless the national office has been notified writing their election by 23 December at the latest.

Detach this section and send to SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 205, Chicago, Ill. 60612.

Detach this section and return to SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 205, Chicago, Ill. 60612.

The following three days will consist of work-

shops on the following topics:

1. THE CAMPUS AS ECONOMIC INTERESTS
   The corporate function of the university, its integrating directors and other corporate
   issues, the government and the community, and the role of students, employees, teachers,
   unions, etc.

2. THE CAMPUS AS COMMUNITY
   Student life, faculty life, and black campus parties. Human relations and power relations
   in the school community and the relations of the campus to the non-student populations.
   Student and underground newspapers.

3. THE CAMPUSES AS CORPO.
   The role of the educational system in corporate society, its penetration by the mili-
   tary-industrial complex, and the effect of campus social change on other institutions.
   The role of the National Office.

4. CAMPUS AS POLITICAL FORCE
   Student participation in electoral politics, etc. (the Black Power Conference, etc.), The 18-year-old vote.

5. THE CAMPUS AND THE DRAFT
   Conscientious objectors, the war, etc. Protest against college and university com-
   plexes in the context of issues of defer-
   ment, the non-student drafters; Negro troops and ghetto youth.

6. CAMPUS ORGANIZATION VS. ORGANIZATION
   The effect of mobilizing students for reform demands (SDS, P.O. Box 1177, Berkeley, Calif., 94710)
   as opposed to long-term organizing for student control.

7. THE CAMPUSES AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM
   Evaluation of the Experimental College and San Francisco State College. The relation
   of the Free University to the campus. The issue of careers.

8. JUNIOR COLLEGES

9. THE HIGH SCHOOL CAMPUSES
   In-loci-parents issues, the young high schoolers, the old high schoolers, the right of young people, the difficulties of organizing.

10. THE STUDENTS AS ORGANIZERS
    Students in the South, in poor white commu-
    nities, etc. Class issues and the black center.

11. STUDENTS AS A SOCIAL CLASS
    The gulf between the working and the classroom students as the catalyst for social change.

12. STUDENT SYNDICALISM
    The organization of the student federations (national and international) for academic revolution (SDS, P.O. Box 1177, Berkeley, Calif., 94710).

13. COMPOSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
    Relationships of the corporations, political machines, labor bureaucracy and rank
    and file, middle-class liberals, blacks and the poor, middle-class liberals, blacks and the poor
    in the political party.

14. HISTORY OF THIRD PARTIES
    Reasons for the collapse of such parties in the past.

15. ORGANIZING POOR WHITES
    Time will also be set aside for workshops by the Radical Education Project. If you have ideas for organizing workshops by the
    Radica

16. PUBLIC WORKS
    لإنه يحتوي على النص العام للصحيفة الأصلية. يُرجى مراجعة النص السعودي للتحقيق.

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