

# NEW LEFT NOTES

Let the People Decide

VOL. 1 NO. 9

sds

March 18, 1966

## NC ISSUES OUTLINED

by Lee Webb

The following is a proposed agenda for the National Council meeting. It was prepared after consultation with a number of chapters, the NAC and some of the regional offices. Its purpose is to raise ideas in your mind, and stimulate you (especially NC delegates) to send in your thoughts, suggestions, additions, etc. This is, of course, not the official NC agenda. Only, the NC can decide on its agenda. But we did hope to get people thinking prior to the NC.

### Proposed NC agenda

**Introduction.** It was pretty much unanimous from those talked to that this NC should be a working National Council. That is, it should not attempt to reformulate our goals, structure, politics, or values. Since the Convention is so close, such discussions and decisions might be left to it. However, the NC should, people felt, discuss and present activities, and plan our program for the period up until the Convention. The central to the National Council discussions.

We felt that the following items should be on the agenda (they are not in order of felt importance).

1. **Summer projects.** There are many proposals current. They include ones for ERAP-type projects, summer peace caravans, working in the 1966 elections, 120 people to work on the Grape Strike, etc. People who have specific proposals should write them up, and bring them to the NC.

2. **The SDS Bulletin.** The NC mandated the Chicago Region to publish the SDS Bulletin. Nothing has been done on this. We have to make other plans. Two proposals are that it should be published in Kansas, another is that New Left Notes should have a double issue every week, for discussion and longer articles.

3. **The Radical Education Project.** A written proposal will again be submitted to the NC, containing new thinking and plans by Al Haber (we hope to publish it prior to the NC in New Left Notes). Our major decisions at the NC will have to be methods of implementing the project, namely staff, immediate activities, and sources of money.

4. **The 1966 Convention.** We must decide where and when the Convention will be, and what kind of a convention. The major issue will be should the Convention be in June or in late August, and what part of the country.

5. **The 1966 Elections.** Many members have requested a discussion on this issue (see letter in this issue, ed.). Also, there is one proposal coming from the National Conference for a New Politics, requesting SDS and other student organizations to provide volunteers to help staff the 1966 campaigns in Alabama, California, Mass., and other places.

## Freedom Draft ready to go

At last, the Freedom Draft is ready to go. Freedom Draft cards have arrived in the office from the printer in quantity. Bulk orders of freedom draft cards have been sent out to those chapters that requested them. Word is just coming back of chapters that have begun work on the Freedom Draft. More on that in the next NLN.

The Freedom Draft, as you know was passed at the Dec. NC as a major national program for SDS. However, no specific national strategy or coordination was agreed on. We are urging chapters and regions to be experimental in Freedom Draft program. Design activities around the FD that fit your local needs. Also, come to the April NC with your ideas. We will talk about what various chapters are doing, and perhaps plan some national coordination and activities, if people see the need.

In the meanwhile, the National Office will receive and take care of all of the Registration Certificates.

Enclosed with issue of NLN is a copy of the Freedom Draft card. The program will get off to a big start if every member sent his postcard to President Johnson, and, of course, the Registration Certificate to the N.O.

also, please order additional draft cards. The office has a sufficient stock to handle any needs. However, a piece would be appreciated to offset the costs to keep the program going.

6. **Regions: problems and progress.** A good number of chapters and regions wanted to have a discussion of regional organization in SDS. Not an ideological debate, but trading ideas, problems, programs, etc. Also, why are some regions thriving and others have trouble getting started or surviving?

7. **Staff.** Traditionally the spring NC has discussed staff plans for the coming year, particularly nominations of National Secretary. However, this year we have much more to discuss, as we have a great deal more staff positions on special projects, in the N.O., and regions. We really should talk about possible staff for the coming year.

8. **Winter program.** At the last NC, we decided on some major organizational program, such as grape strike, freedom budget, freedom draft, support for the Ann Arbor sit-in, etc. We should look over the progress of each program and decide on further action on these.

9. **Additional national program.** Proposals will be brought to the N.C. by individuals on a national draft program. SDS sponsoring a Students and Labor conference, SDS institutes or schools during the summer. Many other proposals will also be presented.

Note again that this is a proposed agenda, to stimulate discussion, and to get additional ideas and criticism. So let's hear from you.

The International Days of Protest in Chicago will be celebrated by a mass parade and rally on March 26. Speaking at the rally will be Staughton Lynd, Julian Bond, Pat Gorman, (Sec. Treasurer of Amalgamated Meatcutters Union), Al Raby (leader of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations -- a city-wide civil rights group most widely known for its campaign to oust school superintendent Benjamin Willis), and Father Grant of Loyola University.

The rally and parade have gotten very wide support. Not only is the entire peace community participating -- from left to right -- but also special attention was paid to involving the civil rights leadership, and the trade unions. As a result, all of the civil rights leaders of the city; and many of the prominent trade union leaders, including district directors of the Packinghouse Workers; Shoe Workers; Furniture Workers; and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers. Also participating will be the Regional Director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, and many local trade unions have also endorsed the march.

However, in many ways the most original and exciting part of the rally will be the parade that precedes it (through the downtown area of Chicago). There has been a conscious attempt to use the talents of artists, musicians, actors, etc. to tell the story of the war through skits, costumes, floats, and other devices. For your information and possible use, the following is a list of the activities the art-drama groups will have in the March 26 parade:

(Various messages will be presented in dramatic or visually stimulating forms to be interspersed among the marching groups.) (1) Lead presentation to be carried by first marching group. END THE WAR IN VIET NAM. Oversized helium-filled balloons to be carried in 5 rows 10 or 12 abreast. Each balloon has only one word on it. The first row "END," the second row "THE" and so on.

(2) A large paper mache figure of Pres. Johnson leading by strings costumed figures representing "puppet" governments the U.S. supports. (3) One large figure symbolic of Army carries large pie-shaped sign with words "Budget for the Military." By contrast several figures carry thin pie shapes representing budgets for Education, Housing, Poverty, Welfare, Health, etc.

(4) A float contrasts cost of destruction of homes and killing in Vietnam to what the same amount of money could accomplish here for housing and poverty programs. (5) A pantimime emphasizes that death involves not only a body but an entire life. A series of couples, mother and son, show five stages in life and death of a soldier.

(6) Photo blowups of scenes from Vietnam portray suffering contrasted with affluence of American life. (7) Possible use of film blowups of children and civilian destruction in Vietnam to be carried by mother's and children's group.

(8) Music and Dance. Musicians to march in groups of 2 or 3 beside or in front of each presentation. We will welcome creative ideas and dancers to use dance with music and possibly to work in with No. 5.

(9) Boy's Army. About 40 boys carrying toy guns and wearing toy military hats and death masks. (10) Banner. Five feet by twelve to be carried long way on street, depicting atomic cloud...to bring up rear.

**Ann Arbor, Mich.:** The resignation of U. of Michigan Regent Eugent Power, after release of a study made by the State Attorney General on conflict of interest in Power's dealings with the University, created a stir in the university community. The original studies of Power's use of his position as a Regent to further his business dealings in microfilm and copying equipment were published in the Michigan Daily, the campus newspaper.

Mike Locker of the local SDS chapter, VOICE, comments, "The whole business results from research on the interlocking relationships between the regents and other private corporations who are doing business with the University. I think it demonstrates how we can make salient our analysis of the modern university (i.e. not an institution of scholarship for the students and faculty but a service corporation for American industry)."

Locker and Jill Hamburg are preparing a long paper on power in the university for a small research seminar scheduled the day before the N.C.

**Washington, D.C.:** At George Washington University, after considerable debate by the Student Council, two-month provisional recognition was given to an SDS chapter. It was made provisional "due to the fear, expressed by Student Council members that the national organization -- with its unlimited power -- would be of undue influence on the local.

**Boston, Mass.:** 1. Activity during the Int. Days of Protest will include draft board protests -- Roxbury and Cambridge. Also, 25 professors will participate in a speak-out at Harvard.

2. Dean Rusk, speaking at the Boston University Founder's Day banquet, was picketed by over 150 recently. Among the speakers to the picketers was Howard Zinn.

3. A regional conference on ideology has been scheduled for the week-end of April 30-May 1 somewhere in Western Mass. Conferees will discuss the works of Marx and the contemporary writings of Gabriel Kolko and C. Wright Mills. An attempt will also be made to update the Port Huron Statement.

4. Commitments for a People for Peace benefit concert for SDS have been received from Judy Collins, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, Richard and Mimi Farina, and Tom Lear so far. The concert will be on Wednesday, May 4 in the Boston area.

5. The United Electrical Workers are seeking SDS people to work organizing shops in Dorchester and Cambridge this summer. The organizers will be paid by UE.

6. An ERAP project has been started in Hartford, Conn.

7. The New Haven ERAP project is seeking a male Negro organizer. The address is the Hill Neighborhood Union, 605 Congress Ave., New Haven, Conn.

**San Francisco, Calif.:** The store-front New School had a very successful opening meeting last week-end. 150-200 people came who represented varied interests in the school that saw it as a center to relate to both artistically and politically. There will be 8 courses offered, including 3 high school courses.

**Delano, Calif.:** On March 20 the striking Delano farm workers will begin a 250 mile trek to Sacramento over back roads. They will march from town to town urging local workers to join them in the march to the next town. They are calling for all people to join with them as the march ends in a giant rally on Easter morning at Sacramento.

**Chapel Hill, N.C. (from Jim Wilson):** Latest developments on the Chapel Hill Free Speech Now Movement. Decision by university Chancellor Siterson to ban both Frank Wilkinson and Herbert Aptheker. On March 2, Wilkinson spoke across a wall labeled with a sign "(Gov.) Dan Moore's Chapel Hill Wall." Wilkinson off campus -- 1200 students.

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## 5500 Members! 151 Chapters!

SDS now has about 5500 members in 151 chapters. This is the result of a survey of the membership that Bob Speck, membership secretary, recently completed. Here are the results.

We have chapters in 37 states and the District of Columbia. We have members in 49 states and D.C. The only state we do not have a member in is Wyoming.

Although we do have membership in all states but one, our membership is heavily concentrated in relatively few states. For instance, over one-half our membership (2750) is in seven states (New York, California, Michigan, Texas, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Illinois). On the other hand, a number of

states have less than 10 members, and they are Maine, South Carolina, West Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, New Mexico, Louisiana, Nevada, Alaska, Hawaii, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Delaware, South Dakota, North Dakota, and, of course, Wyoming.

Furthermore, a survey was done of 300 members in our files to see who our members were. These are the results: 40% of the membership are undergraduates, 25% are graduate students, 10% are high school students, 20% are non-students, and 5% are unknown. This is extremely interesting information, namely that less than one-half of the membership are undergraduates, and such a high percentage are high

school students, grad students, and non-students.

We have also made some substantial progress in encouraging regional growth. We now have regions in Chicago; New York City; New England; Southern California; Northern California; Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan; and Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska. Regions in formation are in the Northwest; Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana; The Niagara area; and the Dakotas, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

If there are any corrections, or mistakes in this brief report, please notify Bob Speck. He intends to prepare a more extensive report on membership and organization for the April National Council meeting.

# GRAPE STRIKE REPORT NUMBER 1

by Norm Potter

In April of 1962, Cesar Chavez left Saul Alinsky's Community Services Organization in Los Angeles to organize farm workers. Chavez, who was probably earning \$10,000 a year when he left CSO, chose Delano as a base of operations because he had relatives there who would support him if the going got tough.

In the early stages he ranged up and down the state working in sixty-seven different communities, but later he concentrated his efforts in the San Joaquin Valley (the Delano area). Working on a one-to-one basis, he built the National Farm Workers Association by offering individual services; by developing a credit union, a co-op, and a group insurance program; and by talking to people about the importance of a powerful community union. When the strike began FWA had two thousand members who through their dues were the sole support of the organization. Even with that many members Chavez takes a small salary as FWA president and has turned down an OEO offer of a job that paid in the neighborhood of \$20,000 per year.

In an interview early in 1964, Chavez said, "I figure that even if we had a 50-50 chance of carrying off a successful strike, the gamble would still be too great. You stand always to lose more than you gain by drama when you are working with people. Thirty men may lose their jobs as a result of a strike. You lose thirty members, and you gain thirty 'disorganizers'. So we must work on immediate goals -- helping the members get a little living through using the facilities of the association, through getting what they are entitled to, through learning how to participate more fully in social life, and the hard work of gaining official recognition, including strikes if necessary, will come." He was not at that time ready for a strike. "You cannot organize a strike or build a union, until the members who must do the real work understand what all this means, what kind of activities are involved. They must first be able to articulate their own hopes and goals." (from an interview conducted by Wendy Goepel, *Farm Labor*, Vol I, No. 5)

How close his members were to that stage still needs to be researched, for the timing of the grape strike was set not by the FWA but by AWOC. On September 8, 1965, the primarily Filipino members of AWOC in Delano went out on strike. Two weeks later FWA followed and the Delano grape strike began. (People in Delano confide that the strike came two years before NFWA was ready for it.)

The effect of the strike on FWA has been to create a situation in which it is impossible for FWA workers to do the "real work" in the strike. Though Chavez has insisted FWA retain control of support work done in its behalf, the association has lost the complete autonomy it maintained until the strike began; it has had to make alliances not only with AWOC but with other labor unions, church, civil rights, civic, and student groups as well. Strike support work has required high level coordination of boycott activities aimed at stopping the sale of Delano table grapes and liquors; it also involves massive fund raising, sending scab-stoppers to Texas and Mexico, preventing the loading of Delano grapes for overseas shipments, etc. To maintain the strike, FWA has had to urge members to leave Delano and seek work elsewhere for the strike's duration (most FWA members are year-round residents). Instead of building community, the strike, at least on one level, is destroying it.

The above may overemphasize the negative. In some ways those who have remained in Delano have had to grow with the strike. A great many have had to take individual responsibility in seeing that the day-to-day operations continue. Picket captains to lead picket crews through the four hundred square miles of the San Joaquin Valley, house captains to see that the overcrowded housing stays clean and bearable, tracking crews to follow outward bound shipments of scab-grapes and picket against their unloading.

Inevitably, I think, bureaucratic procedures have ensued. Picket captains must sign a man's picket card and a house captain must certify the number of people in his family before he can get food from the FWA storehouse. Though I can sense my anarchist friends shuddering at that procedure, I can think of no other way food could be dispensed until the community of love is so strong or the warehouses so full that it is no longer necessary to make sure each does his share of the work and no one takes more than his share of the goods. I would point out two things: (1) that food is allotted on the basis of need, not on a one-to-one ratio with work, and (2) that FWA members make decisions about these systems and adjustments in them at mass meetings; if functionaries are necessary, they are nonetheless answerable to the people.

In addition to providing an opportunity to criticize systems and administrators, the mass meetings are a time for adjusting personal differences: "On the picket line today, Juan called the scabs filthy scum-sucking pigs." Laughter. Someone reminds Juan that you don't persuade people by calling them names. (Proper FWA tone is something like "Brothers,

Norm Potter works in the San Francisco Regional Office. Additional copies of this report can be obtained from that office. Huelga, the story of the first 100 days of the Grape Strike is available for \$1.50 from the Farm Worker Press, P.O. Box 1060, Delano, Calif.



come out of the field; this strike is for all of us.") There are also house meetings which Chavez usually attends. Besides working out domestic details, the meetings are used for airing and smoothing problems, building morale, and talking about the conduct and future of the strike.

The strike has pressed the necessity of the leaders dealing with the problems created by success. In an interview which appeared in the October issue of *The Movement* and is quoted by Andy Kopkind in the Jan. 29, issue of *The New Republic* (See that article), Chavez said:

"The danger is that we will become like the building trades. Our situation is similar--being the bargaining agent with many separate companies and contractors. We don't want to model ourselves on industrial unions; that would be bad. We want to get involved in politics, in voter registration, not just contract negotiation.

"Under the industrial union model, the grower would become the organizer. He would enforce the closed shop system; he would check off the union dues. One guy--the business agent--would become king. Then you get favoritism, corruption. The trouble is that no institution can remain fluid. We have to find some cross between being a movement and being a union. The membership must maintain control; the power must not be centered in a few. Maybe we would have some system where the jobs were rotated. It is important to remain free to work on many issues. That takes time, and sometimes it seems as if you get lost on unimportant issues. We're experimenting."

The FWA leadership is concerned with membership education. Chavez has been granted and will receive after the strike a \$267,000 OEO grant (unless Shriver weasles out) for some twenty farm workers to educate other members on topics ranging from people's rights at health and welfare agencies to the use of credit and credit unions. At one point he took a group of forty members to Sacramento to study the legislative process at first hand. And he is interested in raising his members' level of general political and organizational sophistication. FWA, by creating its own institutions (a co-op, credit union, community theatre, burial insurance) is attempting to build much more than a union.

## AWOC

The more we find out about AWOC the worse it sounds. The 1960-61 Imperial Valley lettuce strike was on the verge of success when George Meany, because of a jurisdictional dispute with United Packinghouse Workers and political problems a successful strike would have created within the AFL-CIO, ordered AWOC to pull out and the strike collapsed. Norm Smith, then head of AWOC was relieved of command as too radical, and the more 'moderate' Al Green, formerly of the Plasterers Union, was put in charge. Since that time according to reports we've yet to hear contradicted, AWOC has developed a pattern of hot-shot organizing--hitting a town, collecting a year's dues, calling a strike, then pulling out, sometimes leaving workers behind in jail.

Cooperation between AWOC and FWA has apparently been good in Delano, though Al Green, in recent public statements has been baiting FWA as a group controlled by a bunch of ministers and civil rights kids (an unfounded charge). In Delano, AWOC has about one-sixth the number of members FWA has and hasn't been nearly as successful in keeping its people from going back to the fields. Almost all boycott action outside the valley has been conducted by FWA, not AWOC. Some speculate that that's because AFL-CIO sees AWOC as a holding

organization, there to preserve corporate unionism's claim of concern for farm workers until such time as the Labor Relations Acts can be extended to agricultural workers and unionizing made easy. Green in cooperation with the Teamsters has begun an organizing campaign among orange pickers just north of the Delano grape area, probably as effort to preempt the turf from FWA, which had begun some tentative efforts in that area.

FWA pickets in San Francisco talk about the complete lack of political awareness among AWOC members and blame that on the AWOC leadership. They also speak of top down direction in AWOC which prevents local decision making. But the antipathy toward AWOC and the AFL-CIO may be much stronger among Anglos who are doing support work in Delano than it is among FWA members. It was mostly Anglos, for instance, who made up a group of about twenty-five people holding "Reuther Go Home" signs when the great leader came to the valley. That visit, incidentally, saw Reuther give \$10,000 cash and pledge \$5,000 per month to be divided equally between AWOC and NFWA. Though there was a long and unexplained delay in the pledge money, it is now flowing in. (The fact that Reuther divided the money between the two is useful in talking to trade unionists who identify only with AWOC.)

## Workers' complaints and the ranches

Though many FWA members live in the San Joaquin Valley the year round, that doesn't mean they can work all year. A few do, most do not. The number of months' work varies from year to year depending on weather, yield, etc., but the average income for a farm worker's family is \$2,000 per year. The unions are demanding recognition as bargaining agents and \$1.40 per hour plus 25¢ a box. Before the strike growers were paying \$1.10 to \$1.15 an hour plus 10 cents a box. (Growers frequently get more than \$4 per box.) But the pay varies. If a wave of new workers arrives, wages may be cut to less than a dollar an hour. Currently, pressure of the strike has forced growers to bring wages up to \$1.35 and \$1.40 an hour, but the important demand, as strikers will tell you, is for a union contract.

The poverty of the farm workers has effects which hardly need to be detailed. If you look only at medical consequences you find that kids and older people go without glasses; teeth go unattended; bad diets lead to stomach trouble; everyone is susceptible to colds--partially because of diet, partially because a lifetime in bad housing leads to chronic respiratory diseases. When volunteer directors went to Delano at Christmas time, people came to them with minor cuts festering because they hadn't been properly bathed and bandaged; the poor don't get far in school and they don't learn some of the first aid procedures we have known since we were toddlers.

When Mexican-Americans or Filipinos go to the Delano hospital they meet indifference, or worse. The doctors are out. The doctors are busy. Can you pay? Go somewhere else. A sick girl sits for two hours before even her temperature is taken. A worker overcome by heat prostration dies before the doctors take an interest in him. These stories come from Delano, but they are common to the poor everywhere.

Wages, however, are not the only concern of farm workers. The power of the growers is such that they have been able to deny workers not only a living wage but the meanest of human dignities. Though California law requires that toilets be provided in the fields, they almost never are. One young woman told Terry Cannon recently that she has never in five years of picking seen a toilet in the fields. It is interesting to note the irony of a state assembly which, despite the powerful Agri-business lobbies, finds that people ought not to squat in open fields and that is worth legislating but cannot be moved to extend child labor laws or unemployment compensation insurance to agricultural labor. National laws exclude farm labor Taft-Hartley protection (the right to organize and bargain collectively) and most migratory worker from social security and health and welfare coverage. The Agri-business lobby is indeed a powerful creature. That is why the demand of union recognition is so important: the legislature can be depended upon to do little or nothing for the farm worker.

It is important that people understand the difference between family farms as American mythology characterizes them and California farms and ranches as they actually are. In the Delano area the DiGiorgio Corp., for instance, owns 24,000 acres; the L.A. Times-owned Tejon Ranch, 168,531 acres; the Kern County Land Co., 348,026 acres in California with a world-wide total of 1,815,922 acres plus another 600,000 acres of leased land. The interlocking directorates of these companies with some of the most powerful corporations in the country yield them staggering power. (More on this aspect of the strike in a later report or pamphlet.)

## Effect of the strike

It's difficult to know how much the strike has hurt the growers. In this PR man's world claims are exaggerated on both sides--even by the good guys. It is clear, however, that the strike has hit the ranchers, probably very hard. DiGiorgio Corporation, for instance, was stopped from shipping \$20,000 worth of grapes by a single picket action (see *Movement Supplement # 2*). DiGiorgio is suing FWA, AWOC, and the Longshoreman's Union for \$80,000, the amount they've lost on overseas shipments above. In San Francisco, about forty liquor stores have put Schenley products under the counter rather than be picketed by roving picket teams, and major supermarket chains, and co-op markets have agreed to stop stocking San Joaquin Valley

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grapes. In the Bay Area, individual members of the ILWU and Teamsters' Unions have provided valuable support.

There's even clearer evidence of strike effectiveness in the Delano area, where in the pruning season long after the last of the grapes should have been picked, grapes can still be seen rotting on the vine. More significant is the fact that many of the valley grapes (known as some of the finest table grapes in the country) are, because of late picking by inexperienced workers, being sold to wineries at a big loss to the growers. The strike may hurt the growers still more now that pruning season is here. Pruning is highly skilled work. Each variety of grape, and there are many, requires a different approach to pruning, and on each plant a large number of factors must be considered in order to have a plant which will produce well the next season. The Thompson seedless, for instance, must be pruned with an eye not only to the coming year's crop, but to the second year's as well; an inept pruner can screw up the years' grapes. According to our reports the growers are now recruiting teachers to train the wineoes they've brought out to do the pruning.

**Evaluation**

Much that is important about an organization can be known only from the way its members relate to it, the way they talk about it privately and in meetings, the way they respond when it calls them to work for it. None of us in the S.F. office has that sort of knowledge of the FWA at this time. At best we can list some of the elements in the organization which are attractive and make us want



to relate to it. The co-op, credit union, and FWA theatre (with plays written and acted by farm workers) are exciting departures from traditional unionism. They have potential for drawing the community together, building a sense of identity. The OEO educational grant ought to result in developing farm workers' ability to pinpoint the ways the system screws them and, more important, what tools are at their disposal in fighting to change that system. It is important to look at what FWA has done. It has created an organization which has been able to maintain the spirit of its strikers through almost five months of strike--and that starting with only \$85 in the treasury and in the 'unorganizable' industry. Then there's the fact that members know FWA as much more than a union; in the words of

El Malcriado, "Today in Delano there is the beginning of a movement."

Certainly the FWA has problems, as do SDS community organizing projects. If FWA loses the strike it will be set back at least a year or two in its development--if not killed entirely. If the strike continues for a long time, as it may, the pressures are for FWA to place top priority on the necessities of strike action and to let community building activities slide. If the strike is won, the FWA will face far more pressure than it has in the past to behave like a traditional trade union: the tendency would be for new people to see FWA not as a community organization but as the group that won the Delano strike. Having been forced by circumstances into a strike sooner than they would have chosen, FWA now has to deal with these difficulties. None of them is insurmountable, but they do underscore the necessity of winning the strike quickly. Your support action will help.

**Programatic suggestions**

I. Forming and proceeding with a boycott committee  
Delano table grapes and wines and liquors distributed by Schenley (one of the principle growers and the largest producers of wines in the Delano area) are being boycotted throughout the country by friends of the strikers. Some suggestions for proceeding with a boycott committee follow:

1. Bring together people who can be expected to be friendly to the strike: unionists, SNCC, CORE, other civil rights people, activist ministers, etc. Don't forget faculty wives and other middle class women who frequently have a great deal of time to devote.
2. Choose a time or times to set up regular informational picket lines outside liquor stores (Friday and Saturday afternoons and evenings are peak sales times). Establish work groups to take care of getting picketers, making signs and leaflets, and visiting liquor store owners. The last is important; some will readily agree to take the Schenley list off their shelves (in some parts of the country Schenley distribution is so bad that business men are happy for an excuse to get even). Remember, however, that it is illegal to encourage the boycott of stores for handling Schenley. Finally, don't have split crews working within sight of each other. Store owners are more willing to reconsider dumping Schenley if their competitors do not have an informational picket in front of their stores.
3. At the first meeting select a delegation to go to the next meeting of the Central Labor Council, and make arrangements for approaching union locals to ask permission to speak at their meetings. They should be told of the strike and asked for boycott resolutions and money. A list of upcoming meetings is found in the county labor newspaper.

Ministerial councils, individual churches and temples, civic groups, the local Democratic Party or precinct clubs, etc., should be approached in the same way.

One opening to unions and churches is that the AFL-CIO Convention and the California Migrant Ministry respectively have endorsed the strike.

4. Food, clothing, and money drives are essential to the strikers; if your chapter can't undertake them, see if there's some other group that can.
5. The "Schenley-I have taken the pledge" card is a clever gimmick and should be effective, especially on campus. Try offering them at tables in the student union or near class buildings. People working the tables can talk to students about the significance of the strike and try to interest them

in related study groups or farm labor forums (see below). The whole range of campus groups--social political, dormitory service, pre-professional--should be approached. Asking them to fill out the pledge cards gives you a specific reason for asking to take some of the group's time and talking about the strike. The cards are significant in themselves, but so is the opportunity to talk to people about what the strike represents.

Pledge cards cost a penny a piece or 82 cents a hundred (the weight of the stock and the perforations make them expensive). They can be ordered from the San Francisco office. You might try stamping them and asking a 10 cent contribution from people who take them.

6. Leaflets for the picket should be brief and easily read. Ones for use with the pledge cards can be longer, mentioning the long history of farm workers being exploited, the failure of labor laws to cover and protect agricultural workers, the amount farm workers earn, what they are asking for, etc.

7. Super-markets should be visited, informed of the Delano strike, and asked not to handle Delano table grapes. If after the liquor store pickets and the pledge card work there are still people available, pickets should be mounted against stores which persist in handling Delano grapes. A list of Delano grape brand names is included in the Movement boycott supplement (10 cents, 449 14th St., San Francisco, Calif.). To find out what brand a store is handling it is sometimes necessary to make forays into the back room where produce is stored. Find out from people in the produce section when deliveries are made and plan to be there if you suspect the store is stocking or may stock bad grapes. If the clerks are unionized or friendly they can save you a lot of trouble.

**II. Typing the strike to local movement building**

Chapter activity on the boycott ought to be combined with radicalizing kinds of intellectual pursuits; seminars or single meeting forums on the history of American unionism and what went wrong; discussions of the difference between traditional trade unionism (AWOC getting workers a wage increase) and the community-building emphasis of FWA; discussions and study of counter-society institutions--co-ops and community theatre, for example--and the role they can play in movement-building; the influence of corporate lobbies on legislation; etc. If people working on boycott activity are induced to look at the relation of the Delano strike to what goes on in the rest of society and of Delano to the objectives of the movement, boycott activity can be movement-building. People involved in the boycott because of civil rights urges or fondness for picket lines could begin to consider the implications of their action in a broader context. Why do you work to get an increase in wages for farm workers from \$1.20 to \$1.40 an hour when there are laundry workers in your home town who work for \$1.05? People should be confronted with such questions.

A beginning bibliography on farm labor would include two books by Carey McWilliams: *Factories in the Fields* and *Ill Fares the Land*. A third book of basic value is Henry Anderson's *To Build a Union* (Anderson is president of Citizens for Farm Labor; order the mimeographed book from Box 1173, Berkley, Calif. \$1).

**NAC MINUTES**

submitted by Lee Webb

The National Administrative Committee met at the SDS office Sunday, March 13. The NAC members present were Judy Kissinger, Harriet Stullman, and Lee Webb. Absent were Joyce Bennett, Bob Ross, Steve Goldsmith, and Paul Booth (away on a fund-raising and speaking trip to the West Coast).

**Finances.** A financial report indicated that our financial condition is bad. We have over \$2,500 in debts, and no immediate sources of funds. About \$750 of the debts must be paid immediately to keep the office functioning. Those bills are the telephone bill (\$566), the office rent (\$275), and the printer for the past two issues of *New Left Notes* (about \$225). We decided that we must get the \$1,000 loan agreed on at the last NAC to pay immediate expenses. No trouble is expected in getting the loan. On the revenue side of finances, we are counting on Booth and Oglesby's fund-raising trips to California for some large contributions. Also, Phil Ochs has agreed to do three benefits for SDS in the Chicago area, and we have staff working on that. The concerts are not expected to be held however, till the middle of May. Also we are working on fund-raising benefits showing the film *Salt of the Earth*. More on that in a subsequent issue.

**Staff.** Ellie Colkins will begin work on a trial basis Monday March 14 doing typing for the membership files and NLN.

**State of the chapters.** Bob Speck, membership secretary, has produced an interim report on total membership, membership distribution by states, and by school status that is in this issue of NLN. He is preparing a longer "report on chapters and membership" for the coming National Council. Bob raised the problem of "paper chapters." Namely there are a number of chapters that have carried on the books for months, even years, without any communication, word, or knowledge of. To meet that problem, we are publishing the names of those chapters, hoping that they do exist, and we will hear from them. We will also be sending personal letters to whatever contacts we have on those campuses. Finally, we saw a need (in line with the Haber motion-passed at the last NC-- for more equitable methods of recognizing new chapters, and keeping an accurate count.

**League for Industrial Democracy.** We noticed when reprinting, that over 20% of the SDS Constitution is devoted to relations with the LID. It would have seemed that since both SDS and the LID had severed connections, that these sections should be eliminated. We decided, that only the Convention can amend the Constitution, so the sections will remain. We will add a small enclosure to explain the problem with each Constitution. Second we discussed the recent issue of the *LID Bulletin* which had an article "explaining" the recent separation of the LID and SDS. Most of us who had read it thought it was wrong, but it did not attack

us. Others wanted to read it. For those interested, write for a copy to Tom Kahn, LID, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y.

**Chapter Workshop.** More on this in other parts of the paper. But this is the workshop that the NC mandated the NC to be responsible for.

**Basic Brochure.** The text for the new SDS brochure will be back from the printer on Monday, March 14. It will then be laid out, along with photographs, and be printed on our offset press here. We hope to have it ready by the NC. Furthermore, Jimm Russell pointed out the need for a larger introductory booklet, this is more than a blurb, with excerpts from the *Port Huron Statement*, other SDS pamphlets, and with plenty of photos.

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EVANSTON, ILL.

It is our understanding that Gus Hall of the Communist Party of America has stated his intention to extend an invitation to SDS, among other groups, to attend the forthcoming national conference of the Communist Party as official "observers."

We feel that, before any decision is made as to whether or not to acknowledge this invitation, the national office should poll the opinions of the local chapters.

As far as our chapter goes, we would like to go on record as being against any such official participation at the Communist convention. While we are encouraged that such a meeting of an unpopular political organization can be held in our country, it is our firm belief that the principles of communism as they have thus far been demonstrated are diametrically opposed to the ideals of democracy and a free society, the enhancement of which we see as the main goal of the Students for a Democratic Society.

It seems clear to us that any public or private relationship with the Communist Party, even at so symbolic a level as recognizing Mr. Hall's invitation, would be detrimental to the effectiveness of SDS in its efforts of working toward a better society.

Melva Fager, president  
Northwestern Univ. SDS

**NEW LEFT NOTES**

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

Students for a Democratic Society

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

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(continued from page 1)  
 dents on campus. Later that night at the Hillel House he spoke to 250 students for the abolition of HUAC--collected \$75 for his organization.

On March 9, Aptheker led a crowd of 2,500 students on to the campus where he was introduced by the president of the student body and chairman of the ad hoc organization Committee for Free Inquiry--Paul Dixon. Before he could talk, Police Chief Beauman informed him that he would be arrested as well as Dixon if he said one word. He then led students back to "Still Here: Moore's Chapel Hill Wall."

Later that night he spoke to 400 students at an off campus church center on the war in Vietnam and necessity for the return to the Geneva Accords.

Chicago, Ill. (from Earl Silbar and Steve Baum): At Roosevelt University we ran three candidates for the Student Senate. The platform stressed our support for the principle of self-determination. We explained self-determination to mean the participation of people in the decisions that affect their lives; we specified the fight by working people to organize unions to struggle for power over the economic decisions that affect them on the job (wages and working conditions), the rights of peoples to national independence (specifying the Dominican Republic and Vietnam) and the right of students to have a powerful voice in the running of the University--at all levels of power. We outlined the distortion which is involved when a university turns over grades to local draft boards. Then we demanded that the administration refuse to send in such information. This highlighted the lack of student power. Following a minimal 5 day campaign (5 spent on 2,000 leaflets), we polled 180 votes and got a generally favorable response from people previously neutral or 'anti'. Our next step was to get out a leaflet using much of an article in the Chicago Sun-Times of 2/6/66 which analyzed the many arbitrary and anti-democratic facets of using grades as a determining factor in the draft. Response was excellent.

(Silbar and Baum have written a paper about student response and programs for dealing with the draft situation--particularly the national ranking test coming up--that is available from them. Their address is 6533 S. Drexel, Chicago, Ill. 60637.)

San Diego, Calif. (from the San Diego Patriotic Society Bulletin # 1135 "Who are SDS"): The Communists plan to influence students is now progressing to the high school level. On Dec. 14th, 1965, according to Crawford High School students, San Diego, Calif., who were eye witnesses, the following occurred: As classes were dismissed, four young people stationed across the street from school, passed out printed sheets, bearing the signature "Students for a Democratic Society." The apparent spokesman for the group was bearded, barefoot and dirty. When the police arrived, he immediately quoted the laws protecting his activity. Excerpts from the sheet amply evidence the distorted and divisive thinking on the part of the Students for a Democratic Society:

"We are students at State College. We're out here because we've been shocked and pushed into realizing that high school students are not children, but are people with all the capabilities and brains and guts possessed by adults. We're here because high school students are pushed around more, with less reason, by stupider administrators than perhaps any group of humans in America, and because you haven't yet had any chance to fight back.

"You people are being stepped on in much the same way as college students are stepped on, only you get it a little harder. The way we see it, you're in a kind of machine. You know yourselves that you're getting a lousy education. You've just receiving much the same stale pablum that they handed us a couple of years ago, and you probably realize that very little of your high school education is ever going to be useful. What is worse, almost none of the compulsory miseducation is beautiful or

interesting or even honest. It's not beautiful because administrators don't give a damn about your interests; it's not honest because your society is dishonest.

"You're going to school in one of the most wasteful of all possible school systems. You could be getting an education better than that given at any private secondary school, but you aren't. Instead, you're being run through a mill that is operated by bureaucrats. . . stupid people run the show as wastefully and as dully as possible.

"We have formed the Students for a Democratic Society because we want an authentic democracy, because we abhor centralized bureaucracy, and because we value personal and individual initiative. Every member is a leader; free discussion is our absolute rule; we don't control anybody or anything. We are interested in democratic social change in San Diego, and in stopping the war machine in America."

Since the Communists are so concerned with imparting knowledge to and directing the activities of our youth, shouldn't we, then, be concerned? ? ? ?

**PROGRAM SKILLS**

**Chapter Workshop**

A national workshop on chapter programming and skills is scheduled for the three days prior to the spring National Council meeting. This was mandated at the last NC in Champaign. Each chapter, particularly new ones, should see that one of their members attends. The workshop might also be a good introduction for chapter NC delegates who are new to SDS. Among the scheduled workshops and suggested leaders are:

1. History of SDS - led by Bob Ross
2. Chapter organizing - led by Steve Max. This will be a comprehensive look at basic techniques and issues--everything from running the mimeo to community relations.
3. Vietnam Education Programming - led by Adam Schesch. How to move on the Freedom Draft -- Vietnam education -- speakers -- forums and literature.
4. Regional Programming - led by Mike Davis. To discuss the particular problems of running regional offices and program.
5. Power Structure Research - led by Mike Locker. Finding out the who, how, and why of power on campus and in the community.
6. Insurgency in the Unions. Dealing with unions on the local level -- relevancy for chapter programming.
7. Campus Based Groups and Relations with the Community - led by Jeremy Brecher.
8. Chapter program and the Churches - led by Jack Kittredge. Getting response and building program in the religious community.
9. Civil Rights. Report on the movement -- organizations -- where they're at -- what they're about.

Note. This is a workshop on chapter skills. It is not another December conference. It is not a general discussion of SDS structure, political directions, or values. It is an opportunity to do some substantive work that will go back to individual chapters.

Arrangements. We are aiming at between 60-80 people, so the group will be small enough for effective discussions. There is no cost. We will find housing for you. You will have to pay for your own meals, probably at a local restaurant. Chapters could also subsidize travel and food money for a member able to come. We need a good count so as to plan housing, and other arrangements.

We will send you additional information, including a more formal agenda, on the receipt of your registration.

Clip and send to the NO

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Chapter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
 Any additional ideas for workshops? \_\_\_\_\_

**Comments**

BATESVILLE, MISS. I would like to comment on Helen Garvy's observations on the December conference in

the latter part of her letter, Helen characterized the debate on the Haber education proposal as excessively long and largely unnecessary outside a workshop.

While agreeing that unnecessary points were probably made. I would attribute this to the problem of meeting in a large, unfamiliar group, and not an argument against this particular discussion.

I think the discussion itself was important precisely for the reason that Helen found it most wanting, that is, it centered upon trust.

It seems to me however, that the problem was not so much other people not trusting the committee members as the committee members not trusting other people. A number of those at the NC found it noteworthy that many of the same people who were proposed for the committee were also proposed for the editorial board of the new magazine, and also for various other functions.

The skill, responsibility and dedication of these people, as well as their trustworthiness, cannot be denied; but this is not the question which was at issue.

When an organization com-

mits itself, as SDS has done, to increasing democratic participation, it takes upon itself a heavy responsibility. This responsibility is to actively involve as many people as possible in making decisions. This does not mean that every person must participate in every decision; such a situation is presently impossible even if desirable. It does mean, however, that in each decision-making area, there should be as little personnel overlap with other areas as is possible, thereby insuring maximum participation over the whole range of organizational decisions.

As the women's statement on roles, which I feel confident in assuming Helen signed, implicitly notes, participation in decision-making is a habit which must be actively encouraged, in order that the shyness, insecurity and lack of skills which prevent participation can be overcome. It is clear that this will inevitably involve some initial loss in efficiency and proficiency. These are losses which must be sustained if the organization is to ultimately benefit from the infusion of new people with diverse talents and ideas.

This course does not mean that a new committee must have only people whose responsibility or skill has never been tested or developed, but it does mean that a conscious effort must be made to involve some of these people in every committee, while recognizing the difficulties this imposes.

Several times since the December conference I have urged individuals to join SDS and been met with the response that, "the SDS leadership is too 'ingroupy'". A highly structured, hierarchical group would not have to confront such a charge, and one of the chief virtues of SDS is that it does have to confront it. This is what I think was the substance of the debate on the Haber proposal, and therefore I consider the debate, if not its cause, a healthy sign.

Jonathan Steinberg

The National Office is presently seeking SDS members interested in the following jobs with SDS: (Applicants should write a detailed letter to the NAC c/o the National Office.)

**Fund-raiser**

Qualifications: Experience in raising funds is important for this job. Also familiarity with SDS thinking on major issues. An ability to speak quickly and effectively are valuable.

The job. A fund-raiser would do a good deal of traveling to the sources of funds, and would set up appointments to meet with potential contributors and organizations. This might also involve speaking at house parties and showing SDS films. A fund-raiser would spend a good deal of time in an office (national or regional) putting out mailings, setting up lists of possible contributors, setting up folk song benefits and other fund-raising affairs, and sending out fund-raising hints to chapters and regions.

**Editor of New Left Notes**

Qualifications. Experience in publishing a newspaper is most valuable, both in the writing, lay out, and printing ends. The editor should be able to write easily. Good knowledge of SDS thinking and program will be especially helpful.

The job. The editor will be responsible for gathering material for New Left Notes, through chapter correspondence, newspapers, and personal conversations. He must prepare the copy for it to be set in type, lay the paper out, and paste it up for offset printing. The paper is printed by a commercial press. The editor's job involves a great deal of routine work. It is not only a white collar job.

**NC - Antioch College  
 Yellow Springs, Ohio  
 April 8-9**

A proposal just passed by the National Council specifies that each chapter must notify the National Office of the identity of their delegates for them to be accredited for voting status at this NC. Only delegates who have done so will be recognized. Return this form immediately to the N.O. (Each chapter is entitled to one delegate for the first 25 national members and one additional for each 25 over that.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Chapter \_\_\_\_\_

NEW LEFT NOTES  
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Application to mail  
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