

may 14 vietnam exam hits 800 campuses

We reached over 800 campuses with the Vietnam exam on the 14th. Although the wire services chose to interpret the lack of dramatic conflict as a sign of failure of the program, on the campuses it had considerable impact. Unlike other leaflets in our experience, this one was almost always held on to and taken home for reading. More important, from coast to coast the reports made clear that the students taking the exam were deeply disturbed by it.

In Chicago, at the Circle campus test center, one student spontaneously decided to walk out of the exam, resulting in front-page coverage in the press. He gave a brief speech saying that he could not bring himself to participate in the test, and he was cheered as he left and even the policemen outside congratulated him and sided with him. The unpopularity of the Selective Service System has been demonstrated time and again, and the sit-ins and exam protests have deepened it considerably.

We have tremendous opportunities open. In addition to the pursuit of campaigns against ranking for the bene-

fit of Selective Service (which are in progress at U. of Chicago, Wisconsin, CCNY, Brooklyn, and elsewhere), next week's round of draft tests should be the object of heightened opposition. Demonstrations of opposition can be organized with a broad community base: civil rights groups particularly can be brought in. Both Dick Gregory and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell have identified themselves forcefully with the anti-test and anti-draft protest movements, and this is just an indication of the sensitivity of the Negro community to the racial impact of the tests, as pointed out in our Call. Secondly, a large number of faculty who had not previously engaged in protest participated in the activities of the weekend; these are people who sincerely are facing up to the moral problems posed by the draft on campus. Thirdly, groups such as Women for Peace and other anti-war groups can be involved. Selective Service is so unpopular that it is not impossible that its opponents could build a powerful political thrust in the coming weeks and months.

At Buffalo, where an anti-rank move-

ment appeared in the days before final exams, at one time involving over 1500 people at rallies, the group was forced to postpone activity until the fall term because of those finals. They feel chances for success will be increased then not only because there won't be exams going on, but because the impact of the draft on students will be more keenly felt by then. Many groups may feel the same kind of exam-pressure now, and they should view the Vietnam Exam Program as a way of establishing the issue on campus, and putting the administration and community on notice

that it will be raised more forcefully as things develop.

For the time being, the National Office needs to have names, phone numbers, and addresses of the coordinators of the program for each campus where it took place on the 14th; we will be phoning around for that info but hope that you will save us the trouble by mailing us the names, etc., of coordinators whom you contacted in your area.

Paul Booth



the draft: universities & ranking

a view from univ. of chicago

The issue which has been raised by the students in asking that ranks should be withheld is one which is involved in a tangle with other issues. Among these are the issues of the rightness of student deferment altogether, the rightness of the war in Vietnam, and who is the "boss" among students, faculty and administration. Recognizing that these issues are involved (the last one, in my opinion, not the most seemly for a great university such as the University of Chicago), I would like to deal principally with one: Should the University of Chicago compute rank in class and submit such information to draft boards even if the student gives his consent? I think that it should not.

It is worth recalling that the very act by Congress which created student deferments was informed by the sense of the value of the educational enterprise to the national welfare. When the Selective Service Administration coopts the educational enterprise in helping it to make its particular decisions on individual registrants it injures that which it is trying to protect.

booth press statement

Ed Note: The following article was a press statement by Paul Booth, on May 17th.

Our question is: will Johnson let America's young people decide whether they will go to Vietnam as troops or as teachers? If he allows that choice, as we said last fall, he will find our whole generation rejoicing in the opportunity to build, not to burn; to teach, not to torture; to help not to kill. As many Americans will remember, SDS was the first to propose that young people be given a choice of serving in the military or performing constructive service for democracy at home or abroad.

We hope this is what McNamara has proposed, and that he is not trying to evade criticism of the draft law's unfairness while gaining the power to send millions more young men to Vietnam and elsewhere.

If the President and the Secretary of Defense are serious about giving young Americans a free choice of how to serve, then they have the power this

There is a growing general sentiment among educators that excessive significance being given to grades cheapens and degrades the values of a liberal education. The current actions by the Selective Service Administration have only served to exacerbate the emphasis on grades. As someone has put it, if the student cannot understand a poem by Keats the chance of his being drafted is increased. We may expect a growing trend toward shopping for easy courses, and a flocking to teachers who are reputed to be easy graders. Some have thought that, with the reorganization of the Colleges, something ought to be done whereby grades become less important; but this will be blocked by the necessity of providing detailed grade information to draft boards. The morally agonized student will be less motivated to do well on examinations knowing that his good grade will depress someone else's grade. Students who might want to disagree with a professor's interpretation of what Soc rates might have meant will refrain from doing so because of fear of alienating that professor. Professors, who are profoundly aware of the limited reliability and validity of grades, will consider not only the merits of the a decision between a C-plus and a B-minus. Their educational decisions will be clouded by the moral agony that properly belongs to the draft boards. (continued on page 3)

Paul Krassner at CCNY sit-in teaches, "Whereas SDS is a stimulant, LBJ is a depressant drug."

moment to agree that only volunteers will be sent to Vietnam and to offer those there now the option of performing civilian service instead.

The President of SDS, Carl Oglesby, stressed a further point. "A truly American plan for universal national service would not require that the service be under the Federal Government. There are many private agencies that are serving the public well, and it should be possible for young people to work for them as part of national service. Certainly we in SDS are not in favor of extending the government's power over the people and we want to make sure that Mr. McNamara's plan is not just another way to conscript more young men and at the same time expand Big Government."

a view from roosevelt univ.

The draft program recently adopted by Roosevelt SDS, authored by Steve Baum and Earl Silbar, is presently under national discussion and raises several vital concerns in our minds. The program proposes the mobilizing of students and faculty to oppose universities sending in grades and class ranks to the selective service and opposes the SRA test. At Roosevelt, petitions have been circulating opposing university cooperation with these procedures, and over 500 students have signed them. In fact, this program has been very successful here so far, as

fund raising

A. BEFORE SUMMER

1. Appointment of chapter fund-raising contacts, sending of first mimeographed bulletin to them. They will basically be the people who receive the fundraising guide in the mail when it is completed.

2. Contributors mailing (in the works).

3. Location of a couple of solid sites for major folksinging concerts. Some coordination for these to be given by Booth both now and after he stops being Natl. Secy. Setting of the dates for these, appointment of the local coordinators... beginning to locate the available talent for these occasions.

4. Completion of the fundraising handbook (this is a high priority but because Booth is the author it won't get done in the next week for certain and maybe not even before the N.C.).

5. Pursuit of the Chicago and Ann Arbor events on a least loss basis.

B. DURING SUMMER

1. Highlight of summer fundraising: letters and mailings to the members of SDS who were committed enough to the organization to send in their summer addresses, urging them to send several percent of their summer income to be used for office administrative expenses.

2. Production of the basic fundraising brochure.

3. Creation of the different-levels-of-membership plan including adults, etc. New membership cards would be created for this, and it would be announced in a number of bulk mailings. To be seen principally for the time being as a fundraising device.

4. Contact with some classes of peoples by Booth and other fundraising people.

however, to raise several questions which have been troubling us about the tactics, assumptions, and ultimate effects of this program on the movement. We hope that this will be taken, therefore, as a friendly criticism. We have no dogmatic position as to "what is to be done" but we would like to see it more deeply discussed.

We find sections of the program very relevant in that they aid in pointing out the true "character of the liberal administration that acts 'in the student's interest,'" and also raises questions about the nature of the decision making process in both the university and society at large.

The program clearly points out that the 2S deferment itself separates students from the rest of the population, yet never seems to clearly explain how such divisions are to be avoided. Indeed, there's a great possibility that the objective effect of such a program will be to further divide and characterize (continued on page 6)

5. If there are one or two people in addition to Paul LeBlanc in the office (Stan Teplick has been thinking about it). Then Chicago-area fundraising schemes such as

a. bulk mailing to WFMT 25,000 subscriber list

b. fundraising parties in Lake Forest, Evanston Hayde Park, Near North, etc.

c. any other schemes that are basically of the nothing-ventured variety... as opposed to situations where we rent movies, or split the take, or have very high fixed costs.

6. Some contact with chapter people, varying to their capacity.

7. Ramparts and New York Review ads. whenever Feiffer comes through

8. Convention Program with ads in it.

C. IN THE FALL

1. Tightening of the chapter network. The kinds of things for people to start doing are:

a. extensive canvassing of the faculty for these "memberships"

b. movies

c. folksingers

d. other locally oriented "something-ventured" things, parties, dances, etc.

2. Advertisements in the liberal magazines aimed at the fall program spurt (if the N. C. decided on having such a spurt).

3. Hopefully hiring of full-time fundraising people at each of the regional offices.

chicago cipa 2

Part II: Program. Given the problem of trying to organize 95 precincts containing 50,000 people, the first step was to survey the existing resources. A culling of the mailing lists of all the liberal, left, civil rights, and peace organizations in the city produced about 130 names in the ward. These constituted an initial mailing list, but were not very valuable in terms of turning up people willing to work.

Taking the handful of workers we did have, several initial precincts were selected for survey by door-to-door canvass, telephone canvass, and mail survey questionnaire. In the personal contact canvasses, people were asked several quick questions about their attitudes on school segregation, the war, and the Daley administration. The mail questionnaire was exclusively on peace issues. As a result of practical experience, the mail questionnaire survey technique was adopted, with a new questionnaire which is multi-issue, multiple choice, and asks for a \$1 contribution. The reply rate has been 5%. One in four replies are good enough to follow-up, and one in eight encloses \$1. Eleven precincts have been surveyed so far.

The second step following the survey is to hold an informal meeting in someone's home in the precinct, inviting all the favorable replies and an organizer. (This is the middle-class analogue of the block club.) The emphasis has been on trying to discuss the issues, educate, and radicalize, rather than pushing for an immediate commitment to electoral work. In part-

politics & culture

in the great society

By Charlie Capper

Early in March of last year, President Johnson announced at a dinner for American's foremost "patron of the arts," Sol Hurok, that he was to propose to Congress a bill for the establishment of a National Arts Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. The announcement was met by a volley of flashing camera bulbs and resounding applause from some one thousand producers and their stars filling the hall. Within three months Pulitzer Prize poet Robert Lowell released a statement describing his anguish over the Administrations' increasing military belligerence in its foreign policy and concluding that he would be serving the President and his country "best by not taking part in the White House Festival of the Arts," planned for June of that same year. Between these two events is a wall dividing two cultures and beneath that wall, another crack in the consensus crust of Johnson's America.

Those artists and intellectuals, such as Lowell, Arthur Miller, and others who have refused to participate in Johnson's cultural consensus, primarily on political grounds, have raised again the question that so many literary pedants inhabiting our universities and journals have declared dead for at least the last thirty years -- the problem of the relation between culture and politics, in general, and the intellectual community and a Presidential administration, in particular. As the festivals roll on and the bombings move North, the fatherly grin from Texas, with its left hand full of candy grants and its right hand full of napalm bombs, becomes a reality with which intellectuals and artists who oppose America's foreign policy are confronted. The question that Robert Lowell answered in one way by his refusal to attend the festival and Saul Bellow answered in another by his attendance -- whether and/or in what way to take the candy -- can be better answered by discussing two related problems -- the quality of the candy and the relation between it and the

icular, we are trying to stress the idea that poverty, segregation, and the war are maintained by a national political apparatus whose roots are precinct captains and aldermen in every neighborhood in America. A vote for Paul Wigota (the incumbent machine Democratic alderman) is a vote for the war.

The action program will begin with leafleting the June primary election demanding directly elected precinct captains (as a special concession to the Daley machine, Illinois law requires directly elected precinct captains in every county except Cook County), and announcing our intention to choose an aldermanic candidate in the fall by a public ward convention with delegates from every precinct. At every point in our precinct organization work we will stress the extent to which people are excluded from the political process.

reply to mike james

SDS, as every movement previous to our time, is beginning its involvement in art with the most basic misconception. There is no valid understanding of art's relationship to a left, democratic movement. The approach taken in Michael James' program is philistine and exclusionary. The program is little more than prettified indoctrination.

How can we USE art in the movement? How can we get our ideas across in an entertaining way?

Although the intention is the best, you are making the same mistake as those who convicted Sinyavsky and Daniel. You involve art in the movement in a politically functional way only, thereby frustrating the natural social commentary which emerges in all art. Politically functional art is in most cases contrived and poor quality art. Art must communicate something universal, where the pro-

bombs.

What kind of culture do the arts festivals and the Johnson bill represent? Insofar as the money for and the concern with the arts is superficially good (though \$5 million thus far appropriated would barely pay for the costs of administration plus a few grants), the crucial question is, what does that money and concern mean? As for the money, the primary decisions as to grants are to be made by a board of 24 advisors (primarily cultural bureaucrats that head foundations, corporations, etc) plus the present chairman of the President's National Council on the Arts, Roger L. Stevens, a theatrical producer of "popular drama," described by Stanley Kauffman in the August issue of *Commentary* as "ambitious within the bounds of irreproachable bourgeois taste."

This tendency to give to those with money and power (as opposed to mere artists or intellectuals) the rule in the Great Culture becomes crystal clear in the June arts festival at the White House. Mildred Dunnock asked a number of other artists at the festival, "Does anyone know exactly why this Festival is being held in the first place?" Jack Valenti, a presidential assistant, tried to reassure the guest artists by answering: "This is a wonderful thing to show the White House's great interest in the arts. It doesn't matter why, just that it was." But others with different interests, or at least more inquisitive minds than Johnson's assistants, were not impressed. One guest, the literary critic Dwight MacDonald, by carefully examining a copy of the guest list, pointed out that the great majority of the guest participating (excluding those artists who were there to entertain and give glamor to the festival) were "not the actual producers of art or thought . . . but rather our cultural fuglemen . . . that is, directors, and patrons of art museums, financial sponsors of symphony orchestras, . . ."

The Chicago aldermanic races are (nominally) non-partisan, allowing us to run a radical independent candidate without having to get up tight about whether to run as a Democrat or not. Within the 49th Ward CIPA, however, we are retaining the structure required by law for a political party so that we can make the transition to a legal third party in the 10th Assembly District if we wish to. The 10th Assembly District consists of the 49th Ward plus small parts of three other wards. Illinois has a strange electoral system whereby the state assembly districts and senatorial districts are the same, each electing one senator and three assemblymen at large. The joker is that you are allowed to spread your three assembly votes around however you want, and you can pile all three on one man! The assembly race is actually easier than the aldermanic race. But then a Chicago alderman is

posed exhibit has been narrowed to contain affirmation of particular projects without reference to any end. (Political art -- an art with an obvious ideology, not by any means artistic social criticism, which art must be.)

The limiting of art to be shown to a level of indoctrination may be consistent with the point reached in civil liberties in the Soviet Union today, but how can it be consistent with the aspirations of SDS?

The art in the movement, up until now, has dealt with imminent social problems; the Harlem riots, the war in Vietnam, Poverty. We cannot limit art in the movement to this, which afflicts participants with only despair. Granted, a brutal, destroying art is inevitable in a blind, militant society. We must accept art that can remind us that there is love and there is beauty remaining. Many of us in the movement are in grave danger of forgetting how to have fun. We become obsessed with the evils in the world that we have rediscovered; Perhaps Michael James' exhibit is meant to reach people outside the movement. This would be constructive. We must encourage art of hope as well as the art of despair.

more important in state politics than a state assemblyman.

In addition to the program of precinct organization lasting over the summer, the group will be publishing a monthly newsletter and carrying on a number of organizing and educational meetings in the ward. The criterion for each activity is "does it build radicalized constituency and permanent organization?"

The current budget for the project, including staff, printing, postage, and phone is almost \$800 a month. Most of the money is raised locally, but some support has come from the National Conference for New Politics. We would like to turn the program into a small summer project by the inclusion of several summer volunteers. Free housing is available. The qualifications are 1) a knowledge of national and urban politics, 2) an in-

(continued on page 3)

The artist must be encouraged to create in whatever manner he chooses. The problem of the artist on the contemporary scene is that he must sell to eat; and to sell, he must prostitute himself by submitting to the tastes of the art gallery establishment. The taste of the galleries is determined by what will sell. What will sell is largely determined by the mass media, and on to absurdity. This is the problem that we deal with.

The goal of the movement, in the arts, is to create a situation where the artist can create and survive, and have the opportunity to exhibit or perform when he thinks he is ready. SDS involvement in art should consist of an extended demonstration to society of the opportunity for free expression in socialism. We must give aid and encouragement to those artists in the movement, just as we encourage community organization, and economic and political research, etc. as indicated in the Radical Education Program. The program proposed seems to be a county fair of the left rather than a tribute to our involvement in the arts.

Sue Simensky

This corporate conception of culture (men of power and wealth making the basic decisions in the Great Culture), revealed in practice by the Johnson bill and the arts festival, is consistent with the theoretical basis of the bill and Johnson's own cultural vision for the Great Society. As Stanley Kauffman has pointed out, the bill largely grew out of the urge to fill the time created by greater leisure provided by our society's technology and affluence. The theoretical motivation of the bill, then, is not unlike the millions spent by corporations to keep the workers happy by providing corporate baseball teams, corporate beer busts, support to the endless series of half-hour family TV shows, etc. Anything to keep them contented and adjusted. Precisely because the guiding purpose of this kind of culture is to keep people adjusted, one might say imprisoned within the social status quo, the level of this kind of culture during leisure cannot be qualitatively of a much higher level than that quality of life experience during work. A world of culture qualitatively different from the world of work would be a standing threat to those who rule the world of work and in whose interest it is not to allow the participation of workers in the decision-making process of that work. An even cursory glance at Johnson's book *My Hope for America* reveals this relation between the maintenance of the political status quo and the need to provide a culture that, among other things, will distract at the periphery but not involve at the center.

If Johnson's culture is less of men of ideas and more of men of money and power, what of the more specific and immediate political implications of participation in the cultural consensus? For anyone who has had the slightest brush with Johnson's world where everything is politicized at the touch of a pen, the drop of a tear at a press conference, the sweat of a handshake, one would be living with a strong case of naive not to per-

ceive political implications in almost any move of Johnson's. The above discussion points to the general relationship between the quality of Johnson's culture and the quality of life and politics in society. But even more immediate, direct political commitments have a way of developing out of subtle, informal cultural commitments. Norman Mailer, for example, tells us in his *Presidential Papers* the shock that he felt when he finally became conscious of the ease with which subtle cultural commitments become political commitments in a highly politicized environment. One month in 1960 he found himself declaring that John Kennedy portended a new culture, the next month ringing doorbells for JFK via his column in *Esquire*, and a few months later faced with the political results of his cultural infatuation -- the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Eric Goldman, Johnson's cultural commisar, reveals another relation between culture and politics in the Great Society in that his very best is both a cultural emissary to the intellectual community and a rationalizer of administration foreign policy to that same community. And then there is the actor-folk singer Theodore Bikel who was last heard at a recent White House Arts festival to be condemning Arthur Miller for "acting in poor taste." But then Bikel is part of that powerful consensus or at least in the sense that he can sing Yiddish versions of the Mariens' Hymn at the next Democratic fund raising dinner.

Robert Brustein, in his *Theater of Revolt*, has written, "If we fail to close the schism, to make a society of which artists can be a part, then at least one result, I believe, is that we will never have truly great creative artists again. To serve false the god of instant culture is to acquiesce to a cultural affirmation of the very society from which the artist was alienated in the first place. In this sense, one no is often more powerful than a thousand mumbling yeses in helping to close that schism."

financial statement of sds n.o. for march-april

March Income:		March Expenses:	
Dues-	\$377.00	Salaries-	\$897.50
Literature-	818.12	Utilities-	974.32
Contributions-	892.00	Office expenses-	175.00
Pledges-	355.00	Postage-	558.89
Sales (of miscellaneous office materials)-	3.00	Printing-	1195.55
Misc.-	942.25	Publicity-	25.00
Subscriptions to NLN-	204.00	Travel expenses-	25.00
Loans-	1000.00	Petty Cash-	34.85
Exchange-	606.00	Miscellaneous-	522.00
Intra-SDS-	-----	Photo equipment-	100.00
Total-	\$4877.97	Exchange-	438.00
		Total-	\$4946.00
April Income:		April Expenses:	
Dues-	649.00	Salaries-	\$942.50
Literature-	382.27	Utilities-	791.36
Contributions-	5329.60	Office expenses-	851.91
Pledges-	15.00	Postage-	397.00
Sales-	536.00	Printing-	2564.90
Miscellaneous-	7.00	Travel-	79.95
Subs. to NLN-	248.50	Conference-	213.19
Loans-	18.07	Petty cash-	30.00
Exchange-	233.33	Miscellaneous-	152.90
Intra-SDS-	98.00	Preliminary fund-raising expenses (Salt of the Earth)-	5.95
Total-	\$7516.77	Loans-	1000.00
		Exchange-	86.35
		Intra-SDS-	50.00
		Total-	7166.01
Total income for March-April \$12,394.74		Total expenses for March-April: \$12,112.01	

ranking viewed from chicago

(continued from page 1)

Conscientious members of draft boards--and we can presume that most of them are--have the burden of making decisions in the face of intrinsically unresolvable dilemmas. Being a member of a draft board is very much like being a captain of a life-boat that has too many people in it. Somebody has to go, and there are hardly any satisfactory criteria available to human beings to make decisions like this. As a result, the Selective Service Administration desires, hungers, even lusts for criteria which appear to them as "objective." At the moment they have been reaching for grades and rank in class as presumably "objective" criteria. Even if grading were really reliable and valid for educational aims--the limits of which every teacher is painfully aware--it is certainly quite irrelevant to whether a student should or should not be a member of the Armed Forces! And it is our duty to make this clear in every way that we can to those who determine Selective Service policy. It is our duty as teachers to teach them as well.

Many teachers have sat in on committees in which applications to graduate and undergraduate programs have been reviewed. All of us are fully aware of the qualifications that we bring to bear in reviewing grade information of any kind. We, as experts, know that the evaluation of this kind of information has to be done very carefully. We certainly cannot expect members of draft boards to evaluate these records with even remotely similar qualification. When we evaluate a grade record it is often with some knowledge of the school from which the applicant comes. But we cannot expect a draft board member to know what the level of academic expectation is of a school from which he will be receiving rank in class information.

In recent days the terms "coercion" and "freedom" have been rather freely used. It is indeed true that coercion spawns coercion. And it is indeed true that free discussion cannot take place in an atmosphere of coercion, which is an intrinsic part of the current Selective Service Administration in the University, which should be barred. Unless we can effectively remove the

coercive presence of the Selective Service System from our relations with our students, all of the liberal values which we are interested in defending will be undermined in the University itself.

(Indeed, if I may depart for a moment to consider the war in Vietnam which has led to all of this, it is precisely our use of coercion in contrast with negotiation which many people in the United States have perceived as the major issue in Vietnam. And what we are feeling in the colleges and universities is exactly the result of our coercive role in international affairs.)

If we give detailed grade information to the Selective Service Board at the request of the student, we are hardly allowing "freedom" to the student in any usual sense. We are, rather, relinquishing him to the coercion which is an intrinsic feature of Selective Service. A student who does not grant this permission is immediately subject to being regarded as a "draft delinquent," uncooperative with his draft board. On the other hand, if we refuse to give this information to the Selective Service Boards, at the very least the onus of "draft delinquency" is not upon the student. And our argument, that it interferes with the educational enterprise, is far more telling than any argument to be made by any individual student.

One argument which has been made is that since whatever subversion of the educational enterprise that may be done, is already done, when transcripts are required by draft boards, there is little additional damage to be done by giving rank in class. The argument is made that we cannot legally withhold transcripts. I think that we ought to do all that we can to persuade the authorities not to ask for transcripts. But under any circumstances, the legal question of computing rank in class for men for the sake of the Selective Service Administration is quite another order. (As one person has said, it would make as much educational sense to rank all left-handed students.) The fact is that there is no valid educational reason for ranking male students. To do so is only for the purpose of the Selective Service Administration. To do so is also

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, Speck.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Carl Oglesby, president; Jeffrey Shero, vice-president; and Paul Booth, national secretary.
National Office: 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill. 60637; (312) 667-6050
New York City: 49 West 27th St., New York, N. Y. 10001;
(212) 889-5793
New England: 839 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.; (617) 547-5457
Southern California: 1132 Miramar, Los Angeles, Calif.; (213) 629-8218
Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif.; (415) 362-7922

nac minutes

The NAC (National Administrative Committee) met Sunday, the 15th. Members Bob Speck, Paul Booth, and Arlin Weissman were present.

Finances and Fund-Raising- Finances continue to be in bad shape. We approved Booth's long-range fund-raising plan. A mailing will be sent to all contributors this week, asking for money to help solve the present crisis.

Staff-Four of the staff of eleven were felt to be no longer required as soon as the draft exam program was ended. Therefore, Eric Chester, Sue Robbison, and Rich Berkawitz are no longer working at the NO. Judy Kissinger will quit after the end of this week, with Paul LeBlank fulfilling the role

that she was doing. It was felt that we needed a person to be in charge of the office when Paul Booth was not present, in order to have a clear chain-of-command in the office. On this basis, Bob Speck was made an "acting assistant national Secretary."

ERRATA: In the Jan. 28, 1966, copy of NLN's, the report by Arthur Waskow on the Chase Manhattan Bank case contained an error. The volunteer services of Marvin M. Karpatkin, lawyer, were made available through the American Jewish Congress, not the American Jewish Committee.

chicago cipa 2

(continued from page 2)

terest in electoral work and adult middle-class organizing, and 3) no romantic illusions about what is possible in this kind of neighborhood. Ask yourself this test question: "Could I organize people like my parents?" If you can truthfully answer "yes", write to: 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action, 6306 N. Lakewood St., Chicago, Ill. 60626.

Finally, I have gone into this brief two-part description of one going project in the hope that more people will be impelled to report in the pages of NLN about their work. It would be particularly helpful if we could get critical analyses of 1) the recent electoral contests in Newark, 2) the Scheer campaign in Berkeley and reasons for SDS's non-participation in it, 3) the recent progress of NY CIPA, 4) this

to exaggerate the student-to-student competitiveness, which many regard as injurious to learning.

Grades have certain customary and ordinary uses, as indeed, all professional records do. A psychiatrist's records are, in some sense, the property of the patient; and yet, the opinion of all men of good sense would be that they should not be freely opened to the patient. The dean of students keeps many records on individual students, and yet one would not claim that all of the student's records must be opened on demand; or, that on the student's request they should be given to anyone that he requests that they be given. Thus, the argument that the grades are the student's property, to be used in any way that he demands, cannot be defended. (And there is a real quandary when hundreds of students demand that their records shall not be used for the construction of a ranking of males for the benefit of the Selective Service Administration.) But the fact remains that this particular use of the grade information is an extraordinary use.

The following question has not yet arisen, but we should be prepared for it. What if the Selective Service Administration should ask for attendance records? We have a historical tradition against taking attendance. We believe that the student should be free to take advantage of opportunities, but there is a growing abuse over the nation of students registering at colleges in order to maintain a student deferment, and not going to classes, and showing up at examination time. If this becomes really widespread, the Selective Service Administration might will move to ask also whether the student has been going to class conscientiously. If we defer to the Selective Service Administration in giving rank in class, would we not also find ourselves in an awkward

position when another extraordinary practice is asked of us? Let us hope that this is purely hypothetical.

The Selective Service System as we have it now is not exhaustive of all possibilities. The use of a lottery combined with a national service requirement is a viable alternative which, at the very least, would remove the gross deficiencies of the present system.

Let me conclude by saying that there is a great tradition in the United States against government interference in education. This tradition is based on the recognition of the value to society of really free educational institutions. At the moment the colleges and universities of this country are being drawn into becoming agents of a government agency. Nor is this just an ordinary government agency. It is an agency which at least expresses our democratic beliefs. The Selective Service System is hardly to be considered integral to our total democratic society. It is an undemocratic institution which we sadly tolerate for the sake of the larger good. Thus that which so deeply expresses our democratic beliefs, the University, is being drawn in to serve directly one of the least democratic agencies in our political life, the Selective Service Administration. It is my deep conviction that we should resist this with all of the resources at our disposal.

David Bakan
May 14, 1966

David Bakan is a Professor of Psychiatry and Psychology at the Univ. of Chicago. He has also served on a local draft board.

In the March-April issue of *Studies on the Left*, Norm Fruchter and Robert Kramer tried to link a certain type of intellectual analysis with the justification of the Newark Community Union Project, a "model" for community organizers. At the Yale Socialist Conference on April 28, Paul Potter, former Pres. of S.D.S. and currently active on the Cleveland Community Project, also tried to bridge the gap between analysis and organizing. Both efforts, I think, have helped to create and sustain a dialogue and eventual unification of various approaches to radical political and social change which have been deemed anti-thetical; specifically, the two kinds of projects like the West Side Committee for Independent Political Action and N. C. U. P. In my mind, and perhaps in no one else's, C. I. P. A. and N. C. U. P. and their like, have the same long-range goals, whether explicit or not, and the same long-range problems. What differs is the mode of organizing, and analogous to that, where the organizing occurs. C.I.P.A. is the big city model; i.e., where many social groups (classes) must be seen within the larger framework of the power structure of the big city and the federal gov't. Therefore C.I.P.A. must spread throughout the city in a more immediate manner than the N.C.U.P. model, and organizing is extensive rather than intensive in the beginning. However, C.I.P.A. is not aimed (at this point) towards the creation of a third political party, but of a movement that can be tangibly felt in such an area as N.Y. Therefore, electoral activities are organizing activities and what is discussed are the hidden social issues which disappear when one thinks simply of winning the election. The mode of organizing, though, must include spontaneous local activities and continuity which establishes grass-roots base support. Therefore two things are combined: a

I would like to suggest a three year election program for SDS. This suggestion seems to assume that all our problems of "identification" and "ideology" have been solved, but it actually postpones final decisions on these questions and gives us a chance to gather more evidence before making a final choice (if we decide we must). In what follows, I will assume nothing more about SDS than that we want to build a mass constituency for radical change in the United States. The short-term goals such as poor people's control of their own fate, freedom now, jobs or income now, and immediate withdrawal from Vietnam will be stated as short-term demands assuming away the problem as to whether or not they are realizable within the system.

I am under no illusions about our "democratic" processes. Recent events should teach us that the power structure is only interested in cleaning up the cell so the prisoner won't try to destroy the jail. This applies to the poverty program, to the "civil rights" acts, to tokenism, to the "Great Society," etc. This process of concession has a counterpart in repression. The unseating of Julian Bond, the attack on the DuBois clubs, the threatening motions towards SDS last October, and the conviction of Bill Epton are all part of this side of the coin. Meanwhile, the Oglesby equation of liberalism at home with fascism abroad becomes more obvious every day. We seem powerless to change the drift of Johnson's policy and are reduced to cheering Robert Kennedy and Fulbright whenever they make the slightest gesture of revolt from consensus. There is no solution to this problem in winning elections or building a political movement to capture the legislative branch of the government. We are not going to beat the power structure by playing by its rules. Our job is to build a mass movement. Methods of pressure and struggle will then evolve.

This movement is growing. What NUT has dubbed the "Bar Mitzvah of American Intellectuals" (The Vietnam War protests) may be the beginning of a new understanding among students and young faculty members. The Negroes and other oppressed groups within our society are beginning to connect

political conference position

long-range political perspective which unites city wide activity and takes organizing out of a particularized context (a context doomed to fail--witness Saul Alinsky in Chelsea, 1958) and places it on a city federal wide basis, and an approach which goes directly into the community and calls for local participation and control of their own C.I.P.A.'s (a C.I.P.A. on 82nd to 88th st., on 16th to 20th st., etc.).

The N.C.U.P. model, on the other hand, is the basis for the little-big city organizing, like in Newark or Cleveland. In these areas, the translation of a political perspective is in terms of the expansion of a community project into the city as a whole. Therefore organizing is intensive and local participation and control is a priority. There is no explicit political perspective since the project is working with one social group, the poor, which had been unable to formulate for itself its own objectives and goals. But the project goes beyond the particular community area as Fruchter states, since it contains within itself the representation of the whole. N.C.U.P. is the seed of power in the area.

Structure then is minimal and leadership, though present, is confined to immediate practice and not to long-range perspectives.

What links then the C.I.P.A. and N.C.U.P. models are the problems of power and control in technological society. Politics in America is exploitative and what the Revolution means in technological society is the abolition of politics. But in our country, everything has political meaning and all activities are defined in a political context. Therefore, power is political control, which, though it is related to an economic base, is defined by political manipulation. To abolish politics we must radically transform the contemporary political structure. Therefore, CIPA and NCUP are two models which must have a common long-range perspective: the political transformation of American society. What is lacking is any explicit alternative to corporate society. At this stage, radical politics must be multifaceted, independent and intensive on the community level, and have a critical analysis that goes into the problem

electoral activity advocated

in their minds the establishment's vigor in prosecuting the war in Vietnam and its lethargy in prosecuting murderers in the South. The unemployed and even some militant trade unionists might be made to see the connection between the war and the pressure on wage levels. (Johnson's wage guidelines for increases are actually below productivity increases for 1965). The war can become a focal point for organizing and building a radical movement.

The previous attack on elections as a road to power does not preclude the possibility of election work as a road to building that movement. From the left, PL has criticized voting as a middle-class phenomenon. This is not an argument against but one for this tactic. Those most shocked by the Vietnam war have been students, and other middle class people. In addition, the poor peoples' conferences have indicated a desire for united action and continued dialogues between isolated local movements. Among the interracial poor, people are just learning to express their feelings and want to broaden their outlook to include problems beyond their own communities. This purpose could be served by an election campaign. The Southern movement because of extreme repression has been concentrating on voting as an organizing method. Thus, in all three groups, elections are a way to mobilize and unify the people. Now, it is my personal opinion that people will be badly disillusioned with the possibilities of our political institutions. However, that will be a great education in itself. It does not detract from the long term goals.

My proposal is, in rough outline, to authorize SDS chapters to support peace candidates and other radical candidates for Congress in the 1966 Congressional elections, and in local elections. These organizations should stay together in their own district expanding membership and activity from the 66 to the 68 elections. Contacts should be established with other groups, exchanges of views should be made, etc. and in 1967, a national convention should take place representing all these local groups and all other left, pacifist, and independent groups to found a coalition political party aimed at a national campaign

in the presidential election of 1968. The coalition could be as broad and unstable as the members wish because our aim will not be to win power and effect a new program but to mobilize more and more people to the causes of immediate peace, freedom now, and jobs or income now. We should try to bring the same kind of unity with diversity that the 5th Avenue marches against the war in Vietnam have obtained.

There are many points that people will be raising in their minds immediately. How could SDS do this? I do not propose that SDS become the new political party. I propose that SDS be a vital center from which the enthusiasm for this project would expand to local organizations. In many cases, the local areas are doing it with or without our help. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic party could be the Mississippi branch. The Black Panther organization is another example. The Newark community organization project would be the nucleus in that community. The key point of this is to let the simmering revulsion against the Johnson administration boil over on the local level into independent political activity. All national organizations like SDS, DuBois Clubs, SNCC, Women's Strike for Peace, and even militant unions like the ILWU, etc. should be urged to publicly encourage the nomination of "peace" candidates or independent radical candidates on the freedom or poverty issues by local members. Publicizing the spontaneous actions along this line might spur other local areas to do the same. Where two or more groups exist they should try and reach agreement on a single candidate. Objections as to basic differences are not a problem. Any way to increase the vote of the non-establishment parties and give the people a "choice not an echo" as the first step in building a movement should be welcomed. The extent of accommodation can vary but each local group should be free to campaign on its own reasons for supporting the given candidate who must be prepared to accept pluralistic backing. Even supporting a PL candidate in certain areas where their backing is strong should not be shied away from. If the SLP and SWP cannot be per-

of power and change. The Movement has to make these positions real and concrete.

SUGGESTIONS

- 1- That SDS people be involved in independent political action projects, either the CIPA and NCUP models according to your style of organizing and where you want to be.
- 2- That any community action not be construed as a social-reform, social worker effort; that community projects, are not service your neighborhood activities but wish to bring about a radical change in society; that community projects at this point in the movement are educational whether they wish to give a voice to the poor, or develop an independent movement for social change.
- 3- That these commitments by student activists must be long-range and are a way to bridge the gap between what the hell do we do after we finish school and I wanna change this damn society.
- 4- That in N. Y. we have two projects incipient but developing in Chelsea and the Lower East Side on the C.I.P.A. model, and these can be immediately strengthened by S.D.S. organizers.
- 5- That a National Independent Politics Conference should be attended by all these activists.

It will be held in Detroit in the second week in June (right before the N. C.) and will bring together these groups with different approaches (Alabama SNCC, MYDP, CIPA, ERAP, etc.) in a working conference. The development of a nation-wide political perspective and strategy has never been so tangible a possibility as it is now.

The Movement for the first time might really become a movement.

Bob Gottlieb

suaded to come together this will be a loss but perhaps the 1966 results will convince them to change their minds in 1968. The national headquarters of all organizations should be a transmission belt of enthusiasm and the local organizations should work out their own special problems as they see fit. The only unifying goals should be -- as many votes and committed people in 1966 as possible, a national campaign in 1968, a mass radical population in the years that follow. Campaigns in local areas completely divorced from national organizations should be contacted and encouraged to join in the 1967 convention.

This convention should emphasize and insist on support for three short term demands from members in the new party (since electioneering is only a short-term tactic, why demand long term agreement?). These are: 1) Immediate withdrawal from Vietnam (and no appeasement to SANE and other liberals), 2) Freedom Now (our platform committee should have a ball documenting the bad faith of the federal government and the establishment), and 3) Jobs or Income Now (a way to dramatize the collaborationist nature of American Unions which have quietly shelved their once militant demand for a guaranteed annual wage). The platform need not elaborate on how we would do this but should document fully how and why the establishment has not done any of it -- and will not do it. It is much easier to unite in criticism than in positive action, and I propose we take full advantage of this. However, if people feel there must be a set of promises, we can promise to use the powers of government that exist already to bring about our short-term demands further documenting the bad faith of the power structure.

I believe that the campaign would have a role in terms of long-run and short-run strategy. In terms of long run strategy it provides increasing contact and communication between local community organizations about tactics, the replies of the establishment, etc. Struggle on this level of activity would further radicalize people into accepting the need to continue if need be outside of the rules of the

(continued on page 7)

Now, late in the game, white Americans are "rediscovering" the Negro college. In this there is supreme irony. For the white community, determined to preserve racial segregation, made the separate system of higher education for Negroes necessary and inevitable. If white people now find that the majority of Negro colleges fall short when measured against standards of educational preparation or academic freedom they should consider the extent to which whites contributed to the situation, largely through indifference and neglect. Even today most white people can name scarcely a handful of the leading Negro colleges in a system of more than 120. And I have met many college-educated whites who persist in holding to a long-passed, choir-and-spiritual conception of Fisk and Hampton. Of the state-supported schools they know nothing.

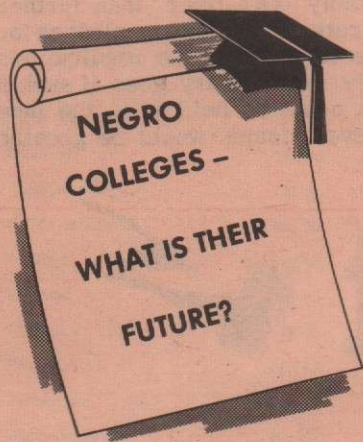
History

Through the late nineteenth century and on into the twentieth the Negro colleges, normal schools, institutes, struggled to survive and to educate in the face of innumerable obstacles. While Northern white philanthropy supplied important financial and educational assistance, even this support was all too frequently enmeshed in a system of white paternalism and Negro dependency. At first, Negroes could not even preside over and direct their own institutions. Later Negro college presidents had to acquiesce in the humiliating and dependent role forced upon them, although there were several notable exceptions. They asked for what they could get from the white power structure -- private sources or state legislatures. They kept silent about the double standard of justice which meant ample funds for white institutions and a trickle for the "colored school" across town. They accepted, at least in public, the "law" of "separate but equal" knowing it meant for Negroes separate and unequal from grade school to college. And when they turned from outer to inner world, from community to campus, they often ran their schools with an iron hand, keeping teachers and students alike strictly "in line." Booker T. Washington, famed graduate of Hampton and founder of Tuskegee, whatever his many contributions to advancing Negro education, had also contributed to a fatal weakness in curriculum in assenting to the devastating white stereotype that Negroes were, at bottom, really better with their hands than their heads. Hence the excess of courses in tailoring, carpentry, upholstery which, as W.E.B. DuBois pointed out as early as 1900, were perfectly honorable crafts but said nothing to the aspirations of those Negroes who happened to want to be historians or mathematicians and were perfectly capable of being so. All these patterns were found in my own institution, Hampton Institute. The white founders were highly motivated and deeply committed. At the same time, and for far too long a time, they kept the presidencies for themselves, kept the Negroes subordinate and dependent, and kept alive racial segregation in housing, dining, interpersonal relations -- just as on the outside.

Results

We of the 1960's, black and white, can scarcely judge these men, black and white, of another era. Given the climate of the time could they have done otherwise, or better? What we do know, reading novels such as Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* or Saunderson's *Redding's Stranger and Alone*, is something of the fearful psychological price that Negro presidents, teachers, and students had to pay in order to obtain a precious, even if inadequate, education. What we do know is that, despite the oppressiveness of the segregated society outside the campus, and despite the handicapped character of the education offered within, many Negroes won through nonetheless to careers in the professions, the sciences, the arts. Yet even here the pattern of discrimination and segregation took its revenge. Knowing the barriers which lay ahead, students tended to overconcentrate in preparation for teaching, preaching and the civil service where the protected jobs were. Often this meant not only a stifling of

deeper aspirations but a later reinforcement of an isolation already keenly felt in the Negro undergraduate subculture. Returning to teach exclusively in the Negro college or in "Booker T. High", Negroes were deprived of what opportunity to test their ability and experience, as **individual men and women**, in the full mainstream of American society. The extraordinary thing was not the number of Negro college presidents and teachers who became, like many white men with less reason, wily political manipulators and academic time servers, but the numbers who managed **quand meme**, to instill in students the excitement of learning something and the expectation of being somebody.



By Richard Robbins

Recent Developments

Today, in Negro Higher Education many things have changed and some things are the same. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 and subsequent crises and events broke the back of segregation as an accepted way of life. Negroes have been going to integrated colleges in greater numbers in the North and in token, but steadily increasing, numbers in the South. The students themselves played a signal part, through the sit-ins, in demolishing one of the most humiliating aspects of going to a Negro college in the South: that one left the campus for relaxation only to find the movie house and lunch counter were tightly segregated. What the North Carolina A. & T. students began in 1960, sitting-in in Greensboro, has now been virtually completed, thanks to students all over the South. The public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 set the seal on what they accomplished.

Southern state legislatures have, belatedly, put extensive funds into the physical plant of the state Negro colleges. Many are transformed in this respect, although the legislatures have yet to show the same concern for the vital, nonmaterial resources (such as teaching personnel and cultural events) which give purpose to the spanking new buildings. Most of the private colleges in the system, both religious and nondenominational, have also launched comprehensive fund drives and building programs. And the stronger private schools--Morehouse, Hampton, Fisk, Tuskegee, Talladega, and others--are making an impressive effort to correct present deficiencies which stem from the segregated past. They have exchange programs with large universities in the North; they sponsor, with federal and foundation help, programs to upgrade the work of entering freshmen or high school graduates; they are seeking more white students to provide something of the integrated experience; they are aiming at bringing salaries and teaching loads into line with general practice. The weaker schools, public and private, lack the resources to follow in the wake of the leaders, and they remain more imbedded in the kind of autocratic-bureaucratic system I have described above as characteristic of an earlier day. Nonetheless, they are trying to move in the same direction, however fitfully.

Student Activity

Most important of all, the students who care--not those, who like their white counterparts in white schools are simply drifting through four years or keeping out of the draft -- are increasingly concerned about the very real shortcomings in their education. As their involvement in the external world of the civil rights movement is now more searching and sophisticated (jobs, and votes, and "white power structure", and **Black leadership** in place of breaking the color bar in the local drugstore), so their involvement in their own internal world of campus community is now less timid and passive (why such early curfews, so high-handed an administration, such gaps in the calibre of the faculty, such overprotectiveness toward girls who are in fact women?). If some of the student resentment is sheer restlessness and diffuse "bitching", common to all campuses black and white, there is nonetheless a deeper and authentic current running here among a growing number of Negro college students. They know and understand the reasons why, going all the way back to segregated kindergarten and what it means to grow up black in Mississippi or Alabama, their school is no Harvard, University of California, Oberlin, their achievement level is below par in science, mathematics, clear expression in English. But they have every reason today to ask why their school is not even up to the comparable white Mississippi State or Alabama State and why their high schools did not give them the same preparation for college as the white high schools in Jackson or Birmingham. And they want their presidents to put the same questions to state departments of education and private boards of trustees.

Still, with all the change and ferment, there remains disquiet about the present condition and future status of the Negro college system. It is true that generalizing about Negro higher education today is difficult. The complex stretches from Maryland to Mississippi, includes a Fisk and an Alcorn A. & M. (where, incidentally, the students of this state supported institution in Lorman, Miss., are up in arms against their own administration) at opposite poles of quality. Traveling to many Negro college campuses in recent months I found a pluralistic diversity and unevenness comparable to the white system -- a range of Negro colleges and not "the Negro college." The worst college in the South happens to be a bastion of white supremacy and segregationist thinking. And the best happens to be integrated.

Major Problems

Nevertheless, putting aside these qualifications and conceding that a small number of Negro colleges can stand up competitively with any schools of comparable size and level, no one can doubt that the average Negro college is below average and that not all the grievous faults are due to the heritage of survival-in-the-midst-of-segregation. Since Negro college students are less than 5% of all college students but Negro colleges take an estimated 40-50% of the Negro population in college, we are not dealing with a minor phase of a major problem. The recent McGrath Report (*The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition*) does not advocate closing or combining the weaker schools, as suggested by a number of critics, both Negro and white. It does, however argue that only a truly prodigious effort will bring these schools into the educational mainstream. Prof. Bernard Harleston, of Tufts University, himself a graduate of Howard, is both more biting in his criticism and more hard-hitting in his proposals than the McGrath group. He is troubled by the parochialism implicit in the location of nearly all of the Negro institutions in 17 southeastern states and by the relative scarcity of really competent scholars and teachers in the system. Writing on "The Negro in Higher Education" (*Atlantic Monthly*, Nov., 1965) he says harshly, "the educational opportunities which many of these institutions offer are so limited in range and depth that what they call higher education is at best a cruel

hoax." In his view only a few of the schools "have yet reached or can hope to reach full educational maturity," measured in terms of "an able and intellectually curious faculty and student body, adequate library resources, laboratory and classroom facilities, and an intellectual climate committed to academic freedom and intellectual integrity." Accordingly, he concludes that "the concept of the Negro institution is an anachronism" and that "Negro institutions, like Negro education, must be integrated into the larger context of education." He recommends that the smaller and weaker schools should be closed, radically transformed, or turned into integrated junior colleges or pre-college centers. Meanwhile, the Fisks, Howards, Morgan States, can be depended upon to become multiracial, cosmopolitan, predominantly Negro institutions able to hold their own in the general competition. The others will have played out their historic role.

Much of this critique is well taken and on the mark. But I believe it to be premature. In the first place, until integration proceeds much more rapidly in Southern, previously white institutions, the Negro colleges of mediocre calibre will have to stay open to accommodate those Negroes who wish to go on to college but do not qualify for, or cannot afford distant travel to, the better Negro institutions. At last count there were 7 Negro undergraduates at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, S. C. When there are 700 then it will be time to close the all-Negro Alien University in the same city, a school which is indeed pathetically inadequate and whose diploma is worth little to the Negro who obtains it. Yet to argue along these lines in only to point up a deeper problem. There are too few Negro students in the Dukes and South Carolinas of this country not only because of remaining racial restrictions in higher education but also because the Southern grade school and high school system is not preparing a large enough group of Negro students for the general college and university system. And that in turn has nothing to do with race; biological difference has no bearing on why one student passes French and the next does not. Rather, we must face the fact that in the South, especially at the high school level, no truly functional integration has yet taken place. When white and Negro high school teachers are assigned to schools across the board in large numbers; when Booker T. Washington High and Robert E. Lee High are more or less the same in the composition of their student populations and in the distribution of their students, from drop-outs to college-bound; when high school athletics in the South are played between schools of the same size and strength irrespective of race (athletics are no small matter to adolescents); when the dual racial structure of state and local educational units is terminated and a Negro is chosen to be superintendent of a "white" system because he happens to be the best man available -- when all these and many other changes take place, only then will individual Negro youngsters, before college, be in a position to choose, as whites already choose, "the college that seems right for me." By the same token, on the basis of a radically changed high school experience, a given white student will conceivably be in a position to choose what was once stigmatized by his parents as "the colored school" and is still predominantly Negro in composition. He will do so not to expiate the white sins of the past nor to run up the flag of white liberalism in the present. He will do so, if he does, because high school will have prepared him to look beyond race for "the college that seems right for me." In the meantime, awaiting this far off day, the Negro students who are now in the weaker Negro colleges must protest against being short-changed educationally in their own institutions as they have protested against segregation in the community outside. The crisis at Alcorn A. & M. is the child of the sit-ins launched from North Carolina A. & T.

A DRAFT PROGRAM FOR SDS?

This seems the right time--with the Freedom Draft card in circulation and the Draft-test program moving--to raise the issue of a program on the draft. It seems to me, moreover, that people's needs are desperate and unmet. And we've yet to examine some of the reasons for the fiasco last fall over a proposed draft program. I want to say at once that I think a draft program is urgently needed, that the needs could have been and still can be met by SDS, and that the retreat from a program last fall was unfortunate and unnecessary.

propose

The need: various pacifist groups provide counselling on the draft and conscientious objection and try to raise the issue in colleges and high schools. A few small "anti-draft" committees have done a little of both. But work in the Negro and working-class communities is almost nonexistent, in the high schools sporadic and discouraging at best, and among students without much clear political thrust. Most of all, there is no substantial force to give unity and movement to this work, nor an organization at this stage giving it leadership. To put it another way, the vast majority of young men, especially those most subject to the draft, are not being reached on the issue which affects them most directly and which, in their lives, is where the war comes home.

The SDS program now, while valuable as an initial step, seems to me both gimmicky and inadequate. The Freedom Draft Card is a gesture, which will remain empty unless people signing it do actually begin working on programs to build now. As things stand, what does it really mean, concretely, in terms of one's own life as you live it today and tomorrow, or in terms of the work of community organizing projects, or in terms of the political realities of the war machine, that you've signed such a card and sent a piece to your draft board? Send a picture post card from Peking.

The May 14 Vietnam test, while an educational project in itself, has no clear extension built in. And whether one encourages people to take or not to take the draft-dodge test isn't the question. For if there isn't a program for men to commit themselves to if they don't take it, then not taking it becomes an admirable gesture of protest and an assertion of a moral stand, but not a politically meaningful act. And gestures of protest and moral stands, fine in themselves, must now be translated into politics.

Focus for a program: I think that, though the present Selective Service Law expires in June, 1967, a simple "end the draft" campaign is neither practical nor very useful from the point of view of SDS. But a campaign that

focuses on the "Freedom to Choose" idea contained in Booth's "build not burn" statement can provide a real cutting edge that is at once effective on the war and responsive to SDS's broader concerns.

I would see three major prongs to the campaign:

1) An effort to enlist support for legislation to embody the "build not burn" freedom to choose idea--which would have wide appeal in the liberal community and which would provide an excellent platform to approach new people. The idea stirred some interest in Congress--for whatever that's worth--when Booth proposed it.

2) People--at least a couple of thousand--must begin to live out that freedom to choose by work now in projects to build here and elsewhere. We must make a commitment to help provide opportunities for such work. I wouldn't in any sectarian way wish to restrict such work to SDS or SNCC projects, but would include union organizing, OEO programs--anything of positive social value--here, in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic. Men might then



draft



be encouraged to sign their Freedom Draft Cards and send the tear piece, maybe with their SS cards, to the SS System, saying "I'm now doing my Civilian (Alternative) Service; you can remove me from the 1-A (or 2-S) lists."

3) Organizing broad and meaningful support for the people engaged in #2 (which may--or may not be--civil disobedience). This is crucial. What has to be done is to get thousands of workers in programs, SDS'ers, VISTA's, etc., committed to saying "if they draft any of us to burn, all of us--and the people we work with--strike." Only solidarity and organization could turn such a program from witness into meaningful politics.

This kind of campaign speaks to a number of the key issues here: First, the inadequacy of the C.O. provisions and administrative regulations governing "granting" of C.O. status. I think that many non-religious "all-war" objectors are being denied C.O. status; we certainly haven't established the legitimacy of "particular war" objectors, let alone Vietnam war objectors. And those who pretty well accept violence but won't fight in Vietnam fall outside anything except jail. If we mean it when we say to people "we believe you have the right to choose how to serve your society," then we have to begin to take concrete steps to make that possible. Legislative change won't come about without direct-action pressure.

Item #2 of the program would be a way of saying "we're not waiting for S.S. to change the regulations or the 150 (C.O.) form, but we're declaring

ourselves C.O.'s and putting our commitments to build to work." The analogy here is to the guys who didn't wait for new laws declaring them human beings, but sat in at lunch counters demanding to be treated as human beings. It may be that a legal argument can be made that men who declare themselves C.O.'s in this way, not submitting to absurd theological tests and character scrutiny, are within the law. What the legal possibilities are isn't at all clear, and I'd like to hear good legal imagination put to work on this. For example, the S.S. law--as distinct from the S.S. regulations--does not require a man to fill in form 150 to apply for C.O. status. It may be that this direct approach will provide a means of challenging both the form and the narrow C.O. provisions of the law. The moral challenge provided by a large number of men actually building as they refuse to burn can be considerably sharper than further demonstrations or voters pledges or town meetings. And the implications for where this country goes if such a program could be held to in the face of whatever comes would be greater

than those of the sit-ins for the South. For to acknowledge the right to such choice is the first great step to putting aside war as an instrument of national policy and to undermining the coercive power of nation-states over their citizens.

Second, we have to give substance to the Freedom Draft, and to refusals to accept 2-S or test deferments, so that these become not only protests against the war, but means of implementing SDS's larger concern to build a new society. To have a few thousand people working in liberal and radical programs of community action and organization, north and south, would be a major step in that direction.

This gives concrete meaning to the "build not burn" slogan, provides a means to unify the anti-war and the ERAP elements in SDS's program, which always have seemed to be flying off in opposite directions.

It permits men to undertake a form of nonviolent direct action which, like the sit-ins, is a protest, an acting out of what it is you wish to do, and a means of mobilizing considerable community sympathy behind you.

A few reflections on the Fall experience: When MFDP came back from Atlantic City, the State of Mississippi had an injunction prohibiting their use of the name "democratic" or really functioning as a party. They did anyway because the choice lay between continuing under the threat of jail or remaining in the prison of segregation. SDS in the Fall backed off from what seems to me now a far less threatening situation.

The Federals talked very tough, acted up a bit in a few places, but finally managed to accomplish their purpose--a retreat from a draft program--mainly by talk. The draft program partly got hung up on issues of internal democracy. But mostly it got hung up on lack of understanding and on apprehension (fear, Myrtle). People feared that practically anything the organization said about the draft could be used to destroy all the nice SDS clubs we were building (though it ought to be pointed out that membership leaped after the program was announced). For example, people thought we couldn't urge men to apply

program

for C.O. status. We can; I do. I urge anyone who thinks he might qualify or ought to qualify or hopes to qualify to apply for C.O. status. Don't rule yourself out; let the draft board decide if you don't. We'd like it if the people could decide.

People were afraid the draft would be used to stifle dissenters; they've been trying to use it, and it hasn't really worked except as a threat. No one has been drafted or jailed through SS law because of his political views. But people got scared we would all be hung.

Then people felt SDS shouldn't "divert" its resources into such a program, but should concentrate on the war and not on a symptom of the war system. Well, maybe someone can tell me what more relevant programs have been generated since the Fall, and how you can focus on anything like the war without coming down on the issues it raises in the lives of the people affected? But maybe we should just talk about inflation and corporate profits and leave it at that.

The long and the short right now is that there wasn't a program that might have laid the groundwork for a more ambitious one, and we were left with fragments.

The real question I have in my mind is this: are things ready for a peace program that will challenge the nation as fully as the Mississippi summer project challenged that state and the U.S.? It is easy to carry banners around the White House twice a year and down Fifth Avenue once. It is easy to sign petitions, and cards, and pledges, and checks. It is easy--very easy--to cop out of the draft. And it's easy to say such a program is visionary; so was organizing a Freedom Party in Mississippi, or a union of hatters, or a liberation front. The question is, are there enough people to confront the war system with their lives, with the very way they live their lives, and stick together until it gives? It's not too much to say that until there are enough such people, the system will brush us away as gnats attacking a jet.

Paul Lauder

ranking view from roosevelt

(Continued from page 1)

terize the whole anti-war movement as merely a movement for student's special interest. The program says "If not opposed, this process (grade based draft) sets the basis for the destruction of possible student mobilization against the war itself." This war movement among students is their fear for their own safety. And if such a movement arises of unenlightened self-interest, there would be a grab for the most immediate way of getting out of the draft -- an attitude will arise of attempting to create a "screw-you" movement towards people outside the university and community. Students will come back to the old argument that they are being trained and therefore have more to contribute to society. This is almost inevitable if this movement is to be mobilized largely on the basis of anti-draft sentiment (anti-student draft, that is) and not convince people by touching upon the

nature of the war and American society itself. The student movement will be pictured as once again removed from the concerns of the bulk of Americans.

While we feel that the immediate fear of being drafted causes many to question the war, it is not the only means of establishing a firm student anti-war movement. This is not to say that immediate self-interest is not a prime, if not the prime organizing tool -- who can say, for instance, that it is not in the interest of the American people to end U.S. intervention and economic domination in the underdeveloped world. However, we feel that people with humanistic and/or political objections to the war can be a key component of the anti-war movement -- and that the development of large numbers of people with such objections is being neglected by the program.

And if a strong movement based on self-interest, were to be built, we feel the draft program almost precludes such development, for a number of reasons:

A. If the university capitulates and agrees not to send information to the draft boards, the draft program itself states that the probability is that the government will be forced "to draft students randomly." This might mean that large numbers of students will counter-organize to protect their "interest" and that the opportunity of discussion with them and organizing of them will be effectively closed -- and included among these will be those who have the most potential for being organized.

B. If the above were to occur, the probability is that there would be immediate changes instituted in the law, requiring the university to send in the information. Obviously very few academic institutions have the guts to jeopardize their continued existence by such violation of the law. And while we agree that a substantial movement would learn much from such an experience about the nature of universities and the ruling structure of this country, we have a certainty that the intelligence of most students is such that they will perceive that the victory

is not possible on this basis and that the above is an eventuality. And perceiving this, they will not be willing to undergo the sacrifices that such a program necessitates, and therefore the validity of people learning through such a struggle is negated because people will not rally around a lost cause.

We're presenting this critique as a possible focus for discussion and we hope that, out of this discussion, can come either a clarification of the strategy and tactics of the program, or a synthesis producing a perhaps more viable idea. We are not attempting, in any sense, to attack the validity of anti-draft activity, but simply have serious questions about the way in which this question should be handled.

-- authored by Bernard Farber and Fred Kushner, Roosevelt SDS concurred in by: John Douard, Joan Lichterman, and Jeff Segal.

electoral activity advocated

(continued from page 4)

system. In terms of short-run strategy (and this is an argument that would be very strong in convincing all the mutually distrustful leftist splinter groups to support this campaign), the goal of bringing about Johnson's defeat for re-election is realizable. First of all, there have been signs ever since the Mansfield Report has been published, that the Republicans are moving into "flexible" opposition and watching the war from the sidelines ready to pounce at the 1968 campaign and win it as Eisenhower did in 1952 with his "I will go to Korea" statement promising an end to the war. (See MR, for March 1966). All the democrats and liberals who voted for Johnson only to see him adopt Goldwater's policies will still not want to vote Republican against the man they resent so bitterly. A positive choice should be offered to all people who want to defeat Johnson -- and a vote for the new party is a vote against the Democrats!

Speaking about internal SDS problems, the election should give us an idea of what we must do to retain relevance in the face of the changing struggle at home. An adult organization to keep the "graduated" old members of SDS in "action," as it were, seems called for. The debate on ideology and long-term goals versus pragmatic improvisation will be helped to a conclusion through this action.

I want to take the rest of this note to reply to Staughton Lynd's criticism of this approach (Nat. Guardian, March 16). The best criticism he makes is in the form of a rhetorical question: "Can the relatively superficial ritualistic actions required of persons by an electoral campaign really be expected to build a movement more effectively than the more serious commitments required by, say, a rent strike?" The key problem with a movement bent on actually attaining some kind of power -- whether through nuisance value with Lynd's direct action, or pressure of persuasion, or through

actual revolution (however that could happen in the U. S.) -- is to gain the active support of at least a large minority of the population and the passive support of a majority. The key problem here is education. As far as an historical struggle goes, our movement is still in diapers! We have to educate the people before they will make the serious commitments required. An election campaign is an excellent way to educate people. The commitment required by a rent strike may make people willing to engage in direct action, but that does not make these people subscribe to the "contradictions of American capitalism" described by Lynd as acceptable to all or most of the left today (a statement which I agree with). In fact, Lynd himself gives examples of how poor people might NOT be anti-imperialist. An election campaign would draw all the threads together (as Robert Scheer is doing in Berkeley) and be a great lesson in political struggle to many people. Thus, I disagree with Lynd's criticisms of the election approach -- while also disagreeing with his support of it. He claims the discussion makes us face the question of power. The electoral approach if anything

POSTPONES the question of power. It in fact will do nothing more than PROVE that it is NOT the way to power! It will, however, help build a movement because it will reach more people. Lynd predicts we will "choose to return to a kind of organizing which demands more of a constituent than that at stated intervals he pull a lever in a curtained booth; . . . My point is that you must start somewhere when constituents don't even exist. If one becomes moved to pull a lever in a curtained booth and then discovers it does no good, one may have become committed enough to want to do more. Convincing him to pull that lever is important -- and much easier at first than convincing him to try and stop a troop train with his body or even to march anonymously down Fifth Avenue. Of course we want a movement not a party. But how about trying a party as a way to build a movement?"

In closing, I want to make it clear that, the preceding paragraph notwithstanding, I share Lynd's vision and believe that when 50,000,000 Americans come to share the same vision, we will not NEED elections! VENCEREMOS!

may 14 summary of daft exam tests given

Chicago

On May 14, we passed out our test at over 700 of the 1150 draft exam test centers. We estimate that over 350,000 copies of our test were handed out. The response to the test varied from people rushing out of the test centers to grasp copies of our test to students giving the leafleters the cold shoulder. The national office has received information requests from over 90 people in the three days since the test. The only arrests made that we know of were in NYC. In two places, U. of Tenn. and U. of S. C., the tests were confiscated by university officials and the leafleters were requested to see the officials at some other time to talk over the problem.

This was the largest coordinated anti-war demonstration in recent history (in terms of numbers of places leaflets were passed out). This also was the first truly nation-wide demonstration (the South and the Rocky Mountain areas were hit with more than just isolated incidents). In addition to these facts, there were local actions involving sit-ins, rallies vigils, etc. in more than a score of places.

value for NLN is almost nil. Newspaper items are not written by SDS members, nor are they written for a specific SDS readership, and they just do not serve our purposes. What is needed is a short delineation of the conditions which led to the action undertaken by the group, and an estimate of how well the activity answered to those conditions. In this way other chapters can learn from the experience and be in a better position to decide what ought to be done in similar situations.

Another reason why newspaper clippings are almost inevitably worthless to NLN is that while they are merely news and not relevant data for guiding similar action elsewhere, by the time NLN is able to publish them, they have long since ceased to be news.

Spending a little time writing up an insider's summation of what has happened or is happening will make one group's learning experience with that project accessible to other groups, and therefore of use to them. Such a writeup should include such things as:

- 1) What problems led to the initiation
- 2) What specific tactics were employed and how they fitted the peculiarities of the situation.
- 3) What unexpected difficulties arose during the execution of the project and how they were dealt with.
- 4) The extent to which the project was successful.
- 5) Shortcomings of the project and how they might have been

remedied.

The article immediately preceding this one mentions sit-ins, rallies, vigils and other activities, but no adequate analysis of their good and bad points is included, for the participants have not submitted any, and it is impossible to effectively evaluate any activity while sitting in the NO. In this case, even those who had promised detailed reports did not submit any.

Providing critical evaluation and attempting to delineate the road ahead is the duty of those of you directly involved in local projects, and no one else can do it for you.

Speck

anti-draft late news

CHICAGO, May 19th. SDS led forty sit-ins today at Roosevelt University in Chicago. There was a distinct threat of arrest.

MADISON, May 18th. 7,000 students marched up the hill at the University of Wisconsin to meet President Harrington and Chancellor Fleming. The administration announced a faculty meeting has been scheduled for Monday to discuss ranking. The Inter-Fraternity Council and the Student Government have joined to back the student demands.

CHICAGO, May 19th. A faculty meeting originally scheduled by the University of Chicago for Friday the 27th, has been moved forward to Tuesday the 24th. Students against the Rank have voted to take principled stands against 2-S, the whole draft system, and the tests.

NEW PALTZ, May 19th. At this branch of the State University of New York, a large demonstration is scheduled for Saturday; Bard SDS has been working with the movement here. 40 are sitting-in and sixteen are fasting.

NEW YORK, May 19th. The CCNY faculty voted a principled stand against university cooperation in Selective Service today, in which President Buell Gallagher concurred. A mail ballot of the faculty failed to cancel the Selective Service test. At Brooklyn College, a sit-in began today with 110 participants. **ITHACA, May 17th.** 50 students and three faculty sat in the Administration Building today after a rally, and the doors were locked. Seven people were locked in the President's office.

rio grande valley project

If the Rio Grande Valley Project is to reach fruition, it must be helped along for at least the first few months by your contributions. You can help by purchasing a sponsoring membership card for \$1, or by becoming a charter member and pledging a small monthly amount to support the project.

THE HARVEST SEASON IS HERE IN THE MELON FIELDS IN THE RIO GRANDE VALLEY IN SOUTH TEXAS. This work is highly seasonal, requiring that the crops be picked within a few days. Beginning on May 19, there will be a strike among melon pickers under the sponsorship of the Independent Workers Ass'n. THIS STRIKE WILL SUCCEED OR FAIL DEPENDING ON OUTSIDE SUPPORT. YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS AND FOOD SHIPMENTS ARE NECESSARY.

With your help the farm workers can win gains similar to those in Delano. Wage increases from Under \$.70 an hour to a minimum wage scale. Union recognition with plans to rally the unorganized in all of South and East Texas.

The eventual change in the power structure of the ultra-conservative Texas government to one more sensitive to working class needs.

Although primary emphasis will be placed upon the organizing of workers, the project--with your help--will also include the following:

1. Free English classes for the Spanish-speaking five days a week.
2. Free food and clothing, as available, for needy families.
3. A translation service for visits to the doctor, etc.
4. A credit union, an insurance plan, and a consumer's co-op.
5. Free legal assistance and a day care center.

"A Crime Against God and Man."

This is the way a prominent minister recently described the plight of farm workers, "America's forgotten people." But the farm workers are at last on the move, and recently in California they obtained their first union contract when the giant Schenley Corporation capitulated after a long strike.

"If it can be done in California, it can be done in Texas."

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED!

Personal assistance requested. Preferably bilingual (Spanish and English) though not necessary. If contribution campaign works as expected, a small stipend will be available for full time workers. Living space is available. The organizational work should last through the summer growing season. WRITE, WIRE OR CALL for further information.

Daniel Schacht 713-JA-30515
1620 West Main Houston, Texas 77006

NO N.C. OR CONVENTION SITE SET YET

The vote on the location of the National Council meeting scheduled for June 13-17 remains deadlocked. A slight edge from inadequate returns puts its location at San Francisco. However, due to the sizable split, the National Office will ascertain whether it's possible to bring a quorum to S. Francisco (either by the votes of East Coast delegates indicating they can go there, or by finding money for travel grants), before it chooses to put it out there, and we are holding Ann Arbor as a backup site.

The National Convention will probably be held at Camp Summerhill, on an island in the Mississippi near Minneapolis.

IMPORTANT!

Summer Addresses Needed

SEND US YOUR SUMMER ADDRESS NOW!

SUMMER ADDRESS		PERMANENT ADDRESS
NAME _____		NAME _____
STREET NO. _____		STREET NO. _____
CITY & _____ STATE _____		CITY & _____ STATE _____
ZIP CODE _____	(P.O. Requires Zip Code on all 2nd Class mailing)	ZIP CODE _____

SUMMER ADDRESS CHANGE

FROM _____, 1966 TO _____, 1966 CHECK BOX IF PERMANENT CHANGE

if you aren't paid up, pay your dues now!

National SDS dues are \$4, \$1 of which goes for New Left Notes.

Non-member subscriptions are \$5.

Projects & Announcements

nyc summer projects

1) **Labor Project** -- The region has established a labor project which will give SDS members a chance to work in organizing a plant in New Jersey. The SDS people will be working inside the factory, making contacts with the workers and discussing shop grievances and the need for a union in fighting for redress of grievances. The work will be 9 to 5 work, and the SDS people will get regular factory wages. This project is one of the first opportunities for N.Y. SDS to follow Joe Hill's advice--"Don't mourn for me, organize!" There is also the possibility for similar work with other unions in the N.Y. area. Interested people should contact John Fuerst, 663-6526.

2) **Chelsea CIPA** -- Chelsea CIPA is a community organizing project to be held in the west twenties and thirties by the SDS members. The project is modeled after west side CIPA (Committee for Independent Political Action) organized on the upper west side by Jim Weinstein and Stanley Aronowitz. The committee will organize around the war in Vietnam as well as around local issues. The seminar series for the Chelsea project has been running for three weeks now. At the first one, Jim Weinstein talked about "An Overview of Community Organizing", at the second, Bob Gottlieb led a discussion about the Chelsea area, and at the third, Marty Sklar talked about "Domestic policy and the Corporations". This week, Father Jencks of St. Peter's Church will give a perspective of the neighborhood. Upcoming seminars will include "Agencies, Issues, Constituencies", "Vietnam and the Draft", "The War on Poverty" and "Techniques of Organizing". Come if you're interested -- the place is St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 20th St. between 8th and 9th Avenues; the time is 7:30 Thursday evenings. These seminars will probably run for another 6 weeks or so and actual organizing will start in June.

3) **Grape Strike Boycott** -- A national boycott has forced Schenly to sign with the National Farm Workers Assn. in

Delano, Calif. This summer, there will be a second boycott of goods produced by DiGeorgio, one of the largest growers in Delano. In N. Y., we will attempt to force all products affiliated with DiGeorgio off the shelves of all large supermarkets -- and this alone could force DiGeorgio to recognize the rights of grape workers. The project will include consumer information boycott activity, publicity work, and negotiations with the supermarkets. Interested people should contact the office.

4) **Vietnam Organizing** -- Plans have just begun to establish a SDS Vietnam project for the summer. Little has been formulated as yet, but the project will probably follow the lines established at the Antioch N. C. for a local "town meeting" on Vietnam. An attempt will be made to activate a community on Vietnam.

5) **Summer Education Workshop** -- The regional office plans to establish a weekly series of forums and discussion groups similar to those now going on in some of the chapters. The forums will feature speakers knowledgeable on American radical history, economics, foreign policy, and social structure and the discussion meetings will be based on a reading list yet to be established. If interested, call Jerry Tenney, 254-4299.

6) **Publication Program** -- The office hopes to use its spare time this summer in preparing a series of publications for regional and national distribution. Besides reprinting SDS standards which are now out of print, we are looking for new papers to publish -- and we can always use typists and mimeograph machine people to print the papers.

7) **Fund Raising** -- Hopefully, the summer can be used to establish the region on a firm financial base so that chapter activity next year can have unlimited resources at its disposal. Again, ideas and aid in carrying out fund raising proposals are needed.

If you are going to be in N. Y. this summer, there is room for you. Work!

John Fuerst

berkeley defense fund

Twelve participants in an Anti-war Street Demonstration (April 12) now face trial on misdemeanor charges. Six of these people are charged only with violating the possibly unconstitutional Berkeley sound ordinance. The other six -- none of whom served in a leadership role during the demonstration -- could each be jailed a year or more for various counts of "resisting arrest," "riot," and "disturbing the peace."

The arrests coincide with other evidence of a "tightening up" by the Berkeley authorities. During the demonstration, the formerly tame Berkeley officials led a number of club-swinging assaults. The same week a May Day Parade was prohibited under a new regulation requiring twenty day prior notification for permits. And in deciding to press charges, the city officials purposefully ignored the use of sound equipment by the two most "respectable" speakers, Paul Goodman and Hal Draper.

The trials begin May 17. Money is

desperately needed, at least \$5000. Donations should be sent to:

April 12 Defense Fund
Council for Justice
2886 Telegraph Ave.
Berkeley, California

Steve Weissman

**"vietnam: setting
the moral equation"**

A brief letter for New Left Notes

Until a REP publication begins to come out with regularity, I think we should be using the pages of the New Left Notes to recommend important reading. One such is Howard Zinn's piece on revolutionary violence, "Vietnam: Setting the Moral Equation," in *The Nation*, January 17, 1966. I understand it is available for 10 cents from the American Friends Service Committee, 44A Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. (cheaper in bulk).

Todd Gitlin

NEW LEFT NOTES
1103 E. 63rd
Chicago, Ill. 60637
Return Requested

Application to mail
at Second Class postage rates pending
in Chicago, Ill.

J. Walton Senterfitt
2115 S St. NW
Washington, DC 20008