

National Conference For New Politics

by Paul Booth

The National Conference for New Politics is an interesting combination of liberal peaceniks and movement radicals trying to find ways of making an impact on electoral politics and of using the electoral arena to build political opposition in the United States.

SDS has been involved with NCNP in a number of ways. From its inception, SDS leaders have been invited to its meetings, and, as reported from time to time in *New Left Notes*, have participated on its board. The National Council has never tackled its relationship to NCNP (and didn't have time to get to that subject at its June meeting), but a resolution passed at the April NC on electoral politics has been used by SDS people as a binding mandate with reference to electoral involvements. The present article is a supplement to my National Secretary's report and is a brief version of 50-minute presentation I made to the Conference on Political Organizing held prior to the N.C.

NCNP had a meeting in Summer 1965 in Santa Barbara, California, at which the issues which have figured in its subsequent history were first made clear. Although SDS did not have a representative there, Mike Miller of California SNCC argued a "movement" position. One division at that time was over the movement's assertion that activity in politics is only worthwhile if it leads to

the building of a permanent organized constituency. Another was the question of timetable; the peaceniks wanted to put all their effort into protest candidacies in 1966; the movement wanted to build over a much longer haul, and in many cases not even get involved electorally in 1968 (not until enough strength had been organized).

At a second meeting, over Thanksgiving in Washington, these issues were discussed again, and another element (money) was introduced. Consensus was reached that further dialogue was needed and that conferences should be held to broaden discussion beyond the 125 "leaders" assembled at that occasion. On the question of disbursing funds raised, no guidelines were set down, but the meeting set up a committee to deal with the problem. Miller at the time argued that the group that disbursed the funds should not represent the liberal and movement groups, but should be composed like a foundation of independent people, so that the money-disbursing meetings would not turn into the occasion for a new Coalition where decisions would be made about movement priorities in an unrepresentative manner, and in a way that would presume the desirability of such a coalition.

It came to pass that money became available to back electoral action. This happens every two years. And because no staff had

been found, no progress had been made on conferences and dialogue. So at the third meeting (of the money committee) SNCC and SDS decided that it would be better to be represented on the decision-making body in order to vote some of the money to long-range organizing activity than to stay out of it. Paul Booth, Lee Webb, and Tom Hayden represented SDS at different times on the committee's Board.

As it transpired, it was the liberal peaceniks who were willing to "bet" on NCNP to the extent of supplying it with a staff person (Paul Albert who was put in the office by Californians for Liberal Representation). So the emphasis was on the 1966 timetable. A large amount of money was spent or channeled to the Howard Morgan primary campaign for Senate in Oregon, chiefly in response to Senator Morse's argument that that campaign had symbolic importance as the first confrontation between the pro and anti-administration forces. Other campaigns receiving financial backing (of a much smaller scale) were the five Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party candidates, the Earl Harris campaign for city council in Newark

(backed by NCUP), Mark Comfort's campaign for the Assembly in Oakland (Comfort is a black militant there based among Negro gangs and the Oakland Direct Action Committee), Theodore Weiss in the 19th CD in Manhattan (the reform anti-war candidate against the incumbent Farbstein), 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action in Chicago (no candidate at this time).

The financing was raised from a few well-off donors who were willing to channel their money (presumably for maximum effect) through NCNP -- partly because they were interested in backing both Movement and Peace Campaign efforts -- and from an ad in the *New York Times* and direct-mail solicitation. In the last month a great deal of uproar has been raised from candidates and movements which were cited in the ad as proof of the existence of New Politics activity, but which did not get financial backing. This revealed to NCNP that it had existed solely as a funds committee with no real connection to the very real grass-roots activity that had taken electoral forms.

(continued on page 3)

Smelling Our Way To Dover

David B. Chaddock

One could imagine a situation guaranteed to bring the war in Vietnam to an end, a situation not too drastically removed from conditions as they are today, but a situation which, nevertheless, will probably not arise because very little is being done to bring it about. Let us suppose that Vietnam policy were debated extensively on national television two hours every night for three weeks. Let us further suppose that every shade of opinion were fairly represented. Each and every argument the Administration has offered in defense of its policy would be considered in its turn. Boring speakers would be excluded as much as possible consistent with the policy of representing every point of view. During the day people would be discussing the arguments of the previous night, and looking forward to those of the next night. The whole nation would in effect become a town meeting. Is there any doubt as to what would be the result? (The troops in Vietnam would watch too so it would not be too great a shock for them to be called home.)

I do not claim that this imaginary situation can become a reality. I would like, however, to make the following points.

(1) Any approximation to this visionary ideal would be to the good--for example, a magazine circulated nationally featuring

transcribed debates, articles representing every point of view, with rebuttals and counter-rebuttals, and designed to be read by the average man. The central point is that all of us opposed to the war should not simply expend our efforts on the local level to the detriment of possible nationwide activities. For example, could the \$5,000 which it takes to run an ad in the *New York Times* be better spent to help sponsor a venture which

Thoughts

would reach the boondocks as well as the big city?

(2) It is well known that as opponents of the war we differ amongst ourselves almost as much as we differ with the Administration. The difficulty is to find a strategy which all of us can support. It would seem, however, that no one ought to object to an endeavor which would give increased circulation to his own point of view, albeit to other views as well.

(2a) Despite what I have just said, one issue might still divide us. The student movement will not cooperate with a policy which excludes Communists, but other groups are fearful that the American attitude toward "Communist infiltration" (viewing it as analogous to the Black Plague) will poison all constructive effort. But in a debate, no group

or individual would be forced to compromise its identity, and perfect freedom would exist to air all differences, including those between Communists and anti-Communists. Communist participation (all open and above board) would only demonstrate the modest role the Communists are actually playing. It would be a unique educational experience for the American public.

(3) It is undeniable that political opposition must eventually be created if our efforts are going to be successful. But if we do not concurrently escalate our educational activities, the running of our own candidates will not in itself be sufficient to create an opposition. With an ideal candidate, the campaign

on Strategy

itself can of course be educationally valuable. But the effort is local, and tremendously expensive. And furthermore, large areas of the nation (such as the South) are not ready for it. Then too, the impact of the campaign is all too brief. And even if (wonder of wonders) your man is elected to office, how much good will he do when his best speeches are tucked away in the *Congressional Record* and never heard of again? There exist about a dozen Senatorial opponents of the war already, but people have only a vague notion of what they have been saying on the floor of the Senate. For example, the last two speeches of Senator Morse (May 16

and 27) have been completely ignored in the mass media. Shouldn't some thought be given to the problem of making the views of the already existing congressional opposition more widely known? Actually, if a method could be found of appealing directly to public opinion, representation in Congress would take care of itself. Were our position potentially competitive, candidates could be found by the dozens. Why must we wait until election time to start influencing public opinion?

(4) We are failing to exploit one of our biggest assets. Only a small minority of Americans is dead set against debate. Furthermore, many of those who believe debate would "aid the enemy" are not permanently wedded to this belief. Indeed, most of the arguments justifying this position are puerile in the extreme. Yet it is undoubtedly the case that vocal proponents of this line are effectively putting pressures on the mass media. I suggest that an organized effort be made to convince people that, no matter which side they are on, debate would aid us much more than the enemy. Such a strategy, successfully pursued, will pay enormous dividends.

As a matter of fact, most of those who are supporting the Administration would not be unamenable to a stepped-up discussion of the war. If I might venture a guess about the dominant attitude of the American public (continued on page 3)

National Council Minutes ... continued

Motion to set up a task force to bring their ideas to the convention on programs relevant to the campus Negro.

Motion to table. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED

Motion to hire a full-time black organizer to develop programs.

Motion to table. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to establish the following sequence and time limits: civil rights, other (one hour) draft (45 minutes), Vietnam (45 minutes). Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to empower the national administrative secretary to appoint a seven-man committee. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to pass a resolution supporting political prisoners in Ghana.

Amendment to have the national office print up and distribute the Ghana resolution in addition to its being printed in *New Left Notes*. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Vote on Ghana resolution: Show of hands--no count CARRIED.

The chair passed to Liora Proctor.

Motion to construct a sense-of-the-body resolution on establishing a paper separate from *New Left Notes*. WITHDRAWN.

Wire:

Carl Oglesby, Students for a Democratic Society:

In view of urgent situation in Mississippi urge you to join us now in national committee for free elections in Sunflower County Mississippi. Negroes can press right to vote under 1965 voting rights act. Our letter with details follows. Please answer by June 24.

Harry Belafonte
Fannie Lou Hamer
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Paul Moore, Jr.
John Pemberton, Jr.
National Committee for Free Elections in Sunflower County

Motion to act on wire with highest priority. No objection CARRIED.

Motion to release SNCC resolution at press conference. No objection. CARRIED.

Motion to explore the possibility of having fraternal relations with the Southern Student Organizing Committee, Student Religious Liberals, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Northern Student Movement, Young Christian Students, National Student Christian Federation, Liberal Religious Youth, The Methodist Student Movement, and Campus Americans for Democratic Action.

Amendment to include the Student Union for Peace Action.

Vote on motion. Show of hands--no count CARRIED.

Motion to change "exploration of fraternal relations" to "establish fraternal relations" on all groups except CADA.

Vote on motion, show of hands, no count,

CARRIED.

Vote on main motion, show of hands, no count, CARRIED.

Motion: A major problem within SDS is the sense of isolation that many constituencies, at this point vaguely related to SDS, feel from the main body of the organization. This sense of isolation is defined not only by geography. By and large Negroes have little relation to SDS because there haven't been SDS civil rights programs. There are some high school chapters but up to now no high school program. And there has been much talk of the desirability of a "Movement for a Democratic Society," but little except symbolic steps toward involving in the organization's work people older than the general run of the present membership, both those who have and have not moved away from campus ties.

Therefore, resolved that SDS consciously (continued on page 4)

TAKE NOTE!

SDS Constitution

Ed. note: There have already been several proposed constitutional amendments which have appeared in NLN. The editor understands that there will be more and is therefore printing the entire constitution so that people will have not only the proposed amendments but also the document which these amendments might be added to in front of them.

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

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

It maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent. It seeks a relevance through the continual focus on realities and on the programs necessary to effect change at the most basic levels of economic, political and social organization. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program whose methods embody the democratic vision.

ARTICLE I: NAME

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

ARTICLE II: AFFILIATION

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

ARTICLE III: MEMBERSHIP

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

Section 2. S.D.S. is an organization of and for democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any anti-democratic principle as a basis for governmental, social, or political organization.

Section 3. Dues The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council.

Section 4. Associates Individuals who do not wish to join the S.D.S., but who share the major concerns of the organization, may become associates with rights and responsibilities as defined by the National Council.

ARTICLE IV: CHAPTERS AND AFFILIATES

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

Section 2. A chapter may be chartered at any meeting of the National Council. It must be considered for chartering at the first meeting of the National Council after it has submitted to the N.C. a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles and notification of election of N.C. representative(s). In the period between the submission of the required information to the National Office and the next National Council meeting, the chapter may be given a provisional charter at the discretion of the President.

Section 3. Chapters are expected to operate within the broad terms of policy set by the National Convention and the National Council. Points of conflict should be referred to the National Council and a procedure established to make the issue public to the organization. In matters judged to be detrimental to the interests of the organization, the National Council shall have the power to cease whatever activity that has been brought into question. The matter shall be finally resolved by the National Council in meeting or referendum.

Section 4. Associated Groups. Independent groups can affiliate as associates of S.D.S. by vote of their membership and designation of a liaison representative to sit on the

National Council with consultative vote. The representative shall be a member of S.D.S. Such association is provisional until the approval of the National Council. The form of the relationship shall be worked out in each case between the group and the National Council.

Section 5. Fraternal Organizations. National or regional organizations whose programs and purposes are consistent with the broad aims and principles of S.D.S. can be invited by the National Council to be fraternal with the S.D.S. and have a fraternal vote on the National Council. Such organizations shall appoint a liaison representative who shall be a member of S.D.S.

Section 6. S.D.S. welcomes the opportunity to co-operate with other individuals and organizations in jointly sponsoring specific action programs and joint stands on specific issues. The National Council shall be empowered to determine specific co-operative activity. (Co-operation does not imply endorsement.)

ARTICLE V. CONVENTION

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

Section 2. The Convention shall serve to debate major issues and orientation of the organization, to set program mandates to the national staff, and to elect national officers. The Convention shall not be the policy-making body on specific resolutions.

Section 3. Representation. Chapters shall elect Convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five S.D.S. members in the chapter, each delegate to have two votes at the Convention. Individual S.D.S. members shall have the right to attend the Convention with one vote each. Delegates from associated and fraternal groups shall be elected by a procedure determined by the National Council. The National Council shall draft Convention rules, accreditation procedures, and other requirements.

ARTICLE VI. NATIONAL COUNCIL

Section 1. The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative elected from each chapter with five to twenty-five members, and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof; in that chapter; (2) the seventeen National Officers; (3) elected liaison representatives from associated groups (with consultative vote); (4) liaison representatives from fraternal organizations (with fraternal vote); and (5) national staff (without vote). In all cases, NC members and liaison representatives must be members of S.D.S. No more than three members from one chapter or associated group may serve concurrently as National Officers.

Section 2. The National Council shall be the major policy-making and program body of the organization. It shall determine policy in the form of resolutions on specific views within the broad orientation of the organization; determine the program priorities and action undertaken by the organization consonant with the orientation and mandates set by the Convention; charter chapters, associated group and fraternal organizations; be empowered to suspend chapters, with the right of appeal to the Convention. The NC shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration of budget, and organization of fund-raising; interviewing and appointment of the National Secretary; appointment of the committee chairman and representatives to the L.I.D.; drafting an annual report; making arrangements for the Convention.

Section 3. The National Council shall have the power to appoint standing committee to carry on its work between its meetings.

Section 4. The National Council shall meet at least four times a year. A quorum shall be 40% of the voting members. National Officers may designate specific alternatives. Chapter and liaison representatives may be represented by designated alternates from that group.

ARTICLE VII. NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE

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

ARTICLE VIII. NATIONAL OFFICERS AND STAFF

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

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

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

Section 4. The National Secretary shall be the chief administrative official of the organization, responsible to the President and the National Council. He shall be appointed by the NC for a stated period of time. The National Council may also create and fill additional positions of Assistant National Secretary. Other staff positions shall be created and filled by the National Secretary.

ARTICLE IX. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

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

Section 2. The determination of policy, program, administrative procedures of S.D.S. shall be subject to the review of the L.I.D.

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

a. S.D.S. concerns shall be communicated by the Student NC to the L.I.D. Board of Directors through the Student Activities Committee.

b. L.I.D. concerns shall be communicated to the Student NC through the Student Activities Committee and shall be considered by the

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Citizens for a Democratic Society, a non-student offshoot of S.D.S., and dedicated to building a society in which war and human suffering cannot exist, has come up with a new answer to the plaguing question of how much the individual can actually do to affect the course of this country's actions—an auto boycott.

C.D.S. believes that it has found the one language the doves can make the hawks understand—dollar sign language. As most of us know, whether we actively realize it or not, ours is an economically based society. Your votes may not have that much effect in a ballot box (especially when there is no real choice between the candidates) but they will have if you vote with your dollars.

Pursuing this theme, C.D.S. researcher Ed Ferrentz hit on the one really major, central industry which is directly dependent on the public—on you—for support: the auto industry.

Further research revealed that this is a bad year for the industry already, due to various factors; not the least of which are the re-instituted excise tax and the highly questionable safety of the autos themselves.

The auto companies maintain a staff of highly trained, quite influential lobbyists in Washington, who make their voice heard to great effect in the councils of government. Also, the industry is central to the economy, and many other basic industries depend upon it for a large part of their business. Further, the re-instatement of the excise tax was President Johnson's last des-

NC, special referendum, or annual Convention in a manner jointly determined by the NC and the S.A.C.

Section 4. S.D.S. shall designate four of its members, including its President, to serve on the L.I.D. Board of Directors with vote. In matters of policy, they must represent the S.D.S. Convention or NC between Conventions, but their vote is not bound by that policy.

Section 5. The L.I.D. Board of Directors shall appoint, in consultation with the NC of the S.D.S., a Student Activities Committee to serve as the liaison representative of the Board in Relation to S.D.S. The functions of the S.A.C. shall be

a. consultation on matters of organizational development, policy, and administration
b. consultation on matters of finance and assistance in preparation of budget requests to the L.I.D.
c. consultation on matters of intellectual or ideological importance of the S.D.S. program.

ARTICLE X: PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

In all cases not covered by this Constitution, Robert's Rules of Order, Revised Edition, shall be the authority governing S.D.S. business.

ARTICLE XI: POLICY AND DISCIPLINE

Section 1. Any member of the organization, including the Officers, may be expelled or relieved of duties by a two-thirds vote of the National Council. Due process shall be followed in all cases.

Section 2. Any two chapters, or one-third of the National Council, can initiate a national referendum on any question.

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

ARTICLE XII: AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended by one of three procedures:

a. by a two-thirds vote of the Convention in session on amendments introduced at the Convention, in which case the amendment will take effect at the following Convention;
b. by a two-thirds vote of the membership on referendum, in which case the amendment will take effect immediately upon adoption.

Originally adopted in Convention, June, 1962.

Amended in Convention, June 1963

Amended in Convention, June 1964

Amended in Convention, June 1965

Proposed Auto Boycott

perate bid for war money without resorting to a politically disastrous tax increase.

Lessening the flow of taxes from this major source will place the hawks in a ticklish financial situation.

And most important, this industry is directly dependent on us. The war industries depend on Congress, the basic industries depend on the finished product industries, but the consumer product industries depend on the average Joe for their income. All by yourself, you can strike a damaging blow at those who see the death in Vietnam in a dollars and cents light.

Thus, C.D.S.'s auto boycott. Pledge cards are distributed which state simply,

I will not contribute to war prosperity while the Vietnam war goes on.

I therefore pledge to buy no automobile until our troops come home.

Withdraw American troops from Vietnam at once.

These cards are distributed in groups of five with explanatory letters. Copies are to be mailed to the President, the heads of the Big Three auto companies, and one to C.D.S., for a count.

Any interested organization or individual is invited to send requests for information orders for cards, ideas or suggestions—if possible with vitally needed contributions—to C.D.S., 924 Howard Street, San Francisco, California 94103.

Tom Long
for CITIZENS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY



MISSISSIPPI MARCH SCENES

HECKLERS, MARCHERS AND COPS



Smelling Our Way

(continued from page 1)

(compare Al Capp) it is one of loyal support for the Administration, plus fatherly concern about the unenlightened youth who haven't been properly educated. An offer of tremendously escalated debate, properly presented, would be enthusiastically received by a great many people as an opportunity to teach our youth what is really going on.

Another untapped asset is the First Amendment to our Constitution, wherein we are guaranteed "freedom of the press." It ought to be pointed out, as the Hutchins Committee did in 1947, that, as originally conceived, this was supposed to be a right to unrestricted information possessed collectively by the public. The press was supposed to be merely a medium of dissemination of this information, thus guaranteeing that groups in opposition could not be prevented from conveying their ideas to their fellow citizens. Today, when the press (and radio and television as well) are owned and controlled by a small minority as businesses which cannot afford to alienate potential customers, unpopular opinions are a liability. This situation was simply not foreseen by the authors of the Bill of Rights, and the present crisis in Vietnam makes it obvious that a fresh inter-

pretation of the Constitution is now required. It ought to be the right of the American people to witness a fair confrontation between the Administration and its critics.

Johnson certainly has an Achilles heel. His policy is based on sheer stupidity and could not survive a debate. But until we gain political leverage, until we have a voice of our own in the public forum, our position will continue to be ignored or misrepresented. Despite our best efforts, we will continue to be manipulated. It does not do us any good to hold a trump card if we are unable to play it.

Why do we continue to tolerate the obvious evil of an uninformed public? Must we allow an unnecessary immoral war to be prolonged, a war which depends for its very existence upon a flood of misinformation and an absence of democratic discussion? Must we continue to waste our energies in limited or fruitless (or even self-defeating) activities which make us look ridiculous as a political force? One of the President's favorite expressions is reputed to be: "He can't find his ass with both hands." We ought not to allow him to employ this locution at our expense. Being on the right side is cold comfort if we only play the role of Cassandra.

Question SNCC Resolution

There are some very good points made in the Resolution on SNCC passed at the June National Council meeting. It is important to express our solidarity with a brother organization which is under attack, to applaud the internationalism of such an organization, and to express our intention of working closely with such an organization as SNCC. And it is good to support the concept of "black power" as a strategy for building a movement for social change; it is pointed out that "racism and exploitation confront Negroes as a group, together," and it seems quite logical that collectively-felt oppression should naturally bind an oppressed people together in their struggle against it. And finally, it is a very important realization that it will take more than some white students and an oppressed minority group to force significant social change, that serious work must be done among such groups as the white middle class, working class, and under class as well.

There are, however, certain points in the resolution which I think we should re-examine.

A minor point, perhaps, is the statement that "the United States is . . . an essentially racist culture." The United States is a geographical area within which the many different cultures, all of which in one way or another inter-twine and blend to form a single and very complex thing which might be called "the American culture." There are indeed strong elements of racism in this culture, and in different ways and in varying degrees this affects all people who are a part of this culture. If SDS is to claim that it offers the movement solid radical thinking, it must strive to deal with the complexities of the reality facing us and refrain from sweeping over-simplifications and buckshot analysis.

Another part of the resolution reads: "We agree, then, with SNCC in asking why Ne-

groes cannot seek to live and rebuild where they wish, in their own schools, with their own economic base . . ." This is rather ambiguous. Is this a call for black counter-communities, independent from the rest of American society? Does this mean a black economy which is independent of American capitalism? If so, I think we should recognize that this sort of thing has been tried a number of times, before and since the Brook Farm experiment, and that it hasn't worked. If this statement is not a call for these things, I think it should be clarified.

One of the key passages of the resolution reads: "If we really want to help we will be organizing primarily among the powerless, the disenfranchised, the dependent whites - poor, working class, and middle class - toward their power in communities, unions, and professions, so that they may move toward authentic alliance with the organizations of black power." This too is somewhat ambiguous. In reading it over, I get the picture of whites organizing themselves separately and blacks organizing themselves separately, that once this is done the two separate organizations will establish an alliance to bring about social change. Is this what is meant? If so, how does it apply to trade union activity - are there to be separate black unions? How does it apply to the student movement - are black students to organize separately? How would it apply to SDS - would we discourage Negroes from joining us? And how does all of this apply to the experiences of the Newark and Cleveland projects? Strategies which are practical and necessary in certain areas and certain situations may be inadequate for others.

The Resolution on SNCC is an important one. I think these are some points which should be further discussed and clarified.

- Paul LeBlanc

NEW LEFT NOTES

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VOLUME 1, NO. 24 let the people decide

JULY 1, 1966

New Politics Report ...continued

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There have been dozens of peace campaigns this year, reflecting much more than liberal politics at work again. These campaigns have received their impetus primarily from a revulsion against Johnson foreign policy. As the war continues, more and more middle-class Americans move into protest activity, and of a much more militant and potentially radical sort than predecessor middle-class peace movements of the Cold War period (the Stevenson enthusiasm and the Ban-the-Bomb movement). As recognized by the SDS National Council in its April resolution on electoral politics, it is very important for us to try to give leadership to this movement. More and more it is the case that that job is abandoned to SANE and to the public relations men in Bobby Kennedy's hotel. We have a great deal to say to these people about how foreign policy is made, about the need for a radical alternative to Cold War ideology, etc. A radical candidate like Scheer mobilized tremendous enthusiasm, such that he received 45% of the vote in the primary against the liberal incumbent (albeit in a non-machine situation). Further evidence of the receptiveness of the middle-class peace movement to our leadership and analysis is provided by their lack of enthusiasm for the milquetoast SANE Voters Pledge.

The NCNP held a school for new politics in Ann Arbor immediately following the N.C. meeting there. SDS people like myself and Bob Gottlieb of the New York office had taken responsibility for turning out atten-

dance and did a poor job, but the group that assembled was composed of people with very deep experience in new-style politics. Proposals came out of that group for discussion by the NCNP Board which would take it off the timetable of the people who merely want to run peace candidate protests votes.

a- make conferences and dialogue the first priority for NCNP, with the aim of holding in the near future a large number of regional conferences on new politics and hopefully sustaining and outlining tasks for the activists who have been engaged in peace politics and movement politics this spring.

b- essentially accept Mike Miller's old proposal for separating out the fundraising and allocating committee from the political committee.

At its most recent Board meeting (May 1966) the NCNP established a small Committee was given the responsibility for detailing alternative courses of action for 1968 and promoting their discussion around the country. (Some that come immediately to mind are 1- running unpledged peace-and-freedom slates of delegates to the party conventions; 2- developing a new political platform; 3- developing a relationship to a Morse candidacy or a draft-Bobby movement; 4- running an independent Presidential campaign.) These need to be discussed seriously in SDS as well as outside SDS.

There have been some hangups in the organization about entering into relationships with the new peace movement. For

example, SDS at Berkeley opposed the Scheer campaign (because it was in the Democratic Party primary). In fact, when I endorsed Scheer before talking to Berkeley people (thinking wrongly that the Scheer campaign would be a nearly ideal vehicle for movement radicals - as opposed to old left sectarian radicals - and presuming that SDS would play a leading role in the campaign, especially considering that Scheer himself has been an SDS member and former pitcher for the SDS New School of San Francisco softball team) I found that I had to spend the better part of a month living down that statement.

It turned out that Scheer's campaign met all the tests set out in the April N.C. resolution on electoral politics: it laid the groundwork for future radical organizing in the district both among middle-class people and in the ghetto, (500 people attended a post-campaign meeting on What Next), it established an independent political force (and in fact demolished the old liberal coalition in the district), and it made the judgment on Democratic Party vs. independent on the basis of local electoral laws - which make independent campaigns almost impossible.

There are a number of ways for SDS radicals to relate creatively to the new politics activity around the country.

1 - We should be backing those organizing projects which we started two years ago and which are now entering into electoral activity: JOIN, NCUP, Hill Neighborhood Union in New Haven. Both financial backing and the recruitment of new staff apply here.

2 - By the same token we should be backing other movement political activity, such as the Lowndes Country Freedom Organization.

3 - We should be developing programmatic priorities with middle-class peace activists in mind. We should discuss the specific programs that would make it possible for these activists to fight against the war machine as well as the war itself - an attack on the draft, or a fight against military foreign aid and the CIA, or some other suggestion. As well, we should be making much more clear the program that we have for attacking poverty and inequality in America. These are not more intellectual exercises; hopefully the Committees for Independent Political Action in New York, Chicago, and elsewhere in which SDS is involved will be able to contribute to that discussion out of their experience.

4 - We should participate in those electoral campaigns that will continue until September or November if they meet our criteria of connection to permanent organizing, radical program, possibility for radicals to work creatively, etc.

5 - We should elaborate more concretely our criteria for participation in electoral politics.

And, 6 - if the National Conference for New politics decides to help forward the discussion of these questions by organizing regional conferences and providing an organizational form for people interested in building an independent new politics, we should participate actively in it.

More National Council Minutes

(continued from page 1)

seek out opportunities for taking steps toward a movement for a democratic society, these to include: a) Encouraging formation of community-based chapters like that in Hyde Park-Woodlawn b) Seeking out opportunities, in REP and elsewhere for older, movement connected people to contribute their time and abilities; c) Implementing programs for SDS work in churches and trade unions; d) Electing more broadly representative members to the NAC; e) Forming a summer study group to develop further concrete proposals toward this end.

Motion to table: Show of hands--no count DEFEATED.

Vote on motion. Show of hands--no count CARRIED.

Motion to send a non-delegate out for sandwiches. Show of hands--no count DEFEATED.

Motion to adjourn for dinner. Show of hands--no count CARRIED.

Motion to discuss the draft upon returning.

Show of hands--no count CARRIED.

The session was adjourned at 5:50 P.M.

SEVENTH SESSION

The seventh session of the national council meeting was brought to order at 7:45 P.M. by Liora Proctor.

Discussion of draft.

Motion to have the report of the draft workshop be reprinted in New Left Notes. No objection CARRIED.

Vote on deciding which document to use as a basis for discussion. Show of hands: first resolution 12; second resolution 21; abstain 4.

Amendment to have the document end with the words: "SDS declares the following: no rank, no test, no 2S, no alternate service, no draft, no army, no war!"

Substitute motion to make the proposed amendment constitute SDS' resolution on

the draft. Show of hands -- no count DEFEATED

Vote on amendment: Show of hands. First vote: yes 17; no 17. INDECISIVE. Second vote: yes 14; no 20. DEFEATED

Vote on accepting preamble. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED

Motion to reverse stand on preamble. Show of hands -- no count DEFEATED

Motion: In pursuance of this position, the national office is instructed to aid chapters and regions in preparation of programs revolving around both university participation in the military system and community anti-war work, and to prepare literature and information services in support of these programs. Voice vote. CARRIED

Motion that SDS participate in and co-sponsor a draft workshop in the fall with the Inter-University Committee on War and Peace. Voice vote CARRIED

Delegation from the DuBois Clubs of America headed by Rick Eisenburg.

Motion: the office is instructed to communicate to each of the community projects to make their own decision as to participation in the DuBois Clubs' proposed March, and to send representatives to the planning councils of the march if they do decide to participate.

Amendment to ask that the DuBois Club write up a signed article for publication in New Left Notes about the march. No objection CARRIED

Amendment: that NAC will attempt to provide funds for those community projects wishing to take part in the march. Voice vote CARRIED

Vote on main motion. Voice vote CARRIED

Motion to adjourn. No objection CARRIED
The National Council was adjourned at 10:15 P.M.

Fund Raising & Convention Program

In one fantastic double brainstorm, revered ex-National Secretary Paul Booth and trusty fund-raiser Paul LeBlanc conveyed of a magnificent way to 1) prepare for the National Convention; 2) strengthen and demonstrate the strength of our alliances with groups and individuals at all levels of society; 3) keep the National Office functioning during the summer, i.e., keep SDS afloat financially.

The idea is a Convention Program.

Beautifully printed on glossy paper, the Program would consist of two parts. The first part would include the agenda of the convention, a full list of our chapters, letters of greeting from honored and respected friends, a report from the President of SDS, a complete history of Students for a Democratic Society, some photography of people and what they're doing, and some works by movement artists.

The second part of the program would consist of contributory greetings and advertisements from supporters and sympathetic individuals; from other organizations; from periodicals and book publishers, etc. In this section we should have expressions of support and solidarity from many, many friends. This would be a very definite indication of SDS and movement strength on the local and national -- and perhaps even interna-

tional -- level.

All in all, it would be a beautiful and valuable document, showing -- to a large extent -- what the movement is, what its roots are, where it's going. We contemplate a printing of 10,000 copies. We are now moving into the first stages of preparing this Program.

We need your help.

The second part of the Program -- if it is to be truly successful -- must be done in large part on the local level. And work must be begun immediately. The task: collection of contributory greetings from faculty friends, local religious groups, sympathetic trade-unionists, civil rights groups, peace groups, various groups with which you've worked, etc. There will also be sections for greetings from parents of movement people and also for children of movement people. (Also, chapters which have met their fund-raising quotas will be included in a special section.) This involves, then, going to supporters, friends, and allies, describing the Program, describing the financial condition of National SDS (grim), and asking them to have a contributory greeting placed in the Program. The tentative deadline is August 1, 1966.

Rates are as follows:

full page \$100.00

1/2 page 50.00
1/4 page 25.00
1/8 page 12.50
greetings from parents 10.00 per set
greeting from children of people in the movement 1.00 per name

Let it be emphasized that this is a most urgent project. If successful, it will provide a great source of financial support for the National Office through the summer. Without such a source of support the National Office cannot effectively function through the summer.

ORDER FORM

I wish to place a contributory greeting in the 1966 Convention Program of Students for a Democratic Society. I am purchasing the following:

—full page --- \$100.00
—1/2 page --- 50.00
—1/4 page --- 25.00
—1/8 page --- 12.50
—parents' greeting -- 10.00
—greeting from movement children -- 1.00 per name

I would like my greeting to read as follows:

(Print name and message above as you wish them to appear in the program.)

Name _____
Address _____
Date _____
Local or national SDS representative _____

SEND THIS TO SDS NATIONAL OFFICE

RECEIPT

_____ of _____
(name) (address)

has had a \$ _____ contributory greeting placed in the 1966 Convention Program of Students for a Democratic Society.

Local or national SDS representative _____

CONTRIBUTOR KEEPS THIS

NAC Minutes

NAC-Staff meeting Thursday 23 June 1966

Agenda was: 1. Funds, 2. Chapter mailing, 3. Liberal Study Group, (CADA), 4. Publications (esp. VDC pamphlet), 5. Moving Office, 6. Napalm program, 7. Brochures -- SDS introductory, Speakers, fundraising, 8. Press conference, 9. Office procedure -- Volunteers, mailing NLN, typewriters, 10. HUAC.

People attending: Aerlin Weissman, Bob Speck, Greg Calvert, Jane Adams, Paul LeBlanc, Art Rosenblum, Paul Booth, Earl Silbar, Jack Weinstein. NAC members absent: JOIN (Mike James), Paul Lauder.

1. It was pointed out that there is a continuing money crisis -- staff haven't been paid in two weeks, a shipment of paper is arriving at the Laurence printing office c.o.d. \$1000, debts are piling up. Aerlin is putting out an emergency chapter mailing Monday appealing for funds. Booth's fundraising booklet will be ready by the middle of next week. Sue Robbins is holding a small fundraising party to feed staff. Paul LeBlanc is writing a fundraising brochure.

2. A chapter mailing will be sent out Monday containing information on the National Convention, a lit. list, and fund appeal.

3. CADA has asked SDS to co-sponsor a liberal study group at the NSA convention, as has been traditionally done. We will sponsor speakers and have literature available.

4. VDC is offering to sell SDS their Vietnam pamphlet at 9¢ each. It was felt that the pamphlet needs revision before it could be used as a general introduction. The discussion of publications was tabled until the regular Sunday NAC meeting.

5. Due to the rising tensions in the neighborhood (staff being beaten up, rumbles, etc. beginning) the staff feel the need to

move the office. Greg Calvert is looking for a suitable place.

6. At the NC, Pete Orris gave Jane Adams literature the Fifth Ave. Parade Committee has put out on a program organized around Napalm production. He wanted an NC ballot sent out. He is being requested to follow the given constitutional procedure -- getting two chapters to submit a request for the ballot, and to write up the position statements.

The idea of calling for an international boycott of U.S. goods was discussed. Speck, Silbar, and Weinburg will research it and raise it for discussion in NLN.

7. Booth suggested a speakers brochure be drawn up. Members should send in names biographical sketch, & photo of people who can be available full or part time to speak on general or specific topics, nationally or regionally.

Speck to write a notice in NLN to that effect. It was noted that people from a chapter that has just had a major event could speak regionally, thereby raising money and publicizing us. The NO should help regions coordinate such speaking.

8. There will be a press conference Monday in the NO to talk about the SNCC resolution and general proceedings of the NC.

9. Greg Calvert will try to recruit volunteers who will come in regularly and dependably to help do the routine "alienating" work. Working typewriters are needed (only two work in the office, and those not well).

10. Earl Silbar brought a copy of HR 15678 to the meeting. It is a bill that is currently in HUAC, which would make all "clandestine" organizations illegal. It is apparently intended to hit the Klan, but would include almost all other existing organizations. Earl is checking with a lawyer and civ. lib. groups with Paul Lauder to find out the status of the bill and get an analysis of

it. To be discussed further when more information is available.

Jane Adams

NAC minutes...

Present: Jane Adams, Greg Calvert, Paul LeBlanc, and Aerlyn Weissman. Bob Speck and Paul Lauder were away on legitimate grounds of putting out NLN and traveling out of town respectively.

Aerlyn was given a weeks time off to attend the Chicago AFSC Midwest Summer Institute July 2-10.

On moving the office. For several reasons (prospect of summer riots, high rent, etc.) it has been decided to move the NO from 63rd Street to a near west side location (sympathetic landlord--cheap rent, safer area--we hope.)

The Regional Coordinator Steve Baum was mandated to provide a speaker for the

Spanish Action Committee march on Tuesday rather than sending the National Secretary.

Stanley Teplich, who will be with us shortly and will be working full time on fund raising in New York is going to set up concerts and check on the progress of the Movement Fund for Defense.

Paul LeBlanc is going to work on the convention booklet with ads etc., to raise money.

The NAC is asking for a list of publications Don Olson has in Lawrence, so it can act as an editorial and priority setting body.

The NAC appointed a new allocations committee consisting of Jane, Paul, and Aerlyn.

Aerlyn was mandated to bring a report to the NAC on comparative space rates in left publications and to then decide on ads.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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