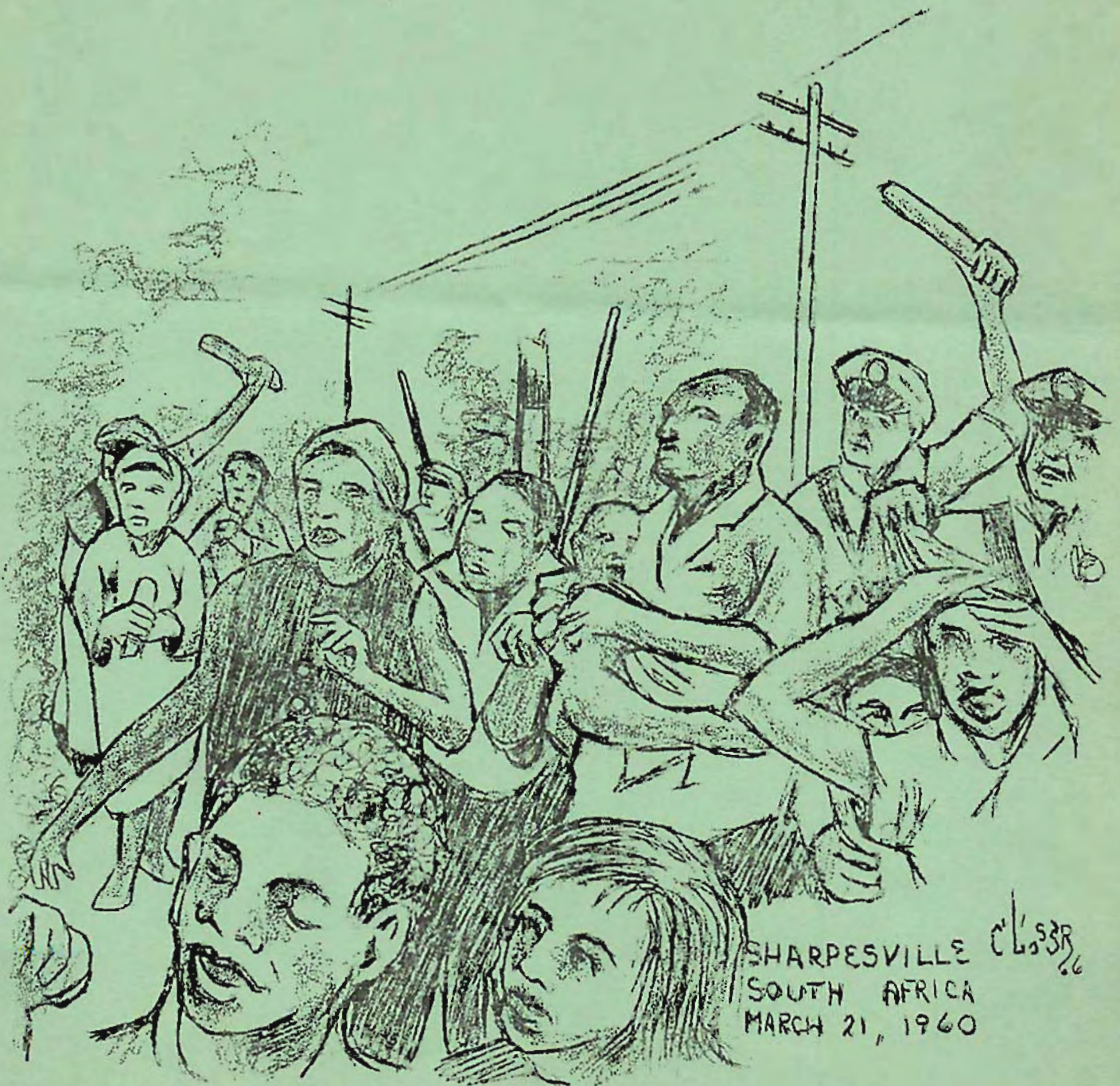


VOL. 1
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SDS

Feb. 22, 1960

Regional Newsletter



SOUTH AFRICA: suggestions

As the Vietnam War protests begin to wane, it appears necessary to develop new programs that will point out to the broadest possible constituency (i.e. liberal church groups, unions, political groups and students) the real nature of American foreign policy. The South African government policy of apartheid and oppression of civil liberties might provide such a program.

While the United Nations has condemned South Africa's policy of apartheid, literally "apartness" or absolute segregation of whites and non-whites, which gives 14 per cent of the land within the republic to approximately 70 per cent of the population which is non-white and allows the per capita income of the whites to be approximately 1100 per cent of that of the non-whites, the United States has taken no action against the country other than to stop shipments of military aid, and even that is no more than a gesture. The United States has built in South Africa a nuclear reactor, in effect given nuclear energy to a government which de-

CRUSH APARTHEID

Write Rep. Wm. Maillard and demand that the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Committee on Foreign Policy subpoena Charles Engelhard major U.S. investor in S.A. to testify to his involvement in the government policies of that country.

WRITE REP. WM. MAILLARD
450 GOLDEN GATE., SAN
FRANCISCO, CALIF.

clared its solidarity with Hitler during World War II. There is also a tracking station in South Africa which, at the request of the South African government, is manned entirely by white American soldiers.

To maintain its stringent racist policies, the South African government must become more and more fascist. The government is largely controlled by the Ossewa Brandwag, an elite "social" organization, composed primarily of large financial interests, educators, and politicians, which practiced acts of terror to halt Africa's participation on the side of England during World War II, at the same time putting forth a platform of "national socialism" and alliance with Nazi Germany. One of the Ossewa Brandwag's members and staunch supporters, Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd, found by the courts to have propagandized for the Nazis in 1942 was instrumental in the passage of the General Law Amendment Act of May, 1963. This act allows anyone to be kept in jail indefinitely without charges and is aimed solely at destroying all opposition to the government. There are over 170,000 whites in uniform to hold down opposition to present policies, with 5,000 members of opposition political movements now imprisoned without trial.

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SOUTH AFRICA..SUGGESTIONS CONT.

Why doesn't the United States take some action against this bastion of fascism?

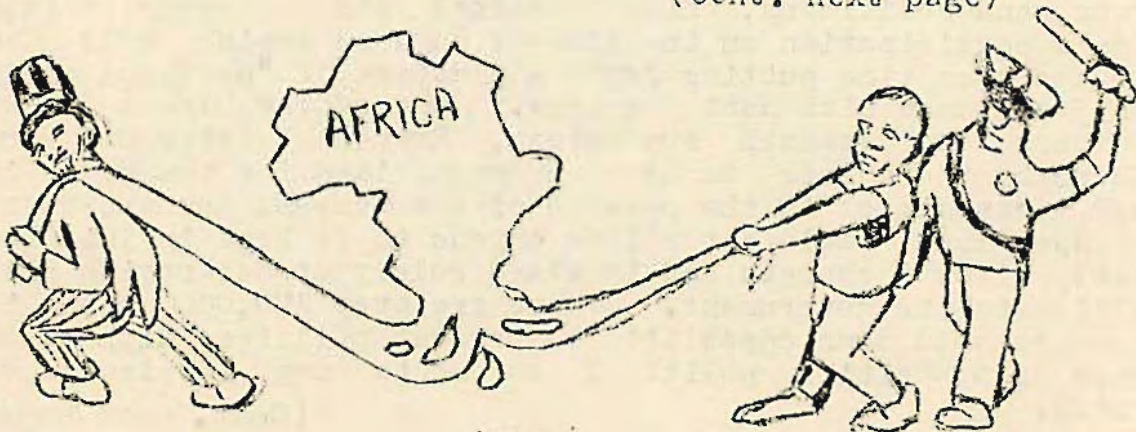
One reason is the tremendous amount of American investment in the country, now estimated to total between \$700 million and \$1 billion.

The largest single financial power in South Africa is undoubtedly Charles W. Engelhard, chairman of South African Investment Company, a holding company with controlling interests in over 150 operating companies in South Africa, South West Africa, and Rhodesia. South African Investment Co. controls the production and/or marketing of all the diamonds and a significant proportion of the gold, copper, lead and uranium ore produced in the world. Englehard, a power in New Jersey Democratic Party politics and a personal friend of LBJ, is also a director of the South African Chamber of Mines, the body which sets the wages for all South African non-white miners, as well as being American chairman of the South Africa Foundation, the purpose of which is to "promote international understanding of the South African way of life, achievements, and aspirations." Another leading industrialist who shares power in Africa with Engelhard is David Rockefeller, a major stockholder in Standard Oil of California, a corporation which supplies South Africa with a large amount of its oil. Rockefeller is also President and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which pulled together a consortium of banks to make a low interest loan to South Africa which saved the country from depression in 1954. It is interesting to note that one of the things acting as a detriment to American and British "economic sanctions against Rhodesia" is the fact that Rhodesia gets more than half the oil she needs from South Africa.

PROGRAM

One possibility for beginning to publicize the issue of apartheid and American capital's part in its maintenance, is hearings to be held by the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Committee

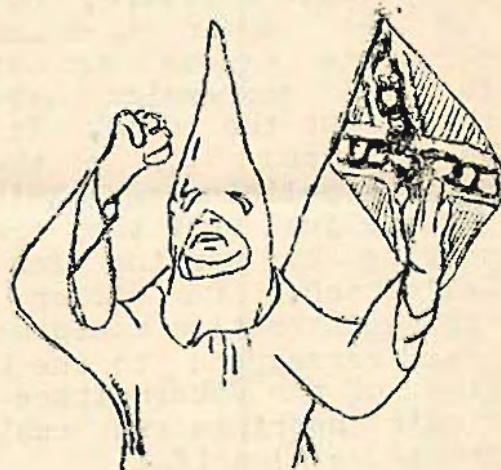
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SOUTH AFRICA...SUGGESTIONS CONT.

on Foreign Affairs. If the hearings are to at all expose the nature of American influence, it is absolutely necessary that Englehard be called to testify. He has already been asked and has refused so now the subcommittee must subpoena him if he is to testify. A San Francisco congressman, Republican William Maillard, 450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, is a member of the subcommittee and should be called upon by his constituents to demand that Englehard be subpoenaed.

Another San Francisco Organization which has large holdings in South Africa is Crown Zellerbach Paper Company, of Bogalusa fame. Ever seeking new sources of cheap labor, they have chosen to open a huge manufacturing plant in the country. One possibility for exposing the links between corporate interests and government policy might be a demonstration against Crown Zellerbach's exploitation of black people in both Bogalusa and Johannesburg and the ineffective action taken by the government to control it, whether it be unenforced civil rights bills or lack of action to control American foreign investment (with, of course, the exception of such countries as China and Cuba). The object of the demonstrations would be not only to expose the true nature of American foreign and domestic policy, but to make as difficult as possible American invasion of South Africa when the 70% of the people within the country who are violently oppressed are forced to revolt. That this invasion is more than mere speculation is attested to by one of Engelhard's (remember, he is an influential power within the Democratic Party) statements concerning the nearly \$3 million profit realized by one



of his 23 companies in South Africa, "This progress in my opinion will be advanced if the rest of the world shows understanding of the problems which exist. Inaccurate reports, whether emanating from well-meaning sources or otherwise, only aggravate the difficulties and play into the hands of communist supporters..."

Such a demonstration should not be an end in itself, but rather should be a kick-off for an on-going South Africa program aimed at exposing American involvement there and corresponding government policy along with drawing parallels between that and policies elsewhere, such as in Vietnam. It is, for instance, interesting to note that when international pressure forced South Africa to disband its mercenary army after the massacre of 67 Africans peacefully demonstrating against apartheid in Sharpville on March 21, 1960, the U.S. immediately hired the mercenaries for special duty in Vietnam. Such a program should take the form of film series, publications, speakers, seminars, etc. held in res-

TAX REFUSAL PROGRAM

SOUTH AFRICA CONT.

ponse to the interest that hopefully would be generated.

The demonstrations could take several forms, the most likely of which would seem to be the tying together of the Bogalusa boycott against discriminatory hiring practices of Crown Zellerbach with Crown Zellerbach's involvement in South Africa and would either be a large demonstration on Sunday, March 20th or a smaller one, perhaps involving civil disobedience, on Monday, March 21, the actual anniversary of the Sharpville massacre, pointing out the way in which American corporate needs support and further oppression here and throughout the world. It would be directed both at the company's policies and at its employees just what they are supporting by working for Crown Zellerbach. On either date, the demonstration would more or less correspond to the beginning of the Subcommittee on Africa's hearings and publicity should be plentiful.

If any activity at all is to take place a great deal of work must be done between now and then. Research must be done on the nature of Crown Zellerbach involvement, speaking engagements and film showings must be set up on campuses around the Bay Area, pamphlets need to be produced and distributed, and general organizing, contacting groups and individuals, etc., for the demonstration must be done. Anyone interested in working on such a program or having ideas on South Africa activity should contact the SDS office at 924 Howard St., San Francisco, (415) 362-7922. - Roy Dahlberg

Various groups and individuals are actively pursuing programs of "Refusing Taxes for War." For the most part they hinge around simply not paying all or a part of one's taxes in order to cease one's own support of the Vietnam war and war preparation or the paying of one's taxes but under protest. War Resisters League and the Committee for Non-Violent Action--West are circulating petitions and scheduling speakers and possible demonstrations. Members of the faculty peace committee at Berkeley are working on a similar program but more directly keyed to the war in Vietnam.

I question the extent to which a simple tax refusal program will reach much beyond those people who have participated before. People question tax refusal on several different grounds including the one that eventually one has to pay the tax plus a fine. Even though it is true that the government is forced to spend far more than it gets in wresting the funds from you, this isn't a completely satisfactory answer. A more fundamental criticism, for many people, is that it appears to be little more than a symbolic personal act, without significant affect on the war.

While in basic sympathy with the idea of tax refusal I would like to suggest that the act of withholding tax money from the war should also include transferring this sum to support anti-war groups such as WRL, CNVA, SDS, and VDC. I think this would broaden the appeal beyond the traditional pacifist circles to include

Tax Refusal *Continued*

those adults now searching for an effective protest--one that goes beyond giving money to help peace groups and signing petitions.

The question is broadened in that the individual has to ask himself whether he desires to continue to contribute to the war or to groups opposing the war, or, at least, is he willing to provide as much support for opposition to the war as he feels he is forced to provide to the war in the form of taxes. It combines a negative withdrawal with a positive utilization of those funds to support anti-war efforts he is in sympathy with.

I would urge that a pledge card be circulated as widely as possible with the following statement (second statement for those who are unwilling to withhold their taxes:

This year my fellow taxpayers and I are being told to contribute, on the aver-

age \$25 (figure to be checked) to fight an undemocratic, immoral and unjust war in Southeast Asia. I refuse to pay this part of my taxes and instead am giving it to _____ to assist in their opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Second Statement:

This year my fellow taxpayers and I are being told to contribute, on the average, \$25 to fight an undemocratic, immoral and unjust war in Southeast Asia. I am paying this portion of my taxes under protest and am giving an offsetting \$25 to _____ to assist in their opposition to the war in Vietnam.

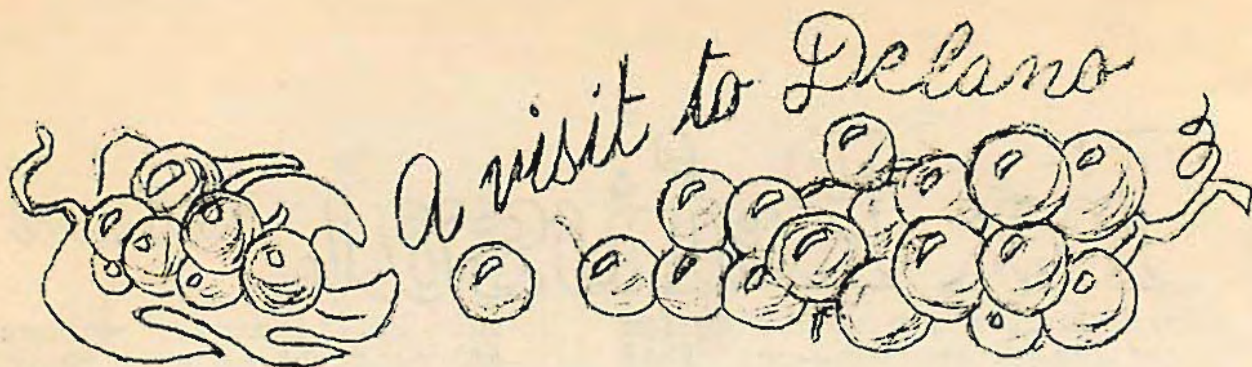
I would urge that as many groups as possible circulate these pledge cards and coordinate the placing of an advertisement in local newspapers on April 15 with the names of those signing the pledge (or some other way of communicating the breadth of opposition). Demonstrations or delegations to the regional office of the Internal Revenue Service would also serve to dramatize the protest.

Individuals or groups who would be interested in such a program should contact me at the regional office (SDS, not IRS!).

---Ken McElDowney

TAX REFUSAL FORUM

Joan Baez, pacifist folk singer, and Ira Sandperl, director of the Institute for the Study of Non-violence, and Francis Heisler, noted civil liberties lawyer, will discuss "War Tax Refusal" at a forum at 8 p.m. Friday, March 4 in the Glide Memorial Church at Taylor and Ellis in San Francisco. The program is being sponsored by CRVA-West and WRL.



A visit to Delano is a moving experience, and difficult to describe. There's a freshness and intensity in the way strikers talk to scabs from the edge of the field--a freshness that belies the fact that the strike is almost six months old. Picket lines outside Stardust Liquor in Delano have 75-100 people who heckle everyone who goes into the store. There's no threat of violence, but it's unnerving. I estimated one afternoon that four out of every five cars driving into the Stardust lot were Cadillacs--growers and growers wives.

The same spontaneity which characterizes a shouting picket line appears everywhere. People with new ideas get the chance to follow through on them if they are willing to do the work themselves. The Farm Workers Theater is an example. Last September Luis Valdez quit the San Francisco Mime Troupe and went back to Delano (his home town) to see if radical community theater had a place in the strike. He was given a free hand, and the theater came together with amateur actors improvising their own dialogue around plots dealing with themes important to the people: a number of skits which make fun of the frustrations of the picket line, one on the mortality of the growers (a scab and a grower trade masks--i.e., places--for a day; the scab with his new power makes the switch permanent), and another, involving Gov. Brown, which works out the hostility of the establishment. It's community psycho-drama; it's community education; and it's fun. No one would say the Teatro Campesino is vital to the strike or even perhaps to morale, but it characterizes the atmosphere of freedom which shows up everywhere.

That's not to say everything is happy-go-lucky in Delano. The theater was tried on the picket line, but discontinued because strikers decided it did not reflect the seriousness of the cause. And on my last day in Delano two strikers got into a brief fight with each other over nothing but the pent up frustrations of a long strike.

NFWA's willingness to experiment is a reflection of Cesar Chavez's attitudes toward conducting a strike and toward organizing. He compares the conduct of the strike to guerrilla warfare (appropriate enough since guerrilla, as he points out, is the diminutive of the Spanish word for war--guerra--and came into use to describe apata's little wars). The people on the picket line must constantly be inventive, keeping pressure on the larger and more powerful enemy at all times, then striking quickly at vulnerable points--to pull out new scabs, who didn't know about the strike, before the grower can move them out of shouting distance; to follow truckloads of grapes out of Delano to their destination and prevent their unloading, etc.

A visit to Delano, continued:

The necessary flexibility for that sort of operation is very much the result of Chavez's organizing style. "You give people responsibility and then back them all the way." If they make mistakes because they are in motion, that's alright; there's no mistake so bad that it isn't counter-balanced by the strength you get from a community of people in motion making decisions for themselves. When people go to Chavez with ideas they want to work on he always says yes. (Or almost always.) You organize by springing people loose so they do what they want to do. The results are that (1) new departures are usual and not, as in most organizations, traumatic; (2) people think before they speak because they know they work on their own projects; and (3) practical day-to-day decisions are made by the workers and not by office bureaucrats. (Contrast this with government which has something like six paper-people for every man in the field.)

The strike itself is in a quiet period now. There is still daily picketing with tense moments on the line erected by the growers, their private cops, or the four to ten deputy sheriffs who follow the moving picket lines everywhere they go. One afternoon while I was there DiGorgio's private cop shoved back an ALOC member as he began to approach the fields; strikers converged instantly; two sheriff's deputies unbuttoned their guns and stood frozen for a moment until people drew back. But those incidents are not as frequent as they used to be. Strikers recognize this as a time when they can pull some seeds out of the fields, prolong the pruning time (it will run a month late), and increase the probability that many of the vines will sprout before pruning is finished; that in turn will cause the grapes from

DEAR NFWA:

I HAVE TAKEN THE PLEDGE... to give up SCHENLEY LIQUORS

I will not buy or drink SCHENLEY for the duration of the DELANO GRAPE WORKERS STRIKE...

Count me as one of your supporters.

I have taken the pledge

VIVA LA HUELGA

SIGNED _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

AND I'VE TOLD SCHENLEY SO!

Contributions may be sent to FARM WORKERS RELIEF FUND, Box 894, Delano, California

PLEASE THIS CARD FOR RECEIPT REFERENCE

AGRE! Schenley liquor is your competitor - if you get with it, it negotiates...

Dear NFWA: I will not buy or drink SCHENLEY for the duration of the DELANO GRAPE WORKERS STRIKE...

Count me as one of your supporters.

I have taken the pledge

VIVA LA HUELGA

SIGNED _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

AND I'VE TOLD SCHENLEY SO!

Contributions may be sent to FARM WORKERS RELIEF FUND, Box 894, Delano, California

PLEASE THIS CARD FOR RECEIPT REFERENCE

HAVE YOU TAKEN THE PLEDGE?

(Delano cont.)

those vines to be unfit for anything but cheap wine. The necessity of hiring inexperienced pruners has already caused many vines to be badly damaged. As one striker put it, "The grapes will grow upside-down this year." But no one predicts an early settlement.

Unless Schenley capitulates (impossible to predict, but no likely in the next couple of months), the growers, who have accepted the pruning fiasco, will not feel pressure toward the conference table again until May at the earliest when large crews are necessary for thinning the grapes and more likely late August with the ripening of the Thompson seedless, an important crop which must be picked at the moment of maturity.

Brief Notes:

*I have a small but gnawing concern that AVOC might go to the bargaining table without NFWA. Chavez has committed himself to bargain alongside AVOC, but AVOC has not done likewise (more next newsletter).

*It's important that we emphasize NFWA as an organizational entity---for bargaining, for fund-raising, as a new Movement organization. If you need to push SDS, try something like "SDS urges you to support the NAT'L FARM WORKERS ASSOC: Don't buy Schenley, etc." but better, "The NAT'L FARM WORKERS ASSOC. asks you, 'Please....!'"

*Despite strike demands on time and skills, new organizing continues to the north and south of Delano. In addition to his usual work, Marshall Gans, SICC fieldworker for NFWA, is doing exciting things with Catholic high school students in Bakersfield (more later).

*Chavez wants college students to come to Delano for two weeks at the beginning of the summer, then fan out across the country to set up boycott committees. Interesting Movement building possibilities here. NFWA-linked projects in the Valley are not likely now, but projects of some sort definitely in the offing. What are you doing for the next two years?

*If the Farm Workers Theatre went on tour, could campuses guarantee audiences of 500 for fund raising and for new recruits to local boycott committees? People should let this office know as soon as you can. That tour may be a possibility in the not too distant future.

*Grape Strike Report #1 (8 pp. of background with boycott suggestions) is still available @ 10¢, half-price in bulk. Report #2 coming out soon.

*Huelga buttons: on a white background, "HUEGLA" above, and "NFWA" below a red circle with the black NFWA thunderbird in the middle. 50¢ each; chapter orders on consignment, but no discount. All money goes to NFWA.

TEENAGERS AND SOCIAL REFORM

Much has been written and debated about the social-awareness of adolescents. Much attention has been given to the social and political aspects of teen-age subculture, notably rock and roll. As a high school freshman, I would now like to speak.

To begin with, let me define my terms. In my view, a teenager is a high school (or, in some cases, a junior high school) student. Most teenagers take some part in "teen-age activities" --rock'n roll, dancing, etc.

From my own experience, let me say that from what I have seen, a large-scale, adolescent "protest movement" is non-existent. The number of teenagers like myself taking part in various radical activities is a very small minority. And bear in mind that my own experience is based largely on the Bay Area, a center of leftist activity. This is rather depressing, for if so few teenagers are in the movement near Berkeley, imagine what the situation must be like in, say, Kansas.

Why is the Movement to change America such a flop at nearly all American high schools? Well, of course, many teenagers are probably too apolitical to care. Right, left, Eisenhower, Mao, McCarthy--it's all the same, just "politics". Most of my schoolmates come from solid, middle-class, conservative families. If they have any political convictions at all, they are rightist. They have not felt any sense of urgency concerning politics. It is hard for them to comprehend nuclear war, racial injustice, hard luck. Life has fed them well. Why should they be radical? And I, myself, can't really blame them. It is hard for me, too, to realize that Orinda is totally unlike the rest of the world. We are sheltered, we are blinded. What can we do? and how can you tell the son of a Standard Oil executive to hate big business? How can he reject his food? He is not a Vietnamese peasant; he can't hate the war. How can John Doe, Jr. be changed?

First, he can be taught. He can realize the extent of the misery of the world's masses. He can learn that it is more than an empty cliché to say "Money isn't everything", nor is social status. He must learn that non-violence and love are not beatnik, Commie, or fairy ideals. The question is, are the schools teaching him this? Unfortunately, the answer is no. Recently, in my history class, we held a discussion on non-violent demonstrations. Most of the class did not participate, and of the members who did, the majority felt that most of the members of the New Left are beatniks, Communists, or both. I was surprised when a slight majority of the class felt that non-violent demonstrations would be legal. However, most of them would not participate--it would "embarrass" them. They would feel like "jerks".

TEENAGERS AND SOCIAL REFORM CONT.

But what of the politically aware, intellectual students? What influence do they have? Well, many politically active students are rightist. They are a potent force which we must reckon with. However, the sad fact is that the Right-Left battle excite very little interest among 75 per cent of the students. The right-left debate has no audience. We are dueling with one another upon the stage, but the seats are empty. It is almost a pathetic spectacle, nearly tragic. Yet, perhaps all the effort is worthwhile, for occasionally students begin to question, to wonder. And then we must try to reach them. And sometimes we may succeed.

In the preceding paragraphs I have outlined rather vaguely the different types of teenagers involved in our efforts. I would now like to analyze briefly the teen-age subculture, and its relevance to our struggle. To begin with, rock 'n roll: in late summer, last year, there was a craze for protest songs. Barry Mc Guire's song "Eye of Destruction" reached number one proportions in certain areas of the country. Bob Dylan was a star, so were Sunny and Cher. The Rolling Stones, very radical (however, apolitical) were extremely popular. And the Beatles. However, the fact is that this appeared to be just another teen-age craze. Protest is no longer "in", nor is Dylan, and Sonny and Cher are "out". The Rolling Stones and the Beatles, who do no political protest, really are still popular. Of course, the tide could turn and protest could be revived again. One should not exaggerate the significance of this; it appears to have been largely just another fad. However, I feel that the mere fact that these singers were popular at one time suggests that occasionally, we are stirred, something happens, we scream.

Teen-agers naturally revolt. They desire independence. This is the time to question parents' values. But I do not believe that kids must be taught to despise their parents because their parents are part of the Establishment. Let us not turn our movement into one of hate for the middle class children, as men like



TEENAGERS AND SOCIAL REFORM CONT.

Le Roi Jones would have us do. Let children love their parents, even if they reflect their society. This is a very important point. Non-violence must be kept wherever and whenever it can. Let's change society, not hate its victims. This is a strong plea for the teen-ager who feels baffled by it all--politics, sociology, war, morality. Let's hurt as few people as possible, including the teen-ager. He has a hard enough time as it is.

How I would like to offer a basic program for getting to the adolescent, helping him question his parents and their values, without hatred.

We must communicate, first of all. As everyone knows, radicals have had a very bad habit of isolating themselves from the masses. This is particularly true of teen-agers. The teen-ager is not yet an adult, and cannot communicate with adults on a wholly adult level, and yet, we cannot be talked down to like children. It's a difficult situation. This is the time when teen-agers should be taught to question parents' values, to develop some of their own principles. But we are not yet mature enough emotionally to become crusaders. We cannot afford to be arrested, we can't handle the full moral burden of civil disobedience. Adolescence is essentially a time for learning, not action. The question is, what methods of education do we employ to reach adolescents?

To begin with, the schools are not really doing an adequate job. In school, you work for the grades to get into college, you don't work to learn for personal satisfaction. The emphasis is still on career training. This is especially wrong, for as we all know, work is going to become less and less important in the future. In the school, the atmosphere is generally deadly dull. Some classes, some teachers are intellectually exciting, but they are exceptions. All of this is really well-known, especially to teen-agers and the New Left. So my question is, isn't it possible to set up outside-school discussion groups, such as is being done at the college level? However, the point to bear in mind is that teen-agers are not as mature, emotionally or intellectually, as college students. Has this been overlooked? Perhaps SDS members could come and talk to school kids, using the Socratic method. How many kids would respond? I don't know. Probably a minority, but possibly a very sizable minority. Of course, many would, if the discussions would relate to their everyday problems: sex, parental authority, fear of the future. If this method were undertaken, many teen-agers would open up and respond. Many churches are currently using this informal discussion method but I don't know how much success this has been having.

Since rock 'n' roll is such a popular teenage recreation, SDS could sponsor more dances than it does now, and not just for fund-raising for a cause. The dances should not be held at the Longshoreman's Hall in San Francisco exclusively, but should be held all around the Bay Area in various neighborhood and suburban dance-halls, auditoriums, etc. These should be for the purpose of having fun, not for promoting causes. Blow mind!

Now I would like to discuss some ways in which I feel that the movement is failing. In the first place, many socially aware teens are making asses out of themselves. I think that wearing offbeat clothes, Ben Franklin specs, and withdrawing into a snotty "hip teen" cult of not, SUCC, and I.S.D., is a very grave mistake. Teenagers naturally conform a great deal; middle class teens especially. To be different for the sake (it appears) of shock value, is self-destructive. The average teen with middle class hopes and values will despise you if you do this. We can't alienate ourselves. The most common charge against us is that we are beatniks, Commies. We cannot afford to let our enemies continue to spread this lie. The stakes are too high for playing games. The future of America, and the existence of life on this planet depends on our success in reaching the young--particularly teenagers--who are still forming their lifelong values, whereas in many college students, they have already been formed. If teenagers learn now, humanistic, tolerant values; the course of human history will be changed. Therefore, it is important that those of us with different values be friendly with our more conventional schoolmates and let some of our values rub off of them, and some of their values rub off on us. We can learn from them too.

-Steve Weiner

ON NEWSLETTER PROBLEMS

Some of us in the regional office are confused about the Newsletter. We haven't put any thought into the shape it should take until now, and it's developed into something without any definite purpose. We've solved the technical and organizational problems to the extent of the simple fact that we have "done something" is less exhilarating and we are concerned about the content of this "something." The Newsletter, now, includes some analyses of matters of general concern (e.g. the Delano strike radical theater, the Sheer campaign, etc.) that especially interest staff members, and straight news stories about chapter activities. Do you want it to continue this way? We don't know if many people read the Newsletter at all, and if they do read it, do they find it helpful or even interesting?

It is our opinion that the Newsletter should attempt to relate individual chapter activities to fundamental issues. News from a chapter, for example, that wages a successful free speech fight could be made relevant to other chapters by putting it within the context of university reform in general and from the Sheer campaign one may be able to learn organizing lessons or of the results of coalition politics. This is only one idea, however, and it is not even unanimous within the office. This type of analysis is valuable, but the Newsletter may not be the proper place for it. The 1,500 that we write for may really want the Newsletter to continue as a vehicle for communication.

The important thing is that the Newsletter fulfill some definite function for the people who get it. What would you like to see in the Newsletter? We would really like to know what you think if you have any suggestions, PLEASE WRITE.

**Pat Hansen, Barbara Waiditch

BERKELEY DOES IT AGAIN

The administration of the University of California has gone and done it again, but this time with the blessings of most of the faculty. They have initiated disciplinary action against three students for speaking at an "illegal" political rally. One's first reaction is to kind of stare in disbelief--to think that the administration just couldn't be that stupid. But the Free Speech Movement did happen last year, and that is precisely why the administration has taken action in this instance and precisely why faculty are backing it.

The situation on the Berkeley campus this year is very different from last year's. The major political activity has been anti-Vietnam protests involving huge numbers of both students and faculty. For the most part, these activities have had nothing to do with the University per se. To be sure, the activity has taken place there because Berkeley is a campus, and Berkeley and the University, especially the steps of Sproul Hall, have been used as a vehicle for communication and agitation. But most of this has not disrupted the academic and administrative functioning of the University.

But the problem is that this is true only for the most part. On October 15 and 16, the normal administrative functioning of the University was disrupted. This was because the administration did an "honorable thing" and acted as arbitrator between the Vietnam Day Committee and the cities of Berkeley and Oakland to insure that a carefully controlled march would take place. They had learned from FSM that many students were going to be involved and they decided that if this was to be, they could at least see to the safety of their students, and, in the process, limit the extent to which the students came into conflict with local authorities.

During the first two weeks of February the administration again saw the normal functioning of the University disrupted by political activity. To understand the perspective of the administration, it is important to trace the activities in some detail. On Sunday, January 30, the US resumed bombing of North Vietnam and the VDC in an emergency meeting that night planned a response. This response began with the march to and sit-in at the office of Congressman Jeffrey Cohelan to demand that he oppose the bombings.

Many people who were concerned about the resumption of bombings, however, were not satisfied with just sitting-in at Cohelan's office and felt that this escalation of the war was enough to warrant the alteration of peoples' daily routines in protest

(Cont. next page.)

of the war. At meetings on Monday and Tuesday, the plans for a "Work Transfer" were worked out in detail. (see article in next newsletter) It was there decided that the only way to spread the idea was at another rally on Sproul Hall steps on Wednesday.

On Tuesday, a representative of the VDC went to the office of Dean Hopkins to reserve the steps but was reminded that there was a rule against an organization having more than one rally a week on the steps with sound equipment. He noted, however, that it was inter-session and since no other organization had requested the steps, he saw no reason why they should not have their rally. But he added that there was a new administrative ruling which said that requests for rallies on the steps had to go to the Chancellor's Office. This was strange in that these decisions have always been made in the Dean's office, and no notice had been given to the students of this change in procedure. By Tuesday night, the VDC still had not been notified of the decision of the Chancellor's office, and they could not wait until nine Wednesday morning to plan a rally. At a VDC meeting on Tuesday night, Sue Stein, a graduate student in philosophy called Dean Hopkins to see if a decision had been reached. He eventually told her that the decision was no, the VDC could not have the rally. His explanation was that the VDC had given very short notice of their Monday rally (which had led to the sit-in) and that the administration had made some agreement with City of Berkeley officials about notifying them of any demonstrations going into the city from the campus. Apparently, because the university did not know about this demonstration in advance, they had been unable to live up to their commitment to Berkeley. The students here have not been told, and still have not been told, what the agreement is between the university and the city.

After talking to Dean Hopkins, Sue called assistant Chancellor



Chancellor White, who was acting in the absence of Chancellor Keynes. She and Betina Aptheker both talked with him, but got nowhere. He apparently believed that this rally would lead to another sit-in in Berkeley. His decision was that the V.D.C. could not hold another rally. Sue and Betina reported this decision to the meeting and the group decided to go ahead with the rally anyway and to get their own sound equipment since they could not use the University's.

On Wednesday at noon the VDC set up their sound equipment for the rally. Several people, identified as Deans or officers of the

BERKELEY DOES IT AGAIN, CONT.

administration; appeared and asked Sue Stein, Bettina Aptheker, and Hal Jacobs, all students of the university and veterans of FSM, not to go on with the rally. Sue asked the crowd of four or five hundred which had gathered to see what was going on, whether or not they should continue with the rally and after taking two votes, decided that enough had voted in favor to justify continuing the rally.

The next Day, Sue, Tina and Hal received notices stating that they had violated three regulations and were being charged by the University. The three regulations were: holding a rally twice in one week, speaking on sound amplification equipment not provided by the university and violation of university student conduct regulations. The first two rules are temporary regulations made by Chancellor Heynes in September regarding student conduct on the Berkeley campus. The last is a regulation made by the Board of Regents for all of the campuses of the University which deals vaguely with general student conduct and the quality of relations between the student and the faculty and administration. On Wednesday, February 9, the three students went before a hearing officer with eight deans and members of the administration testifying against them. The decision of that body has not been made yet, but the punishment could range from a sharp reprimand to expulsion.

The hearing lasted all day and at that meeting and in discussions which followed, at least some of the reasons behind the actions of the administration became clear. The violation of the first two charges in and of themselves can hardly be seen as heinous crimes. With regard to using non-university-owned sound equipment, Mike Tigar, the law student "defense attorney" for the three, stated at the hearing that this regulation sounded like "no serf shall till the land save with the implements provided by the lord." The most serious crime it seems, is that the students violated any regulations at all. As students they have assumed the obligation to conduct themselves in a manner compatible with the function of the university as an educational institution. By their flagrant disregard of the regulations, they forced the university to take action, thus disturbing the normal functioning of the university (eight deans had to spend their valuable time prosecuting them) and are thus guilty of disorderly conduct.

The administration and many faculty were deeply disturbed. Don't these students realize how liberal their regulations are?



BERKELEY DOES IT AGAIN, CONT.

How many other universities allow their students to distribute leaflets for any cause anywhere on the campus? How many other universities allow rallies to be held on school property with no regulations regarding content of speech--and with university microphones at that? Don't the students realize that there have to be some traffic regulations--and that's all these are--traffic regulations. FSM guaranteed the students these rights, what more could they want? It seemed to the administration that these students were asking for anarchy and the administration was not, under any circumstances, going to allow that.

The faculty and administration were at least partially correct. The students were challenging the existence of the regulations. But not because they wanted anarchy. These regulations were made by the Board of Regents and by the administration, and not by or even with the consultation of the students. John Searle, the special assistant to the Chancellor on Student Affairs, is correct in his fear that the students are challenging authority. They are challenging his authority to make decisions which govern them. The faculty is also correct to side with the administration in this instance. These students are saying that they have the right to disrupt the normal functioning of the university in times of extreme crisis, and for them the resumption of bombing is an extreme crisis. This is clearly not in the interest of the faculty who want to make their own decisions about when classes are to meet and what they are to discuss. These students are saying that they have a right to make these kinds of decisions too.

But FSM did happen and things are not the same at Berkeley. Then the students had the faculty on their side, for free speech was in the interest of the faculty too. But now many of the faculty are against these students because they are challenging the authority which the faculty gained last year. Nor do all of the students side with these three. Some don't want their attention diverted from Vietnam; others don't want their attention diverted from studying as it was last year; others just don't see the issues. So, on second thought, maybe the administration wasn't so stupid after all. We'll see.

-Carolyn Craven

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RADICAL THEATRE: PART II

BY

R. G. Davis, Director S.F. Mime Troupe

We left off last time at the point of radical techniques for radical messages.

In a complex world, to communicate or describe something important about the world one has to use all the tools available. All the tools means any technique, even the immediate circumstances.

To describe police brutality with statistics and short stories at one time was sufficient. It has become important to demonstrate or run people through mock-picket line activity to make a marcher truly understand what police harrassment or brutality can mean. To learn something more fully, the experience is a great help. Once hit on the head by a cop, the lesson is learned.

Do you have to go to these lengths?

A painter paints on a canvas for a gallery, he may paint against a gallery. Theatre pieces, happenings in a theatre, or outside a theatre, take in the audience, the place, the time, the performer. The very tools themselves are examined. One denies nothing that exists in that moment.

The novels of Allaine Robbe-Grillet focus on one incident and describe those incidents from numerous points of view. In the film "Marianbad" (scenario by Robbe-Grillet) an affair was examined from at least four minds. Jean Genet reflects upon a significant moment by having the actors often break character--speak to the audience or each other as actors. A particular speech in Marat/Sade by Peter Weiss is commented upon by the Herald; Sade comments upon Marat, and vice versa; the Musicians comment upon the moment; M. Coulmier, the aristocratic "audience" (on stage), breaks the play and comments upon the whole thing. The constant shift of levels from didactic speech to aside to interruption from the music or another character in the play is an effective means of delineating a problem or a moment in life from many points of view. The aim is to describe more completely a particular incident in its complexity, not in its simplicity.

Example: Music--Terry Riley, composer, has a composition "In C." Ten musicians on various instruments play around the Chord C for 40 minutes. When I heard this, the first ten minutes sounded like chaos, the next ten were agony, and then I got mad, anxious and irritated. I waited out my anxiety (or fear that I might be stupid) and finally started to hear sounds I hadn't heard before. It took him thirty minutes to knock the crap out of my ears so I could hear sounds his way.

RADICAL THEATRE CONT.

Why so long? Because my musical ear has been tuned by Lis-zac and three minute tunes, and because my head is filled with screeching automobiles and engine noises. It takes a persistent sound to cut through all that garbage.

The experience was the lesson.

All the tools were used, even the act itself.

Self-consciousness is a part of radical art. The product is made by a person. Very often that person (creator) is himself in the work (see experimental films). The identity between the product and the creator is nearly one. This is quite different from the plastic products of Hollywood or Broadway. Individual identity in a world of mass numbers and categories is difficult to achieve--one has to crack through all the general rubbish and do something crazy to be heard, or different to be seen.

If this individual identity is hooked to a social group and the artist is aware of the socio-political forces that affect him then the product can be valid for others.

Self-consciousness can lead to camp, fashion or in-group games if social conditions are not a part of the artist.

Peter Weiss (excerpt from "Postscript" in N.Y. Times):
The suppressed, the persecuted, the slaves have only one chance, to struggle for a change of their living conditions. The dream of paradise has to be transposed into a realistic work toward a new order of society. This has to be done here and now, while you are still alive... We have to find solutions even if it is tremendously difficult, and even if we sometimes think everything is meaningless and hopeless. We have to understand the political questions, even if we often get tired of them and they seem to us just absurd and mad. As long as we are not involved with the great social conflicts of the world, our works stand just isolated and fruitless.

As a European and a German, Peter Weiss has obviously made social conditions a part of his life. American artists have a more difficult time. Yet they are no less inventive than Weiss. Sometimes American invention with no political social motive is a reaction against the boredom of advertising, of television, bad movies, dull cities and middle class minds. This is the beginning of protest, immature in the sense of world issues, but radical in nature.

(More later)

Regional Office Report

New School

On both sides of the Bay, the New School picked up speed in the last two weeks. In San Francisco we are trying to convince a very reluctant real estate man to rent us a store front as a focus for New School activities. Already being planned are courses both formal and ones of a more internal education nature; film series; forums and so forth. People interested in setting up these programs should give the office a ring. Sunday night 40 students gathered at Westminster House in Berkeley for the first session of the informal but structured study groups. Workshops will be meeting again next Sunday at 7:30. For more information contact Steve Weissman at 549-0690.

Mime Troups, or Be Good to Your Own #1

The San Francisco Mime Troupe is anxious for SDS members to attend their performances, and so the regional office and Ronnie Davis have worked out a plan. By showing your current SDS membership card at the box office you can obtain a 25 percent discount on Mime Troupe plays and events in the immediate Bay area.

New Chapters

Two at-large chapters, Stockton and Woodland, were formed since the last newsletter. The Stockton chapter is made up of students from the University of the Pacific and San Joaquin Delta JC; while most of the members of the Woodland chapter are high school students. Stockton is planning an anti-draft demonstration for Feb. 24.

Library

All books, magazines and pamphlets are now catalogued. People interested in browsing or those with more specialized interests either research or reading that current magazine that can't be found in the book stores or library should drop by. Donations of books or other materials or of cash to permit us to purchase items would be appreciated.

New Literature

Several publications have been added to our literature list that can be ordered either in single copies or in bulk; Grape Strike Report #1, Norm Potter; Churches and the War, Lee Webb; Vietnam: Any Way Out?, Christopher Hobson. Our supplies of the Port Huron Statement are so depleted that it has been removed from the list. It is in the process of being reprinted in Chicago.

Be Good to Your Own #2

The office is receiving a growing number of magazines on

Regional Office Report, Cont.

consignment such as Studies on the Left, Viet-Report, Liberation. People who normally buy them on the newsstands should either buy them at the office or drop an order in the mail so that SDS can get the 30-40% cut rather than the bookstores.

Ideology Conference

Sorry but no article in this issue on the Ideology Conference. Three of the participants are meeting this week to put the finishing touches on a rough draft of a "manifesto". More information in the next newsletter.

Junior College Series

The next article by Doug Bianchi on the junior colleges will appear in the next newsletter.

New Left Notes

By this time all members should have begun to receive New Left Notes, the SDS weekly publication. If you haven't you should notify this office or the national office (1103 E 63rd St., Chicago). Non-members can subscribe for \$5 a year or buy individual copies in the regional office.

Financial Report

This report covers the month January 22 to February 20.

<u>Expenditures</u>		<u>Income</u>	
Salary	247.97	Dues	59.00
Rent, Utilities	210.00	Literature	111.76
Phone	92.75	Contributions	468.90
Office supplies	225.02	Pledges	117.00
Postage	70.16	Tuition	-
Printing	-	Conferences	255.00
Travel	22.64	Misc.	13.55
Conferences	306.48	TOTAL R.O. OPERATING	
Misc.	38.38	INCOME	1025.24
TOTAL R.O. OPERATING		Loans red'd	
EXPENSE	1213.40	repaid	25.00
Loans made or repaid	36.00	Checks cashed	35.00
Checks cashed	35.00	TOTAL R.O. INCOME	<u>1085.21</u>
TOTAL R.O. EXPEN-			
DITURES	<u>1284.40</u>	<u>Outstanding Bills, debts</u>	
Bank Balance 1-22	513.13	Loans	132.74
Bank Balance 2-20	309.68	A.B. Dick	31.04
		TOTAL	163.78

Financial report sidelights

--Conference income and expenditures were from the SDS sponsored Asilomar Conference on Ideology.

--Nearly half of the contributions and pledges came from members of the regional office staff.

--Postage includes a national mailing on the Grape Strike.

CHAPTER NEWS

SAN DIEGO SDS is in a curious quandry. Things are happening all around us but we don't have the manpower or the people to make a dent in our workload. We have been forced to begin a

LEWIS AND CLARK SDS

We now have a "sort of" chapter going at Lewis & Clark. The group stands about 35 strong (well, 35. I don't know about strong).

This is the second attempt to form SDS at LC. The small group that existed last year fell apart when most of the members graduated or left on a Washington DC study program. This year, however, a "new left" seems to have crystalized and the group has met with much more success and campus acceptance. Lewis and Clark is generally a pretty conservative place. Last year's organization was faced with some antagonism by unorganized YAF sorts.

Although by some standards meagre, we're quite proud of turning out about 35 LC students and 6 professors for the recent Portland demonstration against the Vietnam war and in support of those senators urging Congressional debate. The largest number of participants LC has ever turned out for a demonstration.

Differing from the SDS at U of O, the LC group is generally pretty "soft line". In order to maintain a decent sized membership at a place like LC, this is almost a necessity. (The preceding sentence is, by the way, not an apology.)

--David German

"Welfare mothers" project, even though we have no non-students, no real full-timers, to do the thing right. We have begun an extremely ambitious high-school project which aims at organizing SDS chapters on about 20 high schools. This has already begun to succeed: students from three high schools are going to start an underground newspaper which we are going to print and finance.

But these signs of success don't really show how much we can do; they show how much we could do. We need at least one or two full-time organizers for the high school project: the 20 part time people we have cannot really do the job thoroughly, and they cannot do all the jobs that must be done. We need one full-time organizer right now for the welfare mothers project

Nobody who comes down here will waste his time, because we already have projects that are beginning to move. I know you people need full-timers like Kesey needs acid, but you have an unjust advantage in recruiting them; everybody knows that San Francisco has a great amount of cool, and everybody thinks San Diego is the anus of California. But we have at least one excellent Art movie theater, at least two fine bookstores, and an excellent counter-community. Now that UCSB is down here, we have even more kulchur. The revolution must come in Des Moines and San Diego; it cannot come from Berkeley. But right now we need people to help it out in San Diego. Please ask somebody. Write; SDS central 2542 44th San Diego, California 92105

ARIZONA SDS DENIED RECOGNITION

SDS at Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona has been fighting to get official recognition for several months. The chapter was rejected because it was thought that SDS, as a national organization, had violated sections two and three of the Associated Student's policy, to wit: an organization cannot:

2. advocate the violation of the constitution and laws of the the United States, the policies of the Board of Regents, or of the University or the constitution, statutes, or policies of the AS;
3. act or have acted on the national level or in different areas of the country in such a manner as to make the organization an undesirable addition to the campus.

The rejection has been appealed four times. SDS wanted, and had a clear case for, a review by the Advisory Council, but President Durham decided, after the fourth appeal, that the case was closed. His decision is final.

SDS was judged to have violated the AS standards on the basis of several statements extracted from the Port Huron Statement, the "National Bulletin", etc. They concluded from these documents that SDS had plans for, among other things, "Wresting control of the University". John Livingston, now President of the chapter said, somewhat succinctly, "They don't understand SDS objectives."

Meanwhile, SDS has distributed literature through the YD's and the Philosophy Club, and set up a table on Orange Street, a street that does run through the University but is not University property. City officials in Tempe responded to the table by recommending that the city abandon "the portion of Orange Street that runs through the University" to the University, therefore making it a campus facility and so off-limits to SDS.

The chapter doesn't seem to be discouraged by the prolonged fight. Livingston says that, "Interest in SDS increases every time we are rejected", and many outside people have turned out and helped us. Dr.

Bracken, a professor of philosophy, has sent out a letter asking the faculty members at Arizona State to send a protest letter to President Durham, and the ACLU is considering taking the case to court.

NAPALM PROTEST

The Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam will continue their protest activity against napalm manufacturers in the Palo Alto area with a rally outside the gates of the United Technology Center, napalm manufacturers in Sunnyvale at noon on Feb. 22. They have been leafletting the workers for the last three weeks with some success. At least two technologists have quit in protest and the company has responded by intimidating workers by taking license numbers of any workers seen taking leaflets.

SCPV and the Graduate Coordinating Committee are researching the governmental and university involvements in the napalm industry and will attempt to coordinate national activity against napalm and chemical warfare in the coming months.

- SDS -

LITERATURE LIST

Updated Feb. 20, 1966

ABOUT SDS

- ___ SDS Constitution
- ___ SDS chapter constitution--sample
- ___ (20¢) America and the New Era--30 page analysis of American Society (approved by the June 1963 SDS Convention)-bk
- ___ SDS membership cards
- ___ Introduction to SDS--4pages-bk

PAMPHLETS AND REPRINTS

- ___ (10¢) The New Radical Encroaches the University, Paul Potter-bk
- ___ (10¢) The intellectual as a Agent of Social Change, Potter-bk
- ___ (10¢) Student Social Action, Tom Hayden-bk
- ___ (10¢) Students and Economic Action, Carl Wittman-bk
- ___ Free Speech Movement Goes to High School, Frank Harper-bk

- ___ (10¢) Suggestions for a Study of Your Hometown, Robert Lamb-bk
- ___ (10¢) Research & Education in Community Action Projects, Paul Potter-bk
- ___ (10¢) The Care and Feeding of Power Structures, Jack Minnis-bk
- ___ (10¢) Whose Welfare? Notes on Poverty and the Welfare State, Bob Ross-bk

- ___ (10¢) Churches and the War, Lee Webb-bk
- ___ (10¢) Let Us Shape the Future, speech given by Carl Oglesby at the Nov. 27, 1965 March on Washington-bk
- ___ (10¢) Paul Potter's speech at March on Washington, April 1965
- ___ (10¢) Vietnam: Any Way Out?, Christopher Hobson
- ___ (10¢) Guide to Conscientious Objection-12 pages of detailed information about conscientious objection and Form 150
- ___ The Draft Law and Your Choices, brochure-bk
- ___ Classification Procedure for COs, Outline of SS Classification Procedures, one page-bk

- ___ (10¢) Vietnam Study Guide and Annotated Bib., S. Rosenthal-bk
- ___ (10¢) Political Framework of Decision-Making, A course syllabus, Phillip Green-bk
- ___ (10¢) University Reform Bib., Ralph Haplan-bk
- ___ (10¢) Sunday Seminar Series Eib., (Democracy, Economy, etc.)-bk
- ___ (10¢) Bibliography on the American Economy, Lee Webb, -bk

(50% discount on bulk orders. We can supply any quantity of items marked-bk-. Bulk orders on other pamphlets can be handled if not needed immediately.)

- (\$1.00) Studies on the Left--December 1965
(90¢) New Politics- Vol. IV No.3, includes: "The
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(50¢) Viet-Report---August-September, October, November-December
1965
(50¢) Liberation - November, December 1965

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