

New Directions for an Interdependent World

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STATUS OF EXPLORATIONS & PLANNING

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I. LEADERSHIP

William Matson Roth is prepared to assume the Chairmanship of the Planning Commission if, at the Commission meetings on 10 and 11 February, consensus determines that we can and should proceed to create New Directions.

Ambassador Roth served during the Kennedy-Johnson Administration as United States Special Representative for Trade. Since returning to his home in San Francisco, he has been engaged in a variety of business, political, and public interest assignments, both nationally and in California. He is a member of the Trilateral Commission, as well as the Editorial Board of *Foreign Affairs* and the board of the German Marshall Fund, and served on the Filer Commission. He is also chairman of a special Commission on Public Education in San Francisco.

The Planning Commission's explorations and planning of the last year have been made possible by the part-time efforts of our convenors, *Saturday Review* editor Norman Cousins and Notre Dame University president Theodore Hesburgh, CSC, along with coordinators James Grant of the Overseas Development Council and Donald Wilson of Wall, Wilson, & Graff (White Plains). Other members of the Planning Commission have been involved, on an *ad hoc* basis, in various aspects of its work, and we have benefitted from the advice and encouragement of people like John Gardner and David Cohen of Common Cause, and Robert McNamara.

But the work requires closer central direction and coordination of the kind Bill Roth, as Chairman of the Planning Commission, can provide. In addition to the time he can devote to this in San Francisco, he is prepared to spend several days a month on the East Coast, working with other members of the Commission and its staff in Washington.

With a strong Chairman of the Planning Commission in place, two major leadership issues remain:

organizing the commission

To date, the Planning Commission has functioned primarily through an informal central core, participants in which have varied according to the subjects of attention.

THE WORK AHEAD: We need to organize members of the Planning Commission into a series of Working Groups to deal with such questions as legislative issues, program, structure & governance, membership recruitment and participation, finance, operations, and general coordination. These Working Groups, with support by staff and a Steering Committee, will prepare comprehensive proposals for submission to the full Planning Commission.

leadership & support

We expect that, once launched, New Directions will be led by a full-time professional staff including a President as full-time Chief Executive, and volunteers as Chairpersons of the Board and Executive Committee (with major roles in organizing and planning), as well as other volunteer leaders in standing and temporary positions.

THE WORK AHEAD: These principal leaders must be identified and recruited before New Directions begins full operations.

In support of the officers we are recruiting two formalized groups from a broad leadership constituency: the Planning Commission itself, and a list of Organizing Endorsers. The Planning Commission, now approximately fifty in size, should be doubled to broaden and diversify its membership. The Commission will officially exercise final authority in establishing the new organization (ie: approve bylaws, elect officers and an initial board of directors, etc.). Upon launching of New Directions, the Commission will cease to exist. The Organizing Endorsers are distinguished individuals, including members of the Commission, who are able to publicly back the organization...and to assist with advice and in fundraising.

THE WORK AHEAD: Recommendations of additional members of the Planning Commission must be reviewed, with selections designed to bring broader diversity and balance to the Commission. Suggestions and assistance in recruiting new Commission members, and organizing endorsers, are needed.

In addition, there is a wide range of Congressional, Executive, and non-governmental leaders who should be advised of the planning of New Directions and whose counsel and support would be useful. A program of consultations should be undertaken during February and March; it would be helpful to have many members of the Commission assist in these discussions.

II. EVIDENCE OF PUBLIC SUPPORT

public opinion research

The New York marketing research firm of Oxtoby-Smith, Inc. was commissioned to study potential public reaction, and to guide us on such questions as name of the organization, issue priorities, structure, etc. In a series of

"focus panels" (discussion groups) across the country, Oxtoby-Smith met with individuals invited randomly from the memberships of Common Cause, the Sierra Club, and *The Center Magazine* (most of whom are also members of many other public interest organizations). Oxtoby-Smith's basic conclusion may be stated as: "Yes, there is a substantial identifiable and accessible public constituency which can be expected to appreciate and support -- and actively participate in -- a new political action organization concerned with international issues." Oxtoby-Smith has no reason to doubt the estimates offered by Common Cause that the membership of New Directions might rapidly number in the hundreds of thousands.

first experimental mailing

As an initial test of the potential public real support -- that is, of the willingness of "grass roots" individuals to write a check in support of New Directions -- an appeal was mailed in late November to 9000 world federalists, over the signature of Sanford Persons (Executive Director of Members of Congress for Peace through Law). The appeal stressed that New Directions was not yet in operation, but that funds were required to sustain the planning effort and to offer an indication of public support. The response to this appeal has been remarkable, returning at several times the normal rate for such a mailing.

III. STATUS OF PLANNING

name

Although "World Action" has been the most commonly-used working title for the proposed new organization, public opinion research found that it enjoys no significant public preference above other possible titles, and our own discussions and considerations suggest that it suffers several disadvantages. Further research will be conducted, but for the present we are turning to the name NEW DIRECTIONS: A Citizens Movement on United States Global Policies, pending final decision by the Planning Commission.

legislative/political issues

We have now collected various earlier statements on the proposed Purposes, Principles, and Issue Objectives of New Directions into a series of draft statements. This paper is appended.

THE WORK AHEAD: Refinement of such a basic policy document of New Directions should be undertaken by a Working Group of the Commission. Comment and suggestions will be welcomed. Subsequently, this "outline" will have to be expanded into comprehensive position statements and action proposals.

membership recruitment

Lester Wunderman (president of Wunderman, Ricotta & Kline and vice-president of Young & Rubicam) and Margaret Mead are beginning to consider in more detail the range of membership and support appeals which New Directions should employ. It is expected that the organization will rely upon a combination of advertisements in various media; "networking" approaches in which members appeal to five or ten friends, and group leaders appeal to their memberships or contacts; and introductory direct mail. No formal appeals for membership in New Directions will be issued, of course, until the organization is ready for launching.

finance

The past year's exploratory effort has been financed through three principal sources: the operating services offered by officers and staff of several supporting organizations and volunteer private firms; contributions from (or secured by) members and supporters of the Planning Commission; and responses to the "seed money" solicitation mailed to the World Federalists.

Most members of the Planning Commission have made personal contributions, ranging from \$25 to \$1000, and many have already (or have promised to) solicited contributions from ten, fifty, or one-hundred of their personal associates. This "Personal Networking" approach is surely the strongest method of recruiting in terms of the commitment of the recruited individual and the likelihood of securing substantial seed money contributions.

Our second form of networking is "Organizational Networking" in which a recognized leader of an existing organization or activity appeals to members or contacts of that activity, explaining the significance of the New Directions idea to their own particular constituency, and urging support. We first tested this approach with the Sandy Persons letter, reported above.

THE WORK AHEAD: Once a firm decision to proceed with New Directions is reached, we hope that all members and supporters of the Commission will commit themselves to "personal networking" by telephoning or writing at least five or ten friends each month, explaining the concept of New Directions and urging their financial and participatory support. Following the February planning meetings, we will have a new supply of materials (brochures, etc.) available for use in these solicitations.

Since many members of the Planning Commission have access to membership or contact lists (whether of 50 or 50,000 names) who recognize and respect the Commission member, we hope that each of you will offer to allow a printed appeal to be sent to your list (under Planning Commission letterhead and over your signature) to secure new support and prospective members for New Directions. The Planning Commission, of course, would handle all arrangements for such appeal mailings.

We shall be moving within the next two months toward major test mailings to members of such organizations as the United Nations Association, Common

Cause, ACLU, etc., with the theme of "advance support to make it all possible." These will serve both to secure immediate financial support and to introduce New Directions to a widening public.

To all those who send contributions to the Planning Commission, we intend to send back a packet including two or three sets of appeal materials (letter, brochure, envelopes) along with a cover letter thanking them for their contributions and asking them to address the enclosed appeals to several of their friends...and thus, to extend our personal networking program to the grass roots.

staff work

Finally, we note that it is no longer possible for the Planning Commission to rely upon the gratis operational services of cooperating organizations. Michael Shower and Phil Gibbs continue to serve the Commission in our Washington offices. Commission members should contact them with respect to contributions and requests for support in both personal and organizational networking -- building substantial income programs for the Planning Commission is now critical if we are to continue our preparatory work.

November 11, 1969

Mr. Richard Rodriguez
U. S. National Student Association
2115 S Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Richard:

Many thanks for your thoughtful letter which I am sharing with the Staff Director of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mr. Howard Glickstein, and our Chicano Commissioner, Dr. Hector Garcia of Corpus Christi.

I have no disagreement with all of the points you have made. I suspect that you don't know that we had a week-long hearing in San Antonio on the problems of Mexican-Americans last year, and that Dr. Garcia as a member of our six-man Commission has been influential in initiating a broader program attentioned to the problems of Spanish-speaking Americans.

I would suggest that you get in touch with Mr. Glickstein so that he, in turn, could have you brought up-to-date on our efforts in this area.

I believe in the press conference following our September statement I did not simply indicate a black and white society, but a black and white or brown and white. One never gets quoted exactly in these matters because it's easier to go with the majority implications.

Thanks again for your thoughtful letter, and be sure that our Commission is totally dedicated to all of the things you mention.

With all best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President

cc: Mr. Glickstein
Dr. Garcia

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

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3 November 1969

Rt. Rev. Mnsgr. Theodore Hesburgh
President, Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Dear Monsignor Hesburgh,

I have just finished yet another popular magazine article treating your concerns about black-white relations in America. This particular piece appears in the latest issue of Look (dated: 18 November 1969) and details your most recent complaints about the rate of compliance and/or degree of enforcement by the federal government of supreme court mandates and civil rights statutes. One thing in particular stands out in the language and the substance of your remarks--and that one thing to me as a Mexican American (o prefero Chicano)-- is your particularly narrow view of this society's varied complexion and the multiplicity of problems confronting it. I guess that I mean to say plainly that if you are Chicano, then by definition, the crisis in black and white can seem rather moot.

I have followed your service on the U.S. Civil Rights Commission over the last several years with interest and a certain admiration. Yet, when the Commission heard testimony on the West Coast about two and one-half years ago (approximately), I was really quite shocked at your insensitivity to testimony by Mexican Americans. Your preoccupation solely with the problems faced by the black community seems now to be still with us. While I do not for a minute mean to suggest that the struggle of the black man in this country is not of preëminent importance to all Americans, I do submit that the experience of other racial and ethnic groups with the dominant culture in the United States deserves attention also. Much can be learned from the experience of the Native Americans; Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts; certainly Asian-Americans have suffered injustices yet survived to make enormous contributions to our society. The same is true I believe with the Puertorriquenos, Latinos and Chicanos.

Certainly neither of us would deny this, yet you who stands nearest a public forum have consistently failed to discuss civil rights in a pluralistic manner. As a consequence, even though I agree passionately with your views on minority problems, I find myself plagued--really "bugged"--by the facile manner in which you so neatly divide society into black and white portions. Where are the twelve million or so of us--who are neither--supposed to go?

Monsignor Hesburgh,

My purpose in writing was not originally to deliver what must appear to be an admonition; so much as I meant to applaud your tireless efforts on behalf of racial and economic equality.

Please, though, however dreary the "shopping list" of oppressed peoples in our society may sound: the poor whites, the Puerto Ricans, the Blacks, the Asian-Americans, the Native Americans, the Chicanos, and there are of course others; you must try-when and where you can-to educate the many millions of majority or European-descent in the United States to our existence and the presence of our continuing difficulties. These few facts may be useful to you in this regard:

- ✓the largest minority group in the U.S. is of course black.
- ✓the largest minority group in the western U.S. (west of the Mississippi River) is Mexican American, called Spanish-American in Colorado and New Mexico, Latino in San Francisco Chicano in California and Texas. This is the second largest minority group in the U.S.
- ✓the Puertorriquenos of the U.S. now constitute the largest minority group (outside of the Jewish community) in Metropolitan New York City. Their birth rate, the highest among any group in the nation will make the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago Spanish-speaking within one generation (thirty years).
- ✓In the case of the states of Oklahoma and Alaska as well as the Northern Plains States from Eastern Washington to Western Minnesota, the Native American is the preponderant minority person and subject there to notable repression and exploitation.
- ✓In the case of Hawaii and to a lesser extent, the city of San Francisco, Asian-Americans and Polynesians are (in the former an oppressed majority numerically, in the latter an important minority).
- ✓In the outlying regions of the San Francisco Bay Area and California's San Joaquin Valley, poor Japanese and Filipino-Americans constitute the largest, local minorities and there face the severest educational and economic difficulties.
- ✓This of course is not to ignore our largest group of poor: the unemployed and underemployed white man whether in the small farm and mining belt that stretches north and east from the Texas panhandle to the Northern Appalachians of West Virginia and Pennsylvania Or the urban white ghettos of Chicago, Newark or Gary.

Monsignor Hesburgh,

Thus my appeal to you, is not merely one for greater exposure of the difficulties faced by Chicanos in this society, but for the widest attention that can be focused on the many problems of all the divergent groups that remain poor and relatively impotent within our society. Your keen intelligence and the forcefulness of your personality can do much to unite these groups if you do begin to broaden the basis of your observations and rhetoric. If you do not, Monsignor, then you will continue to feed the petty rivalries and jealousies that many federal programs have aroused, particularly in the West.

Thank you for your attention and your labors in behalf of all of us.

I remain, sincerely,



Richard Rodriguez
Administrative Assist.
Chicano Affairs,
National Student Association

p.s. not the least of my intentions was to invite you at your earliest convenience to be our guest here at N.S.A. for lunch, dinner, or whatever the schedule for your next visit to Washington allows. As part of the new staff at the Washington office, I can assure you we're most anxious to dispel any misconceptions about our organization that might have arisen due to distortions in the popular press. As president of a member university, I'm sure you have an interest in investigating first-hand the work of the nation's largest student union. We hope to talk with you and see you in the near future.

R.R.