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1964

CONVENTION SUMMARY

By C. CLARK KISSINGER

DAY TO CHALLENGE McCORMACK

By SUMNER ROSEN

The independent campaign of Noel Day for Congress from Boston seeks to test and to validate the political relevance of peace as an election issue in 1964. It connects peace with the issues of racial justice and social change -- directly, explicitly and in an election campaign. It needs the help of those who believe that these issues are connected, and merits the attention of those who want to find out.

Day's opponent is John McCormack, the Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives and the acting Vice-President. In the statement announcing his candidacy, Day pointed out that his district has the second highest rate of unemployment in Massachusetts and that one house in three is substandard. "Yet," he said, "these same citizens have long been represented by one of the nation's most powerful political figures."

(continued on page 29)

"The Role of the Radical in American Institutions and Movements." This was the theme of the 1964 SDS National Convention held June 11-14 in Pine Hill, N. Y. Although the geographical inaccessibility of Pine Hill held the Convention down to 208 registrants (plus a few freeloaders), excellent Chapter representation was achieved, a lot of stimulating debate transpired, and some important decisions were made.

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

By PAUL POTTER

This year's National Convention was not the sort to leave any uniform impressions about its meaning or implications. No doubt organizational polemics will make use of it frequently to prove various conflicting points about the problems facing SDS after two full years since Port Huron. My own feeling about the event which has so decisively redirected my life is one of affirmative agnosticism -- which is to say that I see no single correct interpretation of what did transpire but rather a number of reasonable analyses, each of which gives a particular set of problems that were expressed thematic significance. This is not to say that understanding the Convention is an arbitrary intellectual exercise; rightly or wrongly, the Convention provides much of the data by which we must judge the condition of the organization, and a compilation of its various meanings is necessary to understand the complexity of SDS and the kinds of problems and people in it.

At this distance, there are three major concerns that I have about the Convention. The first regards the first real leadership crisis I have seen in the organization. A number of SDS' venerable old guard came to the Convention feeling secure in the knowledge of the organization's phenomenal growth during the last two years and confident that they could step back from the positions of responsibility they had held for a number of years while a new set of student radicals elbowed them aside. There was little elbowing; there was rather a real confusion over the failure of SDS' older leadership to give definition to the issues that were facing the organization and to help formulate debate around these issues. The result was pretty much what one would expect from a debate over unformulated issues -- a fair amount of frustration, a good deal of confusion, and occasionally, to be sure, some incisive and cogent remarks about SDS.

Many, I'm sure, felt they had been deserted by the main strategists of the development of SDS; and in some elements the leadership default resembled desertion. However, the problem is deeper, more structural and less personal. The development of SDS to date has much more represented the attempt by a

few to pull together the organizational and intellectual conception of an American New Left than it has the development of a student organization, radical or otherwise. Some of the early issues that attracted people to the organization were "student" issues, such as university reform, but these kinds of issue have consistently diminished in their importance, almost from before the official birth of SDS at Port Huron. There would be little reason to lament this were it not for the fact that the growth away from campus issues has represented in large part the growth of SDS leadership rather than of the organization as a whole.

In part, it was the recognition of the gap that existed between membership and leadership that led much of SDS' leadership to begin reorienting its thinking to some new form of adult organization, fraternally tied to SDS but operating independently in a number of areas. The vehicles for the transition to a new organization were seen more as PREP and ERAP than SDS, which has had the peculiar effect of making it unnecessary to build the new organization openly out of the old; instead, the effect is to pull two projects of SDS further and further away from its direction. It seems to me that the real debate over ERAP should have been about how (or whether) an adult and student organization could relate to it with different needs; but that debate was submerged by the nominal allegiance of older SDS members to the student framework.

The discussion that didn't take place at the Convention must begin forthwith in the organization. The fact is that the student generation that built SDS must and will graduate from direct leadership responsibilities in the organization. This group, however, will take with it a good deal more than facts; it will take a number of the intellectual and organizational functions that have clustered around SDS for the last two years. What is and should be left is a question for the entire community of people who have come to identify with SDS to discuss -- in relation to the development both of adult and student organization.

But this brings me to my second main worry from the Convention, which is a corollary of the first: the real failure of a large number of new and uncommitted people in the organization to see themselves as the formulators of its program. Only part of that is explained on the basis of a leadership default. The rest depends on a rather uncurious acceptance of the national framework of activity that has developed in SDS. A new and expanded network of people who see themselves as the owners of the organization must begin to emerge, or the possibility for an independent radical student organization will disappear. There is no question in my mind that there is a much greater array of talent represented in SDS today than when it began. Perhaps what is lacking at the moment is a shared organizational vision of the possibility of SDS' becoming an intellectual and political force involving thousands of students effectively and strategically in radical action. I fear sometimes that we have let our increasing realism about American society stifle imagination in reaching out to each other and our fellows to create the resources that can truly change the nature of life in this society.

The third problem that the convention brought to the fore is only partially a product of the first two. There seemed to me to be a peculiar lack of capacity to talk about program for SDS below the vaguely ideological plane. For example, the debate on political vs. community organization resounded triumphantly back and forth in the room without ever taking into consideration such questions as how a proposed program may or may not affect or interest the people in the organization who must implement it -- the membership. There was little or no inquiry into the nature of the student generation that we are trying to recruit or keep in SDS. There was an unwillingness on the part of some to recognize that the expectations of students about political involvement are markedly changed from a few years ago. There was no real attempt to break "campus program" down into its components and examine their real worth and potential.

tion, its state of health, its potential for new growth, and its agenda for the coming year. The reexamination is sobering; in two years we have created a host of problems, solved few, and now must begin to outline yet more problems if we are to continue to face and fulfill the demand for democracy and plenty.

MISS. FREEDOM MOVMT

The following resolution, proposed by Jim Williams, was passed by acclamation at the June SDS National Convention:

WHEREAS the Freedom Movement in Mississippi is seeking new forms of political expression which will democratically involve the poor and the oppressed peoples of Mississippi, and;

WHEREAS the autocratic segregationist power system has systematically maintained the almost total disenfranchisement of the Negro people, and;

WHEREAS the Negroes and their allies, in order to fight for democracy, have formed the Freedom Democratic Party which will attempt to substitute itself for the segregationist regular Democratic machine at the Democratic National Convention;

BE IT RESOLVED that: Students for a Democratic Society urges its members and friends to support and assist the efforts of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to obtain its rightful place in the Democratic Party organization, and exhorts all freedom-loving people to lend their resources to this great effort.

- - - - - I M P O R T A N T ! - - - - -

There will be a mass demonstration before the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, to be held in late August, in support of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's right to be seated at the convention. Sponsors of the demonstration at this writing include CORE and SDS. Buses will be chartered to the convention, leaving from New York City and possibly other areas. For further information...

CIVIL

RIGHTS

The case of the three missing SNCC workers in Mississippi has occasioned much comment from liberal and radical circles. In a statement issued at Harvard Law School on June 30, for example, 28 law professors declared that "the Federal power to take protective action in the circumstances that now prevail in Mississippi is clear." They went on to say: "Surely there is reason to believe that violence and combination are now so hindering the execution of the laws of Mississippi and of the United States as to deny to the Negroes of Mississippi rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States. . . . Violence, combination and conspiracy in Mississippi are unquestionably obstructing the execution of the civil rights laws of the United States -- the provisions, that is, of Sections 1981 and 1983 of Title 42 and the provisions of the Acts of 1957 and 1960 with respect to voting rights.

"Doubtless some creditable considerations of expedience could be cited to support a decision against now taking vigorous presidential action under Section 333 of Title 10 of the United States Code in Mississippi. Surely, however, the Attorney General's position would be less misleading and therefore less perilous if he would acknowledge that the President today has power to act but believes that "police action" under Section 333 is inadvisable. . . . It is at once disappointing and ironic that the Department of Justice, which has been bold beyond precedent in successfully urging the Supreme Court that the judiciary possesses the broadest powers to enforce the constitutional assurances of equality, should now discover non-existent barriers to executive action."

SNCC itself had this to say about the Federal government's non-intervention in Mississippi:

"Since the June 21st 'disappearance' in Mississippi of James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, the federal government and an accomodating press have engaged in an unconscionable campaign to condition the American people, as well as the foreign press, to accept the inevitability of murders, beatings, bombings and false arrests in the state of Mississipp-

pi. These terrorist activities have existed in that state for more than 100 years and have intensified since 1960 when Civil Rights activity began in earnest. The inevitability of terror in Mississippi can only mean the inevitability of terror anywhere in this country. When Attorney General Robert Kennedy announces that there is very little the federal government can do to prevent a reign of terror in Mississippi, he has really given notice to every racist thug and vigilante in Mississippi, and throughout the South, that in this election year the present administration finds it politically inexpedient to exercise its constitutional mandate to prevent the brutalizing of the bodies, the destruction of the property of American citizens engaged in peaceful petition for the exercise of rights guaranteed by the Constitution, rights which President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy, in taking their oaths of office, swore to uphold. If terror is inevitable in Mississippi it is because President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy have chosen to allow it to be inevitable!"

TELEGRAM FROM PAUL POTTER, PRESIDENT OF S.D.S., TO THE JUSTICE DEP'T OF THE U.S.

THREE MORE MEN HAVE BEEN MURDERED IN THE SOUTH. YOU CANNOT ESCAPE THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE THE POWER TO HALT ATROCITIES IN MISSISSIPPI. A GOVERNMENT THAT SEARCHES FOR CORPSES WHILE REFUSING TO PROTECT LIFE MOCKS THE VERY REASON FOR ITS EXISTENCE. YOU MUST INTERVENE FORCEFULLY, MASSIVELY, NOW.

"The passage of the Civil Rights Bill will in no way diminish the need for demonstrations in the North," stated Noel Day, candidate for U.S. Congress from Boston's C.D. Nine.

"The new civil rights bill does not deal with the problems of the North," Day continued. "The Fair Employment section of the Law will not provide enough jobs for Negroes until there are enough jobs for everyone. Nor does the Law deal with slum housing or de facto segregated schools

PREP

REPORT

By PAUL BOOTH

PREP is spending the summer planning for the fall. We anticipate considerable financial backing for the coming year, enough to maintain myself and Todd Gitlin as permanent staff, and to do a great deal of travel.

So, this summer is being used to prepare program materials. The areas of emphasis for the coming year will be (a) the draft, (b) third world, and (c) conversion. I am preparing a program paper -- Towards an Effective Peace Program on Campus -- which will be mailed to thousands of peaceniks in the fall, and which will outline and justify the areas of emphasis of PREP. Anybody who wants to see it in draft form, and who will send comments on it to me during the summer, should write me here.

PREP is moving to integrate its campus programming with that of the Universities Committee on Peace and War, a faculty group directed by Otto Feinstein of Wayne State. Travel will be coordinated with Feinstein, and we hope to develop student and faculty groups on the same campuses.

With the dissolution of SPU at their recent convention, PREP has been left as the sole service for campus peace groups. We are attempting to make available literature, program guides, etc., for any campus group interested in the peace issue -- be it an SDS chapter, a Christian Association, a Young Dems group, or an SPU group.

Most interesting for future reference is the conversion project in the Boston area, jointly sponsored by PREP and ERAP. Directed by Chuck Levenstein of MIT, a half-dozen students are working full-time in the Bedford area among defense workers (primarily engineers) who are beginning to feel the blow of defense spending cuts in the form of lay-offs from their plants. The project will hopefully develop into community organizations for conversion throughout the Boston area, and the chapters in the

area will be putting a great deal of energy into community organizing around the conversion issue next fall.

It is to be hoped that similar projects can be set up in other impacted areas, such as Seattle, San Diego, Camden and Long Island. During November, after the second series of installation closings, I will be on an extended speaking tour at campuses in the impacted areas.

I have written an article for the next issue of War-Peace Report challenging a piece by Prof. Emile Benoit in the current issue, which opposed the linking of the conversion issue to the war on poverty. As the impact of defense cutbacks grows, we will be seeing these issues as more and more inseparable.

All our hopes for converting America from the Cold War may go down the drain, however, if our war in Vietnam escalates to the proportions of another Korea. We are certainly teetering on the brink right now. Apparently no one anymore recognizes the borders between Laos, North Vietnam and South Vietnam as constraints on raiding expeditions, and the spectre of a full-scale war is present in every speech of McNamara and Rusk.

Senators Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening have been carrying on a courageous attack against the war in Vietnam every day on the Senate floor. Senator Morse, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and thereby privy to top-secret information, is convinced that we are headed directly toward an all-out war, and that "we will be hated by the majority of mankind for the next five hundred years."

Throughout history, foreign war has wrecked movements for domestic reform. We should not think that our ERAP projects would survive very long after the declaration of war in Vietnam. Civil liberties would be suspended and half of us would be drafted. We would be especially vulnerable if we spoke the truth -- that the war is a war of re-

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pression, and that the majority of the people of South Vietnam side with our opponents.

There is precious little we can do to affect American policy. We are almost as impotent as we were before the resumption of tests in March, 1962. This time, however, we have allies among many Americans who are reacting to the daily deaths of our soldiers in an undeclared war of attrition, in a faraway place which means nothing to most of our fellow-citizens. Goldwater is responding to their anxiety by calling for all-out war -- to get the thing over and done with and American boys back home. Because it is simple to demonstrate how fatuous his policies are, it should be almost as simple to convince the constituency at which his remarks are aimed that we must withdraw.

Isolationist Senators like Ellender of Louisiana favor withdrawal. Rep. Laird, Chairman of the GOP Platform Committee, favors withdrawal to the war of attrition, although he believes in the workability of Goldwater's schemes. During this election year we have a good opportunity to call for withdrawal, and that opportunity must be used. Wherever the political candidates are found -- county fairs, shopping centers, railroad stations, etc. -- we should be leafleting for withdrawal. PREP will distribute handbills during the fall for use at election rallies. This job should be seen as a major task for chapters. In addition, educational materials on Vietnam are being prepared, and we already have at hand copies of a study by David Arnold: "Vietnam, Symptom of a World Malaise," which can be ordered from PREP for 10¢.

HELP!

Tutors needed for special remedial reading and math program for junior high school students in the Bronx.

For information on how to help, contact SUSAN HYMAN at LU 8-1000, after 1 P. M.

ERAP:

BALTIMORE By KIM MOODY

After a week of preparation, the offices of the Baltimore project opened on July 1st. Since the project will be attempting to organize the unemployed, it was decided to establish an organization of the unemployed and recruit directly to it. The name of the organization is the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN); it has two offices, one at 1042 N. Gay, in a Negro area, and 326 S. Broadway, in a white area. Given the fact that Negroes are likely to move faster than whites, it was decided to go slower at the Gay St. office. The Broadway office began operations by leafleting the neighborhood for two days; this, however, had little apparent effect. For the first few days our primary contacts were with those who came by the office. The area consists of various ethnic groups (Poles, Italians, Ukrainians, Czechs) as well as immigrants from Appalachia and the south. So far most of those who have come in the office have been of these latter two groups. All who have come in were responsive to our program and most readily left their names and addresses for further contact. While this type of haphazard recruiting continued, staff workers went into the neighborhood to talk to people and learn more about the area. We have learned a good deal about the unions and churches here as well as certain ethnic organizations, such as the Polish National Alliance (PNA).

On Monday, July 6, we began leafleting the Unemployment Compensation line. This proved more fruitful than our previous leafleting the neighborhood. We have had several phone calls and visits as a result of this work on the Comp. line. Since Monday we have developed a very useful contact in the Polish community, an active member of the PNA (which he claims is liberal) and on good terms with the local priests. He will do fund-raising for us and introduce us to various people in the community. He confirmed our research by insisting that

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unemployment was high in the area; further he said there is a strong union tradition here. There is, of course, a lot of racism in the area. Most of the people with whom we have had direct contact seem to respond to economic arguments for black-white unity in economic organizations, but it remains to be seen how the race question will affect us.

The people encountered in the Broadway office have included a fair share of characters. We have had a couple of old and not-so-old leftist workers and one old fascist, who liked our program (God help us). Most of the guys, however, are just plain workers who distrust politicians and have little love for the "bosses."

On the service end of the program, the Broadway office has already started to handle three cases. The first case looks as though it is won. It involved a man who was cut off welfare when his wife died. We got ahold of his case worker and, through a couple of contacts we had down there, raised hell. The Welfare Department thereupon reopened his case -- which they had insisted was closed -- and it looks like we will win. The second case involved an unemployed worker who was about to be evicted because he could not pay his rent. We took him down to the Welfare Dep't and, after another long fight with the bureaucracy, our point was made; this morning the man should get his emergency rent check. U-JOIN has already made quite a name for itself at the Dep't of Public Welfare. Our third case was simply giving a guy information on how to get welfare when his Comp. checks stopped. The Gay St. office has taken a couple of cases too. They are working with a young Negro who gets paid \$1.00 a week. Naturally, they are trying to get him a raise. There was discussion as to whether or not we should handle cases of this sort. It was decided that such cases were relevant to the Negro area, mostly in terms of building a neighborhood reputation. In terms of general activity, the Gay St. office has begun leafleting their area and has sent out staff members to the Comp. line with us every day, so that we have integrated teams.

We are beginning to learn about places where the unemployed are said to congregate and will send people there. We are planning to have our first meeting for the unemployed next week.

BOSTON

By CHUCK LEVENSTEIN

Metropolitan Boston has a population of over three million, but less than one-fourth of this number live in Boston proper. This city, like many others, seems to be on the decline. Poor transportation strangles the city; traditional industries have been leaving; unemployment is rather high; and a shrinking tax-base has cut off the resources needed to cope with these problems.

By contrast, suburban Boston has been booming. The heaviest concentration of defense electronics research and manufacturing in the country has grown up along Route 128, a multi-lane freeway which runs in a great semi-circle from the North Shore to the South Shore at a distance of ten to fifteen miles from the city center.

Bedford is an integral part of the Route 128 complex. Located in the town are Hanscom Field, home of the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories and the Electronics Systems Division; and civilian support groups, such as the Systems Development Corporation, the Mitro Corporation and MIT's Lincoln Laboratories.

In the decade 1950-60, the population of Bedford increased by 109.6%. Of the 7,635 persons 14 years old and over, 38.8% were in the civilian labor force. More than one-fourth of that number were classified as "professional, technical and kindred" workers and slightly greater than 15% were "craftsmen, foremen, etc." in 1960. Median family income was \$7,893 (about \$1,200 higher than for the Metropolitan Boston area) and almost 30% of the families had income of \$10,000 per year or more. Less than 5% received income of under \$3,000. A very small percentage of the housing (4.9%) is deteriorating or dilapidated; median value of "one-

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dwelling-unit structures" is \$17,800, almost \$2,000 more than the similar figure for the Boston Metropolitan area.

Early this year it was proposed that the Electronics Systems Division be moved to Rome, New York. According to the Research and Development Department of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, "The proposed transfer of the U. S. Air Force's Electronics Operations from Hanscom Field to Rome, New York, [would have had] the following effect on the Massachusetts economy:

- A. The direct loss of 2,238 civilian jobs at ESD alone, and the potential loss of 5,762 indirect support jobs.
- B. The direct loss of 4,000 military personnel, 90% of whom live off the base.
- C. The direct loss of \$47 million in civilian and military payroll per year, and potential loss of an additional \$34 million per year.
- D. The loss of \$16 million per year in local procurement, 80% of which is awarded to small business firms.
- E. The de-activation of over \$63 million invested in the facilities.
- F. Aggravation of the serious distressed status of the Lowell-Haverhill-Lawrence metropolitan areas which supply 20% of the work at ESD alone.
- G. The loss of 1,202 ESD jobs to the Boston metropolitan area, which is at its highest rate in years, 5.8% or 17,400 unemployed.
- H. Major flight of support industry to the new location.
- I. Resultant loss of a significant portion of \$135 million awarded yearly to Massachusetts firms.
- J. Total potential loss of \$230 million per year to the Massachusetts economy."

The direct impact on Bedford would have been the loss of 456 jobs and \$3,595,696

in Bedford would have rocketed from 2% to 17%.

The proposal was defeated, but the concern it generated for the future of the defense-oriented electronics industry still remains. This concern has been strengthened by over 11,000 layoffs during the last year in the Massachusetts electronics industry.

It has been estimated that from 3,000 to 4,000 scientists and engineers have been laid off by the companies along Route 128 during the last six months. Since January, for example, General Electric has been cutting back its scientific employees at the rate of 25 a week.

With new emphases in the defense area, many companies are rapidly approaching a precarious financial position. At present, their main line of defense has been to submit and resubmit proposals to the government. In one firm, over half of the total force of engineers (approx. 150) were given the task of creating "sellable" contracts. Just recently, the companies in the Bedford area were involved in an abortive effort to create a "Super-Corporation" to represent them in Washington. As a group, these companies are very worried. They are also very vulnerable.

On the state level of government, Governor Peabody created an ad hoc body, which has just gotten legal existence, to study the economic problems of the Greater Boston area. This body is already committed to studying the defense industry in Massachusetts and the problems of reconversion.

It seems obvious, then, that for many residents of Bedford, Massachusetts, the economy is unrewarding. A need exists for concerted community organization, revolving around both the technical problems of reconversion and the moral problem of war and peace.

At present, the Boston project is conducting a survey of Bedford residents dealing with their social and political views. Besides bringing together some basic information, this survey will hopefully

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isolate individual leaders in the community who will be effective in further efforts of community organization. Through contacts with "liberal" organizations and individuals in Boston, we are in the process of developing a file of basic information dealing with the companies in Bedford and the surrounding area involved in defense contract work, their employees, and other material relating to the technical side of reconversion and existing and potential state and federal legislation in this field.

To date we have held two public meetings at the Episcopal Church in Bedford. The meetings have been small, but we have succeeded in developing interest in the project among liberals in the community and among representatives of mainstream Bedford organizations. In cooperation with these groups we are now in the process of laying out short-range goals around which a community might be built.

While most of our efforts to date have been encouraging, at this point it is difficult to predict the future direction of the project. This will, in large part, be contingent on the degree of commitment we can develop among our Bedford friends. By the summer's end, the Boston staff will have accumulated a great deal of useful information on the pains and prospects of community organization in middle-class communities.

CHESTER

By TOM LARGE

Chester, Pennsylvania remains in the news. Some 250 men and women, arrested in a series of mass demonstrations this spring, await their October trials and hope that their appeal for a change of Venue will be granted. These are the victims of brutal beatings inflicted by both the Chester police and the Pennsylvania State police. The demonstrators remember vividly what is only now being acknowledged by such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, and numerous ministerial groups in Delaware county and the immediate area. The brutal action of the police has been investigated. How-

ever, a report issued by the Pennsylvania State police concerning their own investigation of police brutality found no unnecessary action on their part during the spring demonstrations. The announcement of these findings caused the eruption of further demonstrations protesting this investigation and the harshness it concealed. Three nights a week these marches occur with the same air of peaceful protest which surrounded them in the spring. As a result, Governor Scranton has initiated a second investigation not only of the police action but also of the illegal court proceedings and exorbitant bails which were forced on the arrested. A second result of the ever-mounting protest in Chester is an extensive city improvement program entitled the Greater Chester Movement. Modeled after a similar phenomenon in nearby Philadelphia, the Greater Chester Movement reveals an intensive interest on the part of church, business and political leaders as well as other interested persons in a massive improvement program for the city.

Front-page drama continues in Chester, and although the SDS ERAP summer project is an active participant in its demonstrations and rallies, perhaps its other activities will be its most significant contribution to the Chester movement.

The Chester project spent its early energies in research. Planning for work in block organization and perhaps some voter registration, its ten members hoped to compile a chart of information on population distribution and income. From the land title building we learned where one landlord owned a number of houses in a relatively small area. Unlike New York City, Chester has few tenements. Most of its housing is three-story row or double housing, a fact which may prove to be a hurdle for rent strike organization. One landlord might own an entire city block and still receive rent from only thirty families. From city housing records we learned where the city thought the worst housing was. We also studied plans obtained from the city planning commission dealing with their urban renewal program for the lower west side, where most of the Negro population is concentrated. Most of these plans showed clearance of housing and building of industrial and park pro-

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perties. There were no plans for the mass of residents now living in the houses which are to be torn down.

The previous information provided a basis for decisions on where to begin block organization. We thought that areas with the poorest housing and few slumlords, in which tenants were threatened with an urban renewal program that took their homes but provided no replacement, would be most likely to succeed as block organizations aimed at a large-scale rent strike. Research was also done in the area of unemployment. Here we found that even skilled and semiskilled workers (who equal almost 50% of those who come through the unemployment compensation office) could not find work in Chester. Perhaps this partially accounts for the very great high school drop-out rate in the city. If skilled workmen cannot find a job in Chester, then a high school diploma cannot improve opportunities at all for the young person just beginning to look for work. Although the unemployment compensation office receives nearly 1900 people a week it finds few jobs, and does not touch numbers of unemployed who have never had a job.

Further research was done concerning rent strikes. We learned from some sympathetic attorneys that the law almost without exception favors slumlords and property. There is no legal way not to pay rent regularly in Chester. The tenant has few rights and if the slumlord is at all experienced in the preparation of a lease, he can easily remove even these from his tenant. We were told, "Don't talk to lawyers; the law is anti-rent strike, and even if it weren't you would have little chance against the city magistrates." But using this information on the legal rights of tenants and landlords, in addition to what we had learned about ownership and housing regulations, we began to work in the community. We wanted to concentrate on issues connected with housing and the neighborhood. Each member of the project is responsible for one area, usually not bigger than two blocks, which occupies most of his or her time. There have been seven meetings so far, with varying success. Working with us on block organization are a number of the Young Adult Council,

a group of older teenagers, as well as people active in the Committee for Freedom Now in specific communities.

In addition to rent strike through block organization, the project may work in the voter registration drive being initiated by the Young Adult Council and the Reform Democratic Party of Delaware County. We may be able to work on voter registration within the block organization structure; if this is not possible, we hope to find door-to-door manpower in both the Young Adult Council and the Democratic Party, and perhaps among some white high school students in the city.

Although the project is small and has just begun to work in the community, there has already been significant research completed and careful plans for organization laid. Few members of the project have had experience in community organization but the recent first block meetings and the continuing work with the Committee for Freedom Now have made all of us more aware of possible goals and some of the methods to try to realize these goals.

CHICAGO

By LEE WEBB

With the addition of the 12 full-time people from the summer project, the JOIN office on the north side has been able to considerably expand its program, primarily in three major areas. First, staffing the Kedzie Street office full-time, redecorating it, and expanding the social service department. Secondly, setting up local committees of JOIN in areas where large numbers of unemployed contacts live. Third, researching on the legislation on unemployment, problems of Chicago, etc.

We have repainted the JOIN office, including a second coat on the walls; also we have added some new signs, and plan more. The condition and looks of the office have certainly improved, and it has shown in the amount of people who come into the office.

New leaflets are now being prepared every week, and at least one person is always leafletting the compensation office during the hours that it is open. Also, five people work directly in the office talking

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to the unemployed (about 25 a day) who come in about problems of unemployment compensation and about JOIN as an organization. We have found that it is very easy to talk with them about full employment, medicare for all, automation, etc.; they are very receptive to all our ideas. They are also interested in being part of an organization of the unemployed, but the level of their commitment is very low because of their awareness of the difficulties involved in starting an organization which really represents workers. The office is also working on leaflets dealing with automation, unemployment compensation and corruption which will ultimately be used in the education part of an organization of the unemployed.

Furthermore, we are now beginning to set up local committees of JOIN in various neighborhoods in the north side in which there are heavy concentrations of the unemployed. We are using the lists of people received from the guys who came into the JOIN office; after plotting all these contacts (about 200) on a map, we have begun sending out teams of two to work with the contacts and set up a number of local committees of JOIN. We feel it important to work on developing an extensive base of leadership, program and commitment rather than simply going after explosive publicity in the newspapers. The development of an organization of the unemployed involves a long-term commitment over a number of years; this cannot be stressed enough.

Other plans for the summer include meetings with local unions to talk about JOIN to their membership and leadership to get some of them involved in our organization. Secondly, we hope to get their assistance in setting up plant gate collections to raise money for JOIN. We plan, moreover, to investigate Manpower, Inc., an exploitative national company hiring and selling unskilled day labor; as well as look into the relief program here in the city, especially the rumors that relief people are being forced to go to work at no pay. These form additional issues to our central concern of employment and unemployment, and we plan to do additional research on the retraining programs as well

tional government to this problem.

As in national politics, many organizations are becoming interested here in poverty and unemployment. One of the most interesting examples is CORE's establishment of a task force with a staff of 15 to work on organizing the Negro unemployed.

JOIN is also beginning to expand into other cities. Two of the ERAP projects, in Philadelphia and Baltimore, have also adopted the JOIN name; and some publicity materials, especially large posters, are being prepared for use in all the offices. We have also found people in Kansas City, Gary, Indiana and Cleveland, who are interested either in setting up a JOIN-type organization or in adopting the name.

CLEVELAND

By Nanci Hollander

After two weeks of door-to-door canvassing and searching out contacts on the Near West Side of Cleveland, the Cleveland Community Project has begun to focus its activity and research on the initial stages of organization. The community houses an older and relatively stable Eastern European population combined with the more recent emigration of Southern Appalachians and some Puerto Ricans. It is a totally white community except for the housing projects, which have a token number of Negroes.

One group of us will be working within a public housing project to form neighborhood councils so that the tenants can begin to deal with their own problems as tenants; at the same time, others will be organizing people who are on welfare. These two groups share one critical factor making any initial organizing a tremendous hurdle: an insecurity caused by greater and greater dependence on the administrators of the project or on the welfare check or, in some cases, both. They are trapped. If in the project, they fear the possibilities of being kicked out for disobeying some rule like not keeping the yard pretty, or forgetting to take care of the incinerator, or washing clothes at the wrong time, or

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having suspicious personal relationships. They soon learn that the only way the "office" will know of their activities is through their neighbors' informing on them and thus they hide, pull down the blinds, and distrust everyone. The most common complaint from people living in the project is that the children fight and then the neighbors fight over their children. A child might say to another child, "Why doesn't your father go out and get a job?" or "How can you afford such a big, new car?" and a fight begins. Insecurity quickly spreads to children.

And for someone on welfare, in or out of the project, the situation is the same. If his neighbors find out, they will look down on him; and the teachers will treat his children differently ("You will fail gym if you have no gym suit." "Why didn't you give anything to the United Fund?" "Here is your free lunch pass."), and the child is labelled by his peers -- making an added series of difficulties blocking the possibility of finishing high school.

One's whole life centers on the monthly check, which assumes that four children need only \$15 a year for clothing, proclaims soap a luxury, catches whole families in a trap of poverty. The only real knowledge of the welfare program and the rights of its recipients comes from the social worker on whom these people must be totally dependent. This parallels the dependency on the project management and causes the same insecurity and fear. Once on relief or once in a project, one can't get out and fears being forced out, so life becomes a lonely, desperate struggle to just hold on to what you have.

Any possible spirit of cooperation is lost in this environment and each turns inward to be concerned with his own problems, his own life. Anyone who concerns himself with the problems of his neighbors is a snoop and not to be trusted. Charles Lebeaux, in an article in New University Thought called "Life on ADC: Budgets of Despair," describes it thus:

"Poverty settles like an impenetrable prison cell over the lives of the very poor,

shutting them off from every social contact, killing the spirit, and isolating them from the community of human life."

The first problem with which the organizer is confronted, therefore, is how to break down this dependency by providing the necessary security in another way. In the project it would be impossible to organize a group against the management initially because these people feel that the project is the one real thing they have. Instead, we plan to set up neighborhood councils which will deal with such things as the fighting problem and yard responsibility by having all complaints come to the council instead of the management. It will then become an intervening force between the tenants and the manager, ending the horrible system of informing. Through the council, as a second step, the management must be seen as an enemy and demands made on it.

The situation is similar for the group of people receiving all kinds of welfare benefits. They are afraid of publicity and of organization because the checks might stop. However, a small group of mothers on ADC was started here a few years ago by one of the community churches, and these people can constitute an initial leadership. This is very fortunate because it means that a few have realized they must make demands on the very people who control their lives -- those who control the welfare checks.

Even at this early state of organization, we must make long-range implications explicit subjects for discussion and also extend our research beyond the immediate. The organizer's job is not completed by the mere creation of a neighborhood organization because it will probably turn inward and become nothing more than a neighborhood improvement group. Behind the formation of the groups and throughout their progress must be a basic challenge to the whole system of a welfare state. The long-range action and research must be in terms of abolishing the concept of a project that hides and isolates the poor, and abolishing the system of welfare which stamps one "dependent."

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I might add that this particular housing project is beautifully landscaped, with many huge, old trees and ivy crawling gracefully up the buildings. This makes it an even more egregious example of the "hidden" poverty of this century. It is, moreover, an institutionalized poverty structured into one's life so that there is no future. A housing project does not prepare one to re-enter society in a meaningful way and welfare benefits do not include the means for a decent life. To depend on them is to hide in fear; we must change this fear into action.

LOUISVILLE

By JIM WILLIAMS

I have a feeling that what we are doing here is substantially different from what is being done on some other projects and thus might hold some interest for people doing research on other projects.

Our research differs also because, unlike many projects, our main thrust is as a service body for a number of already existing groups and movements locally. That is, ERAP personnel are often assigned to work for/with the West End Community Council, the Gandhi Corps, and so on -- the purpose being to help train their leaders to be more effective, to develop the perspective and base of the groups, and lend important day-to-day servicing.

Much of the research thrust, then, is (to use a military term) reconnaissance. That means that part of the research is in defining power structures ("Know thy enemy") in order to enable local movements to seek out the proper pressure points and to develop a keener tactical sense. Other areas of our "recon" include problem-defining, the pinpointing of factual data and developing workable guides to the problem -- carrying the martial parlance further, "to survey the terrain." All together, it means that we are developing manuals and guides to local problems and the possible pressuring techniques needed to solve them. We have defined the research end of our pro-

ject as a "Poor Man's Rand Corporation." Naturally, this means that our research is narrower and more pointed in some instances than that being done in other groups. (The reasons are probably two-fold: since local SDS kids are working on the project, much of the long process of "knowing the community" is eliminated; and local groups are at a stage developed enough to take the ball and run with it when they get it.)

There are some theoretical viewpoints to which we are subscribing which are also uncommon in SDS. Much of SDS' research orientation is along sociological lines, using the skills and methodology and weltanschauung of that discipline. This means, e.g., that power structure research in a sociological sense involves almost the total defining of a community into a sort of pyramid with the "corporate liberals" or "social-fascist lackeys of Wall Street" at the top. This is a pretty long-range project and requires a number of complex techniques to come off.

We are, however, using the political science research discipline in our research. Part of the difference is this: the political scientist sees a number of interacting power structures which do not necessarily overlap and which are often composed of radically different social strata, even internally. (See particularly Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs?, Harman Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Politics, V. O. Key, etc.) From this viewpoint, there is a housing power structure, a transportation power structure, etc.

With the areas thus defined, we are following an orthodox Minnis-analysis, gathering up boards of directors, investments, property holdings, etc. (Minnis' analytical methods lend themselves admirably to action projects.) With all this data in hand, we are able to answer the question of the WECC, "Who do we picket?" This means that when a realtor refuses to sell to a Negro, we can picket his office, the real estate board and the particular banking or credit institutions involved. We can also invoke a state anti-blockbusting statute which we uncovered.

Specifically, what we are doing right now

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is this:

A study of the power structure of housing. This includes a study of the real estate board, the urban renewal board, the banks, savings and loan and other lending institutions and their interlockings and decision-making processes. (Relates to WECC.)

A study of recreation programs in the west end ghetto. Civil rights demonstrations at a "private" pool in an amusement park caused us to study the whole city recreational set-up. This involved a study of the number of swimming and wading pools, parks, programs and availability. This also involved a guestimate, based on census tracts, as to how many potential users there were. The terrible lack of adequate public facilities that we found strongly supports the demonstrations at the public park with the "private" pool, and backs up the demands of the West End Community Council and the West End Action Committee.

Unemployment study. This is the least-tackled project yet. At this point it consists of developing a sense of what has been done previously by city-state-federal and private agencies and an analytical dissection of their more obvious failings. With this done, we will begin to get involved in original research in some given areas, either geographical or stratum-wise. Relevance is toward a Labor-Citizens' Committee for Full Employment and eventually toward the unemployed council (JOIN-type).

Work with the WECC street surveys. WECC and ERAP are conducting street surveys in areas where block-busting is rampant and in areas in states of racial change. This consists of a number of interviews which can then be fitted together to show real patterns of intimidation of home-owners and also to discover the real racial attitudes of the people and to recruit.

Hopefully, these will evolve into a series of guides which these organizations or others can pick up and run with.

Another specific project we have "jobbed" into is:

Study of police intimidation against the

Gandhi corps. In Louisville, civil rights demonstrators are seldom arrested on the spot but instead some days later are picked up on trumped-up charges of vagrancy, petit larceny, etc., etc. (Remember the great "Telephone Theft" case in which the local SDS chapter was involved?) Other forms are frequent police search and seizure, friskings, etc. Police surveillance is another variation. These incidents are being carefully documented for the Gandhi Corps to issue, to blast the new segregationist patterns in Louisville and to gain liberal and civil liberties issues and alliances.

We would enjoy comments and news on how research is being conducted in other projects.

NEWARK

By CARL WITTMAN

The Newark ERAP project is located in one half of the Southern Newark Ward (one of five wards), Clinton Hill. It is a residential area, much of it middle- and lower-middle class, predominately Negro and rapidly becoming a slum area. The project was invited by the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council, a ten year-old group with a long history of block organization and neighborhood improvement; by the Newark Committee on Full Employment, a group of about 20 residents of Newark interested in the issue of employment; and by the National Committee on Full Employment (Stanley Aronowitz' group, with research staff Thabit-Heifetz, Linda Greenberg on staff for research in Newark).

The project's goal is to create a strong block organization in Clinton Hill, beginning with issues important on the block level and eventually focussing on major issues, such as employment, job security, housing, etc. An emphasis is placed on developing local leaders out of the block organizations. We also have an office, where unemployed and others are welcomed, and it provides a place for meetings with community people. Informational research -- on urban renewal, housing codes, training programs, social security, etc. -- is divided among staff members, while programmatic re-

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search is being done by the National Committee, with two of our staff working in liaison with them.

Block organization is proceeding; a number of blocks of the CHNC have been revived, including two which have had a number of meetings and have taken action on recreation areas (there ain't none), police insults, lack of law enforcement, buildings to be demolished, etc. -- a number of gains have been made, and one group was forced into a picket action when no immediate gains were made. A good community response (100 on line, 200 at meeting afterward) suggests that the community is ready to move on a number of issues. Approximately 12 blocks are being worked on at present.

The "Arabian Stompers," a neighborhood group of girls doing precision marching, has been adopted by the CHNC, and a fight with the Board of Ed. yielded them a place to practice.

The group is living in an apartment (5 of us) or with families in the community. Food is a cooperative venture, and we're on about 60¢ a day per person (which we know is more than some -- but exotic menus are rationalized as recreation); project will last until August 25 or so, at which time most have to return to school. A staff of 3-5 will stay on in the fall for the year.

PHILADELPHIA

By NICK EGLESON

Operating under the name of Philadelphia JOIN (Jobs or Income Now), the project works with the unemployed and the underpaid in the southeast section of the city. Although we have opened an office and leaflet the unemployment compensation office regularly in order to reach all categories of the unemployed, we have concentrated on five groups who have a particularly hard time in the section of the city. Agricultural workers -- day farmers -- leave in buses at five in the morning and make between \$4 and \$7 for a ten to twelve-hour day. They are covered neither by minimum wage nor by compensa-

tion insurance. Domestic face much the same problem. The waterfront workers in the area are being hit both by automation -- which will take six men from every gang of 22 -- and by the construction of a shore expressway which will force the removal of some two dozen warehouses in the edge of the area in which we are working. Welfare mothers face the same problems here as in any large city. Welfare does not provide enough to live on -- only about 60% of the minimum standard -- but cannot be received if one is working. Many cannot even consider working because it would mean leaving large families untended.

Work in this area has been highly interesting because in many ways it is well-integrated. Although four major ethnic sections are easily discernable (Italian, Polish, Jewish and Negro), they account for only a portion of the area. Between these groupings are streets with Negroes on one side and Poles, Puerto Ricans and Italians on the other, and others where the integration appears complete. Occasionally squarely in the middle of the Italian area one can find a long, narrow street that looks like a back street from any city ghetto in the deep south. Sometimes the integration is more than superficial. In the playgrounds the children under twelve play together without regard to race, and the older people sitting on the street at night often talk in interracial groups. Longshore teams are integrated. But among the other groups, particularly the older youth, there appears to be far more tension.

In these first weeks our time has been divided among building up a background on the city and getting to know people in the various service agencies, researching particular problems, such as the state of unemployment benefits, and doing extensive house-to-house work, often with leaflets. Activity with the five special groups mentioned above is just the beginning. We are developing programs for each.

Staff education has proceeded in a number of ways. Work in this new location has meant constant and careful evaluation of our approach, and the discussions in-

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volved have been long and, most of the time, enlightening. Each person has a research assignment to cover special aspects of the city or of national problems, and there have been a number of informal reports from this work. In addition, several people who live in the city have spent an evening or afternoon talking to the project about such topics as the state of affairs in Vietnam, local politics, waterfront unions, Pennsylvania Welfare, and the assassination of President Kennedy.

TRENTON

By WALT POPPER

The ERAP Trenton project began to work in downtown Trenton on June 15. There is a full-time staff of ten students from Princeton, Swarthmore, Brandeis, Simmons and Antioch. We are working with two adult groups in the community, the Mercer County chapter of CORE and the Mercer St. Friends Center, a neighborhood house and summer recreation center for the area. The Project has rented an office in an integrated area near the Friends Center. This is the area into which the mayor moved in the fall, getting nationwide publicity as a conscientious liberal.

The first thing we did was to set up a tutorial project in this neighborhood, working with students at Trenton State College and recruiting tutors among high school and college students in the area. The tutorial will be expanded during the summer. We have started with elementary school kids and hope to work more later with older kids, trying to involve them in discussion groups and action projects.

In the last two weeks we have been conducting a survey and forming a neighborhood group in the Mercer-Jackson area where we live. The city plans a special type of urban renewal program in this area -- bad houses will be renovated, a playground will be built, and as a result, rents will go way up. The present tenants will be forced to move out, and the area -- a choice residential location a few blocks from downtown stores -- will become an upper-class neighborhood. Everyone here

talks of rent control as a partial solution, and this seems to be a good issue for organization.

We will begin next week to work in South Trenton, an all-Negro area which will be torn down in a year for an urban renewal program. The area is the worst in the city, with terrible housing conditions and high unemployment. Building block groups will be difficult, perhaps because there are no definite issues for organization in the area. There are many serious problems, but because of urban renewal, there is no reasonable solution. Organization is all the more difficult because the mayor and the Democratic machine pretend to be very liberal and the government people love to sit down and talk; in this way they stall action without committing themselves to a definite program.

We have worked with the local CORE group on two projects so far. The group has drawn up a plan to better integrate the five junior high schools in the city, and we and they took a sample survey in one area where kids would be switched from one school to another. It was a Negro area, and everyone loved the plan. The city, as usual, is thinking it over and talking about it. This is ridiculous -- the schools are already partially integrated, and this plan changes the racial composition only 5%, with no bussing.

Two weeks ago Big Barry came to town to see the New Jersey delegates, and some of us joined a picket line organized by CORE. It was a frightening experience to talk to some of the 400 fascists in the crowd. Something must be done about this man.

NEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWS

Congress, as usual, has passed a bill suspending for 30 days prior to Nov. 3 a Federal Communications Act requirement that broadcasters provide equal time for all candidates for public office if time is provided for any. The bill will allow the Democratic and Republican candidates unlimited exposure while allowing candidates of minority parties to be ignored.

CONVENTION SPEAKS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

I. INTRODUCTION: Since 1960, millions of Negroes have demonstrated for an end to American racism. The American freedom movement has become the most powerful force for social change in this country. It is forcing the government to legitimize, bless and speed up action on civil rights; it is awakening conscientious individuals to the possibility of doing something right and effective. It is providing to Americans a new model of commitment and action which challenges those who are looking for a way to focus their anxiety on a world they neither like nor control.

The Freedom movement in this country has expressed needs which will require fundamental change in America in order to be satisfied. Yet it lacks the active support of its potential allies: the unemployed whites, the under-educated youth, the aged, trade union people who know the consequences of a narrowing job market, and the many intellectuals who realize that the present government programs against poverty are only a temporary ameliorative to the crisis of economic displacement, unemployment and automation into which we are now entering. The Negro freedom movement may face increasing isolation and frustration if it cannot soon forge links to local movements of unemployed, farm hands, displaced miners, and others who share a common economic tragedy.

It is with the conviction that new forms of economic organization, program and strategy are needed that SDS has turned major resources and energies towards a bold new task of community unionization.

II. COMMUNITY ECONOMIC ACTION--QUESTIONS IT RAISES, PROGRAM AND STRATEGY: The SDS program in community action was designed deliberately to stress innovation in program and strategy. Begun with the explicit hope for a movement of all the

do we work with poor white people to create motion and change; to which classes and groups do we appeal and against which do we fight; on what political program and social vision do we rely; how can the perception of common interest lead to the formation of political action organizations which encompass the full range of needs in the deprived community; can welfare local organizations and protest movements move toward the achievement of a grass-roots political coalition capable of challenging the established power structure of a city and eventually a nation?

We pose these problems and questions because we believe it important initially to understress a rigid ideology and any single organizing strategy. While we would stress in a thorough way, controlled and planned economy which guarantees political freedom, economic security, abundant education and incentives for wide cultural variety, the problem here is that we need a way to discuss these goals, strategies and tactics, not only among ourselves, but with the people with whom we work. We are interested in translating our demands for shared abundance, democracy and equality into terms applicable to community problems. We believe that we will find for our ideology the practical content that we seek as we work in community action.

We are convinced that political action is an essential part of our strategy to carry us into the new society. The decision to use candidacies as a major organizing technique to create a direct democracy, or to put off electoral strategy until a later date, must be made on the basis of the individual community.

III. SDS AND COMMUNITY ACTION: Since January, 1964, over 100 people have been recruited to work in SDS community action programs in ten areas: Baltimore, Boston, Chester, Chicago, Cleveland, Hazard, Louisville, Newark, Philadelphia and Trenton.

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has produced new organizational strains while broadening the SDS base.

While there is a tendency to emphasize these strains, what must be stressed are the new opportunities that the community action program holds out to a growing student organization. For students involved part-time in community projects, the new program offers a way of looking at the world in more practical terms; it allows us to see ourselves and SDS in a new light of relevance; and it offers the promise of generating new discussions, research and programs for the linking of middle-class groups, particularly professionals and pre-professionals, with the concerns and activities of lower-class movements. Techniques of thinking and formulating strategy and demands, the ability to grade goals, experience with education among disparate groups -- all these should prove invaluable to the construction of campus programming; what remains, given the impetus of community organizing programs, is for campus SDS members to view their organizing responsibilities in middle-class and other communities and on campuses in a manner similar in seriousness and in empiricism to that in which ERAP community organizers regard theirs. We regard all these byproducts of the ERAP organizing effort as critical to the ultimate shaping of a national left coalition capable of instituting the social change delineated in our previous convention documents.

People working in the SDS community action program must help in the task of enlarging the campus base of the organization. As the projects get underway, SDS should arrange for community organizers to travel and speak at nearby campuses, to encourage university people near project areas to participate in the functions of the community program, to supply the campus with materials from the community projects and to continue the program of economic conferences and other meeting places for full-time students and other organizers. We further recognize that students should be encouraged to develop intellectual involvement in radical societal programs through research and other elements of community organization. We believe that stu-

dent participation in the community is a logical and necessary complement to university curricula, and that students should be encouraged to apply their academic skills to aid community organization and to confront their academic perspective with the realities of the society. We place emphasis on these points because the primary task of SDS must remain the creation and education of student radicals. We assert that their task must remain high on the agenda of the SDS community action program.

There is no way of prejudging the implications to SDS of a program that necessarily encourages adult groups to assume major responsibility for programs in local project areas and solicits greater and greater support from labor leaders, university scholars, lawyers and professionals of all kinds in the local and national program. Most probably, new groups will be created which will seriously support the formation of a new adult political council--an organization attempting to encompass the full range of demands of new radical constituency. Until the time that such a new adult organization is feasible, however, SDS should continue to support and be responsible for its community action programs.

We propose that such basic functions of ERAP as: location and nature of future projects; production of literature and other materials; administration of national funds and fund-raising programs; organization of conferences and other national gatherings; regularization of book-keeping and accounting; selection of national non-project ERAP staff and leadership, and formulation of basic strategic outlook be integrated with the decision-making and administrative bodies of the National SDS. The ERAP director and other non-community staff should be considered as members of the SDS national staff. The ERAP director shall function on his own initiative in regard to the internal affairs of ERAP, but shall in the above-mentioned areas be ultimately responsible to the National Council of SDS. He shall consult regularly with the National Secretary before taking action which involves more than the internal activity of the community projects. The National Secretary shall consult with the ERAP director on all aspects of SDS pro-

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-grams which could in any way be of benefit to or be benefitted by ERAP. Members of the national SDS staff and members of the national ERAP staff shall coordinate their travelling and speaking activities to facilitate and support chapter development. The SDS President, National Secretary and ERAP Director and other SDS project directors shall meet at least once between National Council meetings to review the progress of current plans and assure the continued coordination of activity.

SDS & THE 1964 ELECTIONS

In this election year, the left is once again faced with the recognition that most electoral contests will offer us little to chose from. Yet, because of our commitment to electoral politics, we return to this subject, to make specific the role of electoral action in the building of the new left constituency, and in the gaining of political power.

We believe that electoral action, as a democratic manifestation of our economic and social concerns, is valuable as a means for the realization of our goal of participatory democracy. Electoral politics is a means of recruitment and education for a constituency; it focusses a movement on political goals and political power; and success gives both a sense of power and the political rewards that accrue as long as the elected officials remain responsive to the base that elected them.

There is controversy in one crucial particular. The question is at what point in the development of an insurgent movement should it engage in electoral action. Politics in the most depressed and exploited sections of America is often not a meaningful process. The result of alliance with the liberal establishment is often disillusioning; the resulting increased alienation leads to further hopelessness as to the possibilities for change rather than to increased understanding and militancy.

Alternative methods of organization must be found. Instead of trying to cooperate

in the control of existing political institutions immediately, developing new institutions within the community but outside of the electoral process may be more effective. In addition to having good chances of success, their educational value is great, for the initiative and control is in the hands of these alienated groups.

Ultimately people cannot gain power through these institutions without political action; and in a society where the majority does not share their alienation and suffering, alliances are necessary.

Both methods must be used in cooperation, and in SDS' various areas of work, both should be developed and tested. Many of the new insurgent movements which are being presently organized around economic issues will not be ready to present candidates this year. However, although SDS cannot endorse or support political candidates because of its tax statute, this convention expects that individual members will continue to support insurgent candidates, as in the past.

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCENE. The state of affairs described by previous SDS conventions still exists. Basically, the dominant force in our national politics remains a coalition of conservative and reactionary Democrats and Republicans. However, the bargain in which Dixiecrats and liberal Democrats join to make up the Democratic Party is now showing signs of stress.

The impact of the civil rights movement on our political parties has been to raise once again the possibility that the "liberal-Dixiecrat" coalition will be dissolved. The registration of Negro voters and the resurgence of very conservative Republican parties in the South both contribute to this possibility.

The major political development of the past year, however, has been the growth of right-wing political strength, through the presidential candidate, and it seems that it will be committed this year to return to full-scale Cold War, and the state rights rhetoric which represents anti-labor, anti-civil rights and liberties and anti-federal economic activity ideology.

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In this rather forbidding political environment, several lines of approach have been recommended to liberals and the left. The most widely accepted of these is reform politics--both congressional reform and urban reform.

The congressional reform movement would alter the seniority system and other elements in the structure of Congress which perpetuate the Dixiecrat dominance of the congressional Democratic Party. It would adjust congressional rules in other ways to break up the "legislative logjam." But that logjam is in fact a manifestation of social conditions that run deeper; liberalism has failed either to adequately justify its program of government activism to middle-class people or to provide significant programs of economic reform to appeal to labor or to the poor. Congressional reform could not have given us a civil rights bill; on the contrary, the civil rights bill is the product of the energies of the civil rights movement, on the streets as well as lobbying. Nonetheless, the achievement of reform in Congress would facilitate the passage of the liberal program and would therefore test our claim of its inadequacy.

Urban reform movement, like the Reform Democrats of New York City, counterpose issue-oriented liberalism to the politics of the machine. Its base is an insurgent one, although for the most part composed of liberal middle-class professionals. But issue-oriented politics alone is insufficient. These issues must be based on the material necessities of the economically and politically disenfranchised. To this end, new constituencies must be unearthed, politicized, and their needs given political expression. This is essential if the movement is to be given a live base, a base which cannot be absorbed by the liberal establishment. To a great extent, its commitment is to creating party procedures which would allow issue-oriented politics to flourish; at the same time, the most liberal politics in the country faces a dilemma when confronted with the real problems of daily political activity. This arises as a contradiction in its conception of corporate liberalism and the need for political gains for the Other America constituencies which it purports to repre-

sent.

The root of radicalism is basically this: Radicals believe in the democratic administration of society by the ordinary people themselves. Thus we are opposed to corporate liberalism, which is essentially undemocratic. But political constituencies face the same problems as social and economic constituencies in the sense that these movements must present some sort of gains or reforms for their members. In the same manner strikes must be won and restaurants integrated, the political needs of the people must be met.

While constituencies can be organized on issues, they are maintained as stable organizations only by obtaining "reforms" or concessions. Likewise, the political needs of these constituencies must be faced in the same manner as the other needs.

Those who advocate "purity" and "hands off dirty politics" fail to differentiate between reforms which are conceded by the corporate liberal structure and those demands which are won by the political action of our radicalized constituencies. The latter are of the utmost importance in creating a radical direction in our society because they prove to common people that they can achieve their goals through political action; this helps to dispel the notions that the poor and the working class are somehow "unfit" for exercising political control. It reinforces their enthusiasm for any radical action and develops the thirst for political power among them.

Eugene V. Debs once said, "no strike is ever lost." By this he meant that the very act of a strike was a radicalizing agent for the people. This has the same relevance politically in that the very act of participating in politics will have an important educational function.

Radicals approach politics with definite criteria for action. They do not approach the structure "hat-in-hand" as some corporatists would suggest. The criteria for political action are located in the base of a given candidate. A liberal candidate with working-class and Negro background and support is certainly not an enemy because he is responsive to the real and felt needs of the impoverished constituency. A corporatist liberal is one with certain liberal notion and constituency to maintain his class rul

CONVENTION

Thus the issue should be clear. Electoral action which yields the tastes of victory for the oppressed, the poor and the Negro, can only lead to the development of real mass radical bases. To say less is to yield to political pessimism and consider that politics is at best an academic "question." The welfare of the people is never "academic"; it is vital to the building of our vision.

REALIGNMENT: A much heralded political realignment is now taking place. We welcome it, for it means that the Democratic Party will no longer bargain with racism to elect the President, and racists will be removed from their leadership of the Congress. A major step toward this goal may be taken at the Atlantic City Democratic Convention this summer, when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenges the credentials of the racist delegation, and presents its own delegation. We support this initiative, and call on the Democratic Party to purge itself of its Wallaces and Barnetts, and seat the representatives of a new politics for the South.

This new politics is being forwarded by Negro voter registration and by the movement of Dixiecrats into the right-wing Republican parties of the South. It will make the Democratic Party more consistently the liberal party of the nation.

However, those who will lead the new Democratic party will be precisely those liberals who have made their peace with corporate power, and who will not have a commitment to assert public priorities against the corporate sector's priorities. When political realignment last seemed possible, in 1948, the liberal-Dixiecrat coalition held firm in order to fully support the Cold War. In the absence of this justification, and with the Wallace unpledged-electoral movement depriving the national Democratic Party of the Solid South, it is quite possible that the Mississippi challenge will meet with success.

The major point that is made by both the Realignment and the third-party schools is that the strategy is political mobilization of dispossessed groups. The real

strength of the Mississippi action is its success in building a base among Mississippi Negroes.

The more successful we are in building a new radical constituency, the more meaningful will be the realignment. Our efforts must therefore be concentrated in building the radical potential for the new party coalitions.

Believing that student involvement in insurgent politics is vital for the growth of such organizations as the Texas Democratic Coalition, we mandate the NC to establish a Political Education Project (PEP) which would serve to correlate and disperse information regarding reform and other potentially radical political movements and see that this information is placed at the disposal of SDS members and chapters which on their own would be in a position to take active roles. Such organizations as COPE would serve as sources for PEP. SDS would not as an organization be for or against any candidate, but merely make information available for independent use.

ERAP PROJECTS

- BALTIMORE:** Kim Moody, U-Join, 326 S. t Broadway, Baltimore, Md.
- BOSTON:** Chuck Levenstein, 337 Western Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
- CHESTER:** Vernon Grizzard, 342 Ulrich St., Chester, Penna.
- CHICAGO:** Lee Webb, 4849 N. Kedzie, Chicago, Illinois
- CLEVELAND:** Ollie Fein, 2908 Jay St., Cleveland Ohio
- HAZARD:** Art Gorson, C/O Comm. For Miners, 1365 B'Way, Rm 512 B
- LOUISVILLE:** Bill Dady, 4403 Virginia Av Louisville, Kentucky
- NEWARK:** Carl Wittman, 716 Bergen, Newark, New Jersey
- PHILADELPHIA:** Nick Egleson, 721 S. Marvin St., Philadelphia, Penna.
- TRENTON:** Walter Popper, 521 Market St., Trenton, N. J.

LOUISVILLE

Chapter activity in Louisville this summer has generally centered around assisting the local ERAF project. The local chapter is still under injunction not to enter Fountain Ferry Amusement Park. The injunction was passed after Bill Dady led demonstrations and sit-ins there. The irony of it is that the local chapter had nothing to do with the demonstrations and did not support them.

We are working with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (AFL-CIO) in a campaign and boycott against H-I-S clothing. H-I-S has consistently refused to allow organization of their plants and has engaged in all manner of unfair labor practices. Since students are the main buyers of their products, SDS was invited to lead student campaigns against these. We are currently helping to picket stores that carry H-I-S merchandise and urge all other chapters to engage in the boycott also.

The local chapter is also helping the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights to raise food and money for Mississippi. We plan to hold some summer educationals and fund-raising events.

by J.W.

DUKE

By SHELLY & JO BLUM

Towards the last week of finals it became obvious that Duke needed another left club, and it was especially obvious to me that it would be SDS. The first organization is CORE, which has been active in Durham integration activities and whose members have been involved in the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee. CORE also investigated wage rates and hiring practices of the University. But CORE developed the usual name on campus and it operates with the special difficulties of an integration group on a Southern campus. We needed a group that could invite speakers, hold seminars, do

white mill community in this Piedmont town. The potential of the SDS chapter is not limited to those in CORE or to the immediate Duke students and faculty. Membership is 10 (not all SDS national members) with many more contacts to be brought in. Remember that this all took place during finals week!

MARYLAND

By RICHARD OCHS

Our chapter has eight national SDS members, but has an active local organization of over 50, many of whom will hopefully join the official SDS roster in time. Of this number, about 15 are present for summer SDS activities.

Our summer activity is centered around our community development project, UNITY (urban Neighborhood Improvement through Youth) in suburban D.C. So far we have started service projects by organizing kids to clear recreations areas and by offering arts and crafts classes four nights a week.

We have successfully achieved community involvement in our project by integrating our efforts with the Prince George County chapter of CORE. The current picketing of the nearby Suburban Trust Company against job discrimination provided an organizing focal point. Not only did over 20 residents join the line, but many are working with the larger UNITY project. The combined CORE*UNITY office is at 1113 64th Avenue, NE, Washington 27, D.C. (Actually located in Cedar Heights, P.G. County, MD.) Phone: 772-3232. The office building is sufficiently large to serve as a home for UNITY participants as well as a hostel for members of the movement who are traveling through D.C.

We are also organizing around the focal point of a proposed urban renewal project scheduled for the area. Many residents fear displacement so we are studying alternative Urban renewal programs that are more humanistically-oriented. We are planning a campaign to realize the desires of the residents rather than those of real estate

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interests.

The prospectus and basic research data of UNITY are still in the process of being prepared. Until the time when we can give a complete and scholarly analysis of the community, we will continue to win friends in the area with service projects and protests against the injustices immediately apparent.

WESTERN KY.

By AZLE BECKNER

Our chapter is now trying to get a few members and make some plans for an all-out assault next fall on the rotten conditions that exist here.

We have had one meeting in the local court house. We have agreed to use the ACLU pamphlet, "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities," as a goal for our action in this field. We have also agreed to collect clothes for the people in Eastern Kentucky. Moreover, we have printed several copies of the constitution to distribute to our prospective members. We plan to start a student newspaper next year, not anything large--just one or two sheets to give the students a chance to voice their opinions. We need advice as to tactics we can use to convince the administration that we are right in our plea for more freedom. The president has proven unreceptive to individual petitions in the past.

WISCONSIN

By SUSAN HOOK

The most significant fact about the UW summer SDS chapter is that its membership list reads just about like the summer membership lists of the UW Friends of SNCC, Madison CSRE, etc. Thus, when confronted with a situation such as the disappearance of the three COFO workers, the chapter's concern for initiating a distinct SDS program was superseded by the need for a "united front" effort in this situation of common concern.

The result of this common effort was a Vigil, held the Sunday after the first announcement that the three men were found missing, protesting continued violence, mourning the continued loss of life, and asking for effective Federal intervention as a protective buffer for the civil rights workers in Mississippi. About 200 persons made a silent march around the square which is the site of the State Capitol, wearing black arm bands and carrying signs and banners. Brief speeches were made by the newly-elected president of the state NAACP and a SNCC field representative, outlining the need and the means for implementing Federal intervention. Petitions were passed around and a collection was taken. A request was then made that those attending continue to wear their armbands throughout the following week, in an effort to attract further community attention to this issue.

In a recent consideration of the scope of what distinctly SDS work could be done this summer, two specific projects were agreed upon. The first involves continuing the much-needed research on the status and future of Menomonee county, a former Indian reservation recently terminated by the Federal government. The second will be the preparation of a leaflet presenting a University expose to be included in the materials presented to incoming freshmen.

Further meetings will be held primarily to discuss progress reports of the ERAP projects as they become available in order to keep old members "aware" and to serve as one means for introducing our new recruits to the "SDS gestalt."

ILLINOIS

By RON SZOKE

Deprived of Rennie Davis' "Charismatic" leadership and organizational talents, the U of Illinois chapter limped a bit this year but did accomplish several things worth mentioning. Overlap of membership with the campus Young Democrats and NAACP precludes in many cases "getting the credit" for the things that did get done. It seems fair, however, to say that a major portion of the leadership, effort, initiative and best thinking in

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both the CYD and N.M.C.P. was provided by SDS members.

Rudy Frank organized a series of vigils and demonstrations on campuses and in communities across the nation late in September to protest the Birmingham church bombing. Noon hour programs of speeches and silent witness on the auditorium steps lasted a week in Urbana. (Rudy is president of the campus Friends of SNCC)

Several Friday-evening study, discussion and social meetings were held through October and November. Phil Curry analyzed American economic growth, clarifying the policy questions involved and going on to question the desirability of inducing a high aggregate growth rate without regard to composition, redistribution policy, tax reform, etc. His analysis and conclusions were debated in another meeting or two; the final meeting of the semester was devoted to films, with Ron Szoke evaluating and leading a discussion of "8 1/2".

During Christmas vacation and between semesters, several members went to Atlanta and points south for observation and demonstrations. Several more attended the Harvard conference at the beginning of the second semester and a number went to the Community Organizing Conference in Ann Arbor.

A Conference on Poverty and the Economy was organized in cooperation with ERAP and the CYD for May 1-3, with the featured speaker being Robert Theobald. Further presentations were by Carey McWilliams Jr., Todd Gitlan, Jesse Grey, Jesse Frostin, Congressman Frazer of Minnesota and Bob Wilson, Democratic Peace candidate for Congress from this district in 1962. The conference was well-attended and most participants seemed to think it quite good.

BOSTON U.

By DAVE FELDER

The recently-formed B.U. SDS chapter is concentrating on the Noel Day campaign and will organize around it. During the campaign we will sponsor several fund-raising events such as hootenannies and a massive rally. Some of our members are in

the Boston University Civil Rights Coordinating Committee and we hope to work with them and other groups wherever cooperation is possible.

During the past year our members have participated in the Freedom Schools as instructors for the school stayout, in SDS discussion meetings and in the Simmons Conference entitled "After the Arms Race... What?" Four of our members were on the Boston SDS Research Committee, and contact have been made with professors at B.U. that students can do school papers on subjects of interest to SDS.

After the Noel Day campaign we plan to run candidates for student congress and to work in the area of University Reform. This year a dress code was promulgated by the paternalistic B.U. administration. The B.U. Student Congress circulated a petition objecting only to the terms of the particular dress code, not to the administration's handing down such codes in general. Boston University is in need of University reform, students have shown they want a change, and the B.U. SDS hopes to give the student resentment creative direction.

HARVARD

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is reported from the July 10 issue of the Harvard Summer News.)

A newly-established Summer School chapter of the national liberal organization students for a Democratic Society, plans to set up one or more "democracy schools" for teen-agers in the Boston area this summer.

"We want to get together kids from various neighborhood houses, the kids who stay in front of Brighams every night and doing nothing and are bored, and teach them something about the mechanism of U.S. government and society," Amy L. Delson, coordinator of the chapter, explained.

The "democracy schools" will provide discussion groups and occasional speaker. "We will try to tie up the kind of problems these kids have with the problem of society," Miss Delson said.

The summer school chapter of SDS is the first one that has been in existence at Harvard. Miss Delson said, however,

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a regular chapter will be established in the fall.

The purpose of organizing a summer chapter, she explained, is to get students from other colleges interested in SDS so they will establish their own branches in the fall. For this reason, the summer leaders are anxious to initiate a project of their own -- "so these people can get some experience in getting something started."

SDS members will also work on several existing programs, however, such as the regular SDS job conversion project in Bedford.

CHICAGO

By LORETTA WASMUND

The Chicago chapter of SDS was not chartered officially until the beginning of May. At that time officers were elected and a constitution drawn up for the chapter.

The present members, however, began meeting as an SDS chapter in the winter of 1964. The organizational difficulties it faced were many; it is not a campus-based chapter. Therefore, the divergent make-up and interests of the group and the travel distance involved in meeting tended to reduce both the number of meetings and the size of attendance. No concrete programming or plan of action has been developed by the chapter, though a decision was made to tie in the initial activity of the chapter with the Chicago JOIN project, using this as a point of departure for programming and acting upon other needs of the city.

Three meetings highlighted the events of the last semester. Ernest De Maio, President District II, UE, addressed an organizational, membership-recruiting meeting of the chapter. Mr. De Maio drew a cogent picture of the business-political-labor coalitions in the city, providing chapter members with a background picture against which to place future chapter work. Attempts at recruiting new members at this meeting were largely unsuccessful, however. Wilberforce Jones, Chicago Civil

Rights leader, spoke to the group about the present and projected civil rights plans for the city. As the last meeting of the spring, the chapter members attended a talk by Berman Gibson, Committee For Liners, to Chicago Labor leaders.

The Chicago chapter has disbanded for the summer but plans on resuming its activities with the opening of school in the fall. The question whether a chapter with such widely dispersed membership (both geographically and occupationally) can develop into anything more than a radical discussion club will be severely tested then.

WASHINGTON

By JOYCE BENNETT

Two weeks ago the Washington State Democratic Convention was held in Seattle. SDS urged them to pass a resolution consisting of two things: one that they send a telegram to President Johnson asking him to send federal protection to the civil rights workers in Mississippi, and two, to instruct their delegates to the national Democratic convention to vote against seating the segregated, unrepresentative delegations from the Deep South and to vote for seating the Freedom Delegations from Mississippi and Alabama. I understood that eight states have decided to vote against seating the white delegations, and that two have decided to vote for seating the freedom Delegations. By the time you receive this, even more states may have passed similar resolutions.

We picketed outside the convention with signs urging them to take action on our resolution. We also handed out leaflets all day with our resolution on them.

Many of the resolutions were not introduced at the convention. They were then referred to the Central Committee who will meet in Walla Walla at the end of July. Ours was one of the resolutions that met this fate. We plan to go to Walla Walla and lobby for the acceptance of the resolution.

Our interest in the safety of the civil rights workers is not merely an impersonal one. Washington state sent one of the

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largest contingents of workers--about 20 people--and one of them is a member of our SDS chapter.

We are now engaged in a massive campaign circulating petitions asking the President for federal intervention in Mississippi. There has been a group formed in Seattle of parents and friends of the Mississippi civil rights workers. They circulated a petition around the University of Washington campus. We used their petition and printed 2,000 copies of it. We are now very busy sending these petitions to all individuals and organizations which would possibly be interested. We are covering all civil rights groups, all churches and religious groups, all peace groups, labor groups, the ACLU, and similar organizations. We hope to get a commentary on radio station KRAB, the non-commercial FM station here. We are also canvassing our own neighborhoods and all the coffee shops in the area.

I don't know if we will work in any other direction this summer. The Mississippi issue is so important that we feel that all of our energy should presently be devoted to it.

BERKLEY

By ERIC LEVINE

Late in the spring several members of SDS and their friends met chez Becky Mills to discuss the possibility of giving some structure to the converging interests of many graduate students at the University of California here in Berkeley. Out of this meeting came plans to start an actual chapter out here to help channel students into ongoing projects--from Becky's accounts in earlier Bulletins you can tell the area is already hopping--and to help give a more general perspective than any of the existing socialist or single-action groups now on campus can give.

SDS out here has always been and likely always will be faced with a problem of time allocation. Setting up and maintaining an organization requires lots of manhours (or womanhours) and meanwhile lot of activities are beckoning. As a result,

for this summer, while most of the others at the organizing meeting are elsewhere, I have decided to play freelance, filling gaps in certain ongoing projects, especially in terms of analysis and publicity around campus, of these activities, and in terms of setting up meetings to cover gaps.

Thus, recently, SDS had its first real meeting out here. We were addressed by Jack Wagner of the Committee for Full Employment in San Francisco. Mr. Wagner is a retired piledriver who has been spearheading a many pronged campaign to get something done in the general employment picture. Right now, he's putting pressure on the unions to set up an organization to organize the unemployed. Some SDS members joined a demonstration outside the meeting of the Central Labor Council on July 10.

Meanwhile, SDS has managed to get several new faces from the student community involved with the Welfare Rights Committee. They have helped distribute petitions in Oakland and are now beginning to help do much needed research, publicity work and help put together presentations to the State Department of Social Welfare regarding the lower rent allowances.

SDS members have also been working with CORE which is deeply involved with dramatic demonstrations at the G.O.P. Convention, as well as with the Bank of America project. A Full day civil rights conference is planned for August 1, which will have panels covering aspects from urban problems, to welfare systems, to the role of the Negro Church, to general political perspectives. The local CORE groups have many members who are quite sophisticated and the conference will hopefully go far to establish the inter-relationship of civil rights and the economic and political system.

D O N ' T F O R G E T ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !

Deadline for the next issue of the BULLETIN is August 5. Articles received after that date cannot be accepted for publication then. This applies to chapter reports, ERAP reports and anything else.

-- SES

ON CAMPUS ORGANIZING

By DAVID SMITH

Building a radical constituency seems to be one of the focal points of all our discussions of organization on the campus. It seems to me that we must first determine when we want these people to be radical. Todd's questions relative to being a radical doctor or lawyer (BULLETIN, April 1964) seem especially relevant at this point. If we are working on the campus only in order to move people into ghetto work, we are automatically limiting the number of people to whom our program will appeal. It seems to me that we must find ways not only to create campus radicals but to insure that they will remain radical after going back to the world of professionalism. It is useless to build a group of people who will, for their four years in college, work actively but forget all they have learned when they return to the outside world. We must work toward the day when we will have a large portion of the middle class committed to a radical program. We must emphasize the goal of participatory democracy and a world where all will have a share. We must direct our organization towards sending these people back to the middle class, not only to the ghetto.

The base of the program must be a broad continuous education program rather than the single-issue protests we are most likely to engage in. To the average, uninvolved inhabitant of a college campus, it means very little that a small group of his contemporaries picketed on May 2 urging the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. It meant nothing because we had neglected one of our fundamental tasks: to tell the campus as a whole why the troops should get out, to say nothing of informing them of the picket or asking them to join us. Information concerning the plan was confined to such limited-readership organs as the SDS Bulletin and the Nation. The lack of concern for the campus community at large will cause SDS in particular and the left in general to remain a rather "out" thing on most campuses.

Thus I would suggest that we design our campus programs not for the continued education of the few who are already involved but for the education and conversion of the vast majority of our contemporaries. The fault is as much ours for not telling them as theirs for not hearing.

Several devices immediately loom as weapons. The campus newspaper, if not in sympathy, is usually looking for a good controversy and will certainly run letters if not stories. If the funds are available, it might be wise to attempt a publication of your own for the campus as a whole.

As the University of Texas experience has shown, direct confrontation with the radical right can not only be an effective publicity device but also a membership draw. At Texas the SDS chapter staged a series of debates with YAF and eventually destroyed the latter organization on campus. Publicly challenging YAF statements and forcing them into awkward positions worked well at Tufts, as they refused our challenge to debate them.

Michigan's poverty week is a prime example of ways in which the message can be brought to the campus as a whole. Speakers and programs on topical issues are sure to draw large crowds; whether or not they will be sympathetic is another matter, but it is only by this type of confrontation that we have any chance of success. (Speakers of the type I mean are Lane on the assassination of Stetler on Vietnam.) SDS campus travellers should be used to best advantage by all campuses which are just beginning to move.

Finally, it seems to me that the best pitch for us to use in the initial stages is civil rights as it is still a respectable issue on most campuses. Along these lines, it might be wise for us to look for one-time SNCC people for use in this area.

JUST RECEIVED from WOMEN'S STRIKE FOR PEACE, Box 4055, Washington, D.C. 20015:

"The German Problem: Roadblock to Disarmament" (price -- \$1.00). Highly recommended by Bertrand Russell, Benjamin Spock, Senator Claiborne Pell (D,R.I.)

NAT'L COUNCIL REPORT

By C. CLARK KISSINGER, National Sec'y

The National Council of SDS met June 15-16 in the beautiful house owned by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Nyack, N. Y. After a grueling couple of weeks which included the National Convention and the Training Institute for the summer projects immediately preceding the Convention, the lovely lawns and gardens of the FOR house overlooking the Hudson was sort of a Shangri La. In fact, your intrepid National Secretary was required on several occasions to break up touch football games in order to get the delegates back in session.

Present for the Council were 15 of the 17 newly-elected National Officers, 9 chapter delegates and a small host of staff and observers. The first day of the Council meeting was taken up by committee sessions which prepared specific recommendations in various areas. In the area of administration, a number of small decisions were made (regarding bookkeeping, carbons of correspondence, fund-raising, etc.) which should greatly unify the operation of the organization. A Committee to review publications was appointed. The National Office was charged with preparing organizing materials for the fall. And it was decided to hold a conference at the end of the summer in conjunction with the National Council meeting at that time.

The Economic Research and Action Project executive committee was organized to consist of the ERAP Director, the President, the National Secretary, the director of each community project and five at-large elected by the National Council. Rennie Davis was reappointed ERAP Director, and the five at-large chosen were Ken McEldowney, Sharon Jeffrey, Bob Ross, Rich Horevitz and Dick Flacks.

Paul Booth was appointed Director of the Peace Research and Education Project, and a temporary PREP advisory committee was established consisting of the President, the National Secretary and five others to be appointed by the President and the PREP Director. Those so appointed were Chuck Levenstein, Todd Gitlin, Don McKelvey,

Carol McEldowney and Dick Flacks.

To carry out the mandate of the National Convention to establish a Political Education Project (PEP?), the National Council established a committee to formulate the structure, program and financing of such a project and make its recommendations to the next meeting of the Council. The committee consists of Steve Max (chairman), Peter Brandon, Paul Goodberg, Jeremy Brecher, Paul Booth, Shelley Blum, Jim Williams, Robb Burlage and C. Clark Kissinger. Douglas Ireland, of the National Staff, is corresponding secretary for the committee.

Finally, my appointment as National Secretary for the coming year was confirmed and Helen Garvy was appointed Assistant National Secretary.

INTERVIEW WITH TOM KAHN By STEVE SLANER

A revitalization may be in the works for the League for Industrial Democracy, the parent organization of SDS. Tom Kahn, acting LID Executive Secretary, declared that the recent Board elections (described in the LID News Bulletin, enclosed in this issue of the SDS BULLETIN) marked a determination on the part of key people in LID to revive the organization's relationship to the major social movements of today.

Kahn, the author of The Unfinished Revolution and the soon-to-be-published Economics of Equality (both pamphlets obtainable from LID), said that the League sought to become an educational arm of labor and the civil rights movement. Once this status is achieved, Kahn went on, many tensions between LID and SDS should vanish, and the issue of "old fogeyism" will become spurious.

Noting that he was around the same age as Tom Hayden, past president of SDS, Kahn pointed out that issues could no longer be couched in generational terms. Political differences will exist, but not of the sort that are argued between youth and parents; hopefully, Kahn added, "more

TOM KAHN...

serious political discussion" may take place between LID and SDS.

Stating his approval of the SDS ERAP projects (described elsewhere in this BULLETIN), Kahn remarked that the League has sponsored periodic workshops among academicians and intellectuals on the subjects of poverty, economic and social planning and mental health. Out of these workshops has come basic research and plans for several pamphlets. Kahn said that he would like to see SDS publish discussions of larger social issues, in addition to valuable material on organizational problems; and he declared that "SDS people have a publishing house in LID" if what they write is significant and interesting.

Turning to other matters, the acting Executive Secretary noted that SDS enjoys its tax-exempt status by virtue of its affiliation with LID: this necessarily requires a certain cautionary approach to matters overtly political, since the whole question of tax-exempt organizations is up for review now by the Federal government. Another advantage of affiliation with LID is that of tradition and respectability when it comes time for fund-raising. Kahn emphasized, however, that he hoped for new activity from the League -- which would constitute a reason for continued (and improved) cooperation between SDS and LID at least as compelling as the financial benefits to be derived from their association.

NOEL DAY...

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Day is a Negro. He is 31, and is co-chairman of the Massachusetts Freedom Movement, an interracial organization which grew out of the Boston school stayouts of June, 1963 -- when the first "Freedom Schools" for Negro and white schoolchildren were organized -- and February, 1964. Among other organizations, he serves the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts and Mass. Political Action for Peace (PAX).

Day is endorsed by Mass. PAX not only because he is in favor of disarmament but also because he articulates the centrality

of peace to the achievement of a just and abundant social order. His announcement pointed out that "as East-West tensions continue to decrease, and Soviet-American relations improve, we are being given new opportunities to convert our defense industries to peacetime uses which will provide more jobs for Americans. We can build decent housing for all our citizens, we can build hospitals and other public facilities, we can provide adequate medical care for all the sick, regardless of income. We can build an educational system truly based on excellence, and provide every American with either a job or a decent income. There are rights every citizen should have."

The Ninth congressional district is wholly urban -- 16 of Boston's 22 wards -- and includes roughly equal numbers of Negroes and Irish, with smaller numbers of Jews, Italians and other less homogeneous groups. It is a low-income district on the whole, with large numbers of working people.

Day's campaign seeks to articulate the needs of the community and the failures of a cold war-centered political system to respond to these needs. It will attempt to make the Negro Freedom Movement and the peace movement parts of the same political effort, and to make that effort relevant to the electoral realities of 1964. Out of it we should be able to extend and consolidate the organization and the commitment to political action which followed the campaign of H. Stuart Hughes in 1962. In this effort, some unorthodox techniques -- borrowed from the freedom movement and other areas -- will be harnessed to an orthodox, i.e. an electoral, purpose. The effort, we believe, deserves the support, the assistance and the sympathetic attention of all who believe that politics can and should be used to meet the real issues of our time.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Dr. Rosen, a professor of economics at Simmons College in Boston, is active in Mass. PAX. He is a key figure in the Noel Day campaign and has published articles in LIBERATION and other magazines.)

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The plan of the Convention called for about a day and a half of panel presentations and workshops, giving both a historical and a contemporary focus on the roles which radicals have played and are playing in American institutions. The Convention was kicked off Thursday evening with speeches by Stanley Aronowitz and Dick Flacks on "Visions of a New Left." (Stanley is from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and is Chairman of the National Committee for Full Employment; Dick is an Assistant Professor at the University of Chicago and the former Director of the SDS Peace Research and Education Project.) Friday morning continued with a panel discussion on "The Role of Radicals in 1964 Politics," followed by questions and discussion. This panel featured Albert Blumberg, active in New York reform politics; Robb Burlage, economic planner for the State of Tennessee; Tom Hayden, past president of SDS; and Sumner Rosen, professor at Simmons College.

The afternoon session opened with a panel on "The Radical Heritage," featuring Don West, Appalachian historian; Myles Horton from the Highlander Folk School; and James Weinstein, historian of American socialism. The body then broke down into smaller discussion groups to consider in detail the role of radicals in various American institutions and movements. The first set of discussion groups concentrated on the churches, the universities, the professions and the government. These four groups were then followed by four groups concentrating on the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the peace movement and community organizing. Many of these large groups in turn broke down into smaller workshops.

The original plan for the Convention called for the body to approve a programmatic document to guide the organization during the coming year. Toward this end three draft statements (available from the National Office) were prepared for the consideration of the Convention. After dinner Friday these statements were presented by their authors. The first, prepared by a group of delegates from the Swarthmore chapter, stressed community organization and the

solidation of corporate liberalism and the need to build SDS as an organization. The third, written by Steve Max and Douglas Ireland, called for the building of a new left-liberal coalition. Following the presentation of the draft documents, the Convention was addressed by Professor Seymour Melman.

Saturday morning began with a procedural plenary session: credentials were approved, greetings read and guests introduced. There were also reports by the President, the National Secretary and the Directors of ERAP and PREP on the growth and activities of SDS during the past year. Following lunch the body was again broken down into small groups, this time for the purpose of discussing the basic problems which face SDS during the coming year. In the middle of the afternoon, the plenary session was reconvened for the purpose of selecting which of the draft program documents the body wished to perfect. After some debate, however, all three documents were rejected and the general consensus seemed to favor attempting to create a new program statement.

The Convention steering committee met during dinner and decided that it would be impossible to write a major statement (such as the last two convention documents, the Port Huron Statement and America and the New Era) in the short time which remained. The steering committee thus proposed to the body in the evening that it break into nine legislative subcommittees for the purpose of drafting resolutions to guide the organization's programming. The nine subcommittees would be on the areas of chapter programming, Southern program, internal education, adult organization, 1964 elections, chapter organizing and recruitment, organizational structure of SDS, peace programming and community programming. After two hours of parliamentary wrangling over whether there should be nine committees, five committees or three committees, and what the committees should do, the number five won out and the delegates broke up to frame statements on Political Action, Community Organizing, the American Student, Peace, and Adult Organization.

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NAT'L SECRETARY'S REPORT

By C. CLARK KISSINGER

In my first report to the membership, as the new National Secretary, I take some pride in being able to report substantive progress toward many of the goals which I set for myself upon assuming the office. The first of these goals is that of making the National Office of SDS more than just a secretariat and a fire hazard. For the first time in its recent history, the NO is a functioning file system, a legible bookkeeping system, a compatible and efficient staff of four full-time and two part-time people, and a periodical report which is sent bi-weekly to the National Officers, the ERAP projects and the chapters. We are now looking forward to being able to take a more active role in coordinating the far-flung operations of SDS.

My second goal was to stimulate year-round programming by our chapters. And although not as many chapters are continuing to operate during the summer session as I had hoped for, I can announce the creation of two new chapters: at the Harvard Summer School and at Western Kentucky State College. In addition, chapters are in the process of formation at Antioch, Williams and Queens Colleges, as well as a high-school chapter in Teaneck, N. J.

SDS will be participating again this year in the National Student Association Congress through our sponsorship of the Liberal Study Group. Current plans call for the continued publication of the daily Liberal Bulletin, publication of papers for the delegates on such topics as poverty in America and the draft, and presentation of selected speakers. In general, however, our participation in this year's Congress will not be on the same scale as that of previous Congresses.

Perhaps the central preoccupation of the National Staff this summer is with preparations for the fall. We are in the process of creating a chapter organizing manual and stockpiling literature for distribution to chapters and campuses during the first few weeks of the fall semester. It now seems certain that the organization will commit itself to hiring

several full-time organizers for the school year. This, coupled with an efficient system for region organizing (especially around continuing ERAP community projects), seems certain to bring a sharp increase in our growth rate during the coming year. In general, our potential is enormous -- we have only to make the effort to carry our analysis and program to the American student.

The recurrent problem in carrying out such an organizing drive still remains the critical shortage in competent staff, personnel and leadership. During the past year, the program of the SDS -- and the opportunities opened up to it -- have outstripped the personnel resources of the organization. Our task now is avoiding the temptation to "take one generation of campus leadership and . . . run!" We must instead look toward building the campus base as the wellspring of our student movement.

Our final and permanent problem is, of course, that of financial resources. We will shortly be mailing to the membership a fund appeal. But you need not wait for its receipt in order to send your contribution! I can think of few places where your money can be put to work so efficiently -- for example, the average worker on an ERAP summer project is living on 50¢ per day. It is a recurring hardship that those who are working the hardest for the organization must simultaneously carry the greatest economic burden. Most of the National Council, for example, donate from \$5 to \$15 per month on a regular pledge basis. Every member is encouraged to pitch in.

~~~~~  
The April 3 NY Times reported that Rep. Burkharter (D-Cal.) is retiring after one term in the House in disgust with the seniority system whereby major power in Congress is given those who stay the longest. "It's obsolete, antiquated," he said, having gone to Congress after 20 years in public office in California. "These old men have got everything so tied down you can't do anything."



# CONVENTION . . .

(continued from page 30)

Sunday morning began with the consideration of Constitutional amendments and special resolutions. Two amendments offered by Clark Kissinger were adopted. The first deleted Article VIII of the Constitution (the National Administrative Committee) and the second amended Article IX to allow the National Secretary to hire staff below the level of Assistant National Secretary. Two amendments offered by Steve Max were rejected, both of which would have rescinded amendments passed at last year's Convention. The first would have given each chapter delegate five votes rather than two, and the second would have extended the length of membership required of each candidate for national office to six months. (Revised Constitutions are now available from the National Office.)

Two special resolutions introduced by Jim Williams were passed. The first urged support for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (see text, page 3) and the second mandated the National Council to welcome the Southern Student Organizing Committee as a Fraternal Organization.

The first item of Sunday afternoon's business was the report of the committee on community organization. After extensive amendment, the report was accepted as a statement of the Convention (see text elsewhere in this issue). The statement reaffirms SDS' move into community organizing via the creation of ERAP and the summer projects, it repudiates any rigid ideology of community organization, it affirms the continuing responsibility of SDS for the community organizing program until such time as new adult groupings may emerge, and it makes provisions for more closely integrating the ERAP structure with the other facets of SDS operation.

The second report was that of the political activity committee. This report, after amendments, was remanded to a special committee for incorporation into a revised edition of the America and the New Era statement. The report (see text elsewhere in this issue) is the first major statement of SDS on its commitment to electoral

action and the relationship of electoral action to the building of a new left constituency. It isolates the growth of right-wing political strength as the major development of the past year; it describes the inadequacies of "reform" movements (both urban and congressional), but stresses the need of developing radical constituencies to be able to win political concessions; it notes and welcomes the cracking of the liberal-Dixiecrat coalition in the Democratic Party and the possibilities for building new left-liberal coalitions; and it mandates the National Council to establish a Political Education Project.

Following dinner Sunday evening, the Convention moved to the election of officers for the coming year. The lengthy elections were undoubtedly the emotional highlight of the Convention. Paul Potter, graduate student at the U. of Mich. and a former Vice-President of the National Student Association, was elected President on the second ballot over Bob Ross, Ken McEldowney and Rennie Davis. Vernon Grizzard, a student at Swarthmore and Director of the Chester project, was elected Vice-President on the third ballot over Jeff Shero, Carl Wittman and Lee Webb. Todd Gitlin, our past president, graduate of Harvard and grad student at Michigan, was then elected to the National Council by acclamation. The remaining 14 at-large members of the NC, elected from a slate of 33 candidates, are: Paul Booth, a graduate of Swarthmore and director of PREP; Jeremy Brecher, from Reed College; Rennie Davis, graduate of Oberlin, grad student at Michigan and ERAP director; Nick Egleson, from Swarthmore, director of the Philadelphia project; C. Clark Kissinger, graduate of the U. of Chicago, former grad student at Wisconsin and current National Secretary; Ken McEldowney, grad student at Michigan; Sarah Murphy, student at the U. of Chicago; Bob Ross, graduate of Michigan, will be grad student at Brandeis; Jeff Shero, from U. of Texas; Charles Smith, grad student at U. of Texas; David Smith, from Tufts Univ.; Lee Webb, graduate of Boston University, past National Secretary, director of the Chicago project; Jim Williams, grad student at the U. of Louisville; Carl Witt-

(continued on page 33)



# ERAP TRAINING INSTITUTE

by MIKE ZWEIG

Initiating the first SDS-ERAP spate of community organization projects this summer, participants of each of the ten projects attended an ERAP Institute for Community organizers at Pine Hill, New York. Nearly 100 staff members attended the five-day conference, which began on June 6. The central purpose of the Institute was to provide an ideological framework and a technical competence for the staff before their formal entrance into the community as organizers. A further element of the Institute was a structured and informal series of opportunities for the staff members in each project to know one another and to become familiar with the objective situation in "their" city.

To achieve these ends, the conference was divided into a number of project staff meetings, at least one each day, often continuing informally at meals and during free time. Besides these, general thematic questions were explored in a large number of skill workshops, covering research and survey technique, internal and community education, legal problems, questions of block organization, political action and a host of related topics.

Workshops usually followed general all-staff lectures and discussions, for which outside guests were used. Among them were Stanley Aronowitz, discussing "The 'Radical' in the Community"; Miles Horton on "The Role of Education in the Movement"; and Jack Minnis on "The Role of Research in Developing a Community Action Program."

Although the Institute was probably a day or two too short, and did not provide for sufficient inter-project contact and coordination, it was an important and serious first step in the development of an on-going radical program of community organization. It was a most important element in the overall development of the projects and served the needs of the staff in important ways.

# CORRESPONDENCE

from STEVE MAX

The first worklist mailing after the convention contained the following paragraph:

"In spite of it all, we had a pretty good convention. The total number of registrants was 208, and surprisingly for this size, nobody went away mad. Symptomatic of the fact that the organization had nothing basically new to add to its three documents, the convention rejected the three draft convention statements and tackled instead programmatic problems for the coming year. The convention reaffirmed SDS' move into community organizing and debated the special role of the student as an agent of social change."

I find this summary of the convention scandalously one-sided. While it is quite true that the convention reaffirmed community action, it also took the position that electoral activity was as important as non-electoral community action. Moreover, it was decided that the organization should conduct experimental activity in this area, just as it is now engaging in experimental work in community organizing. This basic policy decision, however, was not mentioned in the worklist mailing.  
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(continued from page 32)

man, graduate of Swarthmore and Newark project director.

While the ballots were being counted, the body indulged in its annual "fund-raising orgy." \$609 was donated on the spot, and an additional \$1,697 was pledged by those present!

The remaining reports -- on the American student, peace, and adult organizing -- were referred to the National Council for action.

NOTE: ANYBODY GOING TO THE UPCOMING NSA CONFERENCE IN MINNEAPOLIS SHOULD CONTACT THE N.O. IMMEDIATELY

## CORRESPONDENCE...

(continued from page 38)

I would suggest that the relevant sections of the minutes and the resolutions pertaining to the debate on electoral activity be published in the next BULLETIN along with the resolution on community organization.

I am not sure it is accurate to say that "no one went away mad." I know for a fact that many delegates did not feel the convention to be relevant to their needs as campus-based people working in campus organizations. The large drop in attendance between Saturday night and Sunday was, I think, indicative of this problem. The convention was simply not a convention for students; it was a convention for young adults interested in electoral and non-electoral community work. Thus far the leadership has lamented the growing tension between campus and community but has taken little action to correct it, and the convention did little to help the matter. I would suggest that the tension springs not from an objective need for a hard differentiation between campus and community organizing but from a sometimes-whispered, sometimes-silently believed notion that the campus is really unimportant compared to the ghetto. It was on this point that the convention foundered. I think that it was in part the fault of those of us who presented documents: we failed to make this point clear enough. Some of us did speak to the issue, but in advance of the convention did not realize the central position that this question should occupy; thus the role of the campus was never

fully debated before an awake plenary. I would hope that SDS members send to the NO for copies of the three major draft statements, to see where they differ on this point.

One of the things I would like to do with the Political Education Project (money willing) is to look into ways that universities can be progressive political factors in the communities in which they are located -- for example, the role of Cornell in the campaign of peace candidate Harop Freeman or the level of voter registration among university students. I would suspect that the majority of over-21 students who go into the community to do voter registration are themselves unregistered. We need to get some legal assistance, and perhaps locate a test case to find out why a graduate student who has spent two or three adult years in a community is told that he must vote by absentee ballot where his parents live. Through this type of activity, I hope we can start to close the breach between community organizers and our campus base. ERAP, too, might move in this direction, looking into such things as the degree to which universities are slumlords and property owners, and what students on the campus can do about it. The political, business and real estate connections of trustees and boards of governors might provide some interesting targets as well. The level and accessibility of adult education is another area of profitable overlap.

NOTE: I originally requested that this letter be printed in the worklist mailing. When this request was refused, I invoked my privilege as an SDS member and had it run as a BULLETIN article.

BE KIND TO YOUR NATIONAL OFFICE

\* SEND THEM FALL ADDRESSES

\* SEND THEM MONEY

\* WRITE TO THEM

# BULLETIN

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DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIETY

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## THE ELECTIONS — AND AFTER

By Jeremy Brecher

### DECEMBER N.C. ISSUES RAISED

By C. Clark Kissinger

The December meeting of the SDS National Council has been set for December 28-31 in New York City. Like lemnings returning to the sea, it is true again this year that most of our chapters will be able to get delegates to New York during the Christmas vacation. Coming as it does six months after the National Convention, the December NC has traditionally been the most important NC of the year. Last December's NC drew over 100 people (including Bobby Dylan), and we expect many more this year.

It was at last December's NC that the crucial debates took place which led to last Spring's series of inter-collegiate conferences on poverty and the summer ERAP projects. This December, one year later, we are in a position to evaluate (cont. p. 40)

I am writing the morning after the morning after the elections, when the returns are in but not yet fully analyzed. Two things at this point are evident however: there is going to be a very large Democratic congressional majority, and the only opposition the Republican party is going to present over the next few months will be not to the Administration but to itself. These conditions give the Left an opportunity for the first time in many years to be a choice not an echo.

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# UNIVERSITY REFORM

## THE PERENNIAL ISSUE

By Shelley Blum

(The following are notes for a speech given at Duke University.)

Anybody can attack the university in a number of places but often the university shrugs off the charges as of the same level of importance as a march of army ants on New York City. Part of the reason for this is that the university is not structured to respond to student thought, but a large factor is that the student's blasts are often aimed at effects and not causes. If it is true that the hospital gives students inferior service, it is probably due to the overall university stance that relegates the mere student to a very passive role. The student is here by the grace of god and the administration. The faculty is here to waste time with the students because the administration doesn't want to deal with them. I would suggest that this attitude rubs off on the clerks, etc. who actually deal with the students, who waste the time they could otherwise use in doing valuable work. Similarly, the library problems the students attack, with all their massive editorial sarcasm, are not root problems. That the inane library hours have existed for years is due in large measure to the fact that students have no role in the university. Surely an effective student government would have the power to amend library hours and have a say in library procedures as well as participating in the decisions that affect students. Students can take the easy way out and attack immediate problems but it gets little in the way of results. I submit that

the first necessity is a fundamental criticism of the university. The second is a search for methods of implementation of our vision.

Those of you who have read "Student Social Action" by Tom Hayden will recognize my blueprint for an ideal university. I don't intend to repeat his examples or his arguments in developing an outline for Duke, but I do draw heavily on both.

I feel that the university should be made more democratic. This means that the largest group, the student body, should be able to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. The situation that now obtains is the playground theory of student government. Let them practice now so that when they go out into the big world they will be able to conduct themselves properly. In translation: don't let them have any decisions to make that mean anything. The result is immense apathy, student government types, and bigger and better beach weekends. The student governments are not willing to even ask for more power. The Duke student government recommendation for the revision of chartering procedures does not call for this power to be put in student hands but for the deans to carefully examine the new group's constitution before it comes to the student government so they will have an easier time of it. It is very clear that the choice one makes in coming to Duke, as opposed to getting a job, is one between being a student and being an adult. In coming to Duke one is forced to surrender his rights and privileges under

(cont. p. 38)

# PEP: POST-ELECTION PLANS

By Steve Max and Jim Williams

The Organizers of the Political Education Project have argued in the past that the major political conflict in the country was between the Administration and the Right Wing (Republicans and Dixicrats). This is probably no longer true. The fight seems to be shifting back into the Democratic Party but it is no longer the old Dixicrat Republican vs. Truman-Kennedy-Johnson battle that it once was. The Dixicrats have retained their crucial committee chairmanships, but the reactionary alliance has had its voting strength broken in the Senate and possibly in the House as well.

It would now appear that the major conflict will be that between Johnson Democrats and more Liberal Democrats. Indeed this fight will be slow to develop since the liberals probably will spin away from Johnson quietly and behind the scenes. Needless to say, generation of popular pressure and organization of the unorganized can only help the process of building a liberal coalition within the Democratic Party.

Branches of SDS are already at work organizing on the community level. The Political Education Project will approach the matter from the opposite end. While (cont. p. 36)

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## HAYDEN ARRESTED

Tom Hayden was arrested and faces charges of threatening to kill and assault and battery. The story:

The Newark project won a rent strike Oct. 7 and the landlady agreed to make repairs and lower the rent and signed a notarized statement to that effect. On Wednesday, Oct. 14, Tom was leafleting and the landlady (Mrs. Hayes) approached him on the street. They argued about her harrasment of the tenant. Tom pulled out the notarized statement and she grabbed for it, hitting him with her free hand. Mrs. Hayes managed to get the statement and stopped hitting Tom. Tom then went to report the incident to the police and was told he couldn't make a complaint for 30 minutes. He then went back to the scene of the incident and found the landlady and a police car. Tom was booked for assault and battery and was

taken to the police station where he again tried to make a complaint but his request was refused. Tom was then thrown in jail.

Meanwhile the neighborhood rallied to Tom's defense and began making phone calls to the police station urging his release. Neighborhood people also pressured South Ward Councilman Lee Bernstein, a political opponent of the Newark project, to intervene in Tom's behalf. About 11 p.m., 5½ hours after Tom's arrest, a group of neighborhood people and Councilman Bernstein went to the police station and Tom was released in his lawyer's custody. Tom was arraigned Friday, Oct. 16 on charges of threatening to kill and assault and battery. The case now goes to the Grand Jury. (The Newark project is discussing action but has not yet decided on what would be the best course to follow.)

# PREP: PROGRAM

by Paul Booth and Todd Gitlin

The original PREP perspective for 1964-65 program has not really had a chance to prove itself, but this report will contain some preliminary judgments. It is not yet clear how extensive the program of the various chapters and sympathetic peace groups will be, but the limited response to PREP program suggestions already offers meat for some reconsiderations.

The most important reconsideration involves the relative emphasis afforded the draft and third world segments of the program. PREP would be better off if it had three full-time people in Ann Arbor, but unfortunately that is not the case. And it would appear that interest in the draft issue is quite limited. More important, we have on hand the basic materials for programming on the draft, but they are lacking for programming on the Third World.

Furthermore, we have maintained from the start that great care would have to be allotted to insure that any draft movements we instigated quickly made links to the related issues. The joint action of Johnson and Goldwater appears to have bought off a great deal of the latent interest in anti-draft activity.

Until the meeting of PREP's Executive Committee on November 6, no decision can be made shifting the burden of staff energies. In the meantime, in the absence of demands of campus groups on the PREP center for assistance in anti-draft work, Todd Gitlin is using the "spared time" to start to put together material on the Third World and to put out New Era.

As for the conversion program, it is moving along quite well. The Boston project is well on its feet, and Jim Morey--the new Director--has an office at 114a Mt. Auburn St. in Cambridge, and has already made fruitful contacts with labor

leaders at the Watertown Arsenal (the current focus of efforts). Equally important news: several of the local SDS chapters have made strong commitments to working with BPREP.

The major goal of the conversion program is now to stir up interest on the campuses in replicating the Boston effort in other defense-impacted areas. The most practicable idea would seem to be to work toward the establishment of perhaps half a dozen summer projects. The most prominent possibilities for such projects would seem to be in the Western states, precisely where SDS' base is weakest. San Diego, Los Angeles, Denver, and Seattle, are all reeling under the impact of defense spending reductions, and there is clearly more to come between now and the summer. But summer projects are not worth considering unless preliminary research and contacting work is done, and we suffer from a lack of people on the spot. This need is less evident in the case of impacted areas east of the Mississippi --New Jersey, Philadelphia, Baltimore County, Rhode Island, Boston area, Brooklyn.

The second most important need is for a conference on how students can play a key role in the process of converting from an arms economy to a national war on poverty, a conference emphasizing community organizing, preparing for summer projects, relating the Boston experience and parallel experiences of other groups on Long Island, in Camden, and Schenectady. A site for this has not been found.

A possible new arena for PREP program has been generated by the Cleveland cluster, who have located a number of Cleveland high school students with strong peace and other left concerns. We are going to be exploring the pros-

( cont. p. 27 )

# AND CRITIQUE

By Steven H. Johnson

In SDS we play the "good guy-bad guy" game by setting radicals against liberals, radicalism against next-step tokenism. Extending the characterization, fruitfulness can be set against sterility. If you impatiently picket a vacant lot with a sign reading "Damn this vacant lot for being sterile," your approach is also sterile. If you have patience and faith, if you plow the lot, seed it, water it, weed it, and harvest it, your approach is fruitful. For peaceniks (which is what this article is all about), if we impatiently picket the Pentagon saying "Damn this vacant lot for being sterile," our approach is sterile. For peaceniks, it is acting without being radical, without rising above next-step tokenism. This type of approach is also exemplified by HREP's "Toward an Effective Peace Program on Campus," a program which is neither radical nor peacemaking, and not fruitful.

I believe a fruitful program is possible for HREP. It would be conceived in terms of goals and methods so three goals would be paramount. (1) It would put top priority on the achievement of real disarmament as the only international arrangement whereby the national security of each country is protected without the need for retaining armaments. (2) HREP would give top priority to the job of converting student attitudes. Almost all students today accept the cold war, being blind to any alternative. Converting them means teaching them to see that disarmament is the practical alternative, which they can work for. (3) HREP would give top priority to organizing dynamic student groups, in

which being a member requires being a leader and recruiting and training others to become leaders. Within this goal-oriented context, HREP would then raise those specific issues with which it is now concerned almost exclusively.

As currently outlined, the HREP program falls very short of setting such a context. It says there's been a recent shift in peace issues, from nuclear testing to economic conversion, the draft, and American interventionism. It observes that the peace movement has declined; HREP's diagnosis is that the peace movement so far has failed to organize new constituencies around these new issues. Its present program is one for organizing around these new issues. Booth and Gitlin have hopes that this organizing activity will be successful, and create a renewed peace movement. But their HREP program contains very serious built-in limits. Even if their program is fully successful on all fronts, it will have made only a tokenist approach to the international problems of war and peace.

## The Limits of HREP: (1) International Relations

On foreign policy questions, American citizens ask certain questions that we are required to have answers for. They want to know how the national security is to be protected. They want to know what leadership there is for them to rely upon except the President, the State Department the Defense Department. They want to be shown where the alternative policies are, and where the alternative leadership is, that could handle this country's foreign policy problems any better (can't p. 27)



# THE UNEMPLOYED

The following is a correspondence between Dick Flacks and Rennie Davis on programs for organizing the unemployed. Rennie Davis is director of the Economic Research and Action Project and Dick Flacks is an assistant professor at the University of Chicago who worked on the Chicago ERAP project (JOIN) last summer.

Dear Rennie:

I think most of us are agreed that the central problem in organizing the unemployed is the development of a continuing program of activity for JOIN (Jobs Or Income Now) groups--a program whose relevance is obvious to the participants, which can potentially recruit new members and which can have some political significance. Some people are already despairing that such a program can be developed given the nature of the unemployment problem and the kinds of people who are recruited to JOIN. The time for such despair has not yet arrived, in my view. I think we may be confronted by a chance for a breakthrough. I refer, specifically, to a new bill introduced by Senator Clark on October 1 and supported by Senators Nelson and Morse. This bill, summarized by I. F. Stone's Weekly of 10-17-64, represents an attempt to revive the spirit of the Full Employment Bill of 1946. The heart of it appears to be the writing into law of the responsibility of the Federal Government to maintain unemployment levels below 4 per cent until 1968 and below 3 per cent thereafter. The bill would require the Administration to submit Full Employment Budgets to Congress with fiscal and monetary provisions aimed at maintaining unemployment at the stated levels. It should be evident that: (a) this goes beyond merely ad hoc public works and tax cut measures; (b) this institutionalizes the notion of national planning to ensure full employ-

ment, with the responsibility for approving such plans resting with Congress rather than Federal bureaucracies. The bill, according to Stone, goes beyond the measures proposed by Clark's subcommittee, and as far as I can tell is one of the more radical economic measures to be recently proposed by left-liberals. According to Stone, this bill could become the focus for left opposition to the Administration within the Congress. It definitely does deviate from the Administration emphasis on private enterprise, education and token appropriations as the means to fight unemployment. And it clearly asserts that existing national policies are a cause of unemployment.

For these reasons, I think this legislation may be worthy of support. But more than this, it offers the opportunity for continuous, relevant programs for JOIN groups. Such a program could be built around delegations to Congressmen and Senators, community education focused on support for this Clark bill, visits to newspapers and to other "opinion leaders" urging the support for this legislation, etc. More than this, it may provide the occasion for a genuine alliance between unemployed organizations and labor unions--with unemployed groups urging labor unions to help back the legislation and labor unions at last seeing the need for grass-roots organization of the unemployed in order to build support for the legislation. Finally, along this line, it seems to me that this would be a good basis for national ERAP fund-raising and joint pro-gramming with the labor movement.

The ideas embodied in the Clark proposal are fairly complex, but if they can be gotten across to people, it seems to me that the possibility for national debate and grass roots organization of the issue of jobs, automation and national planning will be there.

I would like to see some discussion of this proposal in the Newsletter and in the next ERAP meeting. In the meantime, I will try to obtain copies of the Clark Bill and supporting materials; I would urge others interested in the issue to do the same.

Dick Flacks

Dear Dick:

Your proposal that JOIN projects develop a campaign for the Clark legislation doesn't, it seems to me, resolve the more fundamental organizing problems faced by the Chicago, Cleveland and Baltimore staffs. We built the JOIN projects on two critical notions: (1) that the economy increasingly would fail to provide jobs--due to job-eliminating technological advances in production; upward population trends; foreign competition; and a steady weakening of post-war consumer demands; and (2) that a program for full employment was a "radical" program--because it tied the issues together and required fundamental political and economic change for its implementation. (To demand full employment was also to demand major narrowing of income gaps, redistribution of power in the society, and public programs which could meet the enormous social needs in schools, housing, etc.)

There is no question that unemployment, particularly among the structurally unemployed with whom we work in Cleveland, Chicago and to a lesser extent in Baltimore, is acute. The

boom period we are in, however, does raise new questions for our earlier analysis. The resiliency of the American economy seems greater than we expected. Unemployment is lessening. And there is little indication that we can build a movement of unemployed, at least among whites, in our JOIN projects during the current period.

However, the even more critical and immediate problem faced by JOIN in my opinion is inadequate program rather than shortages of constituents. While the lines around the unemployment compensation offices have been substantially reduced, we continue to find many people who have little hope for a steady job in their lifetime. These people are potentially radical and could become involved in a social movement. Our failure has been to provide them with the kinds of experiences which would commit them to a program for basic economic change and full participation in a movement for that program.

Thus far, our activity has centered around petition campaigns, rallies, apple selling, leafleting, signing unemployed up for membership in JOIN (mostly in Baltimore), and small group discussions. All of these activities are important to building an organization, but are not conducive to serious political education. There are few lessons that can be drawn from them and there is no sense of victory (or loss) following the activity which is likely to directly challenge the unemployed to accept new responsibility for developing a program and an organization.

Your proposal comes close to the kinds of programs needed in JOIN, except in one respect--it has no tactic which would demand a response from established powers. There is nothing in it that cannot be ignored. The project, it seems to me, does not readily lend itself to such tactics, because the principal target is distant Washington.

(cont. p. 34)

# CHAPTER REPORTS

SDS is growing on the campus this year in many ways. There are more chapters now (31) than ever before, in more states (19, from Mass to California and Washington, and from Minnesota to Texas), and with more members. More important than figures is the fact that chapters which last year simply existed are now active--both on the campus and in the community--in action and education in fields such as civil rights, peace, university reform, community organization, and foreign policy.

Out of this activity comes many problems and many ideas, all of which should be shared. The chapter reports that follow touch on some problems and also show the diversity of the chapters and their programs. Of special interest are: education programs, both internal (See SPAC and Chicago) and external, relations with student government, the campus in general, the administration, other groups on the campus, the faculty (SPAC), ERAP-FREP projects, the labor movement (Duke); ideas for speakers and debates; university reform experiences and ideas (VOICE, Texas, article by Shelley Blum on p. 2); problems of leadership, use of resources, types of political activity (Harvard, Reed, NY area, Texas) and ideas for research (Duke). Also to be noted are the student employees union at Michigan, the North Carolina labor project, and the University of Texas solution to financial problems--beer parties.

## BERKELEY

By Mike Bancroft (FSM report compiled by the NO)

Nothing dramatically new has happened on the Berkeley campus in the aftermath of the free speech demonstrations. A committee was originally set up by the administration in an undemocratic manner to negotiate a final settlement. That unilaterally and undemocratically established committee was reconstituted October 15. There will now be 6 representatives from each group: faculty, administration, and students; and 4 of the 6 student representatives will be chosen by the Free Speech Movement. The committee will hold hearings for no longer than 3 weeks, after which it will make recommendations. The FSM was optimistic about having their demands met. But the optimism did not last long and has now changed to pessimism. Students and faculty appear to be in basic agreement that there should be freedom of speech on the

Berkeley campus but the administration has still not accepted this position. And recommendations of the committee must have the concurrence of all three groups involved. The eight suspended students will be tried by the Academic Senate (faculty) and will be defended by the ACLU, which marks a return to due process. There has also been a good deal of red-baiting. One San Francisco paper showed a picture of a student demonstrator with a book on Marxism (used in a course). A printed newsletter is now available from Berkeley--the Free Speech Movement Newsletter. Write FSM, Box 809, Berkeley 1, Calif.

The response by SDS chapters to the call for student protest in support of the Berkeley students was very good, although we still don't have complete reports.

Many chapters sent telegrams and petitions--some had demonstrations, stressing local grievances at their university in addition to the Berkeley situation.

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SDS activity in Berkeley is not confined to the free speech controversy. Some members are working with the Welfare Rights Organization (WRO) which is an interracial group of residents of Alameda County who are attempting to secure the rights of welfare recipients in Alameda County and at present is well on the way to making the Alameda County Welfare Department abide by state welfare law. This is quite an accomplishment, considering that Alameda County (which contains Oakland and Berkeley) is ruled by a "non-partisan" clique of businessmen and incumbent politicians, the foremost member of which is William Knowland.

One tactic the Welfare Dept. has used is a blanket referral of unemployed men to farm labor and immediate suspension of Aid to Dependent Children, without waiting to see if full time employment has been achieved and without adequate screening for physical ability. For inexperienced workers, farm labor pays \$3-\$4 a day minus travel expenses, with the man leaving at 4:30 a.m. and getting back at 8:00 p.m.

The WRO has helped push through and win over a hundred appeals. However, these take 4-6 months, without money. The WRO felt that there had been enough stalling and presented the Welfare Department with an ultimatum on settling six specific cases. They refused and a sit-in at the Dept. building was begun on Friday, September 4. They decided not to make any arrests, but rather lock the doors and let us out any time we wanted, but no one and nothing was to be allowed in. At that time there were 20 people inside. That evening, 200 sympathetic demonstrators came over after picketing the Oakland Tribune, and 17 of them snuck in with bedding and three shopping bags of food. The group was composed half of WRO people includ-

ing two pregnant welfare recipients and half students, mostly from CORE. We sat-in for 88 hours until the building was opened on Tuesday morning. The fact that we refused to be starved out gave the WRO more publicity than arrests would have. In negotiations on Tuesday, the County Welfare Department gave in on four of the cases.

The sit-in also accomplished getting the ear of the State Department of Social Welfare, which has great power over the counties. We met with the head of the State Department, who agreed the County Department wasn't acting within the regulations, and that he would take our complaints into consideration in making new regulations. Furthermore, the appeal procedure has been speeded up and there has been direct intervention in cases we bring to the state's attention.

The WRO now faces the problem of growing in the welfare community, which is difficult to reach. It consists of a few hard-working middle class whites and the rest present or former welfare recipients, mostly Negro or Mexican, with few organizational skills. Berkeley SDS is helping to provide the volunteer manpower to fulfill the WRO's day-to-day purposes. Recently, Berkeley SDS recruited students to help with the casework at the WRO office, interviewing people and helping them through the hostile bureaucratic maze of the Welfare Dept. A training session was held to acquaint these volunteers with the problems and regulations involved.

An effective technique of fighting the atrocities committed in Alameda County has been bringing them to the attention of the well-meaning state officials. SDS will help by interviewing people who come to the WRO and presenting their cases to the state officials. The state may hold hearings about the welfare situation in Alameda County. For this, we would try to get a massive turnout, which would require block canvassing to

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explain the WRO and people's interest in coming to and speaking out at the hearings. SDS is also very active in the WRO's publicity committee.

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## BOSTON UNIV.

By Dave Felder

During orientation week the BUSDS distributed over 2,000 leaflets publicizing Noel Day's speaking at BU. Noel Day was introduced as an SDS member and among the topics he discussed was SDS which he said is sometimes considered irrelevant but which proves to be relevant over the course of time. Seventy people joined the BUSDS as a result of this meeting.

The Students for a Democratic Society is now well-known on campus. We sponsored jointly with the Young Democrats a Citizens for Johnson-Humphery organization at B.U. and also set up an Anti-Goldwater Committee.

The BUSDS anti-Goldwater committee passed out 1,000 flyers publicizing the anti-Goldwater Vigil at Fenway Park. About forty members of the BUSDS conducted a separate Vigil at the entrance an hour before Boston Committee on Political Extremism (CAPE) arrived. Our SDS line grew to 140 people and we then joined onto the CAPE line as they passed us. It was quite impressive.

The BUSDS has enjoyed excellent publicity from the BU News--in fact, the publicity has been too good. They said that the entire CAPE Vigil of 2500 people was an SDS affair.

Members of the BUSDS have been working for Noel Day and Raymond T. McNally-- a FAX (Political Action for Peace) candidate running as Democrat in the town of Brookline. Many of our mem-

bers are in the civil rights co-ordinating committee at BU and we will be joining with them to publicize James Farmer's talk at M.I.T.

For the future we will have a discussion group. On November 18 we hope to have Professor Howard Zinn speaking on "The Civil Rights Movement." On December 3, we will discuss university reform, elect new officers, and plan our post election program in more detail.

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## CARLETON

By George Brosi

At Carleton the most active student group is Action Party which has existed as a liberal-radical political party (in the tradition of VOICE, SLATE and SPAC) since early 1961. Although Action Party is not affiliated with SDS, we expect to have a chapter of SDS by the time of the December National Council. So far this year our activities have been centered on campus programing, making the curriculum relevant, and spreading "the word."

Nine hundred of our 1300 students have signed up for an Action sponsored "sacrifice meal" for the benefit of SNCC which will be held on October 30.

Our most time-consuming job has been running candidates for the Carleton Student Association Senate. The campaign resulted in a major effort to sell the idea of discussing "off-campus" issues and to encourage working with other student governments to pressure college and University administrations (including our own) to allow student control over social policy and student participation in all major college decisions.

In response to the idea of Phil Raup of the University of Minnesota SDS, already about half a dozen Action Party members

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have expressed a desire to work together in a state-wide, interdisciplinary, student-faculty effort to study Minnesota's poverty problems and draft effective legislation which we hope will be introduced in the state legislature. Because we are seeking academic credit for this work, it will have implications for curriculum reform as well as a realistic "war on poverty" and a co-ordinated state-wide student movement.

Action Party has depended heavily this year on a fantastic group of sophs, three of whom were senate candidates. Meanwhile upperclassmen in the group have concentrated on spreading "the word." Larry Seigle has spoken about his summer trip to Cuba. The three Mississippi Summer Project Alumnae have talked to numerous campus groups and to many organizations in nearby communities. Our ERAP alumnus, George Brosi (who worked in the Ann Arbor Office), has been building potential SDS chapters at St. Olaf's, St. Teresa's, St. Mary's, Winona State, Macalester, and Augsburg, and is preparing for future visits to other "nearby" campuses. The very first Carleton student convocation on the 27th featured Pan Parker, George Brosi, and Bob Traer discussing curriculum reform from the perspective of students who spent the summer on social action projects.

Clearly we have been weak on programing and allocated tremendous energy to proselitizing and integrating curricular experience with extra-curricular action. This is the first year that these areas have received our attention, so this emphasis is probably healthy. However, we have some really good original ideas for programing which you will hear about when we implement them.

## CHICAGO

By Lee Webb

We are off to a great start. In the city of Chicago, there is a great vacuum of left activity and thinking. Although many of the old left adult and student organizations are active, they are not on the wave length of the new political developments and possibilities in the city.

The University of Chicago chapter of SDS is small but all are experienced members from other SDS chapters, and committed people, and there is a tremendous possibility for growth. Their initial program will be oriented around JOIN, that is helping out with staff, fund raising, research, etc. Not only will there be an attempt to get kids interested in going off campus to get involved in organizing the unemployed, but also will such methods as leafleting large Soc. Sci. lectures, hoping to get numbers of kids involved by writing relevant term papers on issues that JOIN is interested in.

At Roosevelt the Committee for Student Action (CSA--the radical student group on campus) at this writing is campaigning for the student government, hoping to come up with an absolute majority of the student government seats. The Roosevelt Torch gave excellent coverage, based on SDS reports, to the Berkeley demonstrations and protest, and the Roosevelt Student Government passed a resolution protesting the stand of Clark Kerr, President of University of California.

Also, CSA was very active in setting up the anti-Goldwater demonstration that SDS people held on October 16 in front of the Conrad Hilton (where Barry was speaking). The demonstration, initially planned by Chicago SANE, was picked up by Chicago SDS, and with minimal effort got about 125 people out. About 3000 leaflets were

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distributed, and people from over 10 campuses showed up. We got good radio and television coverage, but poor press coverage. I had a number of radio interviews, as did other of the participants; and we were on all the nightly television news shows, and in all publicity that we got, SDS was mentioned explicitly. An excellent beginning for SDS student activity on the Chicago area.

As there are a large number of SDS members and prospective members not attached to a university, we felt it important to set up an at-large SDS chapter. The main group of people who will be in it are JOIN staff members, staff from the Young Christian Students, American Friends Service Committee, Turn Towards Peace, Packinghouse Workers, and I am certain there are going to be more. The meeting is being held as I write the report, so a definite account of their program is difficult to predict. However, earlier sentiment was that the chapter's program be primarily educational for its members. As many of them are active in other organizations full time, there is certainly a need for substantive intellectual discussion and evaluation. The model is similar to the famous Robb Burlage discussion group in Boston. Someone in that chapter had suggested that the meetings be open to the public and be called a Chicago New Left Forum.

A week from tonight will be the first meeting of the Chicago New Left Study Group. There is certainly a definite need for more ideological discussion about America, its future, its movements. The first meeting will be primarily a discussion of what this New Left Study Group should study and discuss. Read the next Bulletin to find out what they decided. Also, at the meeting Bob Ross will lead a discussion of The Distribution of Power

and Wealth in America.

Further on the regional level. We are planning on making extensive use of conferences. An organizing committee for conferences is meeting this Friday evening. At present it looks as if we will have a major SDS conference on STUDENTS AND THE OTHER AMERICA some time in the middle of January. It will be for the entire Midwest region. Also, there is considerable sentiment for a local Chicago conference or day-long seminar on community organizing.

## CORNELL

By Arlene Eisen

Enthusiastic social and political concern sort of fluctuates at Cornell. About every two years a new group is formed, launches an ambitious program and eventually dissipates. I hope that the new SDS chapter here will break this tradition.

We have outlined a program tentatively for this year. There will be a series of seminars conducted by socialist oriented professors. One is entitled, "Can the two party system possibly accommodate itself to significant social change?" The second will be concerned with a study of foreign affairs based on a regional analysis from which we will try to construct some policy abstracts. These seminars and possibly several forums, debates and lectures will serve the educational function.

We have already circulated and sent petitions off to Berkeley, sold "Part of the way with IBJ" buttons and sponsored several speakers.

We may also try some community organization on Ithaca housing in the ghetto. But this will require a great deal of planning and effort since Ithacans are rather burdened by a history of abortive



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student attempts at do-goodism. We'll probably also take up some campus campaigns on liberalization of women's regulations, etc.

## GRINNELL

By Marion Meyer

So far, our activities have been primarily in the area of voter registration in Grinnell and Des Moines. We are also in the process of investigating the pay scale for the maids and janitors here. This Saturday we are going into Des Moines to investigate reports that there is a section of town with a population of 5000 which has neither electricity nor indoor plumbing. We are working closely with the Young Democrats group here at Grinnell College, and with the United Christian Campus Fellowship at Drake in our voter registration drive. We have been in touch with Des Moines CORE and AFSC. We are attempting to work with (and actually get on the road) an all Iowa Colleges Human Rights and Peace Congress. Last year one was begun which met here and flopped miserably. This year we hope to keep in better touch with one another and coordinate efforts to bring speakers such as Jesse Gray and Mike Harrington, and performers such as Guy Carawan and Dick Gregory. Next week we are beginning our faculty discussion dinners (invite interested faculty and 8 students--all that can fit at a table--to dinner to discuss relevant matters). Next week it is an Economics professor and we are discussing the Triple Revolution.

Come to the  
SDS NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING  
Dec. 28-31 New York

## HARVARD

By John Mendeloff

A chapter now exists here, but not all the people in it know why. Following various pre-season planning sessions and the leafletting of the university registration, an organizational meeting attracted about 90 people.

At the meeting they were told about SDS, ERAP, HREP, and the tentative chapter program. Unfortunately, questions about SDS's ideology elicited very confusing answers from the people running the meeting; the supposed consensus of the planning sessions proved shaky at best.

Before the school year had begun, SDS groups had worked with the Massachusetts Freedom Movement to bring out 1200 people, mostly students, to a silent vigil around Fenway Park and Barry Goldwater. Much less successful have been the efforts to set the Noel Day campaign spinning to November 3 with enough force to make post-electoral action a natural rather than an artificial consequence. No more than 100 Harvard students have worked in the Day campaign; for most of these, the commitment never moved very far from the heart to the head. Noel's speech on campus was greeted by a standing ovation from the 400 students who filled Emerson D to hear him; 75 work-cards were filled out by people who hadn't signed anything before; 50 were contacted; 15 or 20 eventually did some work. We in Boston will have a good deal to say about the Day campaign, but will let it wait until after the election.

In the meantime, 2 days after our organizational meeting, about 25 people gathered to discuss the prospects for community organization work in Cambridge. 15 of them had previously surveyed for a

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campaign-supported action center in Dorchester; the 75 minute ride to and from the center forced the revival of some members' plans for working in Cambridge. Half of the people at that meeting had not been active on the Harvard political scene before; that night they listened to a very exciting discussion of what community organization was and how we should go about it. This meeting was followed by 3 more and by surveying in Cambridge, all of which led us to the decision that we really shouldn't work in Cambridge after all.

Community organization is not impossible in Cambridge; organization around misery is; an organization already exists in the Negro community; in many lower-middle class areas where ethnic ties are strong and yards well-kept, we have been told that we should work in the west part of the city with the parents who let their children roam around Harvard Square all evening; only discomfited groups like the Portuguese-speaking population seem insecure in the neighborhood. Nonetheless, issues like urban renewal, the seemingly irresistible expansion of Harvard and MIT, and the neighborhood-ravishing inner-belt highway are major concerns to the inhabitants of eastern Cambridge. We may still work on these issues in the future, but, for now, we decided that work at the Dudley Street action center in an integrated area of Boston would be more profitable. --

Financed, at the moment, by the Day campaign and provided with a paid staff of one, the center sits on what the Italian gang calls the last white corner in the area; they also say they aim to keep it that way. In the last 10 years the influx of Negroes and flight of more affluent whites to the suburbs has transformed a stable middle-

class district into a lower-middle class mixture in flux. Negroes compose perhaps a quarter of its population now. The 1960 census presents the statistics as follows: average income \$4800; unemployment (male) 7.2%; average educational level of those over 25 years old-10 years; 65% of the housing deteriorating or delapidated. The houses are old, but the owner occupied 2 family dwellings are still nice. Other streets, mostly Negro, look like an expanse of badly tended teeth: empty, rotten, burned out shells and large vacant lots with ugly holes dominate the bleak landscape. Having the city tear down the burned-out houses and help the residents to turn the de facto junkyards into playgrounds has appealed to everyone in the neighborhood; on one block a rent strike seems feasible; on another a resident Italian cop told us to get the hell out of the neighborhood. We are really still only surveying and researching, although block meetings are being tentatively proposed. Like all community organization, this is an experiment.

Back on campus, 2 seminars, one on the 1964 election and the other on the MFDP and independent political action (with Harold Zim) attracted 25 and 35 people respectively. They should grow (I think we are building a base for them), but their ultimate success depends upon our ability to structure them into a more meaningful educational experience; considerable work should go into them and something concrete should emerge, a paper perhaps or a plan of action in a certain field.

In the inter-campus sphere, plans for an anti-Goldwater march and rally on the Boston Commons originated here and has spread quickly; speakers will be Mark De Wolfe Howe, James Breden of the Mass. Freedom Movement, Joseph Salerno, Int'l V.P. of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Richard Cotten, President of the Harvard Crimson. Aimed primarily at students, the march should

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bring together a few thousand.

The simple question is how to create the most effective chapter. On a large, fragmented campus mere communication can become a major obstacle to organization. So far, the organization has concentrated on bringing a fairly small group of people into fairly close contact with SDS. Some people think that on a large campus, radical control of the S.G. would provide the platform we need to stir the campus; others, considering the scorn which its impotency invites, feel that infiltration would make us something of a joke. The debate will continue and should become more relevant.

## LOUISVILLE

By Bruce Westbrook

This is sort of an informal report between business meetings as to what has been happening here. About 250 people signed our mailing list at registration, and about 35 signed the "work against Goldwater list." This latter list we sent to COPE, which will type it up and send us copies, thus saving us some clerical work.

On Thursday, Sept. 24, we had a night meeting at which we showed the film "The Extremists" which AFL-CIO furnished. Since our communications on campus remains as of now, chronically inefficient, we weren't able to reach everyone who might have wanted to come. It appears that mail, expensive though it is, is the only efficient way to contact large numbers of people on campus. We're still working on the money angle. The "Extremists" pamphlet has caused a minor stir on campus.

Future plans right now: Distributing literature when Gene Snyder speaks on campus tomorrow. Big seminar under auspices of History Club.

We have made up a leaflet from "Goldwater A-Z" using his more militant statements. It's entitled "Barry and the Bomb." Literature we've received has been appreciated.

The Michael Harrington meeting was a very good success. He spoke to a capacity crowd of 200-plus, this despite the fact that the meeting was at 11 A.M. while many classes were being held. The audience was overwhelmingly sympathetic and impressed by him. Many graduate students and faculty members attended.

Three members picketed and leafleted in front of Goldwater headquarters downtown during lunch hour. In less than a half hour 450 copies of "Barry and the Bomb" were distributed. This disturbed the Goldwater people very much, and they came out and started distributing their own literature along side us, crying out "Goldwater Against Communism!" Incidentally, the Goldwater headquarters has been having several daily showings of "Operation Abolition" to show "U.S. Communists at work." Also we are working with Carol Stevens of the SDS at-large chapter in establishing a day-care center for the local Tobacco Workers Union.

A note on the political atmosphere: The IBJ people seem to have a slight edge here, but it's amazing the number of people openly advocating invasion now of Red China. At the State Fair the Goldwater people had 3 booths plus a Birch booth passing out some of the same stuff. The YD's have started to move, they're a bit shy of us since we passed out ADA lit at registration.

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# U. OF MICHIGAN

The following are two excerpts from the VOICE newsletter, "The Campus Voice."

## STUDENT

### EMPLOYEES' UNION

On Wednesday night, October 7, 1964, the University of Michigan Student Employees' Union (UMSEU) was given official recognition by the Student Government Council. It is the aim of this Union to work for better student wages and working conditions.

The main short range objective of the Union shall be to raise the minimum wage at the University to \$1.25 and from there, raise the wage in all of Ann Arbor, to this minimum. The long range goal, however, shall be to raise wages to an adequate level and to improve working conditions.

It is likely that the Union will bargain with the University for higher wages, finding that the University will not yield to the Union's full demands. Wages will probably be raised by an insignificant amount to attract people to vacant jobs, and the Union will find that some form of strong action will be necessary. This may be in the form of a slow down, selective walk off, or a work boycott. Of course the action taken by the Union will be limited by what the working members are willing to try against the University. If they are highly dissatisfied, a long, or more probably, a short strike may take place. The Union, however, will try to solve all problems through negotiation. It is predictable, however, that the need for one or more of the above actions will be necessary before the Union demands will be met.

The fight for University Reform (i.e., student participation in decision making

at the University) is a part of the same struggle which the Employees' Union is waging against the University. Both struggles are against the University's attempt to arbitrarily determine what the student must accept while he is at Michigan. As Kenneth Winter put it, in a recent Daily editorial dealing with Student Government, the University's terms are "that the student must agree to a 'package deal', he must accept all the regulations, policies, procedures and standards of evaluation the University chooses to impose or get nothing at all. The individual has essentially no power to change the bargain item by item." The Union is attempting to strike out at this University policy. If it can break the acceptance of this policy by the students, then the path is open for students to bargain with the University in terms of student participation in determination of curriculum, general administration, and self-government.

## STUDENT ACTION LEAGUE

By Richard Horevitz

The most exciting event to hit this campus in years has been the formation of the Student Action League (SAL) out of the VOICE campus committee. In the week since Barry Bluestone and I spoke at the VOICE speaker rally on the Diag in support of the Berkeley students and to demand university reform at the University of Michigan, the University has begun to perceive and react to the potential in student action. For the first time in years, students have stood up for the rights which are slowly being withdrawn from them.

There has been a profound yet subtle change occurring in the atmosphere of the university, and now this change has begun to arouse the student body. This change has been the decline of the university as a concerned, educational environment.

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This situation has arisen either through an explicit decision by university administrators or by default, the result of no decision. At any rate, the university has allowed itself to become merely an institution that provides the physical equipment for student education--and that inadequately--and not a rich, nourishing society. This statement has grave implications. In effect, the administration is giving higher priority to the running of its corporate institution than to the process of education. It means the administrators believe education consists of "book learning" and not through living and participating in the cultural environment of an academic society.

The phenomenon of the bureaucratization of American universities has been sufficiently discussed, and so I will address myself to the problem of philosophy. Lack of space prevents me from great elaboration on the subject, but I think it is important to outline the problems that face us.

Tuesday, October 13, 25 student leaders met with President Hatcher to discuss the grievances articulated at the speaker rally. At this meeting, President Hatcher made it clear to us that the problems of the university are no concern of the students. He said that the university is like the family. One doesn't make demands on his parents. Students, he implies, are like children, who can have no say in the direction of their lives. Since only trained administrators know what is good for their "children", students should adhere to the narrow roles into which they are being directed. He is saying it is too bad that good teachers are leaving, that there is not enough study space, that dorms and classrooms are overcrowded, that our political rights are abused. But it is not for

us to demand change; we must wait. After all, we do not understand the "complexities of the situation." Even more important, he is saying that there is no role in the educative process for students, other than the role of an "intellectual receptacle."

If this is true, then we must look upon our years in the university as years in a sterilized "Skinner box", where education becomes merely a response to a negative paternalism. I do not believe education is "fact-gathering". I believe it is living in a society that promotes the values of culture, that responds to the needs of its members, that gives us a share in the making of decisions. The University of Michigan is not such a society; perhaps no American university is. But we are being thrust in just the opposite direction. Our education is being dehumanized, and we have progressively less control over it.

This concept of the university as such a society is, I believe, the philosophic core of SAL and of SDS's philosophy of education. This is what we are fighting for, and is a step beyond the immediate alleviation of our grievances about the physical plant of the university.

## MIT

From Boston Area Coordinating Committee minutes

SDS activity at MIT is presently merged with that of the Scientists and Engineers for Johnson and Humphrey. After the election they will begin organizing a Scientists and Engineers for a Democratic Society, affiliated with SDS. They hope to bring a series of speakers on arms control and disarmament. The Scientists and Engineers sponsored a rally and panel discussion at Cambridge Latin High concerned with disarmament and extremism.

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## NEW YORK AREA

By Robert Jaffe (CCNY)

New York City students have started a campaign in order to preserve the 117 year tradition of free tuition for the City Universities. This effort involves a non-partisan political campaign to inform voters in certain districts that their assemblyman voted against this ideal. All the assemblymen we are fighting have voted against discharge of a bill which would guarantee free tuition. This means that by reducing state aid, the Governor could force the City to impose tuition charges and relieve Albany of financial difficulties brought about through poor fiscal policies.

On Saturday, October 17, over 200 students met at the Baruch School (CCNY), to begin the drive in two Manhattan districts. After a speech by Joel Cooper, coordinator of the campaign, block captains took their groups out for the start of the door-to-door campaign. The students went to housing projects, shopping centers and street corners, talking to people and distributing literature. There were also sound trucks patrolling the areas.

On successive Saturdays there were rallies at Brooklyn and Queens Colleges. During the week small groups of students (10-40 daily), were sent out in a more concentrated effort in the same areas.

It is difficult to tell now what the effect of our campaign will be. We are hoping to defeat at least two or three assemblymen this year and put enough pressure on the others to possibly affect their opinions. This is a strictly non-partisan student drive which could be affected in other

areas with a similar problem.

## NYU

By John Roberts (NYU)

There are two levels of involvement of SDS people at NYU Uptown. The first is in the chapter itself and also as part of the Heights Freedom Movement of which the SDS chapter is sort of a caucus. SDS qua SDS has done very little yet there are rumblings. For one, we will be announcing ourselves to the campus in a few days via a letter to the editor refuting his do-nothing attitude. We will also be bringing a large contingent to the SDS NO open house and hope that our chapter membership will at least double (from 5 to 10) in the next few days.

The rate of growth of the Heights Freedom Movement on the other hand has been phenomenal. The first thing to be noted is that the total enrollment of our campus (geographically separate from most of NYU) is 2,500. Our mailing list is now about 250. Of this number from 80-100 are active on a week-to-week basis: 17 tutoring in Harlem, 30-50 tutoring in local churches and in our own project, 10 in a committee which acts as liaison with SNCC, and from 2-5 people in an arts (film) committee, bi-weekly bulletin, fraternity investigation group, anti-attendance regulation committee, and general administration.

Within a week of our first general meeting we had our first action project which was a voter registration drive in the South Bronx. About 23 people took part in this. After that we settled down to committees and tutoring. There has been a lack of creative thinking where action projects are concerned and although there is work being done on a more permanent working arrangement between us and some groups in the S. Bronx,

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it will probably not gell for a couple of months. In the meantime we have no other thing to fill in. We feel that a project is necessary to serve as a starting education into some of the workings of society so as to broaden perspectives. The tutoring that we do usually does not do this for it often involves practically all the tutor's free time and can be a limiting experience. There is the possibility that our own tutoring project may turn to more general issues, but the other tutoring programs are not structured this way.

One area of particular neglect has been the campus. In our zeal to get whatever projects we have gotten going there has been no attempt to reach those not sympathetic already or on the borderline and apathetic. The campus is well aware of our activity--there is hardly a day that there is not a newspaper article announcing or reporting one of our events. Yet few people really know our concerns or program who are not already involved. Due to a grant we have received from the Sociology Department we will be having a film program, but we have as yet devoted no time organizing a lecture series, seminar group, or literature table. I think very often we spend too much time getting people to go off campus when at least a good portion of our work ought to be on campus.

There are two areas of campus work in which we are involved. The first is around a fraternity issue. There is one frat on campus that has made an issue of flying a confederate flag. We have become involved in making an issue of this. So far it has been a matter of negotiation of sorts, but by the time this is printed there will probably have been pickets, resolutions, and words from the administration.

The issue itself is not that important but we hope to make a broad attack on some of the fraternities on campus which we are pretty sure are restrictive and think that this is a start.

The other area of campus involvement is an attempt to change attendance regulations which limit the amount of cuts. So far this has been a very quiet underground affair that has much interest but steadily declining activity. It may be brought up in regard to our students who will be in Mississippi for a week to work on the Freedom Ballot and will become quickly over-cut, but I don't think an issue will be made of it.

We hope to work some of the bugs out of our program and develop some idea of what we are heading toward at a retreat to be held in two weeks. Logistical problems will limit the number of people to officers mainly and we hope to have an intensive set of discussions. We have not begun work on planning for it yet and fear that it will flop if we don't do some soon. One thing is clear already, not everyone is in agreement about ideology and program. This is not necessarily bad. What it does do is raise the question of whether or not to become more homogenous in outlook and perhaps lose some members or to remain non-committal and umbrella-ish. I think that it is this basic question that accounts for the fact that the Heights Freedom Movement has not become an SDS chapter. Among those who know SDS there are some who would not join and I suspect that there are many others who will feel the same when they are introduced to SDS. One thing which would help, again, would be a more intensive education program both internally and on campus, but no one has taken the time to organize something like that yet.

We would like to throw out one question for discussion: what does a group such as ours do when the faculty and adminis-



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tration are far friendlier than the student government who, by all rights, should be our closest allies?

## NORTH CAROLINA

By Shelley Blum (DUKE)

I am going to attempt to describe the North Carolina Student-Labor Committee project as I see it. The theory behind the project is a total campus program to involve all kinds of students in the process of making labor unions a political force. Perhaps this can better be seen as building the second leg of the liberal coalition, a left looking labor organization. The basic thought behind the problem is that unions have a list of somewhat class conscious people which can serve as a skeletal precinct organization. Both labor and the civil rights groups can cooperate to turn the rascals out since both stand to gain from the creation of jobs, the which only a liberal congress can do.

Peter Brandon, organizer of the project, has a four-point program to: organize unions, politicize unions, do basic N.D. research in politics and economics, and publish a labor newspaper. Here is how they seem to be working out in practice, as opposed to the theory behind them.

The poultry industry is a very large one in N.C. and one with 1900 working conditions. Pete's union (Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO, of which he is an international rep.) has jurisdiction over the food industry. It has some food processing plants and some retail (A&P type) outlets organized in the state. There are several ripe targets available including: strengthening a Raleigh processing plant, organizing a

1,000 man bargaining unit in Durham in a poultry plant, beginning in virgin territory in Chatham County by organizing two poultry plants in the two major cities in the county. Now, there are two students from UNC attached to the Raleigh locals. Contacts have been made in Chatham County by UNC students. A workshop will be held to train North Carolina College, UNC and Duke students to work in Durham. These are all politically sensitive areas and one with great potential for the creation of liberal climates. The Raleigh case is one of a local that is willing to go into politics on a large scale, and is a large bargaining unit. The students attached to it are to bring speakers, liven union meeting, strengthen the steward system; all of which can be done by the use of outside perspective.

Other general points begin with the fact that the food industry is one which extends into every county in the state. The union is one with a good left tradition, stemming from the packing houses in Chicago and the fur and leather workers. The industry is in general integrated although many shops are not. It is not one of the traditional southern industries (lumber, furniture, textiles) with a paternalist union hating tradition. All in all it looks like it can be taken.

The other two points of the proposal deal with the less exciting but rather important functions of research and propaganda. There is a great dearth of political information about N.C. We don't know who is who in the various counties, nor do we know what their voting history is. Some of this is easy to collect and some quite impossible. Similarly, economic data is scarce. We hope to interest research minded people to do this kind of work for their term papers, etc. It is an old pitch but we have the new wrinkle of being able to call on union information sources in Washington and local workers for pertine

information. Further, the students in UNC plan to put out a newspaper which will go to the members of local 525 of the Butcher Workmen..., the North Carolina local. It probably will provide the first trustworthy news of the union, and of the world for that matter, that has ever been printed in N.C. Its first issue should come out shortly after October 25 when the newly organized A&P unit in Raleigh signs its first contract.

If I end on a rather flat note, it is because I am not attempting to forecast as fact what I would like to happen. The program is being tried and it has every hope of expansion. It also was started only months ago and we just don't know what is going to happen. In closing, I can only say that we are going to meet a lot of people with a big stake in liberal legislation and a renovation of society. It is pretty easy to imagine how to cybernate the retail and processing ends of the food business. If we had to go out and canvass the streets to find these people, it would take years. Looking at it from this point of view, we can't lose. And if we win, North Carolina might have some maverick congressmen attracting national attention in another few years.

## REED

By Jeremy Brecher

As in past years, we face a situation here at Reed where "the potential we have helped create is too large to be captured completely by a still relatively small self-conscious radical community." As a result, we have faced the problem here of the special role of SDS among a multitude of miscellaneous activities.

of members has been focused in the program of other organizations:

- Students for Racial Equality, our excellent civil rights group which sent 14 students to Mississippi last summer, has established a freedom school for Negro high school kids in Portland, teaching Negro history, accounts of the civil rights movement, Negro literature in America, etc. The program has been set up with the cooperation of teachers in the Negro district high school and Negro organizations. So far the program is off to a small but excellent start. I will try to get a full report of how the program was organized, what problems were faced, etc. for the next Bulletin.

- S.R.E. is also engaged in extensive fund-raising, both on campus and in the adult community, for SNCC. A good part of the student body makes regular small weekly contributions to a fund designed to match the money raised by the movement in two towns in Mississippi.

- A tutorial for high school students and illiterate adults is continuing this year to involve over a hundred students. Headed by an SDS member, it is now being run by an independent group which grew out of S.R.E., and cooperates with other tutorial programs being run at Portland State College and Lewis and Clark.

- S.R.E., in cooperation with the League of Women Voters and other organizations ran a massive voter registration drive in Albina, the Negro section of Portland. According to the Urban League, 90% of Portland Negroes eligible to vote are registered.

- Over 100 students demonstrated against Goldwater on his visit to Portland, with signs and a leaflet which pointed out vote by vote his opposition to the test ban treaty, medicare, civil rights bill, etc.

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- Focus, a long-defunct campus organization, briefly reserected itself to demonstrate as "ultra-leftwingers for Goldwater." They apparently persuaded one little-old-lady-in-tennis-shoes that if Marxist-Leninists could support Goldwater, maybe she shouldn't.

- The Reed Young Democrats have regularly supplied dozens of students to do precinct work and voter registration with the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party itself has done little or nothing in the campaign.

- An ad hoc group sponsored a demonstration on campus in support of students at Berkeley in which about 100 students participated.

- About 60 students demonstrated for protection for civil rights workers in Mississippi, sponsored by S.R.E.

Aside from being actively involved in all of the above activities, SDS has developed some, although not nearly enough program for itself:

- A group of us picketed with the local U.A.W. during the General Motors strike. We were received very warmly, and were impressed by the degree of sophistication with regards to strike strategy, politics, etc. on the part of the rank and file guys we talked to.

- We did a certain amount of precinct work in a working-class white neighborhood in which there is absolutely no Democratic Party structure. Our objective was to organize anti-Goldwater committees of those who were interested in working against him. Even with the little work we did, we found a few people who were interested in working in some such committee, and who might have been potential members for some sort of continuing community-based political organization. Unfortunately,

we have not been able to follow through on the project as a result of other time demands.

Our major need right now is for an issue which will capture the imagination of students, and which will allow us to move into the community on a basis of real effectiveness. So far we have not found one. However, two new developments should put us in a much better position to utilize whatever programs we do develop. First, we now have excellent contacts within the state's "liberal establishment" which should prove useful in raising funds and in getting things done. Second, as a result of Mike Harrington's trip to Portland, we now have excellent contacts at the two other major campuses in Portland, Lewis and Clark and Portland State College, where we may soon develop SDS groups, and which will in any case make any kind of city-wide action much more effective.

## SIMMONS

By Jenny Green

SDS considers the involvement of college students in the social and political issues of the day important to the progress of our society. In accordance with this concern, Simmons SDS proposes to work on several levels.

A primary objective is bringing awareness to the campus of the major problems confronting our society. This will be done by publicizing issues as well as presenting educational programs. The representative of minority platforms in the Simmons mock election and the presentation of student speakers who worked in Mississippi this past summer are examples of SDS educational projects.

SDS plans also to sponsor study groups, discussions and seminars. Participating students will meet with professors or

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specialists from Boston to discuss specific problems and to attempt to devise programs to meet these dilemmas.

Specific projects, requiring immediate student action will be supported by SDS. SDS members, for example, worked for Noel Day, independent candidate for Congress in Boston.

Simmons is also working with the Boston FREP project, headed by Dr. James Morey, PhD of Harvard University, which intends to deal with the problems of converting the Watertown Arsenal and the Chelsea Naval Shipyard into businesses functional in a peace time economy. FREP plans to sponsor polls in various areas to gather information regarding the effects of conversion.

## SWARTHMORE

By Nick Egleson

SPAC, which is the Swarthmore associate of SDS, continues to be active in a wide range of areas.

**ERAP PROJECTS:** Approximately twelve people are working extensively in the Chester ERAP project. They spend most of their time organizing blocks. Teams are working in the Negro wards, one team in a lower class white section. Five others are working with Bryn Mawr, and Haverford students on the Philadelphia project. Organizing a tenants council, 6 block organizations, and a high school JOIN group among other activities.

**PEACE:** Twenty-five people attended the first meeting of a peace group. The group is not formally connected to SDS or SPAC, but it has many of the concerns we consider highly important. Several reports on possible projects for the group are currently being written.

The projects include:

1) Attempts to form a peace constituency at a nearby Vertol plant, which is busily producing helicopters, many of them to be used in the dirty little war.

2) Pressing for the conversion of the Philadelphia Naval Yard. The yard employs approximately 12,000 men. Rumors suggest it will close sometime after the election. The city, it is also rumored, is looking for a way out of its clearly untenable position that the yard must remain open in naval service. It is open to suggestions on Conversion.

3) Organizing the area's many university and graduate school students who are eligible for the draft.

4) Some form of activity oriented toward the US position on South Africa. Philadelphia is the largest foreign goods port on the eastern seaboard, and carries on extensive trade with the U of SA.

**RESEARCH:** This newly formed committee is now thoroughly researching the War on Poverty and the Urban Renewal programs in the city of Chester. The committee is also working with the Economics and Political Science Departments so that term paper topics will fill the research needs of the Chester and Philadelphia projects.

**FACULTY:** Efforts are underway to involve faculty members and residents in the academic community in the SDS program and debate. To date the three possibilities for faculty participation are: 1) Help in special projects. Faculty members with specific fields of interest can help students on research or work jointly with them. 2) Faculty members, perhaps in regular meetings, can take part in the key theoretical debates confronting SDS. The first step will be acquaintance with the basic documents (ANE, etc.) 3) Fund Raising. Enough said. Several professors have expressed a keen

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interest but many of them feel they don't have time to participate to a degree which would be worthwhile, either for them or the organization. We need suggestions on what faculty members can do.

**SEMINARS:** SPAC is sponsoring two discussion groups. The periodical seminar meets one hour a week during an unused class hour. Each week the discussion focuses on a number of recent articles on a topic chosen at the previous meeting. Recent topics and articles include:

The civil rights movement: Current issues of Studies on the Left and Dissent.

Worker control: The New Left Review, Nos. 25 and 10; Yugoslav review; Bell, End of Ideology-the chapter on Work.

The second weekly meeting is meant to parallel the college's economics 1-2 course, which, although supposedly a study of economic indicators and analytic tools, concentrates on a description and a eulogy of economics in the USA. Alternate title: Capitalism 1-2.

**OTHER CAMPUSES:** In cooperation with Haverford students who have worked on ERAP projects, activity in Philadelphia project and around the issue of peace is being encouraged. A news sheet, the Two Penny Press, edited at Haverford, is being distributed on both campuses. It is hoped that the sheet will eventually reach many campuses in the area.

A group of students at the U of Penn is setting up a community project in an area of Philadelphia known as Mantua. The University is reportedly interested in acquiring large sections of the area for the expansion of its campus. The project will probably work around the

issue of housing. We have helped with advice on survey techniques and survey forms.

In addition, we are supplying food and clothing for the Chester and Philadelphia projects. SPAC is helping friends of SNCC collect a voluntary poll tax on election day.

**PROBLEMS:** The change from large summer staff to small permanent staff in the Chester and Philadelphia projects led in both cases to some confusion about strategy and long range goals. Activity slowed during this period. In consequence weekly SPAC meetings deteriorated, because tactical and strategic discussions of Chester activity had been the main substance for the discussion. The problem has disappeared to some extent in recent weeks, and the meetings have improved.

The existence of strong 'old leadership' also had its adverse effects, particularly at the start of the semester. The tendency toward cliqueishness and away from spreading responsibility to more and more people has at least in part been countered.

A third problem has arisen from the wide dispersment of resources obvious from the foregoing summary. Last year meetings were more than long enough. Now that there are 2 main issues (Chester and Philadelphia) and in some ways three (Peace) the problem of coherent meetings is confounded.

Another major problem is the theoretical debate on how to react to the forces of co-optation, such as the War on Poverty program for Chester.

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## U OF TEXAS

By Gary Thiber

Since its inception only last spring the

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University of Texas chapter of SDS has been rapidly gaining momentum. We are now pretty well known about campus and are by far the most active student political group. The trend appears to be one which will continue.

One of the main drawing cards at registration was a cultural-tutorial program among students at the local Negro high school (an excellent Southern case of de facto segregation). A good bit of excitement is felt about this program and its possibilities. It should prove to be one of the highlights of the year.

We have had several programs this fall. At the first, Robert Pardun and Judy Schiffer (both local SDS members) and Bob Stone discussed their experiences in the C.O.F.O. summer project in Mississippi. Pertinent in light of the recent demands of the United Auto Workers was the talk given by Donald Petesch, faculty member and former assemblyline worker, on the dehumanization of workers in modern mass production industries where man is merely an appendage of a machine rather than the opposite. The most recent program was a debate on Vietnam with the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom. In the future we are going to challenge the Young Democrats to debate.

The SDS beer party has become something of a tradition around campus. Offering "all the beer you can drink for a dollar" has consistently made profits when the brew is purchased by the keg. In addition to filling the coffers, the parties tend to breed comradeship among the members and offer an excellent environment for converting new people to the cause.

The situation in Mississippi, and specifically McComb, has been the cause

of much action lately. SNCC was requesting former volunteers to conduct some sort of local action which would bring pressure to bear on the administration to initiate federal action in Southwest Mississippi and protect Negroes from further acts of terrorism. Since President Johnson was at his ranch about fifty miles from here at the time, a small group of students picketed him on the road near his house. The Secret Service would not allow anyone to get out of a car directly in front of the house. This action gained a small news release on the national wire services and a sizeable article in the local press. In response to the SNCC request, SDS published a report on McComb and sponsored a petition on campus which was signed by 1200 students demanding that federal marshalls with powers of arrest be sent to McComb. Copies were mailed to Lyndon Johnson and acting Attorney General Katzenbach.

Last year U.T.'s progressive regents wiped away the last vestiges of segregation--housing and athletics--and proudly proclaimed the university as the first fully-integrated major Southern institution. However, scandal was unearthed recently when SDS member Rick Robbins was strolling through the basement of the Student Health Center and stopped to ponder two rest-rooms standing side-by-side labeled, "Men Employees." In answer to his query a nurse blandly informed him that one was white and the other colored "because this is the South." Struck by the crusading spirit, Rick launched an attack with a visit to the chancellor and a letter to the student newspaper. Promptly dubbed Restroom Investigator extraordinary, Rick has also discovered a White Only rest-room in the supposedly integrated state capitol. A suggested slogan for this minor mopping-up campaign has been, "let my people go."

Several SDS members are presently in-

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volved in the Ralph Yarborough campaign. Ralph is the only liberal southern senator extant and is now running neck and neck with his reactionary Republican opponent, George Bush. The senator is also the prime support of the Democratic Coalition, a liberal sub-group of the Democratic Party which hopes to gain control of the state party. We're holding our breath at present.

As for the future, various plans are being thrashed around. Definitely on the agenda is opposition to the proposed tuition increase. All students will oppose this, but SDS will also put forth a positive program--abolition of all tuition. While arguing for this, we also will expose the regressive tax policies presently followed by the state.

## TUFTS

By Dave Smith

The fundamental nature of the radical-left movement at Tufts has yet to be clearly defined. Last year our activity was centered around three single issues, and the activity (on paper) was in the hands of several front groups. It is my feeling that these activities were valuable then as an initial movement but that this year, as a core group that will grow and gain more influence, we must now become a structured consistantly active group.

Just how this can be done has yet to be determined. The situation poses several questions that we must deal with immediately.

1. Do we see ourselves as primarily a campus group organized to function as an educative and reforming element within the student body, or do we find

our role by working within the already structured extra-campus groups in the Boston area? In either case what precisely are our relationships to be with the Boston civil rights groups, especially NSM?

2. What do we do about SPAN? Does it become simply a front for SDS? Do we drop it entirely? Do we use it as a student political party and run candidates in the Spring elections?

3. Do we legitimize SDS on campus by applying for a charter?

4. Does SDS have a role it should play in the tutorial program either in the recruitment of tutors or working in the office?

5. To date the student movement at Tufts has been primarily in the field of civil rights. Do we continue to stay in this area or do we become multi-issued and start working on the areas of peace, economic reform, etc.?

### PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS

There are several areas which deserve our immediate attention:

Noel Day's campaign. He needs people, wants SDS help. What can we do for him?

The Boston PREP project. Is there a role for part-time people in it this year? What types of research need to be done that we might be able to provide through papers for Ec., Sociology and Government courses?

The election. What is our role? Is on-campus anti-Goldwater activity important or do we belong in the community? Where do we stand on Johnson? Should we work with local COFE or the Democratic party or on our own? Does this issue provide us with an opportunity for taking on YAF?

Campus peace activity. Can we use the



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national end-the-draft campaign as an initial forum for peace work here? What do we need from HREP, TTP, etc.

Campus education project. Can we at this time make a dent in the student body? Speakers, films, riots, etc? Would a full scale conference on poverty, the backlash be of use?

## PREP PROGRAM...

pects for a peace-and-related-issues high school conference, and would appreciate information about similar possibilities for high school conferences elsewhere.

HREP suffers most from the sparsity of communication between campus people and Ann Arbor. We need your help to bring off the grand scheme outlined in Toward an Effective Peace Program on Campus. This is a short report precisely because people are not yet sharing that responsibility. Our confidence is not shaken, but our patience is getting slim. We want to get out and put our strategy to the real test of national action.

Please send comments, critiques, requests for speakers, etc. to us at 1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Mich., 48104.

## PREP CRITIQUE...

These are valid demands. We should take a closer look at the constructive thinking that has already been done to formulate the possible shape of a disarmed world. "Quis Custodiet: Controlling the Police in a Disarmed World" by Arthur Waskow, available from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; "A Demilitarized World (and how

to get there)" by Walter Millis, available from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; "World Peace Through World Law" by Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn; are among the most recent or representative works. These studies try to show that America's national security can be protected without America retaining its armaments.

Now it is true that a disarmament agreement is not possible today. The Great Powers will still be building arms to protect their security as you read this paper. But it is important to understand the process of change to be used in converting the armed world of today into the disarmed world of the day after tomorrow. The process of international political change will require the work of mediators or creative middlemen who are independent from the political prejudices of the Great Powers. Their task is to find the thin strands of potential agreement among the great powers, and weave these strands together until they have a net of agreement strong enough to support an international police force, an international disarmament inspectorate, and international laws against violation of borders and against rearmament. Their task is to quiet the hot flames of political disagreement that keep tensions high in the Third World, in Vietnam, in the Straits of Formosa, in Germany. This difficult and sensitive job is going to be accomplished, not by disbelievers, but only by those who appreciate change and the processes of change. It will be accomplished only by those who can conceptualize a disarmed world coming into existence the day after tomorrow, and can use their conceptualization persuasively to lead nations together into agreement.

The disarmament agreement that will actually be achieved should be kept publicly distinct from the contrasting (and somewhat phony) disarmament treatie

## PREP CRITIQUE

now being talked about by the United States and the Soviet Union. Lyndon Johnson talks a peace line, but his administration will be prevented by many of its basic political assumptions from ever actually leading the way on disarmament. Johnson might like to lead us to disarmament, for the greater glory of both the human race and the Democratic Party, but he won't be able to. There is American intransigence in Geneva as much as there is Soviet intransigence. But the fact that disarmament is not possible in today's world situation does not mean that there is not an opportunity for initiating the processes of change that will take us to disarmament. To fail to see and pick up this opportunity would be one of history's most negligent acts.

Yet SDS's approach to the questions of international relations does miss this opportunity and is negligent. The SDS position at present is represented by two documents, "America and the New Era" and "New Possibilities for Peace." Both of these papers do one job excellently. They identify the competing cold war coalitions in America, and succinctly summarize their different approaches to cold war foreign policy. ANE and "New Possibilities for Peace" also review the links between the political and economic interests of these coalitions, and how these interests are served by the cold war rhetoric and policies they espouse. Thus noble rhetoric about "America defending the Free World" is used to conceal baser motives.

However, while ANE and "New Possibilities for Peace" describe political coalitions in terms of their competition, these coalitions are actually united on an important set of underlying assumptions. They all assume that the national security must be protected. They assume that the Soviet Union and China must

always be seen as definite threats. And they all assume that the United States must retain the option to use military force. The political differences between coalitions are differences over how best to protect the national security of the United States. As far as they can see into the future, disarmament is not a realistic likelihood. No matter how heavily SDS attacks them, they will retain their public support undiminished until we can convince the public that it is possible to have the national security protected without arms. Until the public is convinced of this, furthermore, it is not likely to accept compromise settlements for current cold war conflict.

For the problems of international politics that exist today, disarmament actually is the only radical and peaceful answer. But SDS's analysis cannot deal with actual disarmament, because it has not yet begun to handle the root assumptions, that the national security must be protected with armaments. Simply failing to touch the root assumption is bad enough. But worse, there is a tendency to suggest it isn't even necessary to talk about it. For example, when such people as Donna Allen of Women's Strike for Peace, and Lee Webb or Dick Flacks of SDS prescribe a program of intensified political agitation to satisfy America's domestic needs, they have the temerity to suggest this agitation will force the United States to withdraw from the cold war. Donna Allen even says domestic agitation will bring about disarmament.

Much praise can be given to PREP's treatment of American interventionism, economic  
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now that the election is over -- read

JOHNSON WITH EYES OPEN  
use literature order form-- p. 43

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conversion, and the draft. Yet on each of these three issues, PREP program shares the same failure to deal with the cold war's root assumption, and the same failure to give the radical answer.

### B. American Interventionism

PREP's approximate premise is that where the economic and military policies of the United States support conservatism and block needed social revolution, or where they help widen the gap between the haves and the have-nots, these policies may be classified as American interventionism, and opposed as such.

Of course, as far as the countries of the Third World are concerned, the largest problem is to lift themselves up from poverty. Social revolution is frequently a part of this process. Outside assistance frequently is also. For all of them, the aching need is faster economic development.

The major outside drag on their economic progress is not something simple, like American interventionism. It is bigger than that; it is the process of cold war between West and East, as it is being fought out in many Third World countries. An example: for Vietnam, the cold war outside has fed the civil war inside with arms, cash, and political encouragement. There have been two armed camps fighting each other in that country for the last twenty years. The devastation, the cost in lost lives and lost chance for progress, is incalculable. The same process of cold war, of military assistance, arms sales, and gun-running, is sowing the seeds for civil wars in many other countries. The results will be equally bloody, damaging, and tragic. Projecting ten years into the future these trends, plus the growing gap between population growth and food production, we get a glimpse of the 1970's in which many countries will be torn by revol-

utionary civil wars, and wracked by extensive famines.

American interventionism is not the sole culprit working against progress for the Third World; moreover, even a successful campaign of opposition against American interventionism would not be a sufficient answer to the needs of the underdeveloped countries. This is because those who argue for real revolutions to overthrow feudal oligarchies (and therefore oppose American interventionism) are not in possession of the whole truth. There are many Americans who see another part of the truth, that the West's great wealth (its aid policies, tariff and quota practiced, educational resources) can be used much more potently than it has been until now to speed economic progress in underdeveloped countries. The different brands of American, Russian, and Chinese interventionism all produce corrupting effects on the Third World. Those neutrals who are politically and economically astute would like to have the cold war brought to an end, and would like to draw on the resources of both West and East so that they might weave a healthier future for their countries.

These are the wider dimensions SDS should be dealing with. PREP's desire to deal only with the domestic American components of complicated international problems has given us an approach that is too simplistic and limited.

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come to the

DECEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

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New York City

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# PREP CRITIQUE . . .

## B. Economic Conversion.

Saying that "the defense budget provides neither job security nor international security," PREP advocates that SDS begin organizing new constituencies in communities where defense budget cuts have endangered job security. Question: what would provide job security, if not the defense budget? PREP's answer--the McGovern bill, which would establish a National Economic Conversion Commission to plan economic alternatives. Question: what would provide international security, if not the defense budget? PREP's answer--silence. "Toward an Effective Peace Program on Campus" does allude to the problem of international security with rhetorical gimmicks here and there, but nowhere with hard reasoning or real answers. SDS organizing around economic conversion problems can continue comfortably within the cold war framework of detente, and indeed it should. But the program as now set out could just as easily be handled by ERAP as by PREP.

## C. The Draft.

During the earlier cold war periods of Dulles brinkmanship and Stalinism, it was almost impossible to attack the draft. Now that Kennedy and Khrushchev have rationalized and stabilized the cold war, and now that the baby boom promises to swamp military recruiters, it is much easier to attack the draft in public. Thus are we given a "new issue." But like PREP's other two issues, it is not one that deals directly with the problems of international peacemaking. It is only a domestic component of the larger cold war mechanisms that the world is bound up in.

## D. A Neglected Issue - The Stall in Geneva.

In "Toward an Effective Peace Program on Campus" Todd Gitlin and Paul Booth suggest that discussion of peace and disarmament issues has gained new legitimacy

in America today. If you remember, it was not until 1962 that both the United States and the Soviet Union had put forward so-called comprehensive plans for general and complete disarmament and had begun to discuss them in Geneva. For the last two years, their discussion of disarmament has ostensibly been more earnest, if not yet more realistic. The day-to-day proceedings of these negotiations in detailed summary form are a part of the UN library and certainly available to any peace researcher from something that calls itself a peace research and education project.

Yet unfortunately there is no mention of the Geneva disarmament negotiations in the PREP program. There is no suggestion that the stall in Geneva could be made an issue for students today. There is no suggestion of building a new student constituency on this issue, although when it comes to American interventionism, PREP expresses itself as being willing to build a new constituency "from the ground up." It does not seem to me that this failure to mention Geneva reflects simply PREP's judgment of which constituencies are either easier or more important to build. It represents SDS's basic failure of analysis, basic failure to conceptualize disarmament, and inability to see the processes of change whereby today's world might be converted to a disarmed world.

## Conclusion.

When History tells us about the conflicts which divide nations, and about the militaristic traditions which guide them, it is not telling us that it is impossible to achieve disarmament. It is only measuring for us the magnitude of the challenge we face. When current history tells us most students don't understand disarmament, and that most students accept President Johnson's guidance on foreign policy, it is not telling us that student

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# LETTERS

## FROM VERNON GRIZZARD

There are two big issues that we at Swarthmore have recently been thinking about a lot: urban renewal and the War on Poverty. Most of our thinking is the result of our experiences on the RAP summer projects in Chester, Philadelphia, and Newark, and subsequent developments in those cities and others where there are ERAP projects.

Our questions about urban renewal stem from the remarkable similarity of programs for different cities. In all three cities where we have had experience, as well as in Chicago and New York, certain characteristics emerge: 1) the axe falls heavily on Negroes, with no relocation almost a certainty, in spite of Johnson-Poverty rhetoric; 2) what relocation is provided for is often by private investment, rather than public housing projects; 3) there is often a plan for renovating the downtown business area, which may have nothing to do with better city planning; 4) the city university often has a big stake in urban renewal, buying up areas in the center city area for expansion.

There are currently two views on urban renewal. One says that it is a good idea, and would basically benefit all the people in a city, but through misinformation and mismanagement (typical of big government without people's participation) the programs are consistently bungled. The other view is that urban renewal is a conspiracy and a swindle, benefitting primarily the financial and commercial interests of a city, and often the industrial interests, though the industrial interests are more likely to have a firm foothold in the local economy already. Urban renewal is the most significant outlet for financial capital in the country, thus supplanting imperialism in the Leninist model of national economy.

Which of the above views is more true is not known yet, and more information about urban renewal plans and who is behind them is, in our view, a very

pressing need. The economic and political implications of urban renewal cannot be minimized. "Negro removal" changes the political base within a city, and changes the economic base away from the drain on social services which many center city areas have become, back to a revenue base. Two students here (Nick Egleson and Larry Gordon) have received permission to do a year-long joint paper on the economics of urban renewal. They would welcome any source material suggestions people have, as well as people doing more work on this problem.

The other issue we are talking about a lot is that of the relationship which should and will exist between community grass-roots movements and the War on Poverty. No doubt Poverty people would like for community groups to identify very closely with the government, but our fundamental bias about where change will come from leads us to fear cooption. A neighborhood center has already been opened in Chester, so this is no abstract debate. Should a block organization near the community center become the community group which the Poverty people want to help run each of their centers? If so, how important is it that the block group maintain a separate identity from the Poverty people, feeling that "they" have given us something, and it's good, but seeking to maintain a fundamental we-they attitude? What will happen to people who assume positions of responsibility within the poverty program (helping to man a community center)? Will they be lost to the government, and begin to apologize for, rather than protest the inadequacies of a given program?

Should a community group fight for Poverty money itself, and seek to get involved in the administration of funds? This is a possibility in Philly, while most of the above questions pertain to Chester. In even more general terms: should we encourage people to work in the government program as VISTA's? If not (and I think my concern is evident) how effectively can we differentiate ourselves (cont. p. 32)

## LETTERS...

from the government when we speak to the thousands of students who don't have even a passing impression of SDS? These are questions which those of us who will spend our summers organizing in northern cities, and are considering working for a few (or many) years after school will have to face as the government seeks to organize many of the same groups we are working with.

Vernon Grizzard

## FROM TODD GITLIN

It's hard for me to speak with anything approaching Delphic wisdom about the shape and direction of the organization. I personally feel distinctly remote from what seem to be the mainsprings of organizational growth--the chapters and campus members. Thus I'll keep this letter short and leave it to others to strike responsive chords, if any.

I've been watching with dismay the difficulty VOICE (the U of Michigan SDS chapter) has had in establishing a membership educational program. Maybe we expect too much, but that is only consonant with our ideology. All the well-known factors of busy-ness, natural laziness, dislike of "formal" occasions, etc., have militated against the success of on-campus education programs. So has our lack of printed materials. Even if we succeed in getting our literature printed, there are limits to its effectiveness: students, bless them, don't like to read. We need, instead--or rather in addition--to conceive of devices to instill educational experiences into the membership of chapters and the campus at large. (Maybe the line between those two is more blurred than we've liked to think.) Last September's NC was reluctant to pay what I think would have been proper attention to so-called "structural"

means of rectifying the situation--institutes on ideology and the world (proposed previously by Jeremy Brecher of Reed and Rich Horevitz of the U of Michigan). Discussion of these proposals was mandated, and thus the imperative swept under the transcontinental rug. Certainly, then, the December NC should set sufficient time aside (prefaced by committee meetings) for discussion of educational institutes.

Another difficulty we are aware of in Ann Arbor is the time-honored one of being broke. Not since I've been in SDS has a National Council had a serious discussion of fund-raising; at Philadelphia in September, the subject was naturally squeezed into the tail-end of the agenda, and no real discussion was possible. If we like, we can continue to consider fund-raising a subject too undignified or "technical" to concern ourselves (I speak here of the NC) with, and we can run the attached risk of going under, which seems to be a real risk. On the other hand, there is virtue in the argument that fund-raising is a matter sufficiently technical to warrant extensive preparation before formal debate. Thus: I think the November ERAP-PREP-PEP meeting should also leave time for a committee on fund-raising to meet, and a committee should likewise meet during the December NC to bring up proposals during the last day. Committees, to be sure, can be surrogates for action, here as in Student Government. But there are ideas in the air--some discussed in Cleveland in July, some at Philadelphia--and I think the major problem is to implement them: entailing a discussion of staff allocation, ERAP project time, etc. Any better ideas?

Todd Gitlin

Come to the December NC in New York

## FROM PAUL BOOTH

Speaking simply as a member of the organization, I feel the lack of an action program in the Third World area. Although PREP can't yet claim to have found a suitable site for a major conference on America's Role in the Underdeveloped World, I feel that additional time to the Third World area should be divided between preparing for a major conference and evolving a national action program. Tentatively, I would recommend that it be anti-Apartheid action, differing from those planned by the National Student Association and the Consultative Committee on South Africa by its clear focus at U.S. Big Business interests in the Union of South Africa. For example, research could easily uncover the names of the major corporations involved in South Africa, their Directors and those addresses, the banks which back American investment there, the law firms for the investing corporations, and a long list of addresses of individuals and offices which locate our fellow-citizens who underwrite apartheid. Demonstrations directed at these companies and individuals, and perhaps direct action against the banks, would be a dramatic undertaking and would make just the point that we are trying to make about where in the U.S. the crucial decisions are made. And, because of the general attention to the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, we could really cash in on some public attention.

Paul Booth

## PREP CRITIQUE . . .

attitudes cannot be converted. Nor have we the right to conclude that the recent decline of the peace movement means it is impossible in the bland climate of detente for PREP to build the kind of dynamic peace group with a membership

that will thrive. I think we are being told that a long-range program, based soundly on a clear idea of our goals and methods, has a good chance of succeeding, but that more limited programs are likely to fail.

PREP's "Toward an Effective Peace Program on Campus" is guilty of succumbing to the liberal illusion that work for next-step gains is the most important place to put our energies. PREP's most obvious guiding value right now is nothing more than political agitation, and the creation of dissonance, because PREP wants to unsettle something called the cold war consensus in America. But as Steve Max once wrote, we ought to have an idea of where we want to go and how we want to get there. This means PREP should rise above agitation for agitation's sake. It should think in terms of goals and methods (or in the equivalent terms of policy, strategy, and tactics). PREP, operating now without goals or without policy, doesn't have sound criteria by which it can select possible strategies and tactics.

If PREP's program is not improved, if we in SDS stay blind to the opportunity for international political change that is before us, and if we fail to initiate a radical and peace-making campaign for disarmament, history will not absolve us.

## SPORTS

### ERAP TRAPPED

At the Cleveland Executive Committee meetings, PREP and FEP combined to defeat ERAP in a regulation length, full-court basketball game, 42-38. Starring for the PEPREPERS was a Swarthmore-Harvard squad composed of Booth, Grizzard, Gordon, Gitlin, and Rothstein. The ERAPIETS were made up of Rennie "Chicken" Davis, Bundy, Magidoff, McEldowney, and Fein.

PAY YOUR DUES ----- NOW !



## UNEMPLOYED . . .

What are the essentials for a short-term program for JOIN? I think a program is needed which will have the possibility of a significant limited victory; which will involve people in tasks which can readily be seen as critical to victory; which will force some group or individual to grant or deny victory; which will involve people in experiences which develop a new understanding of the society which denies them opportunities and rights; and which will open possibilities for more insurgent activity in the future. Among organized tenants, a rent strike can be an example of a program which meets these criteria.

There is only one example of such a program which has grown out of JOIN, and that one had major problems. The Chicago effort to combat hiring practices and other corruption in day-labor agencies potentially combined the experiences needed for a good short-term political program for the unemployed. Reform in the spot labor groups was feasible and the people involved faced real power which they could learn about and combat through organization and action.

The difficulties which were encountered however, suggested the need for several experienced organizers who could work from the "inside." We also realized that any strike of the men would be extremely vulnerable to strike-breakers, particularly from the winos who are pleased with an occasional \$7 a day. Finally, we saw that it would be enormously difficult to pressure the city to take over the hiring agency (the critical demand) while, at the same time, conduct an effective strike at the hiring site. Our one experience in Chicago, remember, in calling a meeting of people to oppose a spot labor group produced two

JOIN members, two private detectives, and an official of the hiring agency.

The Cleveland U-JOIN has recently undertaken a less ambitious project related to reform of day hiring agencies. It involves its membership in letter writing to state representatives, publicity work and pressure on the AFL-CIO to organize the men who are exploited by the agency. It doesn't, however, lend itself to the kinds of experiences I have suggested as critical to building a radical movement.

I don't have any easy answers to the problems which I think JOIN faces in each of the three cities (Philadelphia, by the way, has pretty nearly dropped its U-JOIN for block work on community problems and organizing in a housing project.) We need to find programs comparable to a rent strike for unemployed. JOIN needs to decide how to organize for limited goals which actually matter in a man's life, but which are more political and educational than the goal of self-help.

I can offer a few examples of the type of programming I would like to see tried in JOIN, though I think (hope) better ones can be created.

One notion that I have is to implement our idea (in a modest way) of building pressure for programs which would fill unmet social needs in a community and thereby put people to useful work. Pressures could be created by a number of tactics: (1) a street could be blocked off and repaired by JOIN members. After the repairs were made, JOIN would hold a demonstration at city hall to present the bill to the mayor; (2) JOIN could fix up an apartment where it had previously been active in developing organization. Tenants would then hold rent to pay for materials and labor; (3) an abandoned house (always a good issue) which had been condemned by the city could be torn down by JOIN for a recreational

area. JOIN would protest with whatever methods possible if the city tried to interfere with the "community decision."

Activity such as this is highly visible, but difficult to organize. Such a program, I think, would raise important questions about private property, the responsibility of the city to provide jobs, and the right of people to shape conditions in their immediate lives.

Another type of programming might center on the Administration's War on Poverty. JOIN could build community support for a program developed and run by community people and oppose any city effort which failed to include the interests of the community or was based on private gain. Parts of the adopted legislation commit the government rhetorically to worthwhile programs. For example, the bill provides loans to build cooperative enterprises and to construct low-rent housing units (Title IV). It also has money for labor and materials to beautify neighborhoods (Title I) and funds for anti-poverty agencies (i.e., JOIN) who hire indigenous leaders onto their staffs (Title III). I could see the possibility of utilizing the rhetoric of the poverty program to write our own program and then put pressure on the local poverty corporation to accept it. Were we working in an area where the government was planning an anti-poverty drive, such pressures could prove extremely embarrassing and effective against the local administrators and could provide important radicalizing experiences for the JOIN and active community people.

A third type of programming for JOIN could be developed around the welfare and social service system. In Cleve-

land, welfare mothers have shown that recipients of these programs can be mobilized against inhuman and inefficient administrative practices and will press for more comprehensive coverage. There is no question but that a meaningful confrontation between the individual who has been made wholly dependent on a service system and the system itself can be created through organization. During the summer, Chicago JOIN had a grievance committee established to get better service out of the unemployment compensation office. The shortcoming of this committee, it seemed to me, was that it was run by the staff members and didn't train JOIN members to take responsibility for anyone who had a complaint about the unemployment compensation office. The JOIN grievance committee should be re-established and the notion of JOIN groups which are active in the community for an improved and more humane welfare system should be experimented with concretely.

These suggestions represent a new conception for JOIN projects. I think that our experience increasingly shows that JOIN must recruit beyond the ranks of the unemployed and there is experience to suggest that initially the organization is likely to be more viable in a community than a city-wide context. Certainly, the types of programs I'm thinking of would require an expanded constituency and a community organization.

However, I do not see JOIN abandoning its basic concern for full employment. JOIN committees should take up legislation which seeks to re-establish the notion of government responsibility for job creation--the basis of the 1946 Employment Act. (Though the Clark bill should not give support to a 4% unemployment rate. Even English Parliament gets aroused if unemployment creeps up to 3 per cent). Also, JOIN recruitment should concentrate on the unemployed. And its major educational programs and activity should be

(cont. p. 36)

## UNEMPLOYED...

geared to the problems of joblessness. JOIN must not, however, limit itself to the narrow conception of program thus far developed.

Rennie Davis

## PEP...

ERAP handles community organization, it will be the function of PEP to keep the organization informed on the activities of the Liberals in Washington and on legislative matters that relate to our interests (such as the Clark Full Employment Bill). PEP will keep tabs on the legislative work of the AFL-CIO and will find ways in which students can tie into some of the drives that Labor will be undertaking in this area.

PEP will work on the local level too, with an eye to the primary elections two years hence and local elections next year. It will gather information and assist students who are interested in working in such campaigns as relate to the concerns of the organization as a whole. PEP will come to the December NC with proposals for two or three political projects, probably in the border states.

In the coming comth PEP staff should be doing two things. One is finding new sources of funds for the PEP program; the other is to collect and publish a series of papers on the experiences of students in various aspects of the campaign, hopefully including material on the Freedom Democratic Clubs in Ill. and the Day campaign in Mass.

By the time Congress reconvenes, PEP should have an idea of some of the major anti-Poverty legislation that will be offered and will then attempt to have some specific pieces of legislation evaluated by professionals in economics, city planning, etc. This information

will be made available to the membership of SDS along with suggestions for the support of worthwhile legislation.

In the early Spring PEP will start to look at city and county primaries and general elections, in order to locate areas where students might work during the summer, either as part of projects which PEP could organize, or as part of ERAP projects.

PEP will publish (if funds are available) a newsletter on its activities and will, as soon as the reference material from this election is published, continue to offer a consulting service which gives birdseye views of the political history and economic situation in specific congressional districts and smaller political unit.

PEP intends to cooperate with the Coalition for a New Congress in doing detailed survey work on the Congressional District level, an activity in which students can participate.

## ELECTIONS...

Two major structural gains are possible in the new Congress. If sufficient pressure is applied by the civil rights movement and its allies, the actual changes made in Southern political life can be registered in the power configuration of Congress by the breaking of Dixiecrat power. If opposition from the Right is sufficiently feeble and pressure from the left sufficiently strong and well-aimed, it may be possible to build a grouping of liberal congressmen to the left of the Administration and shift the focus of political conflict from the Administration vs. the Right to the Administration vs. the Left.

Such gains will not be possible, however, unless major social movements bring their pressure to bear effectively and strategically. Both lobbying and educa-

## ELECTIONS . . .

tional programs must be carried on systematically, with more imaginative techniques like those used in the Civil Rights Bill fight of last year employed when necessary. It will also require hard political fighting of the kind used in the fight to strengthen the Administration's Civil Rights Bill in committee last year. For this, real political muscle is required.

Such pressures must start now, before the Congress opens, if decisions of strategy for the coming session are to be affected by it. At a number of points SDS people and groups can play a strategic role.

(1) So far the Full Employment Bill, submitted by Sen. Clark at the end of the last session of Congress, has received little attention in liberal, labor, and civil rights circles, primarily because it has been ignored by the press. I. F. Stone has suggested that the bill, which provides for national economic planning for full employment, can become the center for Left opposition to the Administration. We must now begin to lay the foundations for local coalitions of labor, civil rights, liberals, and the constituency of the poor behind the bill. SDS people throughout the country should approach whatever contacts they have in the labor movement, the liberal community, and the various civil rights groups in their area, give them copies of the bill, and do whatever possible to lay the groundwork for later political action around it. In addition, all Senators and Congressmen should be written for information and their stands on the bill. Many of them probably know nothing about it as yet; a few letters of inquiry at this point would make them do their homework.

(2) The decision of liberal Congressmen

to try to drum Southerners who supported Goldwater out of the Democratic Party must be given some political support. Many Congressmen have a feeling that nobody "back home" watches what they do in intra-party matters in Washington. The civil rights movement and its allies should make it very clear to them that somebody back home is watching them.

(3) A third area of focus should be the related issues of conversion and military budget cuts. Perhaps the best strategy here would be to attack the military budget in the same way Wayne Morse went after the foreign aid bill last session-- with a well-sharpened razor blade.

(Morse went into the Senate with over 200 amendments designed to cut \$100,000 here and half-a-million there, and succeeded in putting together a coalition of anti-interventionist liberals and budget-cutting conservatives which actually cut most of the military expenditures out of the foreign aid bill.) Johnson will probably come into Congress with slight reductions in the military budget; he should be forced to justify every penny spent; in fact, Congress should go on a budget-cutting spree, with some good healthy competition to save the tax-payer's dollar.

(4) Finally, it is important to create an anti-interventionist bloc in Congress. With the national discrediting of the trigger-happy Right, it should be possible to put great pressures on the Administration to institute a real good-neighbor policy throughout the world. While it is doubtful that Johnson would or could completely reverse the policy of making America an international cop, strong congressional pressures of the kind Morse and Greuning have presented on Viet Nam, but coming with much wider congressional support, will force the Administration to think twice every time it considers hanging its clothes on that hickory limb and going for a skinny-dip.

(cont. p. 41)

## UNIVERSITY REFORM...

the constitution and to submit to a totalitarian regime. There is no reason why there could not be democracy at this school. This is an outline of the sort of basic analysis that should be done in order to underlie our stands in this area. We should fight the idea that the brightest people in our society need the most supervision, that they are not competent to function without deans to supervise their activities. We must fight the idea that going to a university is a privilege and not a necessity in our culture. Once again we must firmly state that a democratic university is possible.

What actually do we want to change at Duke? Can we actually hope to do anything? After we produce a fundamental analysis of the type of place we would like to be at, we can offer several areas in which students could begin to make their presence felt, the object being co-government of the school, along with the faculty. These are the areas with which we should concern ourselves: curriculum reform, free speech and action, money grubbing, in loco parentis, and grievance procedures.

I would state as an ideal that students should share in the formation of curriculum requirements. To a great extent, the faculty is the natural leader in this area, in that they should be responsible for the professional competence of the graduate. This is clearly seen in the case of the engineering school where the student depends on his having the right courses to get a job. But there is usually little curriculum reform to keep up with the passing of years. Ideally, each year, there should be a battle in each course; the students challenging and

evaluating ideas and determining their relevance to the new age. In practice there is no controversy since the courses are academic in the worst sense, they have little meaning to the student and little relevance to the world outside the university. We should examine the whole Duke curriculum and offer amendments from the students' point of view. I can suggest better freshmen courses, and more free choice-- also less research and more teaching. The aim should be a functioning student-faculty committee on curriculum reform.

I think that at the university a student should not be denied the rights of free speech and action. There is an under-cover tendency to limit the rights of free speech when the speaker begins to criticize the university, in other words, when he begins to be significant. We don't have the problem they have at Chapel Hill, a speaker ban law, but there is very little controversy on this campus. I would suggest that unless you are prepared to appeal to the faculty for support that you not criticize faculty housing leases and that you be careful in your choice of speakers. We are working for the right of students to hold and disseminate all kinds of political and social views, on and off campus, and the university's support and encouragement of this right.

I would suggest that some parts of the university are run as money machines and that this situation is based on a false premise. The university is short of funds, and students are treated as monetary assets, figures in a ledger and not individuals. Somehow these two things are linked together. A university should not be run like American Tobacco, and a robber baron should not be a university's patron saint. If anything this attitude intensifies the fund raising problem since they will never get adequate funds from the alumni they added and subtracted as students. Our goal should be student participation

in the Duke University stores and in the cafeteria. The policy should be to give students the best cut they can and the logic here says that they should be non profit making. The University should get its money somewhere else.

It is true that most of my points could be subsumed in a ferocious blast against in loco parentis. Most families are not run democratically, and neither are universities. The attitude that determines the fact that students are excluded from decisions is the one that says that our parents delivered us over to the university for care and supervision and that we are not capable. Neither was the less than 20 shilling freeholder capable of voting. But in particular, girls should be able to decide on hours, to leave school for weekends without special permission, to drink if they want--Why go on? They should be able to conduct their lives as any girl of 19, working in a cotton mill, conducts hers. Paternalism is debilitating and you can't learn to build sky scrapers from playing with mud pies. There should be a student-faculty committee to regulate student affairs, with an eye to building self-reliance on the part of students.

Lastly, there should be a defined grievance procedure. We should have an unbiased source of appeal and advice. What do you do if a professor disagrees with your politics and lowers your grade? What can a generation of students do about an unfair or incapable professor? Further, how does a student make himself heard if he has criticism of his dorm, his walks, his food--you name it. Democracy would mean that students would share in reviewing plans for dorms, for example, and be able to fulfill a historic role of the student as innovator. Is it out of the question that students in a university dorm

have apartments? That coed dorms be established? The principle is that where students are concerned, students should be able to make their opinions known and to have them have weight, directly.

What I have sketched should demand a little work, the work of students: thinking, analysis, reason. We should derive a mature criticism of the university and perhaps append a student bill of rights. This is a firm basis for action in detail. Individual gripes, the kind you and I have plenty of, should be systematically organized under major headings of wrongs. My system is one, but it could easily be replaced. With a criticism and a list of grievances we should be able to find allies in the faculty. They are as much concerned as we. They want to have closer contact with students, they want reality in courses as much as we do. I don't think they want sleepy conformity and acceptance of the past as the guide for the future. Maybe I speak as an idealistic future college instructor; I hope not.

A coalition is possible on the campus as well as in the community. In both places the coalition could produce democratic reforms and in both places it is made up of the excluded groups in society with many things in common. Perhaps in a new university, students might not have to leave school to find themselves, might not be driven into apathy by concentration on trivia, might be able to serve the society in their traditional role of critic. Perhaps then the university might not produce ticky tacky props for the status quo. Perhaps then the society itself might be changed.

SDS

needs staff

Use application Blank enclosed with this Bulletin.

## DECEMBER N.C. . . .

our community action program and ask where it is that we go from here. During the year sharp practical and theoretical questions have arisen out of the experience itself. For example, still unresolved are basic questions of approach such as city-wide membership organization vs. block and community organization, organization around critical national economic problems (e.g., unemployment) vs. neighborhood for family issues (e.g., playgrounds, building codes), and electoral political action vs. direct or economic action. And there is the problem of fitting the community action program into the overall program of the organization, and the question of allocation of organizational resources.

The creation of the Political Education Project as the separate political action arm of the organization has also created a whole new set of debates. To what extent should SDS members involve themselves in Democratic reform activities? How do we see emerging community unions as functioning in American politics? Is coalition politics feasible without an independent base of power? And to what extent has the basic program of SDS become a political program?

There will probably also be some re-evaluation of the Peace Research and Education Project. For example, there are now second thoughts about the viability of the draft as a campus issue. On the other hand, there will probably be discussion of expanding PREP's community action program on the issue of reconverting the defense economy.

The December NC is also the principal meeting for evaluating the campus program. This is true both because of the large chapter representation and because we are in the midst of the school year.

Again the issue of a more directed and coordinated campus program will come up--and along with it the related discussion of allocating more of the organization's staff and money to the campus program and campus organizing. Of particular importance will be the reports of the chapters and suggestions from the chapter delegates on how the national organization might better serve their needs and interests. For example, there have been suggestions for an SDS leadership training institute, for increased regional organization, for more campus travelers and speakers, for a unified student campaign on the campus to raise basic economic questions, for a student march on Washington for full-employment, etc. The question keeps recurring: does SDS have a campus program? If so, what is it? And how does it serve to build the organization and the movement?

Another question is the literature program. Should SDS publish an expensive, slick paper journal? How do we communicate our program to the student? How do we communicate our program to the liberal and labor community? Is SDS devoting enough of its time to critical analysis and publication? If so, what new papers do we have to show for it? What new promotional material is needed?

Finally, there are administrative questions. With the real and perceivable shift of SDS's base off of the East coast and across the country to form a truly national organization, the question of moving the National Office out of New York City has been raised. There is also the related question of unifying the ERAP and PREP offices with National Office, so that the organization does not become schizoid at the top. Always open to review are structures of the national projects and the allocation of financial resources.

Now is the time for chapters to begin



## DECEMBER N.C.

thinking about these problems, and others which will arise between now and December. It should be born in mind that the National Council is "the major policy-making and program body of the organization." The chapter delegates constitute the vast majority of the National Council, there being only 17 at-large members. Every chapter should be represented. Before schools let out for Christmas vacation, it is imperative that each chapter elect its delegates and alternates, and notification of their election be sent to the National Office. Chapters with 25 or less members get one delegate, larger chapters get two.

It should finally be remembered that the NC is open to all interested students, and all SDS members are encouraged to attend. Notification of time, place, and agenda will be mailed to the chapters in early December. At-large members can get this information by writing or phoning the National Office.

P.S. December NC's traditionally end on New Year's Eve. And you know what that means.

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## ELECTIONS . . .

Let me add a few longer-range thoughts on national political strategy.

- As Telford Taylor points out in Grand Inquest, it is one of the tragedies of the McCarthy era that American liberals have come to look upon the congressional investigation as something highly distasteful, merely because it has been abused by the heresy hunters. Congressional investigation can be one of the most effective means of national political education. It has been a basic tool of nearly all American progressive movements. One of the best possible developments of the

next Congress could be wide-spread investigations of some of those "undebated issues" of American society, such as anti-labor practices and union-busting by management (like the famous LaFollette labor-spy hearings which laid the basis for the Wagner Act); civil rights violations and police brutality and illegality North and South; the political power and practices of the great corporations, especially those concerned with the military (like the Nye Committee "merchants of death" investigations); poverty in America, with large chunks of testimony by the poor; urban renewal and what it has become, etc.

- Another tragedy of recent years is that the Left has let the Right monopolize the issues of corruption and bureaucratization. It is indeed curious--and something to be ashamed of--that the investigation of the subversion of American government by private and corporate interests should be left to such conservatives as Senator Williams. Congressional liberals must go on the offensive, both against corporate and military influence in the Executive and equally against their fantastic power in Congress. This must be combined with an investigation and attack on the corruption of the federal bureaucracy, which as everyone knows is controlled by the interests it is supposed to regulate. Further, we need to develop concrete ways of attacking those aspects of governmental bureaucracy which do in fact interfere with the lives of ordinary people. We will never be able to appeal to those who support Goldwaterism because it protects them from legitimate social control, but we must not allow the Right to monopolize the Jeffersonian concept of men competent to direct their own lives.

- Over the next few months we need to develop a program of social legislation which goes well beyond the Administra-

## ELECTIONS . . .

tion's limited medicare, poverty, and civil rights proposals. Bills for a complete revision of the now-inadequate social security program, the massive reconstruction of our urban centers by publicly-responsible agencies (not "urban renewal" by downtown business interests), a "B.I. Bill of Rights for veterans of the war on poverty," the great extension of free public education to break the monopoly of the affluent on nursery schools and college education, revision of anti-union parts of the Taft-Hartley Act, re-establishment of the progressivity of the income tax, etc. should be introduced into this Congress. Congressmen with whom we have contact should be given proposals for such bills and asked to submit them. Interest groups should be organized behind them. Political struggles in which Congressmen and the Administration are forced to debate issues and take public stands may be the fruit of the 1964 elections; if there is adequate power exerted for it, we may see for the first time in our lifetime real national debate over the issues confronting the country.

Clearly a group of young radicals like SDS is not the primary agency through which such change will be effected. But because of our insight into the nature of the problems we face, and because our commitment transcends the immediate political situation, we can play a strategic role as midwife to the potential change.

Send all letters for publication to Bulletin Editor, Helen Garvy, SDS National Office.

## REGIONAL ORGANIZERS

SDS this fall found it necessary to establish a system of regional organizers around the country who could service chapters in the area, organize new chapters, and plan regional activities. The following are the regional organizers:

New England--Dave Smith, 94 Boston Ave, Somerville, Mass.

Pennsylvania--Vernon Grizzard, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

Maryland, Wash. D.C.--Peter Davidowicz, 3220 St Paul St, Baltimore, Md.

South--Archie, Allen, c/o SSCC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn.

Texas, Oklahoma--Jeff Shero, 506 W 12 St, Austin, Texas.

Ohio, Indiana--Ken McEldowney, 2908 Jay Ave, Cleveland, Ohio.

Michigan--Dick Magidoff, 808 Mary St, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Illinois, Wisconsin--Bob Ross and Lee Webb, 1521 E 54 St, Chicago, Illinois.

Minnesota, Dakotas--George Brosi, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.

Oregon, Washington--Jeremy Brecher, Reed College, Portland, Oregon.

### READING RECOMMENDATIONS:

Studies on the Left, Quarterly, \$3.50/year, (P.O. Box 33, Planetarium Station, NY 24, NY) Last issue was excellent.

Conversion Report, Monthly, \$2.50/year. Published by Boston IREP project (144a Mt Auburn St, Cambridge, Mass.)

Freedm North, eight times/year, \$2.00, Published by NSM (514 W 126 St, NY, NY)

Peace News, Special ten introductory issues for \$1.00 from AFSC (160 N 15 St, Philadelphia 2, Pa).

# BULLETIN

STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIETY

JANUARY 1965

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CHASE MANHATTAN...  
PARTNER IN APARTHEID

## SIT-IN PLANNED

In a letter to the Chase Manhattan Bank signed by SDS President Paul Potter, SDS recently called on Chase Manhattan to "cease and desist" in its financial assistance to the racist government of the Union of South Africa. In the probable event that Chase Manhattan refuses to pull out of its multimillion dollar investments and loans, SDS has announced its intention to carry out a sit-in in the Chase Manhattan offices just off Wall Street in New York's financial district. The date set for this action will be Friday, March 19, two days before the fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

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## OVERVIEW OF THE

# FSM

by ERIC LEVINE  
Berkeley SDS

From the beginning, the politically interested, who constitute a minority on the Berkeley campus, as they do in any population, were deeply disturbed by the Administration action restricting political expression. Berkeley had a larger share than most campuses of politically active students, which helps explain why so many stu-

dents—over a thousand—were ready to devote the better part of their time sitting inside and outside Sproul Hall during the 32-hour demonstration, October 1 and 2.

## SDS TO SPONSOR VIETNAM MARCH

Perhaps the most far-reaching decision to come out of the December National Council meeting was the decision to sponsor a Student March on Washington to call for the end of American intervention in the

(cont. p 14)

Who were these students? A questionnaire returned by over 600 of the October 1-2 demonstrators showed that over 70% belong to no campus political organization. Half had never before participated in any demonstrations. Though only 15% were willing to risk arrest and expulsion at the beginning of the demonstration, 56% declared themselves so willing "If negotiations broke down and similar demonstrations were necessary."

At the height of the demonstrations, over 5,000 students gathered in Sproul Hall plaza; at least 3,500 were sympathetic to the aims of the Free Speech Movement.

When the Chancellor moved against four FSM leaders on  
(cont. p 16)



The SDS National Council meeting attended by over 300 students

# SDS NATIONAL COUNCIL

by C. CLARK KISSINGER, National Secretary

Traditionally the December meeting of the SDS National Council is the largest, most representative, and most important in terms of decision making. This year the December NC brought together 16 of the 17 National Officers, representatives from 37 chapters, and hundreds of observers — 296 of whom bothered to register. The meeting, spread over (packed into) four days, was roughly structured along the lines of one day of speakers and panels, one day of workshops, and two days of plenary sessions.

The meeting began with welcoming remarks by Michael Harrington, author of The Other America, and a short address by SDS President Paul Potter. The main event of the first afternoon was a panel of speakers on "Breakthroughs in Student Action." This panel consisted of presentations by Prof. Staughton Lynd, Director of the Freedom Schools in Mississippi last summer; Mike Ansara, from Harvard SDS, speaking on the Noel Day campaign in Boston and the community action centers which grew out of that campaign; Jesse Allen, a resident of Newark, N.J., speaking on the Newark Community Union Project (the SDS community project in Newark); Eric Levine, President of Berkeley SDS, speaking on the Berkeley Free Speech Movement; and Peter Brandon, International Representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, speaking on the North Carolina Student-Labor Project.

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The evening session began with a panel of speakers on "The Organizational Directions of SDS." Here the speakers were David Smith, Tufts University; Jeff Shero, University of Texas; Steve Max, staff of SDS's Political Education Project; and Rich Rothstein from Chicago JOIN (the SDS project in Chicago). Following this panel, the National Council was formally convened and lengthy debate preceded the adoption of the agenda. This debate centered on how the next day's workshops should be structured, and was necessary because different viewpoints on what problems faced the organization led naturally to different viewpoints on how to talk about these problems. The final decision was to split the body into two workshops, one to deal with national student and campus programs, the second to deal with regional and local proposals for political and community organizing projects. These workshops could, in turn, break down into smaller groups.

Preceding the workshops on the second day was an address on Vietnam by journalist I.F. Stone, who reviewed the sordid history of America's intervention in Indo-China.

It is difficult to convey the essence of the two final days of plenary session. The seven typed pages of minutes consist mainly of procedural motions, reflecting the fact that such problems as were solved were talked out rather than voted out. But before discussing some of the unsolved or semi-solved problems, let me first quickly review the definite decisions of the NC: It was decided that the whole problem of who SDS

decided that the whole problem of how SDS should expand its community organization program could best be dealt with by the Executive Committee of SDS's Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) augmented by interested members of the National Council. It was decided that SDS should sponsor a Student March on Washington to call for an end to American intervention in Vietnam, and that SDS would sponsor some form of direct action against the Chase Manhattan Bank around the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. A new program for the Political Education Project emphasizing the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge was adopted. And the decision was made to unify the offices of SDS's various national projects with the National Office, the combined offices to be located somewhere other than New York City.

But perhaps the clearest way to miss the essence of this meeting is to simply list the formal deci-  
(cont. p 15)

# MFDP

by STEVE MAX, PEP Staff

The first round in the challenge to the seating of the Mississippi congressional delegation by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is now over. On January 4th, 1965 a vote of 276 to 149 prevented the House of Representatives from debating a motion by House Majority Leader Albert to administer the oath of office to the Mississippians over the objection of Congressman Ryan of the New York Reform movement. Closing debate prevented Congressman Roosevelt (D - Calif.) from making a substitute motion which would have prevented seating until the matter had been considered by the House Administration Committee. Thus a vote for ending debate was a vote against the MFDP. The Albert motion to seat the Mississippi delegates then carried on a voice vote.

The next step in the fight to have the Mississippi elections declared void because of the disenfranchisement of the Negro population of that state will commence in about a week. The challengers, the MFDP, have forty days to use federal subpoena power to hold hearings and collect evidence in Mississippi. Following that, the challenged congressmen will have the same opportunity to use the subpoena power. Eventually the matter will go to the House Committee on Administration which will refer it to the sub-committee on Elections and Privileges.

Committee assignments for the 89th Congress are being made as of this writing and it is difficult to say how the sub-committee will shape up. In the 88th Congress, the committee was composed of five Southern Democrats and four Republicans who have a total combined ADA liberalism rating of 51. All the members of the sub-committee were returned to Congress this term. When the committees are re-organized for the 89th Congress, more Democrats will be added to the House Committee on Administration. Two liberal Congressmen, Gus Haekins (D - Calif.) and Reformer Jonathan Bingham of New York have already been added.

There are several possible paths that the challenge could take at this point:

- 1) The Sub-Committee could refuse to act, thus killing the challenge.
- 2) The whole Committee could receive a report from the Sub-Committee and then refuse to act.
- 3) The whole Committee could issue a report which would go to the Rules Committee, which could refuse to act.
- 4) The whole Committee could issue a report which could get to the floor of the House.

There are several strategies now under consideration by the MFDP in order to deal with the situation. The long-range goal is, of course, to have a full debate on the floor of Congress, and perhaps even to win. Thus pressure could be brought on Speaker McCormack to invoke the newly-passed 21 day rule to get the Challenge out of committee. This would require that a

member of Congress first make a motion to unseat the regular Mississippi delegation, and that the motion be referred to the Committee on Administration. (The statutory challenge now in process does not have standing in Congress unless a committee reports it out, but a motion made on the floor and then referred to a committee for action could be ordered out of committee again.)

A second method to bring the matter to the floor would be for a member of the House to make the above resolution and then gain 218 signatures on a discharge petition. If the MFDP could gain enough support for this petition, they could also sustain the challenge.

The Civil Rights Commission is due to hold hearings on voting in the beginning of February; and it is possible that, on the basis of the evidence turned up there, the MFDP will not wait until the statutory challenge runs its course some time in July, but will try to invoke the 21 day rule on the discharge petition.

In the meantime, there is still the question of what will happen when the lawyers go into Mississippi and demand the cooperation of federal and local officials in the use of the subpoena power. Chapters should be prepared to picket, demonstrate, send telegrams, etc. in the event that full cooperation is not given the lawyers, and there is little hope that it will be.

#### AVAILABLE FROM PEP:

- \*The roll call on the MFDP vote in Congress
- \*Information on the Challenge
- \*Information on your congressman and your district

#### AVAILABLE SOON:

- \*A detailed background paper on the MFDP and the Challenge
- \*A list of members of the Administration Committee and the Elections Sub-committee

PEP, 119 Fifth Ave., room 309, New York

It is necessary to start contacting Congressmen now to urge them to support the challenge, to pressure Speaker McCormack if a 21 day rule is needed, and to sign a discharge petition if one is circulated. It is particularly important that pressure be brought on the members of the Committee on Administration.

The Challenge offers a superb opportunity to conduct an educational program on campus and in the community. It may be possible to reach those who in the past have been unmovable, since the Challenge is not a matter of one's feelings about civil rights, it is not a question of too fast or too slow, it is not a question of the South solving its problems by itself, it is not a question of Northern agitators, etc.; rather, it is a clear-cut case of Federal law being broken, of the Constitution being ignored and the compact which re-admitted Mississippi to the union being voided. It is a case of what is supposed to be the most sacred American institution--that of the ballot--being scrapped. This makes the challenge just the issue to raise with those who rose in indignation when civil rights workers "broke the law", "sat-in", "disregarded property rights", "trespassed", and "unlawfully and illegally assembled". Now that the "legal" shoe is on the other foot, let's take up the challenge and use this opportunity to the hilt.

# THE CAMPUS SCENE

by HELEN GARVY, Assistant National Secretary

As the first item of business at its recent meeting, the SDS National Council voted to formally recognize the 22 new chapters that had been formed this fall, bringing the new total to 43 chapters.

A quick survey of the activities of these chapters gives an excellent idea of the kinds of programming they undertake and the range of possibilities open to chapters. Chapter activity can be divided into two main categories: education and action. But these categories are broad.

The most common form of education is the use of speakers and this is a part of the program of almost every chapter. Debates are an effective variation of this. Some chapters feel the need for more thorough internal education than can be obtained through a series of speakers. To fill this need, Swarthmore has held successful seminars in the past (for example, on the Negro freedom movement and on Marxism) and is again planning to hold several this semester on topics such as the labor movement, corporations, the political system, radical politics in the American novel. The Baltimore (Johns Hopkins/Goucher) chapter is thinking of holding a seminar on conversion, disarmament, revolution in underdeveloped countries, or socialism.

VOICE, the University of Michigan chapter has just succeeded in getting University credit for a loosely structured, SDS oriented seminar, begun on the initiative of VOICE members. An SDS friend on the faculty is officially responsible for the course but it will be planned and run by the participating students. Reading for the next meeting of the course includes the Port Huron Statement and the Triple Revolution.

Research is one area that has been neglected by chapters. Harvard has done some Jack Minnis type research (see "The Care and Feeding of Power Structures", available from SDS) on the University and the Piedmont chapter is beginning a study of the power structure of North Carolina, and Durham in particular.

Another means of education is through the press. This can mean anything from trying to get publicity for the activities and opinions of a chapter in the campus or local press, to publishing your own newsletter. Many SDS groups publish some sort of newsletter--some regularly, some not; some just for internal communication such as the Boston regional newsletter, a Queens chapter mailing, the Minnesota-Dakota regional mailings, some for wider distribution, such as the U of Michigan "Campus VOICE" and the New York at-large chapter's "Viewpoint" and the more specialized newsletter of the U of Michigan Student Employees Union and the "Conversion

Report" of the Boston PREP project which is produced primarily by students from MIT.

Another major educational device, although a much more complicated one, is the conference. Plans are underway now to hold a series of conferences in as many regions as possible this spring.

Actions such as petitions and leafleting can also be important educational tools. Many chapters have circulated petitions on the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, and several on the MFDP and HUAC.

Almost all SDS chapters have some form of action program, whether on the campus or in the community. Action can be on any issue—civil rights, economic issues, peace, university reform, politics, civil liberties....

Chapters near ERAP community organization projects have generally worked closely with the project, although many problems exist in this relationship—primarily due to the high degree of commitment needed to be an effective community organizer.

Yet many chapters see some sort of a community action as desirable—because of its appeal to students and ability to involve them in something they care about, its value to the community, and its educational value to the student. Many chapters, inspired by ERAP, have begun to survey the areas they are located near to determine the conditions that exist and the issues around which organization can take place. These include Smith, Williams, Queens, Grinnell, NY at-large, Brown/Pembroke, Carleton, Cornell, Vassar, and Harpur. Some chapters, such as the University of Maryland and Southern Illinois University, already have projects of their own, affiliated with but not part of ERAP. The Duke and newly-organized Piedmont chapters are continuing their work with the North Carolina labor project doing union organizing in local plants. Southern Illinois University has also become interested in beginning something like this project and is investigating several unorganized plants in the area.

Many projects are involved in community action short of full-scale organizing projects. Bergen County (a high school chapter in New Jersey), the University of Texas, and Grinnell, for example, have tutorial projects.

Peace is another area for action by chapters. Several chapters—Harvard, Baltimore, and Swarthmore—will be taking a major share of the responsibility for planning the Vietnam March on Washington on April 17. Several chapters have already held speakers (Texas and the U of

(cont. p 17)

# PREP on Conversion

by PAUL BOOTH

The December NC decided that PREP's conversion organizing should be dealt with as part of general community organizing strategy, and that priority should be given to organizing around conversion in present ERAP project areas. This seems fully justified in view of the hard facts of the seriousness of organizing work, and the shortage of skilled personnel to do that work.

There are two major implications of this consensus:

1. For the summer, in addition to the Boston Project, conversion work should be concentrated in either Baltimore, Chicago, or New Jersey, or two or three of those sites. (Inasmuch as a San Francisco project is now associated with ERAP, it would imply that effort to set up a conversion project in the Bay Area would also be appropriate.)

2. For those areas like Seattle, Brooklyn, Denver, and Long Island, for which conversion projects had been proposed (due to the heavy incidence of unemployment resulting from defense cutbacks), some kind of program around the

issue, and short of full-scale organizing commitment, has to be developed.

In order to follow up on the summer project angle, PREP will enter into discussions with the ERAP projects to find out the extent to which those projects feel conversion should be worked into their ongoing, year-round organizing program. A meeting of the PREP executive committee in early spring should make final decisions on where conversion project work will be done starting in the summer.

The more difficult task facing PREP is in evolving a conversion program. Part of that can be done around the nexus of an expanding Conversion Report, the Boston project's monthly newsletter, which is now prepared to go national and needs local correspondents. Secondly, the chapters in defense-impacted areas can work fruitfully on the issue through discussions with unionists, politicians, etc., through setting up research projects in conjunction with faculty, through holding of small-scale conferences on the area's economic problems, and through a number of other projects that must be dreamed up and experimented with.

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## S.D.S.

SDS is a movement of people, organized in chapters or independently, who study and participate in daily struggles for social change. Committed to change in many spheres of society, SDS members, in chapters and projects:

**ORGANIZE THE DISPOSSESSED** in community movements for economic gains. One hundred and fifty students devoted the summer of 1964 to full-time work on SDS projects in 10 Northern and Appalachian cities; 40 continue to work full-time. Movements of welfare mothers, the unemployed, tenants, residents of public housing projects, and others have been organized around their particular grievances.

**PARTICIPATE IN ACTIVITY FOR PEACE** through protest, research, education, and community organization. SDS organized protests and proposed peaceful solutions during Cuba and Vietnam crises, sponsors peace research among students, and is undertaking pilot efforts to organize defense workers for economic conversion.

**WORK FOR CIVIL RIGHTS** through direct action, publication, and support for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. SDS projects in Chester, Pa and Newark, NJ serve as models for Negro movements in the North due to their mass support.

**INJECT CONTROVERSY INTO A STAGNANT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.** SDS participated in the mass demonstrations for free speech at Berkeley and organized national support, pioneered in the introduction of peace courses into college curricula, and initiated the union organization of student employees at the University of Michigan.

**SUPPORT POLITICAL INSURGENTS** in the fight for a government that would promote social justice. SDS produces studies of the political and electoral situation.



# ERAP committee meets

by RENNIE DAVIS

An augmented ERAP Committee, whose size ranged from 45-120 people, met for three days following the December National Council meeting to plan for the expansion of community projects. The discussion, however, ranged the full gamut of "field" problems and created some new ones out of its own dynamic. There is no easy or clear way to summarize the meeting except to say that there was complete consensus about the difficulty of explaining to people who didn't attend the post-NC gathering its significance to the ERAP staff. The meeting produced an incredible "socialization" of people and the most honest and searching confrontation of our organizing work we have had. Rather than attempt the task of summarizing the debates and questions of the three days, this report lists the decisions of the committee. Hopefully the issues raised by the meeting will not be lost but can be continued to be discussed in correspondence, in the Bulletin, and at future meetings.

1. New Projects: New projects were adopted in Boston; Cairo, Illinois; Cedar Heights, Maryland; Knoxville, Tennessee; New Brunswick, N.J.; San Francisco; and Texas. However, a distinction was drawn between projects for which the ERAP Committee assumes full responsibility and projects which participate in ERAP meetings and add to the community dialogue but are not dependent on ERAP for funds and staff. New projects for which ERAP assumes full responsibility are Boston (Dudley Street Action Center) and New Brunswick. Projects to be included in the "ERAP forum" are Cairo (Freedom House), Knoxville, Hazard, Cedar Heights, San Francisco (Freedom House), and Texas.

2. New Jersey Project: It was agreed that ERAP should emphasize regional organizational development in the state of New Jersey. This is not to mean that existing projects are to close down or that they are not to expand in order that new resources may be provided to New Jersey. It is to mean, however, that in publicity, new staff and finances New Jersey is to be emphasized. Projects are to determine for themselves what implications a New Jersey project has for their organizing plans. If any project decides to close down, it would be assumed that the staff released by such a move would go to New Jersey, if possible. If no such decision is made, all existing projects (Chicago, Cleveland, Newark, Philadelphia, Chester, and Baltimore) will be fully supported in their work by ERAP. The Philadelphia project, in the week following the ERAP meeting, decided to close.

3. Staff Allocation: No attempt was made to make staff allocation decisions in the meeting. It was agreed that New Brunswick and Boston particularly needed one new staff person and that every possible effort should be made to meet "minimal" staff needs in every project. The ERAP director is to consult with each project about staff needs and arrange for new staff members to travel to projects where decisions can be made.

4. Mid-West Concentration: There was considerable discussion of consolidation of projects in the mid-West, but no resolution was reached. It was felt that insufficient evidence existed for saying that either Chicago or Cleveland were "better" cities to work in. And it was equally unclear that ERAP could not potentially service both projects. It was agreed that no assumption should exist that either project should close but discussion of mid-West concentration or consolidation should continue, particularly among the staffs of the Chicago and Cleveland projects.

5. Appalachia: Several members of the staff argued strongly that ERAP should give serious consideration to organizing in Appalachia. It was agreed that financial help should be given to Bob Smiddie to work in Knoxville in order to determine how readily a viable organizing project could be established in that area. Some suggested that Rennie Davis and possibly others should consider Appalachia as an area in which to work. Most of the staff felt that work in Appalachia at this time was premature or out of the question for ERAP: that it would drain limited staff away from vitally important work in the North and that other organizations should develop a program in Appalachia.

6. Democracy: It was agreed that democracy is sometimes painful and that it comes slowly, but that for those who wait, it is beautiful.

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For more information on ERAP write to:

Rennie Davis, Director  
ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND  
ACTION PROJECT  
1100 E Washington St., Ann Arbor, Mich.

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JOIN THE ERAP STAFF THIS SUMMER

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# Southern Student Organizing Committee

# STUDENTS IN THE SOUTH

by ED HAMLETT

(Ed Hamlett is on the staff of SNCC, and now on loan to SSOC as a campus traveller.)

A new organization, the Southern Student Organizing Committee, has emerged in the South to work for "a new order, a new South, a place which embodies our ideals for all the world to emulate, not ridicule."

Why SSOC? Certainly a legitimate question. Suffice it to say that there is a need, that no other organization is meeting this need, and that those who formed SSOC feel that it must be met. Another group of students, these black, talked about needs in the spring of 1960. They discussed the problems of communication, coordination, and stimulation within their ranks and of the necessity of extending their concerns and goals for a new order to other students. Perhaps here much of the similarity between SNCC and SSOC ends. Those who organized SSOC emerged at a time when the sit-in movement was almost at an end. SNCC arose out of the sit-in movement, and by the time of the demise of the sit-ins, had largely moved on to other issues. The passage of the civil rights bill was imminent when SSOC got going. Most of the fifty students who gathered in Nashville in April of 1964 had been involved in direct action of one form or another; however, there were many others who were not there who had done absolutely nothing to relieve the sense of guilt which pervaded their consciences. It appeared that the civil rights bill might, in many cases, prevent their getting relief through direct action means. On the other hand, there were many more things to be done just in the area of civil rights, though these required a lot more work and thought than did the organizing of a picket line. And, there were, of course, many broader issues beyond civil rights, but, before we look at these, let's go back to 1960.

At the fall SNCC conference of 1960 there were, by actual count, twelve white southerners. They came out of curiosity, and some "never did anything," as we say. Very few forces were operating to stimulate their involvement. Not many were willing to participate in sit-ins or on picket lines. Some of the organizations which were trying to get white students involved in the South were as follows: Southern Project NSA, through its southern human relations seminar; some state human relations councils made attempts to set up college divisions; and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) which always had existed for the purpose of involving more whites.

In keeping with this central purpose, SCEF, in September of 1961 made a grant of \$5,000 to

SNCC to be used in working with white students. Bob Zellner, a minister's son from Alabama, was selected to work for SNCC on white campuses. A few other white students, some of whom had been associated with the NSA seminar, were active in and around SNCC and CORE. There was limited activity by these and others at the University of Texas, at Florida State and at the University of North Carolina and Duke, with smatterings of interest and action in Nashville, Louisville, and New Orleans.

Zellner, who was on the SDS National Council, was active in SNCC in many areas, but it was not until his second year on what became known as the white southern student project that he got to the campuses to any significant extent. One of his recruits for SNCC was Sam Shirah, another Alabama minister's son. When Bob went back to school in 1963, Sam took over. It is believed by many that the climate prior to 1963 in the South was such that few white southerners would dare to buck the system and face the social ostracism, the irate parents, and the racist school administrations; but the horrible events of that summer along with a certain amount of thawing in the upper and border South brought changes. Negroes now became the "tokens" on the picket lines in many areas.

Stimulated by the press and television coverage of atrocities, many students were ripe for organization. Local student leaders emerged on white campuses as Negroes had in 1960. Some of these in Nashville began talking among themselves. Why not set up an organization that would do the things that the coordinating committee of SNCC had done in 1960-61. They talked with Sam Shirah and others and SSOC was born. At the April SSOC meeting, the students from fifteen campuses in ten states who attended formulated a statement of purpose:

"We do hereby declare, as southern students from most of the Southern states, representing different economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds, growing from birthdays in the Depression years and the War years, that we will here take our stand in determination to build together a New South which brings democracy and justice for all its people."

And there were goals which had to do with these ideals--"full and equal opportunity for all...an end

(cont. p 18)

# PEP

## POLITICAL EDUCATION PROJECT

by JIM WILLIAMS, PEP Director

The debate and discussion around PEP at this NC was exciting and stimulating, even though there were a few rough spots. The PEP staff presented its campus program and presented a new community project based on coalition-oriented theories of organizing as mandated by the PEP committee. In a panel before the plenary session began, Steve Max outlined some of our ideas about the role of students as a minority political group, pointing out that the booming student population would give an enfranchised student body a hefty political leverage. A new paper, For A New Coalition, by Doug Ireland and Steve Max was distributed in the working papers. This dynamic new paper discusses specifically the needs and problems of the Negro-Labor-Liberal coalition. Another working paper prepared by PEP outlined a series of long- and short-range legislative demands.

The PEP campus program passed by the NC consists of:

1. Organizing SDS support of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.
2. Developing a major legislative issue to be decided upon by the PEP committee for a major campus program, e.g., 18 year-old vote, free college education, Clark Full-Employment bill, etc.
3. Continuing and expanding the PEP publishing program.
4. Distributing information and analyses on legislative developments.
5. Developing campus programs on other legislative issues, e.g., Nelson Abolition of the Draft bill, McGovern Economic Conversion for Peace bill, etc.

Oddly enough, there were a couple of extreme-leftist attacks upon the PEP program by some people who called PEP's legislative demands "coffin nails in the caskets of the poor" and who charged the PEP staff with being "agents of the Liberal Establishment on campus."

In view of PEP's strained financial situation, the NC voted to loan PEP \$500, as requested.

PEP's community project did not fair so well. PEP as mandated, had investigated a number of possibilities for a project. Cairo, Illinois was found to be the scene of a rapidly developing

insurgent political movement of poor Negroes and became the choice of the PEP staff to put forth at the NC. Southern Illinois University SDS students had been working since June in the Negro ghettos, doing organizing of people on relief and laying the groundwork for a precinct-level political reform movement in Alexander County. The proposed project fell into trouble when the NC first voted to consider Cairo separately from the rest of the PEP program. The next day, the NC voted to consider Cairo in a meeting of an "augmented" Economic Research and Action Project committee meeting. Although the Cairo project was thriving and had organized more poor than a majority of the other projects, it was turned down and its request for a grant of \$700 was refused.

The PEP staff was disappointed that the members of the committee did not support the Cairo project publicly to the extent that they supported it privately.

PEP activity in the coming period should be exciting. Much activity will be centered around the MFDP challenge and there will be many things happening in the new Congress which will be of importance to the left.

PEP mailings go to the SDS worklist (who should make sure that other people in the chapter see them). If you want to receive PEP mailings yourself, drop a note to PEP, Room 309, 119 Fifth Avenue, NYC 3. Donations will certainly be appreciated.

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### AMAZING FACTS ABOUT PEP

PEP can help you in mysterious ways.  
PEP is your friend.

PEP can tell you how many Negroes there are in your Congressional District.

PEP can tell you the election returns in your district.

PEP can tell you about Right-wing participation in the election in your area.

PEP can answer questions about the poverty bill.

PEP can give you a guide to community political research.

PEP can give you new papers: The March on Frankfort, This is the War that Is, When the Southern Vote was Counted, Johnson With Eyes Open, and For a New Coalition.

PEP can tell you how your congressman voted on the MFDP challenge and the Rules changes.

PEP can give you a picture of Eugene V. Debs.

PEP can send you a catalogue of political and labor films.

# Comments on the N.C.

by RENNIE DAVIS

It was at the December National Council meeting of last December that SDS undertook a commitment to a major organizing push in poor neighborhoods of the North. Since then, the face of the organization has been transformed. It is no longer that of an intellectual youth removed from the world, dissatisfied with the old formulas and answers but convinced

were, but rather convinced that there are new solutions to be tested and worked out. The new face is much more complex, much more strained and uncertain. It is pointed many directions.

While SDS has retained its underlying concern for the student--for finding and developing student radicals and for organizing them to create a new form of political influence in the country--it has also stimulated organization among a significant adult constituency who share many of the SDS values. "We" are no longer simply "students looking uncomfortably to the world we are about to inherit." We are also people with large families, tied to a degrading job or welfare check,

dependent on the world that has been inherited and only beginning to understand the possibilities of changing it. In between the students and the organized poor, there is the full-time ERAP staff. In these seven months, they have brought to SDS sobering ideas about what it means to work in communities and what it means to create democracy.

At the December NC, the ERAP staff raised fundamental questions about how the organization should function and make decisions about the community projects. Questions were posed which seemingly had no answers--what does it mean to have community people "represented" on the NC? Does that mean that the NC is then the best body to make decisions about the community projects? Who "knows" whether a project should be closed down or expanded? Suppose SDS members shared a common ideology but that it meant different things to different people? What would that mean for decision-making? The questions put to the NC by the staff seemed to strip the Council of

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## RENT STRIKE LEADER

# NEWARK RESIDENT ARRESTED

Ida Brown, a Newark resident who has been on a rent strike since July, was arrested on January 6 on trumped-up charges of assaulting her landlord, assaulting a police officer, and resisting arrest. Mrs Brown was released.

The Newark Community Union Project (the SDS Project) had been supporting Mrs Brown's rent strike since July and rallied to her defense. An emergency meeting of the groups program co emergency meeting of the group's policy-making Policy Co

emergency meeting of the group's policy-making Program Committee held the night of January 6 decided to picket and sit-in at the Newark City Hall to protest the arrest. Those plans were suspended, however, when Judge DelMauro, who arraigned Mrs Brown, warned that if any direct or indirect threats were made against the landlord by Mrs Brown or anyone associated with her he would raise her bail so high that she couldn't get out.

The events that led to Mrs Brown's arrest began on December 30 when Ray Shustak, the landlord, forced Mrs Brown and her 5 children (the youngest with a fever of 103°) out of her apartment and padlocked the door, locking all the family's posses-

sions inside.

Early on January 6 a "health inspector" came to the apartment in which Mrs Brown was staying, upstairs from her own apartment, to "see if the place was overcrowded". The same "inspector" was overheard when he visited the building several days before to have said that he would have Mrs Brown either arrested or harmed on January 6. Shortly after the inspector's visit Shustak came to the back door of the apartment where Mrs Brown was staying but she refused to let him in. A while later Mrs Brown went downstairs to her apartment, from which a trucking firm, under orders from Shustak, had begun to remove her furniture, and took some of her belongings out. When she returned upstairs she found the apartment broken into and Shustak and several other men there. The men first arrested Mrs Brown and then pushed her to the floor, arguing about what to do with the children until she took them upstairs to a friend. The men then pushed Mrs Brown to the top of the stairs. A detective behind Mrs Brown pushed her forward and she fell into another detective who was standing in front of her, and the two of them fell down the stairs. The men dragged Mrs Brown the rest of the way to the police car and took her to jail where she was questioned for several hours before being released on \$1000 bail.

# FROM FSM

Dear SDSer:

The fight for free speech at California continues. 800 students face demoralizing and expensive trials. They are charged on three counts including resisting arrest, which is a result of going limp upon being arrested. If a conviction is obtained on this charge, it could set a very unfortunate precedent for the entire civil rights movement.

We must not let the 800 stand alone nor be victimized by the power structure in order to crush the student movement. In order to provide for the defense of the 800, the Free Speech Defense Fund has been established. The Defense Fund is currently asking for the formation of campus-based support groups which will do the following:

- 1) Arrange meetings for discussion of issues involved at California and how they relate to your campus. A tape which will explain the basic issues will be ready soon. Also, FSM speakers will be available on a limited basis.
- 2) Mobilize political support on the campus and in the community for a fair trial.
- 3) Raise funds for defense.

Currently available from the SDS National Office are: An LP record with on-the-spot coverage of FSM events on one side and satirical songs written and recorded by FSM members on the other (@ \$3.95). A "45" EP record with more satirical songs (@ \$1.50). Silk screened posters (@ \$2.00). And Free Speech buttons (@ \$.25).

If you are interested in forming a support group on your campus, request more information from: Free Speech Defense Fund, attention Ed Rosenfeld, Box 448, Berkeley 1, California.

Fraternally yours,

**STEVE WEISSMAN**  
FSM Steering Committee  
and SDS staff

**MARTIN ROYSHER**  
FSM Steering Committee  
and SDS member

## Comments on the N.C. ...

its capacity to make decisions on most of the issues before it, if for no other reason than the time allotted for the conference was eaten away by discussions about how to decide. At the end of the meeting, people recalled that Tom Hayden had asked earlier: suppose that the NC met for four days and at the end of that time it had decided nothing—would that mean that the meeting had been unsuccessful?

Of course there were different opinions about the meeting's success. Those who came because they wanted their particular problem solved or demands met were frustrated. Many were altogether ignored. Those who were coming to an SDS meeting for the first time found much of the discussion incomprehensible. Those who wanted to discuss honestly and searchingly their community work found the forum too large and most of the members inexperienced or unaccustomed to the same problems.

But a substantial number saw the meeting in larger terms—SDS has an organizational structure that is outmoded by its new size and range of problems; that is, the cause of our organizational crisis is good. SDS provides a forum for people in the movement whether they be on the campus or in the community to discuss their work and to share ideas and that forum may be becoming more important than the "organization". An important debate has begun that is far more serious to people than ever before as to how we should use SDS as an instrument for social change.

The issues raised by the NC meeting should continue to be discussed in the organization and should be carried with new clarity into the June convention. That is the only conclusion to be drawn at this time.

\* \* \*

### NOW AVAILABLE FROM THE SDS NATIONAL OFFICE

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "The Berkeley Free Speech Controversy", a documentary history and an analysis by Eric Levine, Berkeley SDS. 15¢</li> <li>2. "Thoughts on Berkeley" by Paul Goodman. Reprinted from the <u>New York Review of Books</u>, 10¢</li> <li>3. "A Strategy for University Reform" by Paul Booth. 10¢</li> <li>4. 2'x3' Free Speech Movement Poster. \$2</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. FSM LP record with songs and documentary. \$3.95</li> <li>6. FSM "45" of satirical songs. \$1.50</li> <li>7. Free Speech Buttons from Berkeley. 25¢</li> <li>8. SDS's "A Free University in a Free Society" button. 10¢</li> </ol> <p>(All profits on 4, 5, 6, &amp; 7 go to the FSM Defense Fund.)</p> |
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# PREP DEFENDED

by TODD GITLIN

The following is an answer to the article by Steve Johnson that appeared in the last Bulletin.

Dear Steve,

You see three goals for a "fruitful program for PREP":

"(1) It would put top priority on the achievement of real disarmament, as the only international arrangement where the national security of each country is protected without the need for retaining armaments.

"(2) PREP would give top priority to the job of converting student attitudes on disarmament. Almost all students today accept the cold war, being blind to any alternative. Converting them means teaching them to see that disarmament is the practical alternative, which they can work for.

"(3) PREP would give top priority to organizing dynamic student groups, in which being a member requires being a leader and recruiting and training others to become leaders."

For simplicity's sake I'll take these up one at a time.

(1) I think none of us in SDS are deluded into thinking that the test-ban and resulting partial detente have eradicated the danger of nuclear war; I think we would further agree that disarmament should be a primary aim of U.S. foreign policy. We see disarmament as urgent in its own right and also important for the freeing of funds for a good society at home. This is not simply a personal judgment; it is set out in some detail in The Port Huron Statement.

The disagreement would come in determining how disarmament can be achieved. You say that cold war coalitions "will retain their public support undiminished until we can convince the public that it is possible to have the national security protected without arms." You indicate that "the root assumption" blocking disarmament is "that national security must be protected with armaments." The implication is that attitudes toward arms in the undifferentiated "public" must be regeared before disarmament is possible. If that be the case, I fear disarmament is impossible; at the least, a long long time off. The only case I know of in which widespread change in public attitudes took place in a short period of

time and resulted in political change in recent America is the case of the prohibitionist movement, and there is even some uncertainty as to the significance of attitude change (as against strategic application of resources in lobbying, etc.) in that case. The approach of Weltanschauung change is that of "long twilight struggle." Moreover, it is not clear to me that attitude change need be as apocalyptic, as total as you indicate, to make disarmament possible. There is considerable evidence that the faits accomplis of Administrations have a good deal to do with the constellation of public opinion. To take one interesting example, national polls were taken before and after the American decision to intervene in the Greek civil war in 1947. Before the decision, a sample was asked, "Are you in favor of American involvement in the Greek war?" About two-thirds were opposed. After Truman began shipping arms to Greece, a similar sample was asked, "Are you in favor of President Truman's decision to support the royalists in Greece?" Two-thirds were in favor--a complete flip-flop. Similar results, though not such pat ones, have been obtained in polls on American attitudes toward Lend-Lease in 1940 and toward intervention in Korea in 1950. Administration policy is always influential, and it can be decisive. Much depends on the way it is promulgated and publicized.

True, Administration faits accomplis are influential with regard to public opinion on attitudes, not belief-systems. But one cannot pursue a strategy for converting belief-systems. In any event, public opinion on disarmament, the test ban, etc. is pacific and favorable. What remains is for government to take advantage of it by pursuing the indicated policy. Since the U.S. government (among others) has not heeded public opinion, one must conclude that public opinion, even belief systems, are not decisive in bringing about disarmament. Something more is required. I simply do not believe that the Administration is hamstrung by public opinion, in short.

To whatever extent it wants disarmament, the Administration is blocked by institutional interests and inertias. These include primarily the various tentacles of the military-industrial complex on one level; on another, the interests of NATO powers in perpetuating the myth of Soviet threat in Europe; on another, the arms race; on still another, widespread misconceptions of the role of a United States beleaguered by revolutions in underdeveloped countries. PREP program is founded on the notion that we can best apply our own limited resources in behalf of disarmament by organizing and educating around two levels of these institutional barriers: the areas of American involvement in the third world, and conversion.



# PREP...

The Third World. I'm generally sympathetic to your remarks to the effect that there is more to the problems of the Third World than American interventionism pure and simple. I agree also that "as far as the countries of the Third World are concerned, the largest problem is to lift themselves up from deep poverty." But I cannot agree that "The major outside drag on their economic progress is not something simple, like American interventionism. It is bigger than that; it is the process of cold war between West and East, as it is being fought out in many Third World countries." Insurgency amidst poverty, as in South Vietnam, would happen regardless of the larger Cold War. It is made more dangerous by the Cold War, but the most effective and compelling argument against American involvement in such situations may not be that involvement is bad because it is tied up with the Cold War, but rather that it is a bad (dangerous) self-defeating way to prosecute the Cold War. What is wrong with interventionism is not that it "sows the seeds for civil wars"; such civil wars may be to the advantage of the countries concerned, and in any case they cannot be avoided given the course of American interventionism--perhaps they cannot be avoided at all.

The fact remains that the economic interests of the have and have-not countries may not even coincide in the long run. Trade policies are at least as important as great power politics in stultifying development in the Third World. Whatever the complexities of the situation, U.S. policy, whichever way it turns, will be heavily responsible for the future of those countries. Thus, true, the issue is broader than American interventionism: it is the total role of America in the underdeveloped countries. In order to educate on this issue, we need to have a program for the American role; I could not agree more emphatically about that. Working on this is one of PREP's major functions in the coming year.

The connection of this function with the achievement of disarmament should be plain. As long as the United States sees itself as world policeman, disarmament is impossible; indeed, if American policy continues along present lines, we can fear the growth of an embattled garrison-state mentality that bodes ill for the prospects of domestic democracy. Thus education to these considerations is of direct importance for disarmament. And the recruitment of the hypothesized "buried academics" to do research and writing for PREP on lines professionally familiar to them promises to create new lines of attachment between "experts" and political activists, with important implications for any developing Left in America.

If I was emphatic in my derogation of "general education" to disarmament above, why do I want PREP to educate widely about American policy in the Third World? Changing specific attitudes

is qualitatively easier than re-orienting entire belief-systems. Second, I believe these attitude changes are more urgent, since public opinion is already generally favorable to disarmament--despite its attachment to the Cold War. Third, the unadorned facts themselves about U.S. involvement, actual and potential, speak a great deal about policy; opinion in this realm tends to flow directly from knowledge.

Conversion. Of course, a conversion organizing effort must spell out the dangers of the arms budget. But I think conversion projects also assume that any concrete demonstration that the economy can afford disarmament, by lessening direct-interest attachments to the arms economy, contributes noticeably to the tolerance of people for disarmament. The point is most powerfully made--as in North Bay, Ontario, last summer--when the two points are argued in tandem, but attitude-change is unlikely as long as interests are directly tied to the arms race.

I don't think anyone regards conversion as a sufficient condition for disarmament; only as a necessary condition, and one that we are in a position to help along. We need to continue fraternal support of peace groups that are arguing the superfluity of arms, but the fact of the matter is that no one else is organizing for conversion. The job falls to us.

Social processes have a way of working in chain reactions. Any demonstration that the defense budget is not sacred contributes heavily to the undermining of the power of the military-industrial combine--as heavily, that is, as we are allowed to contribute--for it allows defense allocations to be determined on their merits, and there our arguments are strong.

The draft. The draft was seen as a good issue for PREP because of its potential for "bringing the cold war home" to students, for illuminating the connections between the cold war and domestic life. Indications are that its potential was highly overstated, and correspondingly the issue is being downgraded in PREP priorities.

"A Neglected Issue--The Stall in Geneva." I have indicated that this is not an autonomous issue as are American Involvements in the Third World and the sanctity of the military economy; it is rather (from the American point of view) a reflection of the institutional barriers to serious consideration of disarmament. That is why "there is no mention of the Geneva disarmament negotiations in the PREP program." (Which is not to say that PREP should not have an analysis of the current disarmament situation. We should, and I'd like you to write it.) True, "there is no suggestion that the stall in Geneva could be made an issue for students today." That is because it cannot be. And, as I think I've explained above, I would rather build constituency "from the ground up" on the issue of American interventionism and role than on the issue of stall in Geneva.



# PREP...

You accuse PREP of having no strategy. We do not have a strategy sufficient in depth to satisfy anyone, although I think we are groping toward it. But how does "the stall in Geneva" become an issue capable of galvanizing large or strategic numbers of students (or anyone) to undertake activity designed to bring the world closer to disarmament? Isn't one lesson of the past several years that a peace movement cannot thrive on issues like test-bans and disarmament? Is disarmament thwarted because of public opinion? No. Saying that disarmament is important is one thing; forging a strategy that organizes people around it, gives them useful tasks along the way, maintains organization in the face of tokenism, is something else again. Everyone is for the Good, but not everything that's Good can be organized for in sustained, coherent, expansible ways.

(2) You ask why the budding detente destroyed the student peace proto-movement, and answer "that nobody was converting the members, nobody was convincing them that larger problems of the cold war also were issues, nobody was convincing them that there is an alternative to the cold war. Having basically accepted the cold war, they were easily satisfied by government initiatives and next-step tokenism." You insist that campus peace groups must be built on long-run concerns--specifically, ending the cold war--in order to survive changes in government policy.

But because you have no strategy for the attainment of disarmament, you have no way of structuring a campus peace group to insure strength and longevity. Saying "individual responsibility" is not enough; there still must be things to do, things whose direct importance or tangible immediacy are apparent. But you propose no such projects, and I find it hard to do so myself. Can you design projects for people that contribute perceptibly to disarmament, other than conversion organizing and Third World education? Can you design ones that produce tangible results, that identify enemies, that enhance group identity, beside conversion organizing, bank sit-ins, and other projects PREP is engaged in? If you could, there would be something more to talk about. It is precisely because people's motives are so fragile in peace activity that projects must be carefully designed. Peace groups on campus have collapsed for lack of such projects.

None of which is intended to deny that long-range perspective is crucial for any campus group, oriented to peace, university reform, or any other radical objective. Any campus campaign for a change in U.S. role in the Third World, against the draft, for campus conversion must at some point indicate and lead to the overarching context of ending the cold war and achieving disarmament. When and how this context is made

plain is a tactical consideration about which nothing general can be said. But in underscoring this point you have contributed a valuable reminder, to ERAP and SDS program generally as well as to PREP.

(3) Finally, there is the matter of what kind of groups we seek to set up on campus. For one thing, you assume that PREP should want to set up peace-only groups; but this is an assumption that seems to me contrary to the lessons of the past four years, contrary too to the lessons of Tocsin "(b. 1960, d. 1964)". The peace issue is not independent of other issues; moreover, it is more vulnerable to desensitizing influences than others. Regardless of organization structure, very few of the active peace groups of the early '60's have come through unscathed.

Even if it were PREP's object to set up peace groups of the traditional sort, however, I wonder to what extent the "membership-as-leadership" notion ever pervaded Tocsin to the extent you imply it did. Maybe you never heard the phrase because it wasn't operative. I doubt that it was ever far more than some semi-noticed rhetoric. All of which is a shame, but not one that a national organization can do much about.

Maybe the only thing I can conclude from all this is that you have not, it seems to me, come forward with a strategy to convert a set of issues into viable organizations. I'm not, on the other hand, convinced that we now have such a strategy, or even the resources to make one good. I would hope that you contribute to this groping. For if anything is true of any strategy, it is that in order even to be fairly tested it needs the plowing, the sowing, the watering that you talk about.

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For more information on PREP write to:

Todd Gilin and Paul Booth, Coordinators  
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EDUCATION PROJECT  
1100 E. Washington St., Ann Arbor, Mich.

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## South Africa . . .

New York's financial district. The date for this action will be Friday, March 19, two days before the fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

Traditionally, American protests against apartheid have been content with condemnation of the Verwoerd regime. They have left the impression that apartheid is a system "way off there over the ocean", rather than a system tied to hidden American and British interests, with U.S. financial institutions providing essential support for the social system that institutionalizes the brutality of Sharpeville. The SDS action against Chase Manhattan is directed at exposing those private and powerful financial interests whose operations typify "the higher immorality". And on the same day, SDS chapters will demonstrate at home and branch offices of other corporations that invest in South Africa.

The role of U.S. corporations and financial institutions in the South African economy is great, and has been particularly significant, perhaps decisive, in maintaining the South African regime since 1960. After the Sharpeville massacre of March, 1960, the subsequent declaration of independence of the Republic of South Africa, and South Africa's decision to go off the pound sterling, foreign capital began to flee the country. It looked for a while in 1961 as if the economy was on the verge of collapse. But the United States came to the rescue. The U.S. Government offered to help in the form of a new Atomic Energy Commission six-year contract for South African uranium, improving the Republic's trade balance. Equally significant, the eighty U.S. companies with investments in South Africa increased their investments in 1961 alone by \$23 million. And \$150,000,000 in dollar loans was extended to the South African government from U.S.-dominated

financial institutions (\$38 million, International Monetary Fund; \$28 million, World Bank and its affiliates), from U.S. lenders not publicly identified (\$70 million), and from two major U.S. banks: \$5 million from the First National City Bank of New York, and \$10 million from the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Since 1961 this pattern of U.S. bailing-out of the South African economy has continued unabated. Where there were in 1960 eighty U.S. corporations with investments in South Africa, there are now at least 160, including many corporate giants (General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Firestone, Goodyear, Armstrong, Eastman Kodak, Dow Chemical, Rexall, Pepsi-Cola, Olin-Mathieson, etc.). In 1963, eleven U.S. banks (Chase Manhattan, First National City, and nine others not publicly identified) extended \$40 million in revolving credit to the South African Treasury. Revolving credit amounts to a loan that is automatically re-lent after the principal is repaid—except for the (low) interest, "revolving credit" is tantamount to a grant.

In short, both U.S. banks and U.S. corporations have been influential in underwriting Apartheid in the past several years. Unfortunately, virtually no public attention has been drawn to these "private initiatives." The U.S. government has, if anything, encouraged these loans and investments.

On January 13 the Directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank raised the quarterly dividend from 47.5¢ to 50¢ a share. The "Chase", whose \$13 billion of assets make it the largest bank in New York, reported 1964 earnings of \$84.7 million, or \$4.04 a share, up 8.9% from \$77.8 million, or \$3.71 a share in 1963.

## Vietnam . . .

Vietnamese civil war. The March, set for Saturday, April 17, will coincide with student Easter vacations and is expected to bring several thousand students to Washington.

The theme of the March will be the exposition of the underlying and basic questions of the war, such as who is fighting whom and why. And the extensive campus preparations and publications leading up to the March will emphasize the facts that the war is producing untold injury to Vietnam, that our participation in that war injures Americans at home by creating an atmosphere in which the government continually

lies to the public and decision making becomes farther removed from public control, and that the time has come for all of us to stand up and speak out.

SDS is actively soliciting endorsements of the March from all interested organizations and individuals. Negotiations are being carried on with the Washington Police toward the end of having the March directed at the Capital building, rather than Willard Filmore's grave or some other nondescript Washington landmark. Present plans call for the production of a March call, and the massive production of leaflets for campus distribution. Grants are being solicited to subsidize bus transportation to Washington.

\* \* \*

# NAT'L COUNCIL...

sions--the problems and hang-ups must also be sorted out. For it is in the growing pains of the organization that its essence is revealed.

To begin with, there was a trilogy of problems which I will call procedural. The first was simply the problem of size. There is no doubt that the size of the meeting (equal to that of our last National Convention) made it unwieldy. Is it really possible to discuss all the concerns of several hundred articulate and diverse people in four days? Is there, in fact, any point at all to a meeting of this size? The second problem was that of how sessions should be conducted. Some delegates, deeply influenced by their experiences in SNCC and in community work, felt that what we had to do was sit down and talk things out, regardless of how long that might take. The question was raised, "Suppose we rush through the debate and 'decide' to do something by a vote of 36 to 33. Will we really have decided anything?" Or, "Suppose we leave here without voting on a single thing. Will the meeting then be said to have been a failure?" Opposed to this view were other delegates who saw the National Council as the executive committee of the organization which had a vast number of problems to be dealt with in only a few days, and this could only be accomplished by the body exercising self-discipline and by the use of formal procedures. But this dispute between the "flab-busterers" and the "formalists" was not resolved, and the meeting limped along under a combination of both. The third problem is that found in any membership organization with a large staff, namely, that the staff represents a more or less coherent body which discusses the problems daily, formulates the problems from its own point of view, and is able to speak about those problems in a more articulate and informed manner. In the case of our own organization, the staff of our community projects injected their own concerns into the meeting to the extent that many important campus issues, such as educational conferences and publications, were never really discussed by the whole body. And for their part, the chapter delegates (most of whom had never met one another before) did not present their concerns forcefully.

After the "procedural" problems, there were what we might loosely refer to as "political" problems. These problems centered mainly about the programs of ERAP and the Political Education Project (PEP). The ERAP staff came to this NC hoping to have a number of very thorny problems resolved. For example, is the ERAP program already spread too thin, and should we regroup and concentrate our staff and resources on two or three of the more successful projects? Should we adopt a state-wide concept of organization and attempt a project in the North like the SNCC Mississippi project? Which of the new projects asking to be affiliated with the ERAP program should be incorporated? At what point can or should the national organization

judge a community project to be a failure and close it down? But important as these questions were, discussion of them was subsumed by the larger question of whether the National Council was the proper body to make these decisions. After all, how can a body composed of campus delegates make intelligent decisions about a situation in which they are not intimately involved? And should they? There are no community representatives voting in the NC. Is this participatory democracy? It was for reasons such as these (and the press of time) which dictated the decision to transfer these questions to an "augmented" ERAP committee (which met for three days following the NC).

The Political Education Project, SDS's non-tax-exempt political action arm, presented another set of problems, for inherent in any political action project is the question of "whose politics?" The PEP staff presented to the NC 1) a proposal for a PEP community project in Cairo, Ill., and 2) a national program with emphasis on the development of campus programs around progressive legislation. The body decided to transfer consideration of the proposed community project to the augmented ERAP committee, where it was subsequently decided not to take the project on (i.e., not assume responsibility for staffing and financing it). And in place of the original national program, Rennie Davis (Director of ERAP) proposed an alternative program which would shift the emphasis to the MFDP challenge, community directed research, and one particular legislative proposal (to be selected by PEP). By a rather close vote, the body opted for the Davis proposal. But the debate and vote tended to reflect also the organization's still unresolved approach to electoral politics. And opinion in the organization still ranges from those who would like to see PEP abolished to those who feel the PEP program for a new coalition to be the only "objectively" radical program.

Finally there were two non-descript problems after the "procedural" and "political" ones. The first concerns SDS's relations with the rest of the American left. The debate over whether our March on Washington should have co-sponsors brought up the old question of how can we maintain our traditional position of openness to all sectors of the left, but avoid having the March destroyed or rendered ineffective by too close association with sectarian left-wing groups. The second was that of where the National Office should be located. Those favoring the mid-West stressed the need of making the office more accessible to the whole membership and getting away from New York, a center of "old left" activity, while those favoring New York stressed the fact that Gotham is indeed the organizational center of the country.

Imagine now all the foregoing problems being debated simultaneously and you have captured the essence of the National Council meeting.

# FSM...

November 28 for actions allegedly committed on October 1 and 2, the active support for the FSM expanded greatly, especially among the graduate students. The Graduate Coordinating Committee and the departmental meetings of teaching assistants called for a strike Friday, December 4. Meanwhile, the FSM called for a sit-in in Sprout Hall. Over 800 students were willing to act as front-line troops in the dispute.

Approximately 15,000 students stayed out of classes from Thursday through Monday to protest the use of police on campus and the support the FSM cause.

It is hard to over-estimate the depth of the impact of the free speech controversy on the Berkeley campus. It seems clear that over half of the entire student body has played a role in support of the FSM at one time or another, from attending rallies, striking and signing petitions, to leafletting and other chores. A telephone survey of 5000 students randomly selected during the weekend following the arrests of the 800, showed 55% of the students pro-FSM and willing to strike.

Along with the impressive numbers who rallied to the FSM banner came evidence of deep commitment from a smaller circle of over a thousand students. Arranging meetings, writing and distributing leaflets, and manning telephones absorbed the attentions of an army of students, mostly independents; at crucial times, several sororities pitched in with needed womanpower.

Another indication of student support is the vast amount of money raised during rallies. These funds enabled the FSM to publicize its position in leaflets and newsletters, to rent loud speakers, and to hire meeting halls. Several hundred dollars were raised at various benefit performances. But the bulk of the money raised directly from among students, faculty, and University employees. At the October 1-2 demonstration, following the suspensions of the eight and the arrest of Jack Weinberg, over \$800 was collected. Money was also sent from other college campuses. In all, over \$2,000 was contributed by students.

Several factors contributed to the broad student support for the FSM. First, the free speech issue itself aroused sympathy; the Administration was unable to present a coherent justification for its regulations and the FSM position was a clear libertarian one which could be easily grasped. Press coverage, which tended to paint a picture of a small group of rebels challenging authority, muddled the issues in the public mind; but it only reinforced the commitment of students who attended rallies and saw for themselves the disparities between the press and Administration viewpoints and the actual course of events.

A major factor drawing student support was the repeated Administration response to the student protest: disciplining leaders. Nothing united the students more than the actions of the Administration--suspending the eight students, ordering arrests, and then after explicit and official faculty repudiation of this course, preferring new charges against leaders for acts allegedly committed two months earlier.

Given all these factors, however, the FSM would never have sustained and enlarged the base of its support were it not for the dedication of the leaders to keep the campus informed of FSM policy and to reach policy decisions by as democratic a procedure as possible.

A continuous stream of FSM literature outlined the demands and tactics planned. It was, furthermore, common knowledge, that the FSM was making frequent overtures to important administrators towards setting up talks on the issue, and that these attempts were not getting very far. Hardly a week passed without several informal meetings and telephone conversations with important members of the Administration--in each case initiated by members of the FSM. At one point, several "moderate" FSM members actually met with President Kerr and thought they had reached a compromise agreement, only to learn the following day that the President had changed his mind.

During several major rallies, the FSM's commitment to democratic procedure was evident. On these occasions, extensive discussion about options open to the FSM took place right at the rally and a voice vote decided the issue. For instance, on November 20, several thousand students assembled across the street from the Regents meeting, learned of the Regents' decision: the rules would be somewhat liberalized, but the Administration would still judge whether speech were "legal" and there would be further disciplinary action against the FSM. A segment of the leadership favored an immediate sit-in. The majority of the students agreed with the position of Mario Savio, that such a move was inappropriate at that time; and the meeting adjourned for the weekend.

Since the press has often minimized the student support for the FSM cause, it should be pointed out here that for a long while, faculty and administration also failed to see how extensive and intensive the student feelings were. A major turning point for the faculty came when hundreds of their brightest students were arrested on December 3-4, and when a majority of their teaching assistants (90% in the Humanities and Social Sciences) went on strike over the issue. At this writing, however, some members of the Administration continue to believe that the free speech controversy involves only a handful of "disruptive elements," and trust that the dispute will end if these people are eliminated from the school.

# FSM...

The organization of the graduate students and their entrance into the policy-making of the Free Speech Movement marked a turning point in the course of the movement. The graduate students were among the most experienced and sophisticated members of the FSM and tended to raise the level of the discussions within the FSM. Furthermore, they were able to call on vast resources of intelligent and hard-working colleagues who had some leverage--the teaching assistants.

Until the free speech controversy, graduate students were unorganized. They were disfranchised from the Student Government (ASUC) in 1959. A few unsuccessful attempts were made during the following years to set up a Graduate Student Association but by the onset of the fall semester 1964, the organization no longer existed.

After the October 2 crisis, the graduate students set up the Graduate Coordinating Council consisting of two elected members from each department. Immediately, the GCC elected seven delegates to the FSM Executive Committee. As the dispute continued, graduates began to take the initiative. They felt deeply about the free speech issue, and especially feared the effect the restrictions on advocacy might have on the civil rights movement in the Bay Area. Graduate students were not convinced that FSM members practiced the right tactics, but they were persuaded of the justice of the FSM aims, and assumed they would have an important influence in FSM councils. This assumption was borne out.

The entry of the graduate students into the Executive Committee of the FSM paralleled an increasing amount of graduate participation in rallies and in the administrative running of the movement, especially in writing literature and handling informal faculty and Administration contacts. Though most graduate students tended to leave direct action to younger quarters, over 20% of the eight hundred students arrested December 3 in Sproul Hall were graduates. As FSM sympathies among graduate students grew, the tactic of a strike became feasible and the possibility was frequently discussed.

The fall 1964 semester of the University of California is generally regarded as the most exciting and dangerous era in its history. Like the loyalty oath controversy of the early fifties the danger came when outside pressures were transmitted by the administration into University policy. But the resistance to the inequities of the policies and the structures generating them has made a difference and has opened great perspectives for university reform in the California university system and elsewhere.

By any standard, save that of those who say that education does not exist outside a classroom

setting, the semester was the most educational in the history of the school. An ever increasing number in the University community were involved in a sophisticated level of dialogue created by a group of students whose main tactic was to continue to clarify the difference between conditions for educational excellence and the reality, and the unfolding of events in which the roles played by various participants became increasingly clear and the relationship between structures and patterns of interest and authority emerged for all to see. By the time of the arrests over 65% of the student body was actively supporting the Free Speech Movement as a result of this educational process.

The Free Speech Movement will continue to live its ideal of uncompromising dedication to principles of democratic participation and free expression both on and off the campus.

---

## CHAPTERS...

Washington) or demonstrations (U of Illinois) on Vietnam. The MIT chapter and others in the Boston area are working with the Boston PREP project, organizing on the issue of conversion of the economy.

University reform, which was almost a dead issue on the campus a year ago, is now far from that. Most of the chapters are considering some action on university reform and for some chapters university reform will be the major activity. The Smith chapter is making plans for a sit-in in the library to protest early closing hours. Several chapters are directing their efforts at changing the student government. The University of Texas will be running a candidate for student body president, Carleton, Roosevelt, VOICE, and others have members on the student government. Harvard is fighting to change student government into a meaningful body.

The University of Illinois formed an Ad Hoc Committee for Student Expression to protest the lack of any student voice in administrative decisions. Duke has been working on issues of in loco parentis and curriculum reform. Queens is interested in working for reasonable library hours, free press, and general lessening of red-tape for extra-curricular activities. The University of Michigan has been concerned with economic issues relevant to students such as university wages and housing costs. The University of Washington has similar plans. Texas is concerned with free tuition, Carleton with press censorship and open-house issues. Pembroke hopes to re-establish an honor system. Vassar wants to change speaker regulations, Simmons wants curriculum changes, Harpur wants off-campus living... The Berkeley Free Speech Movement wants free speech—but more than that, it wants a university quite different from Clark Kerr's concept of the "multiversity"...

# CHAPTERS...

This increase in university reform activity is certainly due in large part, if not almost entirely, to the FSM demonstrations at Berkeley and the campaigns in support of the FSM that were begun on many other campuses. Many chapters, in addition to calling for support for the FSM began to look at and talk about the conditions on their own campuses. And they found that Berkeley was not alone in its need for basic changes in the university. And they began to have hope that perhaps they could have an effect.

Although university reform is seen by some students in a narrow sense on minor reforms, to some it means major reforms in the university and its system of education.

There are many issues, even whole areas, that I haven't mentioned yet—political work of all sorts, civil liberties issues.... The list is really endless. And the possibilities for chapter programs are also endless.

## SSOC...

o personal poverty and deprivation...an end to public poverty...a democratic society where politics poses meaningful dialogue and choices about issues that affect men's lives, not manipulation by vested elites...an end to man's inhumanity to man...a world working toward the easing of tensions of the Cold War with positive emphasis on peace, disarmament, and world-wide understanding." Thus SSOC was to be multi-issue, rather than single-issue, oriented; however, it was realized that most students were there because of their interest in civil rights and equal opportunity for Negroes; it was also realized that much had to be done to arouse interest in the other goals, and that this would take a lot of time and work. Bearing this in mind, much emphasis was given to the desire that SSOC be virtually all-inclusive—that a student, whether he be moderate or radical, could have and would have, yes, even should have, a place in SSOC. All believed that the ability to grow and change is present in every individual; that a person will be respected for what and where he is; and that within and through SSOC he can grow and help others to grow. It was not expected that more than a few would take giant steps but that through increased awareness and involvement, all would grow. This means that stodgy old radicals can learn from groping young moderates (and of course the other way around). Utopian, you say--this desire to be all inclusive? Perhaps. But for years we've been dreaming in the South, and almost always about the wrong things.

So what have you done and what are you doing; you ask. We've placed a lot of emphasis on stimulation through communication. There were 125 students representing forty-three colleges in ten states at our November '64 conference. We talked about civil rights and liberties and academic freedom, and southern history and politics past and present. The varying degrees of awareness

of those present can be illustrated by two questions heard there: "Pardon me, but what is HUAC?" and "When can I come to your campus to talk about what I learned in Cuba this summer?"

Campus groups and individuals are involved in lots of things including: tutorials; university reform; public accommodations testing; picketing "private clubs"; research on urban renewal (Negro removal); meeting Negroes--and meeting whites (and if you don't know what that means, you have a lot to learn about the South); recruiting Negroes to go to previously all-white schools; trying to find someone who has some ideas on conversion; hunting for someone on the faculty who has some ideas (Casey Hayden, who went to the U of Texas, once said, "I was twenty-one before I ever met a full-fledged idea."); labor organizing; fighting gag laws; bitching about "double-jeopardy". While SSOC as an organization cannot take credit for a lot of these things, it has found three campus travellers who believe in its goals and program enough that they are going around telling others like themselves, "spreading the word" as it were. And this Christmas, about 45 people gave up part of their vacation to work in Mississippi.

As of now, SSOC is a predominantly white organization, but the staff has been mandated to work to bring about a truly "inter-racial, inter-collegiate" student organization in the South.

It is not anticipated at present that SSOC will sponsor a summer project, but that we will try to feed people into the programs of other organizations in the South, e.g., COFO, SNCC, and AFSC.

Plans for this spring include a large conference in Atlanta in Mid-March; possibly a spring-vacation Mississippi project; a joint SDS-SNCC-SSOC conference on University Reform in April; and an effort to organize the state of Tennessee around capital punishment. We shall also continue to publish The SSOC Newsletter.

Finally, I want to say something about a bit that everyone else has said something about. For a good century now, at least, there has been a lot of talk about "Southern tradition" and "the Southern way of life." In more recent years, they've written about "the mind of the South" and "the Southern mystique." Mainly this is all about Palegra, Incest, Murder, and Pucky-politeness. And the acronym for all this is PIMP. The pimp for a land and people which has prostituted itself for all the world to ridicule. Then do you ask why do we care, why do we work, when we appear so bitter? Because we, too, are responsible for this pimp and this prostitute. We have sired and suckled them, oftentimes without realizing it. And we who know them best must help them and ourselves and love them. Pimps and prostitutes have always been scapegoats for the morally superior. I wonder what would happen if the former got reformed?

Y'all tell us where the good guys are.

Yes-  
3  
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ter?

# LITERATURE LIST

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ABOUT SDS (all items free; if possible, please contribute for PHS and ANE)

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- I wish to join and enclose ( ) \$1 initiation & ( ) \$2 year dues.
- I am ordering the literature checked and enclose \$\_\_\_\_\_ in payment.
- Please send me information on SDS and mailings for two months.
- I wish to contribute to SDS: \$\_\_\_\_\_ enclosed (contributions are tax-exempt).
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- I am interested in joining SDS staff ( ) now ( ) this summer. Please send me more information.

# **WE OPPOSE INTERVENTION IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

*because...*

1. Such intervention is clearly in violation of Articles 15 and 17 of the O.A.S. Charter and Article 2, Paragraph 4 of the U.N. Charter.
  2. Such intervention will undo all gains in Western Hemispheric relations made by "Good Neighbor Policy", "Alliance for Progress" and The Peace Corp and, indeed, by the lessening of Cold War Tensions since 1963.
  3. Such intervention to deter revolutions claimed by our Government to be incompatible with U.S. interests will, of course, be continual because of unstable political and socio-economic conditions in Latin America.
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The March on Washington--April 17, 1965. Photo--J. Feuerstein

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# BULLETIN

may, 1965

vol. 3 / no. 7

10¢

STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIETY

## CONVENTION BY ROBB BURLAGE

The following is a rough outline of the present plans for the convention (tentatively scheduled for June 9-13, near Chicago).

I. "Institutes"--(first three or four days) such as: (1) an ERAP Institute--for ERAP staff; (2) a radical International Relations seminar--analysis of American foreign policy and world trends, place of peace and anti-imperialism movements in domestic political movement, etc.; (3) "university reform" and free university; (4) campus and regional programming; (5) publications, research, organizational journal and external journal relations, internal education; (6) drama and other art forms as political expression and community activity; (7) Southern political strategy--for SNCC, SSOC, and SDS people to talk about directions of Southern movement in general.

II. Opening day plenary--agenda discussion groups, informal get-togethers, a few speeches or panels for plenary, debate on the agenda. Also, national, regional, chapter reports, etc.

cont. p. 7

## MARCH ON WASHINGTON

BY PAUL BOOTH, WASHINGTON MARCH  
COORDINATOR

On Easter Saturday, under the sponsorship of SDS over 20,000 people came to Washington to protest the whole direction of America's Vietnam policy, and to demand an end to the war. It was the public manifestation of the New Left in America that has mobilized in opposition to Johnson's war, and is further determined to change the conditions embedded in our society that have produced that war.

Buses came from the Deep South, the flooded mid-west, and in large numbers from the industrial northeast, to construct the largest picket line ever to assemble in front of the White House. The March on Washington also constituted the largest anti-war demonstration in the history of the nation's capital.

The Marchers began gathering in front of the White House around 9 am--the first bus to reach Washington contained 40 members of the Mississippi Student

cont. p. 9

Letter Written in Answer to Criticism of Poem  
Written By Todd Gitlin

You say that the new third stanza is "just too polemical for my idea of poetic message." I think the issue is whether polemic and poetry are, here, at odds, not whether you as an editor have the right to cast that judgment. Of course you've got the right--but I'd rather talk about your judgment, to see if I might convince you that there is no inconsistency here. Because if I can't convince you of that then in an important way the poem fails. That matters more to me than whether the poem gets in type: it's a matter of communication, which is--is it not?--the real stuff of publication anyway.

The poem is about obscenity, malady, injury, madness, all masquerading as stable, even pious, normality. It's about some ways in which I was fevered by the disease. My object was to describe, if not diagnose, the disease by taking and reading my own temperature.

You might say that a steady hand would get a better reading than a hand shaking with rage. (Maybe that's the limit of the metaphor.) You would have meant that a slow melancholy irony or a pounding rhythmic despair (foreshadowing apocalypse) would have sufficed to convey Dallas. What you--I--would thereby have implied is that Dallas is only a steady dark mood, a plague that moves in and settles with the inevitability of a long fog. That is, I think, the undercoating of Dallas--but the description falls short if you stop there; that map is flat and lacks the necessary contours. The third stanza and the beginning of the fourth are about peaks (or abysses). To go back to the original metaphor, they are about the shooting pains that characterize a racking disease running its course. Isn't Dallas now known by the name of one of those shooting pains?

So let's grant that Dallas isn't just an unruffled disaster; grant that my mood, likewise, had corresponding peaks and abysses; grant that I thought I could replicate some of Dallas' unbearable consequences--as well as its "normal" ones--by exposing my own;--granting all that, what is the poet to do? Can you describe the shooting pains without shrieking, stamping, hardening, biting your lips? No. The poetry of those exquisitely sickening moments is--polemic: Percy Faith is a rapist. Robert Morris is a witchhunter. See here!--look!--that's who they are!

You say "these shorthands are political not poetic." I guess they are political. They aren't poetic in the sense of tenderness, longing, anguish, melancholy--standard "poetic" emotions--but they are accurate, I think. (if you disagree then we should argue that.) And at that point in the poem, I think harsh accuracy is the appropriate poetry. If it comes unexpected, so much the better--maybe the reader then sees the violence so shallowly cloaked in the dark "normal" mood.

Or maybe not--maybe the poem doesn't do those things; I would like to know. That's the attempt, anyway . . . I want to stop here because over-analysis would make the poem superfluous.

DALLAS, DECEMBER 24, 1964

These Northern eyes a Christmas sun  
burns staring open. It's seventy-five.  
The clean young men glide out to lunch  
in shirtsleeves; well-pressed blouses shine  
as ladies swarm to their shopping hives,  
or click toward a church that looks so fine.  
A thousand streets are dressed so fine.

What the sun burns open it will seal.  
Tinsel's glitter I could bear  
but not the glare of rooted steel  
wound firm about the rotting stuff  
of hope once green.-- I need to hear  
a ballad (one would be enough):  
one common radio song--enough. . .

It's Blowin' in the Wind belied  
by Percy Faith's glib strings, who rape  
its plaint,--The news says a child died  
today, burned by his friends in fun;  
and Lincoln Rockwell asked debate  
with a witchhunter, for men must learn.  
Meanwhile, in offices, men earn.

I flick the switch; no sense avails  
against this pounding gay debauch.  
The sun itself spills golden pails  
of blood upon the shadow form  
of roughest beast in wildest crouch.

Todd Gitlin

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About no jobs:

61/2 percent of all the peoples  
in America  
who could work  
can't

Because there isn't any jobs  
for them

the reason that there isn't any jobs  
for them

is because other peoples runs  
everything

they  
like  
to

they can't let the peoples run  
themselves  
because then they wouldn't have  
nothing to run

no peoples to run  
no Cadillac car

They would just have to run themselves  
they don't like that  
because they don't like  
themselves

which takes money  
Ah Ha

So they gets all the money they can  
which means some people don't get any  
And also they use the newspapers  
they own

and the T.V. and other devices  
to stir up the peoples for war  
And meanwhile they stir up the senate  
And house and generals and various  
white

western imperialistic and paranoid  
groups

And we go to Vietnam  
and the money for jobs

goes to guns

which are made by the peoples  
with cadillac cars  
Which means  
they can now buy another cadillac car

with the money  
they make from the war

the sams money  
that could have made jobs

Almost two million dollars a day  
in Vietnam  
not to mention

dead children

BY JANE STEMBRIDGE

Copies of "The Peoples Wants Freedom"  
by Jane Stemberidge, a portion of which  
is printed above, are available from the  
National Office. The poem was composed  
on a trip through Mississippi.

## THE MISSISSIPPI CHALLENGE BY BRUCE SCHMIECHEN

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge to the primary and general elections held in Mississippi this past year, and to the seating of three Mississippi congressmen, has gone through the stages of formal contest on the floor of Congress, weeks of testimony, compiling of evidence, and presentation of briefs to the Subcommittee on Elections and Privileges. The MFDP challengers now have until June 1 to finish filing briefs, and the contested "Representatives" have until July 1 to reply. During this period the MFDP is asking for heightened student support, particularly through educational activity in local areas.

Students should recognize the critical importance of the Freedom Democratic Party, as the first real political arm developed by the insurgent movement in Mississippi. The attitude developed by the FDP is a new political realism, based not upon the corrupt values of the wheelers and dealers, but on the workability of democratic participation and frank evaluation of political motives and goals. That the FDP delegates would not accept token compromise at the Atlantic City convention was a shock to the manipulators of the system and a step toward proving the effectiveness of grass roots organization outside of the power structure. The refusal meant FDP was challenging established power to make a choice between justice and injustice, instead of bartering for a niche within that power structure. In the words of the Freedom Democrats, "The test was not whether the FDP could accept 'political realism' but rather whether the Convention and the National Democratic Party could accept the challenge presented by the FDP. The convention and the National Democratic Party failed that test."

In terms of the present, the success or failure of the challenge determines whether the rights of the people of Mississippi will be fulfilled or neglected. The challenge is a test of the Congress's adherence to a tradition of misrepresentation, a stagnant view of social change, and loyalty to fellow members of the "Club". In this sense, the representation of Mississippi Negroes alone is not on trial, for the representation of all who believe in democratic government is tested by the decision of their Congressmen concerning the challenge and their ability to influence that decision. With the challenge in Congress, enforcement of the rights of Mississippians is not solely delegated to a local registrar or a red-neck sheriff, but to the symbol of American democracy. The slim Congressional support mustered thus far adds to the overwhelming body of evidence demolishing the theory of "Mississippi as an island of injustice", and points to the more realistic picture of Mississippi as an acute symptom of a national disease. The challenge should be seen by radicals not only as a possible solution to a particular problem, but as an indicator of the national problem and how it might be dealt with. Interest was expressed at the National Council in the possibility of the FDP being the initial step in forming a national independent political network. The outcome of the challenge and the further development of the FDP will be practical tests of the potential of grass roots movements and should provide organizers and community unions with lessons on the form of future political action.

cont. p. 4

FREE UNIVERSITY SUMMER PROJECT  
BY CAROLYN CRAVEN

These are some thoughts on the summer project of the free university which have come out of discussions before and after the National Council meeting and out of the NC itself. It has been the feeling that students and others want and need some type of school (free university may be a misnomer) and that because of time and money that this is impossible for this summer. It was decided that it could probably be effective and profitable for there to be a summer project of people who were interested in working on the idea of the free university and on ideas related to it.

There are many types of activities which people on the summer project should be encouraged to do. One function is that they would begin to do some of the ground work for establishment of a free university for next summer. The types of activities suggested for this are: people should meet and discuss the idea of a free university with potential faculty, people should spend time talking to as many students as possible discussing the idea and to initiate a real dialogue on the concept, tentative fund raising should be done for next year, people should spend time discussing any ideas they have for the free university and write down their thoughts to be widely circulated, and that at the end of the summer a tentative proposal be written and circulated to as many people as it can reach.

There are many other activities in which people should involve themselves which are not directly related to the setting up of a free university for next summer. One feeling is that people will have ideas on which they will want to experiment. For example, if some one has an idea on university reform which they think can be tried at a summer school, then they should try it. If some people think that the free university should at least in part encompass community organizing projects as retreat for staff or by running tutorials for them, then those people should attempt to involve an organizing project. Various people are interested in educational theories and should be encouraged to discuss them with others. Others have suggested that people do research on the university, such as who owns it and what it owns, who runs it, etc. fashioned after the Berkeley study but more extensive in scope and in number of schools it covers. Others feel that someone should take the time to do an extensive study of university reform movements over the past few years, their tactics, where students have met with success and where they have failed, etc. This could be used as a casebook on university reform which could be useful in programming and as a stimulus for discussion. Other people are interested in relating the work of the summer project to the work which Carl Oglesby will be doing on research, publications, internal education, etc. Others want to relate the summer project to the expansion of the organization to include other than political interests and talents, such as writers, artists, film makers. There are many ideas about what people on the summer project can do and there are many things which need to be done. People will be encouraged to do as much as they feel they should do.

There are still several questions about this: such as where it will be, but those decisions made soon. Interest in the free university is important at this point that the discussion be tended to as many people as possible. One thing that this will be done is that there will be a free university institute before the convention for a person who is interested whether they are to participate in the summer program or not. This will provide for people to exchange ideas and to possibly discuss their ideas with "experts".

Anyone who is interested in the concept of a free university or in working on the summer project should write to Carolyn Craven in the national office.

### CHALLENGE...

Along with activity supporting the challenge, we should begin to build support for the voting rights bill. The essence of the FDP position on this is one of support, but with recognition of its weaknesses and potential danger in its present form. The Freedom Democrats emphasize the need for an amendment providing for new elections between six and nine months after the bills pass. If this is not included, the bill will not be in full effect until the expiration of the various elected officials' terms, in some cases 1968. The passage of the bill without new elections could also mean increased terror and intimidation of prospective voters. If avenues of legal harassment are closed, local officials could use heightened economic intimidation and terror to protect their futures, unless their illegal regimes are challenged by free elections as soon as all people have a chance to register.

The voting bill, even with new elections stipulated, should not overshadow MFDP activity. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, an FDP congressional candidate, has expressed concern that the voting bill is an attempt to "choke off" the challenge. Freedom in local organization and independent activity must not be displaced by the proclaimed intentions of legislators. The history of the Negro in America offers ample evidence of this fact. Legislation can be evaded; genuine change, which the challenge demands, cannot be.

Work on educating the public and communicating with Congressmen should be planned extensively. A week of demonstrations calling for new free elections and dramatizing the issues of the challenge will begin May 9. Students are being asked to come to Washington to lobby for the FDP between June 13 and July 14. This is the focus of the summer program. Organization for these activities should begin now--people must be pressured, educated, if need be coerced, into recognizing and meeting the demands of the FDP and the change called for in the challenges.

**SDS National Convention!**

Chicago area, sometime in June -- details to follow.

# ncup organizers arrested in mississippi



As a result of meeting with members of MFDP, Jessie Allen, Barry Kalish, Betty Moss, and J.C. Ackelson of the Newark Community Union Project went down to Sunflower County in Mississippi to discover what it was like to organize in the South. They went to Drew Mississippi to a voter registration project there.

Almost upon arrival to Drew, a local SNCC worker was arrested. Barry, Jessie, and Eddie Robinson, another local SNCC worker went to the Mayor's office to discover where the arrested worker was being held. The mayor refused them the information and told them to leave his office. The three refused to leave. It seems at this point the sheriff also ordered them to leave and they again refused to do so. They were at this point arrested and bail was set. They were held for twenty four hours and tried by a judge who convicted them and sentenced Barry and Jessie to 60 days on the work farm or 500 dollars each for refusing to obey an officer. The hearing was a closed one and they were not given a lawyer.

Barry and Jessie are now on a work farm. In the meantime, MFDP attorney, Henry Aronson has filed a writ of habeas corpus on the grounds that it is a closed hearing and that they were not permitted to counsel. The appeal bond has been set at \$1500 for the two and Aronson is attempting to get it lowered.

If you have not paid your dues yet  
Please do so  
NOW!

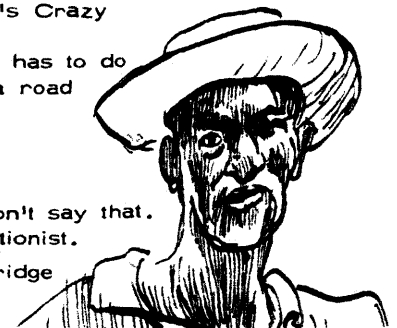
## NATIONAL COUNCIL

By Paul Potter, SDS President

I want to insert a couple of comments to suggest a little bit more about the tone of the post-March National Council. There were two particularly exciting parts to the NC. The first was the general discussion and debate on Vietnam followup which was excellent and raised a long list of questions which need desperately to be raised in each of the chapters and communities where there has been any interest in the war. We really do need to be urged to consider strategically what SDS should be doing about Vietnam, locally as well as nationally. This is not simply a question of what tactic is most effective as the next point in protest; instead the time has come for basic thinking about how we are organizing around the issue. What people are we reaching and how deeply are they being involved. What kind of pressure is needed to end the war and do we really think we can generate it. What possibilities are there for local programs that extend beyond the groups we have thus far reached--and more.

The second exciting element about the meeting was that in small, informally organized working groups of the National Council people discussed at great length a number of the difficult areas that SDS has to deal with and had the kinds of conversations that were creative in describing and thinking about those problems. The reason so little of that appeared in the formal statement of the decisions of the NC is simply because it is difficult to implement many of those decisions. For example the need for intensified internal education in SDS is not something that you can codify. On the other hand one group talked about that problem for a day and a half and came up with an excellent understanding of what needs to be done --some of which is reflected in Robb Burlage's report and suggestions on the Convention--one small portion of the ground the internal education group covered. Other discussions on foreign policy, Vietnam follow-up, University reform and a free university, organizational structure and democracy, and the Mississippi challenge were also productive of a great body of information and inspiration which now needs to be shared.

When peoples goes to visit Bob  
He gets some bread and wine  
Anyone who wants to sleep  
can have a place to sleep  
People say he's Crazy  
and he said:  
What a person has to do  
is help make a road  
Make a school  
build a house  
have a son  
plant a tree.  
Most people don't say that.  
He's a Revolutionist.  
--Jane Stembridge





# new twist in hayden case

The case of Mamie Hayes vs. Tom Hayden, which began as a simple frame-up, has taken a new twist with the power structure seemingly stumbling over itself deciding whom to eliminate.

In response to a complaint by a Mrs. Palestine Watkins, on October 4th of last year, NCUP organizers Tom Hayden and Carl Wittman went to slumlord Mrs. Mamie Hayes requesting that she make repairs and reduce Mrs. Watkins's rent until they were completed. Mrs. Hayes agreed and signed a notarized statement to this effect.

Several days later Tom went to see Mrs. Hayes and asked about the repairs. When he took the agreement out of his pocket the landlady tried to take it away from him, and in the skirmish cut his wrist.

Tom went to the police station to file a complaint, but was told to return later. When he went back to Mrs. Hayes's home he was met by two police officers and a man who claimed to have witnessed the fight. Tom was promptly arrested and charged with assault and battery with intent to kill.

The case was taken to magistrates court, to a grand jury (where the 'intent to kill' charge was dropped), and back to magistrates court on April 5, 1965. The presiding judge was Del Mauro, well-known in Newark for his conviction of Ida Brown and Clyde Wright and for his vindictive statements against the NCUP organizers in the past.

The trial began with a lengthy description by Mrs. Hayes about how Tom Hayden had beaten and kicked her, but the real surprise came when the witness took the stand. Pointing to Tom, he said, "that's not Tom Hayden," and identified Carl Wittman ("that blond boy") as the real assailant. Mrs. Hayes concurred, Judge Del Mauro castigated Tom for impersonating himself, and Carl was immediately arrested. It was this switch that led to the NCUP city Hall protest, in which ten were arrested for sitting in at the Mayor's office.

Judge Del Mauro was persuaded to disqualify himself because of his outburst against Tom, but the trial went right on with a new judge and new defendant.

Carl's trial dragged on for three days, despite motions by both the defense and the prosecution to dismiss the case, despite police records positively identifying Tom Hayden as the real Tom Hayden and despite several witnesses locating Carl somewhere else entirely on the day in question. The decision has been postponed for one month so that the judge can study the transcript. On his decision rests not only the question of who beat whom, but apparently, the very identities of two of our organizers.

## county employe denied right of protest

On April 27th, 1965, at 12 noon, SDS member Michael Tabor was fired from the Montgomery county (Maryland) welfare board for leading a picket line the previous day which protested the unanimous appointment of two self-declared segregationists to the Human Relations Commission of the County. The CORE protest demanded the registration of the entire committee and called for the establishment of a citizens human relations board.

County Manager Mason Butcher said that Tabor was dismissed because his protest "was conduct not becoming a County employee." He said a letter had gone out to the State Welfare Department, which pays most of Tabor's salary.

Welfare Director William Royer said that any employe may criticize the government through proper channels, but does not have the right to attack publicly the bodies that pay his salary. While the County manager had stated that Tabor's action in the picket line was the only reason for his dismissal, Royer said that he would have been dropped anyway when his six-month probationary period ended May 7, both for his previous political activities and because he "had not shown sufficient growth on the job."

Tabor is suing for reinstatement and back pay, although, as a trainee, he does not have the right of appeal to the county personnel board.

"The appointment to the Montgomery County Human Relations Commission of segregationists and my own termination of employment," said Tabor, ". . . is indicative of the county council's views regarding civil rights in racial matters generally."

Tabor is a founder of the University of Maryland chapter of SDS and presently chairman of Suburban Washington CORE. He was instrumental in the now-famous CORE infiltration of a Prince Georges County White Citizens Council chapter, and the White House protest over Selma last month.



Burlage cont.

III. Analytical and issue discussion groups (about 3 days) on topics such as (1) University as agent of social change; (2) Political strategy; (3) Democracy and organizational structure; (4) Foreign policy: Its place and priority; (5) Cultural change and social change; (6) Basic values; and (7) Economic change and political change.

IV. Plenary discussion and debate on a couple of issues plus other resolutions proposed--conclude with election of officers (perhaps a half-day or day).

Interspersed would be after-meal special speakers; a couple of general panels for entire plenary; entertainment; parties; time for regional and chapter caucuses.

Within the broad groupings, some of which might encompass more than 100 persons, diverse panels and debates would be set-up and some would come forth spontaneously, small discussion groups would be staged frequently to break discussion down, spin-offs for people with special interests would be welcome as they arise, etc. People would be free to roam and attend different sessions, but panels would be at least loosely scheduled to be in certain times and a few people would be assigned to keep continuity going in each of the large groups.

One way of breaking down the analytical and issue groups might be as follows:

1. University as Agent of Social Change

- a. Survey of current stage of university reform movement--reports from FSM, various campuses, outside observers--What next? SDS role in this? Project proposals?
- b. Free University or counter-university proposal--what form should it take?
- c. University as a radical agent or recruiting environment in perspective to general movement strategy.
- d. The SDS "chapter" and "community project" and its university "constituency"--problems, potentials, etc.
- e. Role of intellectuals, professionals, etc. qua academic and professional lives--in what sense "radical" and part of movement--"support" roles or "direct" roles?

2. Political Strategy

Concerned primarily with community, regional, and national strategies as effect basic "movements" --"general politics".

- a. "Objective Conditions 1965"  
The Nature of Johnson Consensus and Strategy. Influence of trends of economy, military, corporatism. Are liberals separable from corporatists? Is labor separable from corporatists?
- b. Who is in "our movement"--interracial movement of the poor? Other "independents"? Sympathetic liberals? Can reach "middle class" directly? What forms and allies and splits is civil rights movement taking now? Can link people through "campus", "professionals", "issue movements" (civil rights, peace, civil liberties)?

- c. How independent must "our movement" be? Freedom Democratic Parties, "independent" or broad coalitions? "Counter-society ideas" MFDP and SNCC people on their conception of alliances and the FDP model.
  - d. Range of priorities and "stages" of development for local and regional movements--and for individual radicals--what are real issues --how test them--what must we know through experience? Proposals for research, experiment, further meetings, etc.
3. Democracy and Organizational Structure
- a. Historical perspective--radical politics in America and "internal democracy"--the SNCC experience thus far. Foreign perspective.
  - b. The nature of SDS as a movement--how sensitive to diverse constituency and operate as "national organism" simultaneously: decentralization, less leadership, the need to be sensitive to broad potential constituency; need to be sensitive to "regional" relations, --unweildy nature of national coordination; difficulties of representing SDS "in field"-- need for open-end diversity; ERAPers on field experience that democracy is "local" experience primarily--dilemma of "power" even in this setting; campus people on how to be open to broad group of people there-- how to get "unity" and "division" of labor simultaneously?
  - c. "Theoretical" problems and "practical" solutions?--Limits of "group dynamics" with regional or national scale; how to balance "openness" and "sensitivity with discipline, general consensus, ability to "move" in certain ways regionally and nationally? "Constitutionally how can Convention, Chapter, Regions, Projects, National Council, National Office function to maximize democracy while achieving political directions desired-- what relative role of each and limits of each "practically" and "legally"? How improve "communications systems", internal dialogue, etc?
  - d. Resolutions, Proposals, Issues for debate, proposed constitutional or by-laws or administrative procedures changes--.
4. "Foreign Policy"--Trends, Connections to "Domestic" Issues and Constituency-Building, Priorities for SDS.
- a. "Objective Conditions 1965"--trend of US policies vis--disarmament and arms control, UN and multilateral development assistance, Europe, Communist World, Third World--
  - b. History of "SDS Foreign Policy"--implicit strategic analysis behind this.
  - c. Review of current challenges--responsibilities --looming and continuing, crises, "outrages": expected "future objective conds". Observed and expert research and action needs.
  - d. Shift of new responsibilities to SDS? Significance of March on Washington? International demand. Other organizations view SDS as catalyst and leader.
  - e. Real connections to domestic issues? Community people discuss this--from Newark to Mississippi--Different kinds of connections: general hardening of national system; military over anti-poverty priorities.
  - f. A new "peace and anti-imperialism movement"
  - g. Limits of SDS "foreign policy"--how specific? how heavily weighted in terms of local

Burlage cont.

activity. How "general" SDS leadership relations to other groups--keep independence or freely enter cooperative sponsorship? Dangers of losing community base? Dangers of attracting too much national pressure too soon? Dangers of isolating position on campuses? Balanced against responsibilities and potentials.

- h. Resolutions on SDS analysis, program priorities, procedures for carrying out "foreign policy" programs, etc.

Cultural Change and Social Change

- a. Alienation and Politics--cultural roots
- b. The artist and politics
- c. Art and community politics as education, participation, leaven to political life, advertisement of concerns (ideas, "case studies").
- d. "Personal" rebellion and politics--meaning of "sexual revolution", youth revolt, "hip revolt", etc.
- e. Can SDS expand its programs, purposes, "community" to encompass these "multi-dimensional concerns and individuals without losing its basic political "discipline" and trajectory?

Basic Values

Take hard look at "value section" expressed in 1967 Huron Statement and SDS expression of values explicitly or implicitly since then--begin with reverse panel of persons viewing "SDS values" from different perspectives.

Economic change and political change: "contradictions" and "trends"

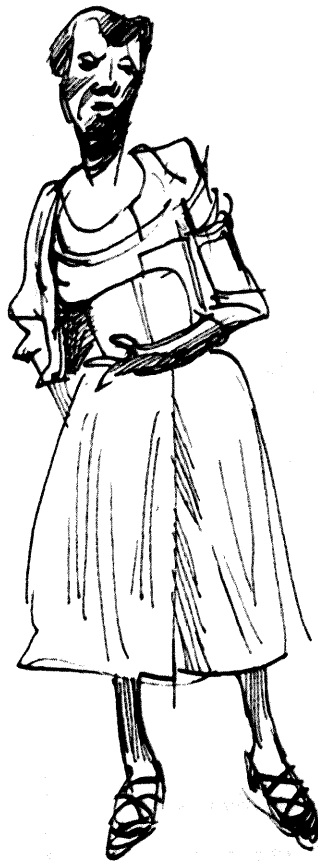
- a. Automation: how visible, how cataclysmic, how fast? Toward more leisure or new kinds of work?
- b. Economics: its "uses" for the movement.
- c. War on poverty: "opportunity" or total sell-out.
- d. Corporatism: how manageable in the public interest?
- e. Economic trends: looming crisis or dogged internal stagnation?
- f. Defense Conversion: boom or crisis?
- g. What's "ripe" for organizing?
- h. Community surveys--how useful for organizing? How "unitary" is local power?

Two kinds of panels might be of such general interest that they could be held during general sessions.

The first might be entitled: "As Others See Us" --bringing together four people of diverse backgrounds who are friendly to SDS but are from entirely different perspectives and with entirely different expectations, to talk about the role they would like to see SDS play nationally and their criticisms or praise of SDS's role thus far (the more critical the better!)

The second might be on "The New Left vis-a-vis Johnson's Consensus"--with a range of "political viewpoints".

If you are moving please send your new summer and fall address to the SDS National Office!



There are rich people and poor people  
There are rich people and poor people.  
Middle class people are the same as rich people.  
They have more things than they need  
Poor people dont have the things peoples needs.  
Like warm clothes for winter  
and food  
Blankets  
and bouses and bread.  
The reason poor people dont have what they need is  
Because somebody took it away  
Thats what it means to be rich  
It means stealing from somebody else.  
To be poor it means to be hungry  
and cold  
and  
ashamed



Because in America poor people are blamed.  
Rich people are praised  
People say that God has blessed and chosen them.  
Their money is a sign that they are good.  
People in America have sayings  
They say:  
"God helps the man who helps himself."  
When people see a very rich man  
People Say: "He must be living right."  
But when they see a poor man  
They say: "Bum."  
Poor white people in the South are called trash.  
Trash is something you throw away.  
That's what happens to poor whites in the South  
And to poor people everywhere.  
Amen.

Booth cont.

Union, high school students come to say that the war was doing to Vietnam the opposite of what they hope to do for Mississippi.

By 11:30 the picket line completely encircled the White House as three trainloads from New York brought by SDS and Women Strike for Peace arrived. At 12:30, the long line started to walk down 15th and 17th streets to the Washington Monument grounds, where for 45 minutes marchers filed into the open-air Sylvan Theatre.

As the marchers filed in, Phil Ochs, Bill Frederick, and the Freedom Voices sang about the war and what we would do with the peace if it could be won. Bob Parris, a SNCC field worker, gave the first speech of the program, and set the mood of the rally by talking about Alabama and Mississippi sharecroppers and the question of war in Asia.

He was followed by journalist I.F. Stone who dissected and disposed of the official rationale of the fighting. Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale talked about the movement of faculty, about the demand for genuine commitment that we are called on to make, and about the anti-democratic direction in which the U.S. is moving.

Senator Ernest Gruening followed Lynd, giving an unequivocal denunciation of the War. Gruening had been under considerable pressure not to appear from right-wing columnists and from the administration. He ignored the pressure, assisted the march coordinators in overcoming the resistance of the Park Police to staging the march down the mall, and was rewarded by receiving much greater press coverage for his position that it had previously been afforded.

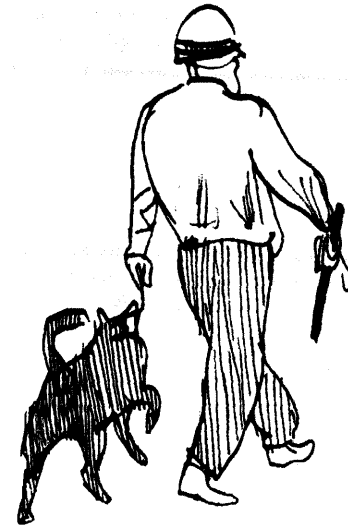
Judy Collins then sang "The Times They Are A-Changing." Mrs. Carol King substituted for Iva Pearce of the Cleveland Community Union, saying that poor people in America are direct victims of the war in Vietnam, which is foreclosing the chances for a serious attack on poverty by wasting the money in Asia and by turning America into an armed camp. Mrs. Pearce's son had been in an auto accident the previous day, and Mrs. King read her speech. Paul Potter gave the final speech, articulating the radical analysis of the march, identifying extent of the task by arguing that the issue of democracy could not be avoided, and pleading that the marchers take up the serious work of organizing a new left to oppose war.

#### MOOD OF THE MARCH

As the press noted, the mood of the march was militant. The Sylvan Theatre audience responded most vigorously to the strongest stated speeches of Prof. Lynd, and SDS President Potter, whose concluding address brought the whole assemblage to its feet.

As well, the marchers communicated to each other their shared commitment to carry on the task of building opposition to the war. Only an imperceptive press (of which there was a healthy representation) could miss the observation that a real movement against the war was represented in Washington.

cont. p. 10



The real and exact job of a cop: STOP  
STOP

That is also true  
of executive committees  
and every government and  
organization in the whole world

except  
small quick ones

and plain people  
who love.

Jane Stembridge

sds national office  
is moving to chicago  
may 14

new address: 1103 E. 63<sup>rd</sup> St.  
Chicago 37, Ill.

Booth cont.

Potter's speech was the most successful in meeting the standard of the march planners that each of the speeches go far beyond the simple statement that the war is bad. He emphasized that the roots of the war are embedded deep in our soil, and that "if we were serious about ending the war", we would go home to engage in the hard work of building a movement committed to the achievement of democracy in America and conscious that the issues of war and peace, of jobs and freedom, and of the free university, must be solved by people in movement.

Following Potter's call for the construction of such a movement, the 20,000 marchers proceeded up the Mall to the foot of the Capitol, singing "We Shall Overcome" (led by Joan Baez, Judy Collins, Phil Ochs, and Barbara Dane), and then chanting "No More War". The marchers filled the Mall 80 abreast and several city blocks length. (As they approached 1st Street the ground underneath Grant's Monument shook.)

### EFFECT OF THE MARCH

Throughout the weekend, the congressional opposition to the war began to come out of hiding (perhaps due to the March, perhaps to the spirit of the season). Chairman J. Wm. Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee announced opposition to the bombings of North Vietnam, and received backing from other committee members including Dixiecrat John Sparkman (Ala.), and two Republicans--Frank Carlson (Kans.) and George Aiken (Vt.).

In response to this development, the March, and the persistence of substantial opposition as shown in the polls (opponents number over 33% according to Gallup) the administration is sending out truth squads to the campuses and is beginning to blast the peace forces through such high-level mouths as Senator Russell Long and columnists James Reston and Joseph Alsop. And, McGeorge Bundy has agreed to appear in a conferentation with the anti-war academic forces at a national teach-in May 15th.

The March has also served to spur the peace movement to a higher level of activity. One example is the national teach-in, sponsored by Michigan faculty, the originators of the "teach-in". A panel argument between Bundy and three supporting academics and George Cahin, Hans Morgenthau, William A. Williams, and Harry Benda will be piped into halls all over the country. The 15th, Armed Forces Day, will also be marked by demonstrations.

A second response was the national End the War in Vietnam Week called by the SDS National Council for May 3-8. Local groups staged demonstrations, rallies, teach-ins, and other activities culminating in coordinated demonstrations on the 8th, protesting both the war in Vietnam and American intervention in the Dominican Republic.

A third evidence of the growing activity is the beginning of plans for full-time summer programs. A follow-up meeting of 70 local Vietnam coordinators was held the evening of the March, and it proposed

### WANTED: BULLETIN ARTICLES

Please send information on your local chapter activities, demonstrations, community projects, etc.

a general meeting to decide summer program. This conference was held May 9th by SPAC, the Swathmore SDS chapter.

And, a crisis-response committee set up by the national council met April 26th and is circulating a 4-point program including student strike, international action, encouragement of non-cooperation with the war among soldiers, and direct action.

### OTHER ACTION

Although the March was the big show, April 17th saw simultaneous demonstrations in Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and, most important, at the LBJ Ranch. A Houston group, with the help of the U-Texas SDS group, staged a 24-hour, 450-man vigil in front of President Johnson's ranch. The President felt moved to issue an Easter Sunday statement that he had not swerved from his previously stated course of action.

Actually, the biggest show was going on in Honolulu, where the top military hands met during the Easter week to decide on an unannounced policy of gradual introduction of tens of thousands of U.S. combat troops. McNamara returned from this meeting with the statement that attention would now shift back to the guerrilla war. The Marines have begun to engage in distinctly undefensive forays. The Coast Guard is being sent to help patrol the coast. Over 40,000 troops are already in the South, and we should be prepared to see that number increase by as much as 5000 a week.

The remarkable expression of opposition has only succeeded in driving the process of decision-making into deeper secrecy. The days ahead will provide greater and greater challenges to the left as the American entanglement becomes less and less extricable. The heat is on. \* \* \*

The important lesson of the March on Washington is that we are many, and that we can apply a lot of heat ourselves if we so choose. Let us build the movement of opposition that we have begun so successfully.

ERAP is now taking applications for summer and full-time organizers. Write to: Economic Research and Action Project 1100 East Washington Ann Arbor, Michigan

# literature list

## STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

ABOUT SDS (all items free; if possible, please contribute for PHS and ANE)

- \_\_\_ SDS Constitution
- \_\_\_ Port Huron Statement. 64 page manifesto of values and beliefs. Product of 1962 SDS convention. (Especially recommended) (35¢ appreciated)
- \_\_\_ America and the New Era. Analysis of the "American Scene" and strategy for dealing with it. Product of the 1963 convention. (15¢ appreciated)
- \_\_\_ A Movement of Many Voices. Description of ERAP projects and affiliates.

## STUDENTS AND THE UNIVERSITY

- \_\_\_ (10¢) Paul Booth: A Strategy for University Reform
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Todd Gitlin: Student Political Action, 1960-63 -- The View of a Participant
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Al Haber: Students and Labor
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Tom Hayden: Student Social Action (Especially recommended)
- \_\_\_ (10¢) C. Clark Kissinger: The Bruns Strike -- Student Participation in Labor
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Don McKelvey: The Doctrine of Unfreedom, University Reform, and Campus Political Parties
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Eric Levine: The Berkeley Free Speech Controversy
- \_\_\_ (10¢) C. Wright Mills: Letter to the New Left
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Paul Potter: The Intellectual as an Agent of Social Change
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Paul Potter: The University and the Cold War
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Bob Ross: The United States National Student Association. -- A Policy Critique
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Carl Wittman: Students and Economic Action

## CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

- \_\_\_ (10¢) Noel Day: The Freedom Movement in Massachusetts
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Noel Day: A White America in a Non-White World
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Nick Egleson: The Survey and Community Organization
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Warren Haggstrom: The Power of the Poor
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Tom Hayden: Civil Rights in the United States
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Tom Hayden and Carl Wittman: An Interracial Movement of the Poor
- \_\_\_ (75¢) Tom Kahn: Economics of Equality
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Charles LeBeaux: Life on ADC -- Budgets of Despair
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Jack Minnis: The Care and Feeding of Power Structures
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Paul Potter: Research and Education in Community Action Projects
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Swarthmore SDS: Chester, Pa. -- Block Organization
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Nicholas Von Hoffman: Finding and Making Leaders
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Robert Lamb: Suggestions for a Study of Your Hometown
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Rennie Davis: Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

## ECONOMICS

- \_\_\_ (5¢) Bibliography on the American Economy: Lee Webb
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Ray Brown: Our Crisis Economy (new revised edition) (Especially recommended)
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Robb Burlage: The American Planned Economy -- A Critique
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Robb Burlage: This is War? -- An Analysis of the War on Poverty with Emphasis on Appalachia
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Robb Burlage: The South as an Underdeveloped Country
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Committee on the Triple Revolution: The Triple Revolution
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Bob Heifitz: A Draft Program for Eastern Kentucky
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Ken McElDowney (ed.): Readings on Poverty
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Bernard Nossiter and David Bazelon: The New Folklore of Capitalism
- \_\_\_ (10¢) Nyack Conference on Unemployment and Social Change--Working Papers

EACE

- \_(10¢) Nancy Bancroft: The Christian Peace Concern
- \_(10¢) Paul Booth: Economic Conversion and the War on Poverty
- \_(10¢) Dick Flacks and Tom Hayden: New Possibilities for Peace
- \_(10¢) Todd Gitlin: Bibliography of War/Peace Books
- \_(10¢) Todd Gitlin: Deterrence and Reality--Where Strategy Comes From
- \_(10¢) Todd Gitlin: The Case Against the Draft
- \_(10¢) Ken McElDowney: Disarmament and the American Economy
- \_(10¢) Don McKelvey: Economic Development, the Major Powers, and Peace

FOREIGN POLICY

- \_(10¢) David Arnold: Vietnam--Symptom of a World Malaise
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I wish to join and enclose ( ) \$1 initiation & ( ) \$2 year dues.  
 I am ordering literature checked and enclose \$\_\_ in payment.  
 Please send me information on SDS and mailing for two months.  
 I wish to contribute to SDS: \$\_\_ enclosed (contributions are tax-exempt).  
 I am a member: enclosed is \$\_\_ for 64-65 dues.  
 I am interested in joining SDS staff ( ) now ( ) this summer. Please send  
 me more information.





What God is he writes laws of peace and clothes him in a tempest  
What pitying Angel hunts for tears and fans himself with sighs  
What crawling villain preaches abstinence and wraps  
himself in fat of lambs  
No more I follow No more obedience pay

WILLIAM BLAKE

# SDS BULLETIN — VOL. 4

Students for a Democratic Society, 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill. 60637; 312-667-6050

## (SPECIAL EDITION)

LATE, LATE NEWS: The very intense national publicity given to SDS and its program (proposed draft - see infra) has caused us to abridge our previously beautifully laid out title page in favor of some last minute notes on response to the crisis.

First, we in the office view the publicity as the greatest opportunity the anti-war movement has yet had. In the guise of scandalous exposure, we have seen antiwar leaflets photostated on the front page of newspapers with circulations in the millions. We could have been at the mimeograph for ten years, and not reached as many draftable young men with our program as the press has reached for us in five days.

Even the attacks on us are an opportunity for a response of anti-war statements. The important thing is never to let our critics get us debating about communists in the movement, the reactions of Hanoi to marches, the wisdom or legality of draftcard burning. The issue is the war, and we must not let anyone forget it. When Booth was asked today in Washington about draft card burnings, he answered on national TV that it was a trivial point when compared to the burning of villages in S. Vietnam. When LBJ and Katzenbach attacked SDS, we in Chicago announced a press conference to "respond to Johnson." A very large turnout of reporters and cameramen resulted; we said that LBJ wasn't going to deter our anti-war program, and then spent an hour talking about the issues of the war: self-determination, right-wing dictator Ky, lies by the Administration, etc. In short, every attack by the opposition can be used as the occasion for an attack on the war by us, cleverly disguised as a response to the original attack.

We feel that all temptations to respond to Red-baiting, to organize "Defense of SDS Committees," etc. should be strongly resisted. You never win a Red-baiting fight except by ignoring the attack --- refusing to grant the main point that it's a legit. ground of discussion. Civil liberties, too, is an important issue, but not now. To begin arguing about whether someone has a right to protest is admirable, and it may win civil liberties converts; but it also diverts attention from whether a Vietnamese peasant has the right to run his own country.

We also feel that people should remind themselves that Red-baiting can't hurt us internally. The movement itself can't suffer from it. We don't have the kinds of institutional positions which can be hurt by it. SDS people are not going to lose their jobs if someone calls them a Red. Red-baiting, of course, might make the great white middle listen to us less about the war. But as we said above, to respond to the attack will cause even a greater loss. To minimize the loss, talk about the war!

All reports seem to indicate that SDS has grown fantastically in the last few days. Our new visibility on campus seems to have brought people flocking to SDS. Our Harvard organizer reports that he walked into Harvard Yard with 30 membership cards and had to go back for more 1/2 hour later on the day after the first press. He wasn't lying. We just got 50 new membership cards from him special delivery. (+\$100)

In this light, we think that this period should be treated as a prime recruiting period, like the beginning of the term. Tables could be set up again on campus: people who walked by, oblivious, on registration day, might stop now. Meetings could be called to explain SDS to people on the campus. And of course, the furor should give an opportunity to set up debates on, say, war crimes.

People should try to raise money as the opportunity affords. And you should call into the office; don't allow us to stay out of touch with you and with your assessment of the political climate in your area. Perhaps you feel that the above comments are not relevant to you. And, most important, think seriously about how we can keep up the momentum of the movement at this peak. Should we re-evaluate our NC decision about playing down national activity? Should we step up our emphasis of the Nov. 27 March on Washington? Should we encourage another weekend of local demonstrations? How can we get churches, unionists, and others to use the legitimacy we have given to anti-war protest to now come out against the war? -- Rothstein and Shero; 10/21

The Bulletin cover is by Judy Binder, the conclusion of her antiwar series entitled The collage on the address sheet is by W. Edwin Ver Becke, a recent organizer of Artists for Peace and Freedom, focus: War in Vietnam. SDS Bulletin is published semi-monthly (except June & Jan when monthly); opinions responsibility of writer -- unsigned articles responsibility of editor.

# VOTE! MEMBERSHIP REFERENDUM:

The following dialogue presents the two sides of the membership referendum on whether to abolish the offices of President and Vice-President or not. Your ballot is on the mailing flap of the enclosed envelope. Your vote will be counted only if you have paid this year's dues to SDS.

Following is the proposed amendment:

## Amendment:

The offices of President and Vice-President are abolished. The role of President will be filled by a National Council Chairman elected to a term of three months by the National Council at its regular meetings, with the exception of the convention where the election will be conducted in plenary session.

## For Abolition

The President and Vice-President are offices that all standard organizational structures contain. We have continued to elect them as a matter of course without examining their functional roles, tacitly assuming them to be good and necessary. After five months as Vice-President, I have discovered no functional role for the office except to satisfy the yearnings of various rallies, ladies luncheons, and other assorted groups to have a "leader" or national spokesman appear before them. I believe this to be largely true for the President as well.

I think we need to re-examine these offices and abolish them as outmoded forms not in keeping with the spirit of SDS.

SDS is working toward the recognition of the dignity and individual responsibility of men. This belief in the dignity and responsibility of individuals is manifested in our belief that democracy is not only a good ideal, but also a workable one. SDS has

placed emphasis on a democracy of participation, where the people directly concerned with a problem can enjoy the democratic method of effecting its solution. This concept of participatory democracy implies localized organizational forms, in which people, members in this case, can adequately manage their affairs.

The offices of President and Vice-President run counter to this ideal by stressing national figureheads. We must ask, Why do we need national figureheads? The answer, We need a President and Vice-President to give face to the organization, that is, to give national pronouncements to the press that characterize SDS and its thinking, is inadequate.

However, there surely is a need for some policy decisions to be made between National Council meetings. This role is currently assumed by the National Administrative Committee which is elected by the National Council. The President and Vice-President are not necessarily members of this committee.

The passage of this amendment would indicate that the membership desires increased decentralization of power. It would also be an impetus for the concept of functional organization--that is, people within SDS should not be titled other than by the work they perform, for example, printer, fund raiser, campus traveller, or organizer, and that decisions about these areas are best made by the people concerned with them.

There are two factors that one should consider before voting for this amendment. If you believe the creation of the Chairman of the National Council is unneeded, because that too is over-structured, then you may want to vote no. Your other concern should be to the existence of the National Secretary which would then be the most powerful figure in the organization, whose pri-

mary job is political officer, subject only to the review of the National Administrative Committee. Voting for the amendment would signify either you believe that the office of National Secretary will soon be abolished, or that you approve of the National Secretary as the sole and most powerful national organizational figure.

All things considered, I have no difficulty in deciding to vote for the abolishment of my office.

--Jeff Shero

### Against Abolition

In the past, the President of SDS has been a major force in unifying the organization. The role of overseeing and speaking for the organization is a function properly filled by election to the Presidency, and I think abolition of the position would be extremely ill-advised.

The President of SDS traditionally gets invited--because he is President--to speak not only before ladies garden societies, but to groups on campuses where we have chapters. This gives him an opportunity both to present the most articulate "face" of SDS to the students and faculty at that school, and to talk to the members, find out what their feelings are, and over a period of time accumulate enough insight into the state of the organization at its grass roots to be able to come up with an informed view of what's needed.

The organization should have an elected officer in whose political judgment it puts its faith, not only to speak for it, but to report to the members on the political problems faced by the other parts of the organization. This job should not be left to chance, or to hired staff. The election of officers to perform political duties and carry out responsibilities is a sensible habit which we should retain.

--Paul Booth

### ANNOUNCEMENT

# Subscribe!

The cost of putting out the Bulletin is LARGE. Therefore, this year we are necessitated charging money to help defray printing costs. Only One Dollar will guarantee your receiving the Bulletin if you're an SDS Member....Three Dollars if you're not yet a Member.

### FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENT

The Bulletin needs you to send in articles of general interest to SDS Members--also, photographs, drawings, cartoons, poems, etc.

**DON'T PUT IT OFF — ACT NOW!**

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# NATIONAL COUNCIL REPORT

## Staff

A major debate took place at the Indiana National Council over the responsibility of the national office. A close vote of 16-14 between two plans resulted in the preservation of the office of national secretary and the creation of a national administrative committee with which the national secretary shares responsibility for supervision of the office.

The losing motion would have ended the office of national secretary. It sought to place the staff in much greater control of the office.

Much of the debate centered around recounting the decline in functioning of the summer office. Although the first half of the summer was characterized by a financial crisis, during the second half, an office of over a dozen was, the consensus held, beset by considerable problems.

A new staff has subsequently been built up, as follows:

Paul Booth, national secretary  
 Jeff Shero, bulletin editor  
 Don Yost, assistant bulletin editor  
 San Menett, office manager  
 D. Gorton, photo project  
 C. Clark Kissinger, fund-raising  
 Honey Williams, fund-raising  
 Steve Goldsmith, Chicago area  
 Jim Russell, national campus coordinator  
 Jack Kittredge, midwest regional desk  
 Dena Clamage, Vietnam staff  
 Arnelle Douglas, printer

We have a weekly payroll of over \$250.

## Vietnam

At the NC, the Vietnam resolution adopted as the guiding principle of the SDS Vietnam program was the notion that our role at this time is to promote radical education on the campus. Deepening the campus constituency will be the first priority during the coming months, and our programmatic emphasis will be on "action that educates" as

opposed to "action that demonstrates". Our publishing program will be accelerated. Study guides on the third world around which you can easily organize seminars have been prepared, including an excellent one on Vietnam by Steven Rosenthal (10c).

The other priorities, in order, are:

a) Program on the draft: We will be aiming through this program to mobilize opposition to the war among draft-age people. On the campus and in the community we will be encouraging people our age to file form #150--the conscientious objector form--stating their own personal reasons for objecting to fighting. We will train SDS members and others to be draft counselors--giving advice and making known the facts of many ways in which people have stayed out of the draft. We will be printing supporting literature and we will try to convert advice to individuals into public opposition and movement against the war; on campus we will expose the cooperation of the university registrars who identify draftable students for the selective service; off campus we will expose and confront members of the draft boards and we will try to build a movement among draft-age and high school youth. Paul Lauter is writing a short guide to filling out the CO form and is arranging cooperation with other organizations with experience in this area. He is producing a collection of non-religious CO statements that have worked. The full program will be submitted to a membership referendum within the next month.

b) International: We are beginning contacts with other unions of students. We are endorsing in principle the International Student Strike. The student strike would emphasize the tie-ins of American Universities in the cold war. The NC decided that no call should be issued prior to the December NC. Soundings with national unions of students in Japan, Britain, and France had suggested a late November date as commonly acceptable. They will not proceed if

the call does not come from us.

c) Relations with other groups: Relations with the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCC) in Madison: The NC decided it would like to help build the NCC into a genuine coordinating outfit. We urged groups to coordinate the October 15-16 action through it. We are submitting a regular news column to the Bi-Weekly Information Action Report, Box 1995, Ann Arbor, Michigan (\$2), and we recommend that you subscribe to it for movement news. We are publishing an irregular Vietnam Discussion Bulletin, for discussion of strategy.

Also on Vietnam, the NAC, as mandated, created a Vietnam Committee to give political direction to the Vietnam staff. The committee includes:

in Chicago: Paul Booth, Dick Flacks, Nanci Gitlin, and Jeff Shero.

outside: Roger Keeran (Detroit), Marilyn Milligan (Berkeley), someone from the New York committee, and John Maher (Boston). The Vietnam staff and Carl Oglesby are members ex-officio. The Committee is charged with considering proposals for a Second March on Washington as well as week-to-week matters.

## Student Strike

The National Council turned back a move to hold the proposed campus strike this Fall by a vote of 24-10 with 2 abstentions.

The mail ballot, initiated by the Boston regional council, stemmed from dissatisfaction with the National Council's ambivalent decision on the strike.

While endorsing the strike in principle, because of the attractiveness of the tactic, the NC felt that it had to give it time before it became a real possibility.

Currently the Vietnam Committee of SDS is encouraging chapters to gauge and build support by circulating petitions saying "I will participate in a campus strike to end the war."

The strike is seen as especially appropriate on campuses where there exists considerable defense research, or where the Registrar is cooperating with

the Draft by sending in names of students in the lowest 4th of their class, and students are being drafted.

Research on ties between the University and the Cold War, aiming at dramatically exposing these relationships on campuses, is going on at Berkeley, Stanford, and Wayne State.

Other campuses are experimenting with anti-war rallies, teach-outs, etc. that compete with classes and hope to gauge support for an international stay-out.

As well, contacts with international unions of students in France, Japan, England and elsewhere assure us of considerable support to a worldwide call. The Vietnam Committee will have a draft of the Call and a report on dates for the Winter NC.

October 23-25 are the dates for the New England SDS Convention, to be held at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass. The Convention and Workshops will be addressed by Noel Day, Robb Burlage and Carl Oglesby. People can start arriving Friday night. For further information, write the Regional Office Apt. 6, 241 River St., Cambridge, or call the Office at 547-5457.

## RED AMENDMENT

This Summer the SDS National Convention voted to amend the Constitution and eliminate those clauses dealing with anti-Communism.

The reason for this action was twofold: First, these sections were seen as being negative and exclusionary. Instead of attacking particular points of view, it was felt that SDS should take a positive position and affirm what we believe. Second, it was felt that the sections smacked of Red-baiting, and that the New Left should not concern itself with this Old Left tactic. Following is the text of the two sections as amended and as they were prior to amendment.

A. Preamble: (WAS)...It (SDS) maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control

of the decisions which effect them and the resources on which they are dependent. It seeks 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 COUNTERPOSED TO AUTHORITARIAN MOVEMENTS BOTH OF COMMUNISM AND THE DOMESTIC RIGHT.

(IS NOW)...IT FEELS THE URGENCY TO PUT FORTH A RADICAL, DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM WHOSE METHODS EMBODY THE DEMOCRATIC VISION.

B. Article III, Section 2 - Membership (WAS)...SDS is an organization of democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, BUT CLEAR IN ITS OPPOSITION TO ANY TOTALITARIAN PRINCIPLE AS A BASIS FOR GOVERNMENT OR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. ADVOCATES OR APOLOGISTS FOR SUCH A PRINCIPLE ARE NOT ELIGIBLE FOR MEMBERSHIP.

(IS NOW)...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.

MAKE LOVE NOT WAR bumper stickers are now available! The stickers are white on blue, printed on heavy adhesive paper and are 4 X 16". Retail, they are 50¢ each, and wholesale prices on lots of 100 are available on request. Order From: Clayton Ruby, c/o SUPA, 658 Spadina, Toronto, Canada.

# NEWARK CONFERENCE

Reprinted from ERAP Newsletter

The following are reports from participants in the second Community Conference which was held the 28th and 29th of August in Newark:

i am writing about my trip to newarks peaples confrence, and i can truly say that not onley myself but all involve had a joyous time, we all went to get our problems worked out and to make things better among ourselves, and exs-

pecially among the poor people, i do feel that all of us got a great understanding because we let every one talk about his problem and how he felt he should go about ambolishing this problem, at first i had the idea that t-hings would become tiresom and uninter-ested and may i say that i was taken by complete surprise, never before in all of my gatherings had i been completely spellbound, never before have i had the pleasure of listen to poor people like myself make such a fine speech, never again will i doubt the voice and opini-ons of one less fortuneate than some others, how brave and egar they were to protest and march, and if nessary to keep there children out of school in order to let some one know that thye were tired of sending their childrens to old and ugly schools, schools that tought reading two ore more years be-hind better schools, schools..., how they talk about the rich man draining the poor people and thinkin that the poor man is unaware of what is going on, how for years that the rich man has promised to give and never does, i a-long with the rest of the group think it is about time to march and protest and if nessary protest in front of there landlords home if he refuse to fix up his building, but i must say this can not be accomplished if we do not orginize and come to meetings, and stop being satisfie with what they have been giving us, stop listen to there sad and fake stories, with out us they are lost, we do play an important part in there lives...without our poor dal-lars where would they be, without adc Mothers where would the social workers be, and on the other hand why dont we ask them abo it the things there dough-ters do, and some of the places they go, and see if things are as bad as they say we are.

From Cleveland--by Lillian Craig

...the General Assembly was held and Good-byes were said. The atmosphere of the conference was similar to the Cleveland Conference. It was one of Love, Concern and the wanting to better themselves. The problems the people



talked about were so similar you would have thought they had come from the same city in the same state. You would have thought that they were the same race, the same age. The ages of the participants of the Conference ranged from eight months old to possibly in the sixties. The races at the Conference was also a wide range, Nationalities were many, Caucasian, Puerto Rican, Eskimo, Indian, and Negro. Yet, the Conference was one of angry people and one of disgusted people, disgusted at the way the SYSTEM oppresses and dominates them.

The Most interesting thing about the week-end in Newark, I have saved until last and it was the March. It was held in the afternoon on Saturday, between the afternoon workshop and dinner. Like the March in Cleveland, it was to protest the inadequacies across the Nation. A loudspeaker system was hooked up to one of the cars and was used to let everyone know in the downtown of Newark what we were doing and why all the people were there and where they came from. Singing, linking hands together, and people speaking made the March very interesting. The Police cars rode very slowly in the street watching our every move. They lined up and sat in the cars while we rallied around the park. A boy from Selma expressed his sentiment that if the people from Selma could demonstrate for what they believed in, so could we, everyone who is oppressed and is being denied the bare necessities of life along with being denied our own self-respect.

My own feeling about the Conference was one of mixed feelings. One was that it was not able to last longer, one of complete awe that there can and should be a national movement of the POOR. I guess the wanting for the Conference to last longer was one of selfishness, because I didn't want to say Good-bye and I knew I would not be seeing these people again for another possible six months.

But there WILL be another such Conference. There has to be! This time we don't know where it is going to be, but as more and more people come into involvement there has to be another Conference.

I would be interested in putting together a booklet on hitch-hiking if you could get a note in the bulletin asking people to send me information about specific states. I would like especially information on police attitudes on different classifications of highways, and how to get out of major cities. Also a few pitfalls in specific areas -- places not to be, especially after dark.

Send information to:  
G. Dean Zimmermann  
740 East Main Street  
Valley City, North Dakota

## CHAPTER NEWS

Since the March on Washington, SDS has grown enormously. At this juncture in history there are 89 chapters and a membership of around 3,000. The chapters break down into 84 at colleges, one at a high school, and 4 with at-large memberships in cities. However, there is some question about the accuracy of these figures since not all of the chapters have communicated with the national office yet this year and there are chapters forming that have likewise not been heard from.

During the slack summer months 9 chapters were formed. They are: University of Missouri at Kansas City, Houston-at-large, Illinois State University at Normal, Colorado State, Kentucky University, Washington University in St. Louis, Penn State, University of Oregon, and the University of Iowa.

It is likely that in the near future there will be chapters at the University of Florida, University of Nebraska, San Jose State (Calif.), University of Arizona, Central Washington State College, and a possibility of an affiliate at Auckland University, Auckland, New Zealand.

Structurally, the relations of the chapters to the national organization are changing on two levels, both reflecting decentralizing tendencies within the whole framework. The most obvious result has been the subdividing of the country into regions either serviced by offices or travellers or both.

Thus there are regional offices in Boston, New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. These coupled with the work of travellers in the Southwest, Midwest and Ohio have broken down the direct link between the national office with all facets and stages of chapter activity and existence.

On the local level more and more activity seems to be as a result of local initiative and imagination rather than reliance upon traditional modes of activity emanating from a past history of expected concerns of student groups. Thus most correspondence coming into the N.O. is of an informative nature about local activity rather than asking what to do. For that reason most of the dialogue is carried on within the chapter as opposed to between the N.O. and one activist in the chapter. A not unrelated event has been the abolition of officers and resulting change of internal structure in several chapters. The University of Texas sds has, for example, abolished officers and instead has an eleven man executive committee that is elected. Furthermore, any member of the chapter may become a member of the committee by attending the meeting.

As could be expected, the major thrust of the activity is Vietnam with many new chapters coming out of the initial introduction to radical dissent. Teach-ins have been scheduled at Arizona State, Missouri, Rutgers, Nebraska and Southern Illinois University; and Buffalo sds convened a "Congress of Unrepresented People in Exile" at the US Consulate in Toronto. The range and extent of involvement though far exceed that mentioned since the Oct. 15-16 activity was widespread.

The important thing to bear in mind is that the nature of the activity may be changing from a sole demonstrative to an educative function. Several individuals at the N.C. expressed concern about the lack of rigorous analysis within sds of the War and its causes. There have been indications that the feeling is widespread and that the type of anti-war activity is changing accordingly.

Bob Gross from Williams writes, "We

have pretty much decided that at this point we should stress open discussions about various issues such as Viet Nam, community organizing, etc. rather than sponsor teach-ins or faculty debates where the dialogue is constrained. With this in mind, we've done two things. The night after our first SDS meeting, a few people decided they would like to talk about Viet Nam the next night. Two signs were put up announcing that those who would like to discuss Viet Nam should come to the Student Union that night. What happened was: fifty-sixty freshmen spanning the political continuum, came along with about 7 of us. One of the SDS members chaired the thing and just said that we should all talk about Viet Nam. After a few minutes the group decided that some one should just tell the history of the war, NLF, Ho, etc. That led to a really open free discussion. No one harangued, no one laughed at any one else. No one was intimidated. The freshmen were very impressed, both by our seeming grasp of the issues and our desire to talk about those things candidly while still listening to opposing views and then respectfully discrediting those positions distinct from attacking the person who held that view. I believe that we got much more across to those people than did all our organizing for the march last year...."

A negotiated settlement in Vietnam is the goal of the March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam, November 27. Sponsors include: Carl Oglesby, Norman Thomas, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and James Farmer. The march begins at 11 A.M. in front of the White House and there will be an outdoor meeting at the Washington Monument at 2 P.M. For further information contact Sanford Gottlieb, March on Washington, 245 Second St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, LIncoln 6-4868.

Simultaneous with the exclamation of the war and our response has been the increase in red-baiting. The chapters have really been getting the feedback from Fulton Lewis, Jr.'s column that sds at its convention in Kewadin had trained people in guerrilla fighting,

making molotov cocktails, and had been enlisting people for the NLF. (The possibility of suing Mr. Lewis was fully explored. The snag was that it is extremely difficult for an organization to sue an individual for libel unless it can definitively prove that a certain loss of money resulted such as through the withdrawal of a contribution.) People are constantly grilled about that at introductory meetings and it has even reached the point where an ad was run in an Indiana paper citing the information in the column as cause for indignant Indiana citizens to demand the expulsion from the campus of the U. of I. chapter.

The YAFers with their \$25,000 a month budget are also concentrating quite a bit of effort in baiting the nearest sds chapters. Leaders of the University of Kentucky chapter are being harrassed by regular nightly phone calls. Other campuses that have reported heavy right wing and YAF harrassments have been Missouri, Indiana, New Mexico, Arizona State, and the University of Missouri at Kansas City. There are undoubtedly more cases that are just taken for granted and not reported; but the overall trend does seem to indicate that sds chapters have become a more prominent focal point for the attacks of the right wing.

Indicating the veering away of commitment from protest to a deeper involvement in direct confrontation of the system is the chapter interest shown for starting ERAP projects in the college town. Drake in Des Moines is already beginning a project in the East Side Negro ghetto, and Washington University in St. Louis has expressed interest in similar action. Also, interest has sprung up to organize teen-age JD types about the draft as a start and then to go deeper into the issues of economic opportunity and meaningful directions for their lives.

The free university movement is picking up and may have the most lasting effect on the organization by re-routing activity away from strictly political and strategic concerns into a more encompassing radicalism. There are evidences that many chapters are beginning to coincide with counter com-

munities on campuses that are interested in the whole range of gut topics. The fact that a Northern Free Theater is growing out of sds is evidence of this trend.

Free universities are almost spontaneously coming into being in Texas, Florida, San Francisco, New York, and Chicago. These, while manifesting a concern for the social and political context, are studying literature, art, music, and drama; For each of these schools that have been formalized to any degree, there are many more counter communities that have the same orientation. The coincidence of these people with those in the movement is a not insignificant event in the changes from the generation maturing in the 'fifties to that of the 'sixties. The hippy-politico blend will add a whole new dimension to the radicalism of this latest stages of American revolutionary movements.



"WELL, YOUR JOB IS SAFE ... NOW ARE YOU PREPARED TO SACRIFICE YOUR SON?"

The Appalachian Committee for Full Employment needs immediate donations of money, clothes (new and used), food, toys, household items, and other useful goods for distribution during Christmas. The need is urgent: children must have adequate clothing, the office rent for storage must be paid, supplies bought. Send your contributions to: A.C.F.E., 419 Walker Road, Hagar, Ky.

## SDS National Debate:

# the **DECEMBER CONFERENCE**

The September NC established as the highest priority of the organization a membership conference this December to look at ourselves intellectually and organizationally. This new type of conference, SDS' first and unprecedented constituent assembly, should be both the culmination of an autumn of thought and consolidation of SDS and an occasion that launches us into a more conscious thrust of program and common re-examination. The National Council saw the conference tentatively scheduled for December 27-31, as a chance for a new start, a more fruitful approach to our organizational and strategic malaise than the traditional wailing prophecies of organizational doom; but definitely not as a flashy 'all-or-nothing' carnival that leaves everyone with a good feeling but throttles instead of revitalizes.

What is this malaise? A consensus on its nature is hard to come by, but maybe it is a confluence of a number of trends, at least these six: 1) the explosive growth of SDS, particularly after the April march; 2) the demands made on us by America's foreign adventures; 3) the success of the ERAP experiment, posing the question: What now? 4) the inability of the organization to specify roles for its older members or convey its meaning to its newer ones; 5) confusion about the role of a national organization when 'local insurgency' is actually happening; and 6) the severance of values and programs, and a debate on structure (beginning at the Convention and continuing, at this NC) reflecting a recognition of that trend.

Challenging an imperial America which has demonstrated enormous flexibility to date, we owe it to our hopes to be as clear as possible about our identity as a movement. The NC felt we had muddled around long enough and it passed the proposal with a sense of enthusiasm and an insistence that the con-

ference come off.

So critical and chronic are the questions before us that the NC felt the 'us' should be assembled to face them head-on as people who have, all of us, staked something on the success of our joint enterprise. Thus the National Office, the regional staffs and anyone who shares our view of the importance of this re-examination should be doing whatever is necessary to explore these concerns with the entire membership and to bring people - all the members - to the conference. These matters are far too weighty to be borne by the National Council alone, or by small bodies whatever their formal importance is. If the organization is to belong to the membership, the December conference is the time and place to reaffirm that commitment. And to lend some strength to those noble words we hope to raise the money to pay everyone's travel and subsistence.

Technical Details: The NC established a preparations committee consisting of a "Chicago kernel" (Dee Gorton, Steve Goldsmith, Jeff Shero, Lee Webb, Bob Ross, Richie Rothstein, Harriet Stullman, Todd Gitlin) and a bunch of regional people who indicated their enthusiasm (Mike Davis - Southern Calif.; Ken McEldowney - Northern Calif.; Scott Pittman and Bob Pardun - Texas; Steve Max - New York; Dick Magidoff - Ohio; John Bancroft - Philly; and John Maher - Boston). The functions of the committee are to solicit the papers, prepare and circulate an agenda, choose a location for the conference after sounding out the membership (New York and Chicago seem to be prime candidates), and generally to see that people talk about the concerns of the conference; it will meet over Thanksgiving to make final decisions. Anyone who is free and anxious to promote it can be on the committee: let us know if you can work.

For the time being, all correspondence on the conference should be sent to the Chicago kernel c/o Richie Rothstein at the N.O. Full-time staff for the conference are in the process of being recruited - but equally important are commitments to piecemeal travel to stimulate interest and participation. Let us know what chunks you can work on.

If the issues are urgent and no longer ignorable, are decisions equally important? We think so, but we also see danger in rushing pell-mell into decisions before we have a chance to think through their implications. There are several 'possibilities for decisions': conference workshop reports might be published; the post-conference NC might make some decisions; the conference may serve as a sort of 'pre-convention' that would make recommendations to the June convention. We see no need to decide this question immediately, but people should be discussing it and telling us what they think

To impart some structure to the pre-conference preparations, the NC isolated six issue-areas in which relatively short (500-1,000 words) working papers would be written and published in the Bulletin well before the conference. In each case, (with the exception noted below), two papers arguing roughly opposite points are being solicited and will be published soon. But the floor is open for contributions to the debate, short comments and notes as well as formal papers, whether or not they fit into the six categories, (which overlap among themselves) whether they deal strictly with organizational questions, with analysis or program. The more people submit these papers, the better grounded the conference will be.

One further note about these categories: All are intended to raise questions of general belief and strategy in the context of organizational problems and imperatives. The most useful papers will be those that address themselves both to theoretical issues and their organizational consequences. The categories follow:

I. Coalitions with whom? What should our attitude be toward, on the

one hand, the DuBois Clubs, May 2nd Movement, Progressive Labor Party, etc., and, on the other hand, the League for Industrial Democracy, AFL-CIO, Socialist Party, reform Democrats, etc. Need our attitude be clear? Does a clear attitude lead to an exclusionary policy? What is red-baiting? How do we differ from the other groups? Should national attitudes allow for local differences? Why does the issue arise? What is "the establishment"? What values and strategies underlie these attitudes? Initial papers: Robb Burlage, Tom Hayden.

II. Questions of membership turnover, the legitimacy of roles, and organizational style. First, why does membership change so rapidly, and is that bad and if so what should be done about it? Second, is it frowned upon not to be an ERAP organizer? Are only full-time roles becoming legitimate in the organization, and to the extent that's true, what do we think of it? Is the 'guts' of the organization its membership or its full-time staff? Are we excluding people who are not 'political', and if so is that good? What does excluding mean? Third, are we becoming an organization of 'doing what the spirit says do', and if so, what about it? Does the permissive style stem from values, from strategy, from neither or both? Are we 'intellectuals', 'activists', 'rebels', 'revolutionaries', 'puritanical', 'liberated'? In each case, positions should be grounded in both values and strategy. Initial papers: Carolyn Craven, Bob Pardun.

III. Ideology, analysis, and strategy. A. Is there a need for a clear and generally agreed-upon ideology, analysis of the society, and unified strategy? Assuming the need, how far can or should we go toward spelling them out - past the contents of the Port Huron Statement and America and the New Era? What would they look like? Is SDS 'political'? Initial papers: Al Haber, Jeff Shero.

B. Positions and rationales. Assuming the generalized need, what are our attitudes toward particular issues and strategic questions? What is wanted are not papers of the sort, 'Here's my position on the NLF', so much as the form

'Here's why we ought or ought not to take a position, and here's mine', or 'Here are the positions we could take, here are the reasons, and here's what each implies for SDS' identity and its strategy'; and so on for the other issues. Some issues that the Chicago hub of the conference committee regurgitated (they have been in the air for some time)--

---Should our position on US foreign policy be 'anti-imperialist' or 'anti-interventionist' (on both intellectual and strategic grounds)?



#### ANTI-IMPERIALIST OR ANTI-INTERVENTIONIST?

---What is our attitude toward Communist and nationalist liberation movements?

---What is the structure of power in the United States and what is the future of the political economy?

---What is a 'free university'?

---What are 'counter-institutions'? - are they the beginning of power or its abdication?

---What are the levers of change? How much change is 'change'?

---What are the nature and limits of participatory democracy?

But this list is no more than a beginning, suggestive rather than exhaustive. No papers are being especially solicited in this area; people should begin on their own hooks.

IV. Organizational structure. How should chapters order themselves? How should they relate to the national organization, and vice versa? How should the national organization structure itself? Are we building a movement, not an organization? What does it mean to be 'multi-issue', and how do you do it? Should any more new chapters be organized or should the existing ones be consolidated? Why do these issues arise? Again, values, strategy and practical-

V. ERAP. How do we view its strategy of organizing an interracial movement of the poor at this juncture? What is the future of that movement? Is ERAP being de-politicized? What is the role and staying power of the organizer? How should ERAP relate to students? Initial papers: Nick Egleson, Paul Potter. Ity should underlie papers. Initial papers: Mike Davis, Clark Kissinger.

VI. Leadership and democracy. What are they? What is our attitude toward participatory democracy - as a slogan, as an organizational procedure, as a guiding formula for the reconstruction of the political, economic, and cultural order? Is the problem one of having officers, one of diffuse experiences, backgrounds, and educations, one of personal relations? Is there an 'iron law of oligarchy', and if so, what does that say about our goals? What is totalitarianism? Why do these issues arise? Initial papers: Ken McEldowney, Bob Parris - Charlie Cobb.

Needless to say, taking our cue from the NC we take this all very seriously and are waiting to hear from you.

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Todd Gitlin,  
for the Chicago kernel

Gorton, Rothstein, Goldsmith, Webb,  
Stullman, Ross, Shero, Bennett

# VOTE ! Membership Draft Referendum

PREAMBLE: The June Convention decided that any program that might involve legal or political recriminations against the organization should be submitted for membership referendum. The Draft Program has recently been singled out from among our Vietnam programs for attack. Several conservative Senators have called for legal action and columnists have described SDS as organizing for draft-dodging. Although the problem is partly produced by misrepresentation, it is possible that legal action might be initiated against us, in which the government would contend that our advising young people to file for conscientious objection constituted, at this time, an obstruction of the draft or an encouragement of draft evasion. The maximum penalty would be a 5-year sentence and a \$10,000 fine.

This explanation is based on legal advice; we are preparing for an early-November meeting of lawyers to get up a program aimed at meeting the legal needs of the draft program.

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This draft program and this statement will become official only upon the approval of a majority of the members voting.

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At this juncture in the history of the movement to end the war in Vietnam, we are called upon to examine carefully the strategy which guides our activity. SDS believes that the anti-war movement must find ways of organizing a broader base of opposition, and that continuation of student demonstrations of the traditional variety does not accomplish that. Rather, to do this, we must find tools which make the war relevant and central to the people of the United States; which provide opportunities to present both the basic facts and the broad implications and issues of the war in Vietnam; and which open up possibilities for visible protest action against the war. We feel that the anti-draft program provides such a goal for expanding the anti-war movement, as follows:

I. RELEVANCE: The draft is a central factor in the lives of millions of people in various constituencies across the country: eligible men and the families, friends, and teachers of these men.

There are a number of possible approaches to the draftable kids. One is to set up a table outside the physical examination center, distributing leaflets along the lines of "Why are they trying to draft you," urging that kids file Form 150 (request for classification as CO), and getting names and addresses and offering personal help in filling out the form and guiding the request through its many channels. (In all cases, it should be emphasized that filing for CO is strictly legal, unlike "draft refusal.") Another approach is to leaflet a neighborhood and hold a meeting for kids who want to know how they can stay out of the Army -- and oppose the war. A third is to arrange an event, such as a debate between a faculty member and a member of the local draft board and try to get wide attendance. Other confrontations can be arranged with recruiting officers, both on campus and in the community. These approaches should be used politically, keeping in mind the broad context of the war in Vietnam.

High school students are not immediately vulnerable, but they may be upon graduation and they may also be subjected to a barrage of military propaganda and recruitment pitches. Try to get speaking engagements at high schools; try to debate military recruiters; try to organize high school SDS chapters. They should do the bulk of high school organizing, naturally.



## Draft Referendum Cont:

In organizing, special attention should be paid to fraternities, which are already organized groups of men who are sometimes more vulnerable to the class-rank criterion of drafting; to religious foundations, which can help a CO program in many ways; and to faculty, for whom the university-and-draft issues can be the occasion for a commitment to taking sides, thereby sharply breaking with the pattern of two-sided debates. Also, organizations like Women Strike for Peace can be very helpful in appealing to the families of draft-age young men.

II. EDUCATION: Organizing around an anti-draft program provides the opportunity of educating on three main levels:

Basic facts about the war in Vietnam can be presented to draft-age young men in order to reveal the nature of the conflict in Vietnam. It can then be argued that young men should not participate in this war and should file for CO.

Second, the issue of the draft itself reveals the undemocratic nature of our society, i.e., young men are not allowed to make the basic individual moral decision of whether to kill -- or die -- in a war not of their own making.

Third, there is a great deal of talk and rumor about Selective Service's determination to begin drafting students during the winter. The procedure will be that either students in the bottom quartile in their class or 5-year undergraduates will be inducted. For this to occur, college and university registrars will have to resume their former practice (suspended three years ago by many with the permission of the Selective Service) of sending in the ranks of all male students each term. This practice can be used to illustrate the connections between the university and the military establishment. There can also be discussion about other facets of the connection, such as on-campus military recruiting and ROTC. Also, the undemocratic character of many local draft boards (in terms of interests represented by draft-board members: business, military, etc.) can be indicated. In other words, important features of many American institutions can be revealed through the vehicle of the anti-draft program.

With high school students the possibility of an ongoing education-and-action program is considerable. This should be seen to include the roots of the war and of foreign policy, problems of domestic policy, etc., which can be given an intellectual coherence by pointing to all the ways in which the draft issue is linked.

III. PROTEST: The anti-draft program opens up a number of opportunities for the visible expression of protest:

- 1) The act of filing for CO is, in itself, a gesture of personal protest.
- 2) On the campus, attempts should be made to stop the school from turning over the class-rank information, to get professors to refuse to hand in grades, and to organize campus strikes aimed either at classes or exams. When recruiters appear on campus, they should be the focus of attention, challenged to debate, accused by picket signs of participation in war crimes. The same can be done at any time for ROTC officials, especially as part of a campaign to oust ROTC from the campus.
- 3) Demonstrations can be planned to expose or protest the nature and practices of the local draft boards.

Literature: The National Office is preparing a short, simple guide for the completing of Form 150. The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., has an excellent Handbook for CO's (\$.50) which should be used as a resource. Todd Gitlin is doing a revision of "The Case Against the Draft."

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SUPER LATE NEWS: University Chicago students have been filing into the office all morning to sign membership cards. One fellow said, "If you are going to be red baited, I want to be on the list." So far everybody in the new left is rallying to our support, and most liberal elements too.

# OPOSITION STATEMENT

This is in opposition to the proposed draft program enclosed for the approval of the membership.

My argument is concerned with the method of decisionmaking involved in the program and the problem of centralization.

After the week-end of October 15-16 a number of charges were made against the SDS by government officials, in particular, Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, Attorney General of the United States, and Federal District Attorney Hanrahan of Northern Illinois, who felt that the draft program was in possible violation of Federal law. They have begun investigation of SDS in Illinois with a view towards prosecution. Whether this effort is successful or not depends, and most members of the NAC agree, on a number of variables: extent of liberal and civil-libertarian support for SDS, extent to which we are viewed as a real threat to the establishment, and extent of right-wing political pressure. There is, I feel, a lack of adequate analysis of these converging forces and their political relationship to SDS in particular and the anti-war movement in general.

For these reasons I feel that there should be a full organizational discussion of the draft program. The National Administrative Committee is mandated to refer any program that threatens the organization or members within it to the general membership. I don't feel that a simple yes or no on a referendum satisfies that mandate. I propose therefore that regional meetings be held throughout the country to discuss the draft program and its applicability to their area. It is clear that SDS is not the national office but rather the membership and chapters throughout the country. Programs should originate from the membership, not handed down for approval from the national office. The NC was derelict, in my opinion, in mandating the NAC to draw up a program for submission to the membership.

It is my experience that people take greater interest in a program that they have participated in drawing up after a full and exhaustive discussion. I think also that the NO is in such a rarified atmosphere that it limits the sensitivity of those of us who work there towards the problems and feelings of the membership.

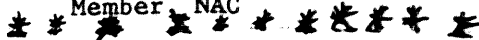
Tactically, centralization allows the government to disrupt the activities of the organization by immobilizing the central office, where national coordination takes place. It is much more difficult for disruption to occur if there are twelve regions that are administering programs within a loose national structure. Finally, it is a stronger political move if regions took over the responsibility for press relations, literature origination, etc., instead of the national office.

I am against pursuing the draft program without an adequate discussion by the membership of its ramifications, politically and organizationally.

If you agree, vote no on the program and request the National Office to initiate conferences at the earliest possible date.

Peace,

D. Gorton  
Member NAC



SDS RESPONSE: ( MONDAY AFTERNOON ) It has just been arranged for Carl Oglesby and Paul Booth to fly to Washington to meet with congressmen favorable to us. They will outline our proposed draft program and discuss the attacks that have been made by right wing congressmen, in an effort counteract them. A press conference will follow.

THE FOLLOWING IS PART OF THE PROPOSED DRAFT PROGRAM. READ IT BEFORE YOU VOTE ON THE REFERENDUM.

IV. LEGAL POINTS:

1) It should be made clear that we do not urge that people, in filing Form 150, act on any basis other than their own conscientious belief.

2) The possibility of legal action on a number of bases should be outlined. A campaign to have grades withheld from the Selective Service System, which might be regarded as a constitutionally-protected activity, might also occasion legal action under the "obstructing the draft" law.

Informational meetings at which questions about draft law are answered might be a basis for legal action on the grounds that, by implication, people were advised to stay out of the army, and that, therefore, the provisions about draft-evasion advice were violated.

These are just two examples of the legal ambiguities of any proposal such as this draft program. Though it emphasises conscientious objection, which is legal, the program will be interpreted as political by a government bent on pursuing the war. Therefore, despite the legal nature of the program, people working in it should not feel immune from prosecution.

3) The brunt of repression is likely to fall on the rank-and-file of SDS. For one thing, there are likely to be more local cases than national ones. For another, local right-wingers, in and out of government, are becoming more militant, and the position of the anti-war movement may begin to resemble that of the civil rights movement in the south.

V. EMPHASIS OF THE PROGRAM: It should be stated again that the whole program should be seen as a part of, and in the context of, the total anti-war effort. When we say "stop the university from sending in class rankings," we do so because this is the university's complicity in the war, because it makes grades and the threat of the draft a weapon against students, and because it divides students from each other.

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If the draft program is approved by the membership referendum, the National Administrative Committee intends to call a National Council meeting to determine how the draft program will be implemented.

STATEMENT IN OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED DRAFT PROGRAM

I am opposed to the adoption of the proposed SDS draft program, and I was asked by the National Administrative Committee to write a statement articulating my opposition. I hope that the points I raise in this statement will spark intensive discussion in chapter meetings in which the issues raised by the referendum are considered, and that these discussions will prepare the way for those at the special meeting of the National Council. I know that the members of the NAC have learned much from the debates they have had and are having on whether or not to have an anti-draft program, what kind to have, how such a program fits into the movement against the war in Vietnam, and how such a program, and the anti-war movement, can help to build a movement for real democracy in America. I only want to raise several points that I hope people will discuss in their chapters.

1) The anti-draft issue is not the best one around which to organize a mass opposition to the war. There spring to mind other issues that have better possibilities. I don't want to go into them here, for my basic thesis is that the anti-draft program raises just those emotional cold-war issues that make it a terrible choice.

2) SDS did not choose the draft-issue as the public focus of its anti-war campaign; the right wing did. And they did so precisely because they know that SDS can be beaten, isolated, and destroyed most effectively by this issue. The

STATEMENT OF OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED DRAFT PROGRAM (continued)

right wants us to have an adventurous draft program. Every good guerrilla knows that he, and not the enemy, should choose the terms, the time, and the place of battle.

3) SDS should be concerned most with broadening the base of opposition to the war, not with escalating the anti-war movement to more militant tactics. Such tactics are excellent when masses of people are with you, but they do nothing but make your isolation obvious when you are alone.

4) If legal (ha!) action is taken against us by the government, it should be because it can no longer tolerate mass dissatisfaction with its foreign policy, dissatisfaction which we articulate and popularize. It should not be because of an anti-draft program; for, though we see the linkage between the war and that program, most people will not -- they will see us only as draft-dodgers.

5) At some time in the future, SDS must reconstruct the history of its anti-draft program. As Rich Rothstein pointed out at a NAC meeting, the experience of the organization following the weekend of October 15-16, which was essentially that the press set our organizational agenda, has grave implications for organizational democracy. We must re-examine our notions of organizational democracy, for this crisis revealed some of their flaws.

I urge the members of SDS to vote NO on the draft-program referendum. Whichever way you vote, I hope that you discuss with your fellow members the issues I have raised; and that when we come together at the proposed National Council meeting, we will be able to discuss them further. I think that the proposed National Council meeting is very important. It will give us an opportunity to discuss our evaluations of the American political climate, the position of SDS and the anti-war movement, concrete programs to broaden the base of opposition to the war, ways of connecting the civil rights and the anti-war movements, and ways of making the university a center of opposition to the war. In a word, the National Council meeting will give us a chance to talk about how we can create a mass movement against the war and for a democratic America.

-- Lee Webb, NAC member

# Late News

The analysis of the redbaiting drive against us is muddled this Monday morning.

Growing out of protest during the October 15th and 16th International Days of Protest in which approximately 40 chapters engaged in anti-war activity, much attention was drawn to our anti-draft activities. This attention was elicited in part by columnists Evans and Novak in their nationally syndicated "Inside Report." Taking a signed opinion article from the Vietnam Discussion Bulletin, they state we are preparing a guide, "How to Cool the Military." They continue, these cannot "be lightly passed off as an exuberant, youthful exercise of the right to dissent. It is a calculated effort to illegally undermine high national policy adopted by President Johnson and confirmed by Congress."

The Northern Illinois U.S. Attorney General Edward V. Hanrahan, responding to headline stories in all the Chicago papers, declared that he was going to investigate the possibly treasonous nature of our anti-draft activity.

Yesterday Attorney General Katzenbach, while visiting Chicago, was drawn into the fray. His motivations are unclear. Some think he is acting to take the matter out of the hands of the local District Attorney; one newsman reports to us that the Attorney General is upset at being misquoted and hopes that the furor will soon die down. At any rate, he is quoted as saying in this morning's Chicago Tribune that the Justice Department "has uncovered some persons working for Students for a Democratic Society" . . . "We may have prosecutions."

Whether a major investigation is to take place is unknown. Our response so far has been to say that we believe the attacks to be a "smokescreen" to detract from the obvious anti-war sentiment in the country; that SDS decisions are openly and democratically arrived at; that our proposed policy is to disseminate information on conscientious objection rather than on "How to Cool the Military;" that our local chapters are autonomous and responsible for their own actions; and that our whole anti-draft program is in the process of a membership referendum because of the convention decision stipulating that any Vietnam activity which may provoke Federal prosecution must be submitted to the membership.

While the situation with the government is confused, our activities on the 15th and 16th are a resounding success. Not only did major demonstrations like the ones in Berkeley and New York take place (with which we were associated) take place, but in numerous smaller cities confrontation occurred. In Ann Arbor 38 people were arrested for sitting-in at the draft board; the North Carolina Chapter marched against the biological weapons center at Ft. Bragg. Buffalo SDS held an assembly of unrepresented people in exile in front of the consulate in Toronto; the U. of Texas chapter had a death march in front of the state capitol; Los Angeles and Boston had rallies; and despite intense Birch pressures, the Arizona State chapter held a teach-in in the heart of Goldwaterland. Last night the Harvard SDS chapter called and said that if the Feds. arrested the national office staff, they promised \$20,000 to a bond fund. And just minutes ago we received a letter in which this message was lettered out of newspaper clippings: "THE KU KLUX KLAN WILL BOMB YOU." Maybe a statement about our worth being proved by our enemies would be in order.

Struggle,

Jeff Shero

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WE KID  
YOU NOW!



# Bulletin

Students for a Democratic Society  
1103 East 63rd Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60637

return requested