

national secretary's report

The present report focuses on the first five months of 1966, partly because a similar report was made at the December Conference and partly because the turn of the year was a turning point in the history of the organization. The outlines of a new organizational direction were established at that time -- and I have become increasingly confident of their correctness -- and SDS during 1966 has worked to realize the new priorities it set for itself. My oral report at the April N.C. reflected a great deal of success in that regard and fit into a new mood of self-confidence. This formal report is written with the overriding purpose of describing clearly the direction of the past five months, in the hope that precision about what we have done can assist decisions about next steps.

Our movement has changed its priorities dramatically at a number of junctures: in spring 1964 we transformed SDS from an intellectual center into a community organizing campaign; in Spring 1965 we made SDS the leader of the student antiwar movement; this year we have moved to make it a radical political action organization with a broad program. SDS has been politicized in several ways:

- (1) its attitude toward internal questions
- (2) its relationship to student discontent and the phenomenon of the alienated youth culture on campus
- (3) its relationship to forces for change in the community.
- (4) its standards for the internal functioning of chapters and
- (5) its attempt to make explicit and elaborate its program analysis, strategy, and values.

The December Conference was the occasion of our recognition of SDS' new character as a national student organization. In our own right as an organized movement, we had become a new feature in American life. That conference was an exercise in collective self-definition for many of us; at the same time, we were struggling with the internal problems caused by the rapid growth of SDS. My report at that time tried to relect both problems. To summarize it here:

It started by noting the organization's crisis of coherence. "The most elementary problem of SDS is that it straddles two social functions; it serves as the most powerful and important organized expression of the

left in America, and it serves as a radical educational organization for students."

The report noted the effect of the war on SDS: "In any country and at any time the moral quality of its Left is put to the test by the international adventures of its government. It is for this reason that SDS responded to the national political situation in November 1965 and organized for the March on Washington."

"The competing calls on SDS energy have made it impossible to, function in the political arena in a sustained way . . . To take ourselves seriously as a political factor would mean that . . . we would avail ourselves of the democratic decision-making machinery available (in SDS) and actually make decisions. And by implication not leave matters to the decision of the NAC, the National Secretary . . ."

"Our movements are sustained substantially by the willingness of individual young people to give their lives and creativity. We value action based on "commitment" higher than action based on "self-interest" -- even though our analysis tells us that our society can only be redeemed by people coming out of apathy to go to the roots of their own common problems." But there has been a style of work in SDS in which for example the personal needs of the staff have been seen as of higher importance than the political priorities of production out of the national office.

The phenomenal growth of SDS during 1965 was because it tapped the antiwar expression of student alienation. The students who marched on Washington shared a series of discontents with middle-class America, and the war in Vietnam seemed to them the most awful evidence of the society's corruption. As an organization, our response to this movement dipped and rose radically during the year; in the summer we almost abandoned it, and only after a frontal attack by the Administration did we take up the commitment that led to our bringing thousands of people to the SANE march. One missed opportunity: "We could have tied a goodly number of these committees (to end the war) to us as Associate groups and an instructive dialogue could have gone on, in which our analysis could have been articulated to Vietnam activists, and possibly out of the combination of our experience and insights and their enthusiasm could have come creative responses to the hang-ups of the pro-

April Income:

Dues-	\$ 649.00
Literature-	382.27
Contributions-	5329.60
Pledges-	15.00
Sales-	536.00
Miscellaneous-	7.00
Subs. to NLN-	248.50
Loans-	18.07
Exchange-	233.33
Intra-SDS-	98.00
Total-	\$7516.77

April Expenses:

Salaries-	\$ 942.50
Utilities-	791.36
Office expenses-	851.91
Postage-	397.00
Printing-	2564.90
Travel-	79.95
Conference-	213.19
Petty cash-	30.00
Miscellaneous-	152.90
Preliminary fund-raising expenses (Salt of the Earth)-	5.95
Loans-	1000.00
Exchange-	86.35
Intra-SDS-	50.00
Total-	\$7166.01

test movement."

The "Draft Crisis" of October had its seeds at the September N.C., when three dozen people in a workshop hit on the draft as a focal issue around which organizing could take place. Columnists Evans and Novak found the most far-out proposals in a Vietnam Newsletter we put out and on October 14 broadcast them to the world. Under the impact of front-page attacks on us as leaders of the draft-dodging movement (in which draft-card burning and advocating homosexuality became the leading parts in the public eye) we decided to submit to membership

referendum the program -- under the standing organizational policy of letting the members decide on any program that put us in legal hot water. They voted it down -- and while the vote trickled in during November and December it became clear the program didn't exist anyway. The "heat" was taken off SDS after the "Build Not Burn" statement October 20th. At a Washington press conference the National Secretary unilaterally described our position as opposition to killing in Vietnam because we wanted to "build a democratic society at home" and chal-

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boston free university

In the past five or six years, the student movement has developed a critique of education which has laid bare the exploitative and constricting nature of the American educational system. Students returning from civil rights activity and community organizing projects found little of relevance in academia to the problems central to their concerns. Educated adults, reawakened to social consciousness by the human rights revolution, found their formal training of limited value. They realized that this system's concept of education, from pre-school to graduate school, is narrow and biased. Perhaps most indicative of the severe limits of the university were the numbers of people excluded--people struggling against the oppression of poverty and racism, increasingly in need of the intellectual tools to deal with their condition. Many Americans had become concerned with the problem of social change; the educational institutions to which they turned were committed to the maintenance of the status quo.

The experience in the Freedom Movement also demonstrated the ways in which a power structure could manipulate and dominate its subjects--they saw the educational system with new eyes and began to understand the way in which multiversities serve a social system they are committed to change. They saw themselves and their friends being trained to serve an inhuman and de-humani-

zing society--a society whose educational system teaches people only to make a living, giving up or ignoring important human values, instead of encouraging them to discover how to use those values personally and socially. On the one hand, resistance to domination, and on the other, a deeply aware and sensitive appreciation of what education should be, have led to on-campus rebellions, and widespread apathy toward education in the community.

Beyond this direct protest, and in addition to student pressure for university reform, the concern for socially and personally relevant education has resulted in a wide variety of experiments under the rubric of "free university." These probing expeditions have been an effort not simply to make a "better" institution for higher education, but to establish a new community for learning. We believe that beginning such an experiment in Boston will provide a unique situation in which social action and thought may be integrated, and where the development of a radical intellectual community will be possible.

Such a community might include programs aimed at filling the needs of various groups, among them: students and organizers seeking both the theoretical and empirical bases for ideology; people in community organizations who want to learn organizing skills, participate in political discussion, and gain or regain some aspects of general education; suburban opponents of the war who will want information as well as tools and perspective for organizing in middle class neighborhoods; professionals who are trying to redefine their roles in terms of social objectives; teachers and students dissatisfied with the content of their previous educational experience, as well as by the university's approach to learning and to the social relevance of intellectual activity; artists, writers, and actors who seek to explore new dimensions in their work, or to relate their work to the movement.

"Free university" is an inadequate label for the kind of experiment which is called for. Education should be a total and dynamic process; total, because it is not simply training for some future productive role, but a creative and immediately rewarding endeavor involving all of the student's faculties in social and personal discovery; dynamic, because it is not just the accumulation of information, but an exploratory relation between people. Institutional structure as well as curricula must be designed to maximize opportunity for creative innovation--while insuring continued commitment to its goals.

The difficult task of building such a "community for learning" calls for a wide variety of talents, concerns, and experience in an effort which we hope will interest you. If the free university is to begin operation in September as we hope, working groups must be established immediately to plan both structure and program. Committees

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financial report

March Income:

Dues-	\$377.00
Literature-	818.12
Contributions-	892.00
Pledges-	355.00
Sales (of miscellaneous office materials)-	3.00
Misc.-	942.25
Subscriptions to NLN-	204.00
Loans-	1000.00
Exchange-	606.00
Intra-SDS-	-----
Total-	\$4877.97

March Expenses:

Salaries-	\$ 897.50
Utilities-	974.32
Office expenses-	175.00
Postage-	558.89
Printing-	1195.55
Publicity-	25.00
Travel expenses-	25.00
Petty Cash-	34.85
Miscellaneous-	522.00
Photo equipment-	100.00
Exchange-	438.00
Total-	\$4946.00

chicago store removes s & w

by Jim Irwin

Momentary fighting broke out June 8 at the Hyde Park co-operative supermarket climaxing four days of picketing and direct action against the sale of S & W canned goods at the co-op, which is the largest retail outlet in the Chicago area.

The co-op had passed a resolution in 1959 stating that it would not sell goods coming from a firm which was the object of a legitimate strike. In early May, a group of co-op members who belonged to SDS, accompanied by other concerned individuals, asked at a regular co-op meeting to have the 1959 resolution complied with by removing DiGiorgio's S&W brand from the shelves. The co-op leaders appointed a committee to investigate the "legitimacy" of the strike. When the committee failed to reach a decision, declaring in their report published a few weeks later that they did not have enough information, the group that had originally brought up the issue decided they should act.

Saturday morning, June 4, they began picketing the co-op and distributing a petition demanding a meeting of the membership to vote on the enforcement of the 1959 resolution. The petition, which needed fifty members' signatures, had more than 150 before the day was out.

That morning also saw about a half dozen housewives belonging to the co-op enter the

store and remove the S&W canned goods from the shelves, explaining that they were merely carrying out a policy that the management had neglected to carry out. Although they were threatened with arrest at one point, nothing was actually done about them, and the cans were not returned to the shelves until the following Tuesday. When word had circulated that the cans were being sold, more than a dozen housewives appeared Wednesday morning and removed them again. Then they joined the picketers outside, sending someone in every hour to check on the shelves.

About 1 p.m., men from the S&W warehouse appeared and began restocking the shelves. The women waited until they had finished, and then began removing the cans once again. The S&W men came out and began arguing with them. Actual physical conflict ensued when one of the S&W men rammed a cart carrying a baby into the baby's pregnant mother. One of the S&W agents later admitted that they had come in order to create an incident, and when another agent called a policeman in order to press charges, the policeman sided with the women.

That night, at a special session of the board of directors of the co-op, the board voted 7-1 to remove S&W canned goods from the shelves for the duration of the strike.

boston free university

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should be established to deal with three fundamental areas of concern.

First, the general conception of the experiment in learning is not fully developed. It is necessary that a working group attempt to set out the conditions under which creative involvement in learning may be possible, and to suggest the institutional framework within which those conditions can be met. This group would be expected to develop more fully the vision and purpose of the community for learning through discussion about the areas of study to be included and the groups to be involved. It would further be expected to present a structural design suitable for meeting the needs of a highly diversified constituency.

A central problem which must be dealt with is the technique of decision-making. It has been suggested that those people prepared to make a major commitment to the experiment and who wish to participate in general policy formulation constitute a co-operative with responsibility for building and maintaining the community. A second working group should develop guidelines for such

a body. This group would work out and specify the relation between the free university as a whole and the cooperative.

Finally, committees must be set up to plan programming. While it is clear that a total program to meet all of the needs and interests suggested earlier will not emerge full-blown at the end of the summer, working groups should be established to begin to consider a variety of programs, to find out what potential students want, and to develop seminar descriptions. One of the results of the summer's work should be courses which have been defined and are ready to go in the fall.

Making a free university for Boston will be a major undertaking--and an important one. The project is new, the ideas are still being formed, the approach is exploratory and innovative. There will be a working meeting for people who are seriously interested and able to put in some work on organizing the free university this summer on June 7, at 7:30 p.m. at 317 Memorial Drive, Cambridge. If you are interested, call Chuck Levenstein-445-3893.

financial report

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Equipment-	321.47
Exchange-	61.00
Intra-SDS-	200.00
Total-	\$8,645.86

Total income of March-April-May:
\$19,947.92

Total expenses of March-April-May:
\$20,757.87

DEFINITIONS:

Exchange - An example of what happens here is this: a check for \$27.50 was given to the Chicago Region for activities of that region, but the check was made out to SDS; this was given to the N.O. and deposited in the SDS bank account; the N.O. then made out a check for \$17.50 to the Chicago Regional coordinator, who then used it to pay for expenses of the Chicago Region.

Intra-SDS - Money goes to the N.O. from another part of the organization (a regional office, for instance, or a community organizing project); or money goes from the N.O. to another part of the organization. The money goes from the N.O. to another part of the organization. The money, in other words, has not come from nor gone to any source outside of SDS but has merely been transferred from one part of the organization to another.

Office expenses - Typing paper, envelopes,

typewriter ribbon, paper clips, etc., etc., etc.

Sales - These occur when individuals and groups consume and pay for supplies originally purchased by and for the N.O., such as the mimeograph paper used by students of the University of Chicago before and during the recent sit-in there.

Utilities - This includes rent, electricity, telephone, heat, garbage disposal.

EXPLANATIONS:

1. The decline in the literature sales between March and April can probably be attributed to the fact that the organization became aware of the shortage of literature in the N.O. Why order something when -- from past experience -- it probably won't be there? The rise in literature sales between April and May can be explained by the Vietnam Exam Program (i.e., sale of Vietnam Exams).

2. Fluctuation in the amount of money paid out in salaries from March to April to May can be explained by fluctuations in the number of staff workers working in the N.O. During the period leading up to the first Draft/Vietnam Exams there were as many as 11 paid staff workers. At present there are 6. This means \$180 per week rather than \$330.

3. Miscellaneous expenses in the month of March include a contribution to the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs upon the bombing of their national headquarters (\$100); payment to *Ramparts* magazine for past debts.

4. The rise in contributions in the months of April and May is largely attributable to money given by individuals specifically interested in the Vietnam Exam Program.

5. Printing expenses rose in April as a result of the Vietnam Exam Program. This plus a large printing of the SDS basic brochure explains, similarly, the high printing expenses for May.

6. Miscellaneous expenses in the month of April include rental of a hall for a program in Chicago with Donald Duncan (\$43); photographic supplies (\$109.90).

7. As a result of a past advertisement in the *National Guardian*, a number of people pledged to make a specific monthly contribution to SDS. The sharp drop in "pledge money" between March and April-May can be explained, in part, by the failure of the N.O. to send "follow-up" letters to those who had made the pledges.

8. The great increase in utilities expenses in May is explained by the fact that the WATS line, installed to facilitate communications with regions, chapters, and individuals during the build-up for the Vietnam Exam, cost \$2000 for the four-week period in which it was used.

9. The increase in postage expenses for the month of May is a result (surprise!) of the Vietnam Exam Program.

10. The expense of \$103.40 for "publicity" was payment for a fund-raising advertisement in the *National Guardian* which had appeared in a previous month.

11. Miscellaneous expenses in the month of May involve the expenses of putting on two commercial showings of the film "Salt of the Earth" in Chicago for fund-raising purposes.

12. A good deal of second-hand printing equipment (printing presses, a platemaking machine, and a folding machine) has been purchased by the N.O.; explaining "Equipment" expenses for the month of May.

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let the people decide

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proposed summer printing project

One often hears that the movement SDS represents has been derelict in its education of new members. Our extremely rapid growth has led to increased activism with a diminishing of sound political analysis. Many proposals are suggested to remedy this (see Kissinger's N.C. Proposal on a convention document, NLN #21, p. 2), including the undertaking of the Radical Education Project, but all proposals hinge on publishing these papers and getting them into members hands. Hence I propose the financing of an intensive summer printing project by the SDS Printing Office in Lawrence, Kansas.

The central printing office would be the prime producer of educational materials for SDS. Here the burden to supply pamphlets, brochures, bibliographies and leaflets to nearly 200 chapters, six regional offices and nine community organizing projects for the coming year could be accomplished.

The advantages of having the printing office separate from the Chicago N.O. abound. Removing the mechanical processes of printing from the innards of the bureaucratic functions of the national staff can be appreciated almost as much as removing the covert chaos of the N.O. from printing functions. Lawrence's prime assets are 1) excellent printing and binding equipment, 2) experienced printing staff, and 3) a large pool of volunteer labor available for "alienating work" from Kansas University students.

The N.O. would continue to have printing facilities in Chicago with its several Multilith presses and the full-time printer. This would allow the N.O. to produce emergency

materials and the on-going materials for office use such as form letters. These minor jobs would no longer screw up printing schedules for literature and cause minor crises for the N.O. staff each time they occur.

An intensified summer printing project would produce 2,000,000 pages of literature -- the equivalent of 5,000 copies each of 400 pages. This would be completed by employing two full-time staff people and the volunteer labor of Kansas University (K. U.'s most productive contribution to the "movement"). This project would require ten weeks of printing with two additional weeks of staff employment to complete hand-work, shipping, etc. The summer budget:

Weekly Expenses

Paper	\$400
Negatives & Plates	140
Minor typesetting, cutting	20
Rent, utilities, telephone	30
Salary (2 staff members)	60

Weekly Total: \$650

Ten Weeks Printing	\$6,500.00
Two add'l weeks staff work	180.00
Staff transportation to National Convention	50.00

Total Summer Budget: \$7,000.00

The Summer Printing Project represents a major effort towards improving our internal education and in presenting an intelligent analysis of society in our organizing efforts.

Major debts facing the N.O. are as follows:

PRINTING AND LITERATURE

Praga Press, Inc.	\$ 473.10
Kinney Reproduction Service	279.25
Progressive Lithoplate and Supply Co.	128.65
Myers Publishing Co.	132.60
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions	500.00
The Roosevelt Torch	210.00
Ability Printing Service and Co.	25.00
Viet-Report	310.00
Olympic Button and Emblem Corp.	115.00
Instant Duplicating Company	13.05

OFFICE SUPPLIES

Elliot Business Machines, Co.	23.72
Utility Stationery Store	52.64

TOTAL \$2,263.01

ANALYSIS:

There are, I think, a number of things implied by these experiences of March, April, and May.

A direct fund-raising effort on the part of the financial person in the N.O. -- commercial showing of a film in the Chicago area -- was not worth the effort; it barely paid for itself. In the future such fund-raising efforts should be left to local chapters or special fund-raisers who could devote significant amounts of time to preparing and promoting such projects.

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national secretary's report

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lenged the President to create national alternative service.

The March on Washington in November provided further evidence of our inability to move politically. It became immediately clear that the government attacks required a significant response, but we did not have the stamina to lead the Left of the peace movement in such a way as to give the March a more militant character. The report proposed a new forum for decision-making and coordination in the peace movement composed of:

- a) 5 Beekman Street pacifist groups
- b) SDS
- c) NCCCEWVN
- d) Women for Peace
- e) Inter-University Committee
- f) SANE
- g) Mass. PAX

to be a consultive committee of the peace movement."

"The lack of a functioning national interim political body with the power and responsibility for political decisions has put the NAC into a role which was unforeseen, and the national secretary into a lime-light and extremely delicate and heavy position of responsibility which shouldn't be necessary. What is amazing is that the organization refuses to admit the fact that it plays an important role in American politics, and as a consequence refuses to create responsible mechanisms for making its decisions from week to week."

During the fall the functioning of the office hit an all-time low. The office did a slipshod job of servicing the chapters: it lost their lit orders, left them in the dark during the Crisis, had only one person doing correspondence with them, and this mostly with those requesting new status as a chapter (several requests a week). Chapter skills are passed on kind of like folklore: "The wealth of experience on which a chapter staff could be expected to draw really hasn't existed before now. In most cases, campus travellers have drawn on their own limited experience in giving advice."

"A word about democracy and administration: in an administrative situation, democratic procedures are ones in which people invested with responsibility treat it seriously, report to their constituents, regularly and in such a way that they are able to learn and make significant choices. What is more undemocratic than a leader who denies he is a leader, refuses to organize meetings in which he can let the other people know what's going on, refuses to file report in the N.O. so that other people can know what he did two years later when a chapter tries to take roots at the campus he has since abandoned, etc?"

The National Council took several important initiatives at the January meeting.

First, it recognized regional organization (there were now four regions where in September there had been none) and provided the first opportunity for the offices to harmonize their activity.

Second, it took interim political power out of the hands of the National Secretary and the NAC, and restored it to the National Interim Committee. By elaborating a full program of political activity it pre-empted the possibility of undemocratically initiated national activity. This program included farm labor support, sniping at the Selective Service through support of the reclassified Ann Arbor students of the Freedom Draft, a perspective on anti-war activity placing highest priority on broadening the political base of the movement, and South Africa action.

Third, it mandated the regular publication of an internal newspaper as the highest office priority, to redress the distance that had set in between members and the organization's decision-making centers.

Fourth, it recognized the critical importance of the educational tasks of SDS by creating the Radical Education Program to provide for rank-and-file education and to promote the elaboration of our ideology, analysis, etc.

In the winter and spring, we have followed through quite successfully.

* SDS had dealt with its internal problems in a political way. It has put aside the notion that poor performance could be remedied by abolishing the office and somehow decentralizing the abolished responsibility, and instead has allocated responsibility, staff, money, etc., in a planned way. The draft program was thoroughly decentralized.

* We have developed out of the grape

strike support, a broad student-labor program, in which five dozen chapters and the San Francisco regional office have worked in behalf of Delano, San Francisco and Chicago have published important documents, a network of SDS people involved in labor activity has been established, other chapters have aided local organizing drives and strikes, and summer organizing activity is in the works.

* We continue to be the backbone of the anti-war effort on campus. Even though SDS is not involved in coordinating the days of protest, our chapters contribute mightily to their success. Our Vietnam exam was handed out at 800 campuses--500,000 copies. We sparked anti-draft activity that stunned the country. More and more chapters are working to bring the anti-war message where it hasn't been heard in the community.

* We publish a weekly newspaper which not only keeps the membership well informed, it has also begun to be a medium of important controversy and expression. Its arrival (post office willing) underlines the reality of SDS as a functioning outfit.

* SDS is a movement capable of concerted effort in behalf of a sophisticated political strategy. All 162 chapters worked in the Vietnam Exam program in order to strike an important blow at the sagging credibility of the war on campuses.

* The community projects in which we work have developed a much more political perspective on their goals. Having outgrown original insecurities about their work, they have established firm bases in their communities for insurgency, and in several cases have achieved considerable importance in placing their issues on the agenda of city or state politics. JOIN has brought a slumlord to sign a collective bargaining contract with his tenants; Cleveland has initiated a statewide welfare rights movement, Newark has forced their long-time antagonist the incumbent city councilman into a runoff election.

* We have embarked on an ambitious program of radical intellectual activity. The REP prospectus is generally acknowledged on the Left as the definitive statement of the intellectual tasks before us.

Other signs of our solidity are provided by the high level of functioning of the N.O. staff. With the added presence of Eric Chester and Sue Robbin (VOICE and Lake Forest chapters) as WATS line operators, the National Office pulled off a political effort in many ways surpassing the April, 1965 March on Washington in its scale and impact. Walt Kelly and Nick Jones have eliminated backlogs of lit order, info-requests, and have gotten New Left Notes out regularly. For history's sake, credit is due to Lee Webb, who originally proposed a counter exam at a February U. of Chicago chapter meeting. Bob Speck has improved New Left Notes and supervised the office. Art Rosenblum is our most diligent printer ever, and is taking care of a program to put offset presses to use throughout SDS. Aerlin Weissman has acted as N.O. girl friday, throughout the draft exam, in relating to new chapters, etc. Those half-dozen people turned out more for SDS than previous dozen-man teams. And with the summer, Paul Le Blanc has embarked on an important fund-raising campaign.

The office of national secretary deserves some extended comment. I have been the most political national secretary in recent years, both as concerns the internal functioning of the organization and the left and the public. SDS runs, to a great extent, on the prestige of its leadership. This is inevitably the case, as Martin Oppenheimer demonstrates in the current issue of *Our Generation*, in a large organization in which debate is not structured by factions or wings. So, in providing organizational coherence, the prestige of the leadership is called into play, especially insofar as they involve themselves in issues at the local and regional levels. Because Carl Oglesby was elected President at a moment when the organization didn't want an activist President using his position in the internal decision-making, it chose Carl, who has been much more adept and suited for speaking to the wide public. My ability to work successfully in the internal strengthening of SDS increased markedly after January, when certain political assumptions became generally accepted. However, the combination of internal administrative responsibility and internal political responsibility is a heavy one. A lot of that would be relieved if SDS brought into the national office, for the first time, a number of full-time experienced people responsible for various sections of the organization's political program; and, for the outside world, especially for our allies, if the President became a full-time officer.

One particular aspect of the job has been

periodically a source of difficulty; this is the sphere of "public relations." A number of times, as will inevitably occur, I have been quoted out of context, usually in a "liberal" or "domesticated opposition" tone. The most recent case was in the piece on the National New politics group, when it was alleged that Tom Hayden and I had told the reporter that we would be interested in a Bobby Kennedy candidacy. Both of us had told him just the opposite. But I start feeling like I have to go back to SDS and say very radical things as an adolescent proves his virility by telling dirty stories to his friends. People should be more conscious of the fact that yesterday's *Times* wraps today's fresh fish.

Throughout SDS' action programs there has been a political emphasis on organizing, aiming at opening new possibilities for politics in a wide range of social milieus. For Vietnam we have leafleted plant gates, spoken at churches, covered the boondocks with Vietnam exams, organized activity in the suburbs. On campus we have tried to get our message into the hands of more and more students. For the grape strike we have molded coalition committees of ministers, faculty, unionists. In peace campaigns we have gone into middle and working-class neighborhoods in door-to-door work on the model of ERAP projects. In our old rhetoric, we used to call all this proof of our "relevance", and we used the couplet "radical and relevant" to describe the twin poles of our strategy.

I think it is time to explore the meanings of "radical" that best apply to us. I write from the perspective of the former student who has made a life-long commitment to be a radical in whatever walk of life, occupation, community, etc., he finds himself. I have been prepared for that commitment by SDS -- SDS has been my school. It has been a reinforcing feature that SDS has contained and been the community of many of my friends, but in the last analysis, it is the learning and shaping experiences that have taken place within SDS that give me the preparation to be an organizer.

For most of us, SDS has been the arena in which exciting political activity took place. Those action programs provided cathartic experiences for some of us when we confronted personally the power system in one way or another. But it was also through SDS that I heard the names of the authors of the books that became important to me; through SDS that I actually heard the best minds of the left analyze our present condition, through SDS that I met older radicals whose experience made personal a tradition with which I could partly identify. SDS was also the vehicle through which I came into contact with a number of different styles of politics. It played these roles in a more-or-less conscious way. The most persistent of SDS members get these advantages from it; in almost every chapter it is possible to identify the cluster that uses SDS in this way. These are the people who fight to get hold of the literature, or who go to conferences; often it is an in-group.

In some chapters on state university campuses, SDS has a truly schizophrenic nature; one segment of the membership is older, experienced "veterans", and the other is young and eager to learn. But because the educational function of SDS is poorly understood, the full benefits of our community are not imparted.

We need to come to grips with our historic function; to create a new generation of radicals means to be the arena in which they, as individuals, can grow to become that new generation. It means our field secretaries have to have a grasp of what the internal life of a chapter could be. He should be able to impart to a chapter leader how a regular social event is an integrative function, and how a seminar can be structured so that people get a lot out of it. He should know the good books to assign to an introductory discussion group, what's wrong with the five books on the New Left both as histories and as analyses, how action programs on campus can be made educational--(the difference between a good leaflet and a bad one and how to explain that difference). He should know how a chapter can be structured internally so as to elicit participation and growth.

These skills still haven't passed out of the folklore stage, or slowly but surely at best. But they should not be regarded merely as techniques; they should be understood in the context of the important cultural trends on the campus from which SDS draws.

There has begun to be a great deal of writing on the "alienated youth culture." On the left, the phenomenon is generally seen as a conflict between pot and politics. We say with some haughtiness that the deeply disaffected young person can choose either

a personal outlet in LSD, or a political outlet for the same disaffections in SDS. The same formulation is made by various scholars like Keniston and Friedenberg.

Although that is very simple, it is true at its base. But, the number of mistaken conclusions that can be drawn from that observation is practically limitless. Perhaps the most important of those mistakes would be puritanism. The second would be that our style should be modeled after the style of youth alienation, and that we should build politics into that -- making it sophisticated in its understanding of the enemy it rejects. The third mistaken approach would be that an SDS chapter should be the combination of the political and apolitical alienated cultures.

None of those formulas gives the answer. Part of the answer comes out of what we have always known to be true: that SDS is a radical arena for learning, and a center for insurgent politics. But time after time, people who have taken that lesson too literally have run internal educational seminars that lasted two weeks before they died out, have put out newsletters that nobody read; in short, have been trapped in the Dull Politics syndrome. So mechanical proposals like a constitutional amendment requiring each chapter to have an educational chairman are partial solutions at best. We all need to learn how to relate to the genuine impulses of our generation.

In light of the fact that SDS has been the most creative and relevant factor on the Left, it should be within our reach to carry out our educational job. We can move immediately to do the large number of mechanical jobs:

1. create a network of chapter people responsible for internal education, serviced by national and regional staff with that express job.
2. make the Vice-President responsible for educational program.
3. put REP on the road, staffing it and financing it.
4. turn out the program guides that chapters need:
 - a--film and visual arts guide
 - b--internal seminar syllabi
 - c--annotated reading lists of radical authors
 - d--radical guides to the introductory courses
5. turn out the literature written by SDS people in handsome printed form.

This report has focused entirely on organizational problems; and could have an equally long treatment of political possibilities and priorities, in which I would make the argument that we are entering into a period of rapidly widening possibilities for radical organizing due to the failure of the Johnson administration in making the war a credible excuse for preserving national consensus. That argument would draw the conclusions that the kind of activity in which we have already been engaged: student-labor projects, community organizing, electoral work, civil rights activity, anti-draft activity, and war protest of a political character, should be continued, and stepped up. This argument can be made at great length; suffice it to say, for present purposes, that there seems to be no reason to expect any abatement of SDS activism.

This creates problems of support. Principally, these are manpower problems and financial problems. To pursue any of these political programs on an expanding level will require the personal commitment of growing numbers of SDS people. At a campus where the educational job (broadly defined) has been done well -- even if there is not an ongoing action program -- we find that SDS members as they graduate are extremely eager to be involved in radical politics on a full-time basis. (At Swarthmore the chapter has died out but the former members are as eager as ever.) But we have not acted systematically to find places for our members; one of the functions of a national office must be to do that. This can only be done if there are experienced political staff in the offices with responsibility for program; jobs in labor unions could then be connected to graduating members, ERAP projects could be expanded and some new ones started, regional programs could develop, young adult chapters could be organized.

Secondly, each chapter must begin to shoulder its share of the fundraising burden. Jeff Shero has estimated that SDS could employ \$600,000 wisely in a year -- five times our present level. The chapters can't do all of that, or even most of that, but they can do some, perhaps enough to free other energies to do other kinds of fundraising that would push us even higher.

A final question to take up is that of "adult organizing", which we must finally confront now that the number of young adult and even adult chapters is increasing, and now that we

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proposed nc resolutions

on role of nat'l sec'y . . .

on conferences . . .

Two of the major problems which have plagued the national organization this year have been a lack of internal education and a lack of internal communication. In order to try to end both the feeling of isolation which people often have and to try to spread the educational manpower resources which we have centered in a few areas to other areas, I propose that we hold a series of conferences this summer. These conferences should start about a month after the NC and continue until the convention. Each conference should be composed of four or five resource people and should concern itself with one topic. The conferences should be considered as ongoing functions of the national organization which occur periodically. Each conference should be held in four different areas (West Coast, Midwest, South, and East Coast) of the country at different times - hopefully each of the resource people would be able to participate at each of the sessions of their conference. There should be conferences held on each of the following topics (each of the following topic-based

conferences would be held in each of the four above mentioned areas): 1) the working class, the role of radicals in working with labor unions, etc.; 2) civil-rights, black nationalism, etc.; 3) community organizing-this is to be considered separate from civil-rights; 4) electoral politics, independent parties, etc.; 5) foreign policy, South Africa, Viet-Nam, etc.; 6) University Reform. In addition to these conferences which take place on an ongoing basis during the summer, we should have a conference on students and the draft at the beginning of the convention.

Bob Speck

on nc resolutions

The first issue of New Left Notes after each National Council shall publish the verbatim text of all resolutions passed and decisions made by the National Council. That issue shall constitute the official record of that NC.

That issue shall also contain the names and chapters of all delegates recognized at that NC.

minneapolis project

A new SDS-affiliated community organizing project has begun in Minneapolis. We are attempting to work in an area of poor Negroes, American Indians, and whites. The neighborhood in which we are working is an old neighborhood, close to the center of the city. It has the typical problems of an urban slum. It has extremely bad housing, high transiency, high unemployment, high percentages of people on welfare, and other slum neighborhood characteristics. The problems of the area are compounded by the large-scale alienation of the Indian community. Indians are especially representative of people caught in the repressive cycle based on their economic dependence on governmental agencies. They come from the reservations looking for a better deal, can't find anything except manual work, aren't prepared to sacrifice their dignity to this kind of work, and then quit or get fired. At best, they do not stay on welfare or relief too long before going through the syndrome of not

being able to find a fulfilling job, then accepting their shortlived manual work. To this problem is added the difficulties of assimilating into the culture. Indians frequently feel pride in their own culture and regret the loss of it; revulsion for the urban culture is reinforced by the cruel rejection of the Indian by it.

The powers-that-be in Minneapolis have consistently ignored the problems unique to the Indian community, although they have systematically made phony attempts to confront the poverty of the areas.

Recently the Indians in the area of the project called attention to their grievances with a picket of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' local office. The pickets demanded such things as equal benefits for urban Indians as for reservation Indians. One boy carried a sign which said: STOP STUDYING THE PROBLEMS! COME TO THE COMMUNITY AND SEE THEM.

The Minneapolis Community Project will begin this summer to explore the organization of the poor community on the Near South Side. This is an integrated area and the organizing effort will attempt to build an integrated movement of Negroes, Indians, and whites. While not minimizing difficulties that are unique to each group of people, we assume that the problems of each group can be attacked within the context of a city-wide organization. The majority of the problems faced by each group have the same roots: the difficulties of existence within a slum which are compounded by the intolerance of urban power structures, their inability to understand the plight of the poor, and the repressive inadequacies of the programs they conceive to 'help' the poor.

Inclusion of Indians in an urban organizing project makes our project unique. It is experimental in that we hope to learn much in our attempt to organize an integrated movement. All people interested in working for the summer or longer, please contact Doug Elliot, 2535 S. 13th Street.

miami demo.

A recently organized Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Vietnam organized a Memorial Day march and demonstration on the steps of the Miami Beach Public Library. Some fifty people participated in the march, about a third of them having joined en route. The demonstration was not marked by violence.

The Miami police had originally denied the group permission to march to the library and speak. At one point, a few days before the march, the police threatened the committee, but it announced it would make no change in plans. When the demonstration finally occurred, the police limited themselves to keeping others from interfering.

financial report

(continued from page 2)

Planned national programs, such as the Vietnam Exam Program, cost a tremendous amount of money, but are also capable of largely paying for themselves, impressing and enthusing members, contributors, and significant segments of the heretofore "unreached" public.

There is a crying need for an ambitious literature program. Literature sales will continue to diminish unless there is an adequate supply of good literature.

Financially there are certain short-term and long-range needs. There is the immediate need of money to meet the costs of running the N.O. for the rest of the year; to meet some of our larger debts; to initiate literature, educational, and other national programs necessary for political, numerical, and financial growth. But annual payment of four dollar dues, plus haphazard contributions, supplemented by various and occasional fund-raising efforts do not make for a stable financial situation. There is the need for the creation of a more stable income and a more secure financial base.

Hopefully, the Movement Foundation for Education and Defense-if and when established-will go a long way in solving much of this problem. It is my feeling that further steps should be taken.

1. That the N.O. be instructed to organize a National Fall Fund-raising Drive.

2. That the N.O. be instructed to do serious research on the possibilities of establishing monthly membership dues and that it present its findings and recommendations on this matter to the organization no later than the winter N.C. of 1966-67.

3. That for the present the following annual dues system be established: Student membership, \$4.00; Joint membership (married couples), \$7.00; Participating membership, \$10.00; Donating membership, \$25.00; Contributing membership, \$50.00; Supporting membership, \$100.00; Life membership, \$500.

-- Paul LeBlanc
National Staff

The National Secretary's exclusive area of responsibility and activity would be within SDS. SDS's needs for more effective programs, for internal education, for more and better publications, for stable and responsible structures, coordination of staff and offices, for internal and external fund raising, and the organization of new regions and chapters demand the full time attention of the National Secretary. Other roles, such as organizational spokesman, relation to the press, negotiator and broker with other organizations, are properly the responsibility of the President and Vice President.

The National Secretary should be based in the National Office in Chicago, and must pay particular attention to recruitment of National Staff, the division of responsibilities, and regular consultation, both personally and through staff meetings with the staff. A staff meeting shall be held at least once a week.

The National Administrative Committee shall also meet once a week. It has decision making responsibility in the allocation primary role is to oversee the National Secre-

tary's carrying out of the NC and Convention's program resolutions.

on high schools . . .

High schools hold great potential for new SDS members and chapters. Although we have 10 high school chapters and perhaps 650 high school members, this has only scratched the surface.

Effective high school organization can be stimulated by recognizing the distinct needs of high school programming.

Therefore, SDS hereby sets up high school program whose initial activity should be to distribute copies of "High School Reform: Towards a Student Movement" and other publications aimed at high students.

Also a "High School Committee" shall be appointed by the President of SDS to submit proposals to the August NC for further programming and possible structural suggestions.

stanford sit-in report

Approximately seventy-five students began a sit-in at the office of Stanford president Wallace Sterling, May 19, to protest the administration's decision to provide university facilities for the Selective Service deferment examination. The sit-in lasted for almost fifty hours, and the administration reacted by making thirty-six of the demonstrators subject to discipline.

While the immediate object of the sit-in was the cancelling of the May 21 draft exam, other issues were involved: the undemocratic character of the decision-making process at the university, the administration's intention to cooperate with Selective Service on class ranks, and the university's debasement into a source of supply for the needs of the social order rather than a critic of that order.

The Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam had written President Sterling on May 16, requesting him to cancel the May 21 draft exam. The following day the Academic Council was to meet and several professors were to bring the question up. At the same time, the SCPV invited President Sterling to attend an open meeting on May 19 to discuss the Academic Council decision.

On Wednesday, May 18, it was learned that the Academic Council had tabled the question until after the test was to be administered, and the administration announced that no representative of theirs would attend the open meeting. As part of the administration declaration, Dean Wimbergler stated that it had been his decision to administer the test. Asked if he were familiar with the contents of the test, he replied that he was not. Asked if he considered the moral implications of the exam relevant to his decision, he stated that he did not.

On May 19, a rally was held in lieu of the proposed open meeting, and the group marched to the president's office to demand that draft exams be suspended while there is a public investigation of the moral implications of the exams. President Sterling was unavailable, and the group met with Deans Wimbergler and Wert, who stated that they were not empowered to speak for the administration, and that the president was willing only to meet privately with SCPV leaders. Wimbergler declared that he would not negotiate with students on any matter at any time and that he would never recommend that President Sterling negotiate with students on any matter.

Believing that a private meeting would be pointless, the group decided to sit in. Demands at this point involved cancelling all draft exams, not releasing any grades to Selective Service, calling a public decision-making meeting involving students and administration, and holding negotiations on increasing student participation in decision-making.

Sterling again offered a private meeting on condition that the sit-in be ended, and the demonstrators renewed their request for an open decision-making meeting while dropping all other demands. This was modified still further the night of the 20th, to simply a public meeting to discuss decision-making.

The following morning, Sterling rejected that last offer, and the police present began taking students' names. The group ended the sit-in 2:30 that afternoon. Since then thirty-six student demonstrators have been given a year's probation with the condition that they attend a series of seminars with the deans on decision-making in the university.

national secretary's report

(continued from page 3)

have been mandated to create (more expensive) adult categories of membership. Thus far, we have developed our program with both eyes to the campus, and it is because a lot of that has been "off-campus" program (a funny word for program in various kinds of communities), it has been easy to organize chapters of young people recently out of college around that kind of program.

The model has been to sign everyone, student or not, up as SDS members if they were participants in SDS program. One adjustment that would facilitate merely continuing on that course would be to change our name to Movement for a Democratic Society. More important than changing the name to fit reality would be to begin to relate

on a more selective basis to different constituencies. This does not mean splitting the organization up into a High School division, a poor peoples division, a middle-class adult division, a young workers section, and a student section. But it does mean taking care to have staff developing high school program, perhaps having high school conferences nationally and regionally, and doing the same for other coherent constituencies. For the time being, it is perhaps best to have these specialized activities flow out of the political program; some campaigns, like the grape strike support, are well suited to application to young adults, old adults, students, trade unionists, etc. At any rate, we must become much more conscious of our variety.

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

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