

app.
October,
1965



What God is he who takes laws of peace and clothes him in a tempest
What pitying Angel lusts for tears and pines himself with sighs
What crawling villain preaches abstinence and wraps
himself in fat of lambs

No more I follow No more obedience pay

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 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; 1021

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.

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 Mennett, 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 (10¢).

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 peoples 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 things would become tiresom and uninterested 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 opinions 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 they were tired of sending their childrens to old and ugly schools, schools that tought reading two ore more years behind 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 along 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 escalation 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.

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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 overstructured, 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!

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. It 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."

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.

POSITION 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

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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.

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. Which ever 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.

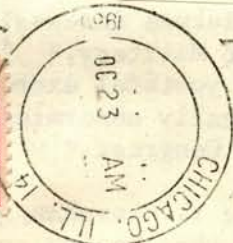
Struggle,

Jeff Shero

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Bulletin



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