

SDS REGIONAL NEWSLETTER

S.D.S. Regional Office
924 Howard St.
San Francisco, Calif.

Third Class
Time Valued

REGIONAL OFFICE REPORT

On the recent trip East, we managed to pick up two new staff members: Norm Potter, from the University of Illinois, has come to San Francisco to work with non-students with an eye toward establishing an adult organization; Barbara Naiditch, a student at Reed College in the Fall, will be working with high school students.

Regional Meeting

There will be a regional meeting at 1 p.m. Saturday, Jan. 20 in the SDS office. On the agenda so far is a discussion of the December Conference and National Council meeting; the New School; and direction of the regional office during next semester.

New School

The planning meeting for the New School will be held at 1 p.m. this coming Sunday, Jan. 15. While some would like the New School to continue to hold classes as its primary focus, others would like to see the emphasis shifted to research. All interested in the direction of the New School next semester should definitely plan to attend.

Finances

The addition of new staff has made it even more imperative that financial support of the office increase. There are now five or six people who will require money for room and board. (The financial report for the last five months of 1965 follows this) Contributions and monthly pledges are needed.

Library

We recently were given eight boxes of radical books, magazines and leaflets collected over the last 30 years or so. In addition we have received more than 15 complimentary subscriptions to various magazines and newspapers. People who would like to donate books, pamphlets, leaflets or back issues of periodicals to our growing library should call the office.

Chapters

SDS chapters or near chapters are formed at the following schools in Northern California: University of California at Berkeley, Hayward, Santa Cruz; U of C Medical School; San Francisco State; Fresno State; Sacramento State; Chico State; Cabrillo JC; San Jose State. Groups are in formation at a number of other colleges and high schools.

Bulk Literature

Chapters and individuals who would like to order SDS pamphlets in bulk should use the order form at the end of the newsletter. We can fill bulk orders for SDS literature not on the form if given a few days notice.

SAN FRANCISCO REGIONAL OFFICE FINANCIAL REPORT AUGUST-DECEMBER, 1955
A summary of the income and expenditures of the regional office.

EXPENDITURES

<u>Item</u>	<u>August</u>	<u>September</u>	<u>October</u>	<u>November</u>	<u>December</u>	<u>Total</u>
Salaries	--	--	10.00	25.00	--	35.00
Rent, Utilities	--	65.00,	50.00	50.00	50.00	215.00
Phone	--	32.00	35.76	52.89	67.81	188.46
Office Supplies	27.72	00.20	26.90	93.52	68.44	216.78
Postage	2.10	71.18	23.76	23.00	45.50	165.54
Printing	51.48	17.68	--	12.48	--	81.64
Travel	4.90	19.10	20.00	55.50	180.00	279.50
Equipment	--	--	--	24.84	30.68	55.52
Conferences	--	--	--	5.37	--	5.37
Miscellaneous	4.73	--	31.00	49.00	128.70	213.43
TOTAL R.O. OPERAT- ING EXPENSE	90.93	205.16	197.42	391.60	571.13	1,456.24
Loans made or repaid	--	--	43.00	100.00	--	143.00
Checks cashed	--	50.00	230.00	224.99	154.05	659.04
Funds transfered to other parts of SDS	--	--	--	--	--	--
TOTAL R.O. EXPENDITURES	90.93	255.16	470.42	716.59	725.18	2,258.28

(Income report on opposite side)

Financial report, p. 2

INCOME

<u>Source</u>	<u>August</u>	<u>September</u>	<u>October</u>	<u>November</u>	<u>December</u>	<u>Total</u>
Dues	--	3.00	45.00	66.00	31.00	145.00
Literature sales	11.61	15.58	10.06	58.36	47.10	142.71
Contributions	5.00	36.00	188.00	249.00	395.73	873.73
Pledges	--	--	--	--	--	--
Conferences	--	--	--	20.95	--	20.95
Tuition	--	--	205.00	35.00	5.00	245.00
Miscellaneous	--	--	--	5.01	7.98	12.99
ACTUAL REGIONAL OFFICE INCOME	16.61	54.58	448.06	434.32	486.81	1,440.38
Loans made or repaid	160.00	105.00	18.00	32.74	--	315.74
Checks cashed	--	50.00	230.00	224.99	154.05	659.04
Funds transfered from other parts of SDS	--	--	--	--	125.00	125.00
TOTAL REGIONAL OFFICE RECEIPTS	176.61	209.58	696.06	692.05	765.86	2,540.16

Outstanding debt as of Dec. 31, 1965

Loans	167.74
Phone	168.02
Misc.	69.54
Total	405.30

Bank balance as of Dec. 31, 1965:

185.85

Submitted by
Ken McEldowney
Regional Office Staff

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT

The most significant decision of the December National Council meeting establishes the Radical Education Project (REP) as proposed by Al Haber, which in effect mandates SDS to reassert (i.e., re-earn its position as the intellectual leader of the new left. REP puts high organizational priority on intensified analysis, development of an ideology, publication, and member education. An indication of the NC's seriousness about REP is that the project will begin with a \$75,000 per year budget, more than the entire current budget for the national office (NO).

The concerns which led to the establishment of REP are the same as those which led to calling the December Conference, an awareness that recent SDS program has reflected a pot pourri of implied ideologies and strategies for social change. The general trends within the organization over the past two years, for instance, have led us to see, first, the intellectual as the agent of social change then ERAP and an interracial movement of the poor as the only significant force for a new society, and then Vietnam programming as so important that we had to stake everything on ending the war. At the same time, we have grown from 23 chapters fifteen months ago to approximately 125 chapters now, and the result has been to indicate more clearly than ever before that in important ways we are inconsistent in our thinking, our analysis, and our strategies for social change.

One of the continual attempts at the December Conference then was to push aside the foliage of SDS mythology and slogans to find what sort of roots they have. What does it mean to say we believe in "participatory democracy?" In the new society do we take a national referendum on whether to sever diplomatic relations with Rhodesia? Do workers for U.S. Steel (or what ever that complex might become) participate directly in decisions about capital equipment? "Let the people decide" is a slogan we feel strongly, but how does that work when we get down to specifics? To say "There's a change gonna come" has almost become a device for avoiding the responsibility of thinking and talking about what that change is going to be and why that change instead of some other. In short, there was a strong conviction at the Conference--one which carried over into the NC--that analysis has to be deepened and from that, ideology and strategy should emerge. Slogans should reflect a carefully developed ideology, not substitute for one.

In the past year activist demands and chapter servicing have placed research, analysis, and publication at such a low level national priority that organizationally these activities have almost ceased. With this awareness and in the context of the intellectual renaissance of the December Conference, the NC unanimously approved the Radical Education Project. The premises of the project as set forth in the Haber proposal are the following:

- 1) the need for membership education and a high level of internal discussion on substantive issues of theory, values, strategy and program.
- 2) that the national office is not able to give priority or adequate attention to these educational needs because of the heavy demands of action and organizing work.

- 3) that the direction of an educational program requires a degree of intellectual expertise and experience that either do not adequately exist in the organization at this time or are otherwise committed to action work.
- 4) that the pace and demands of action tends to pre-empt resources for other aspects of the organization's work, in particular from its educational responsibilities.
- 5) that education goes on basically at the chapter and individual membership level; a national program can at best provide resources to stimulate and facilitate this local process.
- 6) that education must deal with particulars; it must provide members with facts, ideas, proposals, history, arguments and counter-arguments on the particular issues and social problems which engage their interest. Only from such understanding of particulars can a conception of general principles and "ideology" develop concrete meaning.

On these bases, the following requirements for an educational program are indicated: It must have high intellectual quality. It must function separately from the national office and from the action work of the organization. It must draw on the skills and knowledge of many people not now in the organization. And it must have a guaranteed claim on a portion of the organization's financial resources, both as a concrete sign of the importance given the program and as a protection against the curtailment of this work because of other unpredictable demands on the national office.

The essentials of the proposal are:

- 1) formation of a committee of 15-25 people (to be selected by the April NC) who assume responsibility for the promotion of radical education and research within the movement.
- 2) the organization of issue study committees or research/study groups on particular problems, ideology, analysis and strategy that people feel important.
- 3) publication of a printed, biweekly education/research bulletin. Alternate issues would be pamphlet length (20-30 pp.) analysis of important problems for radicalism in America. The intervening issues would include discussion, short articles, bibliographies, and other education/research aids.
- 4) establish speakers bureaus on issue areas important to the movement and to organize speakers tours to chapters, traveling workshops, conferences, etc.
- 5) organize knowledge (of people, educational resources, techniques, experiments, etc.) that can be useful to the membership and local groups in promoting educational work. Find ways to make this information available and to assist local groups in carrying out programs.
- 6) establishes REP as the first financial priority of SDS after NO maintenance and publication expenses, though the project would

do its own fundraising and would probably become financially independent.

- 7) creates an implementation committee to operate from Ann Arbor composed of people from Ann Arbor and Chicago: Al Haber, Mike Locker, Carl Oglesby, Dick Flacks, Todd Gitlin, Lee Webb, Bob Ross, that committee to have a \$1000 budget for the next three months to begin fundraising, work out problems of budget, printing, distribution, etc.

STRUCTURE

Centralism vs. decentralization was the theme of debate over modifications of SDS structure. The questions: What is democratic decision making? Who should decide what? What happens when a crisis booms? Several changes in organizational structure as an attempt to answer these questions. The feeling of the NC was that the solutions arrived at are temporary and that further thought and study need to be given to the problems of structure.

Since September decisions, particularly Booth's build not burn statement, have been made in the National Office which many people felt were arrived at undemocratically. One of the major problems has been there was no interim decision-making body in the organization outside of the National Council which could make political decisions (i.e. decisions which create or change organizational policy rather than implement policy as set forth by the NC). Recognizing the fact that there may again be political decisions which have to be made by the national office staff because of another crisis brought on by the government, the following proposals were passed by the NC in attempt to separate political from operational decisions and widen the base of participation should interim political decisions be necessary.

National Office: The national Office is to see itself as the administrative arm of the organization. It should service those programs and priorities set by the National Council rather than establish program and priorities. The National Secretary will continue under the supervision of the National Administrative Committee to be director of the day to day activities of the NO, but like other officers of the organization, will make no statements outside the political consensus of the organization or the mandates of the NC.

National Administrative Committee: The NC decided to continue the existence of the National Administrative Committee with two major changes. The first is that this committee is to see its major role as assisting the national office in making those day to day, but major administrative decisions (e.g. allocation of large sums of money, major staff reallocations, purchase of capital equipment, etc.). In addition to the seven people in the Chicago area who were elected to the committee, six people from other areas in the country were added who will receive special delivery letters announcing the agenda of the NAC meetings and may then call in their votes and opinions on items on the agenda. They then receive all minutes of NAC meetings.

National Interim Committee: A major problem which faced the organization was how the question of decisions of political import should be made between National Council meetings. Ideally none would be made, but our anti-war campaign creates pressures far from ideal (remember Katzenbach). At first people seemed to feel that one answer was to elect delegates from each region who would convene in person or by mail or phone in times of an emergency or for major political decisions (such as the content of press statements which are of a political nature or the content of press statements which are of a political nature or the content of publications printed on programs, etc.). It was seen, however, that 1) not all areas in the country have regional structure and 2) that those which do do not as yet have mechanisms for decision making which are either representative or democratic. Since its existence, however, (magnificent discovery!) SDS has had as part of its constitution the National Interim Committee which is made up of the fifteen at-large delegates elected by the National Convention to the National Council and the two national officers. These people could be called as an interim body for decision-making between National Council meetings, but this has never happened. It was decided that this body should be called into session for political decisions short of a major crisis as they are the most representative body in the organization at this time. In times of a major emergency the entire NC should be convened or really major decisions should be made by the NC thru mail ballot.

VIETNAM PROGRAMMING

On the Vietnam issue, contending positions were too polarized for any realistic compromise to be achieved. While there was significant anti-war activity in the local chapters, no delegates were able to translate this into a national strategy for the organization that would reflect the concern for building a radical movement for social change. It was felt that having no program was better than pursuing one which detracted from this central goal. A start toward the development of an integrated political anti-war program was, however, made in the adoption of Lee Webb's criteria for Vietnam programming. Webb will be contributing a paper on the implementation of the criteria which will sharpen the discussion and provoke counter-interpretations.

Webb Criteria for Vietnam Strategy:

- a) The program must broaden the base. We must meet the escalation of the war not by escalating the militancy of our tactics but by deepening and extending the anti-war movement.
- b) The program must build a new left and plant seeds for an adult left.
- c) The program must concentrate on the relation of Vietnam to domestic issues.
- d) In relating to the anti-war movement we must argue that a domestic social movement is the only way to profoundly alter foreign policy, and that radicals have more important priorities than simply ending the war.
- e) We must recognize and resist our tendency to make Vietnam the issue and devote some of our energies directly to building a domestic social movement.

Two programs were adopted; one is designed exclusively for campus use and the other as a tool in community organizing. They are The Freedom Draft and the Freedom Budget. Despite the prior contro-

ers, over the Booth "Build-not-Burn" press statement and some minority debate at the NC over possible legal implications of the Freedom Draft, the latter was overwhelmingly adopted.

Freedom Draft:

Proposed text:

"I want to work for democracy. I do not want to fight in Vietnam because the war is destroying our hopes for democracy both there and at home. I want to build, not burn. The work done by many young Americans in Alabama and Mississippi is a prime example of what I want to do."

Specific Objectives:

1. To allow tens of thousands of young people who cannot conceive of joining in more militant forms of protest an additional channel of stating opposition to the war, and thereby demonstrate the fact that American youth do in fact desire alternatives to the war and personal alternatives to the draft.

2. To give us a chance to elaborate our domestic critique at the same time as our critique of the war.

3. To confront young people with the question: "bomb or build?" and with the possibility of committing their lives to ERAP and similar work.

4. The registration tables for the Freedom Draft would be a focus of organizing new people into opposition to the war, and of re-cruiting for decent programs. These tables would be a good device for introducing SDS to a college or high school.

Mechanics:

The draft card is made of three detachable sections: a post card which is sent to LBJ; a card which is carried by the signer, and a card which is given to the "registrars" and eventually is sent to the central depository in Chicago in order that a national total can be announced.

Mailings of information about ERAP might be sent to the singers. Movement of Many Voices would be reprinted and would be as much a part of the Freedom Draft registration tables as literature on the war, our C.O. handbook, etc.

Freedom Budget:

The months ahead can be expected to bring important spotlights on the disarming of the war on poverty. Johnson's economic retrenchment, coming at a time when the poor are waging vigorous battles against the red-tape and blue-ribbon character of the poverty war presents a climate in which Vietnam activity may find a real base within poor communities. The Freedom Budget is an attempt to do this through the "gimmick" of a petition.

Proposal:

A central thrust of SDS's political program for 1966 should be a national petition demanding that domestic expenditures be expanded rather than cut back, to which would be appended local demands, based on community surveys of people's felt needs, e.g. schools, hospitals, recreation facilities, etc. The local demands would be solicited from people of all sorts--slum dwellers, middle class parents, etc.--and would serve to relate their felt needs to the issues of national power and the war in Vietnam.

The wide scale circulation of the petition on campus, in the community, and among constituents of large organizations of all types

would be the basis of the formation of local committees of adults and students which could lead eventually toward a Movement for a Democratic Society.

The information on local needs which would be added to the petition in each area could be forwarded to the National Office where it might serve as the initial data for constructing a Freedom Budget. The petitions, if half a million signatures could be gathered, would be presented to the government as part of an appropriate national event, although the most important part of the campaign would be the organizing done around it.

Therefore, the SDS National Office is mandated:

1. At the direction and with the approval of the N.A.C., draft a short national petition protesting the transfer of resources from public needs to the military budget, and proposing alternatively vastly expanded needed public programs, such programs to be administered democratically.

2. Encourage local SDS groups to conduct surveys of community needs in their own localities to indicate how such resources if available could be used, and formulate local demands to be added to the national petition.

3. Prepare 'how-to' materials and otherwise aid local groups to involve others in their area, both in the petition drive and in other forms of political activity based on these demands.

4. Approach other national organizations for cooperation and endorsement.

5. Prepare pamphlets and other materials, designed for a variety of audiences, to explain alternatives to Johnson's policies of economic retrenchment.

Action was also taken by the NC to support those who were arrested in the Ann Arbor draft board sit-in on Oct. 15 and subsequently reclassified from 2-S to 1-A and to challenge Gen. Hershey's plan to break anti-draft activity by expeditious induction of protesters.

The details of that program are:

- 1) Petitions would be presented to local draft boards demanding that they not use the draft as a weapon for silencing dissent.
- 2) Petitions would challenge draft board members to public debate
- 3) Petitions would announce themselves as opponents of the war.
- 4) Activity would concentrate on those boards which have reclassified the Ann Arbor twelve.

A number of proposals which circulated to the conference participants and NC delegates were not presented to the NC for deliberation. Carl Oglesby's International Peace Brigade proposal was tabled while others such as the proposal for a petition to UN delegates co-ordinated by the Reed chapter and another for a public statement to President Johnson commending cessation of the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were defeated.

In deciding on financial allocations, Vietnam activities were given a separate funding category and a priority above other programs. This financial emphasis despite the absence of a national anti-war program reflected the agreement of delegates that spending for the publication of educational material on the war would be important in the coming months.

PROGRAMS

In addition to the Vietnam programs, the NC approved programs based on the Delano Grape Strike, the Tulsa Oil Exhibition (coming up this spring), Southern Africa, radicals and the arts, a radical theater magazine, and SDS 'infra-structure'. Some of these are outlined below; others will be covered in the next newsletter.

Delano: The San Francisco and Los Angeles regions were mandated to provide papers for the rest of the organization covering the status of the Delano Grape Strike, the boycott, rationale for SDS involvement in support of the strike, and techniques for setting up boycott committees.

Oil Project Proposal:

I. RESEARCH. A network of interested people will do research on the power oil corporations exert in this country and th world. These researchers should see their jobs in a broad framework of lending continuity to the power structure research that was begun in the South Africa project of documenting the interconnections of powerful institutions in this country as they relate to determining governmental policy. (Ex. The Chase Manhattan Bank is known in the trade as the "oil Bank" since much of the business of the oil majors is done through it and it is controlled by the Rockefeller-Standard interesstes.)

The research of individuals can take off in many directions depending on interest. Some of it would be aimed at imperialism and some at domestic implications (control of the universities, state governments, etc.). But the overall aim would be to study power in America and publish the results for internal education.

II. ACTION. As a regional action project to grow out of this research chapters in and surrounding Oklahoma will prepare a response to the International Petroleum Exposition to be held in Tulsa, May 12-21. (This event, held once every seven years, constitutes the largest single industry show in the world and draws over 30,000 oil men from 56 countries.) This response will take the teach-in format of a public forum on the opening day of the exposition to "ask the oil men a few questions." Attempts will be made to do this in cooperations with other interested organizations such as the Iranian Student Association; CORE, etc. Since one of the functions of the Exposition is PR, it will be leafleted on the opening day asking people to come to our public forum to discuss the issues the oil men won't at the exposition proper. There will be workshops all day and an evening program will have speakers such as Jack Minnis, Stanley Aronowitz, Harvey O'Connor, and Robert Engler. It should be kept in mind that the announcement of such a program in that part of the country should generate its own contreversy and guarantee public attention.

III. IMPLEMENTATION. Research will be coordinated from the national office so that it could be immediately distributed to the membership through whatever regular publication ends up going out from there. The action project will be planned and coordinated by the Austin Regional Office.

Southern Africa Programming: The National Office was mandated to co-ordinate activities on American foreign and investment in Southern Africa. While it was recognized that chapter activity should be in close conjunction with local groups sponsoring So. African activities (such as SAFAC in Los Angeles, Committee on Africa in N.Y., etc.). SDS adopted a national program which included the following:

- 1) U.O. co-ordination of research on American investments in So. Africa and American participation in South African investment in Rhodesia.
- 2) Development of boycott programs, etc. against specific targets (such as was done with Chase Manhattan).
- 3) A call for teach-ins and demonstrations in solidarity with the South African blacks around March 21st, the anniversary of the Sharpsville massacre.
- 4) Preparation and distribution of educational materials on the Verwoerd regime, the freedom struggle in South Africa, and the role of American business and foreign policy.
- 5) An attempt shall be made to have an SDS person testify at the Congressional hearings on South Africa being held in Washington in March with the possibility of co-ordinated activity around the country before or during those hearings.

The program is viewed as a continuing effort aimed at building a pre-emptive anti-interventionist movement in the United States. Activities will be coordinated by a committee in Chicago currently chaired by Tom Condit.

Radicals and the Arts and the Radical Theater Magazine: More in the next newsletter.

Infra-structure: The NC urges, pleads, begs, that chapters and regions establish newsletters and discussion bulletins as one device for building a richer, more stable organization and developing new leadership. For the same reasons the NO and the regional offices should promote institutes and conferences on a variety of topics.

PRIORITIES

One of the problems with decision-making in the NO in regard to the rest of the organization is that the NC usually fails to make clear its priorities as guidelines for the NO to follow. As a result of the Dec. NC we have begun to move away from that problem and fairly clear priorities were set. Those priorities are as follows:

- 1) A worklist which carries hard news about the activities of the NO and about other news which the membership should have must go out weekly to the entire membership. Recognizing the importance of this worklist and of the services of the NO to the organization, the NC made the budget of the NO the first priority of the organization and allocated it \$4000 dollars per month to include staff salaries, rents, phone, money for publications and mailings, etc.
- 2) Reflecting the concerns of the December Conference, Al Haber's proposal for a Radical Education Project was given second priority

committing the organization over the next 3 months to spending up to \$1000 dollars needed to get REP started.

3) Based on the experiences of the four regional office which exist now and on the projections of other people, the NC decided that regionalism should be strongly encouraged. Regional offices and their staffs should be able to relieve the national office of its tremendous work load of purely administrative service to chapters. Regionas are also encouraged to set up their own decision-making bodies and to develop and service their own programs. Money will be allocated from the national office to assist the establishment of new offices and to help older ones who need it.

4) Fourth priority was given to the publication of the Bulletin and assistance in the financing of a membership Bulletin to go out bi-weekly to the entire membership (if possible from some other location than the NO).

5) Fifth priority was given to Vietnam programs and the publication of materials on Vietnam.

6) Sixth priority was given to all other programs in terms of the allocation of financial resources.

7) Final priority was given to the development of a contingency fund for emergencies and the purchase of capital equipment for the NO.

DECEMBER CONFERENCE REPORT

The December Conference is hard to evaluate, even harder to write about. Approximately 400 people came to Champaign-Urbana. Impressions are random. Excellent discussions. Bad ones. It's impossible to sum up. Workshop topics ranged from "Ideology" to "Organizing Young Adults" and "Radical Theatre" to "The Radical Marriage". Since there were always at least four workshops in simultaneous session, we can't report on all of them. Perhaps comment on individual workshops is the best we can offer.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE DECEMBER CONFERENCE

The workshop on ideology and the one titled "Participatory Democracy" and the New Society" ... carried similar impact: It's time to push beyond our general assertions of interconnections between civil rights, the war budget, control by power elites, alienation of people from their work and from the kinds of lives they find themselves leading, the degradation of the poor, and the vacuity of the universities. We need to redirect our attention to the difficult and frustrating problems of building a movement for social change. In what way do our activities on Vietnam radicalize people and extend our base? Do the people we talk to become disillusioned with our role in Vietnam without seeing connections with other areas of social malaise? And if so, what does that say about our Vietnam programs?

We need to push past our slogans ("Participatory democracy," and Baby, "There's a change gonna come,") and into the sort of analysis that allows us to talk concretely about that change and how it affects the lives of people we talk with (see the intro. to the National Council report on the Radical Education Project, p. 4). It's time to talk concretely about access to power and how the movement gains power without compromising its democratic values. But that means fermenting tensions within SDS; as people's analysis and developing ideology become clearer, so will their differences from the ideas of their friends within the organization: we will need to give a lot of attention to the problems of holding together a community of people in which honest differences take on major import. For if we cannot within the democratic new left find ways of relating to those with whom we disagree, we have little chance of avoiding the splintering of the old left or of building a new society; let alone a society in which love and understanding are more than lip-service values.

One of the most encouraging workshops of the December Conference was the one on research. It soon became clear that almost every one of the more than 100 people there has under way research projects ranging from the intrigues of machine politics on Chicago's West Side to specific corporate interests in South Africa, from theoretical work on the power structure in U.S. cities to an institute sponsored study of the specific power structure in every community of 25,000 or more people in the good ol' U.S. and A. SDS isn't intellectually dead! it just hasn't been publishing (again, see the Radical Education Project, p. 4 ff.).

General consensus is that Vietnam workshops were very bad. People spent hours listening to unimaginative talk about old programs; new crash programs, suicide programs, dead-end concerns (e.g., what do we do about persecuted service men)-- all this without working out clear criteria for evaluating successful Vietnam programming. Perhaps the lesson to be learned from these workshops is that people have to go into group discussions with clear intentions of serving the needs of the group, of tying together theoretical and practical insights, of making program speak to theory.

In that connection, one of the most interesting workshops--so we're told-- was the one which combined discussion of ERAP with Coalition. Discussions leaders Steve Max and Norm Fructer insisted that people be specific and talk to each other's points. Old conference goers can testify that there's nothing worse than the workshop in which people stand up and deliver monologues which have little or nothing to do with what has been said by the speakers who immediately preceded them, nothing better than the workshop in which people who don't understand the point made by a speaker press him to clarify himself and subordinate their own pet concerns to developing the ideas the group is dealing with.

For the first time at an SDS conference women came together to talk about problems of women in the movement or women as an oppressed class. Movement men unaware of the problems of women should reflect that in most ERAP projects, in many "radical" marriages, and in the National Office, women frequently get relegated to "female" types

of work--dish washing, cooking, cleaning, clerical work, etc. At national conferences, conventions, or council meeting, the problems of women become part of the general problems of prestige within the organization. Leaders with established reputations for cogent thinking are listened to with much more attention than people with equally good ideas who are less skillful (i.e., less experienced) in presenting their ideas. In an atmosphere where men are competing for prestige, women are easily dismissed, and women, accustomed to being dismissed, come to believe that their ideas aren't worth taking the time of the conferees; in short, they accept the definitions men impose on them and go silent. These are problems for the whole organization which deserve further attention. (A resolution which came out of the women's workshop and will be printed in the next newsletter was passed by the National Council)

The workshop on coalitions was, as is usual when SDS discusses coalition, unsatisfactory. One of the difficulties, is that people in these discussions tend to make an either-or issue of coalition rather than talking about circumstances and degree. The anti-war movement is, after all, a loose coalition of liberals and radicals. Meaningful discussion of coalition must be based on a strategy for social change and should develop criteria for evaluating specific situations.

Finally, a workshop on adult organizing, the Movement for a Democratic Society, or whatever we call it worked over the problems which thus far have prevented an adult organization from coming into being. For more than two years now, people have felt the need for such an organization, and the National Convention on at least one occasion mandated the National Council to bring such an organization into being. The need is clear; adults who find it impossible to relate to groups on the old left feel themselves too far removed from student status to be SDS members look to us for meaningful ways to relate to the movement. SDS members who graduate have no group to go to for moral sustenance and support. Yet such an organization doesn't simply happen. As Lee Webb said in a conference working paper, a national founding convention for adults would be both "a museum and a circus." People disagree about how the adult organization and SDS should relate to each other. Should they be the same? Separate? Related through the Radical Education Project (some agree, here that they should)? Should we concentrate on helping adults organize along professional lines as social workers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers are now doing in the major cities across the land, or should we concentrate on building cross-professional, cross-occupational organizations? People did agree that whatever happens will happen at a local level and that at most a national newsletter should keep adults in various parts of the country informed of what others are doing and thinking. Finally, however, it appears that people are ready to begin working seriously to try to bring adult organizations into being. In Chicago, the at-large chapter of SDS is getting ready to hire a full time staff member to work on developing program and reaching out to adults not involved; and here in our regional office Norm Potter, a new staff member, beginning to develop dialogue on how to cut through the problems of adult organizing.

CHAPTER NEWS

CHAPTER REPORT ON S.D.S. AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

by Jerry paul simpson

This is a kind of chapter report of S.D.S. at the U. of Oregon; I say "kind of" because I want to de-emphasize our projects and talk instead about the organizational policies and style of this group. I will refer to this group as S.S.A. rather than S.D.S., since this S.D.S. group was formed out of an independent group known as "Students for Socialist Action," which was formed in January of '65, and I hope my comments on S.S.A. will be of some value to people who are organizing new groups.

S.S.A. was started with an attitude--"If you're worried about being called Red, flake off, we don't want you, go join Y.D.s"--and that attitude was important for attracting people who were interested in doing more than just talking and who were interested in building a left-wing sentiment rather than a single-issue group. This kind of militant tactic of course wouldn't work in a situation of adult or community organizing, but it was certainly useful here for building a student group with a sense of movement.

The intentionally "pink" name, Students for Socialist Action, was a useful starting point: (1) it immediately scared away the gutless, useless liberal democrats, and (2) appealed to the anarchistic (hence creative) students who were repulsed by the idea of trying to bore-from-within a nice, safe-sounding, watered-down organization. Thus, the S.S.A. not only acquired fresh talent by politicizing the alienated student but also demanded a clarity of issues and ideas. I'll add here that politicizing the creative, alienated student contains both a virtue and a problem: (1) the alienated student has insight in corporate America, but (2) some conflicts arise because they aren't used to functioning in a group. The S.S.A.'s militant attitude--which weeded out several moderates--gave it more influence on campus than could have been acquired by starting with a safe, moderate approach.

Three more factors contributed heavily to the S.S.A.'s success as a campus group: (1) it was internally democratic (which is rare by itself), (2) it was independent from any national office and known to be antagonistic towards aligning itself with any national office, and (3) it was hostile towards adopting any specific credo. The people, and attract students with potential. Moderates couldn't.

What are the implications for "new left" organizers?

The S.S.A. contained several desirable things: militancy, internal democracy, and a feeling of independence and spontaneity. Not all of these things are necessary for maintaining a group, but they are useful for starting a group. For example: it was easy to attract people to a group which was known to be hostile towards affiliation with an outside force; it would have been harder, initially, to attract people to a Chicago-based organization.

A few words on our relation to other groups. The Establishment-Y.R.-Y.A.F. conspiracy: they have been, on occasion, of great value in generating publicity for ourselves and the issues we raise. al: don't worry about being denounced--it's extremely useful, at least for campus organizing. Y.D.s: like Thoreau, we "find" ourselves by, or in opposition to, the YD.s. Occasionally they've been allies, but this has diminished with an escalated war and the increased clarity of issues: we just don't dig the bi-partisan party line. C.O.R.E.: they want our support, but they want to avoid a radical image; potential allies. Faculty-Student Committee To Stop The War: the Faculty-Student Committee was formed after we raised the issue of Vietnam by a march of protest thru down-town Eugene, and our working relation (as opposed to ideological relation) has been very good. T.T.P.: terrible, particularly after Robert Pickus Red-baited the April march-on-Washington. T.T.P. in Eugene, and nationally, is really bizarre: our government is slaughtering literally thousands of Vietnamese peasants per month, but T.T.P. will not "soil" their hands by fronting with radicals.

That's about it. One of the reasons why we decided to join S.D.S.--this Fall--was a legitimate fear within S.S.A. that we would eventually lose the thrust of our spontaneity and needed an on-going program in order to avoid factional splits over doctrinal, or imagined doctrinal, points. However, I think it is important that new groups start with a noticeable sense of militancy, immediacy, and independence. After groups become involved in issues on their own terms, they will inevitably consider their relation to the national scene and take the appropriate orientation and/or affiliation.

Right now S.D.S. here is in a nebulous condition. The December Conference should provide us with some needed direction, but even if it doesn't we'll probably go thru a lot of self-criticism just for our own coherency.

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VIETNAM - Crisis in U.S. Government - Roads to Political Change

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S D S B R O K E

THE POSTAGE FOR THE 1500 COPIES OF THIS NEWSLETTER DROPPED OUR BANK BALANCE TO \$11.45. FRIDAY WE MUST PAY \$50 RENT AND A PHONE BILL OF \$98.65, AND THEN THERE'S FOOD FOR THE STAFF.....

YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED

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