

NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS · 1608 W · MADISON · CHICAGO · ILL.

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 26

let the people decide

JULY 10, 1967

AFTER THE CONVENTION . . .

Warning!!! This article may be dangerous to your health. Sounds funny, doesn't it. But it ain't, for you are about to begin to read the minutes of the 1967 National Convention and June, 1967 National Council meeting.

For those of you who were there or have been to national meetings before the surrealistic nature of minutes would seem to be nothing more than an accurate reflexion of what occurs at such meetings. Those uninitiated in these mystic rites would find minutes nothing less than a very bad trip; and for all, printing of exact minutes would be both a waste of time and space.

Therefore, what follows is a format which is a compromise between exactness, speed (in preparation) and readability. As you read down these columns you will find all of the pieces of legislation passed set inside the columns (without having gone through any stylizing process so that some of them are in various stages of literacy). This means you can skim down the columns and just read the legislation. Around each piece of legislation is some short explanatory material that should provide you with some of the debating context in which the legislation was passed and references to pieces of legislation which we defeated. You will also find interpretive material for sections of the legislation which seemed to be unclear, parliamentary rulings that effected the outcome of the debate, and all other material that had a bearing on the actions of the Convention. So...we may as well start, at the beginning.....

Steve Max took the chair, introduced the initial cast of characters, and called on Steve Halliwell to read the report from the Credentials Committee; thus starting the seventh annual credentials fight.

credentials

The VOICE chapter submitted a list of 36 convention delegates to the NO in a letter received June 17. At the rate of one delegate for every five national members, the delegates list presupposed 180 national members. Since the figure seemed high to NO staff members, the membership list of VOICE was compared to the NO files for Ann Arbor.

The comparison shows: 64 members of VOICE for whom there is no record in the NO files; 10 new members of VOICE who have joined since the June 15 deadline, most of them in the last few days; 5 duplicate or institutional subscribers; and 16 names on the

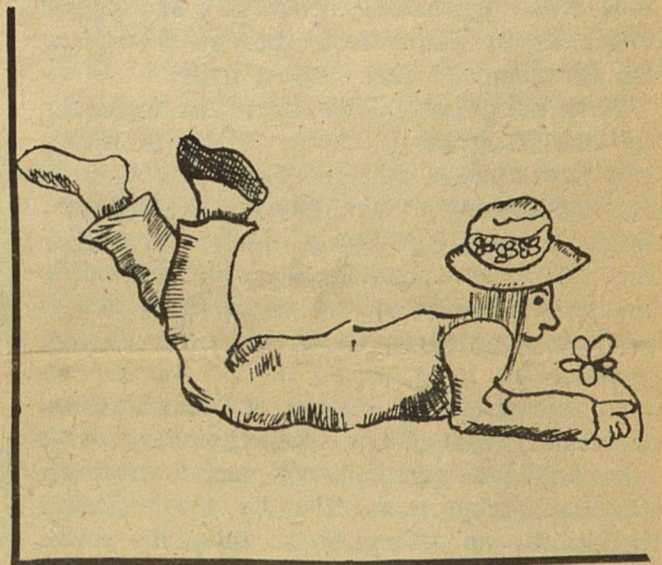
NO files that were not listed in the VOICE membership files.

To begin with the last category first—of the 16 people who are listed in the NO files but not by VOICE, 9 are not listed in the phone book, one is known to be residing in Ann Arbor but has no relation to VOICE, and another reported by phone having been a member of VOICE last year and a subscriber to NLN but is no longer active.

There is a serious question about the formation of the membership files for the VOICE chapter—like two people in the previous group, many of the people listed as VOICE members reside in Ann Arbor but have no relation to VOICE. Prior to a VOICE membership drive last year, the membership files consisted, according to membership sec'y Skip Taube, of a list of national members residing in Ann Arbor provided by Tom Condit. When memberships were solicited for VOICE, people paid national dues of \$4 (now \$5) and local dues of \$2. To be a member of VOICE, a person had to become a national member of SDS.

However, since memberships were recruited just for the sake of memberships, and since the basis of the file is the list of members residing in Ann Arbor without any necessary relation to VOICE, the usual relation of fewer national members than active participants in a chapter has been reversed, VOICE holds membership cards for 175-180 people and averages 50-60 people at meetings during the school year. The periods of greatest campus activity by VOICE, for example, the period under Zweig's chairmanship when sit-ins were frequently conducted, more than 250 people were active, though not national members.

The question remains of 64 members who VOICE claims have paid national dues and are VOICE members. There are 24 names that are from the original national office list sent by Condit that have apparently since been removed from the national files either for non-payment or because of change of address. The remaining 40 are either mistakenly presented as national members or have been mishandled in the national office. Of the national members whose names appear both in the VOICE file and the national office files, 49 of those are from the original Condit list. Since there has been no system of indicating lapsed national memberships before six months ago, it is uncertain how many of that list are still current. That leaves 61 members of unquestioned current status in VOICE.



The question posed by the Credentials Committee was what should be the size of the VOICE delegation. Debate here centered mainly around the present antagonistic relationship between VOICE and some of the national officers, although, most of the delegates also felt that there was a substantial question of representation raised. After discussing, at some length, the differences in membership numbers, etc. between that reported by the Credentials Committee and that reported by the VOICE chapter, the Convention decided to accept the committee's report and seat 23 delegates from VOICE instead of the 29 that they had contended was theirs.

The debate also pointed to the need for (a) members and chapters being more responsible in reporting credentials to the NO since at least a third of the delegations that were accredited were done so in spite of the fact that their chapters didn't report their coming to the NO in the required manner (b) a more systematic way of handling credential matters in the NO.

Next a report was heard from the Steering Committee on agenda and procedures for filing legislation. Agenda was presented, amended and passed in a very short time. Reports were heard from Greg Calvert, national secretary, and Nick Egelson, president. The Convention then proceeded to deal with a request from CBS that they be allowed to film the Convention for usage in a program of theirs on "The New Left". After some discussion of the role of the bourgeois press the Convention decided that in spite of the fact that we expect to get screwed by any and all parts of the establishment press system it was possible to use the TV coverage to the advantage of the Movement. Therefore, CBS was told that it could come in and film the first hour of the draft debate.

relations with other groups

1. Under pressure because of its imperialist policies abroad and exploitation at home, the American Establishment is clearly responding to such pressures by a pattern of violence against individuals and the oppression and destruction of opposition groups such as student groups, labor unions, organizations of the poor, black organizations, and Left political groups in general.

1. During the summer of 1966, the Philadelphia SNCC office was raided, a few sticks of dynamite were found in the neighborhood near the office, and 11 people were arrested for criminal anarchy. Subsequently the charges were dropped against every person connected with SNCC, but SNCC had been destroyed in Philadelphia.

2. Similarly, at the end of the summer, in Chicago, two community people were forced by police to plant marijuana in the JOIN Community Union office. The people involved told JOIN organizers about this and signed affidavits to that effect, thereby destroying the government's case against JOIN.

3. In early 1967, John Harris, an organizer for the Progressive Labor Party in Watts, was arrested on charges of criminal anarchy for advocating "revolutionary socialism". Back in 1964, Bill Epton, Harlem organizer for PLP, was also arrested for advocating criminal anarchy and for organizing a march protesting police brutality after the Harlem revolt.

4. During May of this year at Texas Southern University, 600 police rioted against students who had been organizing off-campus protests. One policeman was killed by a ricocheting bullet. As an aftermath to this, the police arrested 5 SNCC organizers and charged them with the murder of the dead policeman.

5. On June 20, 1967, 16 people were arrested in connection with a case in New York City. The press alleged that all 16 were members of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), and that they planned to assassinate Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. In fact, however, 2 have been charged with conspiracy to commit murder and 14 with "conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy".

6. Finally, on June 23, 1967, at a demonstration of 10,000 people in Los Angeles protesting U. S. war policies, 1300 police brutally charged the demonstrators, arresting 51 people and hospitalizing 40 others.

Declaration

Therefore, when we read in the news of conspiracies, we respond that there is but one conspiracy: that of the Establishment to maintain the status quo at all costs.

At home, the above-listed cases and others far too numerous to mention constitute not isolated examples but a demonstrated pattern of intent to destroy militant, radical and revolutionary groups which oppose America's policies. Taking as our watchword the slogan of solidarity we maintain that an "injury to one of us is an injury to all of us." We maintain, further, that part of the pattern of oppression is an attempt to splinter the Left and create self-destructive, internal conflicts. SDS will not allow itself to fall prey to the errors of the Left in the Forties and Fifties. We contend that whenever the government feels that some Left group is so dangerous that the government must attack and destroy it, we will support that group by all the means at our command, regardless

of the group's political ideology.

Implementation

We require the national officers to take whatever steps are necessary to implement this resolution by organizing such actions as support demonstrations, defense committees, fund-raising, direct action, and publicizing the true nature of the attacks. The kinds of action will, of course, vary from situation to situation depending on the nature of each situation and SDS's resources, but it should be made clear that we do not intend to allow the government to intimidate or destroy the movement.

Fact

On June 27, President Johnson reviewed the quality of life in America and found it good. However on May 17, in the heartland of the great Texas society, Texas Southern University dormitories with nearly 500 students were bombarded by over 6,000 rounds of ammunition fired by over 500 cops from the Houston police force. The cops acted out the very American form of oppressive racism: they herded everyone outside, laid the students on the ground, beat and walked on the dorm mothers, smashed people's personal possessions, and took them all for questioning without legal consultation.

Five guys were charged with murder, though only three guns were found, and none of them were of the same caliber as that responsible for the cop's wound. These five were chosen for one simple reason: they were leaders of the black liberation movement and members of SNCC. This attempt at repression is systematic, not an isolated phenomenon; the quality of American life manifests itself everywhere.

What creates this style and quality of life in America? Cops of every level express the racism, brutality, and need for violence which this society inculcates in such "public servants". How does the administration of T.S.U. or the city government of Houston explain, through the bourgeois press, the violence exercised by the cops? A piece of watermelon flung at a cop car sufficiently threatened the status quo that the establishment retaliated with brutal oppression.

American society is replete with such tactics of oppression. On June 19, sixteen black men and women, designated by the cops as members of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), were arrested, two charged with conspiring to murder and the rest with conspiring to advocate criminal anarchy. (With the latter charge, anyone in SDS could easily be next.)

The general reaction of the bourgeois press has been to divide and conquer. Its description of the "plot" was as a "Timetable for Murder". In the customary fashion of the press, even the "liberal" New York Post juxtaposed with

that story a picture of Stokely Carmichael and an article about J. Edgar Hoover's linking of Carmichael to RAM.

This frame-up is startlingly similar to the pattern seen two years ago when, four days after the Statue of Liberty frame-up, Malcolm X was assassinated. America breeds a violence which serves the uses and manipulation of the ruling class. President Johnson's idea of the good life exists within the framework of T.S.U., RAM, and Luci Johnson's marriage on Hiroshima day.

Implementation

1) In defending and supporting SNCC and RAM in these instances, SDS chapters are urged to cooperate and aid those groups in whatever manner they request.

2) In terms of our own constituency, the National Office is to gather and disseminate information relating to all future cases of this nature, thus enabling the national officers to meet each situation as it arises.

These two resolutions passed with little debate, most people generally agreeing with the content of the items.

Students for a Democratic Society shall withdraw its affiliation with the International Union of Socialist Youth. The appropriate officer of SDS is mandated to inform the secretariat of the IUSY of this decision.

This was also passed very quickly and with general agreement.

There shall be no formal relations established by SDS with any international student or youth organizations or congresses until the December, 1967 National Council or Conference. Articles analyzing prospective organizations should appear in NLN to facilitate internal discussion and education. SDS shall continue informal relations to get more information in the meantime.

SDS will accept the invitation of the Democratic Republic of Cuba to attend the July Tri-Continental Conference in Havana. The National Council, or in cases of emergency, the interim structure established by the National Council or Convention shall delegate the SDS representative to this congress. Any representative of SDS shall only act as an observer.

SDS shall accept the invitation to send an observer to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Republic in Moscow. The sending of an SDS observer in no way means that we consider the Soviet Union to be either democratic or socialist.

There was much debate on this item. The original proposal involved SDS establishing fraternal and working relations with a number of foreign youth groups: L'Union National des Etudiants Francais, L'Union Generale

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des Etudiants de Quebec, the English students and youth forming around the May 1st Manifesto, the Zengakuren, and German SDS. As well as authorizing the NO to begin making formal contacts leading toward the convening of an international conference of radical students and youth groups. However, people felt that they did not know enough about the groups in question (as well as contradictory opinions expressed about a couple of them) and that it was premature for SDS to begin to move into the international scene in a formal way before some kind of major internal debate on the question.

Those arguing in favor of the original proposal maintained that there was enough information available and that there was a critical need to formalise and expand SDS international work that has already begun.

The original was replaced by the resolution printed above with the understanding that the national officers would continue to maintain and expand on the ties already agreed upon (i.e. SUPA) and that they would pursue informal relations where they were deemed advantageous.

It was then decided to accept an invitation to send an observer to the Tri-Continental conference in Habana and accept an invitation from the Soviet government to send an observer to the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. The only debate on these items centered around amendments to both items (failed in the case of the Tri-Continental, passed in the case of the Soviet) stating that SDS participation in the events "does not mean that SDS believes that Cuba/Soviet Union is democratic or socialist. (See National Council minutes for further debate on SDS observer to Soviet Union)

SDS shall attempt to register with the United Nations as a non-governmental organization for the purpose of establishing informal contacts with the UN delegates.

SDS was asked to do this by SNCC to help them in their attempt to gain similar status at the UN. SNCC feels that their chances would be much greater if it was accompanied by another (specifically white) radical American student group. It was also felt that we would gain valuable access to information out of UN status. This resolution was passed with general agreement.

anti-war activities

The National Convention of SDS regrets the decision of the National Mobilization Committee to call for a March on Washington in October. We feel that these large demonstrations—which are just public expressions of belief—can have no significant effect on American policy in Vietnam. Further, they delude many participants into thinking that the "democratic" process in America functions in a meaningful way. The U. S. government has the power to simply ignore demonstrators who threaten its interests. Nor do we accept the contention that such large demonstrations are the best tool for organizing. Other methods include organizing around local demonstrations, referendums, or draft resistance, as well as issues not specifically connected with the war. This could allow money and time to be diverted to paying for full-time local organizers. The growing opposition to the war is caused far more by the dissatisfaction of the American people from the war in Vietnam than by the tactics of the National Mobilization Committee. This opposition must be not only vocal, but also organized.

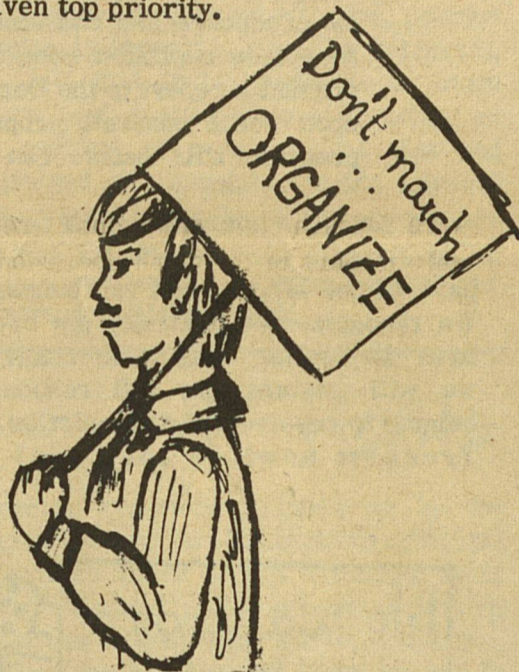
We urge local SDS chapters to participate according to the following conditions:

We urge the National Mobilization Committee to adopt the position of "Immediate Uncon-

ditional Withdrawal". Whether or not the Mobilization Committee does this, we urge all SDS chapters which do participate in the march to support immediate withdrawal. Only such a position is commensurate with our recognition of the real role of the U. S. in Vietnam—not a mistake of an essentially good government, but the logical result of a government which oppresses people in the U. S. and throughout the world.

We urge SDS chapters and the National Mobilization Committee to use the demonstration only as a tool for organizing. To get large numbers of persons to attend the march as their only protest is useless; the march can best be used if it is seen as a tactic to involve people more extensively in the Movement. Thus we recommend that other activities not be diminished because of the march, but rather augmented because the march is effective only to the extent that it aids them. If local work for the march would lead to any curtailment of long-range organizing than we urge people not to participate in the march.

Above all, we call upon all to recognize that marches and visits to the White House will not end the war. Statements or actions by the National Mobilizing Committee to that effect should cease. The task of organizing an on-going movement from below, which will not only be able to confront the government, but actually have the power to cause change, should be given top priority.



The National Convention mandates the National Council to designate representation of SDS to participate as observer in bodies of the National Mobilization Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee in order to help implement SDS's policies on anti-war activities. This in no way is meant to give the NMC and the SMC permission to use SDS's name as endorsing any of its actions or policies.

SDS holds that the position of "Stop the Bombing" and "Negotiations Now" are not in the best interests of the Vietnamese or the American people. Allowing the National Liberation Front token representation in the government which has existed because of U. S. military involvement is no just solution to the Vietnam War. The U. S. has no right in any way to determine the future of the Vietnamese. Therefore we must call for an immediate U. S. withdrawal. The growing sentiment among Americans for an end to the war is a threat to the small minority who benefit from the domination of Vietnam. Leaders like Bobby Kennedy who call for negotiations are trying to channel legitimate desires of American people for peace into a solution which is acceptable to the basic interests of that minority. The anti-war movement must not unintentionally support continued oppression of the Vietnamese. We must insist on an immediate withdrawal of the U. S. from Vietnam.

There was little substantive debate over any of these resolutions, all of them being passed almost exactly as they were presented. The only question that arose was over the exact nature of SDS's participation in the SMC and NMC, with a small group maintaining that SDS should be a full participant in those groups.

UNIVERSITY REFORM

Be it Resolved:

1) That SDS shall organize, co-ordinate and sponsor a national student strike in the spring against the war in Vietnam. SDS will invite other student groups to participate in its program; however, the strike must remain under the sole sponsorship of SDS.

2) That SDS shall cooperate with and participate in the Student Mobilization Committee's program for fall campus referenda against the war in Vietnam because SDS views the referenda as part of the groundwork necessary in building student sentiment for the SDS strike in the spring.

3) That SDS shall encourage and assist local campuses in developing both the fall referenda and the spring strike into multi-issue struggles. The multi-issue character of local strikes and referenda would be developed independently by each campus, although all campuses would be united by the common demand for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. SDS will encourage local campuses to develop these programs around the issues of the presence of the military on campus, the draft, student power, and local working class insurgencies caused by the war. Also, local campuses will be encouraged to relate the meaning and purpose of the strike to working class non-academic employees on their campuses.

4) That SDS shall encourage SNCC and other radical black student groups on black campuses to join us in the spring strike as an independent caucus developing issues and tactics of their own.

5) That SDS shall attempt to give the strike an international scope by (a) getting speakers from anti-imperialistic foreign student groups to travel on U. S. campuses during both the fall referenda and the SDS spring strike and (b) by requesting all foreign radical student groups to strike in sympathy with SDS.

6) That the SDS spring strike shall be of two days duration, except for those campuses that have enough student support around local demands, such as keeping the CIA off campus, that they have a chance of winning. In those cases, national organization would lend special assistance, if requested, in helping those campuses prolong the strike until their demands are won.

7) That SDS shall encourage and assist local campuses, who feel they are unable to strike, in developing local programs, such as teach-ins and demonstrations, that would be supplemental support for strikes on other campuses.

Implementation

All chapters will discuss the strike, which will receive extensive discussion in New Left Notes. All chapters are requested to report to the National Office the possibility for strike or support action on their campus. The December National Council will decide whether or not to call the strike. There must be at least 10 chapters that agree to strike in order for the National Council to be able to call the strike.

The original proposal provided for the Convention to immediately call for a strike. Discussion was raised as to the advisability of calling for a strike at this time without getting an indication from the chapters that a substantial number of them could participate in such an action. A section of the original resolution on SDS's relationship with the United States National Student Association was referred to the National Council for action (see National Council minutes).

SDS supports the campaign against the Institute for Defense Analysis. SDS will assist in coordinating the campaign.

liberation of women

The SDS National Convention adopts the following statement and program as written by the Women's Liberation Workshop.

We call for all programs which will free women from their traditional roles in order that we may participate with all of our resources and energies in meaningful and creative activity. The family unit perpetuates the traditional role of women and the autocratic and paternalistic role of men. Therefore we must seek new forms that will allow children to develop in an environment which is democratic and where the relationships between people are those of equal human beings. These new forms will allow men to benefit from the experience of and responsibility for the protection and continuation of life. The following suggestions are programs which point in the direction of the new relationships which we are creating:

1) The creation of communal child care centers which would be staffed by the men and women and controlled by the staff and children involved in each center.

2) In order to help women in their struggle for independence we call for the right of women to choose when they will have children. This means (a) the dissemination of birth control information and devices to all women regardless of age and marital status, and (b) the availability of a competent medical abortion for all women who so desire.

3) Ultimately technology and automation will eliminate work which is now necessary for the maintenance of the home. Until this occurs every adult person living in the household will have to assume an equal share of the work.

People who identify with the movement and feel that their own lives are part of the base to bring about radical social change must recognize the necessity for the liberation of women. Our brothers must recognize that because they were brought up in the United States they cannot be free of the burden of male chauvinism.

1) Therefore we demand that our brothers recognize that they must deal with their own problems of male chauvinism in their personal, social, and political relationships.

2) It is obvious from this convention that full advantage is not taken of

the abilities and potential contributions of movement women. We call upon women to demand full participation in all aspects of movement work, from licking stamps to assuming leadership positions.

3) People in leadership positions must be aware of the dynamic of creating leadership and are responsible for cultivating all of the resources available to the movement.

4) All SDS chapters must recognize that campus regulations discriminate against women in particular and any program must include in its demands a call for women's rights. The above is also true of all programs conceived and initiated by SDS.

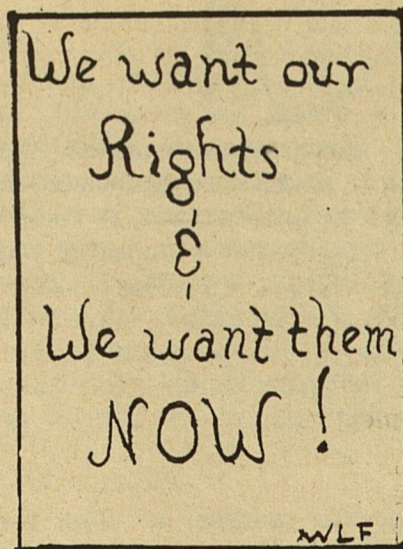
Educating people and generating discussion about the liberation of women shall be the responsibility of the internal education arm of SDS:

1) The editor of NLN shall solicit articles on the subject.

2) Bibliography and pamphlets on the subject shall be part of the program.

3) A committee shall be set up by the National Council to develop an analysis of the exploitation of women as producers and consumers in the American capitalist economy, and to present a report to the December NC upon which concrete proposals of a programmatic nature can be based.

We seek the liberation of all human beings. The struggle for liberation of women must be part of the larger fight for human freedom. We recognize the difficulty our brothers will have in dealing with male chauvinism and we will assume our full responsibility in helping to resolve the contradiction.
freedom now! we love you!



The basis for discussion was laid with a presentation by the women in the Women's Liberation workshop of the following analysis. "The following analysis of women's role came out of the Women's Liberation Workshop; as such it cannot be changed and is therefore not open to debate.

"What is open to this body is the acceptance or refusal of programs designed to (1) free women to participate in other meaningful activities and (2) relieve our brothers of the burden of male chauvinism.

"Analysis: In the world today there are three main divisions among people: Those of the capitalist world, the socialist world and the Third world. The crisis of our time is the transformation from capitalism to socialism. The role of the Third World in this transformation is revolutionary, but an integral

part of their fight is the necessity of their own independence.

"As we analyze the position of women in capitalist society and especially in the United States we find that women are in a colonial relationship to men and we recognize ourselves as part of the Third World. Although we realize that our sisters in the Socialist world have problems with male supremacy, we feel that an analysis of their position would be different than ours and is not necessary for the purposes of this statement.

"Women, because of their colonial relationship to men have to fight for their own independence. This fight for our own independence will lead to the growth and development of the revolutionary movement in this country. Only the independent woman can be truly effective in the larger revolutionary struggle."

With a woman in the chair, debate opened over the question of male participation and voting on the analysis. This was handled by having a general discussion of the position presented in the resolution in a Committee of the Whole and then the Women's Liberation committee withdrew the analysis section as something to be voted on.

Discussion focused around the analog used to relate American women to the Third world. A number of critiques were raised over the lack of material dealing with the role of women in the economy, etc. however it was generally agreed upon that the importance in the analogy was its placing of the problem of male chauvinism within a clear social and political context. That there is a vital need for much study and discussion in order to begin to develop a solid analysis from which we can begin to seriously attack the problem of male chauvinism. (See N. C. minutes for election of the Women's Liberation Committee)

draft & resistance

SDS reaffirms its opposition to conscription in any form. We maintain that all conscription is coercive and anti-democratic, and that it is used by the United States Government to oppress people in the United States and around the world.

The Selective Service System is a comprehensive system of coercion and manipulation of the American people:

1) By positing cooperation with the Selective Service System as an absolute obligation, the draft shapes a man's life by forcing him to accept predetermined and approved patterns of existence. Whether a person is induced to enter certain occupations, accepts a student deferment, or is drafted into the Armed Forces, he serves the interests of the government and business establishment.

2) The draft provides a manpower pool for an aggressive and imperialistic foreign policy. Americans who cannot freely determine the shape of their own lives are in turn forced to suppress those abroad who struggle for self-determination. A current example is the United States Government's war against the Vietnamese people.

3) SDS believes that a sense of urgency must be developed that will move people to resist the draft as part of the struggle for a free and non-repressive society.

A draft resistance program must move beyond individual protest to collective action. SDS reaffirms its call for the formation of draft-resistance unions. Tactics such as civil disobedience and disruption of the Selective Service System are among those advocated when they complement the overall strategy of resistance to the draft and to other forms of oppression.

SDS does not urge going to jail as a means of resisting the draft, but supports all those whose actions result in imprisonment.

We do not advocate emigration as an alternative to the draft. Nevertheless, we realize that young men are planning such action, and will provide them with information about emigration. We encourage those who emigrate to build international support for the draft resistance unions and to work for an end to American oppression.

SDS encourages chapters and draft resistance unions to aid servicemen in disseminating information about conscientious objection and the war in Viet Nam, as well as aid them in opposition and disruption within the Armed Forces. We also urge aid to servicemen who wish to terminate their association with the Armed Forces by going underground.

All chapters and members of SDS are urged to implement this program on the local level and to commit local resources toward its realization on the national level.

There were two basic debates over the draft issue. The first was raised in the form of an amendment to the legislation printed above. The amendment is the paragraph on organizing in the military. While there was general agreement on the content a number of the delegates felt that it was unnecessary to make such an explicitly illegal statement for the government to use against us. Those arguing in favor contended that it was necessary for us to say exactly what we plan to do in this area and that it was irrelevant to consider what the government could or could not use since it could always dig up something when it decided to move.

The second part of the debate came between the resolution that came out of the Draft workshop (printed above) and one presented from the floor placing the emphasis in the draft organizing on ending the war in Viet Nam and "the political demand that no one should be drafted for the unjust war in Viet Nam".

Delegates arguing in favor of the workshop resolution contended that the draft program should be based on an attack against conscription and how the Selective Service System was tied into the authoritarian and imperialist nature of American society. Delegates arguing in favor of the other resolution contended that the basic question was not the draft but the war in Viet Nam and that the focus in draft organizing should be around the nature of the Viet Nam war. The workshop resolution was passed by a sizeable majority.

cultural revolution

Be it resolved:

1) That SDS endorse and participate in a Provo Conference Tribal Gathering to be held in early September or late November of this fall. SDS authorizes Paul Millman to coordinate the organization of this conference through the N. Y. Regional Office of SDS. NLN will solicit and print relevant articles preliminary to the conference. Among the subjects to be dealt with will be provo actions,

parallel institutions, and drugs and politics. SDS does not necessarily endorse products of the conference, and the NO will not subsidize the conference.

2) That NLN shall join the underground

2) That NLN shall join the Underground Press Syndicate to facilitate news exchanges.

3) SDS shall develop an analysis and critique of, and strategic insights into, the parallel institutions arising today and the bohemian communities. This will be incorporated into our educational program.

This resolution came out of a concern expressed by a number of the delegates that it was now time for SDS to begin to relate and establish working relations with the various underground and counter communities that have begun to develop in the last few years. The only debate that occurred over the amount of emphasis and resources the national organization should put into such a project. The original proposal provided for the hiring of 3 staff people to initiate and coordinate a



program in the development of coops, counter communities in the arts, etc. The delegates, however, felt that there needed to be more information and study before committing as large a section of resources as that and instead passed the mandate for the internal education program developing the necessary analysis and critique for some future meeting to work on. The Convention became a member of the Haymarket Riot fan club.

civil rights

The racist reactions whipped up by the American press and local and national officials in response to black people defending their communities against police attacks points up and is a means of continuing social, economic, and political exploitation of black people in their communities and on their jobs. The pitting of black against white obscures the common enemy of both. In recognizing ghetto rebellion against police violence and the larger system of exploitation that violence represents, we propose that SDS, in consultation with black groups, combat divisive racist reactions in white communities to ghetto rebellions by various means, such as:

1) Before rebellions occur, SDS members should begin the process of organizing against white racism and toward the creation of organizations of poor and middle class whites to act as allies with the black liberation movement. Included in this organizing should be organizing of poor white communities in terms of their own exploitation.

2) When rebellions occur, leafletting in white communities at factory gates, shopping centers, etc., explaining the facts behind the rebellion and pointing out the common interests of blacks and oppressed whites.

3) Organizing sympathy demonstrations at police precincts, on campus, etc., and direct action, including civil disobedience if called for.

4) Providing legal and financial aid.

5) Researching the nature of police departments.

SDS supports SNCC's program of independent political action, and urges people in its constituencies to support independent political action.

The only substantive debate that occurred over this agenda item concerned the support of SNCC in their organizing of independent political action. A number of delegates wanted to know if this statement was interpreted to mean support of a third party movement and when the maker of the motion said no, there was general support of this section as well as the others.

LABOR...

There has been much debate about the working class, its structure, and strategy for dealing with it in recent months in SDS. It is one purpose of the following resolution to create some sort of body to look further into these questions.

Resolution to Create a Labour Research and Action Program to:

1) Collect information (statistics, papers, theory etc.) relating to developments in the working class, broader questions of the class structure of American society, and the labour movement.

2) Gather information and reports on on-going labour projects all over the country.

3) Develop strategic thinking on SDS and labour and on SDS labour projects (i.e. attitudes to trade unions, techniques and styles of organizing).

4) Encourage the development of a variety of labour programs for SDS to be drafted and submitted to the next convention, preferably prepared well in advance.

5) Disseminate all information and theory relative to SDS and labour throughout SDS.

6) Initiate and maintain a labour column in NLN on labour events and struggles throughout the country.

Implementation

This program shall be established and maintained outside the National Office. Specifically, the Harvard-Radcliffe chapter shall be given the task of setting up and running the program, while maintaining close relations with the NO, REP, and REC.

The central object of LRAP is to see to the distribution and dissemination of information on labour throughout the Movement.

SDS shall create a Teachers Organizing Project to organize and work with teacher groups, to set up teachers' groups with programs and policies consistent with SDS.

This project would:

Attempt to set up conferences with teacher groups and individual teachers.

Develop programs with students in schools of education. Send an SDS representative to the AFT Convention (an invitation has already been received) and do this in local and regional conventions.

Develop organizations of teaching assistants in universities.

Try and set up groups in secondary and grade school education which:

- 1) could attempt to work with community groups, parents, students, etc.
- 2) would work toward the development of an SDS philosophy of education consistent with the goals of participatory democracy.

Strive to promote alliances of teachers' groups, the public employees, and other groups of the working class (for example, in the fight against anti-strike legislation).

Start working with university teachers (as a means of connecting student power demands with teachers' organizations).

Develop groups in trade schools, to build further contact with the working class.

Implementations

The NO shall develop organizers, staff funds, etc. in cooperation with LRAP.

SDS, in order to avoid the conservative possibilities inherent in Student Power tactics, must start working with constituencies outside the student body itself.

Therefore, be it resolved that SDS organize and work with university employees on campus. Included in this are hospital workers within the university. The experiments in organizing hospital projects should be aimed at developing a broader national program.

Implementation

The NO is empowered to implement this program.

These three pieces of legislation came out of the Labour workshop and required no substantive debate before being passed.

People who make an attempt to stay informed know about the strike in Rio Grande City. Farm workers, under the leadership of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, have struck a number of farms in Starr County. Their efforts to force the growers to negotiate with them have been hampered by restrictive Texas laws governing picketing and other strike activities. The Texas Rangers have been called in, not only to enforce these outdated laws, but also to do whatever is necessary to insure the fact that produce reaches the consumer. To achieve this end, the Rangers have arrested people affiliated with the strike on false charges, hoping to immobilize the movement by detaining all people who support it.

Given this situation in Starr County, officials from the UFWOC instituted a statewide boycott of produce from Starr County in an effort to put pressure on the struck farms. This tactic met with moderate success only, and failed to force negotiations. It failed mainly because the farms were able to market their produce on a nationwide basis, instead of being restricted geographically.

Faced with the failure of past tactics, the Boycott Staff of the UFWOC has been forced to re-evaluate the effectiveness of the consumer boycott as a weapon and of Texas as a geographical limitation for activity.

This re-evaluation has resulted in formulation of a new plan. At this point, UFWOC hopes to leaflet a major chain store, such as Safeway, on a nationwide basis. The nature of the leaflet is of great importance. It will say "Don't shop at Safeway." and will include pictures of underfed mothers and children in Rio Grande City, and the environment in which the mothers are forced to raise their children. The leaflet will be aimed directly at the mother as a consumer, and will attempt to prevent her from shopping at the store.

Our hope is that we will be able to force major chain outlets to refrain from buying produce from Starr County—as long as they buy the produce, they will be faced with having this leaflet distributed to potential customers. When they realize that their best interests are served by not buying produce from Starr County until an agreement has been made with the farm workers, then a substantial part of the battle will have been won. The struck

farms will have no one to sell to.

The success of this strategy rests with the support which can be developed from groups such as SDS. People will be needed to hand out these leaflets in front of stores, all across the country. Obviously, the farm workers do not have the resources in money or people to affect this.

The SDS National Convention urges

all SDS chapters to participate in the boycott activity initiated by UFWOC.

SDS supports the Levi-Strauss strike in Blueridge, Georgia.

SDS condemns the Jefferson Airplane for making a scab commercial for Levi-Strauss.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Article VI, Section 1 (a) (2) (The National Council shall be composed of...) the eleven national officers.

Article VI, Section 2 Delete the phrase "interviewing and appointment of the national secretary and such other staff as budget allows;"

Article VII Amended to read. The Secretaries shall have the power to call a meeting of a National Interim Committee, to be composed of all the national officers, on a regular basis and in emergencies. Decisions of this body shall be subject to National Council approval.

Article VIII, Section 1 Amended to read. The national officers shall be: National Secretary, Education Secretary, Inter-Organisational Secretary and eight other officers, all to be elected at the Convention and to serve as members of the National Council.

Section 3 The eleven national officers are the spokesmen of SDS. They shall be responsible for seeing that organizational and political policies are carried out and shall convene the National Council. Political responsibility lies with the three secretaries in consultation with the other officers. The three secretaries shall work out of the National Office(s). Important decisions in any one area which are made between meetings of the NIC are to be made by the three national officers together. The officers shall be responsible to the Convention and the National Council.

Section 4 The National Secretary shall have primary responsibility for liaison with other organizations

have primary responsibility for the functioning of the National Office. The National Secretary shall also have the primary responsibility for the implementation of national programs approved by the Convention or National Council.

Section 5 The Inter-Organizational Secretary shall have primary responsibility for liaison with other organizations, both national and international, and for informing the membership about these groups.

bership about these groups. He/she shall not attend congresses, accept money, or establish formal relationships with organisations without the approval of the Convention, National Council or in emergency the NIC. Section 6 The Education Secretary shall have primary responsibility for the functioning of the internal education program.

Section 7 The secretaries shall appoint assistants as necessary, subject to approval of the National Council.

Section 8 The National Council shall

elect administrative bodies to review administrative decisions of the secretaries. It shall also fill, for the duration of the term, positions vacated by the National Officers.

There was very little disagreement over the basic need for the restructuring proposed in the amendments. The delegates felt the need to provide a more rational allocation of political and organizational responsibility than was provided in the hierarchal structure of president-vice president as well as the need to break down the division between administrative and political jobs. The old way of selecting the national secretary, for example, was seen as inadequate since the position was clearly political in spite of the fact that he/she deals with a lot of housekeeping functions and there was no present mechanism for making it politically responsible to the national organisation. It was also felt that there was a need to begin to provide some kind of replacement for the Old National Interim Committee which has proved to be inadequate as either an interim political body or a collectivisation of political leadership. The solutions came upon, as manifested in the amendments, was to provide 3 equal secretaries who are to be responsible for both political and administrative duties; and a smaller number of members in a NIC that could meet fairly frequently, communicate rapidly with each other and who would act in a real sense as political spokesmen for the organisation.

Discussion occurred over the exact duties of the secretaries and some definitions were reached and incorporated in the amendments as well as the following clarification for the official minutes: The job of the Inter-Organisational Secretary is to act as formal liaison with those groups SDS has formal relations with, and to handle all information, correspondence etc. with both national and international groups: to do research into those groups, work with the Education Secretary and NLN editor on disseminating that information to the membership, etc.

There was also discussion over the number and geographic distribution of the NIC. A number of schemes to provide area distribution of the NIC members so that there would be some ongoing link between the NIC members and a active group of the membership but there was feeling that any geographical distribution would, at this time, be artificial and it was finally decided to elect them at large, with the hope that the delegates would try to distribute them as much as possible through the election process. It was also felt that the NIC should meet fairly often and that the NIC members should, whenever possible, be used as the spokesmen for the organisation.

After an interpretation from parliamentarian Jeff Segal that the provision in the Constitution for Constitutional amendment by referendum which requires a 2/3 vote means 2/3's of those voting in the referendum and not 2/3's of the entire membership the amendments that were proposed but not dealt with up to this point were referred to a membership referendum.



ELECTIONS

central committee

Those nominated to the 8 at-large positions on the NIC were: Stan Nadel, Bob Parker, Mark Kleiman, Hank Haslach, Earl Silbar, Jim Jacobs, Mike Zweig, Steve Halliwell, Eric Chester, Mark Scher, John Veneziale, Gordon Burnside, Jeff Shero, Tom Cleaver, Paul Buhle, Pat Fogarty, Ted Stagey, Sue Eanet, Dick Short, Cathy Wilkerson, Steve Kindred, Bob Speck, Thorne Dreier, Paul Shinoff, Arnie Cohen, John Fuerst, Mike James, Mike Sharon, Todd Gitlin, Richard Arbedon, Doug Norberg, Rick Bowman, Jean Peak, Terry Roberts, Alice Fialkin, Robert Frampton, Jeff Segal, Sarah Murphy.

Those elected to the NIC were: Jeff Segal, Jeff Shero, Mike James, Sue Eanet, Greg Calvert, John Fuerst, Cathy Wilkerson, and Steve Halliwell. Alternates (in order): John Veneziale, Mark Kleiman, Paul Shinoff and Thorne Dreier.

The meeting adjourned in the early hours of the morning.

secretariat

Those nominated for:

national secretary
Jeff Segal
Mike Spiegel
Eric Chester

education secretary
Art Rosenblum
Bob Pardun
Sue Eanet

inter-organisational secretary
Mark Scher
Carl Davidson
Bob Speck

Those elected were: Mike Spiegel, national secretary; Bob Pardun, education secretary; Carl Davidson, inter-organisational secretary.

1. Political
2. Social
3. Economic

Labor

Community Organization

General SDS Material: buttons, posters, SDS program listings, maintenance of a current literature list and films

Ethnic Groups: Investigation of the problems of the American Indian with regard to particular issues upon which action could be organized. The finding of this investigation should be published in NLN. Investigation of the Seminole Nations conflict with the US Government. The findings of this investigation should be published in NLN.

Miscellaneous Literature

III. By establishing relations with radical research agencies such as REP, NACLA, Center for Radical Research, etc., the REC will coordinate and expedite transmission of available data and resource information to chapters and organizers who request assistance.

Information packets shall be compiled on major American corporations involved either in war production or heavy foreign holdings. As information is gathered concerning the relationships between the universities and these corporations, it will be dispersed for the use of organizers and chapters.

IV. An active and reliable speaker and film collective will be maintained to service the chapters and T-Os.

V. A complete file of materials produced by chapters and teacher-organizers shall be collected by REC to expedite sharing of experiences and data, and to circulate outstanding organizing tools, and to provide a graphic history of chapter activities.

REC will collect radical publications, particularly those of foreign insurgent movements. Especially significant articles will be digested for New Left Notes.

A Research Library shall be established for the training and use of researchers, organizers, and for use in literature preparation.

THE NEXT DAY... NC

The National Council met for two days after the Convention and dealt with a number of housekeeping duties and the development of implementation programming for the Convention policy decisions.

The meeting started with Jeff Segal taking the chair and presenting to the NC a tentative agenda; which was passed with a couple of amendments.

internal education

This section of the agenda was begun with an oral report from Carl Davidson on the state of SDS internal education and then proceeded to discussion of the proposal for the establishment of a Radical Education Centre.

The Radical Education Centre (REC) will be the internal education arm of SDS. It will exist for the use of chapters and teacher-organizers and will be responsive to their needs. The following areas will be the responsibility of REC in decreasing order of priorities:

I. Maintenance and provision of travelling

teacher-organizers (as established by the April National Council). The people trained in the T-O Institutes shall be hired by the NAC, but before assignments are made, a list shall be sent to regions and chapters, and regions and chapters shall have a choice, either to pick organizers from among the people enrolled in the Institutes or to have the NAC hire candidates of their (the regions and chapters) own selection. Those trained in the Institutes but not selected by regions or chapters shall be assigned by the NAC in consultation and with the agreement of the regions and/or chapters.

II. Steady production and provision of new and relevant literature with emphasis on analytical case studies as a basis for strategy planning. Areas to be covered in literature programs are:

Campus ("corporate involvement on campus: a case study")

War ("military training: an anthology of statements by GI's")

Draft (Draft Resisters Handbook)

Critique of American Society

IMPLEMENTATION

On advisement of a national Editorial Board, the Radical Education Administrative Committee (REAC) shall approve the program and publication decisions of the REC staff. The REAC shall include the National Secretary Ex-Officio, non-voting, with the REC director, who shall be appointed by the NAC, the Literature Secretary, the Education Secretary, one representative elected by the functioning T-Os, one representative of the REP staff elected by the REP staff, and four members elected by the NC from the Chicago area. The REAC shall meet every other week and shall print its minutes in NLN.

An Editorial Board on literature program shall receive drafts of all literature under consideration for publication. They will submit written critiques of the usefulness and accuracy as well as the political analysis of manuscripts.

The Editorial Board shall be composed of chapters from all regions as well as of chapters outside established regions. The mechanisms through which chapters can participate should be decided by the chapters and regions themselves. The Education Secretary and the REC Director are responsible for making sure that this procedure functions. The Editorial Board shall be reconstituted

at the December 1967 National Council and at subsequent June and December National Council meetings. This procedure is to be reviewed and, if necessary, changed, by the December, 1967 National Council.

No chapter may serve two terms on the editorial board until all chapters have served. The December, 1967 NC will evaluate the program of the REC to that date.

Further editorial influence may be asserted by any member who requests and responds in writing to available manuscripts as they are announced in the REAC minutes.

A house has been purchased in Chicago. It can quarter library, offices, organizers, a press, and conferences.

Heavy literature sales and solicited donations will be relied upon for funding of the REC.

The REC will serve as administrative centre for the internal education program with the literature, research, library, and Teacher-Organizing servicing coming out of a house in Chicago. Discussion took place over means of placement of the T-O's and there was some refinement of the original proposal in terms of providing some formal, political checks for regions and chapters on the placement of T-O's in their area.

organizational

The Education Secretary shall be responsible for finding a site for the National Convention. He shall report to the fall and winter NCs the state of his investigation for a site and a confirmed site shall be presented no later than the spring NC.

The National Officers shall appoint the following staff at the spring NC or immediately following the spring NC: a credentials secretary, a housing secretary, a literature secretary, a steering committee secretary, a records secretary, and a convention coordinator. Their responsibilities are as follows:

Credentials—to compile records of chapter delegates from credentials filed in advance by mail; to verify the size of chapter delegations; to chair the meetings of the Convention Credentials Committee; to present the Credentials Committee report to the Convention; and to present complete records for any roll call vote at the Convention or National Council.

Housing—to find adequate housing for the maximum number of delegates anticipated. He is empowered to find either private or public university housing as is available and is empowered to complete contractual arrangements for said housing.

Literature—to coordinate literature production before the Convention, arrange permits for literature sale beforehand, set up committees to handle sales of literature at the Convention, and make certain that the literature is safely stored at all times.

Steering Committee—to coordinate organisation of workshops arranged before and during the Convention, to coordinate writing of resolutions, to chair meetings of the Convention Steering Committee, and to present the agenda report at the Convention.

Records Secretary—to make sure that all resolutions and amendments are secure and in proper order at all meetings, that minutes are kept and secured at all times, and that

facilities for mimeographing resolutions and ballots be secured in advance.

Convention Coordinator—to secure rooms for all functions and necessary equipment (projectors etc.) to serve as information and announcement coordinator and to direct information and questions to the proper secretary or staff.

Steve Halliwell presented this proposal in response to the discussion at the beginning of the Convention over the credentials problem and in order to provide a means for organising future conventions in a more efficient manner than was available for this Convention.

Be it resolved that the NIC be authorized to take up any complaints formally made by vote of a chapter, regarding the editorial style or other policies of NLN, and that any such complaints should they be widespread shall be taken up by the next National Council.

Be it resolved that the National Council authorize the inclusion of letters to the editor and encourage the publication of theoretical articles and replies to them on a regular basis in NLN.

The NC, concerned over problems in both lack of familiarity with Robert's Rules of Order and the need for better ways of conducting business created a standing committee mandated to look into finding alternate ways of conducting business meeting other than Robert's Rules of Order. The committee will keep the membership of sds informed through NLN during the year. Three people were appointed to this committee: Jeff Segal, Bob Speck, and Robin Hunter.

Elections

The NC confirmed the appointments of Steve Halliwell as assistant national secretary



and Bob Gottlieb as assistant inter-organizational secretary.

National Administrative Committee (NAC)

It was decided to reconstitute the National Administrative Committee as a 10 member body with the three secretaries ex-officio (non-voting) members and seven members elected by the NC at-large from the Chicago area. Out of these seven, no more than three can be full-time staff members.

Those elected were: Mike James/Jean Tepperman, John Rossen, Todd Gitlin, Jeff Segal, Peter Henig, Earl Silbar, Steve Halliwell. Of these members there are three staff members: Jeff Segal, Peter Henig, and Steve Halliwell. Alternates: Tim McCarthy, Mike Knichenko, Marilyn Buck, and Clark Kissinger. (REAC)

The REAC consists of the national secretary, ex-officio and non-voting, the REC director, the literature secretary, the education secret-

ary and four members elected by the NC from the Chicago area.

Those elected were: Peter Henig, Todd Gitlin, Clark Kissinger, and Paul Buhle. Alternates: Bob Ross and Jane Adams.

resolution on nsa

The NC authorizes the national officers to select and SDS delegation to the USNSA National Student Congress.

SDS calls for the abolition of USNSA. Since USNSA is a CIA-manipulated tool of the US government and as such serves its oppressive domestic and imperialistic foreign policy, SDS urges the delegates to the NSC to return to their campuses to build a movement to radically change America to serve the interests of students and working people.

The NO is mandated to prepare and disseminate any material on USNSA that will lead to a drive to abolish USNSA.

the end of the draft

SDS supports and encourages all those within the armed forces, e.g. Pfc Howard Petrick, and Pvts Stapp, Mora, Sands, Johnson and Capt. Levy, who oppose the war in Viet Nam. We condemn the government's attempt to suppress this opposition. The government is trying, by this action, to intimidate soldiers and thereby continue its imperialist war against Viet Nam and the American people. And in so doing the government is demonstrating its refusal to act according to its own constitution when its interests are threatened.

foreign affairs → continue

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SDS condemns the USSR for its role as a party to American aggression against the Vietnamese people and reaffirms its stand that the US government, with the help of the Soviet government is responsible for that war.

SDS accepts the Soviet government's invitation to send an observer to the USSR to attend the 50th anniversary celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution. We do so only so that we may present publicly the above view of the Soviet government's involvement in the Vietnamese war. The SDS observer shall be Jeff Shero and he is empowered to gain as wide and public an airing of SDS's views and actions as possible.

The last piece of business was to authorize the NO to print and distribute the Port Authority Statement and the responses to it that might come in.

The National Council then collapsed in a fit of exhaustion.