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# NATIONAL CONVENTION

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 West Madison Street

Chicago, Illinois

## New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 21

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

June 24th, 1968



photo by jack a. smith 3

by Patrick Sturgis

National Convention of SDS: better than five hundred delegates and attenders in East Lansing, Michigan. Five hundred? What can five hundred or so do to a nation of two hundred million (setting aside, for a minute, the rest of the world)? What even to the perhaps two hundred thousand who identify with/as SDS by politics, style, perceived aim? Certainly they were not all there, but they must become SDS.

To put a definition, a characterization, even a program out of a seven-day mongrelization of in-fighting, out-fighting (with press, TV), shallow comprehension born of shallow education—and, too, some very hard, good politics (then to decide who it hit). That will take some doing. It will take us far past those seven days into months—and more—of work.

To some it is encouraging that only a very few resolutions were passed, that the overall outcome of the Convention was loose, under-structured, and indefinite. That may be, in fact, the clearest, most fruitful characterization of the Convention—though perhaps also it is not a true one.

From the straight press we hear a great deal about our "foundations of anarchy". And they would like very much to be able to describe SDS as a structureless, directionless aggregation of adolescent humanists. But that is not what we've built, it's not what that "loose" convention was about. It was about ideology which must be formulated in trial-by-organizing, by referral on a far larger scale than plenary or even referendum voting.

Recent impacts on SDS—at all its structural levels—of an infatuated press,

a newly and maybe catastrophically shifting economy, a mother country under increasing disoriented stress and a constituency being pushed closer to the line, overpowered the capacity of on-the-spot, off-the-floor solutions. Too many deep political questions lay unopened, too much was left untouched at the core of programmatic debate. Too much never passed the stage of workshop caucusing.

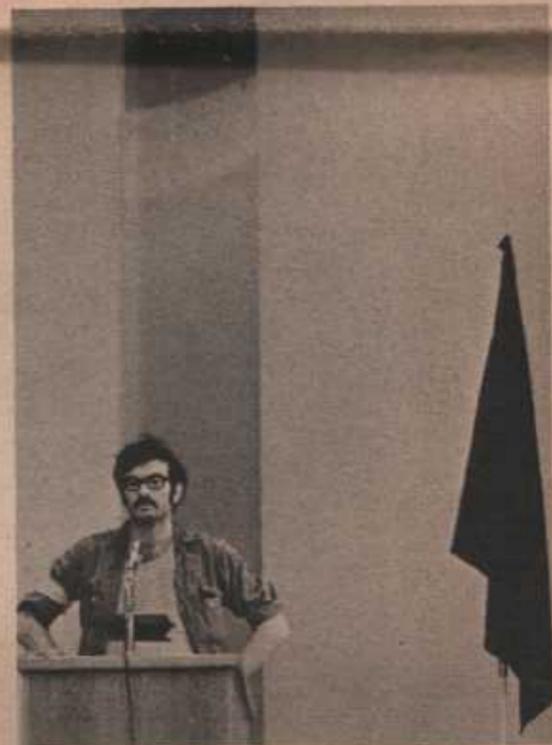
On the other hand, much of the lack of surface political debate and clarification may be accountable to the form there available. The five hundred delegates—not representatives—could not have been in a position to reach definite positions on many of the questions. Instead, there arise out of that week a few very serious questions to SDS at large. We must deal with the politics we could not clarify in five days of plenary—plus workshop/caucus time.

In this issue of New Left Notes are the bones of the Convention. The minutes show that the plenary was extended well into National Council time, yet did not yield anything approaching the usual plethora of resolutions. The resolutions on re-structuring which, one way or another, occupied the better part of Convention plenary, either have appeared (Segal's) or will appear later with discussions. Because they were so extensively torn apart and their issues so factionally treated, reprinting can't suffice for explanation.

The labor proposals, dealt with only at workshop and caucus level, were provisionally tabled—wherefor they are reprinted. Further exploration of their politics should come out of project reporting later in the summer, aside from some clear analyses by those involved with the proposals themselves.



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1. Plenary
2. Please
3. Coming in... Klonsky
4. Going out ... Spiegel.
5. It's called "a caucus."

PEOPLE WHO PAID DUES AT THE CONVENTION SHOULD CONTACT THE N.O.

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# LETTERS TO THE LEFT

Editor, New Left Notes:

My congratulations to brother Steve Halliwell for his excellent dissection of PL's strategy within the Movement.

I remember, during the 1966 transit strike in New York, attending a meeting of the Columbia chapter of the PL-oriented May 2nd Movement. Right in the middle of the most paralyzing strike New York had ever seen, and with the smoldering Harlem ghetto barely a block away, we sat around and discussed the prospects of organizing "oppressed" students around immediate grievances—like improving the quality of the cafeteria food (which was already reasonably good) and providing parking space so the oppressed students could park their cars.

Of course, this partly reflected the "ivory tower" attitude vigorously fostered by Columbia University. The University was seen as "above" such mundane issues as racism, poverty, Vietnam, urban blight, the labor movement, and so forth. I can't remember seeing a single course offered in the graduate department on black history, for example—but I could get a bird's-eye view of Harlem from the classroom in Kent Hall where I took a course on minority problems in the Soviet Union!

The feeling of insulation from the "real world" was also fostered by the design of the campus itself. We were like the top layer of a wedding cake; the next layer consisted of luxury apartment houses and college offices immediately surrounding the campus proper; and a hundred feet or more below that was the ghetto. Remember the flying island Swift wrote about in Gulliver's Travels? That was it.

I also suspect that PL's jaded tactics result in part from a mis-reading of the

Chinese Revolution. The Chinese Communists advocated the building of a broad base, even at the price of playing down the class struggle from time to time. But that was only after the task of building a Red Army had been completed! Only then was the possibility of slipping back into reformism reduced to nil.

## WOOD KNOCKS ON REAVIS

Dear Editor:

Dick Reavis's analysis of "Art in Cuba" (New Left Notes, May 27th) shows no understanding of Cuba, and even less understanding of art. In 1963, when he denounced Latin American Communist parties and Russian satellites, Fidel stated: "Each time Moscow takes a decision, whatever it may be, the satellites of the whole world applaud it. When Khrushchev takes his missiles away without asking us, the satellites

exclaim: 'Khrushchev has served the cause of peace well.' And when Khrushchev criticizes abstract painting in the Riding School in Moscow, the satellites ask me to prohibit abstract painting here. And I tell them that our adversaries are capitalism and imperialism, not abstract painters." The essence of socialist realism is bourgeois and has little regard for working-class culture. Reavis should realize that the Cuban Revolution has not been a classical working-class revolution and has developed through the dialectical relation of leaders and the working class. In his "Man and Socialism in Cuba", wherein he denounced Socialist Realism and was critical of Cuban artists at the same time, Che wrote: "The fault of our artists and intellectuals lies in their original sin: They are not truly revolutionary. We can try to graft the elm tree so that it will bear pears, but at the same time we must plant

pear trees. New generations will come who will be free of the original sin. The probabilities that great artists will appear will be greater to the degree that the field of culture and the possibilities for expression are broadened." You do not produce Riveras, Orozcos, or Siquieroses by forbidding artists to "do their own thing". And one mediocre bourgeois abstract expressionist is worth fifty Norman Rockwells, Left-wing, Right-wing, working-class, middle-class, or simply neuter. A Norman Rockwell is counter-revolutionary regardless of his intent or his class.

Struggle,

Dennis Wood  
Berkeley SDS

## "AND THEN IN 1963..."

The 1963-to-1964 school year witnessed several important domestic developments. First, the civil-rights protest movement which had spread up the East Coast in the sit-ins along Route 40, erupted in massive demonstrations and arrests in Cambridge, Maryland led by Gloria Richardson. Spurred on by these events, SDS members at Swarthmore led by Carl Wittman and Vernon Grizzard began to organize in Chester, Pennsylvania. The ultimate outcome of this activity which led to mass arrests gave white students their first real feeling that there was a role to be played by them in organizing the poor and the powerless. The second stimulating event of this period was the "roving pickets"—the revolvy of jobless coal miners in Eastern Kentucky. Appalachia and the white poor were discovered.

The December 1963 National Council meeting in New York proved to be a turning point in the organization's history. Two perspectives and organizational programs were set forth. The first, by Tom Hayden, held that local insurgency was a reality and that our purpose was to organize and spread that insurgency in a "revolutionary trajectory". Haber, on the other hand, argued that the System was hardly ready to collapse, and that our principal responsibility as a student organization was to organize a student movement on the campuses which could give a new student generation a clear insight into the functionings of capitalism. The more ambitious proposal of Hayden carried by a substantial majority. Since Haber had resigned as ERAP director and ERAP was given a mandate to prepare a summer

organizing program. Since SDS was becoming better known, this NC was dropped in on by a large number of observers and friends from other organizations. (Among the visitors were Bob Dylan and Alger Hiss!)

The spring of 1964 was consumed in preparation for SDS's summer program, which would parallel in the North SNCC's Mississippi Freedom Summer. The ERAP office in Ann Arbor (surreptitiously located in the University of Michigan's Center for the Study of Conflict Resolution) began to grind out dozens of mimeographed papers on organizing experiences in Chester and elsewhere. Two major student conferences were held that spring, the first in Hazard, Kentucky and the second in Ann Arbor. The purpose of these conferences was clear and dramatic: to urge students to abandon academia and assume the task of organizing the unorganized.

The June National Convention, again in Pine Hill, New York, was preceded by a training institute for ERAP Project staff members. The Convention itself collapsed in yet another attempt to write a major document—this time with three hundred people—and accomplished little. But the debate around the three proposed drafts began to clarify for the first time some serious disagreements about program. Some wanted to work exclusively in ERAP and perhaps even separate it entirely from SDS. Others, influenced by the rise of Goldwater and Wallace, wanted to concentrate on the 1964 elections. Still others wanted to move toward a socialist third party. SDS was growing large and diverse. In the end a programmatic thrust around ERAP was approved and the establishment of a Political Education Project (PEP) was called for to deal primarily with electoral politics. The Convention elected

Paul Potter president and Vernon Grizzard vice-president. Clark Kissinger had been selected by the April NC as the new National Secretary to take office in June.

During the summer of 1964, ERAP placed a hundred and twenty-five student organizers in nine projects in urban areas (Boston, Newark, Trenton, Philadelphia, Chester, Baltimore, Louisville, Chicago, and Cleveland). Although only a couple of these projects eventually survived, this program marked an ambitious step forward and provided a wealth of experience and excitement which was carried back to the campuses in the fall (although most of the actual organizers did not return to the campus). ERAP nationally was a fairly-close-knit staff operation with its own internal publication, collective financing, and co-operative staff placement. Intense theoretical debates went on—such as the "GROIN-JOIN debate". Jobs Or Income Now and "Garbage-Removal Or Income Now" symbolized predilections for structural economic crises or local community problems.

In September 1964 the NC and the ERAP staff met in Philadelphia. A campus organizing drive was mapped, the PEP project was set up (Jim Williams, Steve Max, and Doug Ireland being the staff), and SDS agreed to share with SNCC the salary and travel expenses of Archie Allen, the first traveler for the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). For the most part the organization viewed the coming Presidential election with disinterest, and its political ambivalence toward the political questions involved was symbolized by a button issued from the NO reading: Part of the Way with LBJ. The Atlantic City Convention and the expulsion of the MFDP, however, soon clarified the issues.

to be continued next issue!

## new left notes

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# KLONSKY

## The State of SDS

The National Convention at East Lansing should be seen as being symptomatic of many of the real ills which SDS and the student Left in general must correct if we are to survive the coming year. We are an organization which has always been good at talking tactics and style, but which has had problems in dealing with the essential

## Summer Projects

Over two thousand members of our organization are working in summer projects, trying to build and deepen our movement. There is a desperate need for exchange of materials, reports, and articles between projects. These should be gotten into the NO as quickly as possible for publication in New Left Notes or at least circulation to other relevant projects. Folks who have not written to the Office about where they are going to be should do so soon so that we can put them in touch with projects in their area.

### TRENDS IN SUMMER WORK

(1) There has been little follow-up on the talk/plans that were made for agitating around the electoral candidates and the elections. Except for Peace and Freedom Party work there is little challenge being made to the elections in local projects anywhere. (We should evaluate that.)

(2) Draft projects—almost all of them—are making an attempt to become community-based. They are using a lot of canvassing work in target neighborhoods, and speaking to different organized groups such as church groups to get in touch with a base. Many are setting up store-fronts in working-class neighborhoods.

(3) More effort is being given this year to reaching high-school kids, and young people in general in summer "turn-on" kinds of ways like caravans, guerrilla theater, and just hanging out around hot-dog stands, beaches, et cetera.

(4) Several hundred of the brothers and sisters have taken jobs in plants or shops and are coming together for planning and evaluation sessions on a weekly basis, tying their activities in some cases to leafleting projects and in others to community or community-Draft projects.

(5) In a few places, such as Wisconsin (WDRU), additional work is being done to develop new forms of constituency organizing. Research is being done which groups and finds ways to reach people who are affected by a common institution—such as credit institutions and schools. They oppose this to organizing people on a geographical basis. More on this should come in through the summer.

### PROBLEMS

In general the orientation of the summer projects is to learn about the way other people—working people—live and think; to mobilize people around issues like the Draft or grievance issues; and to learn how to "talk our radical ideas" to people other than students. Yet what has characterized our movement on the campus, and what has made it powerful, has been our ability to give an anti-imperialist analysis of the War, black rebellions, and—most important—of the educational institution itself which made clear sense to people. In order to build alliances for the campus-based movement with other groups, we have to extend that analysis to the institutions that rule—and grievances that arise—from other constituencies.

A step in this direction is being made by some anti-Draft groups who research the members of Draft boards, find out what roles those members play in the local power structure, and expose their information to the community they are trying to organize. But that is only a step; little work has been done, for instance, to research big companies in whose shops and plants we are working,

questions in an analytical way.

These questions which ultimately add up to our own survival can often be drawn from witnessing history, as with the struggles of the student Left in Western Europe. The lesson of France is that the struggle can be threatened by internal divisions as much as it can by Gaullist fascism.

Our internal contradictions can serve

The development of a clear analysis of a company like Westinghouse, combined with the attempt of our brothers and sisters to put that analysis in terms that make sense on the job to Westinghouse employees, would fill out our own understanding of other institutions of capitalism besides the university and help us build an overall analysis that will build links for our movement. Similarly, we should answer the questions: What institutions at the city, community, and plant level foster or use race privilege—and why do they? Those sorts of analyses, developed in contact with the people they affect, should come out of the summer projects on a large scale.

Summer projects should attempt to develop clear principles of our movement. Apart from our anti-imperialist analysis of the War, the rebellions, and the university, we are most known to folks by something called "participatory democracy". At the same time, within our movement, we talk more and more about "acting as a collective", "being responsible to a collective", even "fighting against elitism" or "fighting against institutionalized individualism". We are beginning to talk about class consciousness. In short, talk inside the Movement is about communism, the principles of communism, with a small c. Our task this summer is to develop those beginnings of an ideology in terms that make sense to Americans. That can't be done out of a book; it has to be done in such situations as the summer projects give us. But it won't be done unless persistent dialogue is carried on in the projects and between the projects. Reports and discussion papers should be written and gotten to the NO as soon as possible.

## contacts

Here are a few key contacts for summer projects in their areas:

Seattle: Roger Lippman, 1020 North 36th Street, Seattle, Washington

Portland: Mary Witkop, 1734 Southeast Alder, Portland, Oregon

Northern California: Movement Office, 449 14th Street, San Francisco, California

Southern California: Los Angeles Regional Office, 510 1/2 North Hoover Street, Los Angeles, California

Albuquerque: Jim Kennedy, 10407 Fourth Street Northwest, Albuquerque, New Mexico

Texas: Bartle Halle, Box 1941, Dallas, Texas

Saint Louis: Lebowitz, 816 Eastgate, Saint Louis, Missouri

Wisconsin: WDRU, 217 South Hamilton Street, Madison, Wisconsin

Chicago: SDS National Office, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois

Cleveland: Tim Hall, 10616 Euclid Avenue, Room 310, Cleveland, Ohio

Minneapolis: DIC, 1905 Third Avenue South, Room 208, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Washington DC, Maryland, and Delaware: DC Regional Office, 3 Thomas Circle Northwest, Washington, DC

to make us strong, or they can destroy us unless we develop methods of resolving them while they are still internal. The Convention is a case in point.

At East Lansing, a battle was fought on many levels, few of them visible. Most of them were fought in a subtle sort of way, with the combatants never even confronting each other. The battlefield should have been and must be the many vital issues facing us at this period of history. The question of labor is probably in the forefront of these issues. We must develop a correct strategy for labor in America and the rest of the world of advanced capitalism. This can only be done through a process of analysis, confrontation, criticism, and more analysis. Throughout this whole process, the basic issue must not become clouded.

This clouding of issues was a real problem at the Convention, and the battle became submerged in frustration and irony. The frustration came from the lack of clarity of thought on the floor of the Convention, with the overall result that nothing concrete was resolved. The irony came out of the intensity with which the battle raged. It was a personal fight in the sense that attacks were directed at people instead of ideas, especially around the questions of the SLAP (PL) proposal and the Halliwell (New Working Class) paper (which is reprinted in this issue of New Left Notes).

It is clear that SDS must begin to relate to what has been termed "new constituencies". We lose thousands of people each year because they drop out of school or graduate from the student movement. They in effect become workers, and if they are to continue to function as radicals they must organize other workers. The European liberation struggle, as well as the Columbia University confrontation with the power structure, should clarify the need for the development of a labor strategy. We must begin to define and re-define capitalism through an analysis of the working class. This must include its many sectors and segments, and the changing relationships of working people to the means of production. We should take into account such factors as automation, consumption, the state of American labor unions, and the development of imperialism. However, the debate and analysis that go on must reach the people. That is to say that the theoretical must not lose touch with the practical. Ideological development should emerge from the Movement itself. It should be encouraged and aided through programs of radical education on a local level. It should culminate in action.

The debate on re-structuring SDS went on for five hours, until all meaning was lost from the original resolutions. None of the re-structuring proposals was passed. The question of a labor program was tabled until the next NC (September). Between now and September we will attempt to define these issues, and to make the debate around the issues relevant to local organizing. The next NC should produce programmatic changes and organizational growth. However, this can only take place if position papers are widely circulated prior to the NC. I don't believe that most people at the Convention had enough time to construct their own positions on the labor proposals, the Halliwell paper, or the re-structure proposals. New Left Notes will devote future issues to these questions, and serve as a forum for their debate.

Another problem which we must resolve is the future of the student movement on the campus. While it was expected that the uprising at Columbia would be a central focus for discussion at the Convention, somehow that discussion never materialized. At its meeting following the Convention, however, the NIC agreed to analyze the

causes and effects of the Columbia uprising in order to create more Columbias. Columbia was a classic example of student power being used the way we have often discussed in the past. Is there revolutionary potential in this kind of power? How must that potential develop? Our power potential rests with the student movement if we look at our failures and successes with an eye on the future.

I mentioned earlier the importance of the European student movement. We have been placing greater emphasis on the struggle for Third World liberation than on the European scene. Many SDS people have visited Cuba, Hanoi, Cambodia, and Laos. There is much to be learned, however, from the way the French students relate to the French workers and the way they deal with repression. The Convention did not deal with the European situation even though many of our people had just returned from France and Germany. We could have discussed German SDS as well, in terms of re-structuring and repression. This was not done.

## Segal Starts Four-year Sentence

Jeff Segal was ordered to return in the first week of June to Chicago, where he was out on bail following a conviction for draft-refusal. He had been out on his own recognizance (OR); the DA was attempting to have his OR status revoked and to impose cash bail. In court the judge revoked Jeff's bail altogether, calling Jeff's appeal frivolous and saying the appeal bond was being used just to stall for time. The judge further implied that Jeff was using the bail just as a way to keep organizing. He noted that Jeff was up for charges stemming from arrests in demonstrations in New York and San Francisco. For those at the court the clearly political ruling was an education in the way state power is wielded against us. For Jeff it was more painful. Our brother has been sentenced to four years in the Federal penitentiary. He is now serving that time.

Jeff's imprisonment must serve as a hard lesson to all of us. Jeff, and his brothers and sisters in the Movement, had left his defense in the draft-refusal case entirely in the hands of the lawyer. As a result no political defense was prepared, and it may even be that Jeff's appeal can now not be filed. We were sloppy. We trusted too much in the professionalism that we talk so much but so loosely against. We did not attend to our own defense. Everything possible is now being done, but we were late in moving.

Jeff's case should also serve as a lesson to us that we must build against state repression of our movement. Thousands of the people we are in contact with are up against the Draft, are determined not to be taken by it, and would feel the justice of the defense we might have waged for our brother. Many of us will be jailed; defense cases must be used politically.

Letters should be written to brother Jeff, soon. They are trying to isolate him from the Movement. Let's let him know there is a Movement that sticks by its people. Address letters to the National Office until we are sure what address to use for Jeff, and we will be sure to forward your letters to him. Jeff is in the Federal Penitentiary, Springfield, Missouri, serving the first of four years. Let's reach out to him.

New York City: New York Regional Office, 131 Prince Street, New York, New York

Upstate New York: Chip Marshall, 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York

Boston: BDRG, 102 Columbia Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Detroit: Dave Wheeler, 1172 West Hancock, Detroit, Michigan

# Minutes of the National Convention

Thursday morning the main plenary began. It extended through Friday and Saturday morning.

AGENDA (proposed by the steering committee and amended by the plenary body):

## National Secretary's Report

\*Program Proposals: (1) The Cities, (2) Revolutionary Organization\* submitted by Tom Bell, Bernadine Dohrn, and Steve Halliwell

## Labor Resolutions

## Structural Resolutions

## Elections

## Independent Electoral Movement

## Military

## High School

## Miscellany

(The agenda, of course, was changed during the plenary.)

## FOLLOWING ARE RESOLUTIONS FROM THE CONVENTION PLENARY

Convention Duration: \*The Convention will be extended if necessary into the time of the Friday and Saturday National Council meeting.\*

Secretarial Elections: Michael Klonsky was nominated for National Secretary and elected. Bernadine Dohrn was nominated for Inter-organizational Secretary and elected. Les Coleman and Fred Gordon were nominated for Education Secretary, and Gordon was elected. (It was moved and passed that delegates could vote "no" on election of individual National Secretaries. That is, since there was only one nominee for two of the offices at stake, a candidate could be defeated by "no" votes against him, thus leaving the office unoccupied unless another election was held.)

NIC Elections: Elected to the NIC were Mike Spiegel, Carl Oglesby, Mike James, Bartee Haile, Morgan Spector, Jeff Jones, Chip Marshall, and Eric Mann. (Two votes were held; only Spiegel, Oglesby, and James made a majority count on the first vote. It was moved and passed that the first vote of candidates would be by majority vote rather than plurality, and that the second vote, if necessary, would be by plurality, with the bottom one-third of the candidates dropped from the slate.)

Structure: After extensive debate on all structure proposals (Buckley, Segal, and Motherfucker), they were defeated.

Labor: After extensive debate, it was moved and passed that all labor resolutions be tabled and printed in New Left Notes.

Regional Strength: It was moved and passed by unanimous consent that: "It is the sense of this convention that the need for strong regional organization to determine its own political character be considered a top priority of this year's program; and this convention mandates all officers and NIC-NAC members to work toward this objective. Also we suggest that they make provisions for travelers to help co-ordinate and strengthen regional control." (presented by the Niagara and New York Regions)

Iran: Passed, to be sent by telegram to the Iranian Student Association: "SDS expresses its solidarity with your continuing fight against the dictatorship which oppresses your homeland. We recall that it was our own Government which overthrew democratically-elected Premier Mossadagh in 1953, and which continues in various ways to support the Iranian dictatorship today. We recall as well that it was a year ago this week that a member of German SDS was murdered by German police while his organization was protesting the Shah's presence in Bonn. The fight for freedom is international because tyranny is international. Your fight against the Shah, the fight of German SDS against Kiesinger, of the French against

deGaulle, of the Japanese against SATO—these are a few of the current fronts of a single war. We are your allies and brothers."

Segal: Passed unanimously: "We deplore the jailing of our brother Jeff Segal by the arbitrary action of the Chicago judge who revoked his bond pending appeal. This is a flagrant attempt to restrict and repress the work of Movement people. Many more of our revolutionary brothers have been singled out, convicted, and jailed for their organizing activities by courts which are not 'neutral', but rather are arms of the political state power. As the Movement begins to threaten the ruling class, that elite reacts with repression. We refuse to be intimidated by our enemies, and will keep fighting until we have achieved the destruction of this capitalist, imperialist, racist system." (submitted by Morgan Spector and Susan Jankovsky)

Press Attendance: Moved and passed at the beginning of the plenary: rules concerning the actions of the press during the convention.

France and Germany: "Be it resolved that it is the sense of this convention of the Students for a Democratic Society to stand in solidarity with the students and workers of France and Germany in their revolutionary struggle against their capitalist oppressors." (submitted by the University of Delaware Chapter)

## Perspectives on Class Organizing

### TABLED

#### I. From Columbia

It was inevitable that as our movement grew in strength and as it became increasingly an anti-capitalist movement, we would begin to see ways to link our struggle with a broader class struggle. Our understanding of class and our class consciousness are still only in the making. Our links with non-student groups are still peripheral. We are, however, at a period and at a strength in our organization where we can spend the time and energy to develop both consciousness and concrete links.

The situation, integral to our own movement's historical experience, which has given us new class direction is this: We have confronted the university, the educational system, as a system which is both the agent of exploitation of students and the agent of exploitation of other groups. We take as our prime example the Columbia strike, in which the issue of the gym (the institutional racist exploitation of a working-class community), IDA (the institutional participation in imperialist war), and the repression of student political freedom were joined together and joined to an on-going critique of what the university does to the student. Our principle has become: We refuse to tighten the chains around ourselves by participating in the capitalist institutional exploitation of non-student sectors of the population—here and throughout the world.

From the Columbia model, from our own Movement experience, we are developing a new concept of class and the beginnings of a new class consciousness. We have seen the possibility of two groups of people with different immediate needs and situations in the society uniting in a common struggle. We must also begin to understand the theory behind this. Class is not defined accurately by income or type of job—rather it is defined more accurately by a relationship to the means of production. There are those who do not participate in the ownership of the means of production. Their lives are regulated and manipulated by an owning class in order to keep their labor power and their power to maintain an ordered

society in the service of the owning class's material profit. This gives us the chance to broaden the notion of class to all those who do not participate in the ownership of the means of production and whose lives are manipulated to make the capitalist system function.

We know that we are oppressed. The university channels us into the meaningless survival offered in a society of boring, fruitless employment, manipulated consumption, cultural idiosyncrasy, and arrogant, inhuman individualism, and often into death in an oppressor army. Through such examples as Columbia we have seen that our struggle can be linked with other groups who are oppressed in different ways. We have learned that it must be linked with their struggles to be successful. Thus we have uncovered the basic principle of class

consciousness: that the class-conscious group fights on issues of its whole class rather than on its immediate self-interest, because we must do so to challenge power.

With this germ of a new class understanding we can speak of breaking the false consciousness among ourselves that tells us we belong to the ruling class—the owning class—and that our lives are not caught in their contrivance for their benefit. We may speak of trying to break through the false consciousness of others.

In challenging the university we have also found a natural link with other constituencies of young people who feel parallel oppression—such as high-school students. This has given us a chance to build a youth movement which cuts across economic backgrounds and to

penetrate the sector of the population which does not go to the university.

Finally, our class-consciousness launched by the Columbia model has taught us the need to experiment in developing relations with other constituencies. We do not yet have an analysis of what constituencies will be in motion for us to ally with—but we have learned that we must experiment to find out.

#### II. Program Directions: Examples

A. We should build our campus struggles around broader issues that link students with workers and community people. Examples: the Columbia strike, which was fought at least in part around community issues and with the support of high-school and adult community people; Duke University's hard-fought struggle over unionization of university employees; Northwestern's fight over discriminatory admittance and racist curriculum; Tulane University, which is controlled by the United Fruit Company, where students could link their struggles with those of United Fruit employees. We should choose our issues not only with a view to involving broader sectors of society, but also on issues which are intrinsically anti-imperialist and anti-racist.

B. We should spread out from the elite campuses to the entire educational complex, especially high schools, community colleges, state schools, and trade schools. Working-class students as well as alienated "middle-class" kids feel the effects of an educational system that channels and represses. Through analyzing and confronting the ruling-class educational system, we can create a "cross-class" youth movement.

C. Work by students leaving the campus can complement the campus movement by dealing with constituencies relevant to the new style of campus organizing. The radical movement must relate to the power of the new student movement. However, it may often not be possible to have off-campus organizing so tightly related. In any case, work off campus, as on campus, should illustrate the principle of class unity and anti-imperialist thrust.

(cont'd on next page)

### (Tabled)

## Madison Labor Committee

RESOLVED: that there has been entirely too much empty rhetoric about the need to organize the working class. The Movement has had certain concrete experiences in this area, and it is time for calm evaluation of these experiences rather than vague generalities.

In the past the Movement has had particular success among:

(a) the new working class (explorers, fur trappers, pony express riders, and workers in similar occupations who can be reached on the basis of similar life styles;

(b) one-eyed workers. (In 1917 three of the most militant members of the General Executive Board of the IWW were all blind in one eye: Big Bill Haywood, Frank Little, and Richard Brazier.)

It is true that there has so far been only limited success in reaching craft, industrial, white-collar, and two-eyed workers, but...Can the day be far off? The pusillanimous outfit that recently tried to impose its sectarian views on the Madison Area Labor Committee,

until being thoroughly discredited, found it expedient to answer this question in an ambiguous manner. The manipulative psychology of this group was such that we are still unclear as to their identity. Imagine their chagrin, however, when one member of what is now the Majority Faction, whose uncle is a worker, reported that the main obstacle to the further progress of the radicalization of the working class has been a simple matter of structure.

Father Thomas Hagerty's organizational plan, adopted overwhelmingly at the founding convention of the IWW in 1905, called for a wheel-like structure. Sixty-three years later, SDS quibbles over whether there should be one, three, or nineteen National Secretaries, in a desperate attempt to evade the basic question posed by Father Hagerty. The tolerance of supposedly "revolutionary" students for empty rhetorical flourishes is in sharp contrast to the attitude of the factory workers who interrupted a long harangue by a member of the minority faction within the Madison Area Labor Committee with repeated taunts of "Talk about the wheel!" Anyone who thinks they were merely expressing a desire for more national secretaries is a crazed fanatic.

# National Student Labor Action Project

## A. Where are we?

The student movement remains isolated from the majority of students and almost all working people. We have fought on numerous particular issues, but we have not yet developed a strategy that can unite the majority of students and ally with workers against the common oppressor.

## B. Why ally with workers?

The exploitation of workers is the basis of this imperialist society! Students are also victimized materially and intellectually by the same system that exploits workers. Therefore, there exists the basis for a common fight. Most students become part of the working class after they flunk out, drop out, or graduate. Teachers, social workers, and other white-collar workers, mostly former college students, have been drawn into sharp union struggles recently against their oppression.

In the process of our struggles on and off campus students face a choice: whether to ally with working people, or to ally with liberal sections of the bourgeoisie. Working people face a similar choice: should white workers ally with black workers or the boss; should skilled workers ally with unskilled workers or the boss; should teachers ally with working-class parents and children (or with the racist Board of Education); should social workers ally with clients (or with the oppressive Welfare Department)?

The question is not one of students in missionary fashion "liberating" the working class because of a supposed superior intelligence. The fact is that students and white-collar workers cannot fight successfully against their oppression without allying with the key

force: production, transportation, and communications workers.

France is the sharpest people's struggle in recent history in an advanced Capitalist country. It clearly shows that the industrial working class is the key force on the people's side in the advanced Capitalist countries. The theory that the "new" working class—the professionals and technicians—is the key force did not materialize in practice. French students were very clear that while they could start the fight, the working class must finish it!

Some hold that while the working class may be the key force in the anti-imperialist struggle, to win them we only have to provide a sharp focus of action to which they will be irresistibly drawn. France shows that this approach is one-sided, and necessarily leads to inability to consummate the Revolution. The French students provided such a focus, but the revisionist "Communist" Party had the base and was therefore able to sell it out over the objections of the unorganized opposition among the workers. The situation in the US is similar: just as on campus we must do the hard base-building work, radicals in factories also will develop through day-to-day struggles an anti-imperialist base.

## C. The time to start building this alliance is now.

Some say we don't want to start building a worker-student alliance now, that we shouldn't wait until the workers have a powerful, politically conscious base. Then the two will be ready to act together. We say the time to start is now. We wouldn't say that white workers should wait until they have a powerful base before we fight racism among them.

The question of who students ally with comes up constantly. In the Columbia struggle, students could decide between accepting a few "student power" reforms

or standing fast behind the people of Harlem on the issue of the gym. Also many strikes of campus workers have occurred. In these cases students can militantly back up the campus workers and go on to aid the workers to win the strike, or they can scab (and this has happened). Failure to ally with workers on these issues now would actually make an alliance in the future far more difficult—and widen the gap between students and workers.

A national SLAP that will act with initiative and in the right situations—avoiding adventurism and its opposite timidity—with boldness will be indispensable in making the worker-student alliance a key thrust in our movement.

The building of SLAP is essential for the building of the student movement. It does not mean that we give up student organizing. It means that we realize that US imperialism is based on class exploitation and that to defeat it in the long run and even to win immediate struggles against it, we must ally with our class allies—the working class. The important struggles at Columbia and at San Francisco State show that for the student movement to grow stronger it must both base-build on campus (win over thousands to fight with us) and concretely ally with workers. We can't leave this to chance or let it only happen in individual cases. A nationally organized thrust to ally with workers—learn from them, bring our ideas to them, fight alongside them—is essential right now to the organizing of students. The University is not an island unto itself.

## D. Tactics of SLAP

We should build a stronger base on campus, reaching out to all schools, and masses of students, leading them in sharper struggles against imperialism. We should not expect students to organize

workers; the idea is to develop a student movement rooted in struggles against the ways imperialism oppresses students, increasingly pro-working class, more and more allied with workers in struggle. Developing a worker-student alliance is a long process. In developing that alliance, important activities are:

(1) leading students to link their struggles directly with working people: The oppression of campus workers, workers in university-controlled hospitals, and working people and students in university-controlled housing and in the neighborhood or the school should be given priority.

(2) strike support: This includes bringing large numbers of students to picket lines; raising money on campus as well as food or clothes if needed; bringing the story to the school paper; inviting rank-and-filers to speak on campus; leafleting on campus and in the community to support the strike; helping with boycotts (as in the Delano grape strike); researching aid to the strike; and more militant tactics. (In LA students ignored the labor bureaucrats and two hundred and fifty workers and students blocked the struck LA Herald Examiner from coming out for several hours. Another example is stopping recruiters from coming on campus for striking companies.)

(3) summer work-in projects: By going into factories to work over the summer, students can learn first-hand the real class oppression of workers. By bringing our political ideas to workers we can bring a more concrete understanding of the relation of the War, racism, and other political issues to class consciousness. Workshops should be organized to evaluate our approach to workers and improve it. Study groups are also a good idea for discussing broader political issues as a framework for the more concrete discussions.

(4) support for black rebellions: When campuses are open, support actions can happen on campus. Demos can take place at armories and Federal offices. It is very important to have done the necessary educational work opposing racism and exposing it among students and white workers beforehand. This includes forums, leafleting, and classroom agitation. Racism must be fought concretely on campus. We must ally with the black working class.

(5) exposure of the class bias of the theories of "harmonious capitalism", labor-management relations and "conflict management" of the US around the world that are taught in most universities: A caucus on these lines in classes is a good idea.

(6) general educational and research work for chapters and interested students.

## E. Implementation

The June Convention should create a Student Labor Action Project, with a co-ordinating office in the Boston region (where this type of work has gone on for three years and where a number of people want to work on it). SLAP should:

(1) issue a newsletter which would be non-exclusionary to all chapters—including news stories on projects, research reports, and ideological articles;

(2) help establish SLAPS in new chapters and regions (regionally where possible);

(3) help set up special meetings at various times to discuss work;

(4) print pamphlets on work;

(5) co-ordinate work with NCU and other off-campus working-class-based projects.

Local chapter groups and regional groups should be the basis of SLAP and do the real work of building it.

Cathy Kelly, Boston University SDS  
Jared Israel, Harvard SDS, PLP  
Steve Raudenbush, Harvard SDS, PLP  
Allen Gilbert, Harvard SDS

## Class Organizing

If organizing welfare mothers, for example, we will agitate around the institutions which are responsible for their oppression, and instead of just organizing recipients, try to organize the whole community around their demands. If organizing teachers, we will try to pick the issues which link teachers, high-school students, and the community together and do education work on the nature of the power structure which oppresses all three. If organizing in the shops and plants, we will work around the issues of job discrimination and job-training discrimination (the false consciousness of the "sweetheart agreement" between skilled labor and white worker and the capitalist) as well as the wage squeeze resulting from an inflation caused by the misappropriation and injustices of the imperialist system. Work with health professionals might include linking them with an organizing drive of non-professional hospital employees, joining with the community to struggle for community control of health facilities, practicing their profession in working-class communities as "community doctors", et cetera.

In this way, the campus movement can move to support issue fights of other movements: because they share the common principle of class unity and opposition to racist capitalist exploitation and oppression.

## III. On Priorities

The struggle of the movement which plays a revolutionary role must always be linked closely with the struggle of the most oppressed. This means, for example, that in all our organizing we must never cease to enunciate and work for the struggles of liberation movements like that of the Vietnamese.

Never. It also means that we must link our struggles with those of the industrial working class, with black people, and with the much-oppressed under-employed and unemployed poor in this country. But if our principles are clear, our expression of class unity with these forces emphatic, there are many constituencies which we must work with (such as teachers, technicians, and service workers) so as to build for the proletarianization of the whole society, the destruction of false consciousness and of the ruling class itself.

We must be careful not to determine our priorities in the abstract. In different cities there are different realities. In New York, where there is less basic-industry concentration, it would not make sense to look away from the large disaffected population in other kinds of employment and those who are dropping out of employment. This is not to deny the fantastic damage that communications workers could do to the system in New York, and therefore their potential power. It is to say only that priorities change in accordance with the local situation. For instance, in Cleveland, where the concentration of basic industry is very high, we must relate primarily to those industrial workers.

We must also be careful not to determine our issues in the abstract. Although always looking for issues such as have been described above, a variety of other issues may be important to work on. Supporting a wage strike, sometimes, gives us the opportunity to inject our political position—say on job discrimination—into the strike. This is a subtle point and depends on the concretes of the situation. In no case should we ever submerge our anti-racist, anti-imperialist politics to gain popular support.

In summary, we believe that we do not have an ideology with which to approach the powerful American labor force, or any other non-student constituency. Nevertheless, our links with other constituencies found in our confrontation with the university have opened realities of experimentation to us. In time there will be a true alliance between students, workers, and many others, in a single class.

## IV. On Implementation

A. Educational material on this program of organizing:

(1) includes pamphlets on building links with working-class constituencies through work-ins, strike support, community organizing, constituency organizing;

(2) includes use of resource groups such as the Boston Labor Committee, REP, and the Columbia Liberation School to develop these materials;

(3) encourages experimentation and collection and provision for the compilation and dissemination of various experiences (for example through newsletters, articles, et cetera).

B. Congresses to evaluate other constituency projects like the work-in, community organizing, and professional organizing.

C. Development and preparation of pamphlets to be used in reaching other constituencies and in explaining the issue of other constituencies to students.

D. Aid in the formation of groups such as labor committees and around-campus housing committees through materials and communication from the NO and the co-ordination of travelers from more developed projects.

E. Development and communication of research on the university as an institution of exploitation.

# Proposal for Building Labor Committees

by the Philadelphia and New York Labor Committees

SDS should encourage the formation throughout the country of committees through which radicals can work with and propagandize workers and poor people. Further, the forms and tactics of these committees should be relevant to the present state of capitalist economy and society—a crisis which is opening increasingly obvious and intense weaknesses and failures in the total system for the first time since the Second World War, the first time in our lifetimes.

Capitalism in prosperity is able to make selective concessions to the organized working class and present its failures as technical or administrative problems — "pockets of poverty". Capitalism in crisis finds it absolutely necessary to attack the real wages of all wage-earners and the conditions of life of the entire people. This attack has made savage progress in England, France, West Germany, and other

advanced capitalist countries. It is beginning in earnest in America, and it requires a specific and unique response from the Left.

The American wage-earner no longer looks with indifference as the militant struggles of poor people and student radicals appear on his TV screen. He is now reacting with increasing anger to the convulsions taking place in the guts of what he used to think was a successful society, and at the edges of what looked for so long like a successful empire. He is bitching in the shop or the office, buying guns at home, and moving toward a choice—either active conservatism and racism, or increasingly active militancy with radical potential. So far the Left has done very little to encourage political development of the latter potential among wage-earners. As to the radicalization to the right, one shorthand indication of its rapid progress was a recent nationwide poll of Federal employees which found their first Presidential choice to be George Wallace.

We are not suggesting that organizing

and propagandizing among students, black people, and the unorganized and the most oppressed should be de-emphasized; it is at this point still the most important aspect of our activity; it was paramount at Columbia and in other forms in France. But at some point soon, if a genuine revolutionary movement is to develop from this pre-revolutionary situation, the mass actions of these people must begin to find support among the increasingly discontented white workers, even be joined by them. This cannot happen unless the actions are around issues which are comprehensible to white workers and which unite their interests, even in a rudimentary way, with those of the students and the poor. To pinpoint those issues and suggest through education and propaganda the lines of such unity is the prime concern of revolutionaries.

Struggles for local control in communities and greater militancy on local demands in unions are the natural response of people in isolated situations in capitalist society to the progressive deterioration of those situations. Such struggles reinforce rather than break down the divisions between groups of workers, poor people, students, etcetera. Equally important, in a period in which the System as a whole is losing its ability to make meaningful concessions, they cannot succeed even on their own terms. Transit workers, for instance, oppose their interests squarely to those of the riding public in order to gain wage demands which are meaningless, since they disappear under the onslaught of rising taxes and inflation. The great proliferation of local housing and community groups does not win significant improvements in conditions of life in communities. Struggles for community control of schools do not by themselves improve the quality of schools, and there are many other examples, particularly in public-service union situations.

The deepening contradictions within American capitalist society (described above) are forcing people to transcend their local struggles because it is increasingly clear that they are inadequate. (You can't fight a tax increase in your shop.) We see the development of a unique mass-action protest (most clearly in France and embryonically at Columbia) in which gradually-widening circles of students, poor people, and both organized and unorganized workers discover and fight for common interests. In this situation, initiating struggles around issues of local control will hold back the development and expression of the full range of total anti-system energy liberated in mass activity by narrowing the political focus of the action. Our role is crucial here, for while the process of mass action develops spontaneously, it is initiated by relatively small numbers of revolutionaries who are able to focus the issues around which the struggle can develop, propagandize around them, and initiate bold action around them. It is in the process of such actions following upon education that a broadening base is created, not the base which creates the action.

The following are lines of action (general and specific) with this aim which the New York-Philadelphia Labor Committees have begun and will continue this summer. We recommend things of this nature as the activity of other labor committees formed; we do not suggest them as ready-made projects. The issues and actions effective in each city and each situation can only be determined by research and experience.

(1) leafleting of transit workers and riders about the nature of the public transit system and its relationship to the growing financial decay of the city: This has taken place in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia around many of the same issues and programs. It provides a good example of the type of work we feel is necessary. In New York, the abomination called the transit system affects working class, middle class, poor people, and students to a great extent. Fares have risen twice in recent years and are about to rise again to a quarter. Most New Yorkers have heard nothing

but the news-media line that wage increases for transit workers cause increases of the transit fare, and that the problem of the condition of the system is just plain insoluble without impossible tax hikes because of the size and decay of the city as a whole. We have attempted a campaign against the fare increase by leafleting and picketing the TA and on one occasion the LIRR (now being merged with the TA in a new super-authority—the MTA) and also demonstrating and speaking in NYC budget hearings. Both transit workers and riders have been leafleted and spoken to about the huge speculative profits the TA (and other city authorities) provide for bankers and financiers who direct them and hold their bonds; how this is characteristic of the way the city is run financially; how a bankrupt city in hock to financiers cannot serve its population. Transit workers and riders are being approached in much the same way, as members of the general wage-earning population above all.

The capitalist use of huge authorities (now becoming even larger with Rockefeller's UDC) to regulate construction and services cannot be effectively attacked or even clearly exposed in local union or neighborhood struggles. Neither can they be attacked without a direct confrontation of questions of taxes and inflation, which are becoming as much or possibly even more important than wage questions in the minds of wage-earners and are forming the basis of a Right-wing radicalization among them. They must be attacked with propaganda and action around at least city-wide demands for socialist alternatives.

(2) similar frequent leafleting and rallies in the NYC garment center, which began with David Dubinsky's honorary degree from Columbia commencement this year and which will continue: We are talking to garment workers about the real decline in their real wages and the nature of their union—approaching them as unskilled workers, ghetto residents, high-school students (all the same people who reacted to the Columbia strike) who also happen to be garment workers.

(3) the Columbia Liberation School (a strike-committee education project): an attempt at education on the nature of the System—a very important one, because it will involve some high-school students and workers who became involved in the strike actions, as well as college students and other radicals. The key thing here is that people are coming together in the School not as students, as workers, as ghetto poor alone, but as angry people from all kinds of situations who want to talk to each other about the system that's ruining their lives. That's the first characteristic of a real movement—breaking out of the bags capitalist society has put us in and talking about one long fight with one enemy.

(4) research—with special attention to up-coming strikes, housing campaigns, et cetera: This goes without saying and cannot be skipped.

(5) support for strikes among both striking workers and the community, propagandizing about the potential links between interests of striking workers and those of other groups within the community.

## Implementation

Much of our perspective on implementation is stated above. With regard to specific organizational structure for co-ordination of the labor committees' work, we agree with the implementation section of the SLAP proposal, with the following clarification:

(1) that the editorial policy of the newsletter be absolutely non-exclusive with respect to contributions from committees so as to encourage development of revolutionary ideas through a free interchange of ideas: At this stage of our movement, nobody has all the answers.

(2) that the co-ordinating office be in New York, where the continuing effects of the Columbia strike provide the ideal conditions for the works of student-labor committees.

## Relationship of SDS to the American Labor Movement

### I. The impracticality of alliances at this time

Historically, alliances have consisted of two or more powerful groups coming together in a common struggle. This implies that all groups involved share a political consciousness and are capable of mobilizing an organized base into effective action.

Students active in the New Left must realize that, on one hand, the American Labor Movement is a viable radical force with roots and dynamic for overshadowing the present potential of the New Left for bringing about revolutionary change in this country. On the other hand, we must also realize that the majority of our constituency does not have a coherent revolutionary ideology that would enable it to contribute either through theory or through practice to the workers' movement.

### II. The political responsibilities of SDS

Our task is not to go to workers as Jesuit missionaries to the Pagan Africans. Rather, our job is twofold. The first aspect, which is of prime importance, is the development among our student base of a political consciousness that will enable them to conceive of their role as fighters in a revolutionary struggle based on class conflict. This requires a program of political education among our members that we have yet to engage in.

The second aspect of our work involves the result of our efforts toward radicalization. There are those in the New Left who will wish to break out of the "student" definition and approach the New Left as revolutionaries. Channels for making that possible must be opened up for these people.

### III. Radicals in the professions

Many SDS people will intend, no matter how intense our education, to go into the professions. It is essential that they carry into the professions an understanding of their potential role in the development of a socialist revolution. SDS should be developing programs for this purpose.

Professionals in union jobs, for example teachers and social workers, can play a tremendously vital role in the creation or strengthening of radical consciousness within these unions. A program of education that brings professionals to an understanding of their role in that respect is crucial to this

aspect of organizing working people.

### IV. Implementation

The Convention mandates the Education Secretary and the Inter-organizational Secretary to begin immediately the implementation of this orientation.

A. The Education Secretary shall be responsible for developing among the regions educational programs designed to develop ideological understanding among students of their potential in a revolutionary class struggle. He will be responsible for the production, obtaining, and distribution of the literature needed to conduct the educational work.

B. The Inter-organizational Secretary shall be responsible for developing liaison between SDS and labor unions (both blue-collar and white-collar). He shall also conduct liaison with NCU and related programs. His office shall be the national funnel for students who either wish to leave campuses or are graduating into either work situations or community-organizing programs.

### V. Conclusion

Our task at this point is to move directly into a program of:

A. raising, debating, and developing an SDS ideology on the class struggle in America that demonstrates clearly the links between campus struggles and labor struggles;

B. providing the channels for those "students" who have liberated themselves from that definition in order that they may relate to and function within the working class.

We believe that the development of these programs is the essential first step toward the ultimate goal of a worker-student alliance. For us to attempt such an alliance at this time, when we have not done the groundwork for it, is mechanically and politically useless. The result of this strategy in the long run will be the elevating of the conscience of the concept of class struggle within the membership of SDS. In the terms of real organizing it will create and maintain a radical caucus within existing Left-wing unions. This will mean the creation of the framework which will lead to revolutionary solidarity between all the insurgent elements of this society.

Richard Arvedon, NY Regional Office SDS  
Jim Fite, LA Regional Office SDS  
Morgan Spector, SF SDS  
Steve Terrant, NY SDS

## MORE TABLED RESOLUTIONS

# THIRD PARTIES - THIRD TICKETS

First of all, let me identify myself as supporting the non-PL "base-building" group within SDS. I do not believe we have the manpower to effect basic change in the United States, nor do I believe we can create the proverbial "intolerable situation" for the Establishment via institutional resistance. My non-PL status is not an anti-PL one but one that arises from the desire to generalize the worker-student alliance to one of an intellectual-population alliance. In this respect I agree with Staughton Lynd that the irrationality of our society has reached such proportions that the majority of the population (regardless of specific role in the production process) is basically alienated from the System. The Establishment has succeeded in playing the various oppressed groups off against each other so far. This makes it imperative for radicals to forge some kind of common understanding of the essence of the national problem with all our potential allies. Unfortunately, much of SDS's activities (especially here at Wisconsin where the experience is perhaps more relevant to the country at large than Columbia-Brooklyn College and Berkeley-SF State-Oakland) have increased our estrangement from the people who are most oppressed by the System (the working class, the alienated middle class, et cetera). Other wedges between groups that from the point of view of common oppression are natural allies are: black versus white—the most obvious, worker versus taxpayer (in cases of public employees), worker versus consumer (the phony wage-price spiral), and in Wisconsin and other agricultural states, farmer versus consumer.

As one way to forge such unity and understanding to cut across the Establishment's lies, I would suggest serious consideration be given to the third-party movements that are cropping up in a number of states. Many of the SDS brothers and sisters have disdained "electoral politics" because (a) voting is a passive act requiring little commitment and (b) by the campaign itself we are furthering the false-consciousness among the American population that elections and parliamentarianism mean what the Establishment liars say they mean. Both of these arguments are powerful, especially when buttressed by the recent history of "peace" candidates. (See Studies on the Left re the Sheer campaign.) They are also good arguments in the light of the NCNP approach to the 1968 campaign which entails putting third tickets on the ballot. In Pennsylvania, for example, a Gregory-Spock ticket will be presented to the voters in November. As most SDS radicals can see, this approach builds no base and merely serves as a protest within the two-party system which can easily absorb the momentarily rebellious voters after November.

However, just as our PL brothers have argued that labor's history of co-optation and racism should not preclude work and hope for change in its false consciousness, I say we should not throw out the concept of third parties as base-building operations just because our experience with electoral action has been negative. Many SDS brothers and sisters have found it worthwhile to work with the PFP in California. The Black Panthers of Oakland, whose claim to radicalism should not need defense, have considered the PFP a useful organizing tool. The PFP for its part has participated in numerous actions, has been a principled source of opposition to McKennedy, and has begun to consolidate the amorphous base of sixty thousand which remains now that the liberals have returned to the Democratic Party. I believe that the third-party idea at least deserves the benefit of the doubt on the basis of the

California experience. People in Virginia, Michigan, and New York, and even some here in Wisconsin, obviously agree, as they have developed the same kind of idea concurrently. This summer both NY and California PFP, together with the Michigan New Politics Party, will be participating jointly in a summer organizing program in their states and at least three others. I believe that SDS brothers and sisters could do well to link their People Against Racism and anti-Draft activity with one of these local political structures for mutual benefit.

Unfortunately, the most important reason why SDS brothers and sisters should support local third parties and at the very least not waste time in sniping criticism is a negative one. Ever since the PFP started in its quest for the ballot place in California, there has been a major split between forces supporting third parties and those supporting third tickets. In California, this split went beyond polite argumentation and blossomed into a full-scale attempt to sabotage the PFP. I will not waste time calling names and specifying actions; the Movement grapevine exposes those shenanigans quite well. It is a shame to have to bring the implications of this split out into the open, but it is necessary because by their hostile neutrality in this split based on general suspicion of electoral politics SDS brothers and sisters may be guaranteeing their worst fears by leaving the field by default to those who support meaningless third tickets and actively seek to sabotage third parties.

In Washington, Oregon, Pennsylvania there is a third ticket. In Michigan and New York, third tickets compete with third parties (Michigan PFP and New York Freedom and Peace). What are third tickets? And what's wrong with them? Legally, the difference is that a ticket can have no label, just a candidate's name, and it dies after Election Day. One might ask: So what's the problem? Advertise the ticket as a party. This is being done, of course, but the basic question is one of content. A party, because it is permanent, lays the basis for separation from the two-party system and permits the independent development of a radical program. A ticket can be manipulated by a small elitist group that decides the slogans in advance, maps out an "educational" campaign, and forgets about

which is an obvious necessity in a nation as varied and encompassing as many decentralized grass-roots democracy, different oppressed groups as ours. It must have a candidate before it solicits signatures for the place on the ballot. Its sole function is pressure on the established two parties; a vote for the ticket is like a letter to your Congressman. The ticket is a public-relations gesture.

The general method of effecting the split is observable in the state of New York. By emphasizing Freedom over Peace the so-called Freedom and Peace Party has given primacy to the black liberation movement. The method for achieving this primacy has been to pursue the NCNP 50-50 formula for black-white coalitions. Despite our original support for this scheme after the Chicago convention, many people have come to see that this is basically unworkable. Blacks committed to democratic decision-making have been forced to totally disenfranchise themselves because their power puts them in the position of dictating. In fact, the maneuver is basically an attempt to smear Peace and Freedom with the racist brush. In California, the meaningful alliance within the Alameda County PFP between Berkeley radicals and the Panthers should belie this accusation. In addition, it should be noted that the Panthers scorn the 50-50 formula.

The Freedom and Peace Party claims that it is not a ticket but a party. Once again content is more important than form. The Freedom and Peace Party is supporting local Democratic Party politicians in many upstate areas, and their whole top-down approach (See their ads with the usual appeal to authority in *The Guardian*.) indicates that they are within the rubric of pressure politics rather than separation from the two-party structure.

Without a decentralized democratic structure dedicated to the long haul, which third parties can have but which third tickets cannot and do not, there can be no relating of issues like Peace and Freedom to the nitty-gritty local concerns like taxes, education, and prices. On the other hand, third parties must be organized from the grass roots.

With a long-term perspective it matters little if it qualifies for this or that election, and crisis deadlines can be made subservient to base-building that need be ready for only one final deadline. By dedicating itself to democratic decentralization, the party will be forced to confront people's needs and fears and to deal in nitty-gritty local issues. Since it must reach out to people on the basis of their everyday lives, not on the basis of sloganeering prevalent during a campaign, it will be built upon education that describes the substance of the conditions of life. Candidates will run to expand the base and push a general program which relates local issues to national ones.

### ON THE BASIS OF THESE ARGUMENTS I PROPOSE THE ENSUING RESOLUTION

WHEREAS: third-party movements present the possibility for building and expanding a radical base encompassing hitherto divided oppressed groups within our society—especially when it encompasses non-electoral forms like direct action;

WHEREAS: third tickets masquerading as parties controlled by undemocratic groups serve to channel discontent back into the two Establishment parties;

### BE IT RESOLVED:

A. that SDS maintain a fraternally critical attitude toward all bona fide radical third-party movements based on decentralization and grass-roots democracy to (1) encourage their growth and (2) keep them honest (that is radical);

B. that SDS condemn the tactics and organizing conception of the so-called third parties that are in fact third tickets because of their manipulative undemocratic centralized organization, their lack of staying power after November, and their objective role in sabotaging third-party movements;

C. that SDS urge its membership to acquaint itself with the specific ticket-versus-party struggle in their areas;

D. that the SDS Inter-organizational Secretary be mandated to establish lines of communication with the third parties of California, New York, Michigan, and other states so that SDS's membership can be kept informed of what is happening;

E. that local SDS organizations and Draft-resistance unions be urged to make contact with local third-party organizations for common action, mutual education, mutual aid, et cetera;

F. that NLN solicit articles on the way third-party movements can be kept radical, can be used to expand the base, can be kept from getting hung up on vote-chasing, and in general can build programs based on the connection of local issues with the basic ones of imperialism and corporation capitalism aimed at the development of programs for decentralized democratic communities which will point the way toward a new society.

Mike Meeropol  
SDS member-at-large  
currently of Madison, Wisconsin

## G. I. Organizing

WHEREAS: the Armed Forces of the United States as presently constituted are the primary instrument of American imperialism and are used to oppress people in the United States and other countries;

WHEREAS: the Government coerces individuals to serve as its instruments of oppression by the Draft;

WHEREAS: these individuals are exploited within the Armed Forces and are then used to exploit other people;

BE IT RESOLVED: that the Students for a Democratic Society initiate and support activities directed toward creating a radical political consciousness among the members of the Armed Forces by:

(1) supporting in our Draft work those individuals who wish to continue the struggle against imperialism by entering the Military for the purpose of politicizing and organizing our brothers in the Military, as well as continuing to support the struggles of those brothers

who wish to resist;

(2) setting up GI drop-in centers near military installations offering a political program aimed at aiding GIs in radical struggle and organizing efforts in the Military;

(3) encouraging individuals and chapters to conduct an organized campaign to involve GIs in their social and political activities;

(4) establishing a military counseling service;

(5) providing the needed support for radical struggles within the Military—demonstrations, publicity, printing facilities, et cetera;

(6) providing support for deserters for their demand for amnesty.

### Implementation:

The June Convention should create an SDS project for GI organizers with a co-ordinating office in the New York Region.

—The Workshop in GI Organizing

# Minutes of the New NIC

NIC MEETING, SATURDAY, JUNE 15TH

## ATTENDANCE:

Present were Dohrn, Gordon, Halle, James, Jones, Klonsky, Mann, Marshall, Oglesby, Spector, and Spiegel. The meeting was open, and about fifty attended in all.

## NEXT NIC MEETING:

The next NIC meeting was scheduled July 19th, 20th, and 21st in Chicago.

## SPIEGEL STATE-OF-OFFICE REPORT:

**New Press:** The new press is to be installed July 1st. The new folding machine is paid for. The \$12,500 for the press has all been paid except for a \$2,500 debt to John Rossen which will be repaid by printing jobs.

**Fund-raising:** The most money raised this year came from the Boston area. A total of \$50,000 was raised nationally. Two membership mailings went out, one at the beginning of the school year (\$2500) and one in May (\$3400).

**National Office:** The National Office is completely clear of back debts. Spiegel stressed the problem of summer fund-raising, and said that we might be forced to go further into ads if finances don't pick up before August. Ads this year in New Republic and Ramparts brought back a five-to-one return of ad costs.

**National Office staff:** NIC members should attempt to recruit staff members for the National Office. A six-month commitment is being required by the Print Shop staff for anybody who wants to learn printing and camera work. The Print Shop is now operating with a skeleton staff of three men. New Left Notes editor Pat Sturgis plans to stay on; the paper comes out bi-weekly during June and July.

**Organizational Expenses:** The National Office will not pay transportation costs for NIC members attending meetings.

**NIC Discussion:** Topical experts should be invited to NIC meetings when we know what the specific issues are that we will be discussing. Chip Marshall suggests that all NIC members working in regions should bring a complete report on developments to be printed in New Left Notes.

Jeff Jones suggests that as a priority we should re-construct the substance of the structure debate for publication as soon as possible in New Left Notes. The authors of the various positions should prepare reduced explanations of their proposals. It was the sense of everyone that regional development was the main priority of the Convention, and that a goal of perhaps fifteen to nineteen regions should be set for the year to come. Chip said that continued descriptive reports regarding local and regional experimentation with structural forms should be sent to New Left Notes.

The question of starting a work list or bulletin to be sent to organizers was raised. Jones said that we should de-emphasize co-ordinated national "mystical organizer" leadership, and that the only way to avoid a new bulletin's being restricted to this elite would be to invite everybody who wanted to see it to subscribe (for about a dollar). The content of such a bulletin was not discussed in detail. Bartee Halle raised the question of the tremendous gap which he feels between his (Texas-Oklahoma) region and the urban regions (New York in particular), and said that the structure which best suited New York would not likely be best suited for Texas.

**New New York Office:** After being evicted from its fourth office in a year, the New York Region has bought into a co-operative loft building. The new address is 131 Prince Street, New York, New York.

**Communication Between NO and NIC:** The NO will not accept collect phone calls from the NIC. The NIC members should raise money for the NO.

## INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL DISCUSSION:

**Cuba:** We have received three separate invitations to visit Cuba this summer and fall:

(1) Three to five "national leaders" have been invited to participate in the July 26th celebration.

(2) Forty to fifty SDS people have been invited for three weeks in August or September.

(3) One individual has been invited to spend three months on the staff of Radio Habana preparing propaganda materials for broadcast to the US.

**Japan:** The fare will be paid for one SDS delegate or observer to attend the Young Men's Anti-war Association and Zengakuren conference July 20th through August 9th.

**Germany:** Three SDS people have been invited to attend the German SDS ideological conference in Yugoslavia the first week in September.

**Canada:** An international student

## Where to find NIC'S

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conference is being planned by members of Columbia SDS for late summer in Montreal. Details are not yet clear.

A long discussion was held on the role of these travels. On the whole the consensus was that European travel is to be stressed at this time. Everybody shouldn't go to Hanoi as we have been doing; the struggle in the advanced capitalist countries has been ignored by SDS. Oglesby suggests that rather than sending our people there, we should try to get Cohn-Bendit or All over here speaking to our people (rather than hearing second-hand what a European student leader told one of our people over there). He says that in response to the repression of the Left in France we should have had a sense of urgency and priority during the Convention about at least discussing some actions we could take nationally. The way in which people are selected to go on these trips was discussed, but no conclusion was reached except that Jeff Jones is to prepare an article for New Left Notes on the Cuba trips and ask all interested people to respond.

## BLACK PANTHERS:

Morgan Spector submitted a resolution on the repression of the Black Panthers which was passed unanimously.

## THE NAC AND THE REAC:

The NAC is presently composed of Boe Shomer, Alan Sachs, Jon Dunn, Clark Kissinger, and representatives of the chapters of Northwestern, Loyola, and

## New SDS's

The following new chapters were recognized provisionally by the (outgoing) National Secretary, as directed by the Constitution pending the next meeting of the National Council:

Falls Church High School SDS, Falls Church, Virginia  
University of Nevada SDS, Reno, Nevada  
University of Virginia Chapter, Charlottesville, Virginia  
Memphis State University Larry Payne Memorial Chapter, Memphis, Tennessee  
Smith College No More Ugly Babies Chapter, Amherst, Massachusetts  
Eastern Michigan University Chapter, Ypsilanti, Michigan  
Duke University SDS, Durham, North Carolina  
Solidarity Bookstore Louis Lingg Memorial Chapter, Chicago, Illinois  
University of Maine in Portland SDS  
South Woodstock, Vermont SDS

## PROPOSAL: WORKSHOP ON INTERNAL SECURITY AND SELF DEFENSE

We must acknowledge the escalation of struggle both offensively and defensively and become aware of the necessity to protect ourselves. If SDS is to survive organizationally it must at some time deal with this structurally (defense committees). At this time all members must become aware of tactics which might in the future save them from getting busted (over the head and/or into jail). We propose a committee to prepare a pamphlet dealing with the following on local, regional, and national levels: police identification; laws relating to SDS functions (gun and riot laws); needs for basic self-defense (karate); tapping of available information (research, Right-wing); counter-police tactics (demonstrations, infiltration); first aid; utilization of peripheral forces (funds, underground networks). All members/chapters wanting to supply information for the pamphlet should send the material to a central editing body to be decided by the NO.

Hank Williams (JOIN), with alternates Earl Silbar and Chicago Circle Campus rep. Since several of these people are gone or leaving sometime soon for the summer, it was decided to re-appoint the present NAC temporarily, until we know exactly who will be available. On the REAC, it was noted that the REAC never functioned except during the preparation of Ten Days pamphlets. Fred Gordon suggested that an education committee would properly consist of the high-school organizer, someone from the printing crew, the editor of NLN, some local chapter representatives, and the Education Secretary. The discussion was tabled until the needs and resources of the education program could be determined.

## cuba trips

Since there was no business conducted at the National Council meeting, the resolution on Cuba was presented as business at the NIC meeting. The NIC took the following actions:

(1) It accepted an invitation from the Cuban people to send three-to-five official representatives to the July 26th celebrations in Havana: Selections will be made at the July 19th NIC meeting. Contact the NO or someone from the NIC if you are interested in representing SDS.

(2) It accepted an invitation from the Cuban people to co-operate on a second SDS trip, scheduled for sometime in August, and consisting of up to forty people.

If you are interested in going on this trip you should send an application to the National Office immediately. Include in the application a description of your "Movement History", that is, what type of work you have done, where, et cetera, and a comment on how you see the experience of going to Cuba relating to your work in the Movement. The final date for applications is July 5th.

All decisions on attendance for the last trip were made by the NIC. This time, regional assemblies and local chapters will be given most of the responsibility for choosing. The NIC will decide proportionally how many choices different regions can make, and return all the applications from that area to the regional office. The NIC will make the rest of the choices, but will give primary emphasis to those chosen by chapters.

In those places where there are regional structures, the following should happen. At the next meeting of the regional assembly, regional council, et cetera, a decision should be made as to how selections for the trip will be made and communicated to the NO. Remember that there will be only about three weeks from the time of the July NIC meeting until the time when the trip must begin.

The last SDS trip took four weeks. Everyone flew from Chicago to Mexico City, took a plane to Cuba, and came home by freighter to Canada. Since it is summer, there is an even cheaper way to go. Arrange with some friends to drive to Mexico City. The cost of the trip will then be travel expenses by car to Mexico City, air fare to Havana (approximately \$50) and travel home from Montreal.

When you send your application to the NO, you should make arrangements immediately to get your passport in order. It will be almost impossible to get State Department clearance for the trip. That means that return through Mexico will be impossible. No one from the previous trip has been hassled by the Man in any way, except for some folks who came home through a small Maine border town and had their stuff taken away. There was a trip attempted by six people from San Francisco who were kidnapped by agents (probably glusano—CIA) at the Mexican airport and returned to two towns in Texas. There will be a pre-trip meeting either in Chicago or somewhere in Texas.