

ABAJO SOMOZA

Gregory Samsa
NO - MDS

April 1, the president-elect of Nicaragua, Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle was a guest of Tulane University for the purpose of addressing the 18th annual Institute on Foreign Transportation and Port Operations.

On hand to greet him were the Navy ROTC honor guard and band, and a group composed of Tulane students and members of the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society. The demonstrators carried signs and passed out leaflets decrying the dictatorial rule of Nicaragua by the Somoza family.

WELCOME: ANASTASCIO SOMOSA, JR.

I. SOMOZA FAMILY HISTORY -- AND WEALTH

" . . . the whole country is run by soldiers . . . "

1. Papa Somoza grabbed power in 1936 and set up a family dictatorship. He stayed in power by military force until 1956, when he was assassinated. His sons, Anastasio, Jr. and Luis, took over and still run the country, still are corrupt, and still jail and torture any political opponents.

2. Since 1936, the Somoza family has stolen over \$200 million from the Nicaraguan people. The family now owns the only internal airline, the only sugar mills, the only brewery, the only slaughterhouse plus about 100 other strategic and monopolistic concerns. The Somoza family has also stolen and now owns: sugar, cotton and coffee plantations, between 500,000 and 1,000,000 acres of the best farm land, thousands of head of cattle, newspapers, and the country's only TV and radio station, and its only steamship company.

3. There were "elections" held in Nicaragua in 1963, a necessary device to get Alliance for Progress money. Only candidates approved by the Somozas were allowed to run, and further, Anastasio Somosa, Jr. retained control over the Nicaraguan/USA Army, over the soldiers who ran the whole country. Now the U. S. Government says Somoza represents democracy. The U. S. Government gave Nicaragua:

- 1956 - 1965 U. S. gives \$70 million to strengthen "democratic institution"
- U. S. Army mission since November, 1953
- Nicaraguan Army trained and supplied by USA

In addition to money, military advisors, and the training of Somoza's Army, all the Army's weapons, including rifles, bullets, mortars, Sherman tanks, and fighter planes, come from the U. S. Government.

III. SOMOZA GETS RICHER, THE PEOPLE GET POORER:

- 55 of 100 Nicaraguan children die before 5th birthday
- 70% illiterate
- 86% don't get beyond second grade
- life expectancy: 46 years
- 1/2 unemployed or underemployed
- over 2,000 political prisoners, beaten and tortured
- one doctor per 3, 00 people

III. WHY DOES THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SUPPORT SOMOZA?

1. Somoza's Army makes his country "safe" for U. S. corporations, like United Fruit, big U. S. banks, big U. S. import-export corporations. The Somoza's get paid well for their job being a goon squad for the big U. S. corporations. The people in Nicaragua starve, the children die, the people cannot go to school, and those who object are jailed and tortured.

IV. SO?

1. We are already paying in tax dollars to help make Somoza rich. Soon we may be paying in our own and our son's blood, like in Vietnam. When this happens, the U. S. Government will say it has to "defend democracy."
2. U. S. corporations build many new plants in Nicaragua and other such countries. Nicaraguan workers are paid almost nothing. And U. S. workers have less jobs to work in. Nicaraguan and U. S. working people both lose. Only U. S. corporations benefit. Corporations like United Fruit Company, notorious here for its history on the wharves.
3. We believe poor people and working people here must organize to help the poor and oppressed in other countries, and to fight here for control over their own lives, whether in the community, the factory, or the dock.

New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society
Box 2647, New Orleans, Louisiana, 70116

1000 copies of the above leaflets handed out today in front of Roosevelt Hotel at press conference in honor of Dictator Somoza's official visit to New Orleans.

The band played "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans."

12 man picket: ABAJO SOMOZA! VIVA SANDINO!

A plainclothes man pulled a picketer away from the hotel entrance. Picketeer said: "Get your hands off me! I have a right to picket here." Fuzz said: "Not if I tell you you don't."

We were joined by a Nicaraguan student studying at Loyola University. He said he had already leafleted at Loyola campus and gotten 35 signatures, saying that Somoza would not be allowed on any university campus in Latin America. He said he was in Nicaragua in January when Somoza's National Guard killed 200 demonstrators.

Inside, Somoza said, among other things, that he noted that one of the signs said

"Viva Sandino." The hit-and-run rebel chief Augusto C. Sandino, at his peak during 1927-33, "was a bandit supported by Communists," Somoza said. How about that?

We were critical of the press for not knowing anything about Nicaragua, for standing there for 45 minutes listening to Somoza lie and them not contradicting him. One TV reporter told us that the next time we picket for us to get our statistics and sources together, call him up beforehand, and he would ask relevant questions at press conference. That's going to be one more jobless reporter.

At the same time as our picket there was a National Philosophers Convention inside the Hotel. It was something to see, all these philosophers coming out with these blank looks on their faces.

After the luncheon at the International House, Somoza spoke on "Investment Opportunities in Nicaragua."

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let the people decide

APRIL 17, 1967

NATIONAL COUNCIL MINUTES

MEETING OF TUESDAY EVENING, 4/4/67.

1. CREDENTIALS.

- A. delegates with credentials were seated.
- B. contested delegates from Harvard, Columbia, LIU (people who did not send in credentials to the NO) were seated by vote of the already seated delegates, but chapters were warned that for future N. C.'s they should send credentials in advance as required.

2. NEW CHAPTERS asking for recognition.

- A. All such chapters were seated with the exception of New Orleans MDS.
 1. This chapter has in its charter a ruling against those in the Spartacist League and allowing for the expulsion of any member with 2/3 vote.
 2. Motion made to tell NO MDS that SDS will postpone acceptance until exclusionary provisions are removed and that the NO expedite this matter. -- passed.

3. AGENDA

The following agenda was passed by the national council. During subsequent discussion there were several minor changes due to operative difficulties (the temporary absence of those people who were to present motions or the inability of committees which were drawing up resolutions to get them finished quite on time.)

1. Mobilization.

- A. Orris
- B. Draft Card Burning

2. Administration

- A. Raise dues
- B. Centralize regional-national fundraising.
- C. Speck - 9
- D. NCRO - Telly

3. National President & Vice President report.

4. REP

- A. Labor Newsletter

B. Summer Institute

5. Fund raising drive.

6. Convention.

- A. Mid-June, Mid-West Antioch, regionals East-Ohio, West Penna, Upper New York, August
- B. Political Documents
- C. Planning Committee

7. Anti-War & Draft

- A. Potter - invasion
- B. Fuerst - anti-military
- C. Jacobs - Congressional hearings.

8. International

- A. Puerto Rico
- B. IURY
- C. South Africa

9. Local Student Unions

10. NAC Elections.

SECTION 2 OF AGENDA - ADMINISTRATION.

- a. Speck proposals
- b. NCRO telephone bill (telly)
- c. Calvert proposal
- d. Centralization of Regional-National fund raising.

1. SPECK RESOLUTIONS presented.

a. ". . . we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation." (emphasis added)

Just as we in SDS believed the above statement from the Port Huron statement to be true in 1962, we believe it to still be valid. Therefore, the National Council reaffirms the original conception of New Left Notes which was passed by the National Council in December 1965 and clarified in April and June 1966. New Left Notes, although printed in a newspaper format, is to serve primarily as an internal newsletter for all the membership of SDS. Its first function should be to provide the membership with in-depth news of what is happening in the movement in general and in SDS chapters in particular. It should carry first-chapter news, second -- news of national SDS programs, third -- movement news of interest to SDS, fourth -- the political dialogue within SDS and the movement. New Left Notes is not to be considered a house-organ of the official line in SDS. There simply is no such line. With the exception of the

minutes of the convention, National Council and National Administrative Committee, all viewpoints (including those of the national officers and staff of SDS) are strictly those of the authors of those positions and not positions of SDS.

Due to the fact that most of the chapters fail to send in reports to be printed in New Left Notes, all travelers working for SDS should submit reports to New Left Notes on the chapters which they have visited. These reports should include information on the size and structure of the chapter, the types of programs undertaken by the chapter and the results of these programs. These reports should not be used to editorialize.

The National Secretary of SDS should regularly report on the progress of national programs of SDS. This report should include the details of how chapters are responding to programs, how other organizations view our programs and describe the programs of fraternal organizations which are of interest to SDS.

The educational Vice President of SDS should report on the state of the SDS Radical Education Project and how chapters are using or could better use the facilities of the Radical Education Project.*

*See the motion dealing with the Radical education project.

-- passed, 15-12

2. NAC MEMBERS

That National staff members can at any time run for the NAC but at no time should staff people be more than half (1/2) of the NAC excluding the Nat. Sec. and the asst. Nat. Sec.

MEETING OF WEDNESDAY, 4/5/67, 10:00 A.M.

Motion that any chapter can call for a referendum of the NC in between meetings of the NC. -- passed.

(Continued on page 2)

NATIONAL COUNCIL MINUTES

MOBILIZATION RESOLUTION

- The SDS NC supports the Spring Mobilization against the war in Vietnam. The SDS NC urges the Mobilization and all related to urge immediate withdrawal of American Troops from Vietnam.
- The SDS NC urges that the Executive Committee of the Spring Mobilization permit the proposed draft card burning on the platform at the rally at the United Nations. -- passed: 32 - 10 on section 1.
34 - 10 on section 2.

MEETING OF WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 1967 2:00 P.M.

- National President's Report
- Radical Education Project
 - REP Resolution presented as prepared by committee. Preface to presentation takes form of a National Vice President's Report.
 - REP Resolution moved - discussion and amendments

REP RESOLUTION

Passed by the National Council of Students for a Democratic Society, April 5, 1967.

- The REP/SDS will have as its primary responsibility the hiring and training of (30) full-time teacher-organizers (T-O). These organizers will have the following responsibilities:
 - meeting the immediate educational needs (i.e. speakers, literature, films, etc.) around the program activities that chapters are involved in.
 - the setting up of monthly informal educational conferences.
 - communicating to the REP staff and the NO the educational needs of the chapters and regions and lobbying for them strongly.
 - aiding in the establishment of larger, more formal regional conferences (i.e. Princeton Conference and White Organizing Conference)
 No T-O can be sent to a region as a full-time organizer unless he/she is accepted by the Regional Council (RC). (If no RC exists, the T-O would be subject to reroll by the REP director if there is strong criticism from chapters.)
- That REP/SDS has primary responsibility for the specific summer institute among others that will be used for the training of the T-O.
The summer training institute and the T-O staff will represent as closely as possible the various political persuasions and opinions within the national constituency. The NC recognizes the article in NLN of April 3, 1967 as presenting the broad guidelines for the foundation of the summer training institute.
- That one of the most important SDS priorities, along with NLN, will in the next six (6) months be raising the money for this program.
- That the present and future office staff of REP and the SDS NO will have as primary concern, along with NLN, the fulfillment of the needs of the chapters and T-O. That a publications program be an important secondary responsibility of SDS/REP; that the decision to publish specific pamphlets be based on the needs of the chapters, RCs, and T-O. SDS/REP will also encourage chapters to intensify their writing and research activities.
- That the NC does, however, recognize that the needs of radical education are manifold, and that the REP/SDS office staff should also serve as far as possible the needs of those involved in radical research, conference planning, and organizing professionals. However, these secondary concerns, as all REP programs, will receive attention under the supervision of the REP Directorate.
- That the NC reaffirms its belief in the necessity of having a number of national staff members (REP) whose total single responsibility is the encouragement, aiding, and demanding of more internal education. The NC also re-affirms its belief in the importance of SDS/REP encouraging and stimulating hard intellectual analysis and synthesis which we lack so much.
- That the T-O field staff are responsible to the National Vice President, the REP Director and the SDSNC. (If an RC exists in the area where a T-O is working, his/her first responsibility is to the RC.)

IMPLEMENTATION

This NC creates the position of REP Director, to be elected by the NC, beginning in June 1967. Until then, a temporary REP Director will be appointed by the SDS President and Vice President. The REP Director is responsible to the National Vice President, the REP Directorate and the SDS NC. Qualifications for REP Director should be of the same high standards that SDS demands of its officers and top administrative staff.

The REP Directorate shall be made up of 7-13 SDS members, representative of the major political concerns within National SDS. The REP Directorate shall be elected by the National Interim Committee (NIC). Until the convention, a temporary REP Directorate shall be appointed by the National President and Vice President.

MEETING OF WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 1967 7:10 P.M.

1. CONVENTION DISCUSSION (agenda section 6)

- Discussion in Committee of the whole
- Committee delegated to deal with preparation of final proposal committee consists of: Mike Ansara, Tom Bell, Steve Max, Dee Jacobson, Bob Gotlieb, Terry Robbins, and Jane Adams. Committee is to report on.

- Date and suggested area
- Political documents
- Structure of convention - time, etc.
- Suggested implementation.

2. FUND RAISING (agenda section 5)

- Presentation of Calvert Committee
- Lengthy Discussion
- Motion to raise non-member subscriptions to NLN to \$10,000 /yr. -- passed.
- Discussion tabled 'til following morning because of late hour.

MEETING OF THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1967, 10:00 A. M. (MORNING)

- The Calvert resolution "FINANCIAL SOLVENCY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT" was read and discussed. (See NLN, Feb. 20, National Secretary's memo)
- Motion that the Calvert resolution be accepted in full.
- Proposal of amendment to Calvert resolution section 3 that "it shall be possible for the regions to negotiate for national funding of additional staff per region in addition to the basic three staff positions. -- passed.
- Proposed amendment to Calvert res. section 4 that "the NIC shall have the

power to review operation of the allocation of staff and regional budget."

- Amendment to proposed amendment that "the special NIC mailings shall be re-instituted." -- passed. (4a above)

(question of amendment & 4a)

- Motion of the question of the Calvert resolution as amended. -- passed.
 - vote on resolution. -- passed.
- Motion - Dues tax proposal from committee
"Every SDS chapter shall raise \$5.00 per member to be sent to the national office by June 1, of each year. The means for raising this per capita tax shall be left to the chapters. This tax will go into effect in the Spring term of 1967. -- passed.
"SDS dues shall be raised to \$5.00. This shall go into effect immediately for new members and at the expiration of the present individual members. -- passed.
- Resolutions on fund raising.
 - Motion: A Sense of the Body Resolution
The National Council of Students for a Democratic Society, meeting in Cambridge, Mass. on April 6, 1967, recognizing that a growing segment of the membership is entering the labor force and is receiving comfortable remuneration, recommends that SDS members shall contribute to the national organization 10% of their gross annual income over \$4000.00 per income unit. The above guideline should not be viewed as a rigid assessment. -- passed.
 - Motion: Be it resolved to raise \$25,000.00 by September, 1967, in addition to present operating expense for teacher-organizers, regional conferences, REP summer institute and expanding New Left Notes. -- passed.

MEETING OF THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1967, 2:00 pm

CONVENTION RESOLUTION

I. THEME: Analysis and direction of the movement -

(Analysis of American society to topical and institutional areas in which SDS and the left are involved, to specific strategies for where people are at in the context, all of which will set the tone and direction for SDS for the following year)

II. STRUCTURE:

- Day 0. - Evening registration plus an event (Film, Speaker, Happening, etc.)
- Day 1. - Orientation - (Small groups on a regional basis to discuss the format of the convention plus general discussion.) Small workshops on "why I'm in SDS", the movement, what is it to be a radical, what does that mean in terms of life commitment.
- Day 2. - Analysis - An Overview (to be published in NLN previous to the Convention)
- All day workshops on papers with time devoted to the reading of the papers by the individual participants.
- Day 3. - Where the Movement is at:
- Morning presentation of strategy papers in a panel.
 - Discussion in small workshops for the rest of the day.
 - Civil Rights
 - Student Movement - University
 - Foreign Policy & Anti-War
 - Labor
 - Draft
 - "Middle Class" (new working class & professionals)
 - Poor
 - Electoral politics
 - Quality of Life, sex, drugs, etc.
 - The Woman Question
- Day 4. - Plenary: A. Set priorities for working papers from workshop topics.
B. Set Agenda
C. Check Credentials, Etc.
D. PARTY.
- Day 5. - Working workshops - getting proposals whipped into shape.
- Day 6. - Plenary - Convention
- Day 7. - Plenary - Convention until evening.
- Day 7. - National Council - night
- Day 8. - National Council

IMPLEMENTATION

- Implementation Committee.
 - Committee Consists of five (5) members from the New England (Boston) and New York regions to coordinate the Convention and to Act as a steering committee at the Convention and to set up a network across the country of people who will work on the Convention.
 - The committee is empowered to add members to represent regional areas.
 - The members of the committee are: John Maher, John Fuerst, Bob Gotlieb, Steve Halliwell, Mike Ansara.
 - Papers for the convention will be given priority for printing in New Left Notes between now and 30 days before the convention but not to papers submitted within 30 days of the Convention.
- Location - Ohio
 - Antioch or 2. Bowling Green 3. Place must be announced by May 1, 1967
- Date - June
- Funding - Convention pays own way - expenses determine fee.
- Brochure announcing the convention to be available in quantity by second (2nd) week in May, 1967.

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newspaper

NEW LEFT NOTES

newspaper

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Summer Institute and Teacher-Organizers

report by Nick Egleson

This summer the Institute for Policy Studies, the Radical Education Project, and the Educational Cooperative are cosponsoring three student institutes concerned with the campus. SDS, the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA, Canada) and possibly the University Christian Movement (UCM) will be taking part in them.

Anyone who will be (1) enrolled in a university next year and wants to organize there OR (2) working full time organizing on campuses in a region should seriously consider attending.

The aim of the institutes is to train both full time travelling "teacher-organizers" and campus-based "teacher-organizers."

TIME & PLACE

One institute will be held in Boston, one in Chicago, and one in California. They will begin on June 16th and run for seven weeks (until approximately August 14th). Each institute will consist of approximately

15 participants and three staff members.

PURPOSE

The institutes will try to: (1) help participants develop an analysis and critique of the society, particularly those aspects which will be relevant to campus organizing. (2) develop strategic and programmatic thinking about the nature and purpose of student organizing. (3) develop experience with the methods and techniques of organizing and to examine what it means to be an organizer. (For a fuller discussion of purpose see NLN Vol. II, No. 13, for April 3, 1967, p. 2).

CURRICULUM

The staff for the summer institutes, REP staff members, and others spent a day in Boston after the April National Council meeting discussing the curriculum. The following proposal comes out of these sessions. This proposal is not final, nor does it resolve all the questions. It is presented here for the broadest possible discussion, criticism, and revision. In the end it will be the participants in the institute who take this proposal and alternatives and fashion a curriculum which in their opinion best helps them come to grips with the problems of student organizing.

WEEK I

(A) Participants present and evaluate previous campus of political work in terms of their personal values and goals: In what terms was the experience successful? Why? How does it compare to other attempts and perspectives?

(B) Participants attempt to formulate how as discussion leaders at the Convention (Day #1 of proposed convention agenda) they can help small workshops tackle these same questions.

(C) Begin basic radical education and analysis: read, discuss, and criticize such

works as W. A. Williams' *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, Gabriel Kolko's *Wealth and Power in America*, sections from Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capital*, C. W. Mills' *Power, Politics and People*, Herbert Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man*.

WEEK II

(A) Serve as discussion leaders for day 1 of the Convention, continuing to meet with those groups if that is appropriate.

(B) Collect and evaluate national experience in some area of particular interest - draft organizing, student unions, university collaboration in war and defense, student-labor activity, community Vietnam work, counter curricula, etc. - for later discussion at the institute.

WEEK III

(A) Evaluate experience at the Convention. How helpful were the discussions of Week I?

(B) Discuss the state of the national student movement, drawing in part on material from the Convention. What are the major programmatic thrusts? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the current radical critique, analysis, and strategy? What has been the historical development of the New Left?

(C) Decide upon and begin field work projects around areas of individual interest. (Examples: organizing a seminar at a summer session of a university, dorm organizing around the war, the draft, or the state of education, working with students on a labor project, etc.)

(D) Continue basic radical education and analysis. This will continue through the rest of the institute.

WEEK IV

(A) Continue field projects, and begin

group evaluation of them.

(B) Begin study of specific strategies for campus work. This involves examination of the theory behind educational practice (Clark Kerr, et. al.) and of critiques and alternative theories - by Veblen, Goodman, Riesman, etc. It involves questions such as (a) How does the university as an institution relate to other institutions of American society? (b) How does organizing on the campus relate to organizing in the community and the work place? (c) How do the strategies relate the analysis of American social structure? (d) How do the strategies draw on the history of American radicalism and experience in other countries? (e) How can involvement in a student movement lead to a lifetime commitment to political work?

WEEKS V AND VI

Continue as above

WEEK VII

(A) terminate field work projects

(B) evaluate the experience of the summer
(Continued on page 4)

WOMEN T-O's

Dear Sisters,

Just a brief note to ask you all to give special consideration to the summer institutes to train teacher-organizers. I feel kind of strange (reverse chauvinism) writing this to you, but I think we all recognize that women generally do not have significant roles in our campus work, or in SDS organizationally. And I don't see how we can build a strong movement for a free, democratic society as long as women are treated like "second-class citizens" and retain a submissive role.

It's imperative that we develop as many good female organizers as male organizers for a number of reasons:

As long as almost all the organizers and staff are male, the fears that bind girls in chapters will be perpetuated; the habit of looking to men for leadership (by both men and women) will be continued. That has to be broken down, and it can only be broken down by women assuming initiative and responsibility.

One of the significant elements of our movement is that it is attempting to redefine roles - to discover the ways that people can relate to each other as whole people, without the dominant-submissive roles that this society forces on us. As long as women accept a submissive status, and do not challenge the existing role-relationships, men will continue to be dominating - and none of us will be able to create a society based on equality and dignity. We've just got to begin to tear down those old concepts.

I know that most of us have had little experience in organizing, in taking initiative. I know that many girls have fears of being incompetent, intellectually inferior, etc. Many of those fears are based on a myth that men are super-competent and super-intellectual, which is untrue as a generalization. Insofar as it is true (the culture we live in gives some truth to even outdated myths), the overcoming of fears leads to the gaining of competency, creativity, and skills.

The summer institutes will be seven weeks of intensive learning; they give no magic formula for the transformation of people into organizers, but they lay a groundwork. Work as a campus traveller requires a lot of strength - the ability to be on the go almost all the time, to talk with a variety of different people, to size up a local situation quickly and develop creative ideas about what can be done, to be able to live on next to no money, or to be a good fundraiser, etc. Much of this comes with experience - almost no one is a born organizer; we all muck up innumerable times while learning. We have to be able to look hard at mistakes and weakness and work them out. But without this struggle no movement can last and be strong.

So enough. This was to be a short note, not a treatise. If you want to work full time building the movement, apply for the institute. The work isn't easy, but it's vital if we're going to change this country into something human.

Freedom!
Jane Adams
staff, Chicago institute

REP "T-O's" and the PRACTICE of SDS

Carl Davidson

"Circumstances are changed by men and . . . it is essential to educate the educator himself. . . . The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-changing can be conceived and rationally understood only as *revolutionary practice*. (i.e., as " . . . practical-critical activity").

"The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking that is isolated from practice is purely a *scholastic* question."

-- Karl Marx
"Theses on Feuerbach"

Why "teacher-organizers?" The term itself is clumsy and perhaps a bit presumptuous. Since I, more than anyone else, bear the responsibility for its current use, I will try to explain what I mean by it and why I think it is important.

First, it seems clear to me that if any kind of educational work is to be done, the keynote of that work will be *teaching*. This is not to say that research, publication, conference planning, quest speakers, study guides, and the coordination and distribution of all of these are unimportant. Quite the contrary. But we must remember that these are only secondary aspects of the teaching-learning process itself. Since the primary aspect of education - teaching - has been conspicuously absent from both REP and SDS activities in the past, I purposely emphasized this role for future REP and SDS staff.

Second, what does organizing have to do with teaching? To begin, it seems clear to me that any kind of valuable education does not take place through the mails or the printed word. Education is both a per-

sonal and social experiential process. In other words, teachers should show up in the flesh. Next, if our educational projects are to be *radical*, it seems to me essential that both the form and content of all aspects of those projects be intimately related to the on-going political *practice* of SDS chapters. Thus, if REP staff are both radical and relevant, they must both participate in and be responsive to the day-to-day practical activity of chapters. Within that practice, they have the specific role and responsibility of expanding and deepening the reflective and critical consciousness of the local SDS members engaged in that action. Also, they should encourage and enable local members to rely on themselves and each other as resources, rather than developing a cadre of "experts." Hence, the title - *teacher-organizer*.

Naturally, the process of teaching and learning works both ways. The organizers themselves learn a great deal from the activity of the chapters. Also, the process is dynamic. New directions and areas for both action and research will be opened up. But it is important that those directions be determined by the felt and articulated needs of the *primary* SDS constituency - the chapter membership. Our first responsibility is to that constituency, not to "radical" academics and professionals. It is true that SDS needs to expand the base of its constituency. But whether we move in the direction of the underclass, the working class, the new working class, or middle class professionals depends upon the *political* debate the organization has not yet had, let alone decided. Until that debate has been settled, the task or REP teacher-organizers and the SDS national staff is to expand our base in the student community in a form and direction determined by the felt political and educational needs of the sds chapters.

RESPONSE TO NC ACTION on REP

Barry Bluestone
Ann Arbor - VOICE/SDS

The gist of the National Council's deliberations on REP-SDS relations has now filtered back to this campus, and I feel compelled to express my reactions to what appears to be a coup against the REP staff by our *national leadership*. Although my first thoughts, on hearing the matter, were concerned with the apparent conspiring against REP by some admittedly under-paid, underfed national staff who would like to get hold of REP's "millions", my second thoughts are more relevant at this time. Although the process by which REP has been struck a blow by the NC is repulsive to me, the substantive issues, which are real, have not been properly explored. The question of REP-SDS relations is, or at least should be, deeper than fundraising, staffing, and administrative control. The question that must be asked is what form of research and education program is best for the New Left.

There appear to be two poles to which REP might move. In one direction REP could concentrate its human and financial resources in internal education of the SDS membership. Concentrating on bringing present knowledge to the uninitiated of SDS chapters around the country, REP could send twenty or thirty campus researcher-organizers to individual chapters in an effort to induce educational programs, power research studies, and on the side, organize draft-resistance locals, lecture the community, and generally stir up some of the apathy. The need for solid organizing within SDS cannot be denied, nor should it be neglected. Yet a question remains as to whether REP should put its total resources into such a project. The alternatives for REP are also exciting and necessary to the New Left.

When SDS was in its infancy in the early '60's the organization was marked by several characteristics: SDS was small . . . several hundred paid members spread across the country, a handful of active chapters, and a small national budget. SDS's action projects were small, but growing and it had a reputation to match. It was, in many ways an insignificant group on the American scene, except for one very important characteristic. SDS's mimeo never stopped. From 1960 through 1963 the national office turned out dozens of occasional papers containing fresh analysis, new empirical research, and a steady high calibre critique of the contemporary scene. It was this aspect of SDS, above all else, which separated SDS's multi-issue program apart from the political failures of the past. It is difficult to tell how many people joined the organization because of its new crisp analysis and in-depth critique.

In the past few years SDS has grown by leaps and bounds mostly because of its
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NAC

NAC members present: John Veneziale, Tim McCarthy, Jim Buschel and Don Canavan, Mary Allen, Dee Jacobsen, Cathy Wilkerson.

NAC members absent: Greg Calvert, Earl Silbar, Jeff Segal.

AGENDA

- 1) Mailing lists
- 2) Summer Institute and REP
- 3) Staff

1) MAILING LIST: Professor Ted Finaman from the U. of Wisconsin Law School is doing a series of articles on protest movements in the U. S.: he wanted the chapter contact list to mail out questionnaires. His request was o.k.'d as the contact list is printed and therefore public.

A new quarterly journal, CATALYST, has requested the SDS membership list so that they can send a mailing to get subscriptions. The NAC decided that it would send the chapter contact list and the ad rates for New Left Notes. Although the editors and writers of the CATALYST were clearly mem-

A RESPONSE

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initiated community organizing projects and its vocal opposition to the War. No one can deny that the swing toward militant action has bolstered the ranks of the new left or left an educational void in some of its newest recruits. I will be the first to deny that a high-level research project can substitute for a program of direct action or a program of internal education.

However, at the same time, I feel that in the last few years SDS has lost its grip on possibly its most important asset - its fresh analytic critique. Only since the establishment of REP less than a year ago has there been a rebirth within the New Left of a critique of society. Other than that SDS has wallowed with an analysis growing ever more stale and narrow. If the War continues we will have nothing further to say. If it stops tomorrow (fat chance!) SDS will have nothing to say period! There is a crying need within the New Left community for constant reevaluation of the contemporary and exploration of the future. What does SDS have new to say about Latin America, about other parts of the world beside Southeast Asia, about a domestic guaranteed annual income, about children's community schools, about Third party politics, about automation, foreign aid, etc., etc. How does SDS tie these issues together today in 1967 without always returning to the 1963 Port Huron Statement and various occasional papers going back to 1961. SDS has come to the point where its "baked" analysis is the product of other forces and its own "half-baked" new analysis is hardly crisp, but downright soggy. SDS is in danger of becoming a political "jock" . . . with strong limbs, but a dull mind. The need for an ongoing reevaluation and analysis should not be neglected.

REP has the capacity for fulfilling the role of instigator of new ideas, evaluator of present ones, and muckraker on the side. It should have the role of keeping the SDS analysis atune to the changing scene and constantly fresh and incisive. This is where its strength lies. Before taking this task away from REP to substitute another one for it, careful thought must be given to the costs and benefits of this approach. I would argue that any program which would tend to diminish REP's ability to cope with new analysis would have to have sure-fire results before I would favor it.

This brings me around again to the NC's deliberations on REP. I feel that SDS would be making a grave long-lasting error if it were to concentrate all of REP's resources or even the majority of its resources in the campus organizer's program. Still I feel that REP should be an integral part of the internal education and radicalization process in SDS chapters. Possibly in the past few months REP has neglected its responsibilities to the local membership, but this does not call for a complete redirection of the REP program. REP should devote part of its budget and part of its working staff to the needed campus organizer program, but it must be left with the resources to build the New Left analysis and the resources to reach out to potentially new constituencies. While there is an ever greater need for internal education to meet the requirements of a growing membership, there is the dual need to fulfill the organization with a constant flow of fresh ideas and critique.

PAUL POTTER RESOLUTION

Without endorsing the specific proposals or analysis of the enclosed Boston memorandum (see chapter contact mailing) the SDS NC does wish to support the proposal in this way:

1. We agree that a qualitative shift in the war is now going on and that this change has serious consequences for the Movement in this country as well as the war itself.
2. We agree that the current situation requires a significant response and a re-examination of what constitutes effective resistance and opposition in the face of an evolving wartime atmosphere in this country.
3. We call upon SDS chapters to give

members of the new left in sympathy with SDS, the NAC thought that use of the membership tapes should be reserved solely for SDS functions. The fact that it takes at least 10 hours straight to run the tapes was also a primary consideration in refusing access to the list.

2) SUMMER INSTITUTE: The current status of REP and the summer institutes was reviewed, as was the need for finding temporary staff in the near future.

3) STAFF: Jane Adams was hired for literature production in the National Office, to expedite both NO literature needs and preparations for the summer institutes. Neil Buckley was hired as a national correspondent for the express purpose of replying to hundreds of pieces of correspondence which have gone unanswered by various, already overworked staff members.

4) FINANCES: It was revealed that national SDS is now over \$7,000.00 in debt; \$3,500 of which is pressing debt to the telephone company and the printers. It is possible that NEW LEFT NOTES will have to suspend publication next week; eight page issues seem unlikely in the near future.

INSTITUTES

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mer institutes. This may include a joint meeting of staff and participants from all institutes.

FORM

Activity at the institutes will involve (1) Seminars to cover the material outlined above (2) Field projects (3) Round Tables, seen as regular, unstructured discussions run by participants which will provide a chance for reflection on the institute and its methods, and will open up for discussion the range of personal and group problems associated with something as difficult as becoming an organizer.

STAFF

Location of staff has not been completed. Jane Adams and Robert Pardun will be on the staff in Chicago; Carl Davidson and Doug Norberg will be on staff in California; and Nick Egleson and (part time) Paul Potter will be on staff in Boston. When completed each staff will consist of at least three people.

APPLICATIONS

Initial soundings indicate more people will want to come than can be accommodated by limited staff and financial resources. (Each institute will be for 15-20 participants). In selecting participants staff will attempt to find as much diversity of ideological viewpoint as possible. Degree of commitment to work full-time next year will be one criteria, although the institutes will try for a balance between those who will be working full time and those who will enroll at a particular school. Depth of past experience will be another factor, but because of a desire to have people from a variety of backgrounds and campus experience length of involvement is not necessarily critical. Effort will be made to see that all areas of the country are represented, and that those who return to campus work will not be spread so thin that they cannot meet to evaluate the relevance of the summer's experience.

The staff will meet on May 16th in Chicago to review all applications, SO ALL APPLICATIONS MUST BE IN BY THAT TIME. Applications should be sent to: JANE ADAMS, c/o SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612.

FUNDING

Although we are asking for grants to cover

serious consideration to the civil disobedience and other proposals made in this memorandum and consider their appropriateness to their own situation and their own feeling about what should be done locally and nationally.

4. Finally, we urge each chapter that has had serious discussion of the memo to send a representative to the April 13 meeting in New York. - passed 20-14.

GILBERT-DAVIDSON RESOLUTION

1. SDS considers the New School student strike against the war (April 13) part of a national program to express opposition to the war in Vietnam and to any possible escalation of the war.

2. The NIC-NAC and the National Secretary are mandated to coordinate a series of short preliminary strikes at a few major Universities.

3. The NIC - NAC and the Nat. Sec. are to coordinate longer and more extensive strikes as escalation continues.

4. We work to extend these strikes beyond the campus.

5. These strikes be combined with other action, which would also be possible for schools where strikes aren't feasible. Such action would focus on regional and local induction centers and include leafletting, demonstrations and outright disruption with the purpose of reaching inductees. This would give striking students a lot to do with their free time. - passed 17-15

BELL ANTI-DRAFT RESOLUTION

I move that the above call (see draft card burning call, NLN March 27) be included in the chapter mailing of the Potter proposal with notification of the April 14 meeting of people who have signed the pledge at the Free University of New York.

MINUTES

(Continued from page 2)

MEETING OF THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1967 - 7:00 pm

- 1) ANTI-WAR AND DRAFT
 - a. POTTER RESOLUTION presented
 - b. GILBERT-DAVIDSON PROPOSAL presented
 - c. TOM BELL RESOLUTION presented
 - d. JACOBS RESOLUTION presented, proposing that SDS sponsor 2 or 3 days of workshops concurrent with draft hearings in Washington.
 first three proposals were passed.

2) NAC ELECTIONS

Those elected were: John Veneziale, Tim McCarthy, Mary Allan, Jim Bouschel/Don Canavan (one or other to be representative of one position), Jeff Segal, Cathy Wilkerson, Earl Silbar in addition to the National Secretary and Assistant National Secretary who are ex-officio members of the NAC.

3) PUERTO RICO AND HUGO BLANCO

Resolution: SDS condemns American presence in Puerto Rico and supports efforts of the Puerto Rican people for independence of their country. Passed

Resolution: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader, and his colleagues have been condemned to 25 years in prison and face the threat of death. They have been convicted as common criminals when their only crime was organizing the peasants of Peru in a just struggle for land reform. We vigorously protest this action and urge that they be immediately freed.

- 4) National Council meeting adjourned after a lusty rendition of *Solidarity Forever* by all present.

Implementation

The Kissinger letter, re draft card burning, will be mailed along with the Potter proposal so that the announcement of the meetings on the 13th and 14th go out together so that people are aware of both and may attend at will. - passed 21-15

NEW LEFT NOTES
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Chicago, Ill. 60612
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Second-Class postage rates paid in Chicago, Illinois. Entered at Chicago and other points.

Jim ANDERSON
88 1/2 Edwards st
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the full cost of the institute, including subsistence for participants for the summer, it is unlikely we will raise the total amount necessary. (about \$20,000) Although ability to pay will not be a criteria for attendance, applicants should indicate how much they could raise toward their expenses for the summer (total expenses come to about \$300.00). Applicants should be willing to undertake fundraising, at a minimum the holding of on-campus parties.

A FINAL MOST IMPORTANT NOTE FOR THOSE WHO UNDERESTIMATE THEMSELVES

The institutes are NOT aimed at the (largely mythical) 'hard core' of student activists. They are intended for those who are willing to see themselves as in some sense organizers; and for those who think that the things discussed in this outline would help them find a way to integrate their ideas about change and their activity on the campus.

APPLICATION for institute. June 16th to August 14th.

1. Name
2. School Address, phone
3. Home address, phone
4. Will you be enrolled in a college or university or high school next year? If so, which one?
5. If not, where will you be living and what

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relationship will you have to a campus or campuses?

6. Are you interested in working full-time as a campus-traveller-organizer? What are the limitations of that commitment?
7. How much of the cost (\$300) of the summer can you raise? From what sources?
8. What, briefly, (1 paragraph) has been the history of your involvement with movement activities? Include an account of political, religious or other organizations you have worked with.
9. What is your assessment of the campus situation with which you are most familiar, and of your role within it? Such an assessment could deal with the kind of school, the attitudes of both students and administration, the goals of activity and a description of what was done and should have been, or what could be done. The staff is not looking solely for answers of the 'I personally turned my campus on its ear in the following fashion' variety. If you have worked around the war, or the draft, or free university and counter-curricula, or anti-ranking or anti-military programs, or any other of a range of issues, say how and why in a way that will not necessarily deal in grandiose theories of change. These descriptions will serve as source material on the state of the student movement and the role of organizers for discussions at the institute.

Applications must be submitted by May 15, notification will be sent on May 20.