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# BULLETIN

STUDENTS FOR A  
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SOCIETY

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1964

## CONVENTION SUMMARY

By C. CLARK KISSINGER

### DAY TO CHALLENGE McCORMACK

By SUMNER ROSEN

The independent campaign of Noel Day for Congress from Boston seeks to test and to validate the political relevance of peace as an election issue in 1964. It connects peace with the issues of racial justice and social change -- directly, explicitly and in an election campaign. It needs the help of those who believe that these issues are connected, and merits the attention of those who want to find out.

Day's opponent is John McCormack, the Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives and the acting Vice-President. In the statement announcing his candidacy, Day pointed out that his district has the second highest rate of unemployment in Massachusetts and that one house in three is substandard. "Yet," he said, "these same citizens have long been represented by one of the nation's most powerful political figures."

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"The Role of the Radical in American Institutions and Movements." This was the theme of the 1964 SDS National Convention held June 11-14 in Pine Hill, N. Y. Although the geographical inaccessibility of Pine Hill held the Convention down to 208 registrants (plus a few freeloaders), excellent Chapter representation was achieved, a lot of stimulating debate transpired, and some important decisions were made.

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

By PAUL POTTER

This year's National Convention was not the sort to leave any uniform impressions about its meaning or implications. No doubt organizational polemics will make use of it frequently to prove various conflicting points about the problems facing SDS after two full years since Port Huron. My own feeling about the event which has so decisively redirected my life is one of affirmative agnosticism -- which is to say that I see no single correct interpretation of what did transpire but rather a number of reasonable analyses, each of which gives a particular set of problems that were expressed thematic significance. This is not to say that understanding the Convention is an arbitrary intellectual exercise; rightly or wrongly, the Convention provides much of the data by which we must judge the condition of the organization, and a compilation of its various meanings is necessary to understand the complexity of SDS and the kinds of problems and people in it.

At this distance, there are three major concerns that I have about the Convention. The first regards the first real leadership crisis I have seen in the organization. A number of SDS' venerable old guard came to the Convention feeling secure in the knowledge of the organization's phenomenal growth during the last two years and confident that they could step back from the positions of responsibility they had held for a number of years while a new set of student radicals elbowed them aside. There was little elbowing; there was rather a real confusion over the failure of SDS' older leadership to give definition to the issues that were facing the organization and to help formulate debate around these issues. The result was pretty much what one would expect from a debate over unformulated issues -- a fair amount of frustration, a good deal of confusion, and occasionally, to be sure, some incisive and cogent remarks about SDS.

Many, I'm sure, felt they had been deserted by the main strategists of the development of SDS; and in some elements the leadership default resembled desertion. However, the problem is deeper, more structural and less personal. The development of SDS to date has much more represented the attempt by a

few to pull together the organizational and intellectual conception of an American New Left than it has the development of a student organization, radical or otherwise. Some of the early issues that attracted people to the organization were "student" issues, such as university reform, but these kinds of issue have consistently diminished in their importance, almost from before the official birth of SDS at Port Huron. There would be little reason to lament this were it not for the fact that the growth away from campus issues has represented in large part the growth of SDS leadership rather than of the organization as a whole.

In part, it was the recognition of the gap that existed between membership and leadership that led much of SDS' leadership to begin reorienting its thinking to some new form of adult organization, fraternally tied to SDS but operating independently in a number of areas. The vehicles for the transition to a new organization were seen more as PREP and ERAP than SDS, which has had the peculiar effect of making it unnecessary to build the new organization openly out of the old; instead, the effect is to pull two projects of SDS further and further away from its direction. It seems to me that the real debate over ERAP should have been about how (or whether) an adult and student organization could relate to it with different needs; but that debate was submerged by the nominal allegiance of older SDS members to the student framework.

The discussion that didn't take place at the Convention must begin forthwith in the organization. The fact is that the student generation that built SDS must and will graduate from direct leadership responsibilities in the organization. This group, however, will take with it a good deal more than facts; it will take a number of the intellectual and organizational functions that have clustered around SDS for the last two years. What is and should be left is a question for the entire community of people who have come to identify with SDS to discuss -- in relation to the development both of adult and student organization.

But this brings me to my second main worry from the Convention, which is a corollary of the first: the real failure of a large number of new and uncommitted people in the organization to see themselves as the formulators of its program. Only part of that is explained on the basis of a leadership default. The rest depends on a rather uncurious acceptance of the national framework of activity that has developed in SDS. A new and expanded network of people who see themselves as the owners of the organization must begin to emerge, or the possibility for an independent radical student organization will disappear. There is no question in my mind that there is a much greater array of talent represented in SDS today than when it began. Perhaps what is lacking at the moment is a shared organizational vision of the possibility of SDS' becoming an intellectual and political force involving thousands of students effectively and strategically in radical action. I fear sometimes that we have let our increasing realism about American society stifle imagination in reaching out to each other and our fellows to create the resources that can truly change the nature of life in this society.

The third problem that the convention brought to the fore is only partially a product of the first two. There seemed to me to be a peculiar lack of capacity to talk about program for SDS below the vaguely ideological plane. For example, the debate on political vs. community organization resounded triumphantly back and forth in the room without ever taking into consideration such questions as how a proposed program may or may not affect or interest the people in the organization who must implement it -- the membership. There was little or no inquiry into the nature of the student generation that we are trying to recruit or keep in SDS. There was an unwillingness on the part of some to recognize that the expectations of students about political involvement are markedly changed from a few years ago. There was no real attempt to break "campus program" down into its components and examine their real worth and potential.

tion, its state of health, its potential for new growth, and its agenda for the coming year. The reexamination is sobering; in two years we have created a host of problems, solved few, and now must begin to outline yet more problems if we are to continue to face and fulfill the demand for democracy and plenty.

## MISS. FREEDOM MOVMT

The following resolution, proposed by Jim Williams, was passed by acclamation at the June SDS National Convention:

WHEREAS the Freedom Movement in Mississippi is seeking new forms of political expression which will democratically involve the poor and the oppressed peoples of Mississippi, and;

WHEREAS the autocratic segregationist power system has systematically maintained the almost total disenfranchisement of the Negro people, and;

WHEREAS the Negroes and their allies, in order to fight for democracy, have formed the Freedom Democratic Party which will attempt to substitute itself for the segregationist regular Democratic machine at the Democratic National Convention;

BE IT RESOLVED that: Students for a Democratic Society urges its members and friends to support and assist the efforts of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to obtain its rightful place in the Democratic Party organization, and exhorts all freedom-loving people to lend their resources to this great effort.

- - - - - I M P O R T A N T ! - - - - -

There will be a mass demonstration before the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, to be held in late August, in support of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's right to be seated at the convention. Sponsors of the demonstration at this writing include CORE and SDS. Buses will be chartered to the convention, leaving from New York City and possibly other areas. For further information

# CIVIL

# RIGHTS

The case of the three missing SNCC workers in Mississippi has occasioned much comment from liberal and radical circles. In a statement issued at Harvard Law School on June 30, for example, 28 law professors declared that "the Federal power to take protective action in the circumstances that now prevail in Mississippi is clear." They went on to say: "Surely there is reason to believe that violence and combination are now so hindering the execution of the laws of Mississippi and of the United States as to deny to the Negroes of Mississippi rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States. . . . Violence, combination and conspiracy in Mississippi are unquestionably obstructing the execution of the civil rights laws of the United States -- the provisions, that is, of Sections 1981 and 1983 of Title 42 and the provisions of the Acts of 1957 and 1960 with respect to voting rights.

"Doubtless some creditable considerations of expedience could be cited to support a decision against now taking vigorous presidential action under Section 333 of Title 10 of the United States Code in Mississippi. Surely, however, the Attorney General's position would be less misleading and therefore less perilous if he would acknowledge that the President today has power to act but believes that "police action" under Section 333 is inadvisable. . . . It is at once disappointing and ironic that the Department of Justice, which has been bold beyond precedent in successfully urging the Supreme Court that the judiciary possesses the broadest powers to enforce the constitutional assurances of equality, should now discover non-existent barriers to executive action."

SNCC itself had this to say about the Federal government's non-intervention in Mississippi:

"Since the June 21st 'disappearance' in Mississippi of James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, the federal government and an accomodating press have engaged in an unconscionable campaign to condition the American people, as well as the foreign press, to accept the inevitability of murders, beatings, bombings and false arrests in the state of Mississip-

pi. These terrorist activities have existed in that state for more than 100 years and have intensified since 1960 when Civil Rights activity began in earnest. The inevitability of terror in Mississippi can only mean the inevitability of terror anywhere in this country. When Attorney General Robert Kennedy announces that there is very little the federal government can do to prevent a reign of terror in Mississippi, he has really given notice to every racist thug and vigilante in Mississippi, and throughout the South, that in this election year the present administration finds it politically inexpedient to exercise its constitutional mandate to prevent the brutalizing of the bodies, the destruction of the property of American citizens engaged in peaceful petition for the exercise of rights guaranteed by the Constitution, rights which President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy, in taking their oaths of office, swore to uphold. If terror is inevitable in Mississippi it is because President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy have chosen to allow it to be inevitable!"

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TELEGRAM FROM PAUL POTTER, PRESIDENT OF S.D.S., TO THE JUSTICE DEP'T OF THE U.S.  
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THREE MORE MEN HAVE BEEN MURDERED IN THE SOUTH. YOU CANNOT ESCAPE THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE THE POWER TO HALT ATROCITIES IN MISSISSIPPI. A GOVERNMENT THAT SEARCHES FOR CORPSES WHILE REFUSING TO PROTECT LIFE MOCKS THE VERY REASON FOR ITS EXISTENCE. YOU MUST INTERVENE FORCEFULLY, MASSIVELY, NOW.

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"The passage of the Civil Rights Bill will in no way diminish the need for demonstrations in the North," stated Noel Day, candidate for U.S. Congress from Boston's C.D. Nine.

"The new civil rights bill does not deal with the problems of the North," Day continued. "The Fair Employment section of the Law will not provide enough jobs for Negroes until there are enough jobs for everyone. Nor does the Law deal with slum housing or de facto segregated schools

# PREP

# REPORT

By PAUL BOOTH

PREP is spending the summer planning for the fall. We anticipate considerable financial backing for the coming year, enough to maintain myself and Todd Gitlin as permanent staff, and to do a great deal of travel.

So, this summer is being used to prepare program materials. The areas of emphasis for the coming year will be (a) the draft, (b) third world, and (c) conversion. I am preparing a program paper -- Towards an Effective Peace Program on Campus -- which will be mailed to thousands of peaceniks in the fall, and which will outline and justify the areas of emphasis of PREP. Anybody who wants to see it in draft form, and who will send comments on it to me during the summer, should write me here.

PREP is moving to integrate its campus programming with that of the Universities Committee on Peace and War, a faculty group directed by Otto Feinstein of Wayne State. Travel will be coordinated with Feinstein, and we hope to develop student and faculty groups on the same campuses.

With the dissolution of SPU at their recent convention, PREP has been left as the sole service for campus peace groups. We are attempting to make available literature, program guides, etc., for any campus group interested in the peace issue -- be it an SDS chapter, a Christian Association, a Young Dems group, or an SPU group.

Most interesting for future reference is the conversion project in the Boston area, jointly sponsored by PREP and ERAP. Directed by Chuck Levenstein of MIT, a half-dozen students are working full-time in the Bedford area among defense workers (primarily engineers) who are beginning to feel the blow of defense spending cuts in the form of lay-offs from their plants. The project will hopefully develop into community organizations for conversion throughout the Boston area, and the chapters in the

area will be putting a great deal of energy into community organizing around the conversion issue next fall.

It is to be hoped that similar projects can be set up in other impacted areas, such as Seattle, San Diego, Camden and Long Island. During November, after the second series of installation closings, I will be on an extended speaking tour at campuses in the impacted areas.

I have written an article for the next issue of War-Peace Report challenging a piece by Prof. Emile Benoit in the current issue, which opposed the linking of the conversion issue to the war on poverty. As the impact of defense cutbacks grows, we will be seeing these issues as more and more inseparable.

All our hopes for converting America from the Cold War may go down the drain, however, if our war in Vietnam escalates to the proportions of another Korea. We are certainly teetering on the brink right now. Apparently no one anymore recognizes the borders between Laos, North Vietnam and South Vietnam as constraints on raiding expeditions, and the spectre of a full-scale war is present in every speech of McNamara and Rusk.

Senators Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening have been carrying on a courageous attack against the war in Vietnam every day on the Senate floor. Senator Morse, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and thereby privy to top-secret information, is convinced that we are headed directly toward an all-out war, and that "we will be hated by the majority of mankind for the next five hundred years."

Throughout history, foreign war has wrecked movements for domestic reform. We should not think that our ERAP projects would survive very long after the declaration of war in Vietnam. Civil liberties would be suspended and half of us would be drafted. We would be especially vulnerable if we spoke the truth -- that the war is a war of re-

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pression, and that the majority of the people of South Vietnam side with our opponents.

There is precious little we can do to affect American policy. We are almost as impotent as we were before the resumption of tests in March, 1962. This time, however, we have allies among many Americans who are reacting to the daily deaths of our soldiers in an undeclared war of attrition, in a faraway place which means nothing to most of our fellow-citizens. Goldwater is responding to their anxiety by calling for all-out war -- to get the thing over and done with and American boys back home. Because it is simple to demonstrate how fatuous his policies are, it should be almost as simple to convince the constituency at which his remarks are aimed that we must withdraw.

Isolationist Senators like Ellender of Louisiana favor withdrawal. Rep. Laird, Chairman of the GOP Platform Committee, favors withdrawal to the war of attrition, although he believes in the workability of Goldwater's schemes. During this election year we have a good opportunity to call for withdrawal, and that opportunity must be used. Wherever the political candidates are found -- county fairs, shopping centers, railroad stations, etc. -- we should be leafleting for withdrawal. PREP will distribute handbills during the fall for use at election rallies. This job should be seen as a major task for chapters. In addition, educational materials on Vietnam are being prepared, and we already have at hand copies of a study by David Arnold: "Vietnam, Symptom of a World Malaise," which can be ordered from PREP for 10¢.

HELP!

Tutors needed for special remedial reading and math program for junior high school students in the Bronx.

For information on how to help, contact SUSAN HYMAN at LU 8-1000, after 1 P. M.

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ERAP:

## BALTIMORE By KIM MOODY

After a week of preparation, the offices of the Baltimore project opened on July 1st. Since the project will be attempting to organize the unemployed, it was decided to establish an organization of the unemployed and recruit directly to it. The name of the organization is the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN); it has two offices, one at 1042 N. Gay, in a Negro area, and 326 S. Broadway, in a white area. Given the fact that Negroes are likely to move faster than whites, it was decided to go slower at the Gay St. office. The Broadway office began operations by leafleting the neighborhood for two days; this, however, had little apparent effect. For the first few days our primary contacts were with those who came by the office. The area consists of various ethnic groups (Poles, Italians, Ukrainians, Czechs) as well as immigrants from Appalachia and the south. So far most of those who have come in the office have been of these latter two groups. All who have come in were responsive to our program and most readily left their names and addresses for further contact. While this type of haphazard recruiting continued, staff workers went into the neighborhood to talk to people and learn more about the area. We have learned a good deal about the unions and churches here as well as certain ethnic organizations, such as the Polish National Alliance (PNA).

On Monday, July 6, we began leafleting the Unemployment Compensation line. This proved more fruitful than our previous leafleting the neighborhood. We have had several phone calls and visits as a result of this work on the Comp. line. Since Monday we have developed a very useful contact in the Polish community, an active member of the PNA (which he claims is liberal) and on good terms with the local priests. He will do fund-raising for us and introduce us to various people in the community. He confirmed our research by insisting that

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unemployment was high in the area; further he said there is a strong union tradition here. There is, of course, a lot of racism in the area. Most of the people with whom we have had direct contact seem to respond to economic arguments for black-white unity in economic organizations, but it remains to be seen how the race question will affect us.

The people encountered in the Broadway office have included a fair share of characters. We have had a couple of old and not-so-old leftist workers and one old fascist, who liked our program (God help us). Most of the guys, however, are just plain workers who distrust politicians and have little love for the "bosses."

On the service end of the program, the Broadway office has already started to handle three cases. The first case looks as though it is won. It involved a man who was cut off welfare when his wife died. We got ahold of his case worker and, through a couple of contacts we had down there, raised hell. The Welfare Department thereupon reopened his case -- which they had insisted was closed -- and it looks like we will win. The second case involved an unemployed worker who was about to be evicted because he could not pay his rent. We took him down to the Welfare Dep't and, after another long fight with the bureaucracy, our point was made; this morning the man should get his emergency rent check. U-JOIN has already made quite a name for itself at the Dep't of Public Welfare. Our third case was simply giving a guy information on how to get welfare when his Comp. checks stopped. The Gay St. office has taken a couple of cases too. They are working with a young Negro who gets paid \$1.00 a week. Naturally, they are trying to get him a raise. There was discussion as to whether or not we should handle cases of this sort. It was decided that such cases were relevant to the Negro area, mostly in terms of building a neighborhood reputation. In terms of general activity, the Gay St. office has begun leafletting their area and has sent out staff members to the Comp. line with us every day, so that we have integrated teams.

We are beginning to learn about places where the unemployed are said to congregate and will send people there. We are planning to have our first meeting for the unemployed next week.

## BOSTON

By CHUCK LEVENSTEIN

Metropolitan Boston has a population of over three million, but less than one-fourth of this number live in Boston proper. This city, like many others, seems to be on the decline. Poor transportation strangles the city; traditional industries have been leaving; unemployment is rather high; and a shrinking tax-base has cut off the resources needed to cope with these problems.

By contrast, suburban Boston has been booming. The heaviest concentration of defense electronics research and manufacturing in the country has grown up along Route 128, a multi-lane freeway which runs in a great semi-circle from the North Shore to the South Shore at a distance of ten to fifteen miles from the city center.

Bedford is an integral part of the Route 128 complex. Located in the town are Hanscom Field, home of the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories and the Electronics Systems Division; and civilian support groups, such as the Systems Development Corporation, the Mitro Corporation and MIT's Lincoln Laboratories.

In the decade 1950-60, the population of Bedford increased by 109.6%. Of the 7,635 persons 14 years old and over, 38.8% were in the civilian labor force. More than one-fourth of that number were classified as "professional, technical and kindred" workers and slightly greater than 15% were "craftsmen, foremen, etc." in 1960. Median family income was \$7,893 (about \$1,200 higher than for the Metropolitan Boston area) and almost 30% of the families had income of \$10,000 per year or more. Less than 5% received income of under \$3,000. A very small percentage of the housing (4.9%) is deteriorating or dilapidated; median value of "one-

## ERAP...

dwelling-unit structures" is \$17,800, almost \$2,000 more than the similar figure for the Boston Metropolitan area.

Early this year it was proposed that the Electronics Systems Division be moved to Rome, New York. According to the Research and Development Department of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, "The proposed transfer of the U. S. Air Force's Electronics Operations from Hanscom Field to Rome, New York, [would have had] the following effect on the Massachusetts economy:

- A. The direct loss of 2,238 civilian jobs at ESD alone, and the potential loss of 5,762 indirect support jobs.
- B. The direct loss of 4,000 military personnel, 90% of whom live off the base.
- C. The direct loss of \$47 million in civilian and military payroll per year, and potential loss of an additional \$34 million per year.
- D. The loss of \$16 million per year in local procurement, 80% of which is awarded to small business firms.
- E. The de-activation of over \$63 million invested in the facilities.
- F. Aggravation of the serious distressed status of the Lowell-Haverhill-Lawrence metropolitan areas which supply 20% of the work at ESD alone.
- G. The loss of 1,202 ESD jobs to the Boston metropolitan area, which is at its highest rate in years, 5.8% or 17,400 unemployed.
- H. Major flight of support industry to the new location.
- I. Resultant loss of a significant portion of \$135 million awarded yearly to Massachusetts firms.
- J. Total potential loss of \$230 million per year to the Massachusetts economy."

The direct impact on Bedford would have been the loss of 456 jobs and \$3,595,696

in Bedford would have rocketed from 2% to 17%.

The proposal was defeated, but the concern it generated for the future of the defense-oriented electronics industry still remains. This concern has been strengthened by over 11,000 layoffs during the last year in the Massachusetts electronics industry.

It has been estimated that from 3,000 to 4,000 scientists and engineers have been laid off by the companies along Route 128 during the last six months. Since January, for example, General Electric has been cutting back its scientific employees at the rate of 25 a week.

With new emphases in the defense area, many companies are rapidly approaching a precarious financial position. At present, their main line of defense has been to submit and resubmit proposals to the government. In one firm, over half of the total force of engineers (approx. 150) were given the task of creating "sellable" contracts. Just recently, the companies in the Bedford area were involved in an abortive effort to create a "Super-Corporation" to represent them in Washington. As a group, these companies are very worried. They are also very vulnerable.

On the state level of government, Governor Peabody created an ad hoc body, which has just gotten legal existence, to study the economic problems of the Greater Boston area. This body is already committed to studying the defense industry in Massachusetts and the problems of reconversion.

It seems obvious, then, that for many residents of Bedford, Massachusetts, the economy is unrewarding. A need exists for concerted community organization, revolving around both the technical problems of reconversion and the moral problem of war and peace.

At present, the Boston project is conducting a survey of Bedford residents dealing with their social and political views. Besides bringing together some basic information, this survey will hopefully



## ERAP...

isolate individual leaders in the community who will be effective in further efforts of community organization. Through contacts with "liberal" organizations and individuals in Boston, we are in the process of developing a file of basic information dealing with the companies in Bedford and the surrounding area involved in defense contract work, their employees, and other material relating to the technical side of reconversion and existing and potential state and federal legislation in this field.

To date we have held two public meetings at the Episcopal Church in Bedford. The meetings have been small, but we have succeeded in developing interest in the project among liberals in the community and among representatives of mainstream Bedford organizations. In cooperation with these groups we are now in the process of laying out short-range goals around which a community might be built.

While most of our efforts to date have been encouraging, at this point it is difficult to predict the future direction of the project. This will, in large part, be contingent on the degree of commitment we can develop among our Bedford friends. By the summer's end, the Boston staff will have accumulated a great deal of useful information on the pains and prospects of community organization in middle-class communities.

## CHESTER

By TOM LARGE

Chester, Pennsylvania remains in the news. Some 250 men and women, arrested in a series of mass demonstrations this spring, await their October trials and hope that their appeal for a change of Venue will be granted. These are the victims of brutal beatings inflicted by both the Chester police and the Pennsylvania State police. The demonstrators remember vividly what is only now being acknowledged by such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, and numerous ministerial groups in Delaware county and the immediate area. The brutal action of the police has been investigated. How-

ever, a report issued by the Pennsylvania State police concerning their own investigation of police brutality found no unnecessary action on their part during the spring demonstrations. The announcement of these findings caused the eruption of further demonstrations protesting this investigation and the harshness it concealed. Three nights a week these marches occur with the same air of peaceful protest which surrounded them in the spring. As a result, Governor Scranton has initiated a second investigation not only of the police action but also of the illegal court proceedings and exorbitant bails which were forced on the arrested. A second result of the ever-mounting protest in Chester is an extensive city improvement program entitled the Greater Chester Movement. Modeled after a similar phenomenon in nearby Philadelphia, the Greater Chester Movement reveals an intensive interest on the part of church, business and political leaders as well as other interested persons in a massive improvement program for the city.

Front-page drama continues in Chester, and although the SDS ERAP summer project is an active participant in its demonstrations and rallies, perhaps its other activities will be its most significant contribution to the Chester movement.

The Chester project spent its early energies in research. Planning for work in block organization and perhaps some voter registration, its ten members hoped to compile a chart of information on population distribution and income. From the land title building we learned where one landlord owned a number of houses in a relatively small area. Unlike New York City, Chester has few tenements. Most of its housing is three-story row or double housing, a fact which may prove to be a hurdle for rent strike organization. One landlord might own an entire city block and still receive rent from only thirty families. From city housing records we learned where the city thought the worst housing was. We also studied plans obtained from the city planning commission dealing with their urban renewal program for the lower west side, where most of the Negro population is concentrated. Most of these plans showed clearance of housing and building of industrial and park pro-

ERAP...

perties. There were no plans for the mass of residents now living in the houses which are to be torn down.

The previous information provided a basis for decisions on where to begin block organization. We thought that areas with the poorest housing and few slumlords, in which tenants were threatened with an urban renewal program that took their homes but provided no replacement, would be most likely to succeed as block organizations aimed at a large-scale rent strike. Research was also done in the area of unemployment. Here we found that even skilled and semiskilled workers (who equal almost 50% of those who come through the unemployment compensation office) could not find work in Chester. Perhaps this partially accounts for the very great high school drop-out rate in the city. If skilled workmen cannot find a job in Chester, then a high school diploma cannot improve opportunities at all for the young person just beginning to look for work. Although the unemployment compensation office receives nearly 1900 people a week it finds few jobs, and does not touch numbers of unemployed who have never had a job.

Further research was done concerning rent strikes. We learned from some sympathetic attorneys that the law almost without exception favors slumlords and property. There is no legal way not to pay rent regularly in Chester. The tenant has few rights and if the slumlord is at all experienced in the preparation of a lease, he can easily remove even these from his tenant. We were told, "Don't talk to lawyers; the law is anti-rent strike, and even if it weren't you would have little chance against the city magistrates." But using this information on the legal rights of tenants and landlords, in addition to what we had learned about ownership and housing regulations, we began to work in the community. We wanted to concentrate on issues connected with housing and the neighborhood. Each member of the project is responsible for one area, usually not bigger than two blocks, which occupies most of his or her time. There have been seven meetings so far, with varying success. Working with us on block organization are a number of the Young Adult Council,

a group of older teenagers, as well as people active in the Committee for Freedom Now in specific communities.

In addition to rent strike through block organization, the project may work in the voter registration drive being initiated by the Young Adult Council and the Reform Democratic Party of Delaware County. We may be able to work on voter registration within the block organization structure; if this is not possible, we hope to find door-to-door manpower in both the Young Adult Council and the Democratic Party, and perhaps among some white high school students in the city.

Although the project is small and has just begun to work in the community, there has already been significant research completed and careful plans for organization laid. Few members of the project have had experience in community organization but the recent first block meetings and the continuing work with the Committee for Freedom Now have made all of us more aware of possible goals and some of the methods to try to realize these goals.

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## CHICAGO

By LEE WEBB

With the addition of the 12 full-time people from the summer project, the JOIN office on the north side has been able to considerably expand its program, primarily in three major areas. First, staffing the Kedzie Street office full-time, redecorating it, and expanding the social service department. Secondly, setting up local committees of JOIN in areas where large numbers of unemployed contacts live. Third, researching on the legislation on unemployment, problems of Chicago, etc.

We have repainted the JOIN office, including a second coat on the walls; also we have added some new signs, and plan more. The condition and looks of the office have certainly improved, and it has shown in the amount of people who come into the office.

New leaflets are now being prepared every week, and at least one person is always leafletting the compensation office during the hours that it is open. Also, five people work directly in the office talking

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to the unemployed (about 25 a day) who come in about problems of unemployment compensation and about JOIN as an organization. We have found that it is very easy to talk with them about full employment, medicare for all, automation, etc.; they are very receptive to all our ideas. They are also interested in being part of an organization of the unemployed, but the level of their commitment is very low because of their awareness of the difficulties involved in starting an organization which really represents workers. The office is also working on leaflets dealing with automation, unemployment compensation and corruption which will ultimately be used in the education part of an organization of the unemployed.

Furthermore, we are now beginning to set up local committees of JOIN in various neighborhoods in the north side in which there are heavy concentrations of the unemployed. We are using the lists of people received from the guys who came into the JOIN office; after plotting all these contacts (about 200) on a map, we have begun sending out teams of two to work with the contacts and set up a number of local committees of JOIN. We feel it important to work on developing an extensive base of leadership, program and commitment rather than simply going after explosive publicity in the newspapers. The development of an organization of the unemployed involves a long-term commitment over a number of years; this cannot be stressed enough.

Other plans for the summer include meetings with local unions to talk about JOIN to their membership and leadership to get some of them involved in our organization. Secondly, we hope to get their assistance in setting up plant gate collections to raise money for JOIN. We plan, moreover, to investigate Manpower, Inc., an exploitative national company hiring and selling unskilled day labor; as well as look into the relief program here in the city, especially the rumors that relief people are being forced to go to work at no pay. These form additional issues to our central concern of employment and unemployment, and we plan to do additional research on the retraining programs as well

tional government to this problem.

As in national politics, many organizations are becoming interested here in poverty and unemployment. One of the most interesting examples is CORE's establishment of a task force with a staff of 15 to work on organizing the Negro unemployed.

JOIN is also beginning to expand into other cities. Two of the ERAP projects, in Philadelphia and Baltimore, have also adopted the JOIN name; and some publicity materials, especially large posters, are being prepared for use in all the offices. We have also found people in Kansas City, Gary, Indiana and Cleveland, who are interested either in setting up a JOIN-type organization or in adopting the name.

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## CLEVELAND

By Nanci Hollander

After two weeks of door-to-door canvassing and searching out contacts on the Near West Side of Cleveland, the Cleveland Community Project has begun to focus its activity and research on the initial stages of organization. The community houses an older and relatively stable Eastern European population combined with the more recent emigration of Southern Appalachians and some Puerto Ricans. It is a totally white community except for the housing projects, which have a token number of Negroes.

One group of us will be working within a public housing project to form neighborhood councils so that the tenants can begin to deal with their own problems as tenants; at the same time, others will be organizing people who are on welfare. These two groups share one critical factor making any initial organizing a tremendous hurdle: an insecurity caused by greater and greater dependence on the administrators of the project or on the welfare check or, in some cases, both. They are trapped. If in the project, they fear the possibilities of being kicked out for disobeying some rule like not keeping the yard pretty, or forgetting to take care of the incinerator, or washing clothes at the wrong time, or

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having suspicious personal relationships. They soon learn that the only way the "office" will know of their activities is through their neighbors' informing on them and thus they hide, pull down the blinds, and distrust everyone. The most common complaint from people living in the project is that the children fight and then the neighbors fight over their children. A child might say to another child, "Why doesn't your father go out and get a job?" or "How can you afford such a big, new car?" and a fight begins. Insecurity quickly spreads to children.

And for someone on welfare, in or out of the project, the situation is the same. If his neighbors find out, they will look down on him; and the teachers will treat his children differently ("You will fail gym if you have no gym suit." "Why didn't you give anything to the United Fund?" "Here is your free lunch pass."), and the child is labelled by his peers -- making an added series of difficulties blocking the possibility of finishing high school.

One's whole life centers on the monthly check, which assumes that four children need only \$15 a year for clothing, proclaims soap a luxury, catches whole families in a trap of poverty. The only real knowledge of the welfare program and the rights of its recipients comes from the social worker on whom these people must be totally dependent. This parallels the dependency on the project management and causes the same insecurity and fear. Once on relief or once in a project, one can't get out and fears being forced out, so life becomes a lonely, desperate struggle to just hold on to what you have.

Any possible spirit of cooperation is lost in this environment and each turns inward to be concerned with his own problems, his own life. Anyone who concerns himself with the problems of his neighbors is a snoop and not to be trusted. Charles Lebeaux, in an article in New University Thought called "Life on ADC: Budgets of Despair," describes it thus:

"Poverty settles like an impenetrable prison cell over the lives of the very poor,

shutting them off from every social contact, killing the spirit, and isolating them from the community of human life."

The first problem with which the organizer is confronted, therefore, is how to break down this dependency by providing the necessary security in another way. In the project it would be impossible to organize a group against the management initially because these people feel that the project is the one real thing they have. Instead, we plan to set up neighborhood councils which will deal with such things as the fighting problem and yard responsibility by having all complaints come to the council instead of the management. It will then become an intervening force between the tenants and the manager, ending the horrible system of informing. Through the council, as a second step, the management must be seen as an enemy and demands made on it.

The situation is similar for the group of people receiving all kinds of welfare benefits. They are afraid of publicity and of organization because the checks might stop. However, a small group of mothers on ADC was started here a few years ago by one of the community churches, and these people can constitute an initial leadership. This is very fortunate because it means that a few have realized they must make demands on the very people who control their lives -- those who control the welfare checks.

Even at this early state of organization, we must make long-range implications explicit subjects for discussion and also extend our research beyond the immediate. The organizer's job is not completed by the mere creation of a neighborhood organization because it will probably turn inward and become nothing more than a neighborhood improvement group. Behind the formation of the groups and throughout their progress must be a basic challenge to the whole system of a welfare state. The long-range action and research must be in terms of abolishing the concept of a project that hides and isolates the poor, and abolishing the system of welfare which stamps one "dependent."

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I might add that this particular housing project is beautifully landscaped, with many huge, old trees and ivy crawling gracefully up the buildings. This makes it an even more egregious example of the "hidden" poverty of this century. It is, moreover, an institutionalized poverty structured into one's life so that there is no future. A housing project does not prepare one to re-enter society in a meaningful way and welfare benefits do not include the means for a decent life. To depend on them is to hide in fear; we must change this fear into action.

## LOUISVILLE

By JIM WILLIAMS

I have a feeling that what we are doing here is substantially different from what is being done on some other projects and thus might hold some interest for people doing research on other projects.

Our research differs also because, unlike many projects, our main thrust is as a service body for a number of already existing groups and movements locally. That is, ERAP personnel are often assigned to work for/with the West End Community Council, the Gandhi Corps, and so on -- the purpose being to help train their leaders to be more effective, to develop the perspective and base of the groups, and lend important day-to-day servicing.

Much of the research thrust, then, is (to use a military term) reconnaissance. That means that part of the research is in defining power structures ("Know thy enemy") in order to enable local movements to seek out the proper pressure points and to develop a keener tactical sense. Other areas of our "recon" include problem-defining, the pinpointing of factual data and developing workable guides to the problem -- carrying the martial parlance further, "to survey the terrain." All together, it means that we are developing manuals and guides to local problems and the possible pressuring techniques needed to solve them. We have defined the research end of our pro-

ject as a "Poor Man's Rand Corporation." Naturally, this means that our research is narrower and more pointed in some instances than that being done in other groups. (The reasons are probably two-fold: since local SDS kids are working on the project, much of the long process of "knowing the community" is eliminated; and local groups are at a stage developed enough to take the ball and run with it when they get it.)

There are some theoretical viewpoints to which we are subscribing which are also uncommon in SDS. Much of SDS' research orientation is along sociological lines, using the skills and methodology and Weltanschauung of that discipline. This means, e.g., that power structure research in a sociological sense involves almost the total defining of a community into a sort of pyramid with the "corporate liberals" or "social-fascist lackeys of Wall Street" at the top. This is a pretty long-range project and requires a number of complex techniques to come off.

We are, however, using the political science research discipline in our research. Part of the difference is this: the political scientist sees a number of interacting power structures which do not necessarily overlap and which are often composed of radically different social strata, even internally. (See particularly Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs?, Harman Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Politics, V. O. Key, etc.) From this viewpoint, there is a housing power structure, a transportation power structure, etc.

With the areas thus defined, we are following an orthodox Minnis-analysis, gathering up boards of directors, investments, property holdings, etc. (Minnis' analytical methods lend themselves admirably to action projects.) With all this data in hand, we are able to answer the question of the WECC, "Who do we picket?" This means that when a realtor refuses to sell to a Negro, we can picket his office, the real estate board and the particular banking or credit institutions involved. We can also invoke a state anti-blockbusting statute which we uncovered.

Specifically, what we are doing right now

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is this:

A study of the power structure of housing. This includes a study of the real estate board, the urban renewal board, the banks, savings and loan and other lending institutions and their interlockings and decision-making processes. (Relates to WECC.)

A study of recreation programs in the west end ghetto. Civil rights demonstrations at a "private" pool in an amusement park caused us to study the whole city recreational set-up. This involved a study of the number of swimming and wading pools, parks, programs and availability. This also involved a guestimate, based on census tracts, as to how many potential users there were. The terrible lack of adequate public facilities that we found strongly supports the demonstrations at the public park with the "private" pool, and backs up the demands of the West End Community Council and the West End Action Committee.

Unemployment study. This is the least-tackled project yet. At this point it consists of developing a sense of what has been done previously by city-state-federal and private agencies and an analytical dissection of their more obvious failings. With this done, we will begin to get involved in original research in some given areas, either geographical or stratum-wise. Relevance is toward a Labor-Citizens' Committee for Full Employment and eventually toward the unemployed council (JOIN-type).

Work with the WECC street surveys. WECC and ERAP are conducting street surveys in areas where block-busting is rampant and in areas in states of racial change. This consists of a number of interviews which can then be fitted together to show real patterns of intimidation of home-owners and also to discover the real racial attitudes of the people and to recruit.

Hopefully, these will evolve into a series of guides which these organizations or others can pick up and run with.

Another specific project we have "jobbed" into is:

Study of police intimidation against the

Gandhi corps. In Louisville, civil rights demonstrators are seldom arrested on the spot but instead some days later are picked up on trumped-up charges of vagrancy, petit larceny, etc., etc. (Remember the great "Telephone Theft" case in which the local SDS chapter was involved?) Other forms are frequent police search and seizure, friskings, etc. Police surveillance is another variation. These incidents are being carefully documented for the Gandhi Corps to issue, to blast the new segregationist patterns in Louisville and to gain liberal and civil liberties issues and alliances.

We would enjoy comments and news on how research is being conducted in other projects.

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## NEWARK

By CARL WITTMAN

The Newark ERAP project is located in one half of the Southern Newark Ward (one of five wards), Clinton Hill. It is a residential area, much of it middle- and lower-middle class, predominately Negro and rapidly becoming a slum area. The project was invited by the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council, a ten year-old group with a long history of block organization and neighborhood improvement; by the Newark Committee on Full Employment, a group of about 20 residents of Newark interested in the issue of employment; and by the National Committee on Full Employment (Stanley Aronowitz' group, with research staff Thabit-Heifetz, Linda Greenberg on staff for research in Newark).

The project's goal is to create a strong block organization in Clinton Hill, beginning with issues important on the block level and eventually focussing on major issues, such as employment, job security, housing, etc. An emphasis is placed on developing local leaders out of the block organizations. We also have an office, where unemployed and others are welcomed, and it provides a place for meetings with community people. Informational research -- on urban renewal, housing codes, training programs, social security, etc. -- is divided among staff members, while programmatic re-

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search is being done by the National Committee, with two of our staff working in liaison with them.

Block organization is proceeding; a number of blocks of the CHNC have been revived, including two which have had a number of meetings and have taken action on recreation areas (there ain't none), police insults, lack of law enforcement, buildings to be demolished, etc. -- a number of gains have been made, and one group was forced into a picket action when no immediate gains were made. A good community response (100 on line, 200 at meeting afterward) suggests that the community is ready to move on a number of issues. Approximately 12 blocks are being worked on at present.

The "Arabian Stompers," a neighborhood group of girls doing precision marching, has been adopted by the CHNC, and a fight with the Board of Ed. yielded them a place to practice.

The group is living in an apartment (5 of us) or with families in the community. Food is a cooperative venture, and we're on about 60¢ a day per person (which we know is more than some -- but exotic menus are rationalized as recreation); project will last until August 25 or so, at which time most have to return to school. A staff of 3-5 will stay on in the fall for the year.

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## PHILADELPHIA

By NICK EGLESON

Operating under the name of Philadelphia JOIN (Jobs or Income Now), the project works with the unemployed and the underpaid in the southeast section of the city. Although we have opened an office and leaflet the unemployment compensation office regularly in order to reach all categories of the unemployed, we have concentrated on five groups who have a particularly hard time in the section of the city. Agricultural workers -- day farmers -- leave in buses at five in the morning and make between \$4 and \$7 for a ten to twelve-hour day. They are covered neither by minimum wage nor by compensa-

tion insurance. Domestic face much the same problem. The waterfront workers in the area are being hit both by automation -- which will take six men from every gang of 22 -- and by the construction of a shore expressway which will force the removal of some two dozen warehouses in the edge of the area in which we are working. Welfare mothers face the same problems here as in any large city. Welfare does not provide enough to live on -- only about 60% of the minimum standard -- but cannot be received if one is working. Many cannot even consider working because it would mean leaving large families untended.

Work in this area has been highly interesting because in many ways it is well-integrated. Although four major ethnic sections are easily discernable (Italian, Polish, Jewish and Negro), they account for only a portion of the area. Between these groupings are streets with Negroes on one side and Poles, Puerto Ricans and Italians on the other, and others where the integration appears complete. Occasionally squarely in the middle of the Italian area one can find a long, narrow street that looks like a back street from any city ghetto in the deep south. Sometimes the integration is more than superficial. In the playgrounds the children under twelve play together without regard to race, and the older people sitting on the street at night often talk in interracial groups. Longshore teams are integrated. But among the other groups, particularly the older youth, there appears to be far more tension.

In these first weeks our time has been divided among building up a background on the city and getting to know people in the various service agencies, researching particular problems, such as the state of unemployment benefits, and doing extensive house-to-house work, often with leaflets. Activity with the five special groups mentioned above is just the beginning. We are developing programs for each.

Staff education has proceeded in a number of ways. Work in this new location has meant constant and careful evaluation of our approach, and the discussions in-

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volved have been long and, most of the time, enlightening. Each person has a research assignment to cover special aspects of the city or of national problems, and there have been a number of informal reports from this work. In addition, several people who live in the city have spent an evening or afternoon talking to the project about such topics as the state of affairs in Vietnam, local politics, waterfront unions, Pennsylvania Welfare, and the assassination of President Kennedy.

# TRENTON

By WALT POPPER

The ERAP Trenton project began to work in downtown Trenton on June 15. There is a full-time staff of ten students from Princeton, Swarthmore, Brandeis, Simmons and Antioch. We are working with two adult groups in the community, the Mercer County chapter of CORE and the Mercer St. Friends Center, a neighborhood house and summer recreation center for the area. The Project has rented an office in an integrated area near the Friends Center. This is the area into which the mayor moved in the fall, getting nationwide publicity as a conscientious liberal.

The first thing we did was to set up a tutorial project in this neighborhood, working with students at Trenton State College and recruiting tutors among high school and college students in the area. The tutorial will be expanded during the summer. We have started with elementary school kids and hope to work more later with older kids, trying to involve them in discussion groups and action projects.

In the last two weeks we have been conducting a survey and forming a neighborhood group in the Mercer-Jackson area where we live. The city plans a special type of urban renewal program in this area -- bad houses will be renovated, a playground will be built, and as a result, rents will go way up. The present tenants will be forced to move out, and the area -- a choice residential location a few blocks from downtown stores -- will become an upper-class neighborhood. Everyone here

talks of rent control as a partial solution, and this seems to be a good issue for organization.

We will begin next week to work in South Trenton, an all-Negro area which will be torn down in a year for an urban renewal program. The area is the worst in the city, with terrible housing conditions and high unemployment. Building block groups will be difficult, perhaps because there are no definite issues for organization in the area. There are many serious problems, but because of urban renewal, there is no reasonable solution. Organization is all the more difficult because the mayor and the Democratic machine pretend to be very liberal and the government people love to sit down and talk; in this way they stall action without committing themselves to a definite program.

We have worked with the local CORE group on two projects so far. The group has drawn up a plan to better integrate the five junior high schools in the city, and we and they took a sample survey in one area where kids would be switched from one school to another. It was a Negro area, and everyone loved the plan. The city, as usual, is thinking it over and talking about it. This is ridiculous -- the schools are already partially integrated, and this plan changes the racial composition only 5%, with no bussing.

Two weeks ago Big Barry came to town to see the New Jersey delegates, and some of us joined a picket line organized by CORE. It was a frightening experience to talk to some of the 400 fascists in the crowd. Something must be done about this man.

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Congress, as usual, has passed a bill suspending for 30 days prior to Nov. 3 a Federal Communications Act requirement that broadcasters provide equal time for all candidates for public office if time is provided for any. The bill will allow the Democratic and Republican candidates unlimited exposure while allowing candidates of minority parties to be ignored.



# CONVENTION SPEAKS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

I. INTRODUCTION: Since 1960, millions of Negroes have demonstrated for an end to American racism. The American freedom movement has become the most powerful force for social change in this country. It is forcing the government to legitimize, bless and speed up action on civil rights; it is awakening conscientious individuals to the possibility of doing something right and effective. It is providing to Americans a new model of commitment and action which challenges those who are looking for a way to focus their anxiety on a world they neither like nor control.

The Freedom movement in this country has expressed needs which will require fundamental change in America in order to be satisfied. Yet it lacks the active support of its potential allies: the unemployed whites, the under-educated youth, the aged, trade union people who know the consequences of a narrowing job market, and the many intellectuals who realize that the present government programs against poverty are only a temporary ameliorative to the crisis of economic displacement, unemployment and automation into which we are now entering. The Negro freedom movement may face increasing isolation and frustration if it cannot soon forge links to local movements of unemployed, farm hands, displaced miners, and others who share a common economic tragedy.

It is with the conviction that new forms of economic organization, program and strategy are needed that SDS has turned major resources and energies towards a bold new task of community unionization.

II. COMMUNITY ECONOMIC ACTION--QUESTIONS IT RAISES, PROGRAM AND STRATEGY: The SDS program in community action was designed deliberately to stress innovation in program and strategy. Begun with the explicit hope for a movement of all the

do we work with poor white people to create motion and change; to which classes and groups do we appeal and against which do we fight; on what political program and social vision do we rely; how can the perception of common interest lead to the formation of political action organizations which encompass the full range of needs in the deprived community; can welfare local organizations and protest movements move toward the achievement of a grass-roots political coalition capable of challenging the established power structure of a city and eventually a nation?

We pose these problems and questions because we believe it important initially to understress a rigid ideology and any single organizing strategy. While we would stress in a thorough way, controlled and planned economy which guarantees political freedom, economic security, abundant education and incentives for wide cultural variety, the problem here is that we need a way to discuss these goals, strategies and tactics, not only among ourselves, but with the people with whom we work. We are interested in translating our demands for shared abundance, democracy and equality into terms applicable to community problems. We believe that we will find for our ideology the practical content that we seek as we work in community action.

We are convinced that political action is an essential part of our strategy to carry us into the new society. The decision to use candidacies as a major organizing technique to create a direct democracy, or to put off electoral strategy until a later date, must be made on the basis of the individual community.

III. SDS AND COMMUNITY ACTION: Since January, 1964, over 100 people have been recruited to work in SDS community action programs in ten areas: Baltimore, Boston, Chester, Chicago, Cleveland, Hazard, Louisville, Newark, Philadelphia and Trenton.

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has produced new organizational strains while broadening the SDS base.

While there is a tendency to emphasize these strains, what must be stressed are the new opportunities that the community action program holds out to a growing student organization. For students involved part-time in community projects, the new program offers a way of looking at the world in more practical terms; it allows us to see ourselves and SDS in a new light of relevance; and it offers the promise of generating new discussions, research and programs for the linking of middle-class groups, particularly professionals and pre-professionals, with the concerns and activities of lower-class movements. Techniques of thinking and formulating strategy and demands, the ability to grade goals, experience with education among disparate groups -- all these should prove invaluable to the construction of campus programming; what remains, given the impetus of community organizing programs, is for campus SDS members to view their organizing responsibilities in middle-class and other communities and on campuses in a manner similar in seriousness and in empiricism to that in which ERAP community organizers regard theirs. We regard all these byproducts of the ERAP organizing effort as critical to the ultimate shaping of a national left coalition capable of instituting the social change delineated in our previous convention documents.

People working in the SDS community action program must help in the task of enlarging the campus base of the organization. As the projects get underway, SDS should arrange for community organizers to travel and speak at nearby campuses, to encourage university people near project areas to participate in the functions of the community program, to supply the campus with materials from the community projects and to continue the program of economic conferences and other meeting places for full-time students and other organizers. We further recognize that students should be encouraged to develop intellectual involvement in radical societal programs through research and other elements of community organization. We believe that stu-

dent participation in the community is a logical and necessary complement to university curricula, and that students should be encouraged to apply their academic skills to aid community organization and to confront their academic perspective with the realities of the society. We place emphasis on these points because the primary task of SDS must remain the creation and education of student radicals. We assert that their task must remain high on the agenda of the SDS community action program.

There is no way of prejudging the implications to SDS of a program that necessarily encourages adult groups to assume major responsibility for programs in local project areas and solicits greater and greater support from labor leaders, university scholars, lawyers and professionals of all kinds in the local and national program. Most probably, new groups will be created which will seriously support the formation of a new adult political council--an organization attempting to encompass the full range of demands of new radical constituency. Until the time that such a new adult organization is feasible, however, SDS should continue to support and be responsible for its community action programs.

We propose that such basic functions of ERAP as: location and nature of future projects; production of literature and other materials; administration of national funds and fund-raising programs; organization of conferences and other national gatherings; regularization of book-keeping and accounting; selection of national non-project ERAP staff and leadership, and formulation of basic strategic outlook be integrated with the decision-making and administrative bodies of the National SDS. The ERAP director and other non-community staff should be considered as members of the SDS national staff. The ERAP director shall function on his own initiative in regard to the internal affairs of ERAP, but shall in the above-mentioned areas be ultimately responsible to the National Council of SDS. He shall consult regularly with the National Secretary before taking action which involves more than the internal activity of the community projects. The National Secretary shall consult with the ERAP director on all aspects of SDS pro-

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-grams which could in any way be of benefit to or be benefitted by ERAP. Members of the national SDS staff and members of the national ERAP staff shall coordinate their travelling and speaking activities to facilitate and support chapter development. The SDS President, National Secretary and ERAP Director and other SDS project directors shall meet at least once between National Council meetings to review the progress of current plans and assure the continued coordination of activity.

## SDS & THE 1964 ELECTIONS

In this election year, the left is once again faced with the recognition that most electoral contests will offer us little to chose from. Yet, because of our commitment to electoral politics, we return to this subject, to make specific the role of electoral action in the building of the new left constituency, and in the gaining of political power.

We believe that electoral action, as a democratic manifestation of our economic and social concerns, is valuable as a means for the realization of our goal of participatory democracy. Electoral politics is a means of recruitment and education for a constituency; it focusses a movement on political goals and political power; and success gives both a sense of power and the political rewards that accrue as long as the elected officials remain responsive to the base that elected them.

There is controversy in one crucial particular. The question is at what point in the development of an insurgent movement should it engage in electoral action. Politics in the most depressed and exploited sections of America is often not a meaningful process. The result of alliance with the liberal establishment is often disillusioning; the resulting increased alienation=leads to further hopelessness as to the possibilities for change rather than to increased understanding and militancy.

Alternative methods of organization must be found. Instead of trying to cooperate

in the control of existing political institutions immediately, developing new institutions within the community but outside of the electoral process may be more effective. In addition to having good chances of success, their educational value is great, for the initiative and control is in the hands of these alienated groups.

Ultimately people cannot gain power through these institutions without political action; and in a society where the majority does not share their alienation and suffering, alliances are necessary.

Both methods must be used in cooperation, and in SDS' various areas of work, both should be developed and tested. Many of the new insurgent movements which are being presently organized around economic issues will not be ready to present candidates this year. However, although SDS cannot endorse or support political candidates because of its tax statute, this convention expects that individual members will continue to support insurgent candidates, as in the past.

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCENE. The state of affairs described by previous SDS conventions still exists. Basically, the dominant force in our national politics remains a coalition of conservative and reactionary Democrats and Republicans. However, the bargain in which Dixiecrats and liberal Democrats join to make up the Democratic Party is now showing signs of stress.

The impact of the civil rights movement on our political parties has been to raise once again the possibility that the "liberal-Dixiecrat" coalition will be dissolved. The registration of Negro voters and the resurgence of very conservative Republican parties in the South both contribute to this possibility.

The major political development of the past year, however, has been the growth of right-wing political strength, through the presidential candidate, and it seems that it will be committed this year to return to full-scale Cold War, and the state rights rhetoric which represents anti-labor, anti-civil rights and liberties and anti-federal economic activity ideology.

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In this rather forbidding political environment, several lines of approach have been recommended to liberals and the left. The most widely accepted of these is reform politics--both congressional reform and urban reform.

The congressional reform movement would alter the seniority system and other elements in the structure of Congress which perpetuate the Dixiecrat dominance of the congressional Democratic Party. It would adjust congressional rules in other ways to break up the "legislative logjam." But that logjam is in fact a manifestation of social conditions that run deeper; liberalism has failed either to adequately justify its program of government activism to middle-class people or to provide significant programs of economic reform to appeal to labor or to the poor. Congressional reform could not have given us a civil rights bill; on the contrary, the civil rights bill is the product of the energies of the civil rights movement, on the streets as well as lobbying. Nonetheless, the achievement of reform in Congress would facilitate the passage of the liberal program and would therefore test our claim of its inadequacy.

Urban reform movement, like the Reform Democrats of New York City, counterpose issue-oriented liberalism to the politics of the machine. Its base is an insurgent one, although for the most part composed of liberal middle-class professionals. But issue-oriented politics alone is insufficient. These issues must be based on the material necessities of the economically and politically disenfranchised. To this end, new constituencies must be unearthed, politicized, and their needs given political expression. This is essential if the movement is to be given a live base, a base which cannot be absorbed by the liberal establishment. To a great extent, its commitment is to creating party procedures which would allow issue-oriented politics to flourish; at the same time, the most liberal politics in the country faces a dilemma when confronted with the real problems of daily political activity. This arises as a contradiction in its conception of corporate liberalism and the need for political gains for the Other America constituencies which it purports to repre-

sent.

The root of radicalism is basically this: Radicals believe in the democratic administration of society by the ordinary people themselves. Thus we are opposed to corporate liberalism, which is essentially undemocratic. But political constituencies face the same problems as social and economic constituencies in the sense that these movements must present some sort of gains or reforms for their members. In the same manner strikes must be won and restaurants integrated, the political needs of the people must be met.

While constituencies can be organized on issues, they are maintained as stable organizations only by obtaining "reforms" or concessions. Likewise, the political needs of these constituencies must be faced in the same manner as the other needs.

Those who advocate "purity" and "hands off dirty politics" fail to differentiate between reforms which are conceded by the corporate liberal structure and those demands which are won by the political action of our radicalized constituencies. The latter are of the utmost importance in creating a radical direction in our society because they prove to common people that they can achieve their goals through political action; this helps to dispel the notions that the poor and the working class are somehow "unfit" for exercising political control. It reinforces their enthusiasm for any radical action and develops the thirst for political power among them.

Eugene V. Debs once said, "no strike is ever lost." By this he meant that the very act of a strike was a radicalizing agent for the people. This has the same relevance politically in that the very act of participating in politics will have an important educational function.

Radicals approach politics with definite criteria for action. They do not approach the structure "hat-in-hand" as some corporatists would suggest. The criteria for political action are located in the base of a given candidate. A liberal candidate with working-class and Negro background and support is certainly not an enemy because he is responsive to the real and felt needs of the impoverished constituency. A corporatist liberal is one with certain liberal notions and constituency to maintain his class rul-

# CONVENTION

Thus the issue should be clear. Electoral action which yields the tastes of victory for the oppressed, the poor and the Negro, can only lead to the development of real mass radical bases. To say less is to yield to political pessimism and consider that politics is at best an academic "question." The welfare of the people is never "academic"; it is vital to the building of our vision.

**REALIGNMENT:** A much heralded political realignment is now taking place. We welcome it, for it means that the Democratic Party will no longer bargain with racism to elect the President, and racists will be removed from their leadership of the Congress. A major step toward this goal may be taken at the Atlantic City Democratic Convention this summer, when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenges the credentials of the racist delegation, and presents its own delegation. We support this initiative, and call on the Democratic Party to purge itself of its Wallaces and Barnetts, and seat the representatives of a new politics for the South.

This new politics is being forwarded by Negro voter registration and by the movement of Dixiecrats into the right-wing Republican parties of the South. It will make the Democratic Party more consistently the liberal party of the nation.

However, those who will lead the new Democratic party will be precisely those liberals who have made their peace with corporate power, and who will not have a commitment to assert public priorities against the corporate sector's priorities. When political realignment last seemed possible, in 1948, the liberal-Dixiecrat coalition held firm in order to fully support the Cold War. In the absence of this justification, and with the Wallace unpledged-electoral movement depriving the national Democratic Party of the Solid South, it is quite possible that the Mississippi challenge will meet with success.

The major point that is made by both the Realignment and the third-party schools is that the strategy is political mobilization of dispossessed groups. The real

strength of the Mississippi action is its success in building a base among Mississippi Negroes.

The more successful we are in building a new radical constituency, the more meaningful will be the realignment. Our efforts must therefore be concentrated in building the radical potential for the new party coalitions.

Believing that student involvement in insurgent politics is vital for the growth of such organizations as the Texas Democratic Coalition, we mandate the NC to establish a Political Education Project (PEP) which would serve to correlate and disperse information regarding reform and other potentially radical political movements and see that this information is placed at the disposal of SDS members and chapters which on their own would be in a position to take active roles. Such organizations as COPE would serve as sources for PEP. SDS would not as an organization be for or against any candidate, but merely make information available for independent use.

## ERAP PROJECTS

- BALTIMORE:** Kim Moody, U-Join, 326 S. t Broadway, Baltimore, Md.
- BOSTON:** Chuck Levenstein, 337 Western Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
- CHESTER:** Vernon Grizzard, 342 Ulrich St., Chester, Penna.
- CHICAGO:** Lee Webb, 4849 N. Kedzie, Chicago, Illinois
- CLEVELAND:** Ollie Fein, 2908 Jay St., Cleveland Ohio
- HAZARD:** Art Gorson, C/O Comm. For Miners, 1365 B'Way, Rm 512 H
- LOUISVILLE:** Bill Dady, 4403 Virginia Av Louisville, Kentucky
- NEWARK:** Carl Wittman, 716 Bergen, Newark, New Jersey
- PHILADELPHIA:** Nick Egleson, 721 S. Marvln St., Philadelphia, Penna.
- TRENTON:** Walter Popper, 521 Market St., Trenton, N. J.

# LOUISVILLE

Chapter activity in Louisville this summer has generally centered around assisting the local ERAF project. The local chapter is still under injunction not to enter Fountain Ferry Amusement Park. The injunction was passed after Bill Dady led demonstrations and sit-ins there. The irony of it is that the local chapter had nothing to do with the demonstrations and did not support them.

We are working with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (AFL-CIO) in a campaign and boycott against H-I-S clothing. H-I-S has consistently refused to allow organization of their plants and has engaged in all manner of unfair labor practices. Since students are the main buyers of their products, SDS was invited to lead student campaigns against these. We are currently helping to picket stores that carry H-I-S merchandise and urge all other chapters to engage in the boycott also.

The local chapter is also helping the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights to raise food and money for Mississippi. We plan to hold some summer educationals and fund-raising events.

by J.W.

# DUKE

By SHELLY & JO BLUM

Towards the last week of finals it became obvious that Duke needed another left club, and it was especially obvious to me that it would be SDS. The first organization is CORE, which has been active in Durham integration activities and whose members have been involved in the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee. CORE also investigated wage rates and hiring practices of the University. But CORE developed the usual name on campus and it operates with the special difficulties of an integration group on a Southern campus. We needed a group that could invite speakers, hold seminars, do

white mill community in this Piedmont town. The potential of the SDS chapter is not limited to those in CORE or to the immediate Duke students and faculty. Membership is 10 (not all SDS national members) with many more contacts to be brought in. Remember that this all took place during finals week!

# MARYLAND

By RICHARD OCHS

Our chapter has eight national SDS members, but has an active local organization of over 50, many of whom will hopefully join the official SDS roster in time. Of this number, about 15 are present for summer SDS activities.

Our summer activity is centered around our community development project, UNITY (urban Neighborhood Improvement Through Youth) in suburban D.C. So far we have started service projects by organizing kids to clear recreations areas and by offering arts and crafts classes four nights a week.

We have successfully achieved community involvement in our project by integrating our efforts with the Prince George County chapter of CORE. The current picketing of the nearby Suburban Trust Company against job discrimination provided an organizing focal point. Not only did over 20 residents join the line, but many are working with the larger UNITY project. The combined CORE\*UNITY office is at 1113 64th Avenue, NE, Washington 27, D.C. (Actually located in Cedar Heights, P.G. County, MD.) Phone: 772-3232. The office building is sufficiently large to serve as a home for UNITY participants as well as a hostel for members of the movement who are traveling through D.C.

We are also organizing around the focal point of a proposed urban renewal project scheduled for the area. Many residents fear displacement so we are studying alternative Urban renewal programs that are more humanistically-oriented. We are planning a campaign to realize the desires of the residents rather than those of real estate

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interests.

The prospectus and basic research data of UNITY are still in the process of being prepared. Until the time when we can give a complete and scholarly analysis of the community, we will continue to win friends in the area with service projects and protests against the injustices immediately apparent.

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## WESTERN KY.

By AZLE BECKNER

Our chapter is now trying to get a few members and make some plans for an all-out assault next fall on the rotten conditions that exist here.

We have had one meeting in the local court house. We have agreed to use the ACLU pamphlet, "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities," as a goal for our action in this field. We have also agreed to collect clothes for the people in Eastern Kentucky. Moreover, we have printed several copies of the constitution to distribute to our prospective members. We plan to start a student newspaper next year, not anything large--just one or two sheets to give the students a chance to voice their opinions. We need advice as to tactics we can use to convince the administration that we are right in our plea for more freedom. The president has proven unreceptive to individual petitions in the past.

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## WISCONSIN

By SUSAN HOCK

The most significant fact about the UW summer SDS chapter is that its membership list reads just about like the summer membership lists of the UW Friends of SNCC, Madison CSRE, etc. Thus, when confronted with a situation such as the disappearance of the three COFO workers, the chapter's concern for initiating a distinct SDS program was superseded by the need for a "united front" effort in this situation of common concern.

The result of this common effort was a Vigil, held the Sunday after the first announcement that the three men were found missing, protesting continued violence, mourning the continued loss of life, and asking for effective Federal intervention as a protective buffer for the civil rights workers in Mississippi. About 200 persons made a silent march around the square which is the site of the State Capitol, wearing black arm bands and carrying signs and banners. Brief speeches were made by the newly-elected president of the state NAACP and a SNCC field representative, outlining the need and the means for implementing Federal intervention. Petitions were passed around and a collection was taken. A request was then made that those attending continue to wear their armbands throughout the following week, in an effort to attract further community attention to this issue.

In a recent consideration of the scope of what distinctly SDS work could be done this summer, two specific projects were agreed upon. The first involves continuing the much-needed research on the status and future of Menomonee county, a former Indian reservation recently terminated by the Federal government. The second will be the preparation of a leaflet presenting a University expose to be included in the materials presented to incoming freshmen.

Further meetings will be held primarily to discuss progress reports of the ERAP projects as they become available in order to keep old members "aware" and to serve as one means for introducing our new recruits to the "SDS gestalt."

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## ILLINOIS

By RON SZOKE

Deprived of Rennie Davis' "Charismatic" leadership and organizational talents, the U of Illinois chapter limped a bit this year but did accomplish several things worth mentioning. Overlap of membership with the campus Young Democrats and NAACP precludes in many cases "getting the credit" for the things that did get done. It seems fair, however, to say that a major portion of the leadership, effort, initiative and best thinking in

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both the CYD and NACCP was provided by SDS members.

Rudy Frank organized a series of vigils and demonstrations on campuses and in communities across the nation late in September to protest the Birmingham church bombing. Noon hour programs of speeches and silent witness on the Auditorium steps lasted a week in Urbana. (Rudy is president of the campus Friends of SNCC)

Several Friday-evening study, discussion and social meetings were held through October and November. Phil Curry analyzed American economic growth, clarifying the policy questions involved and going on to question the desirability of inducing a high aggregate growth rate without regard to composition, redistribution policy, tax reform, etc. His analysis and conclusions were debated in another meeting or two; the final meeting of the semester was devoted to films, with Ron Szoke evaluating and leading a discussion of "8½".

During Christmas vacation and between semesters, several members went to Atlanta and points south for observation and demonstrations. Several more attended the Harvard conference at the beginning of the second semester and a number went to the Community Organizing Conference in Ann Arbor.

A Conference on Poverty and the Economy was organized in cooperation with ERAP and the CYD for May 1-3, with the featured speaker being Robert Theobald. Further presentations were by Carey McWilliams Jr., Todd Gitlan, Jesse Grey, Jesse Frostin, Congressman Frazer of Minnesota and Bob Wilson, Democratic Peace candidate for Congress from this district in 1962. The conference was well-attended and most participants seemed to think it quite good.

## BOSTON U.

By DAVE FELDER

The recently-formed B.U. SDS chapter is concentrating on the Noel Day campaign and will organize around it. During the campaign we will sponsor several fund-raising events such as hootenannies and a massive rally. Some of our members are in

the Boston University Civil Rights Coordinating Committee and we hope to work with them and other groups wherever cooperation is possible.

During the past year our members have participated in the Freedom Schools as instructors for the school stayout, in SDS discussion meetings and in the Simmons Conference entitled "After the Arms Race... What?" Four of our members were on the Boston SDS Research Committee, and contact have been made with professors at B.U. that students can do school papers on subjects of interest to SDS.

After the Noel Day campaign we plan to run candidates for student congress and to work in the area of University Reform. This year a dress code was promulgated by the paternalistic B.U. administration. The B.U. Student Congress circulated a petition objecting only to the terms of the particular dress code, not to the administration's handing down such codes in general. Boston University is in need of University reform, students have shown they want a change, and the B.U. SDS hopes to give the student resentment creative direction.

## HARVARD

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is reported from the July 10 issue of the Harvard Summer News.)

A newly-established Summer School chapter of the national liberal organization Students for a Democratic Society, plans to set up one or more "democracy schools" for teenagers in the Boston area this summer.

"We want to get together kids from various neighborhood houses, the kids who stay in front of Brigham's every night and do nothing and are bored, and teach them something about the mechanism of U.S. government and society," Amy L. Delson, coordinator of the chapter, explained.

The "democracy schools" will provide discussion groups and occasional speaker presentations. "We will try to tie up the kind of problems these kids have with the problem of society," Miss Delson said.

The summer school chapter of SDS is the first one that has been in existence at Harvard. Miss Delson said, however,



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a regular chapter will be established in the fall.

The purpose of organizing a summer chapter, she explained, is to get students from other colleges interested in SDS so they will establish their own branches in the fall. For this reason, the summer leaders are anxious to initiate a project of their own -- "so these people can get some experience in getting something started."

SDS members will also work on several existing programs, however, such as the regular SDS job conversion project in Bedford.

## CHICAGO

By LORETTA WASMUND

The Chicago chapter of SDS was not chartered officially until the beginning of May. At that time officers were elected and a constitution drawn up for the chapter.

The present members, however, began meeting as an SDS chapter in the winter of 1964. The organizational difficulties it faced were many; it is not a campus-based chapter. Therefore, the divergent makeup and interests of the group and the travel distance involved in meeting tended to reduce both the number of meetings and the size of attendance. No concrete programming or plan of action has been developed by the chapter, though a decision was made to tie in the initial activity of the chapter with the Chicago JOIN project, using this as a point of departure for programming and acting upon other needs of the city.

Three meetings highlighted the events of the last semester. Ernest De Maio, President District II, UE, addressed an organizational, membership-recruiting meeting of the chapter. Mr. De Maio drew a cogent picture of the business-political-labor coalitions in the city, providing chapter members with a background picture against which to place future chapter work. Attempts at recruiting new members at this meeting were largely unsuccessful, however. Wilberforce Jones, Chicago Civil

Rights leader, spoke to the group about the present and projected civil rights plans for the city. As the last meeting of the spring, the chapter members attended a talk by Berman Gibson, Committee For Liners, to Chicago Labor leaders.

The Chicago chapter has disbanded for the summer but plans on resuming its activities with the opening of school in the fall. The question whether a chapter with such widely dispersed membership (both geographically and occupationally) can develop into anything more than a radical discussion club will be severely tested then.

## WASHINGTON

By JOYCE BENNETT

Two weeks ago the Washington State Democratic Convention was held in Seattle. SDS urged them to pass a resolution consisting of two things: one that they send a telegram to President Johnson asking him to send federal protection to the civil rights workers in Mississippi, and two, to instruct their delegates to the national Democratic convention to vote against seating the segregated, unrepresentative delegations from the Deep South and to vote for seating the Freedom Delegations from Mississippi and Alabama. I understood that eight states have decided to vote against seating the white delegations, and that two have decided to vote for seating the freedom Delegations. By the time you receive this, even more states may have passed similar resolutions.

We picketed outside the convention with signs urging them to take action on our resolution. We also handed out leaflets all day with our resolution on them.

Many of the resolutions were not introduced at the convention. They were then referred to the Central Committee who will meet in Walla Walla at the end of July. Ours was one of the resolutions that met this fate. We plan to go to Walla Walla and lobby for the acceptance of the resolution.

Our interest in the safety of the civil rights workers is not merely an impersonal one. Washington state sent one of the

# CHAPTERS...

largest contingents of workers--about 20 people--and one of them is a member of our SDS chapter.

We are now engaged in a massive campaign circulating petitions asking the President for federal intervention in Mississippi. There has been a group formed in Seattle of parents and friends of the Mississippi civil rights workers. They circulated a petition around the University of Washington campus. We used their petition and printed 2,000 copies of it. We are now very busy sending these petitions to all individuals and organizations which would possibly be interested. We are covering all civil rights groups, all churches and religious groups, all peace groups, labor groups, the ACLU, and similar organizations. We hope to get a commentary on radio station KRAB, the non-commercial FM station here. We are also canvassing our own neighborhoods and all the coffee chops in the area.

I don't know if we will work in any other direction this summer. The Mississippi issue is so important that we feel that all of our energy should presently be devoted to it.

## BERKLEY

By ERIC LEVINE

Late in the spring several members of SDS and their friends met chez Becky Mills to discuss the possibility of giving some structure to the converging interests of many graduate students at the University of California here in Berkeley. Out of this meeting came plans to start an actual chapter out here to help channel students into ongoing projects--from Becky's accounts in earlier Bulletins you can tell the area is already hopping--and to help give a more general perspective than any of the existing socialist or single-action groups now on campus can give.

SDS out here has always been and likely always will be faced with a problem of time allocation. Setting up and maintaining an organization requires lots of manhours (or womanhours) and meanwhile lot of activities are beckoning. As a result,

for this summer, while most of the others at the organizing meeting are elsewhere, I have decided to play freelance, filling gaps in certain ongoing projects, especially in terms of analysis and publicity around campus, of these activities, and in terms of setting up meetings to cover gaps.

Thus, recently, SDS had its first real meeting out here. We were addressed by Jack Wagner of the Committee for Full Employment in San Francisco. Mr. Wagner is a retired piledriver who has been spearheading a many pronged campaign to get something done in the general employment picture. Right now, he's putting pressure on the unions to set up an organization to organize the unemployed. Some SDS members joined a demonstration outside the meeting of the Central Labor Council on July 10.

Meanwhile, SD has managed to get several new faces from the student community involved with the Welfare Rights Committee. They have helped distribute petitions in Oakland and are now beginning to help do much needed research, publicity work and help put together presentations to the State Department of Social Welfare regarding the lower rent allowances.

SDS members have also been working with CORE which is deeply involved with dramatic demonstrations at the G.O.P. Convention, as well as with the Bank of America project. A Full day civil rights conference is planned for August 1, which will have panels covering aspects from urban problems, to welfare systems, to the role of the Negro Church, to general political perspectives. The local CORE groups have many members who are quite sophisticated and the conference will hopefully go far to establish the inter-relationship of civil rights and the economic and political system.

D O N ' T F O R G E T ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !

Deadline for the next issue of the BULLETIN is August 5. Articles received after that date cannot be accepted for publication then. This applies to chapter reports, ERAP reports and anything else.

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# ON CAMPUS ORGANIZING

By DAVID SMITH

Building a radical constituency seems to be one of the focal points of all our discussions of organization on the campus. It seems to me that we must first determine when we want these people to be radical. Todd's questions relative to being a radical doctor or lawyer (BULLETIN, April 1964) seem especially relevant at this point. If we are working on the campus only in order to move people into ghetto work, we are automatically limiting the number of people to whom our program will appeal. It seems to me that we must find ways not only to create campus radicals but to insure that they will remain radical after going back to the world of professionalism. It is useless to build a group of people who will, for their four years in college, work actively but forget all they have learned when they return to the outside world. We must work toward the day when we will have a large portion of the middle class committed to a radical program. We must emphasize the goal of participatory democracy and a world where all will have a share. We must direct our organization towards sending these people back to the middle class, not only to the ghetto.

The base of the program must be a broad continuous education program rather than the single-issue protests we are most likely to engage in. To the average, uninvolved inhabitant of a college campus, it means very little that a small group of his contemporaries picketed on May 2 urging the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. It meant nothing because we had neglected one of our fundamental tasks: to tell the campus as a whole why the troops should get out, to say nothing of informing them of the picket or asking them to join us. Information concerning the plan was confined to such limited-readership organs as the SDS Bulletin and the Nation. The lack of concern for the campus community at large will cause SDS in particular and the left in general to remain a rather "out" thing on most campuses.

Thus I would suggest that we design our campus programs not for the continued education of the few who are already involved but for the education and conversion of the vast majority of our contemporaries. The fault is as much ours for not telling them as theirs for not hearing.

Several devices immediately loom as weapons. The campus newspaper, if not in sympathy, is usually looking for a good controversy and will certainly run letters if not stories. If the funds are available, it might be wise to attempt a publication of your own for the campus as a whole.

As the University of Texas experience has shown, direct confrontation with the radical right can not only be an effective publicity device but also a membership draw. At Texas the SDS chapter staged a series of debates with YAF and eventually destroyed the latter organization on campus. Publicly challenging YAF statements and forcing them into awkward positions worked well at Tufts, as they refused our challenge to debate them.

Michigan's poverty week is a prime example of ways in which the message can be brought to the campus as a whole. Speakers and programs on topical issues are sure to draw large crowds; whether or not they will be sympathetic is another matter, but it is only by this type of confrontation that we have any chance of success. (Speakers of the type I mean are Lane on the assassination of Stetler on Vietnam.) SDS campus travellers should be used to best advantage by all campuses which are just beginning to move.

Finally, it seems to me that the best pitch for us to use in the initial stages is civil rights as it is still a respectable issue on most campuses. Along these lines, it might be wise for us to look for one-time SNCC people for use in this area.

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JUST RECEIVED from WOMEN'S STRIKE FOR PEACE, Box 4055, Washington, D.C. 20015:

"The German Problem: Roadblock to Disarmament" (price -- \$1.00). Highly recommended by Bertrand Russell, Benjamin Spock, Senator Claiborne Pell (D,R.I.)

# NAT'L COUNCIL REPORT

By C. CLARK KISSINGER, National Sec'y

The National Council of SDS met June 15-16 in the beautiful house owned by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Nyack, N. Y. After a grueling couple of weeks which included the National Convention and the Training Institute for the summer projects immediately preceding the Convention, the lovely lawns and gardens of the FOR house overlooking the Hudson was sort of a Shangri La. In fact, your intrepid National Secretary was required on several occasions to break up touch football games in order to get the delegates back in session.

Present for the Council were 15 of the 17 newly-elected National Officers, 9 chapter delegates and a small host of staff and observers. The first day of the Council meeting was taken up by committee sessions which prepared specific recommendations in various areas. In the area of administration, a number of small decisions were made (regarding bookkeeping, carbons of correspondence, fund-raising, etc.) which should greatly unify the operation of the organization. A Committee to review publications was appointed. The National Office was charged with preparing organizing materials for the fall. And it was decided to hold a conference at the end of the summer in conjunction with the National Council meeting at that time.

The Economic Research and Action Project executive committee was organized to consist of the ERAP Director, the President, the National Secretary, the director of each community project and five at-large elected by the National Council. Rennie Davis was reappointed ERAP Director, and the five at-large chosen were Ken McEldowney, Sharon Jeffrey, Bob Ross, Rich Horevitz and Dick Flacks.

Paul Booth was appointed Director of the Peace Research and Education Project, and a temporary PREP advisory committee was established consisting of the President, the National Secretary and five others to be appointed by the President and the PREP Director. Those so appointed were Chuck Levenstein, Todd Gitlin, Don McKelvey,

Carol McEldowney and Dick Flacks.

To carry out the mandate of the National Convention to establish a Political Education Project (PEP?), the National Council established a committee to formulate the structure, program and financing of such a project and make its recommendations to the next meeting of the Council. The committee consists of Steve Max (chairman), Peter Brandon, Paul Goodberg, Jeremy Brecher, Paul Booth, Shelley Blum, Jim Williams, Robb Burlage and C. Clark Kissinger. Douglas Ireland, of the National Staff, is corresponding secretary for the committee.

Finally, my appointment as National Secretary for the coming year was confirmed and Helen Garvy was appointed Assistant National Secretary.

## INTERVIEW WITH TOM KAHN By STEVE SLANER

A revitalization may be in the works for the League for Industrial Democracy, the parent organization of SDS. Tom Kahn, acting LID Executive Secretary, declared that the recent Board elections (described in the LID News Bulletin, enclosed in this issue of the SDS BULLETIN) marked a determination on the part of key people in LID to revive the organization's relationship to the major social movements of today.

Kahn, the author of The Unfinished Revolution and the soon-to-be-published Economics of Equality (both pamphlets obtainable from LID), said that the League sought to become an educational arm of labor and the civil rights movement. Once this status is achieved, Kahn went on, many tensions between LID and SDS should vanish, and the issue of "old fogeyism" will become spurious.

Noting that he was around the same age as Tom Hayden, past president of SDS, Kahn pointed out that issues could no longer be couched in generational terms. Political differences will exist, but not of the sort that are argued between youth and parents; hopefully, Kahn added, "more

## TOM KAHN...

serious political discussion" may take place between LID and SDS.

Stating his approval of the SDS ERAP projects (described elsewhere in this BULLETIN), Kahn remarked that the League has sponsored periodic workshops among academicians and intellectuals on the subjects of poverty, economic and social planning and mental health. Out of these workshops has come basic research and plans for several pamphlets. Kahn said that he would like to see SDS publish discussions of larger social issues, in addition to valuable material on organizational problems; and he declared that "SDS people have a publishing house in LID" if what they write is significant and interesting.

Turning to other matters, the acting Executive Secretary noted that SDS enjoys its tax-exempt status by virtue of its affiliation with LID: this necessarily requires a certain cautionary approach to matters overtly political, since the whole question of tax-exempt organizations is up for review now by the Federal government. Another advantage of affiliation with LID is that of tradition and respectability when it comes time for fund-raising. Kahn emphasized, however, that he hoped for new activity from the League -- which would constitute a reason for continued (and improved) cooperation between SDS and LID at least as compelling as the financial benefits to be derived from their association.

## NOEL DAY...

(continued from page 1)

Day is a Negro. He is 31, and is co-chairman of the Massachusetts Freedom Movement, an interracial organization which grew out of the Boston school stayouts of June, 1963 -- when the first "Freedom Schools" for Negro and white schoolchildren were organized -- and February, 1964. Among other organizations, he serves the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts and Mass. Political Action for Peace (PAX).

Day is endorsed by Mass. PAX not only because he is in favor of disarmament but also because he articulates the centrality

of peace to the achievement of a just and abundant social order. His announcement pointed out that "as East-West tensions continue to decrease, and Soviet-American relations improve, we are being given new opportunities to convert our defense industries to peacetime uses which will provide more jobs for Americans. We can build decent housing for all our citizens, we can build hospitals and other public facilities, we can provide adequate medical care for all the sick, regardless of income. We can build an educational system truly based on excellence, and provide every American with either a job or a decent income. There are rights every citizen should have."

The Ninth congressional district is wholly urban -- 16 of Boston's 22 wards -- and includes roughly equal numbers of Negroes and Irish, with smaller numbers of Jews, Italians and other less homogeneous groups. It is a low-income district on the whole, with large numbers of working people.

Day's campaign seeks to articulate the needs of the community and the failures of a cold war-centered political system to respond to these needs. It will attempt to make the Negro Freedom Movement and the peace movement parts of the same political effort, and to make that effort relevant to the electoral realities of 1964. Out of it we should be able to extend and consolidate the organization and the commitment to political action which followed the campaign of H. Stuart Hughes in 1962. In this effort, some unorthodox techniques -- borrowed from the freedom movement and other areas -- will be harnessed to an orthodox, i.e. an electoral, purpose. The effort, we believe, deserves the support, the assistance and the sympathetic attention of all who believe that politics can and should be used to meet the real issues of our time.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Dr. Rosen, a professor of economics at Simmons College in Boston, is active in Mass. PAX. He is a key figure in the Noel Day campaign and has published articles in LIBERATION and other magazines.)

(continued from page 1)

The plan of the Convention called for about a day and a half of panel presentations and workshops, giving both a historical and a contemporary focus on the roles which radicals have played and are playing in American institutions. The Convention was kicked off Thursday evening with speeches by Stanley Aronowitz and Dick Flacks on "Visions of a New Left." (Stanley is from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and is Chairman of the National Committee for Full Employment; Dick is an Assistant Professor at the University of Chicago and the former Director of the SDS Peace Research and Education Project.) Friday morning continued with a panel discussion on "The Role of Radicals in 1964 Politics," followed by questions and discussion. This panel featured Albert Blumberg, active in New York reform politics; Robb Burlage, economic planner for the State of Tennessee; Tom Hayden, past president of SDS; and Sumner Rosen, professor at Simmons College.

The afternoon session opened with a panel on "The Radical Heritage," featuring Don West, Appalachian historian; Myles Horton from the Highlander Folk School; and James Weinstein, historian of American socialism. The body then broke down into smaller discussion groups to consider in detail the role of radicals in various American institutions and movements. The first set of discussion groups concentrated on the churches, the universities, the professions and the government. These four groups were then followed by four groups concentrating on the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the peace movement and community organizing. Many of these large groups in turn broke down into smaller workshops.

The original plan for the Convention called for the body to approve a programmatic document to guide the organization during the coming year. Toward this end three draft statements (available from the National Office) were prepared for the consideration of the Convention. After dinner Friday these statements were presented by their authors. The first, prepared by a group of delegates from the Swarthmore chapter, stressed community organization and the

consolidation of corporate liberalism and the need to build SDS as an organization. The third, written by Steve Max and Douglas Ireland, called for the building of a new left-liberal coalition. Following the presentation of the draft documents, the Convention was addressed by Professor Seymour Melman.

Saturday morning began with a procedural plenary session: credentials were approved, greetings read and guests introduced. There were also reports by the President, the National Secretary and the Directors of ERAP and PREP on the growth and activities of SDS during the past year. Following lunch the body was again broken down into small groups, this time for the purpose of discussing the basic problems which face SDS during the coming year. In the middle of the afternoon, the plenary session was reconvened for the purpose of selecting which of the draft program documents the body wished to perfect. After some debate, however, all three documents were rejected and the general consensus seemed to favor attempting to create a new program statement.

The Convention steering committee met during dinner and decided that it would be impossible to write a major statement (such as the last two convention documents, the Port Huron Statement and America and the New Era) in the short time which remained. The steering committee thus proposed to the body in the evening that it break into nine legislative subcommittees for the purpose of drafting resolutions to guide the organization's programming. The nine subcommittees would be on the areas of chapter programming, Southern program, internal education, adult organization, 1964 elections, chapter organizing and recruitment, organizational structure of SDS, peace programming and community programming. After two hours of parliamentary wrangling over whether there should be nine committees, five committees or three committees, and what the committees should do, the number five won out and the delegates broke up to frame statements on Political Action, Community Organizing, the American Student, Peace, and Adult Organization.

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# NAT'L SECRETARY'S REPORT

By C. CLARK KISSINGER

In my first report to the membership, as the new National Secretary, I take some pride in being able to report substantive progress toward many of the goals which I set for myself upon assuming the office. The first of these goals is that of making the National Office of SDS more than just a secretariat and a fire hazard. For the first time in its recent history, the NO is as a functioning file system, a legible bookkeeping system, a compatible and efficient staff of four full-time and two part-time people, and a periodical report which is sent bi-weekly to the National Officers, the ERAP projects and the chapters. We are now looking forward to being able to take a more active role in coordinating the far-flung operations of SDS.

My second goal was to stimulate year-round programming by our chapters. And although not as many chapters are continuing to operate during the summer session as I had hoped for, I can announce the creation of two new chapters: at the Harvard Summer School and at Western Kentucky State College. In addition, chapters are in the process of formation at Antioch, Williams and Queens Colleges, as well as a high-school chapter in Teaneck, N. J.

SDS will be participating again this year in the National Student Association Congress through our sponsorship of the Liberal Study Group. Current plans call for the continued publication of the daily Liberal Bulletin, publication of papers for the delegates on such topics as poverty in America and the draft, and presentation of selected speakers. In general, however, our participation in this year's Congress will not be on the same scale as that of previous Congresses.

Perhaps the central preoccupation of the National Staff this summer is with preparations for the fall. We are in the process of creating a chapter organizing manual and stockpiling literature for distribution to chapters and campuses during the first few weeks of the fall semester. It now seems certain that the organization will commit itself to hiring

several full-time organizers for the school year. This, coupled with an efficient system for region organizing (especially around continuing ERAP community projects), seems certain to bring a sharp increase in our growth rate during the coming year. In general, our potential is enormous -- we have only to make the effort to carry our analysis and program to the American student.

The recurrent problem in carrying out such an organizing drive still remains the critical shortage in competent staff, personnel and leadership. During the past year, the program of the SDS -- and the opportunities opened up to it -- have outstripped the personnel resources of the organization. Our task now is avoiding the temptation to "take one generation of campus leadership and . . . run!" We must instead look toward building the campus base as the wellspring of our student movement.

Our final and permanent problem is, of course, that of financial resources. We will shortly be mailing to the membership a fund appeal. But you need not wait for its receipt in order to send your contribution! I can think of few places where your money can be put to work so efficiently -- for example, the average worker on an ERAP summer project is living on 50¢ per day. It is a recurring hardship that those who are working the hardest for the organization must simultaneously carry the greatest economic burden. Most of the National Council, for example, donate from \$5 to \$15 per month on a regular pledge basis. Every member is encouraged to pitch in.

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The April 3 NY Times reported that Rep. Burkhalter (D-Cal.) is retiring after one term in the House in disgust with the seniority system whereby major power in Congress is given those who stay the longest. "It's obsolete, antiquated," he said, having gone to Congress after 20 years in public office in California. "These old men have got everything so tied down you can't do anything."

# CONVENTION . . .

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Sunday morning began with the consideration of Constitutional amendments and special resolutions. Two amendments offered by Clark Kissinger were adopted. The first deleted Article VIII of the Constitution (the National Administrative Committee) and the second amended Article IX to allow the National Secretary to hire staff below the level of Assistant National Secretary. Two amendments offered by Steve Max were rejected, both of which would have rescinded amendments passed at last year's Convention. The first would have given each chapter delegate five votes rather than two, and the second would have extended the length of membership required of each candidate for national office to six months. (Revised Constitutions are now available from the National Office.)

Two special resolutions introduced by Jim Williams were passed. The first urged support for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (see text, page 3) and the second mandated the National Council to welcome the Southern Student Organizing Committee as a Fraternal Organization.

The first item of Sunday afternoon's business was the report of the committee on community organization. After extensive amendment, the report was accepted as a statement of the Convention (see text elsewhere in this issue). The statement reaffirms SDS' move into community organizing via the creation of ERAP and the summer projects, it repudiates any rigid ideology of community organization, it affirms the continuing responsibility of SDS for the community organizing program until such time as new adult groupings may emerge, and it makes provisions for more closely integrating the ERAP structure with the other facets of SDS operation.

The second report was that of the political activity committee. This report, after amendments, was remanded to a special committee for incorporation into a revised edition of the America and the New Era statement. The report (see text elsewhere in this issue) is the first major statement of SDS on its commitment to electoral

action and the relationship of electoral action to the building of a new left constituency. It isolates the growth of right-wing political strength as the major development of the past year; it describes the inadequacies of "reform" movements (both urban and congressional), but stresses the need of developing radical constituencies to be able to win political concessions; it notes and welcomes the cracking of the liberal-Dixiecrat coalition in the Democratic Party and the possibilities for building new left-liberal coalitions; and it mandates the National Council to establish a Political Education Project.

Following dinner Sunday evening, the Convention moved to the election of officers for the coming year. The lengthy elections were undoubtedly the emotional highlight of the Convention. Paul Potter, graduate student at the U. of Mich. and a former Vice-President of the National Student Association, was elected President on the second ballot over Bob Ross, Ken McEldowney and Rennie Davis. Vernon Grizzard, a student at Swarthmore and Director of the Chester project, was elected Vice-President on the third ballot over Jeff Shero, Carl Wittman and Lee Webb. Todd Gitlin, our past president, graduate of Harvard and grad student at Michigan, was then elected to the National Council by acclamation. The remaining 14 at-large members of the NC, elected from a slate of 33 candidates, are: Paul Booth, a graduate of Swarthmore and director of PREP; Jeremy Brecher, from Reed College; Rennie Davis, graduate of Oberlin, grad student at Michigan and ERAP director; Nick Egleson, from Swarthmore, director of the Philadelphia project; C. Clark Kissinger, graduate of the U. of Chicago, former grad student at Wisconsin and current National Secretary; Ken McEldowney, grad student at Michigan; Sarah Murphy, student at the U. of Chicago; Bob Ross, graduate of Michigan, will be grad student at Brandeis; Jeff Shero, from U. of Texas; Charles Smith, grad student at U. of Texas; David Smith, from Tufts Univ.; Lee Webb, graduate of Boston University, past National Secretary, director of the Chicago project; Jim Williams, grad student at the U. of Louisville; Carl Witt-

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# ERAP TRAINING INSTITUTE

by MIKE ZWEIG

Initiating the first SDS-ERAP spate of community organization projects this summer, participants of each of the ten projects attended an ERAP Institute for Community organizers at Pine Hill, New York. Nearly 100 staff members attended the five-day conference, which began on June 6. The central purpose of the Institute was to provide an ideological framework and a technical competence for the staff before their formal entrance into the community as organizers. A further element of the Institute was a structured and informal series of opportunities for the staff members in each project to know one another and to become familiar with the objective situation in "their" city.

To achieve these ends, the conference was divided into a number of project staff meetings, at least one each day, often continuing informally at meals and during free time. Besides these, general thematic questions were explored in a large number of skill workshops, covering research and survey technique, internal and community education, legal problems, questions of block organization, political action and a host of related topics.

Workshops usually followed general all-staff lectures and discussions, for which outside guests were used. Among them were Stanley Aronowitz, discussing "The 'Radical' in the Community"; Miles Horton on "The Role of Education in the Movement"; and Jack Minnis on "The Role of Research in Developing a Community Action Program."

Although the Institute was probably a day or two too short, and did not provide for sufficient inter-project contact and coordination, it was an important and serious first step in the development of an on-going radical program of community organization. It was a most important element in the overall development of the projects and served the needs of the staff in important ways.

# CORRESPONDENCE

from STEVE MAX

The first worklist mailing after the convention contained the following paragraph:

"In spite of it all, we had a pretty good convention. The total number of registrants was 208, and surprisingly for this size, nobody went away mad. Symptomatic of the fact that the organization had nothing basically new to add to its three documents, the convention rejected the three draft convention statements and tackled instead programmatic problems for the coming year. The convention reaffirmed SDS' move into community organizing and debated the special role of the student as an agent of social change."

I find this summary of the convention scandalously one-sided. While it is quite true that the convention reaffirmed community action, it also took the position that electoral activity was as important as non-electoral community action. Moreover, it was decided that the organization should conduct experimental activity in this area, just as it is now engaging in experimental work in community organizing. This basic policy decision, however, was not mentioned in the worklist mailing.  
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man, graduate of Swarthmore and Newark project director.

While the ballots were being counted, the body indulged in its annual "fund-raising orgy." \$609 was donated on the spot, and an additional \$1,697 was pledged by those present!

The remaining reports -- on the American student, peace, and adult organizing -- were referred to the National Council for action.

NOTE: ANYBODY GOING TO THE UPCOMING NSA CONFERENCE IN MINNEAPOLIS SHOULD CONTACT THE N.O. IMMEDIATELY

## CORRESPONDENCE...

(continued from page 3<sup>9</sup>)

I would suggest that the relevant sections of the minutes and the resolutions pertaining to the debate on electoral activity be published in the next BULLETIN along with the resolution on community organization.

I am not sure it is accurate to say that "no one went away mad." I know for a fact that many delegates did not feel the convention to be relevant to their needs as campus-based people working in campus organizations. The large drop in attendance between Saturday night and Sunday was, I think, indicative of this problem. The convention was simply not a convention for students; it was a convention for young adults interested in electoral and non-electoral community work. Thus far the leadership has lamented the growing tension between campus and community but has taken little action to correct it, and the convention did little to help the matter. I would suggest that the tension springs not from an objective need for a hard differentiation between campus and community organizing but from a sometimes-whispered, sometimes-silently believed notion that the campus is really unimportant compared to the ghetto. It was on this point that the convention foundered. I think that it was in part the fault of those of us who presented documents: we failed to make this point clear enough. Some of us did speak to the issue, but in advance of the convention did not realize the central position that this question should occupy; thus the role of the campus was never

fully debated before an awake plenary. I would hope that SDS members send to the NO for copies of the three major draft statements, to see where they differ on this point.

One of the things I would like to do with the Political Education Project (money willing) is to look into ways that universities can be progressive political factors in the communities in which they are located -- for example, the role of Cornell in the campaign of peace candidate Harop Freeman or the level of voter registration among university students. I would suspect that the majority of over-21 students who go into the community to do voter registration are themselves unregistered. We need to get some legal assistance, and perhaps locate a test case to find out why a graduate student who has spent two or three adult years in a community is told that he must vote by absentee ballot where his parents live. Through this type of activity, I hope we can start to close the breach between community organizers and our campus base. ERAP, too, might move in this direction, looking into such things as the degree to which universities are slumlords and property owners, and what students on the campus can do about it. The political, business and real estate connections of trustees and boards of governors might provide some interesting targets as well. The level and accessibility of adult education is another area of profitable overlap.

NOTE: I originally requested that this letter be printed in the worklist mailing. When this request was refused, I invoked my privilege as an SDS member and had it run as a BULLETIN article.

BE KIND TO YOUR NATIONAL OFFICE

\* SEND THEM FALL ADDRESSES

\* SEND THEM MONEY

\* WRITE TO THEM