

SDS BULLETIN

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MAY 1964

ORGANIZATION'S DIRECTION TO BE FOCUS OF JUNE

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER

from a C.O.F.O. release

A multi-phased effort by civil rights organizations in Mississippi will be one of the highlights of activity in the U.S. this summer. Much of this effort will build around electoral politics in this important election year, though education, recreation, relief, and legal problems will be carried on also.

But the main thrust of the Freedom Summer will be political, to include the following aspects:

1. Campaigns for Congressional office by four Negroes running on the Freedom Democratic Party ticket. They will oppose incumbents in the June 2 primary and will run independently in November if they lose then. Three are running for House positions and one for the seat of Senator Stennis.

(cont. on page 26)

CONVENTION

by Todd Gitlin

For a while now I have been wondering how to use this space to announce SDS's 1964 Convention. It is not easy to peel the excitement of this impending occasion onto paper.

The first session of the Convention will begin Thursday evening, June 11; events will run through the evening of Sunday the 14th, and possibly over into Monday. Each of you will soon receive a printed announcement and tentative agenda, further copies of which are available from the National Office. The site will be the same as (cont. on page 24)

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attention bulletin readers!

This summer will be an exciting and eventful one for SDS and for activists generally. You know of the ERAP summer projects in northern and border state cities; an article above describes the important Mississippi Freedom Summer -- while a momentous and possibly violent summer awaits the civil rights movement South and North; National Secretary Elect Clark Kissinger plans to encourage chapter organizing where possible; the National Convention and ERAP Institute will produce important results; the National political Conventions will be a focus for activity and analysis; the NSA Congress will come in late August. These events -- and others around the country -- must be communicated to SDSers -- a coin with two sides:

1. You must let us know where you will be this summer. You will not receive the Bulletin unless you do so, so write the N.O. now. (And let us know your fall address, too.)
2. Write us about activity wherever you are. We want to expand and deepen the section in this Bulletin (pp. 11-15) in which SDS members and friends report on a variety of happenings in their areas which are not SDS chapter activity but with which they are involved or informed. Whatever it is, it will be more significant if others know of it.

Keep in touch -- both ways. It'll be a long, hot summer.

CHAPTER NYU UPTOWN

by John Roberts

By the time this report is published, there should be a flourishing SDS chapter in existence at NYU Uptown. Actually, it will be a part of the Heights Freedom Movement (HFM), of which the Chairman and Sec/Treas are SDS members. The HFM is a reformation of three groups: a previous HFM, the Friends of SNCC, and the civil rights commission of the Heights Christian Ass'n. The statement of principles calls for freedom of inquiry, of active political expression, of full and meaningful employment, from nuclear destruction, and from poverty; and states that freedom for the Negro will not come unless there are basic changes made in all areas of our society.

As it now stands, HFM has about 40-50 members, of which a good number are active. We have five tutors working with the Harlem Education Project and have our own tutorial in the Bronx as well. Some of our members are members of Bronx CORE as well, and we are contemplating becoming active participants in their rent strike. Much of our work has been with "Project Mississippi" (see p. 1), which is our program to support SNCC's Mississippi Summer Project. We will have collected \$600 by the summer and will have at least 4 and possibly 6 or 8 students and faculty members with SNCC during the summer. We are also carrying on a book drive for SNCC.

Seeing that there are only two more weeks of school left, a lot of our plans are for next year. We hope to recruit many freshmen and transfer students by a brochure sent out during the summer. We may also be leading a book discussion during orientation week. We have been invited by the Administration to participate on a panel with Rev. Milton Galamison concerning school integration. A lot of credit is due to one member of our executive committee, who is also in charge of Interfaith activities on campus: he has been spending much time on organizing and taking care of little details and giving us a place to meet. (Mailing address: Heights Freedom Movement, Altschul Religious House, N.Y.U.; Bronx 53, N.Y.)

REPORTS U OF MICHIGAN

VOICE: A final report by Dick Magidoff

In thinking back over this past semester, it is difficult to evaluate VOICE's work and development, especially since I was so close to all that was happening. There were indeed a number of bright spots, but also a repeat of many of the inadequacies and frustrations that have plagued VOICE for its four years of existence (see article on VOICE's history in February Bulletin). When I decided to run for the chairmanship of VOICE last January, I wrote a letter to the membership in which I outlined four major priorities for VOICE. In reviewing the semester, it is useful to refer back to these and to evaluate our activities in terms of whether or not they were fulfilled.

The first priority was the development of VOICE into an active chapter of SDS, perceived as such by the membership and by the campus community. Since VOICE existed for two years before becoming an SDS chapter, many people still did not view VOICE as part of something national and tended to think of VOICE programming as primarily campus-issues-oriented. However, during this semester, I think this was rectified. All new membership recruiting was done on the basis of recruiting people into a national organization, and during the course of the year, the practice of allowing people to join VOICE without joining SDS was dropped. Symbolic of this, perhaps, was the fact that VOICE's major activity of the semester was an "End to Poverty Week", a major educational and fund-raising project which aimed to saturate the campus with educational materials and programs dealing with America's economic problems and with the work of ERAP, and to raise money for ERAP. Films on poverty ("Harvest of Shame" and "Superfluous People") were shown; a panel was held on the relevance of economic issues to the peace, civil rights, and labor movements (speakers were PREP Director Dick Flacks; Frank Joyce, chairman of the Northern Student Movement; and Irving Bluestone, Walter Reuther's administrative assistant); a program featured Joe Chabot telling of his experiences organizing unemployed in Chicago and Stan Nadel of VOICE

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describing his visit to Hazard, Ken. In addition, we held a fund-raising folk concert, sold packets of literature containing SDS working papers on economic problems, put out a special edition of the "VOICE Newsletter" devoted to poverty, successfully solicited the co-sponsorship of other major campus organizations and got them to give contributions; held a fund-raising party for faculty and townspeople; and sent speakers to living units on campus. Because of competition with the major campus extravaganza of the year, the educational programs were not too well attended, and the concert in fact lost money. Nonetheless, we did raise something over \$500 for ERAP, and I think the image of VOICE as part of a national movement was concretized once and for all.

The second priority was that of involving VOICE in a community-oriented organizing project. This did not fare nearly so well. Ann Arbor, being one of the wealthiest cities in the country, hides its problems well. We found ourselves unable to discover a good "organizing handle" in Ann Arbor, primarily because there was no one of us who knew the city and its people well enough to understand what the issues were that people would respond to, nor was there anyone among us who had the required skills for making contact with the people to be organized. Tentative plans are afoot for a survey of Ann Arbor next fall and a review of past research done, so that we can acquire the basic knowledge needed before any serious organizing can be undertaken. But perhaps the biggest problem was that so much of VOICE's energies became tied up in End to Poverty Week that there was little left over to be serious about an organizing project.

The third priority was that of developing a committed, active, and sophisticated group of activists who would carry the day-to-day burden of running VOICE and who would commit their organizational loyalty to SDS and their political loyalty to the "movement". To a certain extent, we were successful in that a particularly active and committed group of students were the mainspring of VOICE during the semester -- but much of this was negated by our inability to achieve a rational organizational division

of labor. Therefore, a lot of energy was wasted, a lot of things were left undone, and there was much frustration. Significantly, an internal education program, which I considered essential for the purpose of getting VOICE people to systematically exchange ideas and develop their understanding of the issues we are concerned with, fell through because of lack of time. And this frustration has been one of VOICE's hallmarks during its entire existence.

Our inability to keep continuous activities going in the face of one major project, and -- more generally -- the degeneration of all VOICE programming into one or two major projects for the semester, has been one of our biggest betes-noires.

The fourth priority was that of maintaining and strengthening VOICE's presence on the campus by running a student government candidates and developing a speaker service for living units and other organizations to disseminate our views on particular issues. We did run candidates (one of four was elected), but the other idea never got off the ground except for a few speakers during End to Poverty Week.

In general, I would sum up by saying that the greatest task facing VOICE, as always, is to become an organization, instead of just an active group. We must develop the skills of dividing talent among different activities so that the whole organization does not become bogged down in one major project. We must learn to be able to provide interested students, who do not wish to devote "full-time" to "extracurricular" activities, with meaningful work on a more limited basis. We must develop a systematic intellectual dialogue within VOICE so that our political discussions do not develop into sessions of mouthing mutually reinforcing slogans. And we must, in the face of great difficulty in the way of a good community organizing project, develop alternative ways of making SDS's national activities and priorities relevant to VOICE's activities (End to Poverty Week was one such project).

In general, the outlook for VOICE is not at all bleak. Next year, there will be a core of young (sophomore and junior) leadership personnel as well as a group of more experienced people (seniors and a few graduate students). All are committed to SDS, all

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are quite committed radicals, all are quite serious about trying to solve the problems I have discussed above. In fact, the most important development during the past semester, which saw a fairly minimal amount of VOICE activity, was the cultivation of a new leadership group which pretty well insures a dynamic VOICE presence on the U. of Michigan campus for at least the next two years.

BALTIMORE

by Charles Vermont

At the moment, the chapter is mobilizing in an effort to reorganize its summer project. Originally the SDS-NSM project was to center around research and community organization in a nine-square block area in one of the worst black ghetto areas in East Baltimore. Similar research and organization was to be done in a nearby white area. It was hoped that the movements would eventually be joined. However, due to internal problems, the NSM is no longer able to be a part of the project. This has necessitated a reduction of the size of the project and a change in staff.

The project is still to be interracial, but it will now center around unemployment; however, research will remain an important part. There are real reasons for focussing on unemployment. The tenant laws in Baltimore almost eliminate the possibility of a rent strike. Second, if this is to be an interracial movement, it might be best to begin with the issue that is most commonly felt by Negroes and Whites. The fact is that the White housing in Baltimore just is not that bad, except for very small and scattered pockets. The other issue would be schools, but since many of the people in the proposed white project area are racists that would be a difficult issue to start with. The Negroes and Whites have a lot more in common on the question of unemployment than they do on housing or schools. The new project will extend over a greater geographical area. This ushers in problems of transportation and the question of where to put an office or offices. Are there to be two offices, one in the black area and one in the white? or is there to be one which is on the edges of both? This question turns into another: Are the movements

to develop separately and merge later? or are they to integrate at the start?

Since a large part of the project's financial support was to have come from NSM, the chapter has formed into committees and is engaged in raising money. It has sponsored a folk concert featuring local talent, and plans to appeal for aid to the academic community and the liberal community in Baltimore.

An anti-Wallace demonstration is being planned for his speaking engagement at Johns Hopkins during his campaign against Democratic Senator Brewster in the Presidential primary. The character of the demonstration has not yet been determined; but since this is the first time that there will have been a demonstration on the campus itself, it should be interesting to watch the responses of the administration, faculty, and students.

SWARTHMORE

by Vernon Grizzard

Political activity in Swarthmore SDS has alternated in the past month between preparations for summer work and our immediate involvement in Chester, Pa. Preparations for the summer include attending the Ann Arbor conference on community organizing as well as fund-raising, assignment of personnel, and preparatory research for the projects in Philadelphia and Chester. These activities have been occupying a larger part of our time as the movement in Chester continues under local initiative.

Unfortunately, we have spent a lot of time in the last few weeks trying to get people out of jail, for the Chester police did not agree with our decision that it is no longer necessary for Swarthmore students to be arrested. This decision was reached only after long debate about how valuable our contribution in jail would be, as opposed to the amount of time taken away from other activities (two different groups of students have spent 6 and 8 days in jail), such as planning and organizing for the summer projects.

The movement demonstrated almost nightly in Chester from March 27 to April 24. Hundreds of people marched downtown each night, a boycott was called, over 400 people were arrested, countless demonstrators were

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beaten by police. All this followed in the wake of an alliance between Stanley Branche's Committee for Freedom Now (CFFN) and the NAACP, on the school issue. The unfaltering alliance of the police, the city administration, the judicial structure, and the business community against the movement has made us acutely aware of several problems the movement now faces in Chester, and may face this summer in other cities.

The first problem is one of power politics: mass demonstrations and even arrests have not been enough to win a solid victory. Those who hold power in the city have learned (since our demonstrations in November) to wield that power effectively and brutally, and the movement has not been able to counteract it. One attempt to develop new tactics was a spontaneous hit-and-run demonstration on April 18 in which two intersections were blocked until police arrived, whereupon demonstrators dispersed to avoid arrests. Two Chester residents and a Swarthmore student (Johnny Bancroft) were arrested, however. This tactic requires careful planning to minimize danger, and is only a first effort to channel into effective political action the bitterness and hostility of young men and women whose energies are largely absorbed by gangs and random scrapes with the police.

A second problem is one of program. The movement is demanding that the school board act to alleviate the problems of Negroes in Chester's school system, which is largely segregated by housing patterns. We would be moving from a position of greater power, however, if we had a specific program which we were demanding that the school board institute. The Swarthmore students are working right now to have such a plan ready for possible negotiations; this is a real and lasting contribution which we as students can make.

A third problem concerns the relation of the movement to different elements of the community. Within the Negro community, the older and more "respectable" elements have been uneasy as some new elements of the Negro community -- notably the unemployed young men, mostly gang members -- have been attracted to the movement. The question of how the movement will relate to groups out-

side the Negro community (i.e. union members on strike, unemployed Puerto Ricans, unorganized workers at a big plant, economically insecure whites) has been raised by recent events. But most of our attention has been given only to the reactions of whites who feel threatened and who have organized in defense of neighborhood schools.

Developments in the movement have brought several problems specifically to Swarthmore SDS members. Two students were recently beaten by white citizens of Chester, and police have been heard to yell, "There's another of those Swarthmore fuckers!" In addition to general hostility, Swarthmore students have been subject to extensive red-baiting. A politician in a neighboring town based his campaign on baiting Swarthmore students as Communists (he lost), and several times a week we are denounced as Communists and outside agitators on a Chester open-mike radio program, as well as in the local press.

A second issue which has confronted our chapter has been the relationship of violence to social change. Negroes in Chester have struck at police and white toughs, and a number of people on both sides have been hurt. Some of us feel that violence can be valuable as a defense, while others feel that we should discourage it whenever possible. While consensus has not been reached on this question, most of the group feels that the summer project should find ways to include in the movement those whose response to their problems often takes the form of random violence.

OBERLIN

by Tim Craine

Oberlin College is known for having held the first mock convention in the nation's history (1860), and as a result the mock convention tradition has stuck. This year conservatives had planned to "take over the campus" through the "indoctrination" of participants in the GOP mock convention and the demise of political activity on the left. To their surprise, this semester has seen liberal-left political activity at a height as students have refused to abandon legitimate concerns for the sake of "playing games" with mock convention.

Oberlin students have organized a national

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Action Against Apartheid movement to bring about changes in U.S. policy toward South Africa. The first major project was a conference-demonstration on April 10-11 in Washington, D.C., which was attended by over 200 students from 27 colleges. The organization, which will continue an educational campaign to bring pressure to bear on the US government, is sponsored by NSA, SDS, Campus, ADA, and civil rights and religious organizations. An excellent set of working papers and other information is available from African Freedom Day Action Against Apartheid, 153 E. College St., Oberlin, Ohio.

Another group at Oberlin has raised clothing and money for Hazard, Ken. A group of 13 was sent to the Hazard Conference and returned dedicated to continuing Oberlin's support for the miners.

Several Oberlin students are planning to participate in ERAP projects this summer. Another group is already laying the foundations for the Cleveland ERAP project. In co-operation with a group from Western Reserve U. (located in Cleveland), they are doing preliminary survey work in the white community of the near west side where the project will take place.

Oberlin is also involved in the May 4 primary elections. Students are supporting 32-year old Oberlinian Don Pease, a strong civil rights advocate, for the Democratic nomination for State Senator.

The college civil rights group (NAACP) is serving as a co-ordination center for the COFO Mississippi project (see p. 1). In addition, an employment service is being established to locate jobs for Negroes in Lorain County.

In civil rights, the biggest project this semester was the Cleveland school boycott of April 20. After earlier demands by the United Freedom movement (an alliance of CORE, NAACP, and many other Negro groups) had led to the integration of schools to which Negro children had been transported (due to overcrowded conditions), the School Board pushed through plans for three new schools in Negro neighborhoods to relieve the integrated bussed schools. A boycott

was called to protest the construction of these de facto segregated schools, and that day Freedom Schools were held in churches and community centers. The boycott was 90 per cent effective and over half of those who boycotted attended the Freedom Schools to learn about Negro history, the c.r. movement, etc. 170 Oberlin college and townspeople served as teachers at the freedom schools.

The Activist, affiliated with SDS, is the nation's fastest growing student publication. Edited by Oberlin students, the quarterly has now become a 96-page issue with a photography section. In addition, at least four supplements (student papers) are sent to subscribers. Subscriptions are \$2/year from: The Activist, Box 4, Oberlin, Ohio.

Oberlin SDS members are working for the success of all these activities. A formal SDS chapter at Oberlin has not been established. Many Oberlin SDS members feel that diversity of activity is healthy and ultimately involves more people in whatever concern they are most attracted to. We have tried to steer clear of a single organization dominated by an SDS elite. By working together, the many groups (AFDAAA, YDs, Hazard Comm., NAACP, ERAP, Oberlin Peace Center, Activist, PSL, SPU) have been able to relate issues without creating a monolithic structure.

U OF MARYLAND

by Richard Ochs

Our month-old chapter has jumped in with both feet by starting a community development and organization project. So far, Baltimore NSM Staff members Eric Craven and Carolyn White have spoken, and we sent a representative to the Ann Arbor conference on community organizing and economic issues. Our project will be called UNITY (Urban Neighborhood Improvement Through Youth) and will be carried on in co-operation with Prince George's County CORE. Already we have jointly acquired an office in the depressed area of Cedar Heights and have done some work on voter registration and polio vaccination.

Cedar Heights is a Negro community of about 600 located less than one mile east of Washington, D.C. within the bounds of Prince George's County, Md. It is zoned

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residential, but since it is unincorporated it is treated as a rural area (that is, ignored) by the County Commissioners and government agencies. Only two of its nine streets are paved, the others being in such a muddy and pot-holed condition as to be impassable in the winter. In the past, fire engines and ambulances have been unable to get through in emergencies. There is no garbage collection and residents are forced to bury or pile their garbage in vacant lots, thereby creating unhealthy conditions. Thirty percent of the people do not have running water or indoor toilet facilities. Many of the homes are wooden shanties or old frame houses, and constitute fire traps. There are no recreational facilities and the schools are, of course, totally segregated. We are told that this is the most blighted area in the county.

On May 2, a dozen of our group joined with about 30 kids of all ages from Cedar Heights and a few adults from the community to begin the transformation of a large lot from a virtual jungle filled with junk to a recreation area. Still left to be done are filling in a large hold and cutting the grass. Since the decision was made by the kids to have a basketball court and a playground, courts will have to be paved and equipment installed. The afternoon was an inspiring experience; the esprit de corps was great and the kids worked enthusiastically all day. Next Saturday (May 9), we will return to finish the preparatory work.

On May 11, some of us will be travelling to Cambridge to greet Gov. Wallace, who will be campaigning there that day. And we're mimeoing a regular chapter newsletter.

On April 16, we sponsored a folk concert by Hedy West and collected \$175 for the Hazard miners. We are now in the middle of a campus protest to get the administration to remove any reference to race on University admission forms.

U OF LOUISVILLE

by Jim Williams

Student Social Action (SSA; an SDS affiliate) has been busy sending people to conferences and readying itself for the summer ERAP project in Louisville. We are estab-

lishing a Louisville SDS-ERAP office at 715 Columbia Bldg. and hope to steal some furniture soon. Two Louisville people, Bill Dady and Jim Williams, attended the Ann Arbor conference on community organizing and the National Council meeting. The same two have also been active with the Southern Student Organizing Committee (see p. 12), hopping back and forth from Nashville to Atlanta.

SSA controlled the West Virginia delegation at the Mock Republican Convention at UL. We tried to get progressive planks in the platform -- a couple on peace and disarmament, one advocating the overthrow of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, and several civil rights planks. Jim Williams delegation chairman, got standing ovations at points for his militant speeches.

On Friday, April 24, SSA picketed Alabama Gov. Wallace in his press conference at the Kentucky Hotel in Louisville. We carried signs saying, "Wallace: Where are the killers of the Birmingham Children?", "This all-American city wants no part of George Wallace", "Wallace is a fascist butcher", etc. We also got a couple of people into the press conference itself (with Southern Patriot cards) and fired nasty questions at him and kept him pretty well flustered. He said that civil rights demonstrations in Alabama were caused by "Communists from Kentucky".

Future speakers include Anne Braden, author of the new pamphlet, "HUAC: Bulwark of Segregation"; Raya Dunayevskaya of "News and Letters" and former personal secretary of Leon Trotsky; and Louisville Congressional candidate Norbert Blume; as well as several films.

SSA also plans to picket the Kentucky Derby.

U OF TEXAS

by Jeffrey Shero

The trees are in bloom and so seems the SDS chapter here in Texas. Since our inception at the beginning of this semester, we have been the most active political organization in the area. Our membership has grown to forty, and we are now sought out for participation in most progressive endeavors around the campus.

Our featured attraction during the last

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month was Mark Lane, Lee Oswald's attorney, who spoke to an audience of 700 and then joined a panel discussion featuring Murray Kempton of the New Republic. The initial audience reaction to Mr. Lane was muted hostility, which sometimes emerged into hisses when there were disparaging comments made about Dallas, District Attorney Wade, or the quality of the police work.

Well into his thorough presentation, the temper of the crowd turned to shock, caused by the virtual proof that Oswald couldn't have committed the crime. The questions afterward stretched to midnight, making the four-hour program the longest in memory. The impact is shown by the fact that a sorority girl who won the D.A.R. award in high school wrote a letter to the newspaper demanding to know the "facts".

Murray Kempton, who admitted that he had not wanted to consider the evidence previously because of its implications, said that he would now investigate the subject. He also had castigating words for the press' failure to investigate the assumption of Oswald's guilt. Mark Lane, who had been called by friends in New York asking him not to come to Texas because it wasn't safe, was very pleased with the reaction here.

SDS sent three delegates to Atlanta where a SNCC planning session was held to discuss the formation of a Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC; see p. 12). This committee would have a newspaper and campus travellers, and would attempt to interconnect the liberal students throughout the south. The purpose would be to temper reaction to civil rights activity, have a pool to draw talent from, and to establish bases for organizing.

We suggested that SDS already existed, and that it could be very well adapted to the needs of the south. This idea didn't meet with great favor, but from contact and travels it seems that with effort SDS could become very strong in the border states and possibly gain a toehold in the deep south. Its northern character is the primary deterrent to acceptability; it seems that even some southern radicals have been seeped with regional chauvinism.

Irish Matthews discussed the problems of labor organizing at one of our local meetings. We have established connection now with the local labor movement, and it seems that they may help us financially next fall. The best story coming out of the meeting was this: It was charged that an unspecified local laundry was paying workers 15¢/hour. A week later the Laundry and Dry-cleaners association issued a righteous and indignant statement: "There is no laundry in Austin paying its employees less than 42¢/hour."

SDS has held two debates with YAF, one on American foreign policy and Cuba, and the other on civil rights. It's been noted that now there are always more "libs" than "yaf-nics" at YAF meetings, and that our opposition has ground their movement to a clinking halt.

Civil rights activity in Austin, primarily conducted by NAACP, has featured a fillibuster-in. Civil rights forces had been tying up city business by constantly addressing the city council on the need for racial progress. This effort ended finally with a wall of policemen surrounding the city council and forcibly ejecting the demonstrators. The police are highly frustrating, however, because they refuse to arrest demonstrators -- they are following a plan not to ruin Austin's outstanding "image"! The efforts gained widespread publicity, however (five minutes of Huntley Brinkley), and have prompted the council to negotiate for a public accommodations ordinance.

At an SDS meeting, Rev. Wesley Sims suggested that demonstrations during President Johnson's visit (during U.T. commencement exercises) would be an effective display to the nation that Austin's problems remain unsolved. This provoked great publicity and brought a speedy denial from the NAACP-headquarters in Dallas. There are no demonstrations in sight, but it would be a good bet that the vacuum will be filled and that protests will occur during his visit. The plan will probably be demonstrations directed at businesses with slogans such as "Segregation is Embarrassing LBJ -- Today". And indeed it will.

Three chapter members, Charles Smith, Robert Pardun, and Judy Shiffer, are working in the SNCC Mississippi project this summer. Robert and Charles will likely work in the pilot white community organizing project.

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REED

by Jeremy Brecher

Three days of demonstrations against the McCarran Act, occasioned by the visit of the Subversive Activities Control Board to Portland, were the focus of student political activity here at Reed this month. About 300 Reed students and 100 others demonstrated the first day, with smaller groups continuing the picket line throughout the hearings.

The demonstrators were well disciplined and well organized. They caused two local papers to come out editorially against the Act -- though one did so on the grounds that the Smith Act really did the job well enough. Protests against strongly biased TV coverage the first day resulted in very objective coverage for the rest of the demonstrations. A rally on the first day was addressed by a Reed professor and a Democratic State Legislator. Coverage by Portland's semi-monopoly press played up the "beat-nick" image.

A small student demonstration was also held protesting U.S. involvement in Vietnam, sponsored by the campus peace group. About a dozen students participated.

A group of students working out of SDS are setting up a state-wide summer student migrants project. The objective is to bring college students throughout the state, especially those from campuses with little or no political activity, into contact with the realities of the "other America". Tutoring, voter registration, community development, and similar programs around the state will use students on a primarily part time basis. We hope to involve anywhere from 50 to 150 students. Recruiting has begun at the state's two largest campuses -- the U. of Oregon and Oregon State U. -- and will soon be going on at several others. The program is being backed and financed by a group of adult liberals concerned with migrant problems.

Another project in which we are co-operating is the establishment of a committee of Portland high school students on youth employment, for which we may be organizing a conference at the beginning of the summer. There is a need for such a group to serve

as a direct pressure group on city, county, and state agencies concerned with this problem, and to make long-range proposals for solutions to it.

U OF OKLAHOMA

by Jim Russell

UO's Board of Regents has made two very satisfactory decisions as far as SDS here is concerned. In the first, a non-discriminatory clause was written into the contract that landlords must sign in order to rent to underage students. In the second, compulsory ROTC was abolished. This has been an especially sore issue which SDS members have dramatized by such actions as picketing, refusing to pay ROTC fees, and refusing to sign the required loyalty oath.

With these two major issues out of the way, we will probably concentrate on having state and federal funds removed from the segregated fraternities (which means all of them).

As this is being written, preparations are being made for an SDS-sponsored lecture by Mark Lane, attorney for Lee Harvey Oswald. A turnout of 300-400 is expected. I might add that we are establishing an important precedent at this university, since heretofore no organized group would have even considered bringing Mr. Lane to campus.

Off-campus, Tulsa, Okla. has erupted with full-scale sit-ins; SDS members have been among those arrested. We are keeping in contact with the Tulsa CORE leaders and are planning weekends around aiding the demonstrations.

In 1921, one of the worst race riots of the century occurred in Tulsa. The official death toll was thirty, but unofficial counts as high as 300 were reported. In 1946, a U. of Tulsa student wrote that race relations had so improved in Tulsa since the riot that the city was a model in the field. In early April of this year, more than 160 Negroes and whites were arrested in civil rights demonstrations.

The focus of activity has been a public accommodations ordinance. A year ago a Mayor's council was appointed to study racial discrimination and make recommendations for its removal. The council's study was

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helped by documentation by the youth section of the local NAACP; and when one of the two local papers denied the need for such an ordinance, the NAACP "tested" Tulsa restaurants and found that one-third of them refused service to Negroes. The paper refused, however, to print stories about the test cases.

The Mayor's council recommended to the City Commission that the ordinance be passed. However, the Commission was in a bind, especially in an election year, since a great part of Tulsa's power structure resented the proposed ordinance (e.g. the newspapers). The Commission's way out was to declare open accommodations the official policy of the city but to provide no penalty for non-observance of that policy.

This decision was, of course, a disappointment to the ordinance's backers, for it would allow the disgraceful situation to be perpetuated. The NAACP then attempted to demonstrate the absurdity of the provisions by completely swamping the newly appointed council (which was to mediate problems of discrimination if they should arise) with complaints. At this point, Negroes became impatient with the tactics of the theocratic NAACP and Tulsa Council of Churches, who had been the leaders of the movement. These leaders had made an all-out effort to achieve the desired civil rights through moderation and working within the community structure and had utterly failed. Now different leaders of the Negro community met to consider new strategy; eventually, this group affiliated with CORE. Since moderation had not been allowed to work, it was decided that nonviolent direct action was necessary.

In early April, at the time of an NAACP-sponsored protest parade, CORE sat-in at Bordan's Cafeterias, the staunchest of the integration foes. Six more sit-ins were held by the end of the week. By April 20, 160 had been arrested.

The results of the direct action have been promising: to date, 22 of the former segregated restaurants have notified CORE that they have integrated rather than face sit-ins.

Those who have been arrested face charges of trespassing and, if convicted, could be fined a maximum of \$20. The defense will contend that those arrested could not have been trespassing if the city policy was that all restaurants should be integrated.

The news coverage has been virtually nil, in accordance with the two papers' hostility to the civil rights cause. Scant notice has been given to the arrest of 160 of the city's citizens. However, out-of-town papers gave the demonstrations front-page coverage throughout the first week.

My own arrest (my first) was marked by considerable police roughness, if not overt brutality.

It will be interesting to see what steps the city government will take to assure that stages of the movement are not met with violence by foes, since discrimination in restaurants only represents one small segment of the total problem of racial bigotry in Tulsa.

N.O. NOTES

The wake of the National Council meeting saw the National Office somewhat shaken up. National Secretary Lee Webb was summarily summoned by his draft board and told to find an alternative service job (he's a conscientious objector) right away or face jailing. This removed him from the N.O. Ass't National Secretary Don McKelvey has moved to Ann Arbor till the summer, whence he continues to edit the SDS Bulletin and will work for the Peace Research and Education Project. Field Secretary Steve Max, who has been in the N.O. this spring, was named Acting National Secretary by Pres. Todd Gitlin; and former Swarthmorian Mike Gallantz was added to the National Staff to help in preparations for the Convention. Walt Jonas and Doug Ireland continue to work in the N.O. -- but we still need as much volunteer help as we can find, especially between now and the Convention.

An exciting project is awaiting SDS members who find themselves in NYC over the summer. Be sure to contact the N.O. about it immediately after the Convention. It's a surprise!

SDS CORRESPONDENTS' REPORTS

BOWLING GREEN, KEN.

by Ron Mayhew and Bob Potter

An organization of students interested in civil rights was recently formed in Bowling Green, Ken. This group of college and, to some extent, high school students calls itself United Students for Social Action (USSA). The idea for founding the group occurred to participants in the March 5 March on Frankfort (see March and April Bulletins) as they returned from the demonstration. At following meetings, officers were elected, a constitution adopted, and the possibility of recognition by Western Kentucky State College discussed.

One of our first actions upon returning was to try to obtain that recognition. However, the college, the second largest liberal arts college in the state, denied us recognition because the administration feared the controversy that might develop from any of our actions. Thus, USSA is now organized as a community group and has wider freedom of action and potential support and membership than it would had it become a recognized college group.

USSA had planned a boycott against segregated restaurants largely patronized by students; however, this is being postponed until after a meeting of restaurant owners with the mayor and city council. USSA observers will sit in on this meeting. Motels, hotels, and affiliated restaurants have already desegregated by similar action of the city council and mayor.

At present, we have three representatives with the Southern Students Organizing Committee (see p. 12), which will be working with SNCC on southern campuses. Contacts have also been made with groups all over the state, such as SDS, CADA, SNCC, and many others. Jim Williams, of the U. of Louisville, deserves credit for his invaluable aid to USSA in making possibly many of these contacts.

Future plans involve recruiting more students into the movement, planning action against segregation wherever it exists in this area -- particularly as it applies to students --, testing of announced desegre-

gation in Bowling Green, and appropriate action where necessary to aid and work in any civil rights movements at a state or national level, and perhaps later attempts at extending civil liberties in such other areas as free speech and campus reform.

CHICAGO

by Sarah Murphy, U of Chicago

I. In the Democratic Primary Election in the First Congressional District, incumbent Congressman Dawson defeated Sammy Rayner by over 2-1 (45,000 votes to 20,000). This can in many ways be considered a victory, since Dawson runs a very tight political machine. The only defeat that this machine has taken was in the second school boycott, when, against the ardent opposition of Dawson's machine and the city's six Negro Alderman (2 of whom are from Dawson's district), 75 percent as many children stayed out of school as had in the first boycott, which had been supported by the machine.

The vote gotten by Rayner was mainly in the middle class sections of the District, both because he didn't have sufficient organization in the other districts and because of the coercion and vote-stealing that the machine applies in working class Negro districts. Nonetheless, some public housing precincts were carried by Rayner, and inroads were made in others. Rayner had support from certain segments of the civil rights movements (e.g. Friends of SNCC), but not sufficient support to organize in many precincts.

The election demonstrates that the Chicago Democratic Machines (the main block to any major changes in the City) is not invulnerable, although it cannot as yet be beaten. The results of this election, and the second school boycott, may force the Machine to act on civil rights issues, since it sees it no longer completely controls the Negro populace.

The election also shows that there will be a large fight in the district when Dawson dies. (It is extremely unlikely that he will be beaten at any time.) This is all pure speculation. I sometimes think the Chicago Machine is so entrenched that nothing will force it to move. (more)

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II. Five students at Hyde Park High School (near the U. of Chicago) were suspended for passing out or being accused of passing out leaflets criticizing the school administration and the quality of the education offered at Hyde Park High. All five, one of whom simply had a leaflet in his possession, are members of SWAP, the local NSM project. The students have since gone back to school, one (originally expelled) because of a telegram to the school from Alderman Despres (an Independent Alderman from Hyde Park, the area around the U of C, and the most liberal alderman in Chicago), and the others because the terms of their suspensions expired. Two parents' groups have visited the school, but nothing has happened.

Another leaflet, describing the incident, is being prepared for handing out outside the school. The leafleters will make sure that each student only gets one leaflet so that if anyone is suspended, it will be a clear violation of his rights. The case is now in the hands of the ACLU, who are fighting to have the suspensions erased from the students' records.

This is the first open incident in the long hostility of the Hyde Park High School Administration to SWAP. All five of the suspended students were Negroes; white students involved in passing out or having leaflets were only chastised.

III. POLIT, a political party on campus, swept back into power in Student Government (SG) in the undergraduate college. Gnosis, the other party, which ousted POLIT last year, still holds a plurality of SG seats in the entire University, but POLIT has a majority (10-3) of College seats. POLIT was ousted from power in the fall of 1962, when the POLIT SG members, then a majority, released a statement condemning the Cuba blockade. Since POLIT then claimed to speak for all students at UC, and a majority did not favor the statement, all POLIT representatives but one were ousted in a recall vote. Since then POLIT has been largely inactive.

POLIT's resurgence of strength in SG should increase the amount of debate on campus; it has been totally absent this past year. POLIT plans to do a large part of its work

outside SG in the coming year.

IV. Several organizations on the UC campus sponsored a 91 percent effective boycott of the New Dorms cafeteria in protest of the Board contract to be instituted in the dorm next year. The objections were based on these facts: the food will be way overpriced at \$1.75 per meal; the contract will serve to segregate New Dorm residents from the rest of the College; and students were not consulted before the contract was announced. At the moment the student organizations active in the boycott are fighting for a compromise meal contract of six, instead of thirteen, meals per week. The sponsors of the action cover the political range of organizations on campus.

ORGANIZING SO. WHITE STUDENTS

by Sue Thrasher

On the weekend of April 3-5, forty-five students from approximately fifteen predominantly white campuses gathered here in Nashville. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss common problems and needs of social action groups on such campuses, and to establish lines of closer communications among them.

It was determined that action, ranging from moderate to radical, is taking place on many such campuses, and that students are interested in other issues as well as civil rights -- such as poverty, unemployment, peace, civil liberties, academic freedom, etc. The felt need for a co-ordinating structure to service all these groups resulted in the formation of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). A six-point program, broad enough to encompass all types of social action Southern students have been involved in or may be challenged by, was adopted for further study by a Continuations Committee composed of campus representatives. The six areas SSOC will direct itself toward are:

1. Campus service and educational programs. This will include educational programs on Negro deprivation, economic issues, political change, university reform, and disarmament as well as action projects, a special newsletter and other special educational materials.

2. Opportunities for democratic participation in the Movement by more Southern stu-

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dents through special workshops and conferences.

3. Education and promotion of a range of roles students can play in helping the Movement.
4. Resources for organizing projects at the coalition level in both lower class Negro and white communities.
5. Education and promotion of employment opportunities for summer and full-time work in community organizing.
6. Information about and support for new kinds of liberal-left political coalitions and integrated-issue political campaigns.

A statement issued by the conference said, in part: "The freedom movement for an end to segregation inspires us all to make our voices heard for a beginning of a true democracy in the South for all people... We, as young Southerners, hereby pledge to take our stand now together here to work for a new order, a new South, a place which embodies our ideals for all the world to emulate, not ridicule. We find our destiny as individuals in the south in our hopes and our work together as brothers."

On April 19, the Continuations Committee met with the Executive Committee of SNCC to establish some kind of working relationship. A committee was set up to discuss a co-ordinated program between SSOC and SNCC. It was decided that immediate goals that could be accomplished would be the development of educational materials and a newsletter.

Another meeting of SSOC will be held on May 9th to determine SSOC's future direction. It is hoped that by September some kind of structured program will be in operation to service local campus groups.

LOS ANGELES

from a report by Ellen Estrin, UCLA

A California state Fair Housing Law was recently passed (the Rumford Act; see April Bulletin); now the right wing, backed to the hilt by the Calif. Real Estate Ass'n,

is trying to invalidate it by a constitutional amendment against civil rights legislation. At UCLA, CORE, ACLU, YDs and others have engaged in a drive against the amendment. In addition, students from Claremont, Compton, East Los Angeles, El Camino, Los Angeles City, Los Angeles State, Long Beach State, and Valley State Colleges have participated in the action.

Most of our efforts have been directed toward registering voters in minority communities in Los Angeles' ghettos in order to pull a large Negro vote in November against the amendment. We got over 100 students out on each of four different weekends -- an impressive number here -- to go house to house persuading people to register. Since we tied ourselves up with two good men -- Negro councilmen -- we were able to get registrars to follow us and register people at their homes the very day we talked to them. We ended up with over 2800 new names on the rolls, quite a sizable number. Now the registration period has ended, until the June primaries, so we are going to change our goals to leafletting the areas and just talking to people generally about the Rumford Act and civil rights. Also, there is to be an unemployment march in the Negro community of Avolon in the beginning of May. Hopefully we will be helping to make people aware of that in our house to house talking. The major achievement of this drive, as far as the campus is concerned, was the involvement of so many students who heretofore had only spoken, not acted, their commitment. Moreover, CORE was joined by the campus YDs, ACLU, Platform, YWCA; and some kids from the religious groups.

So things here look better than they have for a long time. The Rumford Initiative, as it is called -- i.e. the proposed constitutional amendment -- is extremely important to us, and to the rest of the country. This summer, for those staying in Los Angeles at school or jobs, we are going to have our own Southern California Freedom Summer. Hopefully, we will get commitments from 500 college students to work against the segregation amendment. As usual, the right-wingers are pouring money into our lovely state and have been quite vocal in their orations about sacred property rights, mother, and the flag. All hidden Dixiecrat sentiments are creeping out of our southern Californians' hearts. The campus right wingers have formed a group which has been

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quite racist in their attacks on CORE and the Rumford Act generally. They form a large portion of the Young Republicans on campus, all six of them.

Much excitement was felt here over the San Francisco demonstrations at the Sheraton (see April Bulletin). Quietly we picketed the Sheraton in downtown Los Angeles, and since the San Francisco experience had scared the hotel owners down here, we won an agreement from the Los Angeles Hotel Ass'n without having to carry our demonstrations on past one night. The action was started by an Ad Hoc Committee, made up mostly of campus CORE and DuBois Club members, and then backed by L.A. CORE, NAACP, and the United Civil Rights Comm. That is what we gain from being down the state from that hot-bed of radicalism, San Francisco. They do the work, we win along with them.

HAZARD, KEN.

by George Goss

I'm beginning to collect information and statements concerning the school lunch program, which to the best of my knowledge is a program of furnishing free school lunches to children whose parents are unable to pay (unemployed, underemployed, derelict, or disabled) for the lunch which the school provides. Here this spring several schools (including Combs elementary school; two weeks ago) began denying food to children previously getting it. The children were told they would have to buy their lunches now because the money for the program had run out (not true unless it ran into some pocket) or they could stay after school was out in June and work off their "debt". Some parents have been sent bills -- parents whose children were supposed to have been fed from the program. Those schools shut off this spring can be lumped in with those who throughout the year have not had the program of free lunches or have made it available on a discriminatory basis.

The determination of need is usually left up to the principal and there are no stated criteria. Some publicity circulated here might have the effect of stating criteria, but it is almost too late in the school year to organize parents together effectively. The children who have been kept

out of school because of money could not go back and catch up in their work in time; however, meetings of the parents might help the kids who have been out of school only a short time and might cause the program to be made available again till the end of the school year.

On retraining: I have talked to about four young men about retraining programs -- one was taking a program, one was promised a spot on the class list, and the other two were refused. I'll be going around with some of the members of the Appalachina Committee for Full Employment to try to find most of those who have signed up or who are eligible to sign up and have been refused.

STANFORD

by Judy Walborn, Stanford U.

The All-West Coast Civil Rights Conference was held April 23-25 at Stanford U. About 700 delegates (including 120 from non-Stanford schools) attended. The Thursday afternoon keynote speech was given by Martin Luther King, Jr.; other key speakers were SNCC's Bob Moses and Prof. Al Wasserstrom, now at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Three types of seminars were held: the first, led by Stanford and other University profs, presented historical, social economic, and political analyses of Mississippi. The second, led by SNCC field workers, dealt with the practical aspects and problems of the Movement in the South and, in particular, in Mississippi. The third is intended to interest and recruit students for work in Mississippi this summer. It is hoped that between 1000 and 2000 West Coast students and faculty members will volunteer to go South for part or all of this summer.

The impressionistic account of the conference by Stanford Daily writer Pell Fender, which is printed below, is really fine; I didn't feel I could improve on it.

HOW'S THE SOUTH? ---IT'S HELL

Martin Luther King, Jr. begins the conference with a speech in which he says he's glad the Bible didn't ask him to "like" his enemy. To love your enemy with a universal love is one thing, but to like Governor Wallace is another.

Robert Moses, speaking on Friday to Dr. McCord's Sociology 60 class, is asked the

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question, "What do you think about interracial marriages?" In his soft-spoken and mild manner, Moses recounts instances in which white babies were born to young Negro girls, he talks about Mississippi's guilt complex over miscegenation. After a few more sentences, Moses can say no more, and there is silence for half a minute. Finally another student asks a question.

A SNCC Field Secretary, spending his three days at a Stanford fraternity, is asked by one of the brothers, "How's the South?" The Field Secretary replies in a Mississippi drawl, "It's hell, man, it's hell."

A Negro and a white are seen walking together toward Cubberley Auditorium just before dark on Friday night. They are talking and laughing in subdued voices. From time to time they sing a freedom song.

Then, with more speeches, and a party, the conference ends. Delegates return to their respective schools, Robert Moses and his Field Secretaries are back in Mississippi, and we're still in our country club, wondering what happened. Somehow, the silence is deafening.

Up until a few days ago, Mississippi was a no-man's land, explored only by people unknown to most of us. Some of us thought them crazy to be fighting the segregationists of Mississippi, others of us thought them heroes. But for a few days Mississippi and her gadflies came alive.

With sympathy, and in some cases, empathy, we tried to understand and to comprehend stories of lynchings, murders, and a thousand other injustices; and we failed to understand, because we're white.

Moses and his workers took back with them our self-assurance that we were doing something. They took back with them a lot of our pride in America. And, perhaps most significantly, they took back with them to Mississippi, our hearts.

For just a moment they got us to see why New York City Negroes pull a stall-in, they got us to see why Negroes face death in order to get one man registered in Greenwood, and they got us to admit to ourselves that we have a commitment, a commitment that

PREP REPORT

by PREP Associate Director Don McKelvey

This year's final issue of the PREP Newsletter will be going out by mid-May. Extra copies of the last issue have been run off and are available in bulk from the PREP office (715 Arch, Ann Arbor, Mich.), as will be copies of the new issue.

At the recent N.C. meeting, PREP Director Dick Flacks suggested that PREP re-direct at least part of its emphasis into research into various aspects of American foreign policy, particularly towards the Third World. This would be an important policy decision, one with which I am in total accord; and the forthcoming Newsletter will both reflect the changing emphasis and seek out the reactions of Newsletter readers to the shift.

Part of the change involves increasing our stock of SDS-written literature on American foreign policy and conditions and developments in other countries. If any SDS member or friend has a paper on any aspect of these subjects, he is urged to send it immediately to PREP for consideration.

IMPORTANT!

PREP is looking for staff members -- especially a Director -- for next year. Anyone who is interested in working on this aspect of the SDS program over the summer and/or next year should apply immediately to Dick Flacks at the PREP office.

The last PREP mailing included an appeal for contributions to sustain PREP over the next months. There is a real danger that the operation will terminate unless support is forthcoming. Even contributions of \$1, \$5, or \$10 go a long way. PLEASE HELP!

goes to universal extremes; and they gave us a chance to drag ourselves down the road of action.

One girl asked what she could do for now. "Give money," was one reply. "Oh, I feel so awful giving money, it does so little." SNCC workers haven't drawn a salary for six weeks; the Student Voice, SNCC's newspaper, hasn't been published for a month.

ERAP REPORT

by Ken McEldowney

As summer grows near, the ERAP staff is feverishly working on projects for the summer, fund-raising, and preparations for the Training Institute. Details follow in more or less outline form:

Fund-Raising: Most attention of the ERAP staff since the Ann Arbor conference has centered on the critical need to raise a substantial sum of money for the community projects. Roughly \$5,000 is needed before June to insure that all the projects are begun and fully staffed. Another \$70,000 is needed for the summer and continuation of the projects for the first year.

Foundations, unions, and individuals have been contacted by mail and phone, and in person. ERAP Director Rennie Davis recently spent a week on the East Coast talking with people who have expressed interest in possible financial support of the project. The need is very great and is one for which everyone committed to the summer projects should feel partly responsible for meeting. Anyone interested in fund-raising should write ERAP for further information, including literature and sample letters. Any chapter who would like a representative from ERAP on campus for fund-raising or speaking purposes should write or call. If given enough advance notice, we can guarantee someone will come. In addition, names of people or organizations that should be contacted as possible contributors should be sent to ERAP (1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Mich.) at once.

Summer Projects: At the present time, summer projects are planned for Chicago; Newark, N.J.; Chester, Pa.; Hazard, Ken.; Baltimore; Louisville, Ken.; Cleveland; and Philadelphia. Pilot work and investigation will take place in Boston and San Diego.

The latest project to become part of ERAP is the Trenton Project for Equality and Opportunity. It "seeks to mobilize community resources for direct and indirect popular action to achieve social justice in the fields of housing, employment, and education." This summer's activity will center on a tutorial project plus action on school redistricting, employment practices of local firms, and public housing policy. "The

main project, however, will seek to organize tenants in the most depressed [Census] tracts to achieve owner's improvements and municipal regulation and service through direct action and court litigation."

Further information and application forms can be obtained for almost all the projects from the ERAP office. A completely up-to-date brochure for the ERAP summer projects is also available in single copies or in bulk from the office.

Conferences: Since the last Bulletin, two highly successful conferences have been held by SDS and ERAP -- in Ann Arbor, on community organizing and economic issues; and in Champaign-Urbana, Ill., on poverty. The latter conference, held by the U. of Illinois chapter in conjunction with the UI YDs, was highly beneficial. The participants came from a number of campuses in the greater Illinois-Wisconsin area. Much interest was stimulated in SDS and ERAP, with the result that 30 to 40 new members joined.

Training Institute: On June 6-11, immediately preceding the SDS Convention, ERAP will hold a training institute for the participants in the summer projects. A discussion of general goals and values will lead into specific workshops dealing with the various project sites. The Institute's emphasis will be preparation and training for the summer. Although a consideration of our explicit long- and short-term goals will be a key part of the activity, the major emphasis will be on the development of specific skills.

A special set of working papers is being compiled which includes many of the papers from the Ann Arbor conference and past SDS literature plus a number of papers dealing with skills and an analysis of what our summer activity means both in personal and movement terms. It is essential that anyone who plans to work in one of the city projects this summer attend the institute.

AVAILABLE FROM SNCC

Striking black-and-white posters about 14" x 22"; \$1 each. A bumper sticker imprinted "One Man, One Vote"; green and white on black; \$1; very sharp. For info or order, write: SNCC, 8 1/2 Raymond St, Atlanta, Ga.

NAT'L STAFF NEEDED

One of the most important actions taken by the National Council during its April 13-15 meeting was the election of C. Clark Kissinger as National Secretary (to assume office in June after the National Convention). Although in the past the National Secretary has been elected at the N.C. following the Convention, it was felt that SDS had progressed to the point where it needs a National Secretary Elect to select a national staff, to plan a national program to implement the N.C. and Convention decisions and to familiarize himself with the national operations prior to assuming office. Only in this way can there be an effective continuity in the functioning of the National Office.

In appointing Clark as National Secretary Elect, the N.C. mandated him to prepare recommendations for the June N.C. meeting concerning staff and programming. In order to carry out this mandate, Clark will soon be visiting many SDS chapters and members in various parts of the country both to interview potential staff members and to elicit suggestions on how the National Office might better serve the organization.

A number of staff positions will be open both for the summer and for the entire year. People will be needed in full-time capacities to edit the Membership and Discussion Bulletins, manage the publications program, service chapters by in-depth correspondence from the National Office, and to travel to campuses in both the North and South both to service existing chapters and to organize new ones. Full time staff will also be needed at this year's National Student Congress.

This summer, and during the coming year, SDS is embarking on its most ambitious programming to date. But programming depends on people. Each and every member is encouraged to consider joining the SDS staff to help bring our programs to fruition. If you are interested, please write immediately to Clark Kissinger, 1114 St. James Ct, Madison, Wis. (after 6/1 to the N.O.). Please enclose a resume of your experience and interests; comments on operation of the National Office would also be appreciated.

Obtain "HUAC--Bulwark of Segregation" from Nat'l Comm. to Abolish HUAC, Box 74757, L.A. 4, Cal. By Anne Braden, editor of Southern Conf. Education Fund's Southern Patriot.

STATEMENT OF STUDENT COMMITTEE TO SEND MEDICAL AID TO THE FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM

We students condemn the US government's intervention in the affairs of Vietnam. We condemn the use of Vietnam as a testing ground for US weapons and tactics. We do not accept the government's excuse that the conflict in South Vietnam is the result of Communist invasion from North Vietnam. We believe that the conflict in South Vietnam is an internal struggle between oppressors and oppressed, between the U.S.-sponsored dictatorial regimes and the victims of these regimes. We believe that the Liberation National Front, composed of the indigenous people of South Vietnam who have united to combat the abuses they have suffered from the U.S. and its placemen, fights a just struggle and ministers to wounds unjustly inflicted. To it we offer medical supplies purchased with our money. We realize that this money is negligible when compared to the more than one million dollars daily which the U.S. uses against these people -- without the consent of the American people, who might direct this money against domestic poverty rather than foreign populations. Our small contribution is intended as a dramatic protest aimed at making our stand clear and public. For Americans to know of our action and its motivation is for them to see the lies we are opposing and the injustices. We demand the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. We ask that the people of Vietnam be granted free elections, democratic rule without foreign intervention or threats, foreign aid without foreign control. They have been the victims of atrocity in war, despotism and imperialism in politics, poverty and colonialism in economics. Their crops have been poisoned, their freedoms abolished, their men tortured, their women raped, and their children maimed. We ask other American citizens to join us in condemning the United States for its guilt in the unjust treatment of the Vietnamese people and to support us in our demand that the United States withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

Address inquiries to the Committee at Box 40, Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.

Cuba costs the Soviet Union \$350,000/day;
So. Vietnam costs the US \$1,500,000/day.

JIM WILLIAMS REFLECTIONS OF A SOUTHERN HILLBILLY SDSER

Al Haber's "Reply to the President's Report" in the March SDS Bulletin raised many important and relevant criticisms. I might begin by saying that SDS has been hindered by lack of such types of criticisms in the past. One can cite two years of experience without witnessing any real argument, save a few comments on the New York newspaper strike and the Kornish-Max debates over a third party. I think that the lack of debate has often been due to the general bewilderment over what SDS was doing and thinking, i.e. that there was seldom much that one could get his teeth into. SDS thinking previously has been an overdose of all-things-to-all-people and general vagueness. After all, previously all SDS had done was to endorse "local insurgency" -- whatever that is.

Now, right from the first, like Haber, I have no disagreement with the new ERAP policy of going into the black and white ghettos and beginning the development of people's organizations which would fight for jobs and income, to fight the stifling conditions of the ghetto and all the vile aspects of segregation. This is Good. Amen.

The problem, though, it seems to me, is that the tail is now wagging the dog in SDS. A fairly good community-oriented project has ceased to become that. Instead, SDS is now little else than an adjunct of these projects. What SDS programs are available to the campus? What SDS programs exist for normal, average, rank-and-file undergraduates?

One can quickly point to the PREP program as a campus program. Yet, this seems to be a largely irrelevant project from here. As usual, research has pushed out education. Instead of being a program which educates large numbers of students about war/peace problems, PREP is now, seemingly, a small network of graduate student intellectuals doing research into God knows what. It is hardly the mass program it was intended to be -- or should be.

It seems to me that this overinvolvement in things like research and community ghetto-jumping is representative of a growing contradiction in SDS. This is a contradiction between the older, intellectualoid graduate students and the new blood, the undergraduate SDSer. The Old Guard is pretty firmly

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entrenched in work which is relevant to the job it must do. However, this Old Guard is also defining the programs of the younger group, which is largely uneducated and ill-informed and hardly as sophisticated. It is almost a sort of paternalism, which we would resent bitterly if it came from the LID, but which we practice ourselves without notice. Meanwhile, it leads to the growing alienation of the younger groupings. This could mean that SDS could die in a very few years because the younger group lacks upward mobility, training, and political perspective.

ERAP is an example of this, I think. ERAP was originally described to me as a project which would deal in the education of college people on trade union principles and practices and would also teach them radical economics. This would have involved setting up an educational program complete with syllabi, travelling teachers, and regular economic analyses and pamphlets. The present ERAP is hardly recognizable in comparison with this earlier conception. When did the change take place and who made the decisions? Yet, ERAP is now completely a reflection of the "career interests" in SDS. It is a program led by professionals. If you don't want to pick up and head for the nearest ghetto, don't look to ERAP.

ERAP suffers also from too many experts. It seems to be too anxious to jump into a community with its own set of preconceived ideas -- without first properly surveying the situation, e.g. Hazard. Probably the greatest manifestation of the growing distortion in SDS is around ERAP.

Haber made other criticisms. He pointed out the lack of political perspective. This is an important criticism. It is also the most important charge that non-SDSers level at us. We are so ambiguous it isn't funny. Haber uses the term "SDS's brand of socialism". Are we a socialist organization? No mention of this is made in either the Port Huron Statement or America and the New Era, yet I suppose that most everyone in our organization is a socialist of some stripe or another. I think that we should define "SDS's brand of socialism" -- and I think that we should actively frame our strategy with this in mind. One can, you know, be a socialist without being sectarian. But in

BU TIONS

DEBATE →

SDS, as Staughton Lynd has observed of the student movement, socialism is still "the forbidden word". Why is this, when most of its leaders are socialists? Whom are we trying to fool?

What is radicalism? Is it a certain type of activity or is it a certain point of view? If it is the first, then SDS radicalism is only a fleeting phenomenon, which will die with the first generation -- as soon as the ghetto-jumpers rise up and look for a job. If it is the latter, then it can continue to exist, firmly, no matter what the SDSer does in life. It can become important and relevant in his life. What is SDS doing to give people in SDS a radical education? Very little, one notes. I know that those defenders of ghetto-jumping will leap to state that their programs are educative. Very well, I admit (doubtfully), but what about those not jumping?

We are becoming alienated on the campus. Those issues -- such as peace, civil rights and civil liberties, and university reform -- which built SDS no longer play a significant part in our program, except insofar as they relate to ghetto-jumping.

I can cite a number of examples. One of our most interested people is a cellist. She hopes to be a concert cellist someday -- and very likely will. Yet, she is being alienated because there is little that she can relate to now in SDS. Our group, primarily working class, is interested in getting into the middle class -- not donning sackcloth and ashes, as the ERAP and PREP crowd suggest. Yet there is nothing available from SDS on a subject like unionization of white collar workers!

I disagree with Haber that the SDS problem is one of anti-intellectualism. It is not. The problem is too much intellectualism. This member is loath to enter in discussion with the intellectual leadership -- since who knows what they're talking about!? We are not all Einsteins and Harvard sociologists, you know. Yet, SDS documents are often unreadable, they are so crammed with specialized jargon -- called "SDS-ese" by us hillbillies.

We have got to make some changes in favor of the membership -- we are sitting on a narrow limb and are in the process of sawing it off.

STEVE MAX: WORDS BUTTER
NO PARSNIPS

REMARKS ON THE NATURE OF COMMUNITY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In past decades the focus of radical student political activity in slum and ghetto communities was based almost entirely on participation in electoral politics. This focus took the form of work within the two-part structure or third party activity, depending on the organization and the period. It remained for groups like the American Friends Service Committee to keep alive programs geared toward the actual improvement of people's conditions -- housing, sanitation, recreation, education, etc. -- through the direct efforts of the people themselves, with students in the role of catalyst midwife. Recently, however, such activity has become a widespread and popular phenomenon, first with the appearance of NSM, then with the development of ERAP community organization programs.

To create a hard distinction between the political and non-political approaches is somewhat artificial, in that the advocates of each tend to regard the other as complimentary. Nevertheless, in practise the distinction is made, and students work either on community organization or on community political organization. Since both have at least theoretical acceptance and since it is the strict community approach which at this time excites the largest number of people, this article will not argue for both, since it is necessary to spell out arguments for political efforts in order to achieve a balance.

The goals of non-political community work can be outlined in a general way as follows: to instill in the people a sense of their own worth and dignity and to make them aware of their own potential power; to create indigenous community organizations through which people can channel their resources and manpower; to actually alleviate certain conditions through community organization (e.g. the alleviation of housing violations through rent strikes and the establishment of co-operatives, of inadequate school facilities through boycotts, the supplementation of education through tutorials, and the elimination of discrimination in hiring through selective patronage campaigns). Other efforts in this category include the improvement of housing through cleanup campaigns and do-it-yourself repairs, the establishment of recreational facilities and job-training facilities, and.

MAX...

and also work with young people.

In spite of future appearances to the contrary, it must be stated now that this article considers each of these objectives to be worthwhile. It is suggested that, with these objectives in mind, an additional organizational focus is required.

Where does the conception of the improvement of a community through the primary activity of its inhabitants come from? Clearly not from the tradition of the American labor movement, for while Samuel Gompers may have read aloud to his cigar-makers, no one since has suggested that it is the job of the workers to, with their own hands, improve unsafe, unsanitary, or unpleasant factory conditions. This has clearly been seen as the responsibility to be pressed on management.

Neither can the civil rights movement be said to have spawned this conception, for while the methods of the civil rights movement often resemble and intermingle with non-political community work, it is recognized that discrimination is a political and economic problem, and the focus of the movement is increasingly less on the symptoms and more on the cause. The notion that Negroes would be accepted if they improve themselves with education now shares a grave with Uncle Tom.

The history of the organized left in America does not yield the answer either, for here the problem was seen dogmatically, but perhaps not improperly, as a question of class antagonism.

The answer lies hidden in the very middle-class attitudes which the student brings to ghetto activity. It lies in the Horatio Alger rhetoric that anyone can make it if they try, that the poor don't try hard enough and don't care enough. The logical conclusion is this: if ghetto conditions can be improved by people's direct action, then to that extent were those conditions caused or perpetuated by lack of activity. Further, if a sanitary violation can be removed by the actions of the tenants, to that extent does the violation exist because of the very same tenants. Thus, to the degree that non-political community self-organization is viewed as a solution in itself, to that degree is it assumed that people themselves are responsible for

the conditions they suffer. According to this logic, the ghetto-dweller becomes his own worst enemy.

Arthur Koestler once made the analogy of the child's game which consists of a card printed with random red and blue lines. When one places a piece of blue cellophane over the card one sees a clown; when one places red cellophane over the card one sees a lion. Having thus, for the sake of contrast, done injustice to non-political community work, let the cellophane be switched and another view be explored.

Black or white, Puerto Rican or Mexican-American, the ghetto dweller is the victim of exploitation. He is exploited on the job in the form of wages he receives, he is exploited in his home in the form of rent he pays for the conditions he lives under, and he is exploited in his role as citizen by those who take his tax dollar and spend it to improve someone else's community and to educate someone else's children. Thus, in the short run, and this article goes no further, the fight for improvement in and elimination of the ghetto, is the fight against exploitation. Exploitation, however, is intangible; there is in a physical sense only the individual exploiter, along with the political institutions created by exploiters in common, through which they perpetuate and protect their actions.

While it is true that there is refuse in the hall because people don't remove it, it is also true that there is refuse in the hall because the landlord doesn't provide cans for it and the city doesn't remove it. The same is true of an unpainted apartment or a leaking sink.

It is true that tutoring can rescue a high school student from an inadequate school. However, it is not lack of tutoring, but rather the school itself; which causes his classmates to drop out. The non-political community worker will not deny this. Unfortunately, the benefit of such activity as tutoring goes only to the immediate participant and lasts only as long as a high degree of militant activity can be carried on. Apartments, for example, may be painted in the course of a rent strike. This, however, by no means guarantees future compliance with the statute that an apartment must be painted every three years. With the high degree of horizontal mobility in the ghetto community, it is conceivable that in the course of three years, a given building will undergo a complete change in

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occupancy. The movement then finds itself precisely where it started from when the issue comes up again.

By the same token, a great variety of concessions can be won from city, state, and federal governments in the areas of education, housing, sanitation, unemployment benefits, discrimination, etc., but once the demands are met and the pressure dies down, the situation tends to revert to its former state. The reason is not that the people have been appeased, their issues assimilated, or their militancy blunted. It is that the conditions which produced their grievances in the first place were not changed; the ghetto-producing forces of exploitation continue to operate.

What is called for, then, is a step beyond the organization of people into non-political community or direct action organizations. What is called for is the wresting from the hands of the exploiters the power through which they exploit -- that is, the political power of the city, state, and federal governments.

What could this mean on the community level? First, that appointments made to the Board of Education would be people whose goal was the improvement of the schools and the elimination of segregation within them. Second, that the housing inspectors could be appointed from the community itself; that judges could be appointed and elected who were sympathetic to tenants' housing problems; that new housing statutes could be legislated and enforced where existing ones are inadequate. Third, that state Fair Employment Practices laws could be giventteeth, and state FEPCs appointed which would actively enforce them. Fourth, that federal programs could be administered in the community by officials who did not divert the funds into the pockets of their friends. More is obviously possible; the point will not be labored further.

What is entailed here is the building of block-by-block, district-by-district political organizations; not splinter groups or protest movements, but an organization which makes a direct assault in the dominant party, through the primary election. Such an organization would maintain a series of district club-houses which would work on community issues between elections.

The Reform Movement in the New York City

Democratic Party, and the community clubs of the California Democratic Council are examples of this type of organization. It will be argued that these are poor examples since they frequently fail to reflect in their membership the composition of the community in which they operate. This argument will receive two answers: First, true; Second, that the systematic refusal of the bulk of the most active community workers to urge support of these movements accounts in part for their present state. The question is not whether there is a tailor-made political movement waiting for us; rather, we must ask: What is the best base to build on, granted that a political movement is necessary?

Now a host of cries will go up on all sides -- Politics is dirty! Power corrupts! Leaders sell out! Energy is absorbed! The task is too large! Results come too late! Past reform movements have failed! Compromise with Eastland! Compromise with sin!

NO political organization can be more militant and more stable in its aims than the people who compose it demand at a given time. The same is true of the non-political organization. The difference is that the nonpolitical organization can organize the active minority in the ghetto and still be visible, while the political organization, from the first, includes elements of the majority and can move no faster than the majority is able to move. This is quite a different type of approach and can move no faster than the majority is able to move. This is quite a different type of approach from the nonpolitical organization, but even in the non-political organization, the goal, as we so often hear, is eventually to organize the majority.

It is through the non-political organization that the groundwork for the breakthrough into politics is laid, and it through the maintenance of the non-political organization as a dual structure that the initial objectives are preserved. Organizing non-politically with the transition in mind, and delaying the transition beyond the creation of the movement, is to see the clown but not the lion. Entering the political arena without keeping a tie to a more radical organization is to see the lion from the inside.

A good basic introduction/history thru Fall 1963 entitled "Direct Action in the South" is available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St. NW, Atlanta 3, Geo. (20¢).

OPERATION FREEDOM

One of the least touted but most effective civil rights organizations is a Cincinnati-based group, Operation Freedom (OF). Since 1961, this organization has been tackling some knotty problems in the civil rights movement.

Not an action organization, OF instead is a group which enables others to survive the severe economic reprisals that often beset freedom fighters in the south. In the last two years, OF has lent over \$80,000 to sharecroppers, workers, small businessmen, and freedom fighters all through the Mississippi Delta region.

It all began in 1960-61, when many west Tennessee Negro sharecroppers who had never voted, were thrown off their land when they organized to try to register voters. The reprisals started: a Southerner is aware of the pattern -- anyone who has done anything for human rights in the south has felt the sting in one form or another. Many Negroes, leaders and followers, found that they were blacklisted and couldn't buy goods at stores where they had shopped for years. Filling stations refused to sell to suspect "uppity nigras". Medical care was no longer available to Negroes -- many had to travel over 40 miles to a place where they could be treated.

Negroes could not obtain crop production loans, primarily available from the Federal Government. An election day came, over 345 Negro families were ordered off the land they had farmed but for which they had no leases. Out of sheer determination, the Negro leadership built a new "Freedom City" -- but of surplus army tents on the land of a friendly Negro farmer. Through the hard winter the families existed on little else than militant spirit and the help of John McFerran.

John McFerran is the owner of a general store near Sommerville, Tenn. He was among the foremost Negroes in the registration campaign and in the militant movement toward freedom. Now, he must drive long distances to obtain supplies for his store: his regular suppliers are threatened with death by the White Citizens Council and the KKK, and he cannot obtain oil and gas for his service station. Needless to say, he

was cut off from all credit.

Let's stop a second and reflect on credit. For affluent middle class Americans, credit is an indispensable luxury. But for the small farmer and owner, credit is the difference between eating and starving. To small farmers, credit means having the money for seed and supplies, tools and implements, gasoline, and groceries. When the crop is in, if it is a good one, he can pay off his debts in time to incur the new ones as planting season rolls around again. Usually, he is not so lucky and he stays in debt. The farmer owes virtually everyone in power in his community -- the bank, the feed and grain stores, the grocery, sometimes private money lenders -- and, mostly, his landlord.

A new attempt to provide economic security for those evicted was begun by Eric Weinberger of New England CNVA (Comm. for Non-Violent Action), who started the now-famous Tote Bag project, which has provided many persons with a steady income. Though Weinberger has been forced out by extremely vicious, fascist-like reprisals, the project still exists. Though not an O.F. project, it represents the side-effects and general philosophy of the O.F.-type efforts. Others have organized vegetable co-ops and similar projects.

In early 1963, O.F. made the decision to extend its work into Mississippi. As voter registration efforts by SNCC, SCLC, CORE, NAACP, etc., expanded in that area, the inevitable reprisals followed -- with the usual Mississippi harshness. Operation Freedom proposed to defeat these racist reprisals with a fund which would (1) enable those with land to make their crops when cut off from credit; (2) stop foreclosures on homes and farm equipment; and (3) help landless Negroes who lose their jobs to survive until a permanent solution is found. Local rights leaders in the Delta such as Aaron Henry, Bob Moses, and Amzie Moore, are among those working with O.F. Hundreds of persons in the Delta area have been helped by O.F. -- though the need is by no means met by O.F.'s efforts. Much more help is needed.

It has been three years since O.F. was

SDS CORRESPONDENT: WEST COAST POLITICS

In early April, the Oregon Democratic and Republican parties held conventions. The Democratic Party of Oregon moved to the Left, and the Republican Party of Multnomah County moved to the right.

The Democrats urged, among other things, larger spending programs in the area of public welfare, and recognition of the People's Republic of China.

The Republicans came out against federal aid to education and further legislation on civil rights; voiced support of the "Liberty Amendment", which would repeal the federal income tax; requested that a "competitive workmen's compensation system" be set up; advocated drastic reduction in foreign aid; and in another resolution said that "no known communist should be allowed to speak in tax-supported schools." While this convention was only a County conclave, it should be mentioned that Multnomah County (of which Portland is a part) contains approximately one-third of the population of Oregon. It is to the merit of the County Young Republicans that they were quick to repudiate the stands taken. Also, Tom Larson, GOP candidate for Secretary of State, called the platform "an insult to the intelligence of the voters."

The West's only Negro Congressman, Representative Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, stated that civil rights demonstrations are losing their impact and are frightening whites. These words indeed should be heeded in relation to such tactics as the shop-ins, which had a very bad response. Merely

O.F....

started. During this time, over \$100,000 has been loaned to needy persons who have been economically victimized through their civil rights efforts. Although at first everyone thought that O.F. would be just a temporary effort, it has had to continue and expand because civil rights activity -- especially voter registration -- has increased, and most civil rights groups don't make economic provisions for those who have become victims and made jobless, homeless, or hungry.

O.F.'s need is great. Contributions and requests for information should be directed to O.F., c/o Rev. Maurice McCrackin, 932 Dayton St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

(Jim Williams, the author of this article, is a member of the O.F. Executive Board.

to demonstrate for the sake of demonstrating or proving how liberal one is, is perverting the true purpose of the Civil Rights struggle. The fact that such tactics might have merit in certain cases may be true, but one must use them sparingly. Our purpose, in short, is to insure equal rights under law to all, open areas of employment, education and housing to any who are presently being denied these rights by reason of nationality, creed, or color.

The California Senatorial struggle had all the potential for an inter-party fight which could have depressed the changes of the Democrats to hold the California seat -- that is, if the GOP had brought forward a worthy candidate. But, front-runner "Actor-Producer" George Murphy, who runs as an Ultra-Conservative, seems to offer little threat to whoever the Democratic candidate is.

Here in the West, Goldwater sentiment is high; pre-primary predictions have a Lodge victory in Oregon and a Goldwater triumph in California.

In my home state of Washington, the Subversive Activities Control Board, is presently holding hearings on two Washington residents. Also, a Loyalty Oath case from Washington University has been put before the Supreme Court. A redistricting order is in the hands of the same above court. Open housing proposals have been defeated in Tacoma and Seattle within the last few months, and by good margins. A Legislative Council whose operating funds were vetoed by Democratic Governor Rosellini on the grounds that it "was bent on political mischief". This comment comes from the Council sub-committee's probe of the \$100 million a year liquor monopoly. A split of 7 dissident Democrats (who oppose Rosellini) -- who were joined by the minority Republicans to organize the State House of Representatives -- is largely blamed for this intra-government fighting, which has been quite fierce. To add to the infighting, Jesse McDonell, former assistant secretary to the Senate Democrats (Bobby Baker fired him), returned home to run for governor, charging that a Rosellini Machine controls the state. On the Republican side of the Governor's race, there appear three candidates. Moderate Dan Evans, the favorite, is leader of the State House Republicans, and led the GOP into the Coalition with the dissidents. Ultra-conservative Richard Christensen, very

(cont. bottom next page)

CONVENTION....

last year's: Camp Gulliver at Pine Hill, N.Y., about 70 miles north of New York City.

But the bare facts do not begin to sketch the excitement. To begin with, debates of major proportion are arising among us concerning organizational direction and emphasis. The December National Council meeting; and the Bulletin articles by Al Haber, Steve Max, Jim Williams, and myself, are only one kind of indication that there are real issues within our community. By participating in our Wilson College, Ann Arbor, and Illinois conferences, and others, I have found that these issues are being articulated throughout our membership; and this is a second, more important, indication that there is substance to the various disputes. To my mind, there is a single basic reason for the reality of these differences, and this is that as an organization we are real, and growing fast. There are now about thirty chapters, almost 1000 members. Tension is a product of growth, as the adolescent can testify. When a man awakens, he stretches.

One of the complaints frequently made about SDS is that we do not make our goals plain: "I agree with your analysis, but what are you for?" A second is that we are blithely neglectful of the politics of the wider society: "All right, your goals make sense to me, but what should I do about the '64 election?" A third is that we have no coherent strategy for all of our members: "All right, given what you've said, how should I operate, what do I have to know?" A fourth is that we give too much time to airy political-social analysis and not enough to concrete organizational programming: "All well and good, but how should

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strong in eastern Washington, is a former preacher who runs a political campaign like an evangelical crusade between the good guys (himself) and the bad guys. Last but not least is Joseph Gandy, former World's Fair President, who lies somewhere between the above two. If noise would indicate winners, one would presume a strong conservative Republican trend in the West, but common sense and some hope say no. The mass of voters indicate a status quo attitude and in their hands the decision will lie.

by Ronnie Sommerlott; Colville, Wash.

the National Office, ERAP and PREP function, and what should and can chapters do?" To say the least, there is truth in each of these caricatures. The Convention has been organized to deal with each of them head-on: not querulously; but through constructive, communal labor.

At past Conventions, discussion and legislation have centered around a document on the state of the world. It was the determination of the April National Council that the time had come to focus attention on the major organizational issues confronting the organization and to produce instead a statement on organizational direction. Three different proposals, roughly similar in format, will be distributed beforehand, and the Convention will debate among them and make changes. A complete list of issues to be thrown open would be prohibitively long, but the following might be a sampling: Our constituency. (Chiefly students? Young people in general? Community organizers? Professionals? Unemployed?) The building and securing of chapters, and the role of the National Office, ERAP, and PREP. How broad social concerns can be made relevant to campuses. Our role in the '64 elections. The relative salience of various issues (race, poverty, peace) in organizational programming. Relations between on-going ERAP organizing projects and the campus base. Membership educational programs. Working-class vs. middle-class organizing, in short-, medium-, and long-runs.

In order to place it in context, the debate over SDS direction will be preceded by a full day of panel discussions and workshops on the first three subjects listed above:

1. "What are you for?" Thursday night, four or five radical luminaries -- we can't tell who yet because acceptances won't be in for a while -- will put forward differing visions of a new society. The kernels of discussion will probably be: the relevance of socialism in twentieth-century America; the possibilities for Utopia given abundance; the outlook for technological and organizational change; the origins of a new morality; and so on, with ramifications.

2. "What about the elections?" Friday morning, we expect speakers to describe typical radical experiments in electoral politics (the Democratic Coalition in Texas, the peace movement in Massachusetts) and surrounding projects and concerns (the Mississippi Freedom delegation to the Democratic

CONVENTION...

Convention, the Northern Negro vote), and to sketch more general theories of the functions of multi-class political coalitions and lower-class movements.

3. "How should I operate, what do I have to know?" This most tortuous subject will probably be handled -- if we dare use that word -- by a combination of panels and discussion groups on the roles of radicals in the labor movement, the churches, the professions, the universities, government, the civil rights movement, the peace movement, and community organization. Emphasis will be on the overall history of the Left over the past thirty years as well as the past, present, and future possibilities for radicals in each of these institutions and movements.

In each area we are trying to blend capable and congenial speakers with, as it were, participatory democracy for all attending. What seems to me critical to the success of this Convention are the complementary virtues of attendance and participation. Many of us have come to know each other little this year: through correspondence perhaps, or fleeting encounters at meetings, or at worst only the signature on a membership card and the one-way transmittal of mimeographed sheets. But SDS will have the year it deserves only if we come together to meet one another, to hammer out together our common organizational future. Bring carloads. Some subsidies may be available for long distance travellers. The Convention will also provide grass and clean air and other conditions for congeniality and communication. As for preparation, all of you are invited to prepare proposals, attitudes, gripes, etc. for distribution; and all should study carefully the three opposing drafts for SDS policy when they get to you around the third of June. The meeting of the Convention-elected National Council is scheduled to begin Monday, June 15, and more concrete proposals and projects will be welcome, or rather encouraged, at that time. Of course, the National Council meeting is open to all. (cont. next column)

Membership (in the SDS) is open to students, faculty and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

SDS is an organization of democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

Inasmuch as the constitution provides for immediate adoption of constitutional amendments only if passed in a national referendum or passed at a Convention with one month's prior notice having been given to members; the following proposed amendments (from C. Clark Kissinger of the U. of Wisconsin) are hereby announced:

1. That Article VIII (National Administrative Committee) be deleted and the succeeding Articles renumbered accordingly.
2. That the last sentence of Article IX, Section 4 (which now reads "Other staff positions shall be filled and duties defined by the National Council as need and budget allow") be deleted and replaced by the following sentence: "The National Council may also create and fill additional positions of Assistant National Secretary to work under the direction of the President and National Secretary. Other staff positions shall be created and filled by the National Secretary."

For an excellent article on SOVIET AGRICULTURE, see the Jan. 1964 Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (935 E. 60 St., Chicago 37, Ill.) 75¢ per issue; should be available in most college libraries.

Article V, Section 2 of the SDS Constitution reads, in part, "The Convention shall serve to debate major issues and orientation of the organization, to set program mandates to the national staff, and to elect national officers..." It is that and more: it is the occasion for our coming again to sense ourselves as a community, to make for ourselves the decisions that will govern our organizational life, to take account of our growth and to deal with the tensions that animate us. The promise -- and I believe it not to be a deception -- is as Camus' The Rebel makes it: The bow bends; the wood complains. At the moment of supreme tension, there will leap into flight an unswerving arrow, a shaft that is inflexible and free."

See you at Pine Hill!

--from the SDS Constitution

Mississippi....

2. The setting up by the Freedom Democratic Party of its own voter registration books for those not allowed to register on the official books. This Freedom Registration campaign has several purposes: (1) to serve as a mechanism through which Negroes can be organized across the state; (2) as the focus of attempts to get Negroes registered on the official county books; (3) to form the basis for the Freedom Elections.

3. The Freedom Elections will be held at the same time as the official elections in June and November. The only qualifications for participation in Freedom Elections will be that the voter be 21, a Mississippi resident, and registered on the Freedom Registration Books or regularly. Democratic, Republican, and Freedom Democratic candidates will all be listed on the ballot.

4. On the basis of the participation in these programs by thousands of Negroes, thus demonstrating their desire to vote in regular elections, the seating of successful Republican and Democratic candidates will be challenged in Congress and in Federal Courts on the grounds that a significant portion of the voting-age population has been denied the right to vote because of color or race.

5. One of the most potentially exciting and dramatic aspects of Freedom Summer will be the challenge of the Regular Democratic Party delegation at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in August by a Freedom Democratic Delegation, which will be headed by the four Freedom Candidates and whose members will be chosen in meetings paralleling the regular D.P. meetings on precinct, county, district, and state levels. Freedom Delegates will be chosen in open meetings in which all registered voters (whether official or Freedom registered) will be allowed to participate.

The grounds for unseating the Regular Mississippi Party delegates will be (1) that they were chosen by undemocratic means and (2) that they are disloyal to the National Democratic Party, inasmuch as they refused to support the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960 or to support the 1960 platform, and their gubernatorial candidates in 1963 told the voters that the Mississippi D.P. stands for white supremacy. The principles and rules of the National Democratic Party make it clear that these facts are sufficient to expel the Regular Mississippi D.P.

The Freedom Democratic Delegation will be pledged to support the National Democratic ticket and platform -- as well as being pledged to work for the full and equal rights of all Americans.

OTHER ASPECTS

- Other aspects of Freedom Summer include:
- Freedom Schools that will give youth and adults political education as well as courses common to a high school curriculum. In addition to giving students a chance to learn subjects poorly taught in Mississippi's Negro schools, the Freedom Schools will teach "the politics of Mississippi" and will begin to build a core of educated leadership in the state.
 - Community Centers that will provide recreational facilities, instruction in prenatal care, nutrition, job retraining, arts and craft classes, organized sports, and libraries.
 - Emergency Relief and Welfare Aid for Negroes who face job losses or evictions due to their participation in the vote drive.
 - A "massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the State of Mississippi" by a team of lawyers and law students.
 - A study of "hate and bigotry" within white communities.

A central part of the whole project is the recruitment of massive numbers (at least 2000) of northern college students to participate in these programs. Partly this is simply because great numbers of workers are needed. But a strategically important part of the plan is to expose to the nation in uncontroversial terms just what goes on in Mississippi; and the large number of northern students should help to insure this, both during the summer and afterward, when they return to schools and homes in the north.

The Project is being conducted by the Council of Federated Organizations, a coalition of all civil rights organizations in Mississippi. For further information, contact: C.O.F.O., 1017 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss.

"The survival of an independent Government in South Viet-Nam is so important to the security of South East Asia and to the free world that I can conceive of no alternative other than to take all necessary measures within our capability to prevent a Communist victory." -- Robert McNamara, Jan. '64

All unsigned Bulletin articles are the responsibility of Bulletin Editor Don McKelvey.

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 - (10¢) Swarthmore SDSers: Chester, Pa. -- Community Organizing in the Other America
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 - (5¢) Bibliography on C. R. in South: Robb Burlage
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 - (5¢) Biblio: on American Higher Education: Ralph Kaplan

3. OTHER MATERIAL ON ECONOMICS

- (10¢) Sean Boud: The Economics of Apartheid -- the Facts are a Challenge to Our Conscience
- (5¢) Ray Brown: Our Crisis Economy -- the End of the Boom **ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED**
- (5¢) Tom Jacobson: Unions and the Working Student
- (5¢) Bernard Nossiter, David Bazelon: The New Folklore of Capitalism
- (10¢) Bob Heifitz: A Draft Program for Eastern Kentucky
- (10¢) Working Papers from the Initiating Conf. of the Nat'l Comm. for Full Employment
- (10¢) Readings on Poverty (ed. by Ken McEldowney)
- (10¢) The Triple Revolution, by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution
- (50¢) Conference on Economic Progress (Keyserling): Poverty & Deprivation in the U.S.
- (50¢) " " " " " " Key Policies for Full Employment
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- (10¢) Daniel Friedenberg: A Fabian Program for America
- (15¢) Gordon Clapp: The TVA and its Critics
- (25¢) Warren Blumberg: The Age of Automation -- its Effect on Human Welfare
- (20¢) Donald Michael: Cybernation -- the Silent Conquest
- (10¢) Money Talks in the City of Brotherly Love -- the Philadelphia Boycott Campaign
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4. MATERIAL ON OTHER SUBJECTS

- (10¢) Jack Minnis: The Care and Feeding of Power Structures
 - (10¢) Nicholas Von Hoffman -- Community Organizing
 - (5¢) Arthur Valenzuela: Latin America -- Continent in Revolution
 - (10¢) Two European Views of the Cold War; 1. Berlin -- Why Not Keep the Status Quo? by a German student; 2. Two Hungarian Students' Proposal for Depolarization
 - (10¢) The Northern Student Movement: National Prospectus and City Project Data (including Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford, NYC, Washington)
 - (10¢) C. Wright Mills: A Letter to the New Left
 - (5¢) Dave Dellinger: The [Cuban] Revolution Not Seen
 - (10¢) "Towards a Quaker View of Sex", and "Is the Problem Really Sex?"
 - (10¢) Noel Day: The Freedom Movement in Massachusetts
 - (10¢) " " A White America in a Non-White World (a speech)
 - (5¢) Sumner Rosen: Liberals and Reality
 - (5¢) Swarthmore Political Action Club: The Negro Freedom Movement (suggested readings)
 - (10¢) ACLU: Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities
 - (75¢) Irwin Suall: The American Ultras
 - (35¢) Alfred M. Lee: Fraternities Without Brotherhood (159 pp.; list \$1.45)
 - (35¢) British Information Service: Health Service in Britain
 - (10¢) Sidney Hook: John Dewey -- His Philosophy of Education and its Critics
- Free samples: () Campus VOICE (UMich SDS Newsletter); () Activist; () Dissent; () I.F. Stone's Weekly; () Liberation; () The liberal democrat (Cal.); () The Minority of One; () Monthly Review; () National Guardian; () New Generation (liberal Catholic); () New University Thought; () Peace Politics Newsletter; () Southern Patriot; () Texas Observer; () War/Peace Report

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