Pass the Viet Nam Exam program.

Sent to the chapters a proposal for a boycott of the Selective Service exam.

Passed a resolution on political perspectives for 1966.

Passed a statement on student-labor efforts.

Set last August as the date for the National Convention, and resolved to attend to the preparations of the national organizational document at that meeting.

Launched a $10,000 chapter emergency fund-raising campaign.

Raised National dues to $4.97.

Endorsed and began to implement the Radical Education Program.

Aided regions to set up summer Viet Nam projects to turn America into a town meeting on the war.

Authorized the present National Secretary to prepare candidates to succeed N. to the chairmanship of the NC in 1966, and thereafter to fill any vacancies in the NC without regard to chapters, and otherwise informing them of the organization’s working.

Pledged to continue support of the farm workers movement in California.

Turned down a proposal for a nationwide fast in solidarity with Buddhist students.

The major debate of the meeting took place over the "Brook Amendment", which was later sent to a National Council ballot because of the split opinion of the NC delegates, received four hours of debate and carried 39 to 29 with 2 abstentions.

In the debate, the supporters of the amendment argued that SDS needed to demonstrate its heightened seriousness of opposition. Bill Hartung, of Toledo, Kansas, told the group that he was going to jail, probably this week, for refusal to report for induction.

The underlying assumptions of most proponents of the move to boycott the draft exam was that any other move would be seen as capitulation to the war and its manageable 2-S exemption. Mundy Samatani, a SNCC worker, argued that this serious opposition to the war would win the confidence of the workers, who have made at least as heavy a commitment to that struggle.

The opponents of the amendment stressed that what matters is "where you stand," and that the proposal would cut SDS off from the bulk of students who will be taking the exam. One delegate argued that her chapter would leave SDS. Dan Millstone, of MacMurray SDS, invoked the early history of the Black Freedom movement and said that we follow the example of St. Stephen, the organizer...

**Summer Convention**

For the first time since Fort Huron, the membership convention will be held at the end of the summer. This convention will have a document to consider and write. The NC passed a motion instructing the National Office to work on developing that document, in conjunction with the Radical Education Program, throughout the summer.

The document envisioned by the NC will attempt more to define the leading positions within the organization than to present the consensus position. Several major questions, such as attitude toward labor and toward electoral politics, were touched on at the NC, and these will be the focus of an Article 1 committee at the June National Council and in working papers distributed to the membership.

In order to make the end-of-summer meeting an informed one, chapters were mandanted to send summer addresses and resolutions to members to the National Office, to receive summer New Left Notes and its bulletin insert.

The National Office was instructed to poll the NC on location, and to arrange camp sites, length, and precise dates.

**VIET NAM EXAM PROGRAM**

The overall assumptions of the program are:

(1) That any program aimed at preserving the privileged status of 2-S students is contrary to our democratic and egalitarian values, as well as to the strategic principle of broadening the anti-war movement beyond the university community.

(2) That the draft must be confronted by students and exposed as a racist, authoritarian institution forcing support and participation in American imperialism.

(3) That over 2,500,000 students will be taking these tests in relatively few places given us an excellent opportunity of reaching them with our message and beginning to involve them in anti-war activity. The nation's attention will be on the exams and thus on any protests and demonstrations that occur. The tests will be emotionally charged situations, which hold excellent possibilities for exposing the war in Vietnam and the nature of the draft.

(4) That a national program on these draft exams should have a minimum of national coordination, to allow maximum possibility for local initiative and varied programs.

The national scale the program is the preparation and distribution of an "exam." The purpose of the exam is to raise questions in students' minds about the war, the morality of American foreign policy, the deceptions of the American government, and the authoritarian nature of the draft. A group of SDS workers known figures is being invited to submit questions and answers to the Ann Arbor group that will write the exam. An answer sheet to the factual questions would also be distributed at the exam centers, containing references to source materials.

A national coordination will be a call for the activities and the preparations for and of the exam. Local chapters and other groups are encouraged to plan their other activities at the testing centers, including rallies, speeches, demonstrations, and other activities.

**Argument For**

It is incumbent upon SDS to carry the level of seriousness of the opposition to the war to a higher point. The draft exam is a direct challenge to the campus-based anti-war movement. If the anti-war movement submits to the exam, with all its implications of preserving the 2-S class privilege for a few students, it will confirm the suspicion and the hope of the administration that our commitment is half-serious. This impression, which the press has already tried to implant among the public, is that we are willing to have our parades and petitions because we have that 2-S classification that means that other kids have to go off and fight.

The seriousness of the Administration must not be underestimated. LBJ ordered the National Guard out to stop the draft in the midst of his "peace feelers," even into Laos and Cambodia. He is serious enough to seek to eliminate opposition in the Democratic Party, as was seen in the White House-promoted removal of the Chairman of the California Democratic Council. He is serious enough to scorn the Constitution, and the Senate hearings. He is serious enough to cut back the domestic programs upon which he used to pin his claim for a place in history. And he may be serious enough even to crush the Buddhist opposition against which the puppet Ky has proven inadequate.

We must not believe that we can coexist with this Juggernaut. Either we coexist with it, or destroy it.

NFWA Boycott

A rally in Sacramento attended by 10,000 farm workers, other unionists, ministers and students heard Cesar Chavez, the leader of the National Farm Workers Association, announce a national boycott of DiGiorgio Corporation produce.

The Easter Sunday rally was the culmination of a 30-day pilgrimage of farm workers from Delano which forced Schenley Industries to formally recognize the NFWA as the sole collective bargaining agent of the grape pickers.

DiGiorgio is the largest grower in the grape industry and is tied into the Bank of America agri-business conglomerate. It has made an offer which the Association considers inadequate.

The three main national DiGiorgio programs against which the boycott is aimed are S&W label fine foods, Tree Sweet juices, and White Rose grapes.

Meanwhile, as DiGiorgio holds out, its position is weakening. Christian Brothers signed today (Tuesday) for a new agreement for Delano, according to Marshall Ganz, SNCC staff member in Delano.

A new key aspect of the farm workers movement is its relationship to the merged labor movement. Various unions in the AFL-CIO have coveted the jurisdiction for agricultural labor, and a meeting of them has been involved in costly organizing drives over the past thirty years in the long struggle for building that new opposition. As individuals, we are all in a bind, caused by a personal problem -- conscience, which is completely rooted in social conditions. We understand that, and poignant, and we are frustrated by our inability to forge a collective action and solution to this collective problem. For SDS people, who have learned so well the lesson that the radical's job is to find collective responses to such problems this is doubly true with the upcoming exams.
Viet Exam Pro and Con

(continued from page 1)

If we do fail, that is a very serious response, this will be demoralizing to the student movement.

The idea of the national draft program that we can go to a final confrontation with the juggernaut, this is a very dangerous thing, this is a very dangerous program. With this principle stand on the draft, we can go to Negro movement people who say that the program that we have is not for them and prove that we are not simply out to save our white skin. We create the recent tendency of the public to take the protest movement against war. And we can refer a program for the thousands of young men on campus who are now confronted by the war and the war they know is wrong.

Paul Booth

Argument Against:

First of all, I want to emphasize that the point at issue in this referendum is an amendment to the national draft program that was overwhelmingly passed by the NC. It is the amendment that is at issue here, not the total program.

The National Draft Exam Program that the NC passed holds the possibilities of publicizing the massive resentment of students against the war and the draft. It also holds the possibilities of defusing the war protest and of sending the message against the war. Because of the varied levels of development of our chapters and their different political positions, it is possible written to minimize national decision-making and make local initiatives even more important than they are in different campus situations. We realized that some chapters were capable of more militant activities, and some were not because of their student body composition. We wanted to avoid deciding for our chapters to decide what activity would have the best results on their campus.

Regrettably the amendment goes out of its way to undo this principle of minimal national coordination, and maximum local decisions and initiatives. I believe, for example, that SDS should have set policy for chapters and the whole organization through a long discussion and as consensus emerges. The issue, however, of whether we want a common test or exams, is very controversial in SDS, with about an even number of people on both sides. It is a test of the height of folly and I believe, irreversibility to make such a national decision.

However, rather than writing a theoretical argument, let me just communicate to you many of the arguments that were made against the amendment by chapters and at-large delegates.

(1) A small majority is pushing a program that is not supported by the majority that is strongly opposed. As pointed out above, less than 60% majority passed the resolution only by about 36% and by about 60% voted for reconsideration, but just because 2A was passed. Many were for the amendment. There were a number or ones in small cities and rural areas, felt the program coming from the national office, that they did not support.

(2) A minority of the NC amendments have been national decision, when local chapter situations were so different.

(3) The amendment is an attempt in a Pandora's Box. Many of the delegates who supported the amendment did so from many different perspectives. They all believe strongly that the draft program makes the position the official SDS position. This amendment is so open to interpretation that no one can ask someone who supports the NC that political chaos will result. Unless the amendment is strengthened, all sorts of activity will occur under the lack of national "SDS policy."

(4) The amendment is undemocratic. Those chapters that want to urge students not to take the test or blocking the war protest, can not be affected by the passing or rejecting of this amendment. They can work to their own ends. On the other hand, those chapters who do not want such a program are being forced into it. They will be forced through newspaper publicity that the amendment is being passed.

I do hope that we can reject this amendment and allow local chapters to make up their own minds about what kind of activity they will take to the war protest. I think that if a local decision making on this, we will have less chaos and recriminations.

Lee Webb

REGISTERED NC DELEGATES

Molly Coyer
Alan Zaslavsky
Paul Booth
Don Bacheher
Terry Koch
Clare Meyer
Hal Benenson
Robert Stanion
Michael Hart
Carol McElwee
Helen Gavy
Mike Goldfield
Bob Gottlieb
Steve Kindred
Millen Kotechuck
Brent Kramer
Paul LeBlanc
Guy Loftsman
Cahleen McAfee
Mary Matson
Jackie Wawro
Don Miller
Daniel Millstone
Russ Neufeld
James Funston
Bob Novack
Toledo
Harpur

Bennington
Harvard
At large
Baltimore
Penn State
Washington U.
U of Wisconsin
Harvard
At large
Harvard
At large
CCNY
Large U.
Large U.
CUNY
Indian U.
Washington Comm.
Harpur
Harpur

Regional organizations were called on by the NC to try to set up summer programs. These programs would have the aim of bringing the issues to the people with vastly stepped-up activity and definite programs. To back up this program, Stoughton Lynd is organizing a committee of Americans who have been to Vietnam to commit themselves to speak around the country this summer and at community meetings in conjunction with the Town Meeting activity.

In addition, the National Office was mandated to appoint summer coordinators for cities in which chapters will be imperative. These chapters will be asked to provide for continuity of SDS and radical activity in their areas.

These summer coordinators will be responsible for building the local Town Meeting Program, the pre-convention education program, the farm workers boycott against "DiGiorgio" products, other national priorities adopted by the June National Council of the program and workshop will be held at the time of the June NC for the summer coordinators.

The National Council also asked the New England office to put out for discussion with the Farm Workers Association about their summer projects; we hope to be able to have SDS work in the Valley and around the country on the "DiGiorgio" boycott in political organizing.

The central theme of the National Secretary's report to the NC was that the organization has been turned inward, concentrating on securing the membership and chapters, turning out this paper and creating new offices, and that this had proved expensive beyond the support of the chapters.

In order to make the end-of-summer meeting as informal as possible, the National Council mandated the making of a list of SDS members of all members to the National Office, to receive the new New Left Notes and its bulletin in the fall.

The national office was instructed to poll the NC on location, and to arrange camp sites, length, and precise dates.

Fund Raising

The financial report to the National Council described as acute financial situation in which the printing office, and all regional offices, are in deep trouble.

The central theme of the National Secretary's report to the NC was that the organization has been turned inward, concentrating on securing the membership and chapters, turning out this paper and creating new offices, and that this had proved expensive beyond the support of the chapters. Due to the absence of visible national program, fund-raising efforts had driven the office into debt.

In this spirit, the NC resolved to take on a $10,000 fund drive based on the idea of "taking away the money from" the National Office to assign quotas to chapters, taking into account membership and an estimate of funds spent, or the amount of money they would pay off outstanding debts all the debts.

A national fund drive is therefore being launched. Chapters are being asked to contact their local fund-raising groups for the drive, and to send their names to the NO. A fund-raising bureau has been formed, providing the NO with suggestions from films to buttons to parties.

Me and an innocuous request to raise something along the line of $2.50 per member. Poorer chapters, or in the campaign for the most successful chapter will be paying for the NPS of the machinery, and to pass the hat at the weekly meetings, etc.

The national office will publish the Emergency Fund Drive Bulletin every two weeks for this drive.
NC Ballot. Speck will check all the addresses of our present contacts. And a contact list and a list of chapters for where we have contacts will be sent to each regional office. They will send NC ballots to those chapters and will also send the contact list for; they hopefully will have more updated contact lists. It is felt by the NAC that the ballot was important enough so that photomicrographing should not keep anyone from getting a copy. Jim Russell will have it photo-offset.

Fund raising. Not much was said except that we have to do it. We also discussed implementation of the NC mandate to collect money from each chapter. It was mentioned that we could sell or trade T-shirts and other projects if we could get a skilled person to handle it.

Staff Apartments. Webb volunteered to check with a local realtor-he knows, so that NO staff could have a place to live.

NLC. Since Jim Russell is leaving, we are stuck without an editor for NLC. Ann Airlin is the only person left that is available for this position. Until someone is found, Airlin will do the position of editor. It is hoped that people will be hired to help her with making up the copy. Speck will start working on change of address sheets.

Draft test. Booth spent some time outlining what things had to be done in order to implement our draft test for May 14. Besides having concern in printing procedures, finding out exactly where all the test centers are, and coordinating with Ann Arbor, where the test is being written, money has to be raised so that a WATS line can be hooked up on April 24, the anniversary of the March on Washington. An answer sheet, with references to sources, would be handed out to people.

We proposed that May 14 will be a day of national protest against the war and of focus on the draft. We hope to direct attention to our claim that the facts of the war ‘are in conflict with the morality and our conclusion that it should be ended. The emotional state of the students studying this exam is hard to predict, but we feel that we should be offering an explanation for the dilemma that they may be in. We hope to be able to contribute the exams at all 1700 testing centers, and to reach literally millions of Americans.

A committee of faculty and students has been formed and is responsible for making up the examination and answer sheet, and we are soliciting questions and comments from other chapters and from some non-Americans, both in and out of the universities. Because the exam is being used as an educational device, to pro-voke thought and focus attention on certain problems (rather than to test knowledge), we would like to get your comments. We feel that you are the most important factor in resolving the minds before confronting the draft.

The Ann Arbor faculty are proposing the use of the Inter-University committee’s test sheet to any chapter or region who volunteers to print it locally, and what of things people can do on May 14.

Ramparts. Ramparts has made an offer to chapters to distribute it. They will pay shipping and send quantities to chapters on consignment. Chapters will be sent the 45 cents per copy and return unsold copies, keeping 30 cents (75 cents is the single copy price). If any chapter wants to pay for shipping; they can keep 35 cents per copy.

The forthcoming issue contains an expanded section on the student movement in the Vietnam war.

Domestican Republic. A committee of American notables organized by Norman Thomas is preparing a report on conditions in the Dominican Republic prior to the June 11 elections. They will attempt to present evidence of repression of the left under the Garcia-Gordy regime.

The national office has available a Project Working Paper.

NAC MINUTES submitted by Mike Goldfield.

Members present: Paul Booth, Steve Kindred, Lee Webb, Bob Speck, Airlin Weissman, Mike Goldfield.

The following agenda was discussed at the meeting that was spent in discussing implementation of the National Council mandates.

NC Ballot. Speck will check all the addresses of our present contacts. Ann Airlin is responsible for keeping contact lists and a list of chapters for where we have contacts will be sent to each regional office. They will send NC ballots to those chapters and they will also send the contact list for; they hopefully will have more updated contact lists.

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Leafllet ideas. Concern and Student Action, two groups at the University of Utah, have put out a Viet Nam leaflet that is a model of what can be done to adapt the war sit-ins. They suggest the use of the pamphlet if Mormons are a sizeable minority in your area; order at $1.25, hundred sheets from Michael W. McKain, CONCERN, 4 E. First South, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Ann Arbor Defenders.

The national office has available a brochures of the Bulletin of the reclassification of the Ann Arbor anti-war sit-ins. There are 12 SDS members of the Selective Service board for a sit-in in the draft board there last October to protest the war.
RESPONSE

Elk River, Minnesota (from Liberation USA): An Elk River, Minnesota youth demonstrated against the war recently by dumping two buckets of human excrement into six file cases in the office of his local draft board.

Barry M. Bondhus, 20, took his action, so the Minnesotan Star reported, to protest against his I-A reclassification. Earlier he had refused to take a pre-induction physical. Bondhus was arrested at his home by FBI agents and formally charged with destruction of government property. He has been released on $10,000 bond until he appears before a Federal grand jury.

Bondhus’ action won the full approval of his father, Thomas Bondhus, 43, inventor and machine shop owner. The elder Bondhus, who has 12 children, 10 of whom are boys, said he repeatedly told the draft board that he wants none of his sons serving in the armed forces.

“If you draft Barry,” he said, “I have nothing to look forward to for the next 24 years but flag-draped coffins.”

It has been rumored that the elder Bondhus has lost several government contracts because of his support for his son and opposition to the draft. After Bondhus’ “shit-in,” the draft board moved from the Elk River American Legion building, where it formerly was housed, to a new office in the First National Bank. Professional fumigators have been brought in from Minneapolis to air out the old office, but it is still not in use.

Lexington, Ky.: A Festival of Southern Folk Music will be sponsored by the SDS chapter at the U. of Kentucky. A troupe composed of Hedy West, Rev. Ritchie, Bernice Reagon, Eleanor Walden, and Mable Hillary will conduct workshops in the afternoon of April 23 and perform in an evening concert. The Kentucky performance will be one of the last stops for the Festival which has been touring the South under the sponsorship of the Southern Student Organizing Committee. There have been around 16 performances in 10 states.

NEW LEFT NOTES

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Students for a Democratic Society
Carl Oglesby, president; Jeffrey Stero, vice-president; and Paul Booth, national secretary.

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NC FINANCIAL REPORT

These are the July ’65 to March ’66 Figures on income and expenses for the National Office.

Expenses - July 1965 - March 1966

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*Includes Duncan receipts

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