The present report focuses on the first five months of 1966, partly because a similar report was made at the December Conference, partly because the turn of the year was a turning point in the history of the organization. The outlines of that epochal reorganizational direction were established at that time — and I have become increasingly confident of our correctness — and SDS during 1966 has worked to realize the new priorities it set for itself. My oral report at the April N.C. reflected a great deal of success in that regard and fit into a new mood of self-confidence. This formal report is written with the overriding purpose of describing clearly the direction of the past five months, in the hope that participants and those who have done can assist decisions about next steps.

Our movement has changed its priorities dramatically at a number of junctures: in spring 1964 we transformed SDS from an intellectual center into a community organizing campaign; in spring 1965 we made SDS the leader of the student antiview movement; this year we have moved to make it a radical, political action organization on a national scale. SDS has been politicized in several ways:

1. Its attitude toward internal questions.
2. Its relationship to student discontent and the phenomenon of the alienated youth on campus.
3. Its relationship to forces for change and anti-change.
4. Its standards for the internal functioning of the organization.
5. Its attempt to make explicit and elaborate its program analysis, strategy, and tactics.

The December Conference was the occasion of our recognition of our own national identity as an SDS national secretary. An identity that had been in the making for a national student organization. In our own right as an organized movement, we had become an active feature in American life. That conference was an exercise in collective self-definition for many of us; at the same time that we were struggling with the internal problems caused by the rapid growth of SDS. My report at that time tried to retool both problems. To summarize it here:

It started by noting the organization's crisis of coherence. The most elementary question in SDS is to what extent it has social functions; it serves as the most powerful and important organized expression of the left in America, and it serves as a radical educational organization for students.

The report noted the effect of the war on SDS and on every country and at any time, the moral quality of its Left is put to the test by the international adventures of its government. It is for this reason that SDS responded to the national political situation during the fall of 1965 and organized the March on Washington.

The most interesting calls on SDS's energy have made it impossible to function in the political arena in a sustained way. To take a position so seriously as a political force means that we would have to use all of the democratic decision-making machines available in (S&D) and usually at the cost of division. And by implication not leave the question of the decision of the NAC, the National Secretary.

"Our movements are sustained substantially by the willingness of individual young people to give their lives and creativity. We value action based on "commitment" more than action based on "self-interest" — even though our analysis tells us that any society can only be redeemed by the community of people who come out of poverty to go to the roots of their own common problems. But there has been a style of work in SDS in which for example the personal needs of the staff have been seen as of higher importance than the political priorities of production out of the national office.

The phenomenal growth of SDS during 1965 was because it tapped the antiwar opposition of student intellectuals. The student who marched on Washington shared a series of disappointments with middle-class America, and perhaps even more important to the SDS movement, the awful evidence of the society's corruption. In a sense, our response to the movement dippled and rose radically during the year; in the summer we almost abandoned it, and only after a frontal attack by the Administration did we take up the commitment that led to our bringing thousands of students to the SANE moratorium and beyond: "We could have tied a goodly number of these committees (to end the war) to us as Associate Groups and an instructive dialogue could have gone on, in which SDS could have been articulated with Vietnamese activists, and possibly out of the disillusionment of our experience and interest and their enthusiasm could have come creative responses to the hang-ups of the political scene.

April Income:

- Dues: $649.00
- Literature: 328.27
- Contributions: 246.60
- Pledges: 15.00
- Sales: 536.00
- Miscellaneous: 7.00
- Subs. to NLN 248.50
- Loans: 18.07
- Exchange: 233.33
- Intra-SDS: 98.00

Total: $7516.77

April Expenses:

- Salaries: $942.50
- Utilities: 780.36
- Office expenses: 851.04
- Postage: 307.00
- Conference: 2526.94
- Travel: 78.95
- Exchange: 313.19
- Intra-SDS: 30.00
- Miscellaneous: 152.00
- Preliminary fund-raising expenses (Sale of the Earth): 9.55

Total: $6304.98

May Expenses:

- Salaries: $2185.70
- Utilities: 2976.10
- Postage: 105.30
- Conference: 302.40
- Print: 2184.14
- Publicity: 106.40
- Travel: 81.00
- Miscellaneous: 440.02

(total continued on page 2)
chicago store removes s & w

by Jim Irwin

Momently fighting broke out June 8 at the Hyde Park co-operative supermarket climaxing four days of picketing and direct action against the sale of S & W canned goods at a co-op in a Wall Street retail outlet in the Chicago area.

The store workers' resolution in 1959 stating that it would not sell goods coming from a firm which was the object of a legitimate boycott. In early May, members who belonged to SDS, accompanied by other concerned individuals, asked for a co-op meeting to have the 1959 resolution complied with by removing DIGMA's S & W-brand from the shelves. The co-op leaders appointed a committee to investigate the "legitimacy" of the strike. When that group called a hearing on the resolution, declaring in their report published a few weeks later that they have not enough information to justify the resolution, which brought the issue decided they should act. Saturday morning, June 4, the picketing the co-op and distributing a petition demanding a meeting of the membership to discuss the strike. The petition, which needed fifty members' signatures, had more than 150 before the day was done.

That morning also saw a half dozen heresewives belong to the co-op enter the store and remove the S & W canned goods from the shelves, explaining that they were merely carrying out a policy that the management had neglected to carry out. Although they were threatened with arrest at one point, nothing was actually done about them, and the cans were not returned to the shelves until Friday. Saturday, when word had circulated that the cans were being sold, more than a dozen housewives appeared Wednesday morning and remained there again. Then they joined the picketers outside, waiting someone in every hour to check on the shelve.

About 1 p.m. men from the SSW ware­house appeared outside the picketing shelves. The women waited until they had finished, and then beginning the cans once again. The SSW workers were seen to be arguing with them. Actual physical conflict is clear in the world faced with a new mediums of carrying a baby into the baby's pregnant mother. One of the SSW workers later admitted in order to create an incident, and when another agent called a policeman in order for pickets to charge, the policeman sided with the women.

That night, at a special session of the board of directors of the co-op, the board voted to remove S & W canned goods from the shelves for the duration of the strike.

boston, free university

financial report

(continued from page 1)

should be established to deal with three fundamental areas of concern.

First, it was noted that the results of the experiment in learning is not fully developed. It is necessary that a working group set to work on the conditions under which creative involvement in learning may be possible, and to the extent that these conditions can be met. This group would be expected to develop methods for presenting such a dual community for learning through discussion of the areas of study to be included and the conditions defined. It was again expected to be expected to present a design suitable for fulfillment of the needs of a highly diversified community.

A central problem which must be dealt with is the movement of the student information service. There has been suggested that these people prepared to make a major commitment to the experiment articles and wish to participate in general policy formulation constitute a cooperative viable service for building and maintaining the community. A second working group should develop guidelines for such

typewriter ribbon, paper clips, etc., etc.

Sales - These occur when individuals and groups purchase goods for personal or professional use which are then sold.

Utilities - This includes rent, electricity, telephone, heat, garbage disposal.

EXPLANATIONS:

1. The decline in the literature sales between March and April can probably be credited to the fact that the organization became aware of the shortage of literature in the N.O. Why order something when there is none to be had? The sharp drop in March and April, when it was a real shortage, can be explained by the fact that a large number of orders were placed during the Vietnam Exam Program.

2. The great increase in utilities expenses may be accounted for by the fact that the organization is now using more electricity and other forms of energy.

3. Miscellaneous expenses in the month of April include rental of a hall for a program in Chicago with Donald Duncan (143), photographic supplies ($919.90).

4. As a result of a past advertisement in the New England Journal of Medicine, a number of individuals were prompted to make a specific monthly contribution to SDS. The sharp drop in 'pledge money' between March and April can be explained, in part, by the failure of the N.O. to follow up letters to those who had made the pledge.

5. The great increase in utilities expenses in March and April can be accounted for by the fact that the organization is now using more electricity and other forms of energy.

6. One of the most significant changes in the organization during the past year has been the increasing number of volunteers who are becoming involved in the work.

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11. Miscellaneous expenses in the month of May include the expenses of putting up two commercial showings of the film 'Salt of the Earth' in Chicago for fundraising purposes.

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7. A good deal of second-hand printing equipment (printing presses, a platemaking machine, and a folding machine) has been purchased by the SDS Printing Office in Lawrence.

8. Financial aid was provided to the SDS Printing Office in Lawrence for the production of 2,000,000 pages of literature as a result of the Vietnam Exam Program. This amount represents an important source of revenue for the organization.

9. The organization has received financial support from the Ford Foundation for the purpose of producing an intensive summer printing project by the SDS Printing Office in Lawrence.

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OFFICE SUPPLIES

Elliot Business Machines, Co. 60
Rutgers Stationery, Co. 60

Total $2,363.01

ANALYSIS:

There are, I think, a number of things implied by these experiences of March, April, and May.

One of the more surprising aspects of the organizing effort on the part of the personal financial part of the person in the N.O. — the personal financial effort of a personal financial effort of the organization is that the personal financial effort is often left to local chapters or special fund-raisers who could devote significant amounts of time to preparing and promoting the fund-raisers.

(continued on page 4)
national secretary's report (continued from page 1)

JUNE 17, 1966 NEW LEFT NOTES 7

Lenged the President to create national alterna­
tions. The March on Washington in November pro­"ved further: evidence of our inability to make a decision more clearly that the government attacks required a signifi­can centralizing the abolished responsibility, and by abolishing the office and somehow cre­ating the Radical Education Program to be­tween members and the organization's decision­making centers.

So, in providing organizational coherence, the REP is much better staffed than the N.O. so that other people can know what's going on, refuses to file report in the commis­sions that the kind of activity in which we have already engaged: student-labor struggles, community work, civil rights activity, anti-draft activity. And, of course, the character, should be continued, and stepped up, argument can be made at large length; suf­fice it to say, the argument seems to be no reason to expect any abate­ment of SDS activism.

to the full benefits of our community are not imparted.

strike support, a broad student-labor pro­gram that is really not possible any longer.

periodically a source of difficulty; this is the sphere in which political activity is done. Times, as it will inevitably occur, I have been quoted out of context, usually in a "liberal" (as opposed to radical) context. One recent case was in the piece on the National Draft Coalition where it was alleged that "if Tom Hayden and I had told the people what we would be interested in a Bobby Kennedy campaign and that people would listen to a socialist. But I am the first to be interested in the idea of creating a new movement that is not involved in coordination of the days of strikes, and summer organizing activity between the weeks.

In light of the fact that SDS has been the most creative and relevant factor on the Left, it should be more than a factor in the educational job. We can move immediately to do the large number of mechanical [obs: 1. put REP on the road, staffing it and financ­ing] 2. make the Vice-President responsible for education and organizing; 3. put the roll-out program that chapters need: a) film and visual arts guide, b) internal seminar syllabi c) annotated reading lists of radical authors; d) resources to the introduction courses; 5. turn out the literature written by SDS people.

This report has focused entirely on organi­zational problems, in the hope that this would really demand long treatment of political possibili­ties and priorities, in which I would make the point that it is not just a matter of the period of rapidly widening possibilities for radicalization, but also the fear of the Johnson administration's role that is being credible excuse for preserving national con­sciousness. That is the commitment to the con­clussions that the kind of activity in which we have already engaged: student-labor struggles, community work, civil rights activity, anti-draft activity. And, of course, the character, should be continued, and stepped up, argument can be made at large length; suf­fice it to say, the argument seems to be no reason to expect any abate­ment of SDS activism.

This creates problems of support. Principal­ly, these are manpower and financial prob­lems. To pursue any of these political programs on a national scale requires the personal commitment of growing num­bers of SDS people. At a campus where the educational job is well done - even if there is no an ongoing action program - we find that SDS members are the most committed people involved in radical politics on a full-time basis. This is not true at all the former members are eager as out but the former members are eager as ever. But we have not acted systematically in the sense of laying out the justifications for national functions of an office must be to do that, and to make sure we have had the ex­perienced political staff in the offices with responsibility for program; jobs in labor organizing, teaching and so on. The roles of these members, ERAP projects could be expanded and some new ones started, regional pro­grams, both existing and new, could be organized.

Second, the report must begin to shoulder its share of the fundraising burden. Jeff Sharpe has estimated that SDS could expand its development role by perhaps three times our present level. The chapters can't do all of that, or even most of that, but they can do a lot of it. Above all else, we need to get the energies to do other kinds of fundraising that don't require national coordination.
8 NEW LEFT NOTES JUNE 17, 1966

On conferences

Two of the major problems which have plagued the national organization this year have been a lack of internal education and a lack of discipline. They are the chief reasons why we have to try to end both the feeling of isolation which people often have and to try to spread the educational manpower resources which we have in several areas to other areas. The National Council has asked that individual conferences be composed of four or five people, perhaps to provide a more intimate setting and to try to end both the feeling of isolation which people often have and to try to spread the educational manpower resources which we have in several areas to other areas. The National Council has asked that individual conferences be composed of four or five people, perhaps to provide a more intimate setting and to try to end both the feeling of isolation which people often have and to try to spread the educational manpower resources which we have in several areas to other areas. 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On role of nati secy...

The National Secretary's exclusive area of responsibility would be the national program. SDS's needs for more effective pro- grams, for internal education, for more and better publications, for the development of responsible structures, coordination of staff and officers, internal financial management, the operation of a new national office, and the reorganization of new chapters and sections. The Secretary would be responsible to the President and Vice President. The National Secretary would be a paid staff member, reporting to the National Office in Chicago, and must discuss any major aspects of the program which are to be attended to by the National Council. The Secretary's role in the national program would be to provide the national organization with a clear and continuous focus on the national program. The Secretary would be responsible for all resolutions passed and decisions made by the National Council at that NC.

On high schools

High schools hold great potential for new SDS members. The National Council has 10 high school chapters and perhaps 650 high school members. It has already been able to be recruited at almost all high schools. Therefore, SDS hereby sets up high school programs which piloting activity should be to distribute copies of "High School Reform: Towards a Student Movement," and other educational programs aimed at high schools. Also a "High School Committee" should be appointed by the President of SDS to submit proposals to the August NC for further programming and possible structural sug-

National secretary's report

Appropriately seventy-five students began a sit-in at the office of Stanford president John C. Ehrman on May 16, requesting him to cancel the May 21 draft exam. The following day the Academic Council was to meet and several professors were invited to bring the question up at the same time, the SCPV invited President Sterling to attend an open meeting on May 19 to discuss the Academic Council decision.

On Wednesday, May 18, it was learned that the Academic Council had tabled the question after the test was to be adminis- tered, and the administration announced that all students would be given an opportunity to take the test. As part of the administra- tion's decision, Dean Wimbegler stated that he had no intention of canceling the test. Asked if he were familiar with the memorandum prepared by SCPV leaders, he replied that he was not. Asked if he considered the moral im- plications of the exam relevant to his decision, he stated that he did not.

On May 19, a rally was held in lieu of the proposed open meeting, and the group pledged to continue its campaign. Administration's decision to provide univer- sity facilities for the Selective Service defer- ment examination. The sit-in lasted for almost fifty hours, and the administration reacted angrily to the students' demonstration subject to discipline. While the immediate object of the sit-in was the cancelling of the May 21 draft exam, other issues were involved: the undemocrati- c character of the decision-making processes at the university, the administration's intention to cooperate with Selective Service on the exam. This is an integrated area and the poor community of Native Americans, who have many of the symptoms of the American urban condition. Indians are especially representative of people who are suffering from a lack of economic opportunity on their own and their educational dependence on government agencies. They come from the reser- vations and the city. They look to the city for anything except manual work, aren't pre­ pared to sacrifice their dignity to this kind of work. They would like to stay in the city, do not stay on welfare or relief too long before going through the syndrome of not being able to find a fulfilling job, then ac­ cepting manual work. The problem is this: the stress which comes in the form of the loss of the city brings an urban culture which has been rejected by the urban Indian by it.

The powers-that-be in Minneapolis have concentrated on the economic problems of the Indian community, although they have systematically made phony attempts to confor- mit the poverty of the reservations.

Recently the Indians in the area of the pro- ject ran a welfare-oriented program (a funny word for program in var­ ious kinds of communities), it has been easy to find a job in this area, but the stress of the city cannot be alleviated.

The Minneapolis Community Project will begin its summer work to build an organization of the poor community on the Near Side. This is an integrated area and the organizing effort will attempt to build an integrated movement of Negroes, Indians, and whites. While not minimizing difficulties that are unique to each group of people, we assume that the problems of each group can be solved within the context of the larger organization.

The majority of the problems faced by each group have the same roots: the demoralization of people, which are compounded by the intolerance of urban power structures, their inability to understand the plight of the poor, and the oppressive inadequacies of the programs designed to help them.

Inclusion of Indians in an urban organizing project makes our project unique. It is ex­ tremely important that we learn to organ­ ize within their context and to learn the strategy.