The Regional Conference will be held Saturday and Sunday, February 3 & 4, at San Francisco State College. Housing will be available for those who want to stay over. Friday night, Feb. 2, at 8:00 p.m. there will be a party at Gene Marchi's for early registrants, 522 27th Ave. San Francisco 387-2388.

PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE

The main purpose of this Regional Conference is to officially set up the Northern California Region. Most people feel a regional office can be important to the future development of SDS by providing coordination between the work of existing chapters and to help new chapters.

The Conference can also provide a place where people from chapters can get together and discuss their problems and experiences of their organizing. We can all learn a lot from what other people are doing.

At this point there are two main issues on which decisions have to be made.

1) For the Spring Program we have to decide on some possible region wide action and suggest possibilities for chapter action.

2) We have to talk about how the actions of the Spring Program can be used to help build local chapters. We also have to decide on the formal structure of the Regional Office and the work it is to do.

FROM THE SDS NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

"Article IV: Regional Organization
Section 1. All or some of the chapters and/or members in a given geographical area may constitute themselves a region of SDS. New regions shall submit their constitutions and be recognized provisionally by the President pending the next regular NC meeting. All disputes over regional boundaries shall be resolved by the NC."

CHAPTER PREPARATION

Chapters should attempt to meet prior to the conference in order to solve the question of representation. We realize that there may be differing views on this question.

We feel the question resolves itself into whether:

1) All persons attending the RC be given a vote.

2) Only delegates (5 from each chapter?) be given a vote.

Proportional representation doesn't seem to be a practical solution, because of vague membership accounting. Each chapter should have decided this question by the time of the conference and we are willing to accept the result of a chapter by chapter vote. Be prepared to designate 5 delegates to the RC in the event that voting by delegates only is approved.

REGISTRATION

Registration will be Saturday morning at 9:00 a.m. in the Gallery Lounge. Because of red tape imposed by S.F. State College administration, a registration fee will not be allowed. However, there will be a $1.50 charge for written materials. The following is a sketchy and tentative agenda, subject to change on the basis of decisions made by the Conference itself.
PROPOSED AGENDA

Saturday

10:00 a.m.
1. Chapter reports (one delegated person should be prepared).
2. Decide on voting representation. (See chapter preparation).
3. Set up workshops - suggestions fall into issue and constituency categories. Issue workshops could meet in the morning and part of the afternoon, and the various constituencies discuss their peculiar organizing problems later in the afternoon.

Issues: education about imperialism, craft-organizing, community projects, repression, university complicity, counter-education, worker-student alliances, etc.

Constituencies: high schools, junior colleges, universities, community, etc.

These are suggestions. The group will add, subtract, and combine. We are asking chapters to send in suggestions, and to try and bring resource people (who have done work in the area) for the workshops you want. The workshops should discuss what regional coordination could do to aid them in their work.

11:30 - 1:00  Workshops
1:00 - 2:00  Lunch
2:00 - 5:00  Reconvene workshops
7:00  Plenary session
1) Short reports from each workshop with discussion of regional coordination for proposed programs.
2) Agenda planning for Sunday.

Sunday

We need to discuss two main areas.

I. Setting up a region - formal structure, finances, communication.

II. Spring Program.

We suggest an evening discussion of Bay Area activities. (If people from afar have to depart early).

Those planning to attend the Regional Conference are invited to write position papers concerning the proposed Spring Program and regional organization. Papers should deal with practical proposals for work rather than statements of support. If you cannot make 150 copies yourself, send it pre-typed on a ditto master of Ronne mimeo stencil to Box 7333, Stanford, Cal.

Directions to S.F. State. Take the Bayshore Freeway to the Daly City Freeway and proceed along the Daly City Freeway to 19th Ave. Carefully follow road signs as you turn right and take 19th, up to the school which is at Holloway. The Gallery Lounge is between the cafeteria and the Education Building.

Directions to Party. 522 27th Ave. is between Geary and Anza, north of Golden Gate park. Take Geary.

Mike Urmann
John Poole
Leonard Siegel
Bill Watson

Paula Dinerstein
Georgia Kelly
Henry Ilian
The question of whether or not SDS should support STDW is significant not only as a single decision on a specific action, but, more important perhaps, as a resolution with deep implications affecting the basic philosophy and direction of the entire radical movement on campus.

We, the undersigned, feel intently that the issues involved are so vital to the movement that they merit the closest possible scrutiny.

I. There is a tendency for protracted political efforts to become, even for the most committed worker, deadening and cold; for the results of labors to lose themselves in what might seem to be a stony ambivalence. Even the most knowledgeable farmer is never sure the seed has taken root until he observes the sprout, even though the root may lie deceptively deep.

The radical movement in the United States today has not reached the point where it can be theoretically certain about its next step. We are not sure that we have always communicated correctly. Thus we are easily disillusioned if we are not constantly reassured that "something is happening." It is a consequence of our position that we, as a movement, need constant revitalization.

Direct action is the most positive means of revitalization we have found.

II. The radical movement, in its searching, is prone to become very introspective. The more inward we become, the less perspective we can achieve. Whatever else we, the undersigned, feel that the radical movement must maintain certain obligations. We have won many victories, perhaps more than we believe. But we can't fall back on past accomplishments. There are many who need proof and re-proof to re-enforce their beliefs, to quell their cynicism. We must show the power structure that we, the radical movement in the United States, cannot be driven from the streets!

III. We, the undersigned, support the idea of STDW for the two broad reasons stated above. On a more local and specific level we support the idea of STDW for the following reasons:

1. We firmly believe that STDW will present, as it has in the past, a great opportunity to organize new people. The anti-war movement is the most fertile of all the issues which we can deal. STDW gives the anti-war movement direction as it raises the level of political consciousness.

2. STDW can give cohesion and perhaps crystallize our efforts to organize high school groups and other burgeoning anti-draft groups such as the Haight Anti-Draft Union.

3. There is a direct tie in with our own "Ten Days of Protest" since the scheduling of both coincide to some extent. STDW would be part of a momentum linking up with our proposed McAllister Street march. The
The drama which STDW promises would yield a decided eagerness to tie in intense newly experienced emotions with our proposed projects which would attempt to relate them to the structure of the system.

IV. There is one fear, namely the fear of busted heads, which lends an extremely serious mien to STDW. Unfortunately, busted heads are part and parcel of radical movement in a totalitarian society. There were many busted heads in the Civil Rights movement — but we kept going.

This fear is perhaps the most cogent reason why SDS should be among the leadership of STDW. For STDW exists. It will exist even if SDS denies it. It will draw support from the campus in general and from all phases of the radical movement.

The tactics decided upon will in some manner imply the number of heads which may be busted. SDS must be part of the decision making body of STDW to assure that the most sensible tactics are approved.

V. In summary. We, the undersigned, support the idea of STDW. We believe that acceptance of the idea of STDW is basic to the philosophy of SDS. We believe that SDS must be formally involved in the decision making body of STDW.

Janice Burgess
Joy Magezis
Barry Biderman
Renee Johnson
Margaret Lealy
Michael Chegliyn
Michael Gotz
Chris Thomas
Mike Rubin
Bob Glick
Bob Biderman
Candy Harline
Alice Greenwald
For three days of the SDS ten days we propose that SDS regionally and perhaps nationally, investigate the ruling bodies on the campuses. At UC this would be the Board of Regents and at the State Colleges the Board of Trustees.

The main focus of the investigation will be the Regents' complicity with the war. The small amount of research done so far shows that the profits of one of the Regents oil companies have risen 35% since 1963. He is on the board of directors of one of the major suppliers to Vietnam. Another Regent is on the board of Lockheed, another publishes the LA Times and another publishes the scab Hearst publications. The Regents policy concerning labor in the individual corporations and on the campus will be a second area of investigation. Also racism, at least on the campus and if possible, in the individual companies. A fourth possibility would be the connections with the Democratic Party, leading up to the action in August.

The idea, as it has been so far formulated, is to hold open hearings on campus for three days during the week of April 22. At the hearings we will call witnesses to testify to the Regents' policies and give other information which is gathered concerning the relationship to the war and US imperialism in general.

There are several strong points to this kind of program. First, it would begin to show that the ruling power in the state (and nationally) and on the campus is big business and that the school administration merely works for them and against us. Secondly, many of the Regents holdings are international as well as national and state-wide. Thus we will be able to show the existence, in fact, of the US as an imperialist power at home and abroad. Another strong point of this action is its ability to involve and educate many new people, to expand the base of SDS. Generally, we will be able to involve people in understanding the nature of the war, of the reality of racism in the society and of labor struggles today. It will not be an exercise in frustration, involving people who are ready to act now but who we are not ready to be consistent or see that as a need. We propose an action on campus which will flow out of the organizing and education done in the months before, against a target symbolic of the Regents' complicity with the war. Specifically, this project could be part of the War Complicity work already being done by most By Area SDS chapters.

People can be involved consistently in many ways: research, publicity, propaganda, agit prp, living group speaking, contacting people to testify and in discussions of what the material we gather means. There should also be other war complicity actions during the spring such as pickets of recruiters, the Monopoly game idea, Kampus Komplicity, Kueen contests, etc.

Another aspect of investigating the regents is the international strike which will also take place during the ten days. Months of propaganda against the university's complicity with and the Regents complicity with the war, racism and anti-labor policies can make the strike become a strike against imperialism and the university rather than a strike to end the war, for peace and to stop the bombing. And SDS could take a leading role both ideologically and organizationally in the strike.

We feel that this is a program which can be valuable to all campuses as an organizing and educational tool, and one which can build SDS chapters broader bases. We encourage the regional conference to accept it as part the coordinated events of the Ten Days.

Judy Aminoff  Marion Cohen  Joan Kramer
Leticia Cantu  Lynn Halmi  Mike Urmann
Ted Hayes  Berkeley SDS
ON CAMPUS CHAPTERS
by Paula Dinerstein

Anyone who has been around SDS knows that campus chapters are usually very flimsy and fragile entities. They can swell to impressive size over a broad issue, crisis or massive demonstration. Endless discussions have been held on how to hold on to these new members. The answers are always the same. Avoid crisis orientation and create long-term deep-rooted chapter projects. But this rarely happens, and when it does, it only involves the hard-core who would stick around in almost any case.

I think that a regional organization can develop a general perspective on what an SDS chapter should be and how it can serve its members so as to be a meaningful part of their lives. It could serve as a model for isolated activists who want to form new chapters or on their campuses, as well as for attempts to revamp and rehabilitate the monsters that have been generated on the big campuses. The region would exist to service chapters to these ends and for communications and co-ordination purposes.

These are my ideas. I'm sure there will be modifications and changes in light of the experiences and perspective of others.

I. A chapter should be forced to serve its members, not to participate in this or that project or mobilization. This means that first priorities should be local draft counseling and resistance, campus and local community issues, research into campus complicity, contracts, local power structure, etc.

Internal education. Political: studying and discussing movement perspectives on imperialism, theories of government and social change. Basically this means discovering what forces shape American society, and what are the strategies for change. If people are expected to stick around for more than "one-shot" causes, they must be able to gain a long-term political perspective. Student, domestic and international problems can be seen as caused by the same general structure, ideology, and sickness of our society. Radical change means transforming the roots of society, and to do this we must first find them and devise a tentative strategy of attack. National, SDS, and ARP (radical education project) put out a great deal of literature in this area-every chapter should have it available-which can serve as a good starting point. Counter-courses: Anything people would like to be learning instead of what they are getting in school.

How to stay in the Movement: Are you training to become part of the system? What can you do about it? Radical possibilities in the professions (this would involve important research), or counter-possibilities, i.e. communal living, co-operative support, etc.

II. Relation to political confrontations: A chapter with strong roots can then easily and effectively react to massive projects and political crises. For instance the research on the local campus and community complicity and power structure is essential to organizing the kind of anti-imperialist demonstrations claimed for the SDS April program. This research on the local campus and community draft work can mobilize people for Stop the Draft week.

Every chapter should have provisions for legal aid, bail, and perhaps some kind of training in tactics of self-defense, if it makes sense in the area. The region should probably set up a network for these functions.

Of course we want chapters with political striking ability—this is obvious. But it is second priority because we have nothing unless
we have chapters that can radicalize people and sustain them in a radical way of life. Shovy superficial actions can be immediately gratifying, but build nothing. The reason for self-help and self-education is to make the movement part of people's lives and start them thinking about how to make a lifetime commitment. This is on a formal, mainly political level. But a life is much more than political. A radical way of life is social and cultural as well. Chapter organizers should begin to think a great deal in terms of group dynamics and interpersonal relations. How to involve every person in the chapter (the problem of leadership, elites, cliques), and how to deepen relationships beyond politics (nitty-gritty discussions, parties, dealing with personal problems) doing things with art, music, drama, drugs, and whatever people are involved in.

PROBLEMS AND TECHNIQUES

Formally, any group of five or more national members can become a chapter. They should send in a membership list, constitution or statement of purposes, and list of officers (if any). They are to be chartered by a national or regional council meeting, and provisionally recognized by an officer of either until the next meeting. Chapters are expected to follow within the broad outlines of regional and national policy.

On campus

There are several advantages in being recognized as an official on-campus organization. First of all, it makes you visible to your broadcast, most immediate potential constituency via tables with literature distribution, leaflets in student mailboxes, speakers and meeting rooms on campus, newspapers for announcements, and in some cases, the bar stools involved in being officially recognized by the Administration.

Other facilities on campus include typewriters and mimeo, sound equipment, libraries, bookstores, art supplies, construction projects with lots of wood for picket signs, etc.; and many more if you use a little imagination.

Atmosphere: The campus still makes some vestigial claims to be a place of free intellectual inquiry. Any denial of rights to leaflet, speak, or organize, and you have an issue with their rhetoric on your side. Important research into the connection of professors and school programs to the war, or regents with segregated housing, or radicals in the professions, or on who pulls the strings in the community and how to pressure them, or on who determines curriculum and policy at the college and how to gain a voice is an exercise of academic freedom. Moreover, professors and students have the resources, skills, and inclination for those projects (which, don't forget, must lead to action if they are to be worth anything). Seminars, discussion groups, controversial speakers and free publications also fit in with the professional purposes of the college and the inclinations of the people. They seem legitimate to students, and in many places, anyone taking an active interest in learning anything is a rare and precious occasion for professors.

Relation to community

Relating to your own neighbors as outsiders is probably the most difficult task of radical students. You don't want to become isolated as the semiradical gadflies, nor do you want to intrude on other people's thing (especially different ethnic and social groups), nor do you want to be co-opted into serving liberal and middle-class values in trying to cooperate with church groups, government projects, etc. Treading the thin line of creatively relating to the community while maintaining your integrity as a radical group is a unique problem in every situation; you must judge for yourselves, and reassess often as
you go along.

You can mobilize many a-political students and gain a great deal of support by working with existing tutorial projects, church or government community projects in training, teen centers, tenants' unions, and with labor unions. You can often get ministers and these community groups to help you with your interests: providing facilities, finances, and personnel for discussion forums, draft counseling, protecting repression.

(i.e. many professors and ministers are now working on petitions of complicity with Speck and Coffin).

But keep your radicalizing eyes open when you work with those people! If a tutorial project is training kids to accept the system, or is not bold enough experimentally to break out of the programmed-learning fear-instilling bag that caused the kids to fail in school in the first place, then you break out of the structures of the program, or even form your own counter-program.

If a community project won't act against the power structure, you must be aware of this—do your homework: know who is screwing the people—landlords, urban renewal, the welfare board, the local police, or even the city traffic bureau or garbage collection agency. And the most effective means of applying pressure; from all kinds of demonstrations, boycotts, rent-strikes to police patrols and legal cases. Find out from the people what they want changed in their lives. Your job is to know who has the power to change those things and suggest some ways of making "the man" hurt. Be careful to keep the initiative and decision-making power with the people—it's their movement and they're not going to trust anyone who appears to be manipulating it.

Supporting strikes of exploited workers (such as the farm laborers in Calif.) is a popular project, and you can establish relations with good people in the labor movement—breaking the isolation and combating the ignorance of students and workers in regard to each other.

Finances.

You will need money. That's all there is to it. Everything costs money. Literature, publicity, mailings, phones, speakers, novices, supplies, room, lawyers for start-ups. You have to raise funds for these, or else find people who will provide them free (which is the same thing). The regional and national offices will ask for money. If you think it is worthwhile, your chapter should pay the travel and subsistence expenses for a regional traveler to visit your area.

You might make money selling literature and buttons (chapters can get SDs at 50%), or you might not make back your investment. Big fundraisers that will cost you a lot in hiring performers and publicity are also risky. Most important are low level, secure fund sources. Monthly pledges of various amounts from members, sympathetic individuals and organizations. (Sometimes it is easier to ask for money for a specific project.) Fund-raising parties—small admission fee and maybe charge 10 or 15 cents for cups of cheap beer and wine. Low cost benefits—if you can go novices cheaply, performers to donate, local rock bands for dances, etc.

There are all kinds of possibilities—the most important thing is to have people at work to bring in a continual flow of money. Constant poverty and financial crises can really bring a chapter (or anybody) down.
IMMODEST PROPOSAL FOR A NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REGION OF SDS

The chapter is the basic unit of SDS. There is a need for regional coordination, cooperation, and communication between SDS chapters. There should therefore be, in Northern California, some type of regional apparatus. At this point the apparatus should not be an office, but hopefully it will grow into such an institution.

STAFF

The primary function of the regional staff is to serve the existing chapters. It should also help build new ones. The staff, therefore, should not become isolated from our base. This means that they should be members of chapters, either campus-based or community-based.

On the regional staff should be one individual responsible for chapter communication and coordination. This person should be responsible for the publication of a regional newsletter.

An important position which is hard to fill is that of fund-raiser. This person must be able to work full-time in soliciting funds and arranging fund-raising events.

There should be special staff for various projects. Regional programs such as draft resistance and high school organizing may require travelers or coordinators.

Theoretically regional travelers are not necessary to maintain communications. Unfortunately, movement people don't trust the state's postal service on the imperialist phone system. If chapters voluntarily communicate with one another, as well as the regional staff, then travelers are not needed.

Hopefully, members of chapters will keep up the personal bonds by traveling informally.

Chapter organizers are usually grouped with travelers. Their function is not the same. In places where there is potential for an SDS chapter, and where existing chapters cannot or will not help them get organized, then individual organizers are required. Their position should not be one of presenting a "regional line," however. Under no circumstances should such an organizer be in the position of undermining an existing chapter which is nearby.

FUNCTIONS OF THE REGION

The most important function of the regional apparatus is the editing and publishing of a newsletter. To maintain a representative newsletter chapters should submit reports and analyses twice a month. These reports should deal with failures as well as success, diddlyshit (spel?) organizing as well as militant action.

There should be, in addition, informal correspondence and telephone communication. When something comes up quickly at one of the schools, then the staff should be notified immediately.

The region should coordinate speaking tours, film tours, and should offer fund-raising events. It should line up bands willing to do benefits and campus performances. The proceeds from campus performances could be split between the region and the chapter. The region should also line up bands un willing to do benefits, and shoot them.

Literature production and storage should be an important function of the regional "office."

The regional staff, upon consultation with chapters, should set up regional conferences, but not too often.
The region should propose and coordinate regional activities. The regional or sub-regional councils should plan the activities. The region should be responsible for calling solidarity actions for threatened chapters.

REGIONAL COUNCILS

The regional council should not meet very often. Its meetings should not be determined by schedule, but by need. The regional decision-making process should be by poll and informal arguments. The chief reason for this is to give outlying chapters an equal voice.

Voting should be accomplished on a one chapter--one vote principle. This is because the importance of the region is based on its ability to help small chapters build.

SUB-REGIONS

There are two potentially cohesive sub-regions in Northern California. These are the Sacramento area (which is already operating as such) and the bay area, where regional cooperation occurs periodically, and ties exist between major chapters. The sub-regions would include any chapter which were willing to take part.

The sub-regions would develop close ties within.
They would plan coordinated actions.
They will attempt to define regional organizing programs.
They would hold sub-regional councils.

Leonard Siegel
Stanford SDS
Temporary Northern California SDS
**A PROPOSAL FOR A WORKER - STUDENT ALLIANCE**

We feel that the Summer Work-In proposal has rightly pointed out the necessity of widening the movement to include working people. The following proposal is designed to provide the opportunity to take a first in exploiting the community of self-interests which workers and students share.

Support for worker's struggles can be generated on campus by publicizing the current national strike in the copper industry. The strike which has stopped 90% of the copper production in the U.S. is now in its seventh month. This is the longest industry-wide strike in U.S. history. The companies, Phelps Dodge, Kennecott, Anaconda, and American Smelting and Refining are trying to break the unions. They have built up gigantic reserves, and are importing copper from Chile.

The workers are standing solid. The mines, smelters, and mills remain closed. Strikers in many company towns are forced to live on $20 - 25 per week in strike benefits. They are now faced with threatened mass evictions as well as repossession. Utility companies are also beginning to move toward cutting off electric power etc.

Here's what we could do:

1. Help to stop student scabs from working in the mills and smelters. Such students are attracted by the offer of non-existent managerial positions. In reality they are nothing more than strike breakers. (Kennecott hired on the Berkeley campus last Summer)

2. Send money to striking locals to help pay worker's mortgages etc. It
is necessary to stop evictions in order to keep morale at its present level.

3. Publicize the real nature of the strike and worker's demands. At the moment only the companies' viewpoint is being reported in the press.

Students can be organized around such issues (viz. the Delano strike), and future worker support for students is contingent upon our active support of their current struggles.

submitted by:
Ken Epstein SDS, PLP
John Poole SDS

(members of the Berkeley SDS labor Comm.)
Proposal for a Summer Work-In in the Region

As the student movement continues to grow both qualitatively and quantitatively the need to make ties with the working class community becomes more apparent. An example of this is the remark made by a rock-throwing student at the Rusk demonstration, "I have to do this, to hell with everyone else!" While this represents an inspiring personal commitment to fight, it represents the kind of individualist approach which is suicidal to any movement. We cannot isolate ourselves from potential allies in the community and factory, this would play into the hands of those who are now moving to repress us. Self-containment is not only self-defeating, it represents tremendous conceit. Students alone are not capable of making real and permanent change in this country, nor are we the only people who need change. In order to win our fights we must ally with all people who are hurt by the system and fight it, whether this means the black liberation movement or striking miners. In order to further the understanding between workers and students, and in order to be in a position to build real worker-student alliances, an SDS Summer Work-In is proposed.

Students working in factories, offices, etc., offer great potential for learning about the attitudes of working people toward the student movement (particularly the anti-war movement), and will give us an opportunity to correct some of the wrong impressions. It will give students a chance to understand the pressures on a worker, the fight he has to keep a job, a decent wage, fight corrupt unions, and worry with all the expenses and hassles of raising kids in this screwed up society. It may give some student radicals an idea of where and how he can be most useful after he leaves school. If a student handles himself right on the job and makes some personal friends among the workers it is possible that the worker will call on the student for help during the next strike or union struggle, to do research, leaflet or picket. The potential for learning and teaching are tremendous.

The prime reason to coordinate this through the Region is to maximize the effect of students working. An isolated student who trudges to work each day, listens to the gripes and even pro-war and racist comments of some workers with no frame for analysis or learning is not furthering the "cause"...in fact, he can become cynical and more distasteful about workers. With some perspective and organization, this experience could become an education in itself, and a challenge.

Organizationally, each SDS Chapter in the Region would have an Area Coordinator to: 1) Leaflet at school, call a meeting to explain the work-in, encourage people to participate, etc., 2) Explore and research the best job possibilities in the area with the interested students, 3) Maintain contact with work-in students over the summer; collect reports, encourage people to write up experiences, try to analyze them, and perhaps arrange regular talk sessions where people could compare experiences and advise one another, etc. A Regional Coordinator, or one of the Area Coordinators could be responsible for publishing the reports and exchanges, distributing them to the areas.

Submitted by: San Francisco State Chapter
(Labor Committee)
Proposal for Anti-Draft Spring Program

1. Chapters should form "anti-draft" committees. These committees should circulate "We Won't Go" statements in attempting to organize seniors and graduate students against the draft, and also work with people willing to go in the army and organize troops against the war.

2. The committees should try to expand into the community by involving groups from other campuses, high schools and communities in programs against the draft apparatus in that city or town.

3. The city or town anti-draft groups should conduct a series of local actions against members of local draft boards, their businesses etc. The aim being the creation of a base of support in the community.

4. SDS should push the anti-imperialist position within the anti-draft movement; which means connecting the draft with the larger issues in society.

5. The Berkeley Anti-Draft Union will serve as a regional coordinator for anti-draft regional activity.

6. Any future mass actions against the Oakland Induction Center should be planned by regional meetings of the anti-draft groups and should be based on the perspective of building a long term anti-draft movement.

Against Mass

- Anti-Draft Workshop - Dem
THOUGHTS ON PREPARATION FOR THE SPRING PROGRAM
by Susan Adelman and Shari Whitehead
Berkeley SDS

At the SDS National Council meeting in December, a Proposal was adopted to provide direction for a nationally co-ordinated action to take place April 20-30. We should begin now the discussions of that resolution and what it means to the chapters, so that our Spring program has some real political content. We will talk specifically to the Berkeley chapter, but we feel that these suggestions may be useful for other chapters as well.

1) The first action of the Spring program could start on Sunday, April 21. The first three days would be primarily educational. We would sponsor expose hearings on the Regents, their corporate holdings, and how those holdings affect university policies. In addition, this framework could provide a much-needed opportunity to begin education about the Democratic Party and the electoral process as it works in the interests of big business. With a view that the Democratic convention will be the focus of National attention, it is in our radical interest to make the community aware of the farcical nature of the event. The structure and organization for those hearings has been set up, and people are beginning to do work.

The hearings would open Sunday night; and meetings would be held Monday and Tuesday, April 22 and 23, from 12-4 in the afternoon.

2) The next two days, the 24th and 25th, actions should center on the campus. Specifically, the educational system and manpower channeling should be attacked. One example might be the turning of classrooms into forums on education -- how are individual classes and how are they NOT educational? What do your classes have to do with your life and the problems you will face? etc.

3) On Friday, April 26, there will be an internationally co-ordinated student strike, directed against the War, university complicity with the war, and racism (on- and off-campus). The strike also gives us an opportunity to show solidarity with the Vietnamese students. SDS should organize for the strike, keeping in mind that "numbers" is not the goal but that education is; we should have a "teach-in" on the day of the strike to give striking students an opportunity to learn during that time spent out of class.

4) On Saturday, April 27, it would be appropriate to hold a demonstration at Livermore to protest one blatant example of university defense (WAR) work.

5) Culminating the 10 days of action could be 2 days of regionally co-ordinated anti-draft actions in Oakland. Sunday could be used for a mass rally and monitor meetings, with the actions themselves taking place on Monday and Tuesday, April 29 and 30th.
A Proposal for Spring Program

Assumption 1. The goal of S.D.S. is to build a mass student and youth movement for the purpose of struggle against the system; with the aim of that struggle being the establishment of a new society in which people democratically control the institutions that effect their lives.

Assumption 2. The constituency that S.D.S. hopes to represent (students and youth) views the draft as the institution that is most threatening to their lives. The position of S.D.S. on the draft is that no one should be drafted to fight in the imperialist wars that the U.S. is now fighting or will be fighting in the future. Also, S.D.S. does not recognize any legitimacy to the authority of the Selective Service System since it operates in the interest of the ruling class; not in the interest of the people.

Assumption 3. There are masses of new people who could be brought into the struggle against the draft, including: high school students, graduate students, junior college students, non-student youth and black youth.

Assumption 4. The growing campaign of repression against the anti-draft movement is a result of the effectiveness of that movement; and reflects a growing fear among U.S. ruling circles that they will be unable to recruit the mass armies necessary for the defense of U.S. imperialism.

Assumption 5. The tactics of mass demonstrations have been important in building the movement. The April march in 1965 and the recent Oakland actions were successful because they flowed from a new base which had been organized on relevant issues. We must develop to tactics in order to continue mass demonstrations. We must be prepared to move into a new phase of struggle which reflects the growing crisis of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.

Conclusion: S.D.S. should organize anti-draft groups throughout the region in colleges, graduate schools, junior colleges, high schools - and the community. Flowing from the work of these groups a program of mass actions against the draft apparatus should be planned for the last ten days of April to coincide with national actions. The exact nature of the demonstrations shall be worked out by another regional meeting consisting of the different anti-draft groups in the region. S.D.S. should decide now that it plans to take an active part in these actions provided that they represent the wishes of the anti-draft forces and not those of self-appointed leaders. S.D.S. should try to work through the STOP THE DRAFT COMMITTEE unless that committee pursues policies detrimental to the movement.
POSITION PAPER IN SUPPORT OF STDW

The question of whether or not SDS should support STDW is significant not only as a single decision on a specific action, but, more important perhaps, as a resolution with deep implications affecting the basic philosophy and direction of the entire radical movement on campus.

We, the undersigned, feel intently that the issues involved are so vital to the movement that they merit the closest possible scrutiny.

I. There is a tendency for protracted political efforts to become, even for the most committed worker, deadening and cold; for the results of labors to lose themselves in what might seem to be a stony ambivalence. Even the most knowledgeable farmer is never sure the seed has taken root until he observes the sprout, even though the root may lie deceptively deep.

The radical movement in the United States today has not reached the point where it can be theoretically certain about its next step. We are not sure that we have always communicated correctly. Thus we are easily disillusioned if we are not constantly reassured that "something is happening." It is a consequence of our position that we, as a movement, need constant revitalization.

Direct action is the most positive means of revitalization we have found.

II. The radical movement, in its searching, is prone to become very introspective. The more inward we become, the less perspective we can achieve. Whatever else, we, the undersigned, feel that the radical movement must maintain certain obligations. We have won many victories, perhaps more than we believe. But we can't fall back on past accomplishments. There are many who need proof and re-proof to re-enforce their beliefs, to quell their cynicism. We must show the power structure that we, the radical movement in the United States, cannot be driven from the streets!

III. We, the undersigned, support the idea of STDW for the two broad reasons stated above. On a more local and specific level we support the idea of STDW for the following reasons:

1. We firmly believe that STDW will present, as it has in the past, a great opportunity to organize new people. The anti-war movement is the most fertile of all the issues with which we can deal. STDW gives the anti-war movement direction as it raises the level of political consciousness.

2. STDW can give cohesion and perhaps crystallize our efforts to organize high school groups and other burgeoning anti-draft groups such as the Haight Anti-Draft Union.

3. There is a direct tie in with our own "Ten Days of Protest" since the scheduling of both coincide to some extent. STDW would be part of a momentum linking up with our proposed McAllister Street march. The
The drama which STDW promises would yield a decided eagerness to tie in intense newly experienced emotions with our proposed projects which would attempt to relate them to the structure of the system.

IV. There is one fear, namely the fear of busted heads, which lends an extremely serious mien to STDW. Unfortunately, busted heads are part and parcel of radical movement in a totalitarian society. There were many busted heads in the Civil Rights movement — but we kept going.

This fear is perhaps the most cogent reason why SDS should be among the leadership of STDW. For STDW exists. It will exist even if SDS denies it. It will draw support from the campus in general and from all phases of the radical movement.

The tactics decided upon will in some manner imply the number of heads which may be busted. SDS must be part of the decision making body of STDW to assure that the most sensible tactics are approved.

V. In summary, we, the undersigned, support the idea of STDW. We believe that acceptance of the idea of STDW is basic to the philosophy of SDS. We believe that SDS must be formally involved in the decision making body of STDW.

Janice Burgess
Joy Magezis
Barry Biderman
Renee Johnson
Margaret Lealy
Michael Chegily
Michael Gotz
Chris Thomas
Mike Jabin
Bob Glick
Bob Biderman
Candy Harline
Alice Greenwald
Position Paper on STOP THE DRAFT WEEK

Since one of our objectives is to work out a spring program, and a Stop the Draft Week proposal appears to be one of the leading contenders, we hope that all those seriously committed to building a strong regional organization, capable of carrying out important region-wide tasks, will consider this proposal carefully and very critically. The outcome of our decision could determine the strength of our region.

We do not want to detract from the good aspects of last October's STDW; we are all aware of them; we have never hesitated to applaud ourselves because of them:

Three years of Bay Area anti-war organizing, including a year of draft-resistance organized specifically around the Oakland induction center, led five thousand people to immobilize the police forces of five counties; and to close down the induction center. The lessons of Tuesday showed us how to avoid serious injury on Friday. Publicity was relatively good because not only demonstrators but newsmen were victims of police action. And, most important, those who had taken matters into their own hands in the streets of Oakland became optimistic about the future of resistance to the war.

But we should not ignore some very obvious faults, or overlook the fact that where Oakland STDW had some tactical success, similar attempts in other parts of the country failed miserably. We must not forget that the government has learned lessons, too, and because STDW was largely an emotional confrontation by thousands of people, poorly with little political direction, it failed to create a sense of long-range political commitment; and of those who participated, few evidently returned to the campus or community to organize.

The champions of an April STDW-2 claim that the government fears the anti-draft movement and that we should move now against this fear; that those indicted, including Spock and the seven members of the local STDW steering committee, must be supported; that STDW will increase consciousness about the nature of this system; that since October STDW in some respects originated from a year of anti-draft organizing, April STDW-2 will also be an outgrowth of work which we will have done, and that it will be a tool for continuing that work.

Some of these arguments are good because they point out the real work that has to be done. But STDW enthusiasts, we believe, have drawn the wrong conclusions. The government, for example, fears a strong anti-draft movement, but in general STDW-type demonstrations detract from building the organized radical commitment necessary for such a movement. STDW, or any kind of demonstration for that matter, is not in itself an effective defense of Spock and the seven indicted because at this point (as we all know) dissent is tolerated only when ineffective, and any militant "defense" of those indicted will be tolerated only as
long as it constitutes no defense at all. We do not argue against militant demonstrations, but we must remind ourselves that our false sense of impending revolution when we took over Oakland’s streets last October obscured the fact that we are still small and very isolated. This is not a case of increasing consciousness about the nature of the system, but a case of diffusing that consciousness and of heedlessly venting the movement’s frustrations "because there is nothing else to do". Moreover, STDW-2 will not be the outgrowth of work which we have done because, in fact, we have done very little since October. STDW-2 would occur in a vacuum.

Beneath all these objections is a single underlying objection which, we hope, can also be taken as an alternative to STDW: We must first build a base. At present very little anti-draft work is actually being carried out. Multi-issue radical groups in high schools, colleges, and the community are only barely beginning. Graduating students will lose their deferments this summer, and we must win them over—not to closing down the induction center for one morning (which will do them no good), but to rejuvenating the anti-draft movement through long-range, consistent and unfortunately, less “heroic” day-to-day work. This is not an original, and to some not a very exciting, proposal. But it is the kind of thing we have always been doing whenever we were doing our best.

San Francisco State College Chapter
Students for a Democratic Society
A Proposal for Spring Program

Assumption 1. The goal of S.D.S. is to build a mass student and youth movement for the purpose of struggle against the system; with the aim of that struggle being the establishment of a new society in which people democratically control the institutions that effect their lives.

Assumption 2. The constituency that S.D.S. hopes to represent (students and youth) views the draft as the institution that is most threatening to their lives. The position of S.D.S. on the draft is that no one should be drafted to fight in the imperialist wars that the U.S. is now fighting or will be fighting in the future. Also, S.D.S. does not recognize any legitimacy to the authority of the Selective Service System since it operates in the interest of the ruling class; not in the interest of the people.

Assumption 3. There are masses of new people who could be brought into the struggle against the draft, including: high school students, graduate students, junior college students, non-student youth and black youth.

Assumption 4. The growing campaign of repression against the anti-draft movement is a result of the effectiveness of that movement; and reflects a growing fear among U.S. ruling circles that they will be unable to recruit the mass armies necessary for the defense of U.S. imperialism.

Assumption 5. The tactics of mass demonstrations have been important in building the movement. The April march in 1965 and the recent Oakland actions were successful because they flowed from a new base which had been organized on relevant issues. We must develop new tactics in order to continue mass demonstrations. We must be prepared to move into a new phase of struggle which reflects the growing crisis of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.

Conclusion: S.D.S. should organize anti-draft groups throughout the region in colleges, graduate schools, junior colleges, high schools and the community. Flowing from the work of these groups a program of mass actions against the draft apparatus should be planned for the last ten days of April to coincide with national actions. The exact nature of the demonstrations shall be worked out by another regional meeting consisting of the different anti-draft groups in the region. S.D.S. should decide now that it plans to take an active part in these actions provided that they represent the wishes of the anti-draft forces and not those of self-appointed leaders. S.D.S. should try to work through the STOP THE DRAFT WORK COMMITTEE unless that committee pursues policies detrimental to the movement.