

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 6 OF 16

FOLDER 6

REPORTS ON STRUCTURE
PROGRAM & OTHER
MATTERS

GUILD PERSPECTIVES AND PROGRAM FOR THE 1970'S

The National Lawyers Guild is deeply committed to the struggle for radical social change. We generally agree on what is wrong with this society, but we don't all agree on what should be done about it or how to do it. We hope that all of us can unite on that which we agree and freely struggle over our disagreements. We do not seek simply to impose our views on the organization. We seek unity, not disintegration. We want to struggle. We come to that struggle with a desire for unity and progress and with a desire to get the work of the Guild done properly.

In the past, some of us have made personal attacks on those we disagree with and we are critical of ourselves. Others who have disagreed with us have at times also made their criticisms personal rather than political. The Guild and each of us has suffered from these mistakes. Hopefully we can all overcome the effects of this society which teaches us to criticize in a competitive rather than constructive way. We also understand that lawyers are particularly sensitive to criticism and tend to see it in terms of personalities. We urge people to look for political content.

Crucial to constructive and political criticism is a direct and thorough examination and discussion of the issues and of our differences. Glossing over the differences and the superficial unity which results, may make us personally more comfortable, but does not help the Guild and its members grow and develop. A direct and thorough examination helps us to learn from other's strong points and helps us change weak points.

At its July 1968 Convention, the Guild stated that it "faces squarely the need for radical change in the structure of our political and economic system." It further recognized the fact that our legal system is the creation of our society and thus stated that it "seeks to change society so that it will more adequately meet the needs of its people." At this July 1971 Convention we are confronted with the responsibility of implementing the prior declaration that the Guild is an organization which recognizes the need for and seeks basic social change.

The Commitment to Basic Social Change

One of the prime sources of the current dispute within the Guild is over the meaning of basic social change or revolution. If revolutionary change means only economic and political change then it might be correct to say that the Guild's role and "obligation is to protect the rights of the movement organizations to have the opportunity to develop and win the support of the people."* However, the nature of the struggle for radical social change today has significant differences from that which existed in the 1930's when the Guild was first organized. Today, basic social change means not only change of an economic system and the seizure of political power but also the revolutionizing and liberating of relationships between people--relationships which are marked by oppression, sexism and racism of pervasive social institutions.

In the last few years we have learned that revolutionary struggle is conducted in a variety of ways on many diverse fronts. Revolutionary struggle is not only armed struggle or struggle around the economic and/or political order; it is also struggle which challenges the assumptions of our social existence as defined and controlled by U.S. society; it is struggle to change people's consciousness about the institutions of society and their own social existences. Fidel has said that consciousness will be to the American Revolution what hunger was to the Cuban.

The revolutionary movement in this country gains much of its vitality and energy from the recognition that change is a process of altering both oppressive institutions and oppressive relationships among people. If the Guild is serious about its commitment to basic social change, both of these areas must be attacked simultaneously.

The Guild a Radical Organization as Opposed to a Left-Liberal Coalition

It has been suggested that rather than clearly stating a position in favor of radical change, the Guild should alter its direction and become a broad lawyers organization including "the center...the element that does not support the ultimate movement objectives but that can be won in the fight for the liberties of all people." According to this view, the Guild's primary focus should be on building a broad coalition of liberal and left lawyers "to protect the rights of the movement organizations to have the opportunity to develop and win the support of the people." This coalition proposal arises from a desire to meet what is viewed as growing repression. However, the proposal misconceives for radicals both the nature of the fight against repression and the nature of repression itself. Repression can only be defeated by the continued growth of a strong revolutionary movement.

We recognize that activities directed at preserving "bourgeois democracy" and defeating particular repressive measures are important. But such activities cannot preoccupy radicals with the end result that the building of revolutionary consciousness is sacrificed to the coalition. The fight to preserve or defend what one already has is not in any way revolutionary. A radical approach to repressive measures must not be directed at having the system restore its own liberal ways of ruling; but, rather, we must build a movement with a consciousness that the system does not work. It is in this sense that radicals must reject an

* Quoted material is from a statement entitled "National Lawyers Guild: Perspectives for the Boulder Convention, 1971."

approach to repression which seeks only to defend bourgeois rights.

This does not mean that we denigrate or ignore the activities of liberals and civil libertarians. We can and should relate to them and their activities but such relationships can only be on the basis of what we are--radicals and revolutionaries--not on our pretending that we are what they are. Time and again in the history of U.S. radicalism, radicals have been urged to dilute their politics in favor of what is thought to be broad (non-radical) forms. The results have too often been an absence of the development of radical approaches and radical consciousness, and the ultimate defeat of the radical movement itself. We must seek to develop and nourish revolutionary consciousness wherever we are -- whether in the area of medical work, in a university campus, in a commune, a factory, or in the area of law work. We must not dilute our views and blunt our experiences, but rather we must expose our views and sharpen experiences wherever we are.

For example, in the current battles around the Pentagon papers the left-liberal approach would be to secure the largest coalition around freedom of the press. A radical approach would be to emphasize what those papers reveal about the War and U.S. imperialism and what the taking of those papers reveals about the necessity of struggle against U.S. Indochina policy by all means possible -- lawful or unlawful. No one denies that a broad coalition on the free press issue is helpful. But if an organization composed of radicals is not to undertake the radical approach to the struggle -- then who is? Moreover, while the Supreme Court has ruled in favor of the newspapers on the free press issue...the War goes on.

Further, it has been suggested that the role of the "radical lawyer is to utilize the formal equality of the law...in behalf of the people" and that it is the people or our "clients who struggle against imperialism and to end exploitation, who struggle for peace, and for economic, social and racial justice."

Certainly one role of the radical lawyer is to use whatever legal procedures are available on behalf of those struggling against the system -- but an equally important role for the radical lawyer is to point out the contradictions within the legal system to illustrate that equality before the law is in fact a myth, that the law is a powerful tool of those who economically, politically and socially exploit the masses of the people. We believe that an organization which finds it necessary to work within the legal system and that believes in basic social change can and must in fact be revolutionary, particularly in the way it confronts institutions and defines itself.

The Admission of Legal Workers

We see the whole movement as shaken and challenged to its core by the development of the Women's Movement. Elitism, professionalism, statism, chauvinism, individualism -- isms which have long held back the struggle for change are under question as some of the victims of these isms begin to move. The challenge to the legal profession and to the lawyer as a holder and abuser of specialized skills and power comes not in a vacuum.

The legal worker issue is not simply the "woman problem." Women have not raised issues which go only to their own oppression. Many of the issues they raise touch the nerve center of the oppression of us all. The fact that most legal workers are women is no more a coincidence in this society than is the fact that most third world people are poor.

Granted that sexism and elitism will hardly be "solved...by mechanically changing the nature of Guild membership." Rather the admission of legal workers will begin to challenge the way in which society has taught us to define relationships and will begin a process of social re-evaluation and redefinition.

As the people challenge the lawyers' monopoly over information, the role of non-lawyers grows. And as non-lawyers do more and more legal work, they question the monopoly of lawyers over the decision making process that controls that work.

Within a courtroom context, we have rejected old or bad precedent and we have sought new, creative, radical approaches to legal theory and doctrine. Likewise, legal workers are challenging old concepts of work and social alliances and are challenging the Guild to become more responsive to the needs of people -- the needs of people who share a common broad ideological goal to examine and establish relationships not based upon status and roles defined in particular ways by society to perpetuate control over people's lives. It isn't that we need not, we must not wait to challenge the conditions and contradictions of our society until a "basic reorganization of society has been achieved." For social change cannot occur without a change in the consciousness of people; and part of our obligation is to build that consciousness amongst ourselves as well as amongst the community in which we work.

The proposal to admit legal workers and the approach discussed above does not involve an "insistence on one particular style of work, and of life generally . . . (as) a precondition of membership." We do not propose any preconditions to membership nor do we propose to close the Guild to any lawyers -- whether they work in a Wall Street office or in a commune. Rather, we propose to open the Guild to all those who are significantly involved in the area of legal work. We do not believe that this will discourage lawyers and law students from joining the Guild. We believe that many of them will be attracted to an organization which earnestly attempts to function in a new way in the legal area and to challenge the conventional professional relationships which oppress and restrict them in their daily lives.

The admission of legal workers would enable the Guild to become a more powerful and versatile organization in the area of legal work. Their membership would accurately reflect the fact that struggles in the legal area have many facets, in addition to courtroom representation. They are currently publicizing and organizing against the new, restrictive voir dire rules, distributing information on grand juries, developing legal and service projects for prisoners and ex-prisoners, and organizing community legal defense offices. The People's Law School now being organized is largely the result of their inspiration and work. They are doing work on Guild newsletters and they have helped organize fundraising events. In addition, nearly all legal workers provide clerical skills which are virtually indispensable to presenting a case in court. Many of them do considerably more when they have the opportunity: researching juries, finding witnesses and taking their statements, raising bail, doing general and legal research, encouraging community support, and coordinating many elements of mass defense operations. Some of us provide information on out-of-court problems such as draft, divorce, landlord-tenant disputes, and welfare rights violations.

The admission of legal workers will increase the trend toward building an organization to meet the legal needs of the people. With more people trained in legal skills, developing new formations for legal work such as law collectives, community law offices, community legal defense offices and constituency-based legal projects; we shall be able to provide more and more services for everyday people with common legal problems.

We must expand our political/legal activities to include offensives against the legal system. We must expose it for what it is -- one of the strongest buttresses of American racism, sexism and imperialism. This work can be carried out most effectively with those who have not been instilled with the trappings of professionalism. Experience demonstrates that skilled legal workers are among the best able to translate legal jargon into understandable language. In addition, legal workers are not hampered by the distrust that many community people have for lawyers. Community people feel more comfortable in learning from legal workers because they see that it is not necessary to go to law school to understand what is happening to them when they feel the brunt of "legal" oppression. The Guild must develop a program aimed at exposing every aspect of legal oppression in this society; and legal workers are essential to virtually every stage of that program.

The admission of legal workers as members of the Guild will in no way undermine either the creation of local committees to defend political prisoners, or of a potential national mass defense organization that might develop in the future. The Guild cannot and should not try to usurp the propaganda and fundraising activities of defense organizations; nor should it attempt to assume responsibility for their political decisions.

The work of the Guild is primarily legal work and will continue to be so with the admission of legal workers. Legal workers, like lawyers and law students, are people whose common bond is the work they do. Admission of legal workers can only expand and deepen the effectiveness of the work done by the organization.

At the present stage of our movement, in contrast to earlier periods, the development of a national mass defense organization is inappropriate. There is no national party whose leadership and direction is accepted by the masses of people in motion for social change. The absence of a national base is a reflection of a movement that is locally oriented, even on national issues. In this context, a national mass defense organization that does not grow out of a national party with a mass base would usurp, rather than strengthen, the vitality and political integrity of local organizations.

The political perspective put forth in this paper demands that legal workers not be excluded from the Guild, even if a national defense organization should develop. Close cooperation, exchange of experiences and mutual education between lawyers, law students and legal workers is essential to strengthen the quality of our legal work, and to expand the breadth of our services to the people.

Finally, unless lawyers, law students and legal workers have the opportunity to work together within the same organization, we shall never be able to overcome the oppressive attitudes that divide us, or to forge a new consciousness of our common struggle.

A Program for the Guild

We propose a program for the Guild involving major struggles which touch the legal area. We set forth below suggested areas and types of activities. We do not propose these as mandatory or all-inclusive. Changing struggles and particular local conditions will ultimately determine what activities are undertaken. It is the spirit of this program, rather than any specific letter which is important.

1. U.S. Imperialism and the War

A. Military Cases: We should increase our activity in military cases. Our training on military law should not only involve lawyers but also G.I.'s and G.I. organizers and military counselors. We should encourage the creation of Guild military law offices close to the major bases through which the Guild can more effectively participate in the G.I. struggles on bases and aid in coordinating and publicizing the struggles. We should develop positions and legal challenges aimed more directly at the racist and oppressive nature of the armed services. In this regard, efforts should be made at national, regional and local levels to develop ties with the Black G.I. movement.

B. Veterans: We should work closely with veterans and veterans' organizations which are forming around issues presented by the war and the social conditions which they are facing upon their return to this country. We should assist our members in developing the particular expertise and experience that relates to veterans' struggles, and we should encourage other political and legal organizations to join us in these efforts.

C. Southeast Asia: We must give priority not only to the establishment but expansion of the Guild's Southeast Asia office in the Philippines. We must encourage volunteer lawyers, legal workers and organizers to spend a portion of the year there. We should develop a military appeal panel in Washington, D.C., to directly assist in the legal cases flowing from the Southeast Asia office. On-going publicity regarding the G.I. movement and anti-Imperialist movements in Southeast Asia must be organized because the Guild office will be a prime source of information regarding these movements.

D. War Crimes: We should consider the most effective method of exposing the nature of the conduct of the War in Southeast Asia by U.S. Imperialism. Activities around war crimes, racist genocide and destruction of life's environment should not be confined to legal suits or to United Nations tribunals. The Guild might prepare teach-ins, mock trials and participate in programs such as the recent Winter Soldier Investigations.

E. We should seek ways of relating to national liberation movements throughout the world. We are particularly suited to begin an exposure of U.S. world-wide police and C.I.A. activities. Through legal cases, educational materials, teach-ins, demonstrations, etc., we can meaningfully contribute to a developing understanding of the international political/fascist role of U.S. Imperialism and of the powerful, world-wide nature of the liberation movements.

F. We should develop a project around the struggle for Puerto Rican Independence. This project should be developed in consultation with Puerto Rican independence groups such as the Young Lords Party.

2. Sexism

A. We should initiate and participate in legal cases concerning abortion laws, prostitution, marriage and divorce laws, sterilization, laws regarding unwed mothers and children borne out of wedlock, etc. We should work with women's liberation groups in developing programs to challenge those laws which oppress and control women.

B. We should expose the pervasive institutional pattern of sex discrimination in housing, insurance, banking practices, etc. Projects focusing on governmental agencies which regulate and are controlled by these institutions (e.g. insurance and banking agencies) should be developed.

3. Freedom of Sexual Expression

A. A program in this area should first formulate the right of the freedom of sexual self-determination and we must expose the relationship of the oppression of homosexuals and lesbians to the sexism of the society and its denial of the right to a liberated social existence.

B. We must respond to the mass arrests and persecutions of gay people by affording mass defense and participating in the political struggles around these cases.

C. We must develop challenges to the laws and practices which discriminate against gay people and which make their sexual expressions a crime.

4. Racism

A. We must develop programs relevant to the current struggles of National Minorities (Black, Brown, Asian and Native American.) We must take leadership from and we must support those groups who are organizing their communities in the struggle against racism.

B. Mass defense work should be more responsive to the arrest of Blacks and Third World peoples - whether in welfare demonstrations, school strikes, housing take-overs, or urban rebellions. Closer communication must be established with Black community groups, many of which exist as separate local organizations.

5. Prisons

We should develop a nationwide project around prisons. Legal actions and educational campaigns should be directed against some of the more blatant forms of prison brutality such as physical beatings, medical experimentation on prisoners without their consent, forced "tranquilization" of inmate activists, and the segregation and degradation of homosexuals. These actions should be directed toward and coordinated with inmate groups so that their organizing efforts are encouraged and supported. Demonstrative actions should also be developed against particular institutions and particular prison system officials. Related programs should be developed around women's prisons. The cooperation of "jail house lawyers" will of course be invaluable in these programs. This project should cooperate with military projects in attacking conditions in military stockades.

6. Labor

A. There is growing organization among rank and file workers in reaction to the conditions they are forced to live and work under; there is also a growing awareness of the relationship of the conditions of their lives to the imperialist policies of the government. We must work side by side with the radical and insurgent caucuses who are leading this struggle. We must not only offer our skills but we must also make legal skills accessible to labor organizers.

The Guild also should support unorganized workers who are coming together in new grass-roots organizations and attempting not only to secure their rights vis a vis management but also to break the yoke of the traditional labor establishment. To this end, more Guild members must become skilled at labor law; and the Guild must expand its efforts to educate attorneys, legal workers, labor organizers and workers in this area.

B. We should develop programs to anticipate organizing of growing numbers of unemployed persons and the legal problems that will arise from that work. In this regard we should pay particular attention to and study carefully the organizations of the unemployed that existed during the depression in the 1930's.

7. Heroin

The Guild should develop a program concerning heroin which is focused upon immediately cutting off all sources of the drug and includes court challenges and educational activities. The relationship of heroin to U.S. imperialism and oppression of G.I.'s, the Black, Third World and youth communities must be explained. The exposure of governmental and private bodies involved directly or by complicity in its importation should lead community and movement organizations, along with the Guild, to develop a real people's movement directed at those responsible for the drug's importation.

8. Repression

A. The Guild's mass defense operations should continue. Lawyers, law students, and legal workers, with the concerned movement organizations, should develop mass defense strategies appropriate to the particular situation. The Guild should be an integral part of the political movement around mass arrests.

B. The Guild should be directly involved in the coordination of movement responses to repressive actions. The lessons of the recent grand juries should be well learned - that it is necessary for the Guild to respond immediately and throughout the country to repression and that it is possible for the Guild to build a specific defense structure which includes lawyers from different organizations, legal workers, and movement activists.

9. The Environment

We should begin to develop a program in the legal area which radically deals with the destruction of the environment. A small group of Guild members should meet with radical environmental activists and draft at least a beginning program for the Guild. The Guild should seek to build relationships with the groups around Ralph Nader and develop a strategy in regard to some of the corporate and governmental activities exposed by Nader's forces.

10. The Guild Itself and the Legal Work Area

A. Equally important as the areas above discussed is an internal program for the Guild. This program should encourage the development of small, informal groups which deal in greater depth with the nature of the legal system or sexism, or consciousness, etc. Guild offices, local, regional and national, should be engaged in developing ties with, on the one hand, movement and general community organizations, and, on the other hand, with organizations within the legal area such as legal service centers, criminal bar associations, women bar associations, etc. We should also continue our efforts to form new Guild chapters in areas where they do not already exist and to encourage the establishment and growth of additional Guild regional offices which will implement the program.

B. There should be on-going discussions and exploration of alternative forms of practice. We should involve lawyers, law students and legal workers who are not Guild members in these discussions. The outgoing nature of our program in this area should reflect our belief that people in legal work are looking for ways of living their lives without being subject to the conventional oppressive relationships of the legal profession.

C. We should recognize the significance of building and working with political movements in all parts of the country. To that end we must encourage and assist our members to settle and work in areas where radical legal assistance is not now available to the local people whose struggles we must support.

D. We have to be prime organizers in the defense of lawyers, defendants and others attacked for their conduct in the courts. We should develop educational materials directed at exposing the charge of "disruption," at showing who is disrupting what and at explaining the significance of the court room rituals and courtesies in defining the people as powerless. These materials should be widely circulated among law students, legal service offices, underground newspapers, and so on.

E. We must continue and expand our legal skills training programs for lawyers and law students and develop new programs for training legal workers. These should include courses, production and dissemination of materials and apprenticeship projects.

F. A program which encourages the development of new forms of practice for Guild members cannot seriously be put forward by a Guild which fails to examine and evaluate its own structural form. If divisions of tasks, responsibilities and rewards in law offices must cease to be based on class, sexist and professional privileges, then the relation between individuals and work in national and regional offices must be to set the example for members of the Guild and the legal community. The program for the coming year must envision and encourage increased collectivization of tasks and decision-making among national staff and officers.

11. Community Education

The illegitimacy of the legal system must be exposed and the Guild is the appropriate body to act. People must be made aware of the true function that law plays in America, and this presents the need for more and more legal resources to provide the information needed by people in struggle. We must prepare educational materials, bust books, street sheets and pamphlets. People's law schools, community defense offices and divorce clinics must be established. These programs of community education, as well as the other programs outlined above, can only effectively be accomplished by an organization of legal workers, lawyers and law students.

We must build confidence among oppressed people to fight against the legal system. They are prevented from doing so now by the fear engendered by the system's power, by the alienation and isolation inherent in the system's procedures, and by ignorance of how the system works. We must develop mass educational programs to enable people to get the information they need for the fight. People without money or power have only their own strength to rely on -- the strength of numbers, of accurate analyses and strategies, and of organization. By sharing the information we have with those who have been systematically denied it, we can help to build a massive movement of resistance against and transformation of the legal system.

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[1970?]

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES REGARDING LEGAL WORKERS

(Parentheses indicate deletions; underlining
indicates additions)

PREAMBLE:

The National Lawyers Guild is an association dedicated to the need for basic change in the structure of our political and economic system. We seek to unite the lawyers, (and) law students, and legal workers of America... /no further change/

ARTICLE II, Membership:

Section 1. (delete entire old section; add following new section) The following persons shall upon application be admitted to membership without regard to sex, color, race, or religious or political belief or affiliation:

- a. lawyers: any person who at the time of application for membership is authorized to practice law anywhere in the United States or its territories or possessions;
- b. law students: any person who attends a law school or who has completed law school and is applying for authorization to practice law;
- c. legal workers: any person who for at least six months of the twenty-four months immediately preceding her or his application for membership has been regularly working for:
 - (1) offices of the National Lawyers Guild,
 - (2) law offices, legal collectives and communes, and legal services organizations.,
 - (3) community legal defense offices,
 - (4) law schools;
- d. jailhouse lawyers: jail or prison inmates who provide legal assistance for other prisoners.

RELATED ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES

ARTICLE II, Membership:

Section 2. Wherever a chapter exists, membership shall be through such chapter. Law students may elect membership in either the chapter at their law school, if one exists, or the general chapter in their area, but no person may be a member of more than one chapter. Where there is no organized chapter, membership may be through direct affiliation with the National Organization, in accordance with the By-Laws and the rules and regulations established by the National Executive Board. Such members shall be known as members-at-large.

ARTICLE III, Organization:

Section 1. The normal unit of organization shall be (the county or group of counties, city or group of cities, except where the National Executive Board shall determine upon a different unit) the chapter, consisting of the members in a law school or a reasonable geographic area. Disagreement about what constitutes a reasonable geographic area shall be resolved by the National Executive Board.

Section 2. Eight (8) or more members of the National Lawyers Guild (, practicing or residing in any given unit) may apply to the National Executive Board for a charter of affiliation as a Chapter, and such charter may be granted in the discretion of the Board if the applicants have adopted a local constitution and by-laws in conformity with this Constitution. The Preamble and Objects contained in this Constitution shall be part of every local constitution and printed therein as such.

Section 3. Except that there may be chapters at law schools along with other chapters in the same geographic area, the National Executive Board shall not grant a charter to a chapter in (a unit) the same geographic area in which a (local) chapter (shall) already exists without the consent of such existing chapter.

ARTICLE IV, National Convention:

Section 2. Delegates to the National Convention shall be chosen from (three) two classes of members: chapter members (, student members) and members-at-large.

(a. Chapter members shall be lawyer members of the National Lawyers Guild whose office addresses are in a geographical area encompassed by or contained in a charter granted by the national organization.

(b. Student members shall be those members of the National Lawyers Guild who attend a law school. This shall include law students who have graduated from law school whose applications to the bar are pending.

(c. Members-at-large shall be members who are not members of any chapter.
(d.)

Chapter delegates to the National Convention shall be chosen by the local chapters, each chapter being entitled to one(1) delegate for every ten(10) members in good standing or major fraction thereof, but each chapter shall be entitled to at least one (1) delegate. (In any unit in which no chapter shall exist,) The National Executive Board shall determine areas of representation where no chapters exist, and in any such area, the members-at-large therein shall be entitled to elect one delegate for the first ten(10) members

in good standing or major fraction thereof and an additional delegate for every additional ten (10) members in good standing or major fraction thereof. The National Executive Board shall prescribe rules and regulations (as to voting) regarding the election of delegates by members-at-large. All members of the National Lawyers Guild attending a National Convention shall have all the rights and privileges of delegates except the right to vote. (Student delegates shall be chosen by the student members of the National Lawyers Guild attending each law school. Each law school shall be entitled to elect one (1) delegate for every ten (10) members in good standing or major fraction thereof. But each law school shall be entitled to at least one delegate.)

S Section 3. The (delegates from any local chapter or unorganized state or portion thereof) chapter or member-at-large delegations attending the National Convention shall be entitled to cast (at the National Convention) as many votes as the number of delegates to which the chapter (, state or portion thereof) or area the delegation represents is entitled under the foregoing provisions, irrespective of the actual number of delegates elected or who shall attend the Convention. Local chapters shall have the right to be represented by proxy, but the proxies must be persons who are accredited delegates to the Convention (or members-at-large). The provisions permitting the giving of proxies shall apply only so long as there is no national fund for the defraying of the expenses of delegates to the National Convention.

ARTICLE V, Officers:

Section 3 (National Executive Board)

b. Members-at-large shall be entitled to one Board member for each twenty (20) of their number in good standing as of the beginning of the National Convention. The National Executive Board shall prescribe rules and regulations as to the manner of electing members-at large to the Board; provided that until the (next) convention following the July 1971 convention the members-at large in the Southern states shall be entitled to elect five (5) members to the National Executive Board.

(c. Faculty members shall be treated as members-at-large or chapter members depending upon their geographical location.

(d. A student member who is a member of both a student chapter and another chapter shall only be counted once for the purposes of National Executive Board representation and of National Convention delegate representation.)

c. A student elected to represent a law school chapter shall serve a full term, notwithstanding her or his leaving the school she represents, unless she resigns or is replaced by her chapter.

BY-LAWS

Section 1. Membership and dues:

a. There shall be ~~five (5)~~ six (6) classifications for membership: General, Student, Sustaining, Associate, (and) Supporting, and Honorary (except that any local chapter may create a category of membership to be known as honorary membership to which only members of the Judiciary may be eligible and such membership may in the discretion of the chapter be non-dues paying.) An applicant may become a member in any (of the ~~four(4)~~ classification, except that honorary, non-dues paying membership shall be limited to jailhouse lawyers and, at the discretion of the chapter, members of the judiciary.../no further change/

c. Student members shall be those law student (chapter) members who pay dues at the minimum of \$.50 (fifty cents) per month.

GUILD STRUCTURE PROPOSAL

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INTRODUCTION

A structure proposal is a difficult document to write, read and comprehend; since there is no way to capture in words and abstract concepts the flesh-and-blood reality of relationships within an organization like the Guild. We tried to keep in mind while writing this, and urge all of you to keep in mind while reading it, that basically we are a large group of people, scattered all over the country, trying to build an organization and get some work done. In many respects, the structure outlined below already exists informally; what is necessary is to formalize it so that everyone will know who does what, and who is responsible to whom. In some ways, our existing structure is faulty or lacking, and we are trying to correct it. Because we are trying to be dialectical and flexible in our approach, and because we are sometimes attempting to untangle a seamless web, the structure looks complicated on paper. In real life, it translates into the usual meetings, phone calls, letters, etc. only hopefully, with more openness, system and responsiveness to the entire membership.

Most of the work of the Guild is carried on by its local chapter organizations (or members at large, in areas without chapters). Increasingly now, the chapters and members are organizing themselves into regions, which have periodic meetings and are developing regional structures and program and are discussing their responsibilities as components of a national organization. In addition, there is some work that has been defined as "national" Guild work that extends beyond localities and regions and usually involves communicating with the membership as a whole, coordinating certain projects at a national level, publishing Guild Notes and other national publications, and responding as a national organization to certain political issues.

The structure that has developed to perform these "national" functions is an outgrowth of the chapters. It exists at the behest of the membership in local areas, which for many reasons wants to be hooked up into a national structure. As a result, the members and chapters agreed to pay a portion of their dues to support a national organization; the chapters and members elect delegates to the National Executive Board which formulates Guild policy at the national level; and under this proposal the chapters, organized into regions, will select the persons who will staff the National Office, the body with the primary task of carrying out national policy decisions. Since the local/national relationship is completely reciprocal, or dialectical, there must be constant communication and interaction between chapters and regions on the one hand, and the NEB and the NO on the other; and in addition to sending staff members and delegates to these bodies, the regions must play an ongoing role in all national coordination and national tasks. We are trying to formalize this role somewhat by identifying regional representatives or organizers to coordinate organizing and fund-raising within the regions and to maintain constant regional input into all national decision-making.

To repeat what we said before, most of the actual work of the organization goes on in the localities and regions. Many programs that are called "national" programs are actually a multiplicity of local programs hooking into national communications network and maybe centralized staff facilities to help coordinate things. This proposal does not seek to describe the operations of the Guild at the local and regional levels. First of all, that's not our job, the chapters and regions are developing and getting it together; it's happening all the time. National structure, on the other hand

can only be discussed and determined at a national meeting like this one. So what follows is a full discussion of the national structure. This is not meant to usurp any functions of local and regional bodies, but just to catch up with their development.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD (NEB)

The NEB has been, and should continue to be, the major policy-making body of the organization. In years past, each chapter (and members-at-large) would send delegates to the NEB meetings, which take place approximately every four months; and decisions would be made by delegate vote. More recently, this system has broken down; and the last few NEBs lacked delegate responsibilities. In the main, the meetings tended to be dominated by members from the city or area hosting the NEB. In addition, those who came were by and large those who could afford to come. Decisions were made by all those present, usually by consensus.

We feel that decisions should be made at NEBs by an identifiable and responsible group of chapter and at-large delegates who should be chosen for 18 month terms (i.e. between conventions) with the understanding that they are expected to attend the four NEBs likely to occur during their term. Chapters would be responsible for providing financial travel aid to delegates if necessary. Alternates should be chosen in advance, to attend if regular delegates can't make it. NEB meetings should be open to the entire membership, and people should come and participate in all the struggles and discussions that take place. However, final decisions, to insure legitimacy and accountability, should be made by delegate vote. This is said with the understanding that in most cases consensus will be reached before a vote, and that if a vote goes 51 to 49 the matter will not be considered closed and we will have to keep struggling over it. Nevertheless, without delegates and voting things get very sloppy and people back in the chapters don't know who is representing them, who is accountable for decisions, etc. We propose the following delegate system:

For chapters:	8 members (the minimum) to 25 members	- 1 delegate
	25-50 members	-- 2 delegates
	50 - 100 members	-- 4 delegates
	100 - 200 members	-- 6 delegates
	200 - 300 members	-- 8 delegates
	over 300 members	--10 delegates

At least one member of the delegation should be from the regional office staff, if one exists. (Small chapters with a Regional Office may send one additional delegate so that a regional office staff member can be a representative as well.)

Law Students: Law student chapters which exist independently of city or state chapters are entitled to the same numerical representation outlined above. When law students are counted as members of a city or state chapter, the chapter should see to it that they are adequately represented in the NEB delegation.

At-Large Members: Should be divided into regions and allotted 2 delegates per 50 members.

Responsibilities of the NEB

The NEB has final authority over the policies of the organization and its projects. This means: ultimate responsibility for allocation of national funds; defining any national organizational political positions and policies; discussing and making decisions on starting new national programs/publications; studying necessary structural changes and implementing any that cannot wait for the convention; appointing committees to carry out certain specified tasks, studies, etc. With ongoing projects, general policy ordinarily will be worked out by their executive boards, subject to approval by the NEB of program and budget.

Regional meetings

Should take place between NEBs, and should review the decisions of the past NEB and discuss items to be brought up at the next NEB. Delegates should consider themselves responsible to the region as well as to their chapters.

NATIONAL OFFICE, OFFICERS, PROGRAM & ADVISORY (P & A) COMMITTEE, REGIONAL ORGANIZERS

The four entities listed above are the next level down from the NEB in terms of carrying out organizational policies and making the necessary day to day decisions on the national level. This type of decision making includes: publication schedule and final contents of Guild Notes, methods of implementing NEB decisions if not spelled out, necessity of figuring out priorities if funds are insufficient to do all mandated work, structuring NEB meetings, coordinating national office travel with regional travelers, emergencies (like if a member is jailed for contempt) etc. On the local and regional level, this would be the responsibility of chapter boards, collectives, officers, staffs, etc.

National Office (NO) Staff:

Each region should nominate two or three persons to work in the NO for a period of 9 to 18 months. At least some of the NO staff should have experience in Guild organizational affairs, and we should seek a good mixture of male and female, lawyer-law student-legal worker, new and old, etc. Final selection of staff should be made by a committee consisting of the nominees, representatives of regional nominating committees, and ^{people} who have been working in the NO. (We suggest that the NEB establish a permanent staff selection committee which would meet at every NEB in order to insure adequate staffing of the office on this rotating basis.) In order to do all the tasks that are desired of a strong national office, 8 full time people would be needed. The functions of a fully-staffed NO would include the following:

- putting out a monthly newsletter
- systematic traveling to old & new chapters and regional meetings
- assisting new chapters get organized
- maintaining constant communications, around issues too numerous to mention with chapters and the membership
- working with national projects
- relating to other organizations and the outside world
- helping start new national programs
- planning conventions and NEBs
- handling national finances, including day to day bookkeeping
- keeping the membership list up to date
- dealing with periodic crises (e.g. the Philippine arrests)
- keeping the referral directory up to date
- taking responsibility for other national publications as needs arise
- corresponding with the many prisoners, members and individuals who write
- answering the constantly-ringing phone
- and so forth

There is a lot of work to be done. It is really important to get a large NO staff in order for the office to function creatively and productively. In addition to ensure continuity of work we feel it is absolutely necessary for at least two people to make a commitment for the full 18 month period with others rotating every 9 months. It is difficult to build stability, maintain on going relationships with the membership and keep up a level of maximum efficiency and momentum if the NO staff keeps changing. There is a need for staff members who can bridge the gap between those leaving and others coming without themselves only becoming trainers in residence of incoming workers. With too few staff members, some of the more important

and interesting work does not get done. First things to go are travel, project work, organizing aid to chapters, publications, and extensive communications, leaving the NO staff overworked, frustrated and bogged down in the mailing list and the phones. This gives the NO a bad reputation, making it still harder to recruit staff and perpetuating a vicious circle. On the other hand, when there are a lot of people here, the mailing list need not dominate your existence and the work can be very exciting.

National Projects and the NO

We believe that it is essential for national Guild projects to be located in the national office, unless in the opinion of the NEB substantial reason exists to locate a particular project elsewhere. Of primary importance is the necessity of creating an unalienating and energizing climate for work in the national office. In many cases, the NO staff may service as a catalyst, but the actual work is carried out by someone else. Without the opportunity to participate in the substantive, real world work of a project, national office staff members tend to become isolated, parochial and cut off from everyday reality. It is difficult to make political judgements based upon how many addressograph plates one can type in an hour. In addition, in the absence of more concrete work, it is extremely hard to maintain a political perspective on the multitude of administrative details necessary for the functioning of this organization.

Other reasons to centralize the projects are financial: it would result in a tremendous savings if we shared space and equipment and hence duplication of certain activities.

In order to integrate the national office staff with the projects, at least one NO staff person should be on the executive board of each national project ... no matter where it is located, but particularly for those projects which may be located outside the national office.

Relationship of NO to Program & Advisory Committee, Regions, Officers

It would be impossible to carry out the day to day work of the organization without making decisions which have an impact on the organization-- from what gets printed in the paper to emergency outlays of funds which cannot await the next NEB. Usually, though not always, it is the NO staff people who must decide on a given policy or course of action. In addition, the NO needs to discuss its ongoing work with a larger group of Guild members outside the office, in order to maintain a broad and reasonable perspective on it all, and to assure regular communication with the rest of the organization. For these reasons, the NO staff needs to consult regularly with another responsible group within the organization. Again, this is something that has been happening more or less informally; and it should be systematized so everyone will know who is responsible for what.

First, the Program and Advisory Committee or P & A: This should consist of 5 or 6 persons from the region in which the NO is located, who can at least make it to meetings every two weeks. At least 3 P & A members should have considerable Guild experience, knowledge of the membership outside of her/his particular region and all must be committed to coming together for meetings on a regular basis and in emergencies. An interim P & A can be chosen at the NEB following the convention; more permanent members can be chosen by having the NO staff compile a list of nominees and a short description of their experience, which can be sent to NEB delegates for final selection by ballot. The NO and P & A should meet together to go over the work of the NO, discuss problems and direction and decisions that must be made, and should have responsibility for making emergency rush decisions within guidelines, if at all possible, set down by NEBs and Conventions. The function of the P & A becomes especially important in the event that

the NO staff is made up of inexperienced people who are not really knowledgeable about the inner workings of the Guild, its history, and the situation in various areas of the country.

Officers should include a president and the treasurer. The treasurer should be located in the same city as the NO and work closely with the staff in all aspects of Guild financing. It really is necessary to have on person on top of all financial matters, responsible for tax returns and dealing with IRS auditors and making sure that the money is in order. Furthermore, the treasurer should be kept informed of all project budgets and proposals, so he can make recommendations about allocation of funds between projects and the NO, and can be on top of such things as what foundations are being applied to by which projects, so uncoordinated proposals don't all pile up in the same place. The treasurer should also sit on the P & A.

The president should not only serve as the spokesperson of the national organization, but should participate as fully as possible in its ongoing work. This will depend in part on geography; whenever possible the president should attend P & A meetings and spend time in the NO. The president should always receive agendas and minutes of P & A meetings, provide input via long distance, and be consulted on all major decisions.

Regional representatives: We propose that each region select two representatives with primary organizational and fund-raising responsibilities in the region. The organizer should help coordinate regional meetings and regional travel and help new chapters. The fundraiser should be just that; and both should serve as a liaison between the chapters and the national office. Regional representatives should receive P & A minutes, should attend P & A meetings whenever possible, and should systematically comment on decisions made by the NO and P & A and provide input from chapters and regions into their discussions. Likewise, they should be consulted by phone if necessary on all major decisions (or better yet, should meet together). All NO staff, officers, P & A members and regional representatives should meet regularly, possibly the day before each NEB. NO staff people should try to attend regional meetings, to travel in the region, and to help new chapters develop, all in cooperation with the regional representatives.

In practice, we understand that regional reps will be relating closely to one or more chapters and/or regional offices; and that their functions will likely be shared by the home RO or some other body that the region may designate. And that, generally, the exchange between national and local bodies will be much broader and more constant and more diffused than what is described here. Again, one more time, we think it's necessary to identify and depend on certain specific persons, so we know who to call first, send minutes to, depend on for regional inputs, etc.

We have a few suggestions for making the regional thing more systematic: defining regions so that everyone will know which region she/he belongs to, and so border cities and states wouldn't fall in between; identifying one chapter in each region which could be a focus for at-large members and might, if it had the capacity take on additional organizing responsibilities; such as organizing new chapters, putting out a regional newsletter, helping inexperienced chapters run regional meetings,

Other National Activities

Travel -- the NEB should establish a travel committee to discuss the Guild's policy toward both domestic and international traveling, "the politics of Guild traveling," how the organization is to decide who gets to travel where, attendant financial problems, briefing or training Guild travelers, and how best to utilize the experiences of Guild travelers.

Staff structure proposal --6--

Guild Notes -- People working on other Guild newspapers should take responsibility for forming an advisory committee for Guild Notes. Although the NO and P & A will have final responsibility for layout and the editorial decisions of the paper, feedback, criticism and direction must become part of the regional-national process. Also, those functioning on this committee will help the NO obtain articles for the paper.

Conventions -- At least a year before the next convention, the NEB should appoint a committee or committees in charge of site selection, agenda, coordinating regional and chapter input, publicity, nominations, financing etc. NO staff members should sit on each committee, and the NO & P & A should approve the plans as they progress. The NEB should make the final decision on the site of the convention and the convention program.

The implementation of organizational decisions cannot be made at a huge convention which, in its limited time, must serve a broad policy making function. Nevertheless, certain fundamental directions must be set by the membership. At this convention, for example, the membership must openly choose the leadership that will be involved in the day to day work of the national office; and it must determine the structure of accountability of that leadership.

Addendum....PROPOSED REGIONS??-- to be ultimately decided by the folks themselves.

Northeast

Maine
Vermont
New Hampshire
Massachusetts
Rhode Island
Connecticut
New York (eastern)

Mid-East

Tennessee
Kentucky
West Virginia
Pennsylvania (western)

South-Central

Louisiana
Texas
Arkansas

New Jersey
Pennsyl. (eastern)
Delaware
Maryland
Washington, D.C.
Virginia (Northern)

N.Y. (western)
Ohio
Michigan

Oklahoma
New Mexico
Colorado

Southeast

Virginia (southern)
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia

Mid-West

Illinois
Indiana
Wisconsin
Missouri

Western

Washington
Oregon
California

Florida
Alabama
Mississippi

Minnesota
Iowa
Kansas

Nevada
Arizona
Hawaii

What's left -- at large members in these states should pick their favorite region:

Montana

North Dakota

South Dakota

Wyoming

Utah

Idaho

Alaska

POLITICS OF GUILD FINANCING

Catherine Roraback, Neal Gantcher, Nat'l Office Staff

As we struggle with the problem of how to finance the work of the NLG, several basic conditions become increasingly obvious. First, we need money. The more offices we open, projects we staff, publications we distribute and, generally, work we do, the more money we need. It is equally clear that there is a limited number of ways that we can support ourselves and our work: tax the membership, seek grants from foundations and individuals outside the organization; do general fund raising gigs; and charge money for our services, publications, etc.

The mechanics of raising money (which are not about to be outlined here) may be difficult and time-consuming, but there is nothing mysterious or magical about it. Each of the four methods listed above entails practical problems: what should our dues be, how should the money be collected and divided, getting non-profit status, proposal writing, the costs and potential returns on fundraisers, who can afford to pay for what, accounting and bookkeeping, etc.etc.etc. These can be dealt with if people are willing to put in the time, thought and energy.

The real problem we face when it comes to Guild financing is one of politics, lifestyle and attitude. On the one hand, we are trapped in this ridiculous contradiction --- the more we do to combat capitalist oppression, the more we need to engage with the capitalist system in order to get money to pay for our work. Both political convictions and an emotional reaction against working for money and taking it seriously make it hard for many of us to deal in depth with the problem. (This says something about the class background of many Guild members -- post-depression youth with very security conscious parents, we were given all we materially needed, never had to feel want, and ended up feeling not only economically secure, but resentful of our parents' preoccupation with money and security. As a result, we don't need to worry about money, and we don't want to worry about money.) Finally, there is the fact that we are not the world's most disciplined organization when it comes to doing work we find distasteful. (Of course, this does not apply to those Guild people who have been struggling consistently to support various Regional Offices and projects and the National Office -- don't mean to overlook their work, but to broaden the responsibility.)

Further, each of those four basic methods of raising money raises questions that can be considered political. First, dues. The NLG has always depended for its economic survival on its members. In the past, when the Guild was all lawyers, and more cohesive politically than it is now, members considered financial support of the organization a primary commitment, and paid large sums of money into the Guild. Some people still do that; most of us pay the minimum; and a fair number of people pay nothing at all.

One response to this is "IF we are serious about our political commitment, we should put our money where our mouth is." The opposite reaction is, "Encouraging our members to earn lots of money so they can contribute to the Guild is politically backward and pro-capitalist." Sometimes this latter view is carried further to imply that anyone earning enough money to be able to afford substantial contributions to the organization does not even belong in the Guild; leading to a corresponding feeling of resentment on the part of those members who are not living hand-to-mouth but who do consider themselves political persons.

Our different attitudes toward money and financial security often are seen as a function of age. That certainly is relevant -- we need more in the way of material goods as we grow older, have children, accumulate responsibilities, and get accustomed to a certain lifestyle. But there are many, many young people in the Guild who earn regular incomes in firms and gov't

offices. On the other hand, some of us who are growing older still manage to scrape by on a little, because we have fewer family responsibilities, are used to relative poverty and are in a position to live cheaply, are looking forward to an inheritance (or already got it), or whatever.

None of us escapes being compromised by capitalism; we are enmeshed in contradictions. Some people have their salaries paid by big firms, corporations, organized crime or the government. Others to earn their bread, must charge the civitins of these institutions or, more directly, get help from parents, relatives, friends or the welfare department, which in the final analysis is the same thing. The question does not revolve around who is more or less corrupt; but what can we do to develop and maintain our political consciousness, increase our usefulness to the movement, and still survive here and now, under capitalism.

Turning to external fundraising, other kinds of problems arise. General fundraisers are fine and should always be used without political qualms to supplement the organization's funds; but they can't be counted on for regular income. And the ones that can bring in a lot of money (like concerts) usually take a long time to prepare, cost a lot and involve considerable risk. As for charging for publications and services ... inevitably, we do that to some extent, and some people should be charged for some things. But on the grand scale, given the classes of people we are trying to serve, we usually should try to charge less, not more.

So, in addition to dues, the most promising source of funds is the private donation or the foundation grant. The pitfalls here are obvious: tailoring program and public image to the requirements of the funder or donor; tailoring to I.R.S. regs; caring less about what actually gets one than about the contents of the final report and the next proposal; neglecting important programs that can't possibly pull in outside money.

We in the national office have no ultimate solution to the problems posed here, short of the transformation of society we are working for (and need the money to support, which brings us back where we started.) However, in an effort to move the financial hassle to a higher level, we put forth the following proposals.

First, we should begin with the assumption that the organization depends on its members for economic survival. We should always seek to tap outside sources of funds (and should become much more adept at doing so); but actual dependence on such sources is a trap that must be avoided. If, however, we approach the matter wisely, and are clear about what we are doing, and why, there is no reason why we should not try to finance certain of our operations through grants and gifts.

Second, we should not equate poverty with political purity and personal integrity. This is not to say that we should give up our efforts to overthrow capitalism and re-create our own consciousness. Nor does it mean to deny legitimate differences among ourselves; some of us probably are more compromising in attitude or compromised in work than others. But right and wrong are not crystal clear; and our history, our conditioning, our fears and needs cannot be transformed instantly. Especially as we must continue for a while to function under capitalism. Some of us are just beginning to understand the attitudes of working people and poor people toward money and security; and to realize that one cannot organize among people without taking into account their needs and concerns. Well, that applies internally to the Guild as well. Differences in lifestyle should not be used to create barriers between potential comrades, but as another area of struggle in which all of us have something to learn.

Third, we should recognize the dialectical relationship of money to work, income to outgo. The more our programs and projects relate to our membership and its needs, the more people will be willing to send us money. (not that members should see themselves as paying the NLG for services rendered, but so that work they consider useful can get done.) One reason we have such trouble with dues is that, very often, communications are lousy; people don't know what we need, why we need it, what the money is used for, what good it does. We should be more open about all that and communicate it more systematically. Our members deserve that as much as any foundation does.

And fourth, we must move finances up from the bottom of the list of things to do and put it near the beginning of the agenda. No more leaving it till after the discussion of the "more important" "political" issues (which of course take up the whole meeting.) We are not children any more with parents to support us; yet we often act that way when it comes to Guild work. People must be willing to serve as treasurers and bookkeepers, sit on finance committees and go to the meetings, learn about taxes and proposals and how to run a benefit concert, send out dues bills regularly and follow up on them, write financial reports for Guild newspapers. It can't just be left to one chapter officer or staff person; all of us have to get it together.

QUESTIONS FOR SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS ON GUILD STRUCTURE

These questions are designed to guide the small group discussions on structuring the "national" of the National Lawyers Guild. They will be introduced and explained a bit at the Friday afternoon plenary, before we break down into the small groups. There should be people in each group who can explain any points, terms, etc. that remain obscure.

In order to carry on the discussion and ultimately arrive at a structure for the organization, it is very important for people to read the various structure proposals to which reference is made below. To get them all straight, we have:

1. NO proposal (the yellowish document on legal-size paper, 6 pages in length, entitled "Guild Structure Proposal" on those sheets where the title can be read; by the National Office staff).
2. NEB proposal (the proposal that came out of the Washington NEB, which can be found in V. 1 no. 4 of Guild Notes (December 1972, page vii)).
3. DC proposal (proposal from the Washington DC chapter, in the convention packet along with the NO proposal, white paper, 8 1/2 by 11 size, one page front and back).

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

I. THE CONVENTION

There is general consensus that the main directions of the Guild should be set at the national convention; and these should guide the policy decisions made at National Executive Board (NEB) meetings.

II. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD (NEB)

The consensus has been that the NEB is the best equipped and most logical structure in which major national policy and decision making takes place, since it is attended by representatives from all over the country, is of workable size, and is scheduled at regular intervals.

The consensus has been that the NEB should remain open to all members who wish to attend, but also that its procedures should become more systematic and accountable to the membership.

QUESTIONS

1. Should decisions be made by all those present, or by chosen delegates only? See DC proposal p.2, NO proposal p.2, NEB proposal p. VII.
2. Should decision making be by consensus, vote (some combination thereof, or some other way)? Same as above.
3. If decisions should be made by delegates only, how can delegate numbers best be distributed to insure both fair representation and workable size? See NO proposal p. 2, NEB proposal p. vii.
4. If decisions are to be made by some alternative means (e.g. all those present), how can accountability, fair representation, and workable size be ensured?
5. What is the scope of the decision making authority of the NEB? See NO proposal, p.2, for suggested areas. Would you add, subtract, or change these suggested areas?

III. REGIONAL MEETINGS

There have occurred in the past six months, 5 regional meetings--two on the west coast, one in Iowa City, one in Cleveland, and one in New York. This is indicative of a trend among local

constituencies to form a more cohesive body within the regions for organizing purposes, communications, and regional input into national policy.

QUESTIONS

1. How can regional meetings and NEBs be most responsive to each other? See NO proposal p. 3 for one description of national/regional interaction.

IV. LEADERSHIP CORE

There is a consensus that there should be a responsible and accountable leadership group of individuals representative of the different constituencies within the Guild, working on a national level to implement policy and decisions made by the NEB.

A number of possible elements of this leadership core have been outlined in the different structure proposals. They are:

- (a) A national office staff selected by the regions.
- (b) Elected national officers (president, treasurer, VP's)
- (c) One or two individuals selected by each region, who would be responsible not only for certain organizing and/or fund raising tasks within the region, but also for participating nationally in carrying out NEB policies and making interim working decisions. (They are variously known as regional vice presidents or RVP's, regional organizers, regional representatives.)
- (d) A group of individuals from the vicinity of the National Office to act as a support group for the NO, consult regularly with the office staff and in emergencies, and help implement the directives of the NEB. (Known as the program and administration committee, program and advisory committee, P&A, support group).

QUESTIONS

(a) the NATIONAL OFFICE (NO)

1. What should be the functions of the NO? See NO proposal, pp. 3 and 4, for one possible listing, and also p. 3 for samples of the kind of day to day decision making that comes up in the NO.

2. Should the NO (a) be the basic unit responsible for implementing NEB policy and making interim decisions; (b) share this responsibility with others in the leadership core; or (c) work under the direction of elected officers? These different concepts are expressed in the NEB proposal, NO proposal and DC proposal, respectively.

(b) NATIONAL OFFICERS

1. What national officers are needed? President? Treasurer? Vice President(s)? The NEB proposal says president only (p. vii); NO proposal says president and treasurer (p. 5); DC proposal has president, treasurer and vice presidents (p. 1).

2. What should be the functions of the officers? See DC proposal p. 1, NEB proposal p. vii, NO proposal p. 5.

3. Should officers exercise leadership independently (DC proposal p. 1), share it with the NO and other leadership people (NO proposal p. 4-5), or work under the direction of the NO (NEB proposal p. vii)?

(c) REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

1. What should be the function of the regional reps (or RVPs)? What should we call them? See NO proposal p. 5, NEB proposal p. vii.

2. How should the regional reps relate to the NO? Same references as above.

3. What is the role of regional reps in carrying out NEB policy and interim decision making? Same references as above.

4. Should regional reps be considered officers - vice presidents - with authority over the NO? References same as above.

PROGRAM AND ADMINISTRATION (P&A) COMMITTEE

1. What should be the composition of the P&A -- persons from the region in which the NO is located; or persons from that region and others as well? (This really means, should regional reps be considered part of the P&A, even though they couldn't get to all of its meetings; and it would arise primarily if it was agreed that both regional reps and P&A members should share all the responsibilities of the leadership core.) See NEB proposal p. vii, NO proposal p. 4.

2. How should the P&A be selected? See NO proposal p. 4 and NEB proposal p. vii.

3. What are the functions of the P&A -- strictly a consulting body, or should it share all responsibilities? References same as above.

V. NATIONAL PROJECTS

In addition to the many local projects carried on by Guild chapters and members, several national projects have been developed by the organization during the past few years (e.g. grand jury defense office, military law office). In some cases, these projects have their own staffs, executive boards and budgets, but they are still part of the NLG and responsible to the NEB.

QUESTIONS

1. How should the national projects relate to the NO? See NO proposal p. 4 for one point of view.

2. Should overall policy and program decisions of projects (including location, overall budget, staff), be submitted to the NEB for final approval? See NO proposal pp. 4 and 5.