

# STYLISH SIDES!

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Students for a Democratic Society

1608 West Madison

Chicago, Illinois

# SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4 No. 2

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

January 15, 1969

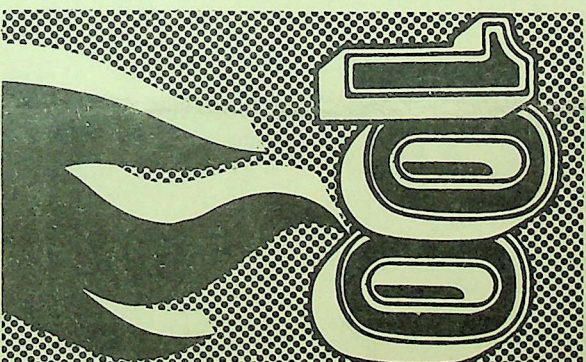
## Celebrate the 100 years of struggle

### and the

## 10th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

(For articles on Cuba see Pages 4 and 5.)

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*(excerpts from Fidel's speech at the tenth anniversary celebration of the triumph of the Cuban Rebellion, Plaza de la Revolution, Havana, Jan. 2, 1969)*

A revolution must base itself upon an economic structure...By 1970 Cuba's agricultural production will be approximately double—twice as much!—what it was before Jan. 1, 1959....

In explaining the reason's for Cuba's successes, let it be known that they have been the result of a revolution, of a legitimate revolution, of a correct concept of how to make this revolution, of how to mobilize the people, of how to exploit the natural resources, with the prerequisite of the economic objectives having become a part of the conscience of the people, of the people's awareness of work as a duty. These were decisive factors. And the determination of the people to defend their revolution at any cost and carry it through was decisive. This, and international solidarity and economic cooperation with our country—blockaded as it is by the imperialists—will produce this result: surprise for our enemies and pride for the world revolutionary movement. Because the triumphs of Cuba will not be Cuba's triumphs but the triumphs of the revolutionary movement, an example for the underdeveloped countries of the world, a solution and a road to be followed by those who suffer from hunger, poverty, underdevelopment and exploitation.



#### NEW LEFT NOTES

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# LETTER TO THE LEFT

## Reply to Huey

To the Editor:  
There is a hoary myth that anarchists do not believe in organization to promote revolutionary activity. This myth was raised from its resting place by Marcuse in a L'Express interview some months ago and reiterated again by Huey Newton in his "In Defense of Self-Defense," which New Left Notes decided to reprint in the recent National Convention issue.

To argue the question of "organization" versus "non-organization" is ridiculous; this issue has never been in dispute among serious anarchists, except perhaps for those lonely "individualists" whose ideology is rooted more in an extreme variant of classist liberalism than anarchy. Yes, anarchists believe in

organization—in national organization and international organization. Anarchist organizations have ranged from loose, highly decentralized groups to "vanguard" movements of many thousands, like the Spanish FAI, which functioned in a highly concerted fashion.

The real question at issue is not organization versus non-organization, but rather, what kind of organization. What different kinds of anarchist organizations have in common is that they are developed organically from below, not engineered into existence from above. They are social movements, combining a creative revolutionary life-style with a creative revolutionary theory, not political parties, whose mode of life is indistinguishable from the surrounding bourgeois environment

and whose ideology is reduced to rigid "tried-and-tested programs." They try to reflect as much as is humanly possible the liberated society they seek to achieve, not slavishly duplicate the prevailing system of hierarchy, class, and authority. They are built around intimate groups of brothers and sisters, whose ability to act in common is based on initiative, convictions freely arrived at, and deep personal involvement, not a bureaucratic apparatus, fleshed out by a docile membership and manipulated from the top by a handful of all-knowing "leaders."

Leary? Ginzberg?

I don't know who Huey is arguing with when he speaks of "anarchists" who believe all they have to do is "just express themselves individually" in order to achieve freedom. Jim Leary? Allen Ginzberg? The Beatles? Certainly not the revolutionary anarchist communists I know—and I know a large and fairly representative number. Nor is it clear to me where Huey acquired his facts on the May-June revolt in France. The "Communist Party and the other progressive (?) parties" of the French "left" hadn't merely "tagged behind the people," as Huey seems to believe; these "disciplined" and "centralized" organizations tried in every way to obstruct the revolution and re-direct it back into traditional parliamentary channels. Even the "disciplined," "centralized" Trotskyist PFER and the Maoist groups opposed the revolutionary students as "ultra-leftists," "adventurists," and "romantics" right up to the first street fighting in May. Characteristically, most of the "disciplined," "centralized" organizations of the French "Left" either lagged outrageously behind the events or, in the case of the "Communist Party" and "progressive parties," shamelessly betrayed the students and workers to the system.

I find it curious that while Huey accuses the French Stalinist hordes of merely having "tagged behind the people" he holds the anarchists and Danny Cohn-Bendit responsible for the people being "forced to turn back to DeGaulle." I visited France shortly after the May-June revolt and I can substantiate without the least difficulty how resolutely Danny Cohn-Bendit, the March 22nd Movement, and the anarchists tried to develop the assembly forms and action committees into a "structural program" (indeed, it went far beyond mere "program") to replace the DeGaulle government. I could show quite clearly how they tried to get the workers to retain their hold on the factories and establish direct economic contacts with the peasants: in short, how they tried to replace the French political and economic structure by creative, viable revolutionary forms. In this, they met with continual obstruction from the "disciplined," "centralized" parties of the French "Left," including a number of Trotskyist and Maoist sects.

There is another myth that needs to be exploded—the myth that social revolutions are made by tightly disciplined cadres, guided by a highly centralized leadership. All the great social revolutions are the work of deep-seated historic forces and contradictions to which the revolutionary and his organization contributes very little and, in most cases, completely misjudges. In revolutions themselves break out spontaneously. The "serious party" usually lags behind these events—and, if the uprising is successful, steps in to commandeer, manipulate, and almost invariably distort it. It is then that the revolution reaches its real period of crisis: will the "glorious party" re-create another system of hierarchy, domination, and power in its

secret mission to "protect the revolution" or will it be dissolved into the revolution together with the dissolution of hierarchy, domination and power as such? If a revolutionary organization is not structured to dissolve into the popular forms created by the revolution once its function as a catalyst is completed, if its own forms are not similar to the libertarian society it seeks to create, so that it can disappear into the revolutionary forms of the future—then the organization becomes a vehicle for carrying the forms of the past into the revolution. It becomes a self-perpetuating organism, a state machine that, far from "withering away," perpetuates all the archaic conditions for its own existence.

There is far more myth than reality to the claim that a tightly "centralized" and "disciplined" party promotes the success of a revolution. The Bolsheviks were split, divided, and riddled by factional strife from October 1917 to March 1921. Ironically, it was only after the last White armies had been expelled from Russia that Lenin managed to completely centralize and discipline his party. Far more real have been the endless betrayals engineered by the hierarchical, "disciplined," highly "centralized" parties of the "Left," such as the Social Democratic and Communist parties. These betrayals were not accidental. They followed almost inexorably from the fact that every organization (however revolutionary its rhetoric and however well-intentioned its goals) which models itself structurally on the very system it seeks to overthrow becomes assimilated and subverted by bourgeois relations. Its seeming effectiveness becomes the source of its greatest failures.

### Anarchist Committees

Undoubtedly, problems arise which can be solved only by committees, by co-ordination, and by a high measure of self-discipline. To the anarchist, committees must be limited to the practical tasks that necessitate their existence, and they must disappear once their functions are completed. Co-ordination and self-discipline must be achieved voluntarily, by virtue of the high moral and intellectual caliber of the revolutionary. To seek less than this is to accept, as a "revolutionary," a mindless robot, a creature of authoritarian training, a manipulable agent whose personality and outlook are utterly alien, indeed antithetical, to any society that could be remotely regarded as free.

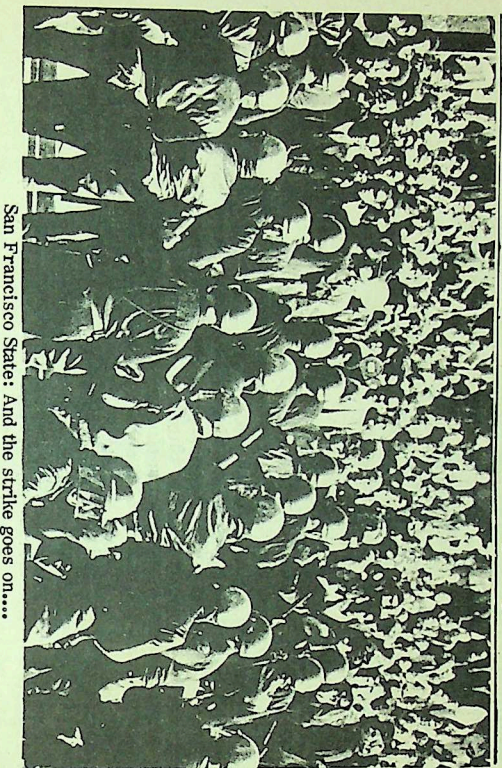
No serious anarchist will disagree with Huey's plea on the "necessity for wiping out the imperialist structure by organized groups." If at all possible, we must work together. We must recognize, too, that in the United States, the hearthland of world imperialism today, an economy and technology has been developed which could remove, almost overnight, all the problems that Marx once believed justified the need for a state. It would be a disastrous error to deal with an economy of potential abundance and cybernated production from a theoretical position which was still rooted in a technological era based on coal, crude machines, long hours of toil, and material scarcity. It is time that we stop trying to learn from Mao's China and Castro's Cuba—and see the remarkable economic reality under our very eyes for all men to enjoy once the American bourgeois colossus can be tumbled and its resources brought to the service of humanity.

Murray Bookchin  
Anarchos magazine

## New Left Notes

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## Campuses in revolt



San Francisco State: And the strike goes on....

SAN FRANCISCO STATE: And the strike goes on...80% effective, according to the strike committee. Not only students, but teachers, library workers and cafeteria workers are also out. Between 1500 and 2500 students rallied, and picketed campus every day last week. Although there were no major confrontations last week, on Thursday, Jan. 9, police maced a St. Bernard dog on the picket line, and across town the home of conservative Dean Edward Duerr was firebombed.

Although the teacher strike has official AFL-CIO sanction, under California law a five-day absence means automatic firing. These firings, while mandated by the state at this writing, are so far unenforceable since almost half of the San Francisco State department heads have refused to hand in the names of the striking teachers. Hayakawa asked students (finks) to turn in the names of teachers who had not taught, but it was the striking students who complied with his request, handing in the names of anti-strike faculty.

The student/faculty alliance is reinforced by the intransigence of the trustees. Gov. Ronald Reagan made the quote of the week when he said, "Those who want to get an education, those who want to teach, should be protected in that at the point of bayonet if necessary."

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE COLLEGE: The administration now says it will grant all the demands around black and brown study programs, but refuses to grant amnesty to the students who took over the administration building Nov. 4. At that time, BSU students occupied the top floor and SDS took over the rest of the building.

For the last two months, there have been continuous demonstrations on campus, with tremendous support from the black and Chicago communities surrounding the Los Angeles college. Valley State President Oviatt declared the campus to be in a "state of emergency" Jan. 9 in response to an on-campus rally of 1500 community people. About 400 people were busted last week alone, and the head of the BSU now has about 70 charges against him, including about 20 felonies. It does not seem likely that the demand for amnesty will be dropped.

EAST LOS ANGELES COLLEGE: A BSU/SDS/UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) coalition have effectively shut down this junior college since Jan. 9. LOS ANGELES VALLEY COLLEGE: Between 4,000 and 6,000 students held a rally inside the administration building Jan. 10 to demand cops off campus and in support of actions at Valley State.

SOUTHWESTERN JUNIOR COLLEGE (L.A.): This all-black school was effectively shut down Jan. 9 after 18 people were arrested and the head of the BSU run over by a car over their demand for a black studies program.

COLLEGE OF SAN MATEO: Police still occupy this campus since violent demonstrations broke out Dec. 13 over the mismanagement of the black and brown studies program. More campus windows than student heads have been busted and every college administrator has a bodyguard of two cops since \$20,000 in damages were done to the home of Dean of Instruction Phil Garlington the night of Jan. 6. SWARTHMORE COLLEGE (PA.): About 24 black students are still occupying the admissions office they took Jan. 9. The SAAS (Swarthmore Afro-American Society) demands more black admissions, a black admission counselor and black student and faculty participation in the running of the college. At this writing, the administration seems ready to grant these demands. Last week, the white students responded to their sit-in by holding workshops and plenary sessions to deal with the questions raised by the SAAS.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY (MASS.): Some 65 black students seized the Brandeis communications building Jan. 7 to demand a black studies program with independent policies and budget. The faculty voted in favor of their demands, but only if they left the communications building. SDS demonstrated outside the administration building in support of the black demands. Brandeis has suspended the 65 black students.

FORT EUSTIS, VA. (NS): An Army private who urged his colleagues to refuse service in Vietnam was found guilty by a court martial of actions "prejudicial to good order and discipline." The private, Daniel Duanekelsch, 17, of Tacoma, Wash., was sentenced to six months at hard labor, reduction to lowest pay grade, and forfeiture of \$73 pay per month for six months. Kelsch wrote a statement telling other GIs they should refuse to go to Vietnam or Korea, and he posted the statement on a company bulletin board.

# Courts bring militants to trial

The trial of Ben Morea for allegedly stabbing two servicemen next to the Arlington Street Church in Boston last July, began Monday in Boston Municipal Court before Judge Sullivan and a jury which includes three blacks. The charges: two counts of assault with a deadly weapon; the maximum, ten years. Morea is an original Up Against the Wall Motherfucker, a founder of Black Mask. Last summer Boston Commons became a battlefield when local merchants and pigs decided to clear it of the young people who gathered there and began nightly sweeps with police dogs and clubs. The night of July 22, a crowd re-grouped at the Arlington Street Church and was charged by a group of onlookers, including several Marines. Two men were stabbed: Airman Edward McGilly and Marine Corporal Alfred Crowley. Ben denies the stabbings and the political nature of the arrest was made clear by the Boston press. Accounts ranted that "officials have alerted police to the presence on the Boston Common of a rabble-rousing group with an obscene name, who, they say, have come here from New York to use the tense conditions between the police and the hippie community as an opportunity to create further disturbances."

So far, the prosecution has baited all defense witnesses as faggots, drug-crazed hippies, and advocates of crime in the streets. A lay minister testified that he heard the Marines say, "The cops will believe us, they won't believe them. Let's go." Only the two servicemen who were wounded identified Ben as their attacker—and admitted under cross-examination that the pigs had shown them a picture of Morea that morning.

## Oakland Seven

The Oakland Seven finally went to trial Monday, January 13, at the Alameda County Courthouse. More than a year after they were indicted, they are being tried for conspiracy to commit misdemeanors—a felony—during the Oakland Stop the Draft Week, October, 1967.

Conspiracy laws originated in the 17th Century English Star Chamber. Their use in this country began against striking cordwainers in 1805; the strike was held to be "criminal conspiracy", and thus the cops, the courts and the law coordinated the attempts to smash labor

# HUAC announces attack on SDS

by Bernardine Dohrn  
Inter-Organizational Secretary

The youngest HUAC chairman ever, Rep. Richard H. Ichord (D, Mo.), 42, announced Monday that SDS will be the first order of business this year. "...In view of the information that has been made public of the increasingly militant nature of the SDS—its conducting classes in sabotage, how to make molotov cocktails, and its teaching violent guerrilla tactics." The investigation of SDS will follow the abortive hearings on Chicago held during October and December. During those hearings, Tom Hayden was generally taken as representing SDS. The new announcement suggests that Ichord has staked out his own role

organizing, black organizing, the Left. The crime is perfectly suited to political repression: the agreement is illegal; the offense itself need not ever be committed. Through the labor cases, Rosenberg and Sobell, the Kentucky miners, Dennis, and Spock, the conspiracy law emerges as the most effective, poorly defined, easily convictable crime in existence.

The Oakland Seven have organized a Commission of Inquiry into the war and repression, to be held on the Berkeley campus during the first week of the trial.

## Chicago

While the infamous Chicago grant jury continues to meet, slowed by the surprise release of the Walker Report, the pressure mounts around the trials of Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden, Mike James, and others already charged for events during Convention Week.

The Justice Department has admitted that they have been electronically bugging Rubin during the past year. In a government document filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals, 4th Circuit, they stated: "The government is tendering... a sealed exhibit containing transcripts of conversations in which appellant Rubin was a participant or at which he was present which were overheard by means of electronic surveillance."

Rubin calls it a "weird feeling to think that the federal pigs have been listening to my phone calls and dinner conversations for the last year." He pictures them "drunk and fat, a can of beer in their hands, trying to figure out what half the words I use mean. I hope it drives them crazy."

Rubin is under indictment for

for the new Law and Order administration, relying largely on the end of the year FBI reports on SDS. In addition, HUAC has been compiling dossiers and "evidence" against the organization during the past year.

Although his announcement did not specify open hearings, Ichord did state his intention to seek new laws on behavior in the hearing room. He also mentioned his intention to call fewer "disruptive" witnesses (Rubin, Hoffman).

Timed with this announcement was the nationally syndicated Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson story of a nation-wide communist conspiracy behind the black student revolts at Brandeis, Swarthmore, Pembroke, etc.

solicitation to commit mob action, a felony carrying a five-year rap. He is under \$25,000 bail. Hayden faces a string of misdemeanors coming to trial in mid-January, and James received a continuance last week for charges of criminal damage to property.

## Rap Brown

Charges of arson and incitement to commit arson in Cambridge, Maryland have not yet been prosecuted. The racist courts and prosecution are squirming to have the case tried anywhere white. The prosecution asked for a change of venue and the trial was set for a white community in Virginia, where Rap was actually arrested. Defense attorney Bill Kunstler removed the case to Federal court, to try to have it remanded back to Cambridge. The Federal judge has so far reserved decision, but the maneuvering makes clear their fear of conducting trials anywhere near the black community of Cambridge.

# Smash

(continued from Page 8)  
to correspond to their real manifestations of imperialism in the local institutions is an absolute necessity. The movement within the US has always partaken of a quality of uneven development—while this has allowed for isolated actions, such as Columbia or Sp State to shock the entire movement into a qualitative leap in both ideological and political militancy it has also made the workings of the national program extremely difficult.

## National Focus

Step 2, therefore, becomes the "common denominator" of the strategy, an action that gives national focus to the local organizing, that expresses the political and tactical level of the movement as a whole. Step 3, though, is the most important part of the program. It is here that the clarity of our national demands and nationally oriented politics will be matched by our local and regional actions. In the more developed regions, the militant and widespread nature of the revolts against imperialism and racism will clearly aid the whole strategy. In less developed regions and chapters, the national march and any low-level demonstrations that occur afterward will certainly contribute to the building of the movement at those chapters if not to the immediate winning of the five demands, as may be possible in other areas.

How these regional struggles will proceed must be worked out at the regional level. At Boston, perhaps, a region-wide attack on MIT as a war-making institution which should be attacked nationally is possible. We present the outline of a possible New York Regional strategy as a model from which other regions and chapters might draw ideas.

## New York Model

February: Developing a petition drive, city-wide, for an end to the military in the schools, preparing the organizational apparatus necessary for the struggle.

March: Intensive organizing, films, teach-ins, publicity on the march, the

## THIS IS A SUBPOENA

8 972  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Congress of the United States

Subpoena for the production of books, records and papers relating to SCEF, SSO, SNCC, SDS from Jan. 1, 1964 to the present to the hearings. The McSurelys' home in Pikeville, Ky. was dynamited last month. They and their year-old baby narrowly escaped the attack.

This subpoena was served to two SCEF workers. They were ordered to bring all books, records and papers relating to SCEF, SSO, SNCC, SDS from Jan. 1, 1964 to the present to the hearings. The McSurelys' home in Pikeville, Ky. was dynamited last month. They and their year-old baby narrowly escaped the attack.

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war, racism. Low-level campus actions and inter-university actions.

April 12-13: March in Washington—immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, support of black liberation.

April 14-20: Actions around the military; e.g., march on the Board of Education demanding end of the "general diploma" as a ticket to the army for blacks and Puerto Ricans, convergence on a military recruiting station, attack on a draft center, etc. Presentation of a petition with a call for a general strike of students in the city if demands are not met by May 1; organizing with street theatre, films, political brigades for the strike.

May 1: General student strike, which continues to build from the first day, not just because we have called it but because of the nature and militancy of the four-month struggle which has preceded it; positive non-negotiability of the demands of the struggle.

## Implementation

The creation of such a mass movement necessitates an amount of work that SDS has never yet engaged in: while we should be open to working with people in other organizations, SDS, primarily the local and regional chapters, should undertake to keep the organization and implementation of the program completely under its control, e.g. literature, fund-raising, tactics, advertising, travel. To meaningfully implement the program, the chapters and regionals must work collectively—a much more extended organizational version of the way things worked during the electoral program. In terms of building for a national conscious commitment of the movement and preparatory organization, we propose:

- 1) Printing of this program in New Left Notes.
- 2) Continued allocation of space by NLN for other papers—other regional models, longer analyses of imperialism and racism in relation to the program, organizers' articles, and reports of progress—region by region.
- 3) Initial contacts from chapter to chapter and region to region, with high-school groups and black groups, throughout the month of January.
- 4) February 1 and 2 meeting of all chapters and regions that have approved the program or will do so, to cement the outlines of the national program, and to mandate the NYC to call for a national march and regional actions. Princeton SDS will host the meeting.
- 5) Continuous contact between regions and chapters, exchange of organizing materials and regional strategies, perhaps setting up of a Washington office for co-ordinating the march, or elections of regional steering committees to implement regional strategies.
- 6) April 12-13—National March.



Ben Morea in Boston.

Guardian photo.

# Fidel raps on university's future

Speech given by Fidel Castro at the graduation ceremony at the University of Oriente Dec. 8, 1968. Reprinted from Granma, Dec. 15, 1968.

...In political discussions students and workers have heard of dialectics, of the development of institutions and processes, and this is a good example of dialectics: the development of university education leads to the disappearance of universities as such—that is, the maximum development of the institution itself will lead to its disappearance.

...In the society of the future, in the world of the future, peoples—and even more a people such as ours, that suffered under centuries of colonial domination and was burdened with the backwardness of centuries—will be facing a tremendous challenge if they are to play a decent role in the world; if they are to maintain a decent place in the world and be worthy of a minimum of respect in the world, worthy of being free, worthy of existing.

Therefore it goes without saying that we must succeed in turning into reality—and not simply into mere law—our aspiration to have education up to the senior high school level compulsory. Compulsory education that one day will cease to be called compulsory, since anything that follows so clearly and essentially from reality ceases to be an obligation and becomes a necessity.

And since in the future all of society—and last someone become alarmed, we are speaking of the society of the future, of those now in primary and secondary schools—will have to study, studying, like work, will be part of the human being's everyday activities and will cease to be a meaningless, aimless and, above all, fruitless activity—as was work in the past and as education used very often to be in the past—will cease to be an obligation, a burden, to become an activity that every human being will gladly engage in every day.

And the more physical work diminishes—precisely as a result of the mastery of technology—the greater will be the need for intellectual work, for studying, understanding and researching for making even greater progress. Thus, in the society of the future, physical work will decrease progressively, while intellectual work, in turn, will increase.

There will come a day when society will need to practice sports. Intensively, since it is not possible to think of a human community being gradually turned into a mass of purely intellectual workers.—It will be necessary to exercise the muscles together with the mind.

Logically, while we still have to cut tens of millions of arrobos of sugarcane every day as required by our economy; when we still have to cut 40 or 50 million arrobos of sugarcane every day, by hand, using a machete, it is superfluous to speak of physical activities because that physical activity is in itself back-breaking and thus leaves very little time for intellectual activity. But there will come a day when society will even miss that type of physical effort and this effort will have to be replaced by other activities of a physical nature.

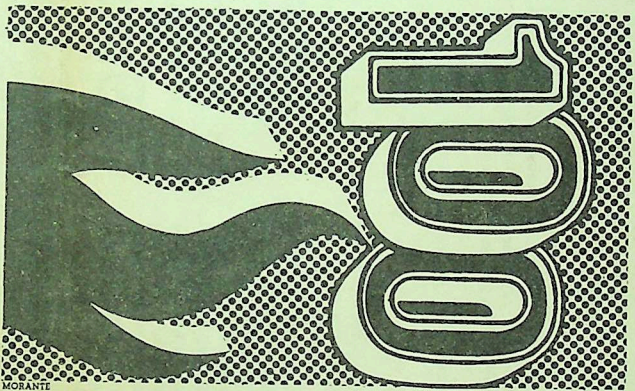
I was saying that a stage will arrive in the development of our people when intellectual work will become even more intense and studying will become a general activity of society, a constant activity of society. Even today, any physician or engineer who let five years go by without opening a book would find himself incredibly behind in knowledge about the number of new discoveries, new techniques and new accomplishments that characterize this period of incredible revolution in both science and technology. Thus, five years spent without getting new information, without studying, would be tantamount to underdevelopment in that branch of knowledge.

Therefore, ideas and concepts must be gradually changed, because sometimes we cannot even imagine

the influence that old concepts, old formulas and old customs have upon us. And all those old ideas must disappear, because if the universities are to disappear it is fitting that things which are not as useful as the universities disappear, as well.

And when we speak of the disappearance of the universities, what do we mean? The day will come when hundreds of thousands of students will attain knowledge equivalent to the high school level and be graduated from the technological institutes. Several days ago at a school inauguration we said that in the future we should discard the term "high school" and have only technological institutes of science so that this division, a trifle artificial, between one type of student and the other's should disappear. We should have technological institutes of science where students would take up those subjects prerequisite for further study: institutes of agricultural technology, institutes of industrial technology, etc. When there are hundreds of thousands of such students, all of those young people who have attained a certain technical proficiency will go into productive activity.

Such a concept would interfere with the further development of that student mass, since society could not do without the services of that mass, which should have acquired by then, after a good number of years of study, the proficiency of professionals. And practically



every young person will go off to production having acquired that proficiency.

There may be some exceptional activities that will require higher studies. Some say, for example, the study of medicine. But the schools of medicine will be organized about the hospitals, and the students will be able to carry out some practice work, some experiments, and will become familiar with their work and some of the services while at the same time carrying on their basic studies.

Those taking advanced courses in pedagogy will be teaching at the technological schools and carrying on their studies. Necessity has forced us to do this. High school graduates who were to study agronomy but had to teach classes at the technological schools worked out their own study groups with their work programs with teachers who taught them at these schools and then went to take their examinations at the university. At present we have students of architecture working in several of the agricultural command posts while carrying out their studies in physical planning. Civil engineering students are now in the mountains of Pinar del Rio, studying contour terracing. There, they participate in the work of planning and organization of that type of work and attend classes.

Naturally, a teacher has to be sent there, because nobody living there has any higher education. In the future, there will be large numbers of men with higher education in every sugar mill, every mining plant—for example, in every chemical, textile, or any other type of plant—in every agricultural industry—and when we speak of an agricultural industry we speak of one which will be highly specialized, using the most modern techniques, making the best use of the land in keeping with the land's characteristics and the needs to be met. The day will come when there will be contingents of men equipped with outstanding knowledge, so that it will no longer be necessary to send a professor from a school of economics to teach in a sugar mill zone, since all of the graduates of an institute of agricultural technology will be available there, along with dozens and dozens of young people who will have preceded them, having completed those studies, at the higher level, and who will have, in addition, long years of practice.

Thus, in the future, practically every plant, agricultural zone, hospital and school will become a university. And those who are graduated from intermediate-level grades will continue on to higher grades. And what will become of the present universities? Will we, perhaps, do away with those buildings, those institutions? They will no longer be the universities they are today. In that sense, they will have disappeared, but they will remain as centers of higher learning for postgraduate studies, attended, for example, by groups of physicians chosen after a very careful study of their exceptional knowledge. That is what will be done at these centers called universities when the country's entire productive activity becomes the everyday school, the perfect school for every member of the community.

Today we can set up a technological institute close to a large factory, but in the future, when this great mass of students has reached the level of technicians, there will be a workers' faculty next to every factory, power plant, chemical plant and metallurgical plant, where the workers already graduated as technicians will, after finishing their work shift, attend classes in theory or practice taught by qualified teachers who will also be part of the technical personnel in that factory or plant.

This is our idea of the future development of this entire educational process, which, in turn, will be the result of the idea of education on the intermediate levels. All of this will be closely connected with production programs so that as soon as the students reach the secondary level they will begin to carry out some productive activities.

In the future, the secondary schools will be distributed throughout the country. It will no longer be today's 45-day School Goes to the Countryside; by then it will be the School in the Countryside. Not the School Goes to the Countryside, but the School in the Countryside! It will be fundamentally a teaching job, but it will not be non-productive work, because there are a number of activities, not too strenuous activities, that can be carried out by young people. It will be then that the ideals of the most eminent, most advanced pedagogues in history will become a reality—that is, that, in the formation of man, productive activities should go hand in hand with educational activities, beginning at an early age.

Military training will also be part of technological education in view of the special situation of our country. Thus, men and women will be given military training together with their classes at the technological institutes, and we will not have today's situation where there is still a separation between the young person who goes into military service and the one who goes to school. By then he will be the same person.

Of course, this is all possible only as a result of the development of the Revolution, of the eradication of privileges, of the progressive eradication of the classes. It will be, therefore, the result of having one integral people, a true equality of rights for all citizens, a truly equal future, a true equality in the obligations and duties toward society as a whole....

## CUBA LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM THE N.O.

CUBA: A HISTORY 1868-1959  
100 years of struggle from Marti to Fidel. Includes map of provinces and major cities.

CUBA VS. US IMPERIALISM  
written by Edward Boorstein, who worked with revolutionary Cuban economists in the early '60's to build a new Cuban economy, free from American imperialism.

MAN AND SOCIALISM  
a letter by Che Guevara to the Uruguayan newspaper Marcha describing the men and the community of socialism.



Day nurseries for working mother's children are in charge of young women who complete their studies at night schools.

# Cuban youth pour into the fields

(This article reprinted from The Guardian was written by Constance Ullman and Gerald Long after their return from Cuba last Feb.)

"Agriculture for a communist is like the mountains for a guerrilla," reads a sign next to a dirt road just outside of Havana. The road leads to a nursery for coffee plants which is part of El Plan Cordon de la Habana, one of the four agricultural projects we visited in January.

The four projects or plans, as they are called here—El Cordon, San Andres, Banao and Juragua—are important socially as well as economically. Each embodies different social implications and they produce crops other than the sugar and cattle which have been the basis of the Cuban economy since 1962-63.

The Cordon de la Habana or green belt around the capital city contains an area of 75,000 formerly unproductive acres. Begun on April 17, 1967, and to be finished this year, the plan will transform not only the land and the lives of the subsistence farmers of the area, but also the relationship between the capital city and the rest of the country.

In a speech celebrating the completion of a new community of 120 homes within the Cordon on Jan. 6, Fidel Castro said:

"So the population of the city of Havana will redeem itself from that type of colonialism to which it had the rest of the country subjected. Because even more than the capital of Cuba, Havana was the colonial power of Cuba, and now Havana will be the capital but not a colonial power, because it will stop being a burden and will become a tremendous help to the country with its huge labor force, with its enormous technical resources."

Nearly one-and-a-half million people, close to one-fifth of the population of Cuba, live in the city of Havana. This is both the highest concentration of consumers and the highest concentration of workers in the nation.

Today, only 50% of the food consumed in Havana is produced within the province. Coffee comes from the mountains of Oriente, 621 miles away.

## Coffee and Fruit

Therefore, of the 75,000 acres in the present Plan Cordon, 50,000 will be planted with coffee and citrus fruits. The rest of the area will contain pasturals, forests, parks and a 1,500-acre botanical garden and zoo which are being constructed under the direction of the students of the University of Havana.

A second 20,000-acre belt for raising milk cows and a third for growing sugarcane, vegetables and rice are projected for the land around the present belt.

By 1970, the coffee produced in El Cordon will be more than sufficient for Havana. This will bring rationing to an end. "And it will taste better," said a young secretary we spoke to while she did voluntary work, "because we planted it ourselves."

Most of the work involved in the Plan Cordon is being done by the people of Havana on a voluntary basis. Hundreds of trucks and buses take them out each weekend and many stores simply close down for several days while their employees go out to work.

Most of the land in the plan is state owned, but nearly 1,000 microplans have been formulated to incorporate small farmers into the larger plan. When a small farmer joins the plan, he agrees to produce crops according to the norms which have been established. In exchange, his needs are considered individually.

The average microplan furnishes the farmer with a modern furnished house, outbuildings for his animals, preparation and planting of the same amount of land he formerly cultivated and a monthly income of 100 pesos until the crops come up—all free.

Roads, schools, nurseries and commercial and recreation centers are also being built in the area.

Whereas the incorporation of the small farmer into the revolution is but one aspect of the Plan Cordon de la Habana, it is the major function of the Plan San Andres de Cajunabo. Before the revolution, the San Andres valley in Pinar del Rio province was the property of three landlords. More than 1,000 peasants leased their land from them, paying cash and a portion of their crops. Totally ignored by the government, they could be evicted whenever the landlords pleased.

The people lived in thatched roof huts, without running water or electricity. A sick child meant a 25-mile horseback ride to the nearest doctor. There were two schools for a population of more than 5,000.

The agrarian reform laws gave the farmers the land they had cultivated. Unused land was returned by the state.

The San Andres plan was proposed by Fidel in December, 1966, after he made a tour of the 10-square-mile area.



Increasing agricultural production is one of revolutionary Cuba's main goals.

Today, there are 22 schools in the area. A hospital has also been built, as well as a laundry, market, restaurant, cafeteria and beauty parlor. More than 1,200 new houses will be constructed this year.

The San Andres women, with their children in school, their dirty clothes in the laundry and free medical attention readily available, are now working in the fields.

Every farmer belongs to one of the 26 cooperatives in the plan, thereby raising the productivity of the privately owned land. Each co-op was given a tractor, fertilizer, seeds, technical advice and free credit by the government.

Given the close ties between the government and the small farmers, the writ of ownership of land is becoming meaningless. Already, more than 50 farmers have returned their land to the government as a result of the direct and indirect benefits they have received.

## End of Private Property

The farmers' children are educated by the revolution without the capitalist veneration for private property. While many study agriculture, they study in technological institutes and what they learn is not suitable for working on their fathers' small plots of land. So when a farmer grows old and his children are studying or working elsewhere, he can sell his land to the state and receive a pension. That 30% of the land which is now privately owned will pass into the hands of the state within a generation or two.

The Banao plan is at the foot of the Escam-

bray mountains in eastern Las Villas province. Because of the relation of this land to the mountain range it has a stable, cool climate, suitable for growing grapes, strawberries, asparagus and onions, crops that have never before been produced in Cuba.

These crops do not require strenuous work for their cultivation. Therefore, 75% of the workers at Banao are women. This is a significant breakthrough, since women have never before engaged in agricultural work.

There are 500 women who live in dormitories on the 20,000-acre project. They go home every other weekend and their children attend the boarding school within the plan. More than 1,000 other women commute to the area every day.

These two groups work at Banao because of revolutionary consciousness. They consider themselves pioneers in the process of integrating women into agricultural work.

Besides the 400 men who are part of the permanent work force at Banao, an average of 2,000 to 3,000 students rotate at voluntary labor, usually for a period of 45 days.

While much of Banao's produce will be exported, two of the 54 flavors of ice cream available at the Copelia ice cream palaces throughout Cuba, grape and strawberry, come from last year's pickings at Banao.

When the first exploration teams from the Institute of Hydraulic Resources came to the Juraguá area in the fall of 1966, they had to hack their way north from the coast with machetes.

The 15,000-acre area, between Centauros and

# Venceremos

This resolution was written for the December NC, but lack of time prevented its presentation. A NIC meeting, held after the NC, passed it.

January 1969 marks the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. In solidarity with that defeat of U.S. imperialism and with the ten years of struggle by the Cuban people to build a revolutionary socialist society, SDS calls for a Cuba Week of education and actions.

SDS will focus on the Cuban struggles during this time, as a beginning of continuing programs which will carry these issues to all of our organizing.

- 1) To learn and explain about the Cuban victory as a part of the international struggle between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed people of the world.
- 2) To direct attention and programs to U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Although we say imperialism is a system and the war in Vietnam is but one manifestation of that system, our understanding and programs on imperialism have largely been limited to Vietnam. Cuba is a case study of imperialism in this hemisphere.
- 3) To educate about the revolutionary principles underlying a socialist society: planning for people's needs, abolition of a money economy, moral incentives, the relationship between manual and mental labor, the development of the New Man. Cuba Week provides the context for rapping about the real struggles being fought for daily since the revolution; it confronts racism and anti-communism; it requires an understanding of communist principles.

SDS will educate and agitate with programs:

- a) distributing pamphlets, literature, posters, Tricontinentals, and Grammas;
- b) presenting Cuban film festivals and speakers who have traveled to Cuba;
- c) attacking agencies of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, such as Latin American Institutes, counter-insurgency research centers, sugar exchanges, United Fruit, etc.

Venceremos!

Bernardine Dolhin  
Jim Murray  
Jim Mitchell

Helen Schiller  
Jim Murray  
Doug Bernhart

# San Diego Prospectus

## Why Organize Workers?

by San Diego Workers  
for a Democratic Society

It is with some unease that we write this section of the position paper. Before the last NC, many of our friends saw us as some sort of white help against P.L.P. They felt that SDS was vulnerable on the issue of the working class, and so SDS groups like WDS and the NCU (later NCC) were to be conscripted to prove that SDS was really better at organizing workers than P.L. Our approach is actually different from the NCU emphasis on street organizing, and similar to the PL emphasis of on-the-job organizing (PL organizers have given us a good deal of valuable advice and criticism), but this paper is not intended as a polemic against any other form of organizing. Our answers are tentative ones; the only reason for stating them is that the questions are very common ones.

The questions: why workers? why factories rather than communities? what about the issue of economism? youth culture? how do we work in the union? how did our attitudes change? what do we organize people into? how do we talk about politics?

### Workers and Factories

We organize workers because they are the only sector of the population with the potential power to defeat the American ruling class. Students can annoy the rulers; workers can seize the means of production and shut down the country. Moreover, the gap between the potential power of working people and their situation of powerlessness makes them the group among whom successful organizing would prove most fruitful. Finally, it is important to organize workers because the ruling class is attempting to mobilize working people against the radical but peripheral elements of the population (students, blacks). Despite all the talk, workers rejected, Wallace decisively. But the divorce between the radicals and the workers is still dangerous and explosive.

We work in factories because we think that the work situation is crucial to the development of consciousness, of self-definition, and of social analysis. Man spends over half his life engaged in work: if asked to define himself he will often talk about his job. The place where there is the least amount of mystification of social relations is on the job, and social relations on the job are key to the rest of the relationships in the society.

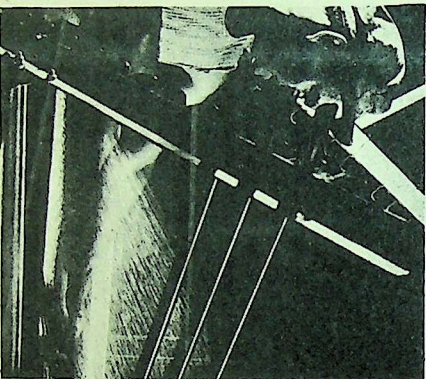
There are secondary, tactical reasons why we prefer to work in factories. One is that it is easier to become part of a community of workers when one is a worker than to become part of the workers-and-unemployed when you are a free-lance activist-organizer. On the street, the activist spends his time intensely involved in politics, while 'they' spend their time in humiliating work or just in passing time. In the factory, political workers are oppressed in much the same way that non-political workers are oppressed, and that sameness gives form both to your theory and to conversations in the plant. Second, it is possible to control the rhythm of your organizing in a factory; you start the first day, by making friends and building personal trust, but you lead up to intensely political work slowly, and you can learn a great deal before you do so. Finally, it is easier to talk about the bosses when you share a common experience with one of the bosses: the enemies in community organizing (a trade union, a Jewish grocery store owner) are often trivial or peripheral entities when compared with an "owner of the means of production."

Economism is the latest swearword of the movement. It has become a sneering term employed to characterize any struggle of working people for higher wages and better working conditions that does not demand 'structural reform.' This ignores the historical meaning of economism (which

is a useful concept—when defined). Economism was an attempt to give the "economic struggle itself a political character"; the quest for non-economist demands is the height of economism, the most sophisticated attempt yet to "give the economic struggle itself a political character." It should be noted parenthetically that most of us were very excited about Andre Gorz' theories of structural reform when we started work last year. The intellectual discipline of constant forced explanations of socialism to workers in the plant has modified our theories as well as our practice.

Lenin's views on economism might be useful here. In What Is To Be Done? he sees the economists as not attacking the main contradiction in Russian society, not relating to the whole of society, failing to deal with the culture and superstructure, and not transcending spontaneous struggles. Lenin's grouping were the only socialists to agitate against the "drafting of the students into the Army" even though that action "did not promise any palpable result for the workers." Lenin even argued that "working class consciousness can not be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter what class is affected."

The points Lenin raised have different applications in the United States of today than they had in Lenin's Russia. In Russia, Lenin scored the economists for not talking about the democratic struggle against Tsarist absolutism; in the United States of today the phenomenon of necessary imperialist wars is the central contradiction of society. Lenin criticized the economists for only organizing workers; we don't have to worry about the American left in the sixties making a similar error. In Russia, failing to deal with the culture would mean first, not combatting racism and Great Russian chauvinism, and second, failure to teach intellectual—political and philosophical—ideas to workers, and instead glorifying "spontaneity." In the United States, the obvious parallels are compelling: We must defeat



"We work in factories because we think the work situation is crucial to the development of consciousness."

anti - communism, racism, and individualism, all of which pervade the culture; to do that we must speak from the vantage point of a socialist culture, and we must educate instead of speaking as pragmatists. What is known as youth culture is a fraud, or rather a fad; culture has to be a set of values, lifestyles, myths and goals which is relevant to the whole of society, and the people who are living out of 'youth culture' are a symptom of decadence rather than a vanguard. Finally the Russian economists' failure to transcend spontaneous struggles in an organized way is still a problem on the new left: with a long-term strategy.

To be brief, there is no magic demand or strategy (or structural reform) that can transform trade union struggles into revolutionary battles. What should be clear to all is that wage increases are essential for American workers

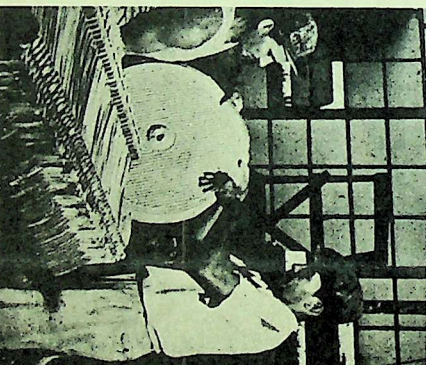
(real wages have been declining) and that it is unworthy of an organization that once led fights against dorm hours to sneer at a struggle over wages and hours. At the same time, it would be suicide to mutilate our political perspective to include only those struggles.

It is necessary, then, to use every struggle and every opportunity for conversation to develop political class-consciousness. This takes place on all levels, and is insured by our honesty about our political involvement. We talk to people about the war and about racism, and how both are against their broader class interests (internationally), and about the necessity for building a new socialist morality in which individualistic competition is replaced by solidarity and struggle.

### Union Activity

Most of our direct experience has come from one company in whose two plants five organizers have been working for less than a year; these are ex-students, and join the large crop of dropouts in the factory. One organizer became an organizer directly, without making the detour through college. The high concentration of organizers is a historical accident due to the ease with which we got hired there. Our first strategy out of the constant one-to-one organizing which goes on every day was a strategy for inserting ourselves into the union meetings. Our methods have varied with each meeting; success has been uniform, and minimal. We have made attempts to democratize the union at the meetings and have generally attracted (although not by any means recruited) one or two people at each meeting, but the majority of those attending the meetings resent our intrusion into their social club. The problem is that no strategy seems to make much sense; our constituency does not come to the union meetings. But they are not anti-union in a right-wing sense, and we agree with the criticisms they make of the union.

Our major time and effort now is going into an independent newspaper, which we distribute free to the several thousand workers. The paper is distrusted by both company and union



"The work situation is crucial to the Challenge photos"

officials, and one or more editors may be fired if we continue its publication. It is not provocative except in its general conception; an independent paper, printing interviews with workers, could easily develop into a strong movement. The paper is popular, and it will thus be difficult for either company or union to fire us for working on it.

We think it a mistake to ignore the union; a parallel institution that cannot be accused of being anti-union or a dual union, but is still independent of the union's ossified bureaucracy seems to be the best approach right now. It is constantly a problem, though, to force ourselves to criticize the ideologies of the workers at the current battles, to make the newspaper a political force at the same time as we seek to make it a popular organ, a 'tribune of the

people.' Our heavy concentration in one company has had advantages, for at the beginning of our organizing we were able to debate and discuss our daily work, and could make even minor tactical decisions collectively. This was good for beginners, and also kept our morale up. It allowed us to learn from our mistakes and to avoid a great many more. Its disadvantages, especially on the one floor where three of us worked, were a certain cliqueish elitism, and an unrealistic estimate of our strength. Some of us feel that it may have lured us into premature activity; the newspaper was put out before a strong organization of non-WDSers was ready to work on the paper, and we are not sure whether that means that the paper was premature. This position paper, like our work, is a beginning rather than an end: new possibilities open up for us so quickly that we scarcely have time to report on past experiences. The day-to-day fact of working as a radical teaching in a factory is so exciting as to be heady. We work at the nexus, where the most centrally important group of people in the society meet and grapple with the centrally important problem of socialization, and produce the wealth for the entire society.

(This is written by an organizer who came from a campus sds chapter: it seems appropriate here as an appendix.)

My attitude about workers was already fairly positive or at least expectedly open when I began, or else I would not have decided to quit school and go to work. Every summer and part-time job I had ever had had been degrading and depressing, and most of the people I had worked with had really hated it, too. I was beginning to think that such content, if coupled with a correct analysis of its sources and the natural human desire for a creative and happy life would perhaps lead to the consciousness necessary for organizing the struggle. I was rather confused about why workers seemed so content with their situation—why there weren't more strikes, why more people hadn't joined Peace and Freedom, etc. It had been argued that somehow workers had been blackmailed out of their humanity—"bought off," that they had given up their desire to create a useful, creative and happy life for a color, TV and a Mustang. I didn't really believe that because I knew that I had been subjected to the same propagandizing they had, and that I had not been bought off, and I didn't see any reason to believe that I was someone special.

### Hate the Job

It was obvious from the very beginning that people hated their jobs. When asked how I liked my job, I would reply with an honest, positive answer and a smile. The standard reply was, "Wait until you've been here a few months—you'll really hate it." Many people were tense and bored. Although they appeared to be afraid of the big boss and even the mousetrap of supervisors, they were extremely hostile to them. "I wish we could go on strike—that's the only way we'll ever get anything out of these bastards." But since for the most part, they have been denied the historical and practical knowledge of their own strength as a class they are rather unsure about the possibility of that or any other action. The desire for change is there as well as an awareness of the inefficiency of capitalist production: "This place is really unorganized. I bet we could run it better than those damn supervisors. We're the ones that know how to do the work."

Day to day conversations cover a whole range of topics from education and schools and the draft to marriage and religion and racial discrimination, and really personal things like people's dreams and desires and goals—seldom fulfilled--for their lives. The mass media hasn't succeeded in putting their minds to sleep, as we have been led to believe. They are very much alive and aware and thinking of what is going on around them. I love and respect them

# The old left and the new left

by Paul Mattick Jr.

(This is the first of a two-part series.)

It is a strange fact about the American new left, especially in view of its being primarily a student movement, that it has produced so little in the way of a theory of itself and its goals. What kind of revolution are we aiming for? What styles of organization are appropriate to the work we want to do? What are or ought to be our relations to other tententially or potentially oppositional groups in society like blacks and workers? These are questions for which we have even no clear sets of contending answers. We have certain phrases, which are not empty for being only phrases, but whose contents, if felt, have not been clarified and examined: "participatory democracy", "socialism", "solidarity", "worker-student alliance", "the movement"; but we have produced no real analysis and no coherent program since the liberalistic days of Port Huron.

This is by contrast not the case in Europe, where the new left is rather conscious and verbal about such matters. I believe this is in great part explained by the fact that the European new left has emerged out of a

## Workers

(continued from Page 6)  
as individuals and as a group of people who have suffered degradation, humiliation, and physical, mental, and emotional strain day after day, year after year in order to provide their families with what they consider to be a decent home "so that my children won't have to work in a place like this." They buy what we consider unnecessary luxuries (when they can afford them, which isn't as often as I had suspected) in order to have "something to show" for all the hard work—something to make up for that empty, "used" feeling one has at the end of the day. They know that money and what it buys does not bring happiness—that love and friends and children and doing things you like with people you like and feeling that your life means something is what brings happiness. But there is so little time for that. "Work wouldn't be so bad if they didn't treat us like goddamn machines all the time."

Two of the people we have met—a man and a woman, both single and in their early twenties, have become organizers and are becoming socialists. They see the necessity for a strong union of workers, a democratic union that could really fight to gain what workers deserve. We work together on encouraging and directing union struggles and spend a lot of time together off the job. It has become obvious to them that the struggle must be expanded, that a strike in our plant won't stop the war or improve education or destroy poverty and that those things are important in our lives. They understand that the oppression we face in our plant is being faced by workers all over the country. Its root lies in the system of production—that is what we have to deal with, and there is strength in numbers.

continuing old left experience and tradition, by a confrontation on all levels with organizations that are real social forces. The clearest case is that of German SDS, which started as the youth group of the SPD, splitting into serious radicalism after the parent organization abjured Marxism and joined the government (yet another confirmation of Marx's dictum on repetition in history, this betrayal being only the duldest farce after the tragedy of August, 1914). But much the same can be said about the student movements in Italy and, more certainly, in France, though in these cases the relation to the old left is not such a direct one. Moreover, a radical tradition of another type has survived in Europe in the form of rank-and-file workingclass radicalism, even though this has made its clearest appearance only in small groups like Solidarity in England and I.C.O. in France, and in labor upsurges like the May days of '68 and this year's general strike in Italy.

## Workingclass Politics

The U.S.A., on the other hand, has been distinguished for some time by the absence of a political working class and workingclass politics. There is in America even no real analogue to the European old left organizations. The Communist Party has for decades been more or less a joke foisted upon us by the FBI; the Socialist Party has lacked even this notoriety, and the other little leftwing parties and sects are yet more difficult to take seriously.

The true starting point of the American new left is indeed none of these groups, but the Democratic Party. A glance at the Port Huron Statement shows this to be true in the case of SDS—which is my main reference in speaking of the new left—despite its formal origin in SLID (though even this "despite" is in question in view of the politics of the SP, which have been more those of a left ADA than of a socialist party). The movement that exists today grew out of the great liberal causes, civil rights and peace; SDS's first serious incarnation as an autonomous group was in the liberalism of the ERAP projects. The new left has had to develop to radicalism through a series of experiences, primarily of the failures of the movements just mentioned. In this way it has moved, in the terms of its slogans, "from protest to resistance", from dialogue to confrontation, from organizing pressure groups to base-building, from peace to anti-imperialism, from civil rights to black liberation; perhaps from participatory democracy to socialism.

In this developmental process the new left's theory of and for itself has taken the form primarily of negations: we are left not liberal, and as a left we are not old but new. But in this form of our self-definition as a left, decisively severed from and opposed to the liberalism of the status quo, we describe ourselves by contrast to organizations that have for some time had no real existence as a left, to a "tradition" empty of all real content. In this way a paradoxical situation has arisen: having developed to the point where theory became imperative in the

absence of a socially powerful old left, the necessity of revolt against which might have forced us from the start to evolve a new theory of radical activity, we remain captives of the basic theoretical presuppositions of that very old left.

## Bolshevik Model

To take a most important example, radical history, the history of the socialist movement, has remained for us basically history from the viewpoint of old left organizations, particularly of the Leninist type. The conceptions of revolution and of socialism shared by most of us are taken from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia as primary model, with China and Cuba as alternative forms of development of the same basic process. Whence the preoccupation of what theoretically minded comrades there are among us with the notions of the party, the vanguard group, the cadre, the professional organizer.

If the immediate background of this phenomenon is, as I have argued, the weakness of the American old left as a social force, the cause in general may be said to have been the collapse of the revolutionary wave that swept Europe around 1920 and the subsequent domination of the world revolutionary stage by a Comintern under the firm control of the Russian CP. An example of the effect of this on our radical awareness: the average SDS member is likely to look on the Spanish Civil War primarily in terms of a heroic battle of democracy, aided by the International Brigades and the Soviet Union, against Fascism. Most of us know little or nothing about the social revolution of 1936, whose destruction first of all at the hands of the CP (even to the extent of armed attacks by units of the International Brigades against socialist peasant communes) guaranteed Franco's eventual victory. (This is an innocence shared for instance by PL members I have met, who tend to know more than many of us in the movement, but solemnly repeat the Chinese twaddle about the "internationalism" of Soviet Russia under Stalin destroyed by "Khrushchevite revisionism.")

Thinking still of the Russian Revolution primarily as the work of Lenin's party, we know next to nothing about the role of the soviets in 1905 and 1917, and of the story of their final defeat in Kronstadt at the hands of the Red Army. We have paid scant attention to the analogous movement of workers' councils in Germany, or to the Italian factory occupations of 1920, except at best through Communist's halfheartedly and then wholeheartedly Leninist eyes. All this is not "just history". These phenomena are crucial to us for the same reason that we are mainly ignorant about them: that they suggest a theory of socialist action and society that is in sharp contrast to the models inherited by us from the old left. They suggest a picture of revolutionary history not as the action of masses directed by professional revolutionists, but as the product of the ability of the working class to organize itself into a new form of society on the basis of its own experience of class struggle.

Of course, the ultimate and fundamental cause of our historical ignorance and theoretical confusion is the failure in recent times of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries to engage in revolutionary struggle. The effect of the absence of the experience of a proletarian left is perhaps most obviously visible in our looking to revolutions in the underdeveloped countries as models for our own movement; but this is only one expression of the domination of our conception not only of the past history of the class struggle but of its current stage by old left ideas. This is most striking in the case of Progressive Labor, which has attracted as members and sympathizers many who are most serious and committed to the rebirth of revolutionary action, but which is utterly confined in old left forms of organization and activity. But it is true far beyond the ranks of this latest "true Marxist-Leninist party".

## Work-In Pamphlet

A good example of what I am talking about is to be found in the "Work-In" pamphlet (which I hope has been by now made available to all SDS members). Despite the insane quarrels between factions, I suspect that most SDS members, of all factions, will tend to react rather to the verbal mannerisms and repetitiveness of the pamphlet than to its implicit analysis of workingclass political militance in terms of the presence or absence of "good leadership". Good attitudes in a shop, for instance, here show "the far-reaching effects of a halfway decent union on workers' attitudes towards almost all political questions" (p. 20); less politically conscious workers are the victims or products of "corrupt union leaders" (pp. 12, 13, etc.) who "have been too successful in insulating them from working-class ideology" (sic! p. 17). The solution: trade union struggles must be "infused with political education", presumably by uncorrupted leaders.

The trouble with this lies deeper than the shallowness of the concept of "corruption", in something implied by this concept: the idea that political consciousness can arise in workers only when they are given correct leadership; the typically bourgeois conclusion that workers are incapable of reaching "correct ideas" on their own. As Lenin put it in *What Is To Be Done?*, "...there could not yet be social democratic (revolutionary) consciousness among the workers. This consciousness could only be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness.... The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the... theories that were elaborated by... the intellectuals." If, however, we recognize that workers are capable of thinking and drawing conclusions by themselves we are faced with the problem of explaining how it is that they accept "corruption" in their leaders in the first place—and how they come to reject it when they do; i.e., with understanding the content of proletarian class-consciousness and the conditions in which it may arise.

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# Smash the military machine in the schools

(This is a working paper, still open for ideas, originally presented to the Ann Arbor NC by Lewis Cole, Columbia SDS, Dick Fried, New Jersey Regional; Juan Gonzalez, Columbia; Tom Hurwitz, Columbia; Roger Lipman, U of Washington; Chip Marshall, Niagara Regional; Mike Kazin, Harvard; Eric Mann, New England Regional; Bob Kirkman, NYU; Joe Kelly, Niagara Regional; Jim Tarran, Princeton; Jean Weissman, WDRU; and Dan Swinney, WDRU.)

Until last year the anti-war movement was a significant social force in this country. It was a political movement capable of making real alliances and

struggle against imperialism.

Notwithstanding the subtle political moves of Johnson, McCarthy, the peace talks and the "bombing halt" there has been no substantive change in the importance of the war, both nationally and internationally. The war remains, with the black struggle, the primary embodiment of American capitalism. The war is the reason for which both black, working class and young American students are drafted; it is the reason for which they are killed; it is the reason for the 10% surcharge; the seeming reason for the inability of the American ruling class to deal with internal disorders. Internationally, the

community made up 18% of the total population of the city of Los Angeles: as a people they had 28% of all cases of dysentery, 44% of all cases of food poisoning and 100% of all cases of polio in the entire city. These are the real conditions in which the black people live: the term can be defined as genocide. There is a real difference, though, between the extermination of a people as is now being practiced in Vietnam, and the oppression of a people so massive that their daily struggle must be for survival, with the constant threat of genocide if mass armed struggle does break out. In the face of such massive oppression, we can only

on 348 campuses and in many Midwest high schools; in some places it is compulsory. As a result of VC shapshooting, the military has been experiencing a severe shortage of officers. In the case of war company recruiting, a national attack might well begin a long-range attempt to deny the military-industrial complex a significant portion of its technicians. In the case of the high schools, a co-ordinated university-high-school attack will begin the articulation of growing rebellions of black and white high-school students in the direction of a permanent radical movement. The strength of such a program obviously has to do with its



giving to people, through struggle, a consciousness of the imperial nature of the Vietnam War. The fact that the black movement was in the forefront of both draft resistance and G.I. rebellions enabled us to recognize the black struggle in this country as one analogous to the fight of the Vietnamese people. Through a number of factors, however, both the mass character and social potency of the movement have declined in the last year. Were this only the reflection of a transition between a "peace now" politics and an anti-imperialist one, we would not be able to fault it. SDS remained isolated on many campuses for several years because of the content of the political program: but in the end that program made sense to people and allowed them to engage in coherent and meaningful struggles.

Unfortunately this transition is not in evidence—the movement in a real way has forgotten the war. We feel that this attitude does not address itself to the two primary concerns of people in this country: the continuation of the war and the black movement. To a large extent the real split between the mass anti-war movement, with its left-liberal politics, and the smaller campus movements which from 1965-1968 developed a true anti-imperialist critique of, and attack upon, the war, was necessary. At the present though the continuation of this split is today self-defeating; this does not mean any alliances with such groups as the Mobilization—even tactical alliances: what it means is the re-consolidation of the mass anti-war movement under the anti-imperialist, anti-racist banner of support for the Vietnamese people, led by the National Liberation Front, and of all oppressed people in their

Vietnamese struggle is the primary fight against world-wide imperialism. This is something the American movement has forgotten: on the spur of the actions that took place in the spring of 1968—both here and throughout the neo-capitalist world, the idea of an anti-capitalist movement became paramount in the minds of many people. That is, people began to believe in the possibility of creating their own revolts rather than simply supporting others, which was important. In the process, though, the real lines of struggle have tended to be blurred: if the Vietnamese people lost their struggle it will assure the ascendancy of counter-revolution throughout the world. To say SDS is anti-imperialist or anti-capitalist and yet fail to try and build a mass movement against the prime manifestation of American imperialism, a movement which supports the NLF and fights to end that war, is the height of meaningless rhetoric.

## The War and the Blacks

It would be disastrous to talk about the war as we did in 1966—it is essential to talk to people about the war in a way that links it to struggles that are going on in this country for liberation, especially the black struggle. That struggle cannot be defined by any other terms than the real social conditions that afflict the lives of black people in this country. Those conditions are these: as a people blacks have a life expectancy seven years shorter than whites; as a people, twenty-five per cent of their youth is unemployed; as a people they go to the worst houses, go to the worst schools, get the worst jobs. In Watts, the black

find debates as to whether the black community is a group of super-exploited workers or not, an academic luxury. The black struggle defines itself in their attempt to gain political, economic, social, and cultural control over their communities. The most advanced elements within the black struggle have often said that they cannot see such control except in terms of a socialist revolution. In effect, what can be said, non-rhetorically and concretely, is that the struggle of the blacks in the U.S. is a people's struggle: that, in effect, a war of liberation is being fought within the U.S. at this time.

## Anti-Imperialist Mass

What such an analysis means is that after the agitation around the war, after Columbia, after Chicago, it is necessary to begin the creation of a self-conscious mass and -imperialist movement throughout this country. Such a movement cannot be constructed without a real program to mobilize and struggle around: the left must establish itself in this country as not simply a disruptive agency, but as a social force that has a real power—that can prove through the strength of its arguments, the masses of people which are attracted to them and the militancy of the action they engage in, the "this-sidedness of its thinking in practice." We believe that the best way of doing this is to re-inject the issue of the war with a mass demand for conclusion to the issues that have been fought over by students for the last few years.

Such an attack would be defined by two considerations:

- 1) The struggle should not be seen primarily as a university struggle; it is necessary to make students fight the universities not as students but as radicals attacking American imperialism. This means that, of necessity, it is more than a fight at the universities. The war is racist as well as imperial; the fodder of the war is black and working-class youth (30% of the soldiers in Vietnam and over 50% of all casualties in the war are black). Therefore, our programs must encompass off-campus as well as on-campus actions, especially around high schools. We must articulate and demonstrate the class nature of these military institutions, as well as their racist nature—that ROTC supplies the officers and high schools supply the GIs about our spring actions we must talk about ROTC as the main producer of the officer class (85% of all second lieutenants, and 45% of all officers on active duty), which most immediately oppresses the enlisted man.
- 2) The demands presented are made in the interest of winning them. In the case of ROTC, a nationwide attack would severely hurt the military. ROTC exists

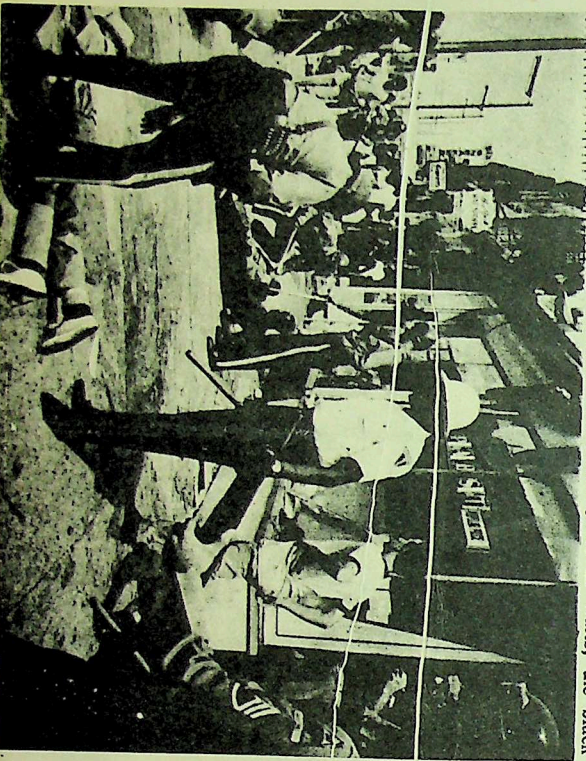
in the Third World will define our struggle at home. Their battle is one of victory or death, and therefore the inflexibility of our position does not come out of romanticism, but rather the hard and intractable facts that necessitate social revolution for the great majority of the people in the world. In waging our revolutionary struggle, it is important to remember not that Che died at the age of 39, but that the life expectancy of the average Latin American male, the man who does not engage in armed struggle, but is a miner in Bolivia or Chile, a farmer in Peru, a plantation slave in Brazil, or a dock worker in Buenos Aires, is also 39; it is important to remember not that half the guerrillas on the Gramma were killed when they landed, but that one out of every three children born in Latin America dies before the age of three.

We must no longer resist imperialism, we must mobilize the people to combat it.

## Strategy For Chapters

- 1) That chapters adopt as a base for their winter-spring offensives the five demands outlined above, always making those demands explicitly anti-racist as well as anti-imperialist; that organizing at the chapter and regional level, as well as actions, be directed to these demands.
- 2) That there be a mass mobilization in Washington in early April to denote the mid-point of the struggle. The mobilization will be the clearest presentation since 1965 of SDS's political position: SUPPORT FOR BLACK LIBERATION, IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL, SMASH IMPERIALISM, (April 12-13) National statement of the five demands.
- 3) That chapters and regions return immediately after the Washington action to initiate militant actions around those demands, joining with high-school and black groups wherever possible.

Step 1 will perhaps be the first attempt to co-ordinate organizing and local actions on a long-term basis around a national program and as part of a larger strategy. The necessity for regions to break down the demands



National Guardsmen fight closely with local police in putting down ghetto uprisings.



# Repression hits Panthers

See page 12

SLDB 23-334

Students for a Democratic Society 1608 West Madison Chicago, Illinois

# SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4, #13

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

April 4, 1969

**insides:**  
Resolutions  
passed by the  
National Council



## Nine resolutions passed

# NC supports Panthers

Twelve hundred SDSers packed themselves into the Catholic Student Center in Austin (seating capacity of 800) to decide the direction of the organization, despite attempts on the part of the state legislature, the Texas pigs and the board of regents to

prevent the Spring National Council. The debate centered around the questions of nationalism and the black liberation struggle and included resolutions on our relations with SSOCC. The positions put forth by the Worker Student Alliance caucus were soundly

defeated and many felt that the most important part of the NC was the debate and discussion among non-WSA groupings.

The first resolution on the floor was presented by Ed Jennings from Chicago Circle Campus on "The Black Panther Party: Toward the Liberation of the Colony." The resolution was presented as a counter to the "Fight Racism" proposal passed at the Ann Arbor NC, which condemned black nationalism as "reactionary," maintained that the black colony in America didn't exist and that black people, therefore, were simply "super-exploited workers."

Jennings said that blacks suffered under a "dual oppression." He maintained that blacks are "subjects" in an oppressed colony fighting for liberation and self-determination and that SDS should actively support this anti-colonial struggle.

He said that the role of revolutionaries in a struggle for self-determination is to push revolutionary leadership to the forefront through whatever influence they

had. In this case, support for the Black Panther Party as the vanguard of the liberation struggle would help prevent reactionary or "black capitalist" tendencies from assuming leadership. WSA and PL members attacked the resolution, saying that struggles for self-determination open the door to "black bourgeois leadership." PL magazine has recently attacked the Panthers and DRUM (Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement) as revolutionary nationalists. The clarification of their position on these two groups as well as their recent position on the TWLF leadership at San Francisco State cleared up much of the confusion that led to the passage of "Fight Racism" in December by a narrow two-vote margin. This time, their position was soundly defeated by a two-to-one vote. Much of the support which they received in Ann Arbor came because they took credit for the strike demands during the magnificent SF State Strike. In Austin, they

(continued on Page 2)

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# NC discusses drugs, schools, SSOC

(continued from Page 1)

repudiated many of the demands which served to build the strike, saying that a black studies program "lacked class content" and black admissions will be used to "co-opt" the students.

Hitting WSA the hardest on its position was Bob Avakian from Richmond, Calif., who laid out the ideological framework for struggles for national liberation. He attacked PL for "sitting on the sidelines and hoping that these struggles failed so that they could say, 'See, I told you so.'"

### Joe Hill Resolution

Other resolutions dealing with racism included a position on "Third World Liberation and Socialist Revolution" presented by the Joe Hill Memorial Caucus from San Francisco State. This paper tried to clarify some of the distinctions between reactionary and revolutionary nationalism and called on SDS to lead the struggle in the white community for support of and defense of struggles for national liberation. It also raised a sharp attack on PL and WSA for "claiming to speak for the politics of the SF State Strike" and claiming that the struggles of black and brown people were simply "nationalist in form and class in content."

The Joe Hill resolution was split by the body, with the first part passing by a large majority. The second part failed; it maintained that student power could be progressive if radicals "are active in advocating that power be used in the interest of all oppressed people and in combatting the idea of using student power just to make things better for students."

### ISC Defeated

A new "Fight Racism" resolution was then put on the floor by the WSA caucus, reflecting the same position as the one passed in Ann Arbor. This position was soundly defeated.

The Independent Socialist Club presented a resolution which called upon revolutionaries to add "class demands" when blacks raised "black demands." ISC people argued that "our urge is not to counterpose class-wide demands to black demands but to add class demands leaving blacks to control their own demands." This resolution was also overwhelmingly defeated.

### NO Commented

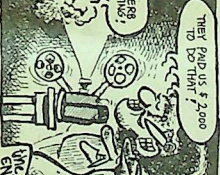
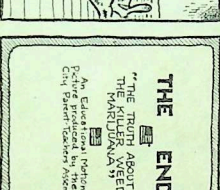
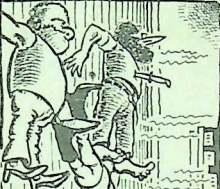
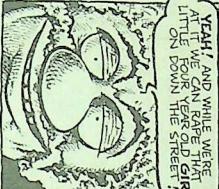
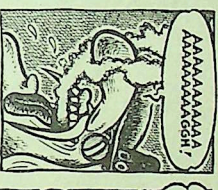
A new resolution was then placed on the floor by WSA people, condemning the National Office for the educational packet distributed at the NC. They claimed that their position was quoted out of context and that they really supported the Panthers but were simply being critical of them in a friendly sort of way. The body strongly disagreed. Opposition spokesmen urged that PL had slandered the Panthers and urged that the resolution be defeated. Steve Tappis took it a step further, calling on the body to commend the people who worked on the packet, calling it the best thing SDS had turned out on racism. His motion was passed overwhelmingly and the WSA position was once again defeated.

### Southern Africa

The final resolution dealing with racism was presented by Dave Burak (Dhaca-Cornell SDS) and Bill Burnett (Goleta Beach California SDS and African Research Group) and was on



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"Support for Guerrilla Struggle in Southern Africa." It called for SDS participation in actions directed against American supporters of apartheid. There was discussion about organizations listed in the resolution. Some claimed that ANC-SA and ZAPU were not revolutionary organizations and should not be supported as such, but rather we should investigate who the vanguard groups in the struggle were and all material support should go to them. The resolution, with amendments, passed.

### Anti-drugs Position

Jeff Gordon from NY SDS and PL presented a resolution condemning the use of drugs as "one of the major weapons that the ruling class uses to...prevent struggles from taking place." He said that drugs breed individualism and a lack of revolutionary discipline while developing a "do your own thing philosophy."

There were many different positions presented on this question. Some attacked the position as being "puritanical" and "moralistic," although Gordon specifically claimed that the resolution was not meant to be so. Others said that the resolution was inadequate as it did not go into the class nature of drugs, the real question of discipline or other more important aspects of the problem of individualism.

The drug resolution was defeated, as was a second anti-drug resolution written by Jeff Sokolow from Columbia, who made an attempt to differentiate between different types of drugs.

## Western Union



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against Standard Oil Co. nationally and to publicize and act around the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers strike. The resolution also called for SDS chapters to kick Standard Oil recruiters off of their campuses.

Jones gave a presentation which described how the students at San Francisco State related to the oil workers, and vice-versa. Despite some dispute between PL people and supporters of the resolution over activities on the picket line, the resolution was passed overwhelmingly.

### RYM Work-in

Bill Ayers (Michigan region) presented a resolution, "Hot Town, Summer in the City," which called for a summer work-in in Detroit with a "revolutionary youth movement" politics. This summer program would differ from the WSA work-in in many ways, although the form of a work-in itself was not disagreed with. The program wouldn't simply send people into factories and shops (although that is a part of it). The main thrust is a city-wide organizing program for the summer which would help build full-time cadre who would engage in study and skill-building with a view towards building a revolutionary youth movement in Michigan.

As in the schools resolution, the main discussion took place within the ranks of RYM people who were all basically in agreement with the program. The discussion took place around the question of the class nature of youth. National Secretary Michael Klonsky attacked the position put forth by Jim Mellem of Michigan, which called youth a part of the working class. Klonsky said this position didn't hit hard enough on class differences within the youth movement. He proposed an amendment which said that youth reflect the interests of all classes in the society although youth aren't hardened into class positions. He said that the oppression of youth must be fought in a class way, raising the interests of the most oppressed youth first to build class unity. This amendment passed after some worthwhile discussion. An agreement was made to do more research into the class position of youth for the next NC. The amended resolution passed overwhelmingly.

### Break with SSOC

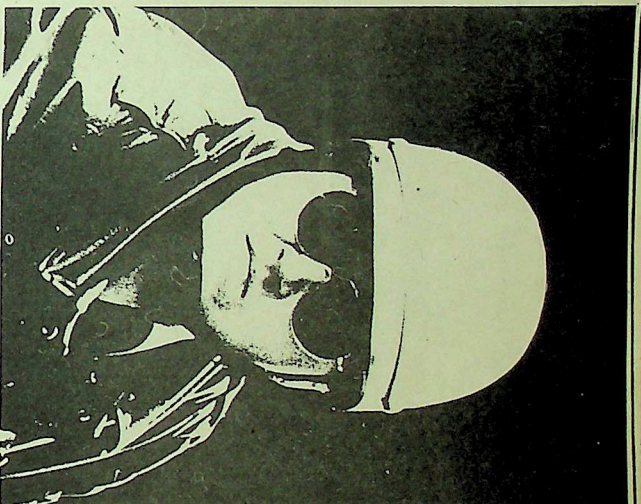
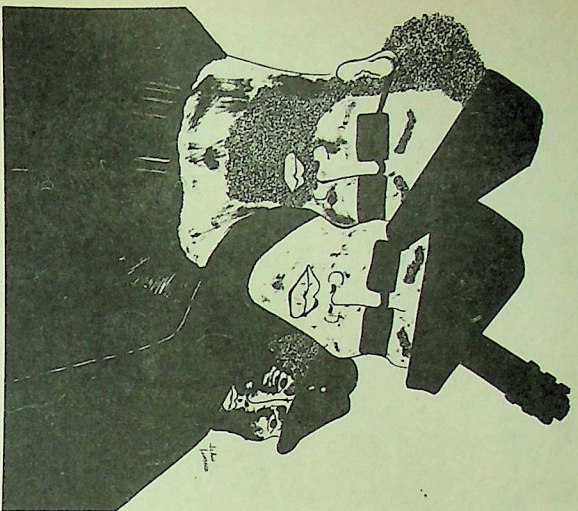
A resolution presented by Fred Lacey of the Southern caucus called for SDS to break fraternal relations with SSOC (Southern Student Organizing Committee) and to begin building SDS in the South. The discussion centered around criticisms of SSOC as "liberal" and attacked the idea of "Southern exceptionalism." Criticisms were made of SSOC for accepting thousands of dollars each year from CIA conduit foundations and liberal ruling-class money. An attack was also made on the structure of SSOC for having a self-perpetuating leadership and not allowing for internal debate and ideological discussion.

Arguing against the resolution were Lynn Wells and David Simpson from the SSOC staff. They criticized themselves and the organization, saying that they were opposed to taking liberal money. They also criticized the use of the Confederate flag as a symbol for SSOC because of its racist meaning for black people. However, they maintained that the South needs a Southern organization to organize students and promised to wage a fight inside of SSOC to radicalize it. They asked that the motion be tabled until June when they could show some results from that internal struggle. They said that the resolution would cause an anti-SDS and anti-communist backlash if passed. Bartee Hallie (Texas SDS) and Mike Klonsky argued for the resolution, saying that we must not have fraternal relations with anyone who takes money from the power structure.

Simpson said that whether or not the resolution was passed, he would return to the June convention to give a report (continued on Page 6)

### Boycott Standard Oil

The next topic of discussion was labor. The authors of the "May Day" resolution withdrew it because they didn't feel it was clear enough, and will probably present a re-written version at the next NC. Jeff Jones (San Francisco region) presented a resolution on the Standard Oil boycott. It called for SDS to support a boycott



# The Black Panther Party: toward the liberation of the colony

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Ed Jennings, Chicago Circle Campus SDS.)

The sharpest struggles in the world today are those of the oppressed nations against imperialism and for national liberation. Within this country the sharpest struggle is that of the black colony for its liberation; it is a struggle which by its very nature is anti-imperialist and increasingly anti-capitalist. The demand for self-determination for the black colony—a demand which arises from the most oppressed elements within the black community—is anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist insofar as it challenges the power of the ruling class. Furthermore the black liberation movement consciously identifies with and expresses solidarity with the liberation struggles of other oppressed peoples.

Within the black liberation movement the vanguard force is the Black Panther Party. Their development of an essentially correct program for the black community—as exemplified by the 10 points—and their ability to organize blacks around this program have brought them to this leadership. An especially important part of the Panther program is the Black People's Army—a military force to be used not only in the defense of the black community but also for its liberation. Given the military occupation of the black community it is especially true that "without a people's army the people have nothing." A second important part of their program is their efforts to organize black workers. They are increasingly moving into the factories and shops, i.e., DRUM, Panther caucuses, Black Labor Federations, etc. It is important for us to understand that the black worker is not only a "subject" in an oppressed colony fighting for its liberation but that he is also a member of the working class. Thus the black worker as a result of this dual oppression will play the vanguard role not only in the black liberation movement but also in uniting and leading the whole working class in its fight against oppression and exploitation.

The fundamental reason for the success of the Black Panther Party is that it has a correct analysis of American society. They see clearly the colonial status of blacks and the dual oppression from which they suffer; national oppression as a people and class exploitation as a super-exploited part of the working class. The demand for self-determination becomes the most basic demand of the oppressed colony. And nationalism becomes a necessary and effective means for organizing the black community and forging unity against the oppressor.

We must be very clear about the nature of nationalism. If the principal contradiction in the world today is that of the oppressed nations against imperialism, then support for these revolutionary national movements becomes the most important criterion for dividing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries (and revisionists). To say that "in the name of nationalism, the bourgeoisie of all nations do their reactionary and dirty work" is to obscure the reality that in the name of national liberation the workers and peasants of all oppressed nations will struggle against and defeat imperialism. To say that "all nationalism is reactionary" is objectively to ally with imperialism in opposition to the struggles of the oppressed nations.

## Pork Chop Nationalism

But nationalism is not always revolutionary. There is

a fundamental difference between revolutionary nationalism which is "dependent upon a people's revolution" and reactionary nationalism in which the "end goal is the oppression of the people". What do the Panthers say about the reactionary, cultural or "pork-chop" variety of nationalism:

"We must destroy all cultural nationalism, because it is reactionary and has become a tool of Richard Milhous Nixon, and all the U.S. power structure which divides the poor and oppressed, and is used by the greasy-slick black bourgeoisie to exploit black people in the ghetto."

George Mason Murray  
Minister of Education

The Black Panther Party is under no illusion that liberation for the black colony can be achieved while capitalism still exists. Their call for "liberation in the colony revolution in the mother country" clearly recognizes the dialectical relationship between liberation for the black colony and socialist revolution for the whole society.

"It's impossible for us to have control of the institutions in our community when a capitalistic system exists on the outside of it. When in fact the capitalistic system was the very system that enslaved us and is responsible for our continued oppression. So if we want to develop a socialistic system within the black community we're saying it's also going to have to exist in the white community."

Bobby Seale  
Chairman

The correct and uncompromising leadership which the Black Panther Party has brought to the black liberation movement has brought down the most vicious repression from the racist pig power structure. When the leading black revolutionary group is continually harassed, its leaders jailed, hounded out of the country and brutally assassinated, when Panther members daily face the provocations of the ruling class and its racist pigs, when their blood has been spilled and their list of revolutionary martyrs—Huey, Eldridge, Bobby Hutton, Burchy Carter, John Huggins—increases daily, then the time has come for SDS to give total and complete support to their defense efforts. To do less would be a mockery of the word "revolutionary". We must continually expose and attack the role of the pigs and the courts in oppressing the black community. We must publicize the inhuman, brutal and unjust nature of "justice" in this society.

## Fight White Supremacy

We see clearly the need to join with the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary black groups in the fight against national chauvinism and white supremacy. The development of the Panthers as a disciplined and militant group fighting for black liberation has had a tremendous impact on the white radical movement. No longer can we refuse to deal with the chauvinism and white supremacy which exists both in the larger society and in our movement. Toleration of any vestige of white supremacy in the schools, shops and communities must be seen as nothing less than "scabbing" on the black liberation movement and on possibilities for unity of the working class.

SDS declares

—its support for the Black Panther Party and their essentially correct program for the liberation of the black colony

—its commitment to defend the Black Panther Party and the black colony against the vicious attacks of the racist pig power structure

—its commitment to join with the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups in the fight against white national chauvinism and white supremacy

—its total commitment to the fight for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country.

## IMPLEMENTATION:

—Form Newton-Cleaver Defense Committees—The Black Panther Party has requested that SDS join in setting up these committees. Huey P. Newton is "the key political prisoner in this country at the present time". The committees should first raise money for the defense of Newton, Cleaver, and all other Panthers facing charges, and second educate the people about the real nature of "justice" in this racist society.

—The National Office should be mandated to print and distribute information about the history, development and programs of the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups. Information about the repression directed against the black community should be kept up to date and distributed. Literature about the history of the black colony and its 400 years of unending struggle against oppression should be produced.

—The NO should be mandated to print and distribute information about the organizing of black workers. This would include Panther organizing in the factories, DRUM, and other revolutionary black unions.

—This resolution should stimulate chapters and regions to develop and/or strengthen informal and formal relationships with the Panthers. We must keep in mind that the Black Panther Party is not fighting black people's struggles only but is in fact the vanguard in our common struggles against capitalism and imperialism.

—This resolution should be seen as a formal repudiation of the resolution—"Smash Racism: Build a Worker-Student Alliance"—which was passed at the December NC. This previous resolution with its refusal to recognize the colonial oppression of blacks in this country, its statement that nationalism is "the main ideological weapon of the ruling class" within the black liberation movement and its inability to distinguish between revolutionary and reactionary nationalism is at best non-revolutionary. SDS must not be on record as supporting any resolution which considers revolutionary nationalism—the main factor which ties all oppressed nations together in their fight against imperialism—as a "weapon of the ruling class". Anything less than complete repudiation of this previous resolution is a cop-out on the support and solidarity which we must give to the world-wide movement of oppressed peoples for national liberation.

# THE SCHOOLS MUST SERVE

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Les Coleman, Chicago Regional SDS.)

We live within a monster—a monster of imperialism and racism that necessitates war, permanent militarization, the subjugation of women, the brutal oppression of the people of color of the world, and the inhuman exploitation of all working people. The cause of this monster is the class and colonial structure of the empire; the majority of people are maintained producing wealth they never share in and the nations of the third world bear the constant oppression and colonization of the white oppressor nation—U.S. imperialism. Within this country there exist both class and colonial divisions—class divisions exploit working people of all colors and colonial divisions are at the basis of the special oppression of black and brown sectors of the population. It is this class and colonial basis of the system that we must challenge.

## SCHOOLS MAINTAIN CLASS STRUCTURE

The whole education system now—from grade schools on up—is used to tie the allegiance of youth to the capitalist system by building an ideological army for the ruling class. It functions to maintain the class and colonial divisions in the society. SDS opposes this and takes its stand against the class and colonialist functions of the education system. Schools cannot be made to serve the people, or be prevented from serving the capitalist class, without a fight against that class. The capitalist class has never given up anything it needed to make the system function to their advantage unless they were forced to by the struggles of the people. This is still true today. The function of the education system cannot really be changed and the system made to serve the people, until the power of the whole capitalist class is challenged and destroyed. What we present here, in the following ten-point program, is a summary of our general objective for the educational system. Our struggle to win these demands is only part of the whole class struggle unfolding in this country and throughout the world and must contribute to the fight to end the monster and the state power which maintains all its aspects of class and colonial domination.

## TEN POINT PROGRAM

1. We demand an end to the track system in the schools. The track system, the classification of students into "different levels" of study by racist, anti-working class tests and teachers, is nothing but

a way of maintaining class and colonial divisions in the society. Consignment to the lower tracks is nothing but a ticket to the army and then to low-paying jobs or unemployment in the ghetto. This unjust consignment falls systematically on working-class youth and heaviest on black and brown youth. We are committed to fighting and exposing the more subtle and hidden forms of tracking throughout all the school in every way we can.

2. We demand an end to flunkouts and disciplinary expulsions. We want all who have been flunked out or kicked out to be readmitted, because school standards and authorities which are responsible to the power structure in this country have no legitimate human right to judge the people. Flunkouts and expulsions are again systematically a way of maintaining working-class and especially black and brown youth as the fighting force and lowest-paid labor force in the society. We want an end also to the regimentation—the school behavior rules, the dress codes, the cut system—which is meant to keep us from challenging the kind of education the system sees fit for our indoctrination.

3. We demand the teaching of history and social conditions of the people in this country which exposes the true injustice of this racist capitalist society and the just struggles of colonized and exploited working people against injustice. We are more concerned that there be teachers who know people's history and know what is actually going on among the people than that we have teachers with fancy degrees. We demand an end to the political firing of teachers who do give us a true perspective.

4. We want the schools to directly serve the people where they now function like all corporations in this society to exploit and oppress the people. We demand that schools end cooperation with recruitment for those American corporations which rule and exploit the people, that they end the exploitation of surrounding communities through their control of real estate and urban renewal programs, and that they end the brutal and inhuman wage and working conditions oppression of school employees.

We support with the full power of our movement the struggles of the black community for control over their schools. This control is of primary necessity for the self defense of the black people against the colonial nature of the day to day brutalization of their children in the schools. We must see our job as one to unite with the people and serve them in struggle. We must give this form of support of this just demand.

5. In all schools we call for the unlimited admission of black and brown students because we see that the special colonial oppression involved in their exclusions, and its acceptance by the majority of whites, is the foundation on which this corrupt system maintains itself.

6. We want decent truthful education paid for by the wealth of this country. Three per cent of the population controls 90% of the wealth of this country, and yet the labor of the majority of the people is what makes the country run. If a man works for a wage all his life he should be guaranteed that his children will have an education paid for by the wealth he has helped to produce. Tuition increases tend to keep working people (especially black and brown people) from getting a decent education, and maintain the inequalities in the society. We demand free education and we oppose all tuition increases.

7. We call for an end to military recruitment in the schools, and an end to training and research institutes that serve the American military, including the internal occupation force—the police. We don't want any more police in the schools; we want ROTC and police institutes stopped immediately. The permanent militarization of this country—having its effects on all aspects of American life—on employment, on women, especially on youth—has been accomplished only to protect an empire based on the exploitation and colonization of the laboring people of the world. This militarization, therefore, cannot be said to serve the people, since it maintains the main enemy of the people of this country and the whole world—American imperialism.

8. We want an end to all forms of male supremacy in the schools. This ranges from the male supremacist content of courses and perspectives of instructors to the way women are counseled or tracked into the worst jobs and the most submissive roles in the society. The inequality of women, perpetrated throughout the entire education system, is a principal division of the power of the people to get what they need in the whole country and the source of the misery of over half the population.

9. We want a real understanding of the movement of national liberation and of communist countries which the U.S. government has committed us to life or death opposition against. We believe that anti-communism has been preached to us in order to maintain our participation in and allegiance to an empire which benefits a very few and oppresses the

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# THE PEOPLE

People of the world. We want an end to these lies. We want courses taught accurately on Vietnam, Cuba and China. We want teachers who hold the point of view that wars like the war in Vietnam are fought, not in the interests of the American people, but in the interest of a small class of businessmen to maintain an unjust and inhuman empire.

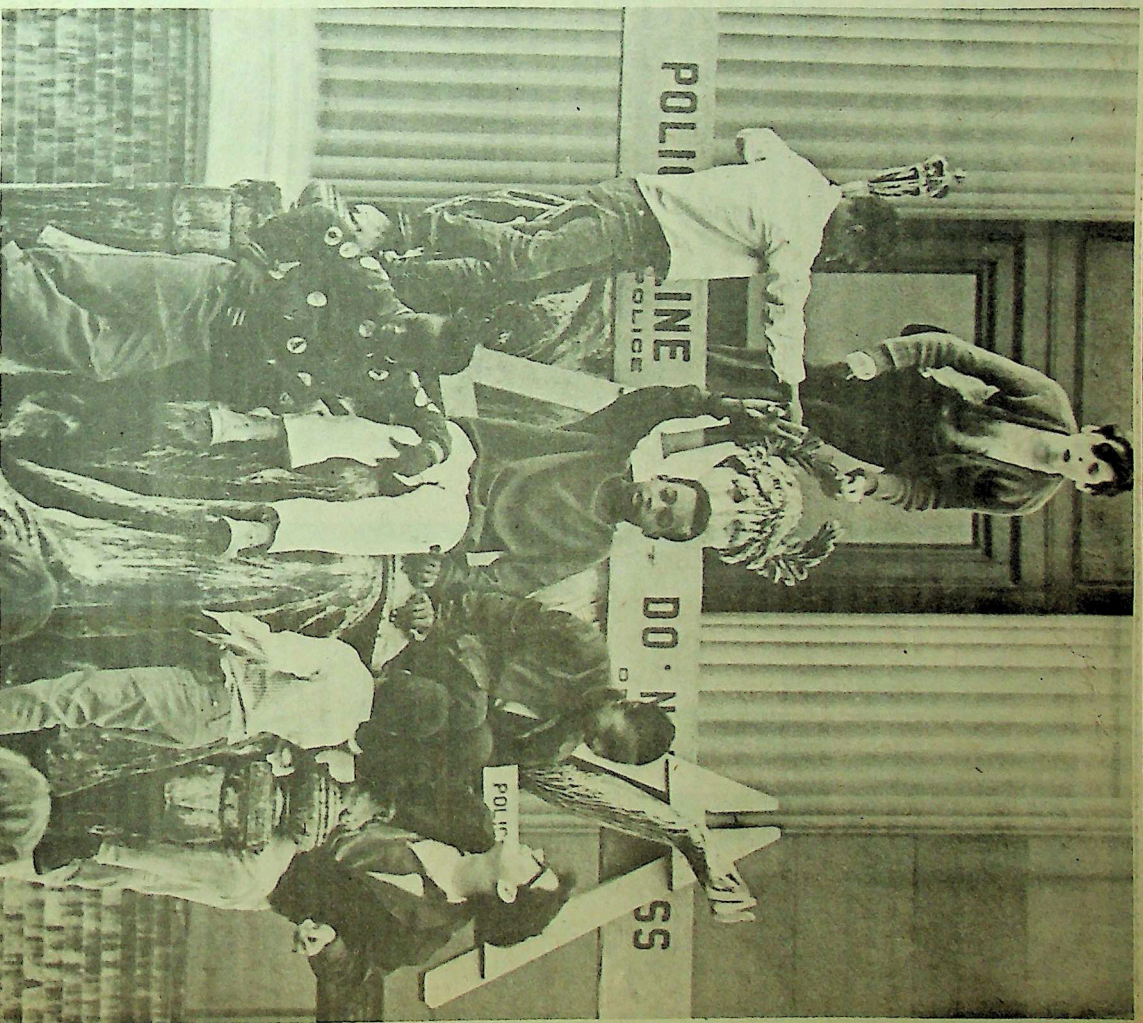
10. We support the ten point program of the Black Panther Party for BSA's on the campus. These demands, which summarize the struggle for survival and self-determination of the black people are just demands which this racist country has never supplied to black people. While some of the demands raised by the Panthers would be incorrect if raised by white students, the special colonial nature of black oppression makes demands for black self-determination and community autonomy a matter of survival for blacks and should be supported. The black liberation struggle, of which the Black Panther Party is the true anti-capitalist leadership, is the struggle to which all working people must be won if the oppressor class is to be defeated.

## PART TWO: STRATEGIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE 10 POINT PROGRAM

We must be clear about the nature of this program. We raise demands which are necessary for the survival of the people—just struggles which they are in fact fighting. We fight to win these struggles knowing that we will win some partial victories—resulting in concrete gains for the people and thereby winning their confidence—but that complete fulfillment of their demands requires the destruction of capitalism. We become a vanguard force when we educate the people that fulfillment of their demands requires a socialist revolution.

Our campus work has been marked by our failure to do extensive mass education. In most cases a small core in the chapter is responsible for the "analysis", and it does not get taken to the people except during periods of action where it is tackled

(continued on Page 11)



--photo by NY Newsreel

## Build SDS in the South

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Pam Geraci, LSU, New Orleans SDS; Suzanne Wheat, New Orleans MDS; Sew Blackburn, Bowdoin SDS; Fred Gordon, National Office, SDS; John Donald, LSU SDS; Ed Clark, New Orleans MDS, PLP; Fred Lacey, New Orleans MDS, PLP; Eric Gordon, New Orleans MDS, Tulane SDS; Gary Mathison, U of Ala. SDS; Michael Murphy, Florida State U. SDS; Antonio Narario, New Orleans SDS; John Durfield, FSU SDS; Robert Modrak, FSU SDS; Gail Shaw, New Orleans (Tulane) SDS; Lee Richardson, New Orleans (Tulane) SDS; Leonard Kocour, Athens College (Ala.) SDS; Paul C. Scribner, U of Ala. SDS; Larry Murphy, FSU SDS.)

The growing development of a revolutionary movement in the South poses important questions concerning SDS's role in the South and its relationships with other groups. In particular, the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC), SSOC undoubtedly represents one of the ruling class's main efforts to build its kind of student movement in the South.

SSOC has, from its inception, been funded by such sources as the Kennedy controlled Field Foundation, the Aaron L. Norman Fund, and the Taconic Foundation. It has always been dominated by a self-perpetuating group of staffed bureaucrats. If those were the only things that could be said against SSOC, that might be bad but not conclusive. What is conclusive is its bourgeois liberalism and its Southern exceptionalism ("Southern consciousness"). THE LIBERALISM OF SSOC: "Eventually in the South, workers will be organized into labor unions and the liberal (as opposed to radical) coalitions now forming will have greater strength. The emergence of these new groupings will probably serve as somewhat of a buffer between us and the people we are fighting."—from "Community Organizing—What You Can Do 'Bout It" by Lynn Wells (SSOC staff), The Phoenix, 13, November 1969, page 3.

SSOC is basically a politically liberal organization. It sees liberalism as a progressive force in the South. The rise of bourgeois liberalism in the South will destroy the old system of plantation politics as well as create a more progressive political climate in which the "left" can grow, free of the harassment and persecution visited upon the "left" by the old-style Southern politicians. Liberalism is also seen as a useful organizing tool to win Southern

white students to a broad movement which can then be "radicalized" by SSOC. SSOC is very much like the old Steve Max forces in SDS—their rhetoric is radical and occasionally revolutionary (at least when they talk to SDS people), but what they actually veil people on a day-to-day basis is fundamentally liberal.

### SOUTHERN EXCEPTIONALISM:

"Southern Consciousness is based on an impulse that originates in the very depths of the Southern soul, in the intense and profound feelings for the rootedness of a society, no matter how much corrupted and still corrupt, which possesses certain values of deep meaning to human beings. The South possessed a folk culture, wrote David Potter, 'long after it succumbed to the onslaught of urban-industrial culture elsewhere. It was an aspect of this culture that the relation between the land and the people remained more direct and more primal in the South than in other parts of the country... Even in the most exploitative economic situations, this culture retained a personalism in the relations of man to man which the industrial culture lacks.'"—from "Southern Consciousness" by Steve Wise (for SSOC), The Great Speckled Bird, 2-1, March 17, 1969, page 12.

"White southern consciousness" consists of "our land, our traditions, and our history" which is counterposed with northern, "Yankee" imperialism or capitalism as an organizing principle in the practical struggle. The SSOC position puts practice before theory in terms of its "liberate the South" program. Following a simple-minded, linear extension of the 1966 black power and black self-determination principle of organization along cultural and ethnic lines, SSOC intends to organize white Southerners (white middle class students) to liberate the South as nationally oppressed people from unequal treatment by the North.

But SSOC is in error to see a main contradiction between sectional development in the 20th century. The national bourgeoisie rule over American monopoly capitalism and imperialism: the South and Southerners form an integral part of this class without due imbalance (See, Domhoff, Who Rules America (1967), for radical bourgeois empirical generalizations.) Differences between national capitalists (North and South) do not exist. A single class rules over world imperialism's home market and national production. SSOC's theoretical position on the South as a "colony" is based on extremely doubtful historical materialist grounds, but this

position in practice is even more pernicious because it deflects the South and the Southerner from the class struggle and the struggle against imperialism. The basic contradiction is between proletariat and capitalist, not Southern proletariat and Northern capitalist, and it is completely false to imply that the Southern working class could be "liberated" apart from the struggle of the American working class. Again, the Southern student is currently in universities which are rapidly being transformed into national centers of production of technical and scientific personnel to run the bureaucracies and armies of monopoly capital. The nativistic Southern component is dwindling in graduate centers and general faculties. There is no reason for an exception to be made of the Southern campus. It is in fact being nationalized and standardized. It is a superstructure of U.S. imperialism, and in this does not differ from other universities.

Finally, SSOC's use of the Confederate flag to symbolize the "rebelliousness" of the South is offensive to all blacks and to anyone opposed to racism.

CONCLUSION: There remains a pressing need for a revolutionary movement in the South; we can never make a revolution with only 3/4 of a country. We who have built the first SDS chapters in the deep South have discovered that the same political ideas and organizing techniques that have built movements in the North and West will, if carried out consistently on a long-range basis, build rooted movements in the South. SSOC has tried to exist on the basis of being all things to all men: loyal servant to ruling class foundations, helpful ally to emerging bourgeois liberalism, radical leader to discontented and rebellious Southern white students and workers. We have tried SSOC and found it wanting. We are in the South to stay and so are our politics. Our purpose is not to smash SSOC, but it is to build a revolutionary movement.

Consequently, (1) the National Council hereby declares the fraternal relations between SDS and SSOC formally dissolved; (2) SDS reaffirms its intentions of organizing on a nationwide basis without exceptions. Specifically, SDS intends to build chapters and regions in the South.

For SDS nationwide as part of the international movement; No exceptions! One movement against one imperialism!

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## Third World liberation and socialist revolution

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by the Joe Hill Caucus, San Francisco State College. The resolution was divided and only the first half, printed below, was accepted.)

Today the world-wide system of U.S. imperialism is under attack by scores of national liberation movements throughout the world. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese, the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are organizing to deal a death blow to Imperialism. We as SDS continue to affirm our stand on the side of the people struggling for national liberation.

Recently, the focus of attention within the student movement has shifted to the struggle for Third World liberation within the United States. Vanguard groups in the black, Latino, Puerto Rican, Chinese, and American Indian communities, have formed and are organizing their people to confront imperialism in its home base. The demands of these third world liberation movements center around the concept of self-determination and control over all institutions that affect their given community. On the campuses these movements have demanded control over the university as it relates to their community in terms of ethnic studies and increased admissions of non-white students. Thus, the struggles for national liberation within the internal neo-colonies conflict directly with the plans of the imperialist ruling class. The ruling class plans to use the internal neo-colonies for cheap labor and cannon fodder to defend imperialism. In order to accomplish this task an elite of phony nationalists is needed within the third world community. The university is the key institution in this strategy of pacification because it is set up to pick a handful of third world people and produce this elite group of "educated leaders" to lead the "uneducated masses". The junction of such an elite is to serve as ideological policemen for the ruling class and prevent revolutionary nationalists from gaining the allegiance of the third world community. As the ruling class loses the battle for the allegiance of the youth in the third world community whose heroes are Huey Newton and Malcolm X, not Ralph Bunche and Edward Brooke, one section of the ruling class will search desperately for some "acceptable nationalist" to support. These attempts to co-opt the struggle for self-determination will fail so long as the revolutionary nationalists remain firmly committed in their struggle for total liberation, just as the 'nationalist alternative' of the Dem-Ky clique has failed to stop the growth of the NLF. This attempt to prop up phony nationalists does not change the essential revolutionary nature of a national liberation struggle waged against U.S. Imperialism.

### Two Nationalisms

In distinguishing between phony (cultural or pork-chop) nationalists and revolutionary nationalists there are at least three clear distinctions. Revolutionary nationalists call for and support:

1. Revolutions against imperialism among all third world people at home and abroad.
2. A redistribution of wealth and power away from the local bourgeoisie and the white ruling class and toward the working class and unemployed.
3. A revolution in the mother country for the same purpose.

These national liberation struggles raise the important question of the relationship of SDS to the question of nationalism as a form of struggle within

# NC

(continued from Page 2)

on the fight within SSOC and that he "thought of himself as a revolutionary first and a SSOC member second." The resolution passed overwhelmingly, breaking fraternal ties with SSOC and denying them the regional autonomy which they've had since the old (Paul Booth) days.

At this time, the WSA caucus, realizing that they were defeated, pulled most of their people out of the NC and went home. This meant that resolutions on Vietnam and China were debated without them. The Vietnam resolution was presented by Bob Kirkman (NY SDS) and called for support of the NLF and Ho Chi Minh. It attacked those who had slandered the leadership by saying that the NLF was limiting its armed struggle and had gone back on its demands for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops before negotiations could begin. The resolution specifically attacked the positions of ISC and PL, who have bitterly attacked the NLF as "traitors

to the struggle." The resolution was passed nearly unanimously despite an argument from Alex Foreman of SF State that our support should go to the Vietnamese, and not to emphasize the leadership.

The resolution supporting China in the China-Soviet border war was passed with little discussion. It attacked "U.S.-Soviet collusion" and the notion of "peaceful transition to socialism." The lack of discussion and mass education done previous to this resolution left much to be desired in the way of debate and discussion.

At one point during the NC hundreds of people rose to their feet when Reese Erlich, one of the Oakland Seven, took the podium. The "Seven" had been accused by a California jury just hours before, and Erlich, recounted the struggle and dramatically moved the audience with a sense of solidarity. As usual, the NC ended with the singing of revolutionary songs led by Chairman McCarthy and with hundreds of brothers and sisters pitching in to help clean up the mess they made to express thanks for the use of the facilities in a crisis.

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a larger bourgeois nation state. Progressive Labor Party and the Worker-Student Alliance Caucus both claiming to speak for the "politics of the S.F. State Strike" have offered the view that these struggles are only national in form but are really strictly class in content. This is an incorrect, simplistic view because it assumes that the exploitation of third world people is simply a more intense form of working class oppression. This overlooks the totality of economic, political, and social oppression of third world people that extends far beyond their status as workers. It's one thing to be robbed of your labor by the capitalists, but to be robbed of your labor and treated as a sub-human by the dominant culture is a qualitatively different experience. For, the exploitation of third world people includes far more than being robbed of surplus value. They are exploited psychologically and culturally from a system that deliberately tries to rob them of their manhood and womanhood. Further in the neo-colonies third-world peoples are subject to super-exploitation as consumers and this exploitation is coupled with the occupation of their communities by a white power structure of capitalists and racist police that deprives people of even their "democratic rights" under the constitution. The entire system of exploitation in the neo-colony is a qualitatively different experience than that of the white working class community and out of this unique exploitative condition arises the need for and driving force behind revolutionary nationalism. Thus, unlike the trade union movement which is raising demands of higher pay and better treatment from the system, the third world liberation movement is demanding total liberation from the system of capitalist production. "We believe that if the white businessman cannot give full employment then the means of production should be taken from the businessman and placed in the community so the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people to give them a high standard of living" (Black Panther Party) Thus, the third world liberation movement will not simply fallend into a trade union movement. The eventual unity between a socialist movement and the national liberation movement in the third world neo-colonies will depend upon the commitment made by the revolutionary white workers and students THAT THE THIRD WORLD PEOPLE WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO ANY AUTHORITY NOT OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING. THE WHITE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT MUST COMMIT ITSELF TO SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THIRD WORLD PEOPLE IN THE FORM THAT THIRD WORLD PEOPLE DECIDE TO EXERCISE THAT RIGHT (i.e., Panther referendum in the black neo-colony.)

### SDS Role

The role of SDS is clearly to lead the struggle in the white community to support and defend the revolutionary nationalist movements in the neo-colonies. Our job is to convince white students to ally themselves with the struggle for national liberation. We should present the issue to students as a choice between supporting imperialism which has a need to exploit people and nations and socialism which does not depend on exploitation. This is where the question of which class will hold power in the white community becomes crucial, for only in a socialist America can third world people firmly secure self-determination as defined by the Panthers as "all power to the people".

# Ho Chi Minh Dare to struggle, dare to win!

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Bob Kirkman, NY Regional SDS.)

The Vietnamese people, under the revolutionary leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the National Liberation Front, are waging the most advanced struggle in the world today against U.S. imperialism. The understanding that theirs is a people's war for the liberation and self-determination of their nation is essential for all members of SDS.

It seems almost absurd that in 1969, a battle for support of Ho Chi Minh and the NLF must be waged within a revolutionary youth movement in the heartland of world imperialism. However, the tendencies clearly exist. Recently, certain significant PLP and the Independent Socialist Club (ISC) have condemned the NLF leadership and Comrade Ho, publicly, as "traitors" and "revisionists" and as not truly fighting for socialism. It is claimed that the Paris negotiations have been carried out at the expense of the armed struggle and that the representatives of the Vietnamese people in Paris have gone back on their pre-conditions for the talks, which include immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnamese soil, the liquidation of all military installations and recognition of the National Liberation Front as the true representatives of the people.

If these charges are lies, those spreading such

lies, for the purpose of creating splits within the anti-imperialist movement thus weakening the world revolutionary movement, must be seen as enemies of that movement and working objectively in the interests of the U.S. ruling class.

Let us examine the leadership of this struggle, which has won acclaim and support from revolutionaries around the world. After leading the people through victory after victory against Japanese, French and now U.S. imperialist invaders, defeating the most well equipped armies the world has ever seen, Ho Chi Minh has taught us all that "people's struggle is invincible" even when faced with advanced technology. The Tet offensive in the spring of 1968 sent the imperialists' troops reeling backward with attacks on the main strongholds of the puppet government, Saigon. Tremendously heavy casualties were inflicted upon U.S. troops and revolutionaries around the world were deeply inspired.

Thus far, the 1969 spring offensive has inflicted even heavier casualties on the imperialists with fewer losses of Vietnamese troops. A U.S. command officer stated March 6, "The military significance of the figures is clear. The enemy has concentrated his attack on American installations and managed to kill significantly more U.S. soldiers this year while losing less than half the men he lost last year." Does this sound like the leadership is limiting armed struggle?

Carrying the offensive to Paris, mobilizing world

support for the national liberation struggle and making clear to all that the fighting in Vietnam will never stop until imperialism is defeated, the leadership has created chaos and confusion within the ranks of the imperialists.

At the conference table, the Vietnamese representatives have refused to negotiate an end to the fighting until all troops were withdrawn from their country.

It is possible that, because PL members praise the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the thought of Mao Tse Tung, some may conclude, out of lack of knowledge, that the Chinese have the same position on Vietnam as PL does. Nothing could be further from the truth. Lin Biao's recent speech supports the "correct leadership of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnamese struggle." It is clear to them that the Vietnamese, led by the working class, bolstered by the experience of socialist construction in the North, once achieving victory, will be in an extremely favorable position to move forward to socialism.

Support for national liberation struggles against imperialism is the "cutting edge" that separates revolutionaries from liberals around the world. SDS must take the lead in building support for the Vietnamese people and their revolutionary leadership and deal with all those who oppose their struggle, whether it be Richard Nixon or tendencies within our own movement, by any means necessary.



## Fight U.S.-Soviet collusion against China

(This resolution, originally written by John Bertlow, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS, PLP, and Debby Israel, Brandeis SDS, was rewritten and presented by Ed Jennings, Chicago Circle Campus SDS.)

The recent Soviet Imperialist attacks on the Chinese border are part of the overall U.S.-Soviet plan to encircle China. They are attempting to defeat the Communist Party of China and the Chinese masses, who have fought against Soviet revisionism and counter-revolution. They are also aiding U.S. Imperialism in attempting to make China's human and natural resources free for imperialist exploitation. Thus the USSR has been moving troops to the Chinese border since the invasion of Czechoslovakia was completed. This has forced China to divert her troops. Soviet Imperialist attacks on People's China, then, are attacks on all Marxist-Leninists, all anti-imperialist movements, and all oppressed classes fighting against imperialism. To "justify" these attacks, the Russian misleaders have begun a viciously racist campaign against the "yellow Peril" at home (echoed in the U.S. press) and have waged a "diplomatic offensive" abroad to firm up the support of the ruling classes in France, Italy, Japan, etc.

In recent years, the true meaning of the Soviet "revisionists' cry for "peaceful transition to socialism"

and "peaceful coexistence" has become clear. On the one hand, they try to extinguish the flames of revolution—either through "aid" or its always reliable sellout revisionist "Communist" Party allies. On the other hand, they actively aid and collaborate with U.S. imperialism—by giving arms to the Indian gov. to be used against China, by extending credit to sell out the Vietnamese people, etc. Though the Soviet Imperialists have at times squabbled with U.S. imperialism concerning the carrying up of the world—as in Czechoslovakia—their basic collusion has not been in the least undermined.

Both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists recognize the danger of the proletarian cultural revolution and malign it in similar terms. The struggle of the Chinese masses against bourgeois ideology and practices in revolutionary disguise (i.e. revisionism) has helped to expose the counter-revolutionary goals of the USSR to the anti-imperialist masses around the world. Their uncompromising support of violent revolution makes them the prime target of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

By setting the stage for a U.S.-Soviet war against China, the Russian actions represent a serious attack on U.S. workers. The Imperialists must intensify

racist (against Blacks, Latins, and Asians in the U.S.) and anti-communist propaganda to prepare for a war—splitting white workers from their natural allies at home and all U.S. workers from their natural allies internationally. And, as always, U.S. workers and the people of the oppressed internal colonies will be forced to fight and die in this imperialist war.

SDS has a great responsibility to American workers, students and intellectuals to condemn this Soviet Imperialist attack on People's China and revolution everywhere. We must begin to mobilize working people, colonized people, students and the broad masses of oppressed people in this country against the new U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance.

All chapters are urged to carry on educational work and to agitate around this issue. Slogans such as:

FLIGHT U.S.-SOVIET COLLUSION!  
U.S. GET OUT OF TAIWAN NOW!

should be popularized and demonstrations should be built to make visible our vigorous opposition to this new Imperialist trick. Chapters and their base should be won particularly to see the imperialist nature of the Soviet attack, U.S.-Soviet cooperation, and, the serious consequences for American working people and students.

# Hot town: summer in the city or

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Bill Ayers, Michigan SDS, and Jim Meilen, REP. It is a revised version of a proposal for a summer program that was passed by the Michigan Regional Conference in Lansing on March 16. People are now working in Detroit to implement this program. This proposal should be seen as a model for political direction in the movement over the next few months.)

## I. TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Over the past few months, SDS has developed a correct transitional strategy for itself. That strategy is based on an understanding of the class nature of this society; on an understanding that the sharpest struggles against the ruling class are being waged by the oppressed nations against U.S. imperialism, and that all our actions must flow from our identity as part of an international struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is strategy that understands the need for SDS to tie itself to these struggles, and to make itself something more than it is: to transform itself into a student movement into a working class youth movement.

It is clear that, although a successful revolution in this country is in no way inevitable, any revolution—to have even a small chance of success—would have to be a revolution of the working class. This is not to say that SDS as an organization should move immediately to organizing workers, or that we have, at this point, a precise enough understanding of the various segments and characteristics of the working class. It is only to assert an understanding of the fact that the struggle for freedom that we are involved in can never succeed without the total, fundamental economic and social transformation

in which the working class overthrows and liquidates the ruling class.

Up until recently, SDS has been exclusively a student movement. Furthermore, it has been a student movement concentrated primarily on the elite campuses of Harvard, Chicago, Berkeley, Michigan. This is beginning to change. San Francisco State replaces Berkeley, Michigan State replaces Michigan, as the important centers of struggle. And SDS begins to spring up in the high schools and off the campus altogether.

But more importantly, the movement begins to happen in these places. In most cities, high schools are blowing up so fast that SDS organizers can't keep up with them. Community and junior colleges are increasingly the scenes of struggle and confrontation. And the army has become the time bomb of the ruling class.

We're faced with two realities: that, in the past, SDS has been primarily an elite student group, and that, at this point in history, young people in the schools generally, and in the army, are actively resisting the special oppression they face. Given what SDS is, what is happening in this society, and what the movement must become in order to have even a chance of success, it is clear that SDS must begin to consciously transform itself from a student movement into a working class youth movement. That is, SDS must become more than itself, must move, in the only organic way open to it, to become a self-conscious working class movement. And it must do this by emphasizing the commonality of the oppression and struggles of youth, and by making these struggles class conscious.

This is possible because of the material basis of

# Standard Oil boycott: support the oil workers

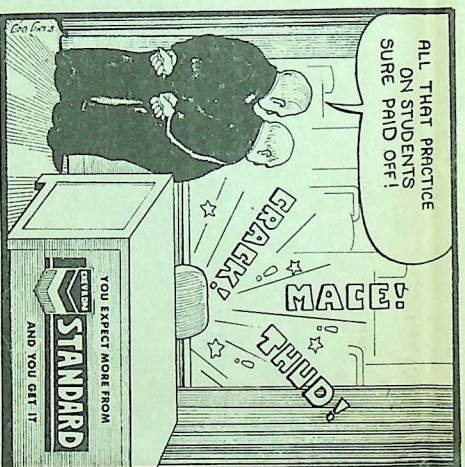
(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Jeff Jones, Bob Avakian, and Peter Stone.)

Local I-561, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, as part of a nationwide walkout against the national oil industry, has been on strike against the Chevron (a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil) Ortho Chemical plant at Richmond, California since January 6th. Although most of the other strikes in the industry have been settled, Standard has demanded that I-561 give up its union shop clause (I-561 only has such a clause at the Ortho plant). As a tactic in their struggle, they have called for a national and international boycott of Standard Oil products. Many unions and labor organizations have joined in the boycott call, including OCAW International and the Central Labor Councils of Contra Costa, Alameda, and San Francisco counties. Early last week, Standard Oil informed the union members that if they were not back at work by Friday, their jobs would be taken over permanently by the scabs now employed in the plant. The state of the labor movement is such that on Friday, the men and women of I-561 returned to work without a contract. This means that the tactic of the boycott is now their main weapon against Standard Oil.

The unions' demands center around higher wages and the retention of the union shop, however the political context in which these demands are being presented is important for us to consider. Through their support for the TWU-led strikes at San Francisco State and Berkeley (agreeing to and signing a mutual-aid pact with the TWU and sending contingents of oil workers to the two picket lines) and through their statements that the students and workers are fighting the same enemy, they have helped lead the fight against racism and imperialism into the working communities of the Bay area. Just as students have gained a greater understanding of the struggles of workers through this experience, the students (and the strikes at State and Berkeley) have helped many rank and file members, and even some of the leadership, to develop an understanding of the racist and imperialist nature of Standard Oil. This boycott can be an important strategy for broadening this fight into other working communities of America.

SDS should join in supporting the call for the Standard Oil boycott and publicize and act around it on campuses and most especially, in the working communities. Through this support we can concretely support the just struggles of the oil workers, as well as educate our people around the importance of such support.

SDS expresses its solidarity with and New Left Notes pledges to publicize the upcoming trials of



the more than 20 people arrested in Richmond, California, including workers and 3 students, who have been engaged in the struggle against the company scabs, the local Gestapo, and the racist and imperialist Standard Oil Company.

## SPECIFICALLY, SDS CHAPTERS SHOULD:

1. Publicize the boycott (leafletting, agit-prop, and educational materials).
2. Circulate petitions supporting the boycott and get people to send their Standard Oil credit cards back to the company with a note demanding that they agree to the union's demands.
3. The NO is mandated to prepare a pamphlet on the oil strike, the relations that have developed between the students and the workers, and explaining the racist and imperialist nature of Standard Oil.
4. ON CAMPUS AGITATION AGAINST STANDARD OIL RECRUITERS.
5. NLN will keep the membership informed of the status of the boycott and the strike.

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

1. Specific questions and requests for information should be sent to the SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE: P.O. Box 1282, Richmond, California 94806.
2. San Francisco Newsreel is preparing a film on the oil strikes. It should be available for distribution near the end of April (See NLN).
3. Bumper stickers, buttons, Boycott leaflets and petitions are available from the Standard Oil Boycott Committee.

the oppression of youth. The majority of young people in America today are either in the schools and in the army, young people perform tasks that have no relevance to their own needs but are key to the functioning of capitalism: training young people to fit into a more highly skilled work force, forcing them to defend imperialism and the Empire in struggles against national liberation movements, and in all cases, deferring young people for longer and longer periods of time from the productive work force. Thus, there is significant class content to the oppression of the vast majority of young people. This is not to say that youth is a class—or that young people's struggles are always in the interest of the working class as a whole. While it's true that youth aren't hardened into class positions and generally reflect all the different class interests, it is clear that the oppression of youth by imperialism hits hardest on working class youth, especially black and brown youth. We must attack this oppression in a class way, that is, raise the interests of the most oppressed sectors first. That is the only basis that exists for revolutionary class unity. Our task must be to understand the class content of youth's oppression, to specify it in practice, and to build class consciousness through struggle.

## Discipline Needed

In order for SDS to succeed at this task it will take tremendous self-consciousness and discipline from the membership. It will involve high school organizers consciously organizing among the lowest tracked kids. It will involve organizers consciously developing bases in community colleges. And it will involve disciplined cadre entering the armed forces and work places as organizers.

There are two important developments that would help this process. These should be seen as urgent tasks. First, is the development of cadre. Seriousness and self-consciousness inside the organization are essential as SDS begins to transform itself into a revolutionary movement. Through collective political experience and study, cadre can be developed who can bring these things to SDS. The function of cadre —through exemplary action and through political education—is to broaden the movement and build class consciousness in a self-conscious way, as well as help consolidate growth and fight uneven development.

A second important task is the concretization of our politics through practice. The development of our politics in the past few months leaves us with an understanding of the oppression of youth, only in a general way. We see that working class youth are oppressed in specific ways and that the existing base of SDS in colleges and universities has much in common with youth in all sectors of the working class. We must now learn more about the issues which face city youth especially, the kind of consciousness which is developing there, and the organizational forms which can make struggle around those issues and that consciousness coherent. In order to make SDS, now basically a student movement, something more than it is, a revolutionary youth movement, we must learn more about city youth and the class content of their struggle. We must bring organizers from our existing constituency more directly into organizing situations of our potential constituency, thereby creating a material force for the further development of our politics.

The task of developing cadres, as well as the task of broadening our constituency to other sections of white working class youth, both have a special urgency at this time. This is due to the advanced level of political struggle of the black liberation movement. To recognize the vanguard character of the black liberation struggle means to recognize its importance to the "white" movement. The black liberation struggle has been instrumental in winning much of the white movement to a clearer understanding of imperialism, class oppression within the U.S., the reactionary nature of pacifism, the need for armed struggle as the only road to revolution, and other essential truths which were predominant within our movement in the past. It must be clear that setbacks to the vanguard are tremendous setbacks to the people's movement as a whole.

## White Fighting Force

Yet repression at this time is very serious against the political vanguard of the black liberation struggle, the Black Panther Party. And this repression is facilitated by the absence of substantial material support—power—by the white movement. Unless we recognize the urgency of fighting white supremacy by building the material strength of the white movement to be a conscious, organized, mobilized fighting force capable of giving real support to the black liberation struggle, we will be deserting to the most advanced leadership of that struggle to the



# I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more

free hand of ruling class repression.

Thus the urgency of broadening the movement to more proletarian sections of white industrial workers and youth is not because in some way alternative political direction from the support for the black struggle. Rather, it is a necessary extension of the support. Nor is "white working class organizing" an alternative to the struggle within the "student movement" against pacifism and social democratic and revisionist ideas, which feed on the isolation of the student movement from the masses of working people. In both cases, we seek to expand our base not in conflict with the black liberation struggle or "student organizing" but because of it.

In terms of cadre development, an investigation of the oppressed sections of working class youth will give formerly "student" cadres a clearer identification with and understanding of the interests of the class as a whole. Thus, on return to a campus situation, they will be better equipped to fight the go-slowism of student provincialism.

## II. PROGRAM

A large number of SDS people should come to Detroit to participate in a summer of work and study. A program that calls for SDS people to work as a group in the cities should first understand the history and failures of past SDS programs. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to develop a detailed critical history of SDS programs relating to the cities, we will make a couple of general comments that are particularly relevant.

In our past organizing we incorrectly thought that SDS people should totally follow the direction of the people with whom they were working. This on two levels: first, we assumed that SDS people were foreign elements who had to transform their identities, emulating others, and second, we thought that SDS people should totally take political direction from the people with whom they were organizing. Both of these are incorrect. The task should be to retain one's sense of identity, retain a sense of struggle from the campus, and at the same time build a movement which includes a broader constituency. This process may lead to SDS people undergoing fundamental changes, but consciousness must develop dialectically, not mechanically (like by getting a haircut).

## Selection and Training

Participation in the summer program will be based primarily on self-selection, but we will emphasize that those who do become involved should see themselves as full-time SDS cadre, willing to work intensively for the development of the summer collective.

In preparation for the summer, we will continue our program of movement schools which we've developed over the past few months in Michigan. This is a program which involves chapters in intensive weekends of study around questions such as racism, imperialism, and corporate power. This program will intensify as we come closer to this summer.

Political economy of the city. These special sessions will concentrate on preparing people for the summer experience and will be attended by people from all over the state who are coming to Detroit.

## Jobs

People involved in the program will try to get jobs in the city. They will be made aware of the job situation in Detroit and urged to seek employment where it will provide the best experiences. Participants will get jobs in bars, restaurants, taxicabs, and shops, as well as a few working out of day-labor slave markets. Women will be urged to work in jobs where the employment of women is high: specific factories, as secretaries, waitresses, maids. The selection of the job place should be done on the basis that it is preferential for our people to work where there are either a great number of young workers, or a great number of unskilled workers; a company union or no union, or where there is rank and file dissent or black caucuses, etc. This is to be done so that the people involved are involved in the most relevant political experiences and for the greatest possible time. The jobs will be necessary to maintain the summer program financially, as well as to provide practical experience necessary toward the concretization of our politics.

## Study

Workable study groups will be organized which will help people develop political perspective and intellectual background. Study will include revolutionary theory and organization, the political economy of monopoly capitalism, the history and development of racism, the history of the labor movement, as well as more specific areas of study, like Vietnam, the Middle East, and Cuba. A major area of study, which will involve some original research, will be the transition of economic power into political power in the city of Detroit. Toward the end of the summer study groups will be tying together their intellectual and practical work and attempting to make specific plans for fall strategy. This will include some campus work as well as GI organizing, high schools, and some on-the-job work.

## Skill-building

The summer should provide an opportunity to develop much-needed skills that SDS people have had neither the time nor the organization to develop in the past. We will organize groups to learn self-defense skills, printing, propaganda, auto mechanics, and how to do research. More groups will develop depending on the needs and interests of those involved.

## Life in the City

People will be living in small groups throughout the city. There should be involvement by SDS people in the neighborhood issues as they come up: a fight in the park, a protest against the pigs. Further, the group as a whole can anticipate certain issues that will become involved in. For instance, we're sure that we'll have to deal with racism in a number of concrete situations. Detroit, with its giant auto corporations and sprawling universities, has created one of the largest ghettos in the country. Detroit is also the home of a large Panther organization and other militant black groups. Working out a relationship with these groups and becoming involved

in issues to fight racism will be of primary importance.

The labor situation in Detroit will, almost certainly, be in intensive turmoil this summer. The existence of militant black caucuses in auto (DRUM, FRUM, ELRUM, etc.) has created a tense situation for the corporations and union bureaucracies, and has provided an alternative for workers. Some people from the SDS project will be in shops as will organizers from Detroit's National Organizing Committee and will be relating to these struggles on a day-to-day basis. The project as a whole must work out ways to support the struggles of revolutionaries in the shops.

Some people, especially those who've been drafted or plan to enter the armed forces soon, will be working around Fort Wayne handling out Vietnam GI and The Bond. They will try to develop an understanding of GI problems that will be valuable in the future.

Others are planning to work with high school kids around the Grande ballroom, hippy capitalist center of Detroit. They hope to develop in these kids an understanding of the ways in which revolutionary rhetoric and hippy culture can be made into commodities by the capitalists.

There will of course be other types of involvement in community issues which we can't foresee. But with this amount of activity going on, it's clear that logistics and coordination are going to be a problem. We will try to have a large meeting weekly to keep people in touch with what overall things are going on, and to maintain a sense of the strength and dynamic of the group.

An important tension should develop in a program between the collective life and training among the SDS people and the political outreach into the community. It will be important to maintain this tension and each person should adjust to the duality. Merely living together and studying would promote isolation and elitism (the value of study undirected by practical political activity is also questionable). Merely working in the community without a self-conscious development of cadre skills and organizational training would promote an undirected activism and lack of concrete political development.

Clearly, an important part of the white movement's fight against white chauvinism is the propaganda effect of the very existence of whites who are on the side of the blacks against the system. This begins to show the masses of white working people that the struggle is a class and political struggle, not a racial struggle. Thus, open, overt, visible political activity of our movement in support of the black struggle must be prominent in our priorities for the summer. Yet we must also understand that this "action propaganda" is not a substitute for going among the working masses, learning directly what their experiences and ideas are about, and doing direct propaganda among them. To correctly balance these two needs will be a central task of our summer effort.

The whole program should be seen as a step towards a strong revolutionary youth movement in Michigan. It should not be seen as an attempt to organize all of Detroit. After the summer, many people will probably return to their campuses to continue on-going SDS work. Many will stay in Detroit to help build a strong movement there, and some will be going into the armed forces and other constituencies to begin work. That this program develop is of crucial importance for the advancement of all this work, and the development of these organizers.

New chapters recognized by the Austin National Council:

East Lansing High School  
John Reed Memorial (at large), Portland  
Metropolitan State College, Denver  
Colorado University Denver Center  
John Brown Memorial, Colorado Springs  
Wasson High School, Colorado Springs  
Boulder MDS  
Bill Hayward Memorial  
(Colorado Regional Staff)  
Steven Austin High School, Austin  
John Paul Jones, \*We Have Not Yet  
Begun to Fight, Santa Barbara  
Grand Valley State, Allendale, Michigan  
Merritt College, Oakland  
Florida State University, Tallahassee  
Desolation Row Positively  
4th Street, New York City  
P.T.P. Local #1, Chicago  
Washington College, Chesterton  
West Texas SDS  
Las Vegas/New Mexico SDS,  
University of New Mexico  
University of Detroit SDS  
Teachers for a Democratic Society,  
New York City

# National Council misc.

The following are pledges made at the Austin NC. Chapters are reminded that more than \$2,000 was pledged at the Ann Arbor NC—of that amount, only \$150 was ever sent to the National Office. Only several hundred dollars were raised at the NC, and the NO desperately needs money to continue its operation. We owe the New Left Notes printer alone more than \$2,000. You all have a responsibility to keep the NO functioning—send us money now.

Kent State \$25  
NYU \$100  
American University \$25  
Wagner \$75  
Munsegan Jr. \$25  
U. of Maryland \$100  
Madison SDS \$25  
Lakeview \$25  
Washington (state of) region \$50  
Ohio State \$25  
John Paul Jones \$25  
Boulder \$50  
East Bay \$50  
Boston U. \$35  
Joe Hill \$15  
Baltimore \$50  
U. of Nebraska (Lincoln & Omaha) \$50  
U. of Chicago \$100  
Cambridge MDS \$30  
REP \$20  
Columbia \$100  
New York Region \$100  
Harvard \$100 (38¢ per national member)  
Houston \$25  
Wellesley \$10

This is one page of 16 in the educational packet on racism prepared by the National Office and praised by the National Council meeting. The packet contains four parts: introduction and quotes from Marxists, history of white supremacy and the black liberation struggle, black workers lead (DRUM), and the Black Panther Party. Copies available from NO.

# Basis of white supremacy

by Noel Ignatin

"The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor and the emancipation of labor is the freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown and black."

--W.E.B. DuBois

The capitalist system of the U.S., and indeed of the entire western "civilized world," arose out of the extermination of the Indians and the enslavement of Africans. The 18th century witnessed the establishment of the colonies in the West Indies, on land looted from the aboriginal population. It was slavery which gave value to these colonies. It was the wealth produced in these colonies, as well as the slave trade necessary to supply them with human labor, which gave rise to modern commerce. It was this commerce which gave rise to modern industry and the exploitation of wage labor.

The chief economic role of the North American colonies was that of supplier of provisions to the great slave plantations in the West Indies. The attempts of the British mercantile class to restrict American trade with the colonies of the West Indies, especially Saint Domingo, was the underlying cause of the American Revolution.

Independence made possible the rapid expansion of the capitalist mode of production. This took place in two forms: in the South, the growth of slave production and the development of cotton as the pivot of industry; in the North, the growth of industry based on the cotton produced by slavery.

As northern industry expanded, it became clear that slavery prevented the growth of productivity, on whose growth depended the expansion of the internal market. Thus there arose the Civil War, a war fought to determine whether the federal government would be under the control of a class of slave-owning capitalists, requiring the continued expansion of territory, or a class of capitalists who exploited wage-labor, requiring the constant expansion of the internal market.

The slaves were emancipated because the Civil War could not be won otherwise. Following the War, the policy of the victorious capitalists of the north centered itself on defining the condition of the former slaves as something other than slave and yet not free. Because the working class and other democratic elements did not intervene, this policy of the ruling class prevailed, and there arose a new phenomenon -- the birth, within the territorial boundaries of the U.S., of a subjugated, colonial Afro-American nation, side by side with, and under the domination of, the ruling white nation.

Competition among small manufacturers gave rise to monopoly, by the process of elimination of the weak; and the monopolists, having rebuilt the country in their image, and driven by the need to make maximum profits, began to look outward for places to which they could export capital and peoples whom they could enslave.

The old slave, evolved into the "civilized" extortioner of super-profits. No longer did he put a price on Indian scalps, the better to rob them of the land. He just sold the remnants of the Indian tribes into concentration camps that he euphemistically called "reservations." No longer did he subject the Africans to the torture of the "middle passage" aboard a slave ship. He just tortured the Africans right at home, in their own continent. He boasted that he was against the slavery of man, and introduced the slavery of nations. He swore that no longer would he profit from the slave trade, and introduced the drug traffic as an integral part of commodity circulation and exchange.

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The main weapon which has been used by the U.S. capitalists throughout the whole history of their rise to the status of number one exploiter and enemy of the people of the world has been the theory and practice of white supremacy.

White supremacy, while clearly serving as the rationale and justification for the enslavement of the non-white peoples, has served also to blind American white labor to the ruling class in a tie of racial solidarity.

The U.S. ruling class has made a deal with the mis-leaders of labor, and through them with the masses of white workers. The conditions of this deal, which was three hundred years in the making, are these: you white workers help us conquer the world and enslave the non-white majority of the earth's laboring force, and we will repay you with a monopoly of skilled jobs, cushion you against the most severe shocks of the economic cycle, provide you with health and education facilities superior to those of the non-white population, grant you the freedom to spend your money and leisure time as you wish, without social restrictions, enable you on occasion to promote one of your number out of the ranks of the laboring class, and in general confer on you the material and spiritual privileges befitting your white skin.

In like manner have the "benefits" of white supremacy been extended to white students, farmers, professionals and all other sectors of our people whose fundamental interests are in opposition to the handful of monopolists and stooges who run this country.

Thus has the alignment of political forces in this country, which would normally be expected to form along the lines of property vs. poverty, been superseded by alignments based on the preservation vs. the abolition of white supremacy, or, more simply, on color.

It has been the acceptance by the broad masses of white America -- and not merely the acceptance but the militant defense -- of their condition as favored slaves, as trustees in a jail, which has been the main factor in frustrating the labor and democratic movement, in preventing the development of popular solidarity necessary to the advancement and final victory of the working class.

Thus, before the Civil War, at the time of the rise of the factory system in the north and its companion miseries, what kept the class struggle from getting "out of hand" what kept these miserable and degraded poor whites from joining with the slaves, and instead led them to serve as slave catchers and rebellion suppressors for a class that impoverished them as well? Again, it was the knowledge that to join with the slaves would lead to the total destruction of white supremacy and the elimination of all racial privileges.

After the Civil War, when there was the possibility of establishing the greatest national labor movement which the country had ever seen, what prevented its emergence? The inability of white labor to see its real interest in the struggles of black labor in the South.



At the turn of the century, when American labor, north and south, was locked in stormy battles with the railroad and mining trusts, and with the monopolies generally, once again it was the actions of white labor, in joining with the ruling class to exclude black workers from industry and the trades, which was the real key to preserving the rule of capital.

And so on through the depression of the thirties, when the refusal of the labor movement to organize the South or to challenge the exclusion of black workers from the skilled trades in industry laid the basis for the post-war emergence of the white labor bureaucracy as an arm of the ruling class in suppressing the workers.

Thus we arrive at the present. Once again, the rule of a handful of bloodsuckers has brought the working people of hand and brain to the brink of disaster. Imperialist war, the driving down of the living standards of the masses of people, the rise of unemployment, taxes and prices, the destruction of democratic culture, the total unmasking of educational institutions as tools of the exploiters -- these are the fruits of the "free enterprise" system.

And once again, the people are beginning to fight back. ghetto rebellions, student uprisings, the sharp increase in "authorized" and especially "unauthorized" strikes, the growth of the women's liberation movement and the sentiment for peace -- these testify clearly that the people will not be passive in the face of attack.

The foremost component of the popular fight back is, at present, the struggle for national liberation of the oppressed black colony. In every sphere of political conflict, whether in the student movement, the anti-war movement or the labor movement, black people are the spearhead of the people's forces. This is recognized by everyone.

The upsurge in the black liberation movement has brought about the growth of national consciousness among the black people, the consciousness that the black liberation struggle is essentially one of national liberation from imperialist oppression, and the increasing identification of the character of their struggle with the world-wide anti-colonial struggles of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Growing out of the upsurge in the black liberation struggle, and as a reaction to their own increasing oppression, masses of white people, especially students and including working people, have been hurled into struggle against U.S. imperialism. As in the past, the ruling class has rushed forward in defense of white supremacy as the buttress of its rule, and has thrown out "crime in the streets," "destruction of property values," "black domination of the cities," "black take-over of the unions," etc., as its cry of alarm.

Within our own movement we have heard echoes of that cry of alarm from those who indiscriminately condemn nationalism as "divisive," and who try to obliterate the national character of the black liberation movement.

Thus the lines are being drawn for the final conflict. The masses of whites are being asked to choose sides -- with the boss or with the black people; with white supremacy and the white-skin privileges or with solidarity and a bright future. Thus is borne out the significance of the famous statement of Karl Marx: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

As long as white workers and the masses of whites wish to preserve their privileged position as the favored slaves of capital, so long will they unite with capital in order to do so and so long, therefore, will their struggle be doomed to failure.

The key task facing the revolutionary movement is the defeat of white supremacy. The key task facing white revolutionaries is bringing to the white masses the awareness that the white skin privilege is the tool of the ruling class, that acceptance of it is a betrayal and abandonment of the class struggle, and that they must organize to oppose it, in the interests of popular solidarity.

# Schools program

(continued from Page 5)

onto the issue at hand—a firing, a suspension, a demand of the BSA—in an abstract way which the mass of the people do not grasp. Therefore, we must establish ourselves on the campus as fighting for a series of clear objectives and with general support for them before this or that action comes up.

Counterposed to these 10 points which challenge class and colonial privileges are the waves of so-called student power issues, which in content aim to maintain false class privilege. Demands for more participation for students in school administrative committees may simply mean that students want more power to maintain their false class privilege: the "privilege" to stay out of the army while working-class youth, especially black and brown youth, are forced to fight; their "privilege" of access to higher-paying jobs because of a meaningless college degree, and so on. While students may have been moved to student power fights in the past out of a genuine militancy and anger at the system, it is our task to draw the issues more sharply. The idea that students can be brought into a sustained struggle on a student power basis and then brought along to fight against the class and colonial nature of the university has proved overall to be wrong. If students come into a struggle in the interests of accepting false class privilege they will not very quickly change to a struggle against that false privilege. The ones who will fight class privilege would have done so initially if the issues had been correctly stated.

The "student power" strategy of establishing joint student-faculty-administration committees never gets us anywhere and creates the illusion of power which prevents us from building a movement. Because the schools oppress all the people, they must be made to serve the people, not just the students. Our principles should be clear! We don't demand power, we demand what we want and need and what is just and we show our real power in getting it. Our real power is to refuse those who control the schools something they need. Since they need the schools to go on functioning—serving as corporate enterprises, service stations of imperialism, and perpetrating class and colonial divisions in the society—our power is to be able to keep the schools from functioning. If the schools won't give us what we justly demand, we will strike.

We do not say that the school should serve the students: we say that the schools should serve the people!

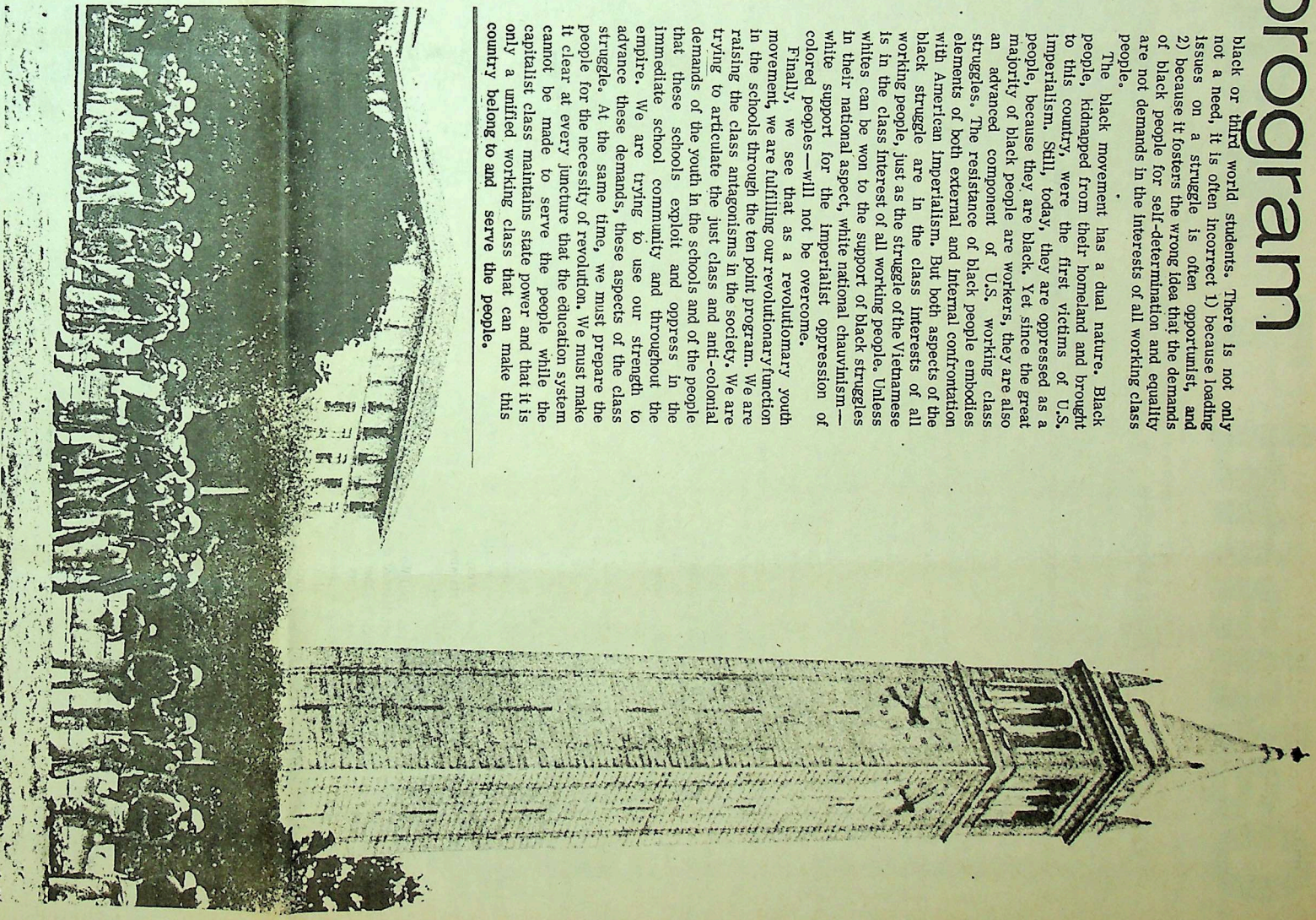
The key fight today is against white supremacy: this fight has been raised primarily by the black liberation movement, and for the most part still is. Because we incorrectly understand the nature of this fight we have sometimes talked about adding "white" demands onto the demands of black groups and attacked black student demands as "middle-class" etc.

All the objectives in this program are both anti-colonial and anti-capitalist. Clearly not all these demands would be raised in the same struggle. There is no more need to raise "other" demands in the context of a struggle around demands raised by

black or third world students. There is not only not a need, it is often incorrect 1) because leading issues on a struggle is often opportunist, and 2) because it fosters the wrong idea that the demands of black people for self-determination and equality are not demands in the interests of all working class people.

The black movement has a dual nature. Black people, kidnapped from their homeland and brought to this country, were the first victims of U.S. imperialism. Still, today, they are oppressed as a people, because they are black. Yet since the great majority of black people are workers, they are also an advanced component of U.S. working class struggles. The resistance of black people embodies elements of both external and internal confrontation with American imperialism. But both aspects of the black struggle are in the class interests of all working people, just as the struggle of the Vietnamese is in the class interest of all working people. Unless whites can be won to the support of black struggles in their national aspect, white national chauvinism—white support for the imperialist oppression of colored peoples—will not be overcome.

Finally, we see that as a revolutionary youth movement, we are fulfilling our revolutionary function in the schools through the ten point program. We are raising the class antagonisms in the society. We are trying to articulate the just class and anti-colonial demands of the youth in the schools and of the people that these schools exploit and oppress in the immediate school community and throughout the empire. We are trying to use our strength to advance these demands, these aspects of the class struggle. At the same time, we must prepare the people for the necessity of revolution. We must make it clear at every juncture that the education system cannot be made to serve the people while the capitalist class maintains state power and that it is only a unified working class that can make this country belong to and serve the people.



(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Bill Burnett, Goleta Beach California SDS and Africa Research Group, and Dave Burak, Ithaca - Cornell SDS.)

Whereas:

SDS correctly recognizes US imperialism as the most repressive, anti-democratic international force. Likewise, we recognize that our struggle in the US must move toward solidarity with revolutionary movements abroad. SDS has increasingly assumed a leading role in the denunciation of and resistance to fascism, racism and capitalism both domestically and abroad. SDS participation in action directed against American supporters of apartheid has included educational programs, boycotts, confrontations, etc. (The March '69 conference on Southern Africa held at Cornell University and the following stopping of Chase Manhattan recruiting being the most recent SDS program.) SDS must formulate a strategy which can aid that liberation struggle. This strategy must take into account:

1. That US corporate and governmental support rescued South Africa from near financial collapse following the March 1960 Sharpeville massacre; in particular that it was US finance capital (especially Chase Manhattan and the Bank of America) which rushed to the immediate aid of South African racism.
  2. That since 1960, total US investment in the Republic of South Africa has quadrupled, now totaling over \$1 billion;
  3. That US investment is now primarily in manufacturing (as opposed to mineral extraction, etc.)—particularly manufacturing with export orientation. General Motors is the major example of US corporate expansionism in this sector.
- Continued profit exploitation is dependent upon the availability of continental wide markets for South Africa-US exports:

4. That export production by US corporations based in South Africa exploits the working class in the US by weakening its position through competitive imports from these subsidiaries.

5. That the US is partner with the Republic of South Africa in a co-imperialism designed to penetrate and make further subservient the economies north of the Zambezi;

6. That the massive development of South Africa's production base has further entrenched the policies of apartheid...not the opposite, as depicted in the fulsome attempts of US apologists to justify American support to Pretoria;

7. That the southward march of the guerrillas presents the powers of western imperialism (esp. the US expansionist policies) with the greatest contemporary threat to their (its) global hegemony. Much more than in Vietnam, revolutionary struggle in South and Southern Africa assails the economic, political and racial foundations of Western Civilization;

8. That, finally, just as armed revolutionary struggle is demanded for the liberation of Southern Africa, so our support is necessary for that liberation.

Therefore, be it resolved:

That SDS adopt a program of struggle aimed at aiding the African revolutionary movements in their efforts to smash South African racism, fascism, and capitalism, educating the American public and ourselves, and making American corporate investments in South Africa unprofitable.

1. SDS immediately initiate programs to provide assistance to revolutionary movements with which we can ideologically agree and which are engaged in armed struggle in southern Africa.

2. SDS intensify its educational programs on American involvement (both present and potential)

in South Africa. This long-term project should be initiated and/or intensified at the earliest possible date. The corporate-government elite must be made painfully aware that American support for a South African war will mean war at home;

3. SDS continue to initiate direct pressure on corporate and governmental interests which directly support the Republic of South Africa; to this effect, we propose a massive struggle to line up the struggles against racism, imperialism, and their root, capitalism.

This would be preceded by an education drive aimed at pointing out the theoretical validity of the above mentioned linkages, and stressing education through struggle through a concerted drive to prevent Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America, and General Motors from recruiting on college campuses throughout the nation.

This program would also include a week long series of massive and militant international confrontations at Chase and Bank of America branches, which would take place on June 26 (South African Freedom Day), which would demand the withdrawal of said investments.

The Inter-Organizational Secretary would be mandated to attempt to get European Revolutionary organizations, the Japanese Zengakuren, etc., to participate in the program in their respective countries.

4. Finally, these actions be undertaken in close cooperation with Third World movements (BSU, UMAs, Panthers, etc.) in the US. The possibility of a strike led by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers against GM—aimed at making that corporation pull out of South Africa—should be pursued. Determined action in support of the armed struggle against fascism and racism in South Africa will provide a catalyst for greater revolutionary solidarity in the US.

# Oakland 7 acquitted!

by Ernest O'Shea

ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY: I guess it was all just a big waste of time and money.

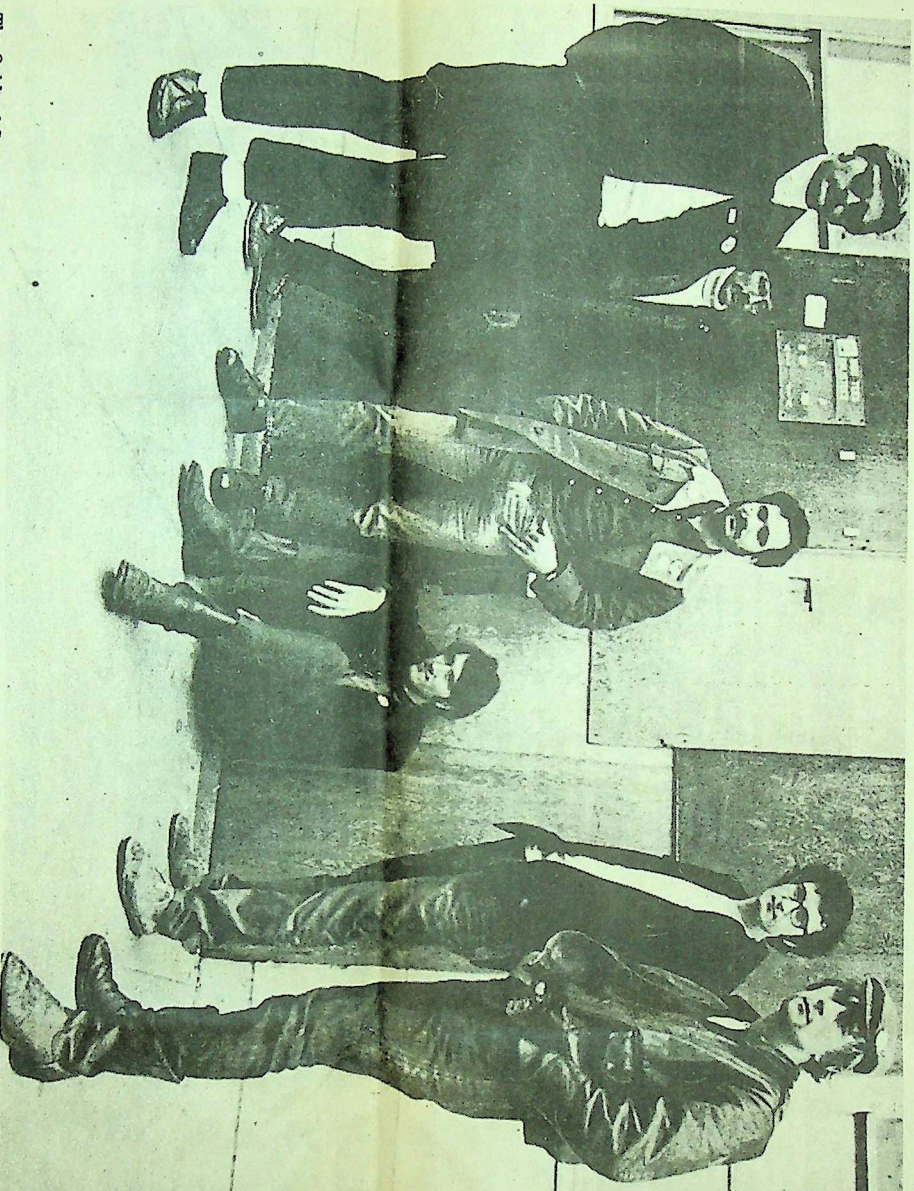
ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S ASSISTANT: That goddamn judge and, his goddamn instructions.  
 JUDGE (to the jury, off the record!): Thank you for saving the Constitution.  
 JUROR #3: We had to find them not guilty. It's there right under the First Amendment.

JUROR #10: We all agreed they were guilty of conspiring to shut down the induction center, but that's not what they were charged with.

OAKLAND SEVEN: We beat 'em in the streets, we beat 'em in the courts, yeah yeah YEAH!

\* \* \* \* \*

The Oakland Seven—Frank Bardecke, Terry Cannon, Reese Erlich, Steve



The Oakland Seven: left to right—Steve Hamilton, Bob Mandel, Reese Erlich, Terry Cannon, Frank Bardecke, Mike Smith. Not in photo is Jeff Segal, who's serving a four-year term in jail for draft refusal.

—photo by Barron Wolman

Hamilton, Bob Mandel, Jeff Segal, and Mike Smith—were on the steering committee of the October 1967 Stop the Draft Week. For those of you born since that date, that was when 10,000 people set barricades up in the streets, were clobbered by cops, and fought back in a furious and brave attempt to shut down the Oakland, California Armed Forces Induction Center. Three months later, the Alameda County Grand Jury indicted the Seven for conspiracy to commit two misdemeanors—trespass, and interfering with officers. Conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor is a felony.

of the American people in general and the white residents of the middle working-class suburbs in particular believe what their rulers tell them. For this reason, the DA dug a pit for the Oakland Seven and fell in it. The Seven did not have to present their political views, the DA did it for them. He read their leaflets, pamphlets, handouts, and transcribed speeches. His major witnesses were two undercover pigs who volunteered for the monitor squad. For his final crushing blow, he played the complete five-hour tape of the Sproul Hall rally the night before Stop the Draft Week began. It was the first radical anti-war rally the jury had ever attended. Did the DA suspect he had lost them, when the jurors began to laugh at the anti-LBJ jokes, smile at the anti-war speeches, and when one of them sang quietly along with the agit-prop slinging "Hell No We Won't Go"?

The prosecution worked on the erroneous assumption that the masses

The jurors were mostly new working

class: technicians, secretaries, switchboard operators, bookkeepers. Plus two machinists, one auto assembly worker, one retired Marine colonel. Every one of them was opposed to the war.

\* \* \* \* \*

The defense presented 45 witnesses, a cross-section of America: a 70-year-old grandfather, a high school pom-pom girl, a wife, a mother, a TV reporter, a Methodist minister, a Lutheran minister, an ex-Green Beret, an editor, an ex-cop, a deputy probation officer, a World War II Air Force captain, a 50-year-old black woman who gave the black power salute when swearing in—all had been at Stop the Draft Week. Their purpose legally was to show that the cops were beating people up and thus were not engaged in the pursuit of their lawful duty (the indictment charges conspiracy to interfere with officers in the pursuit of their LAWFUL duty). Politically, its message was clear: America opposes the war; the people who took to the streets were people just like the jurors and their children.

- Why were the Seven acquitted?
- 1) The First Amendment permits even the advocacy of crime, unless one immediately incites crime.
  - 2) The prosecution never concretely connected what the Seven said with what the 10,000 did.
  - 3) The Seven did not themselves commit any of the crimes they "conspired" to.
  - 4) Every one of the jurors opposed the war.

Number 4 is at the same time the most important and the least important. The jury never discussed the war among themselves as part of the deliberations. They would never say they acquitted the Seven for political reasons. The language of their reasons had to be the language of the Constitution and the First Amendment. And why shouldn't it be? When else has the Left ever talked to them? The important and significant thing is that they sought in the legal arguments offered by the defense the means of setting the Seven free.

They wanted to acquit and they wanted to follow the law. They believed in the right of self-defense, even against police. They sought the legal reasons and they found them.

And they set the Seven free. The only holdout—for two days—was the only juror who owned a business.

Have faith in the people.

The Man came down hard this week on the Black Panther Party around the country.

In New York City, 21 Panthers were busted and charged with conspiracy to bomb downtown department stores during the Easter rush. They were held on \$100,000 bail each. One of those arrested was Bob Collier, who was arrested several years ago for the alleged RAM plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty. Collier quit the Panthers several months ago to work for OEO. New York SDS held a demonstration with 400 people Thursday; another is scheduled later this week.

In Chicago, 19 Panthers have been arrested in the past 24 hours, on charges from traffic violations on up. The arrests came in the wake of an ambush on the Panthers by unknown persons, identified by the media as members of the Blackstone Rangers, a southside Chicago gang. Bobby Rush, the deputy defense minister for Illinois, has been charged with illegal use of a weapon and released on \$15,000 bail. Fred Hampton, chairman of the BPP in Illinois, currently has 11 charges against him.

Also in Chicago, the pigs busted several members

of the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican youth organization. National Guard and riot-equipped pigs patrolled the west-side ghetto following disturbances Thursday afternoon, as high school students walked out of school after services commemorating Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Several hundred people had been arrested when MLN went to press early Friday morning.

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, is one of eight persons charged with conspiracy and using interstate traffic to incite a riot, in connection with the disorders at the Democratic National Convention in August.

(About a year ago, on April 6, 1968, the Oakland pigs shot down Bobby Hutton. Huey Newton's still in jail, Eldridge Cleaver has vanished, Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were murdered last month by US, a cultural nationalist group in Los Angeles.)

Money for bail and to continue the Panthers' work is badly needed. Send contributions to the Black Panther Party, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, California 94126.

Power to the people!

# SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4, Number 5

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

February 5, 1969

# NIC notes

(See Page 9)

## Huey rallies to stress self-defense

SDS and the Black Panther Party will celebrate Huey P. Newton's birthday (Feb. 17) at rallies across the country. The theme will be the Panther concept of self-defense based on the active participation of the community in its own protection. The rallies can also be used as part of a program to attack institutional racism, and can serve as an occasion to help build a working relationship with the Panthers on local levels. The NIC last weekend voted to encourage SDS chapters to participate in rallies, or sponsor them alone if there is no local active black group. (For related stories, see pages 6 and 7.)



People's Republic of China/LNS

## Chicago Grand Jury

(The grand jury looking into Chicago's Democratic Convention demonstrations has leaked its plans to indict at least six movement people, probably under the federal interstate riot act. It's important that we know how to meet this latest attack on us. See story on page 3.)

1. IF YOU ARE SUBPOENAED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE GRAND JURY, NOTIFY US AT ONCE. YOU NEED LEGAL COUNSEL.
2. IF YOU KNOW OF OTHER PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN SUBPOENAED ALSO CONTACT US AT ONCE.

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## LETTERS TO THE LEFT

## Inauguration

I hope the brothers and sisters who participated in the street actions in Washington during the inauguration will join in some hard self-criticism. My own impression both from participating and from talking to people was that the actions were not revolutionary in content or execution. On the contrary, they seemed mostly rambling and self-indulgent. I think people have to ask how they raised consciousness, recruited to the movement, desanctified the establishment (over and above what was accomplished just by being along the parade route and forcing the armed troops into the open), or otherwise moved us forward. And whether they showed our weakness more than built our strength.

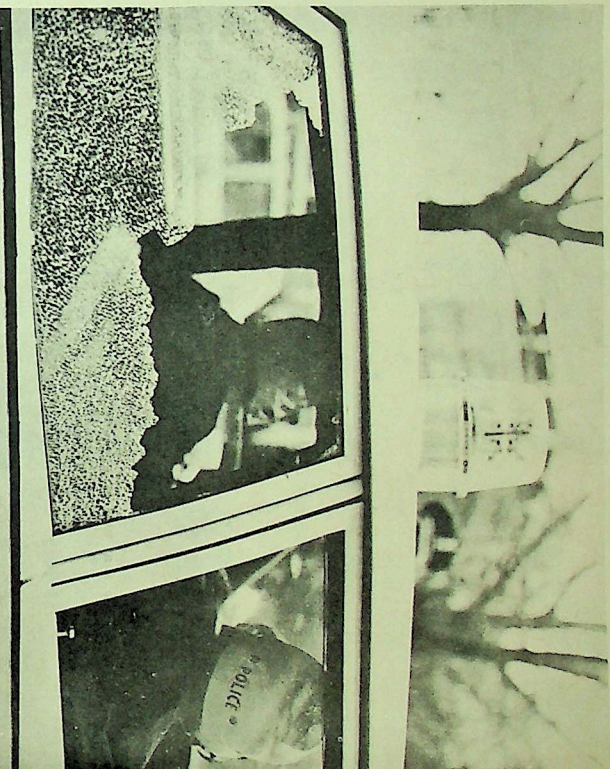
I include in this criticism the minor demonstration at the Agnew reception late Sunday afternoon. I was among those who helped get people over to the Smithsonian, where it was held, partly to move them away from what seemed a stupid confrontation between our own people about whether or not an American flag should remain up, come down, or be set at half mast. It seemed better to confront Agnew than ourselves. But when we got to the reception, we had no organization, no demands, no plans, and less effect. If we'd had nothing more than a petition for Greek liberation to deliver, it would have helped. We were reduced to heckling at the entrance we manned instead of through an underground entrance—which is where most went, unbeknown to us—and when a few of the brethren connected with mud on some incoming tanks, the cops drove us out easily with a few horses and clubs. So what? Direct action, whether that means picketing or street confrontation, seems to be effective in present non-revolutionary circumstances when tied to specific demands, even if these are only tactical. That was true at Columbia and even in Chicago (the demand was for the right to demonstrate). Too many of our people at the Agnew thing and again on Monday asked why we were there and what point there was in doing what we were doing. We have to answer such questions. And I think people have instead been slipping into a subjective and arbitrary habit of racing down streets pushing over garbage cans as a substitute for disciplined actions tied to coherent strategic objectives.

Paul Lauther  
Baltimore

## People's army?

In the NLN article "Revolution in the Army" (January 22, 1969), Bernadine Dohrn quotes recently-discharged GI Dave Kline's general criticism of unionizing efforts in the army. Said criticism reflects fundamental errors which, if allowed to prevail, would effectively prevent the achievement of a correct and solid unity of achievement and practice—a unity which, at this time, is most closely approximated by the efforts of the American Servicemen's Union.

Kline declares, "We aren't trying to reform the army, we don't see no good values in the army worth reforming. We're going to build a People's Liberation Army." (Page 5) To begin, the politics and long-range strategy of the organizers of the ASU should make it clear to anyone who is willing to take a long, objective look at the Union that they, too, "see no good values in the army worth reforming." However, to suggest, as Kline's statement does, that a demand for recognition of the right of enlisted men to refuse illegal orders and to elect their officers is reformist, and thus not worth struggling for, is to fail to understand one of the most essential dynamics of imperialism. J. A. Hobson, whose analysis Lenin praised, despite condemning the former's revisionist and



Newstreet/LNS

Why were we there and what point was there in doing what we were doing?

pacifist leanings; is among those who have observed that the highest stage of capitalism is totally incompatible with democracy. This understanding makes it clear that struggles to democratize the most essential instrument of imperialist aggression—the military—involve what may well be the most meaningful revolutionary potential of any struggles presently being waged.

This is not to argue that the basic contradiction is not between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Rather it is arguing that although in transhistorical terms the above contradiction is primary, at the present time the prutalization and dehumanization which people experience in the military is a superstructural contradiction which must be confronted now.

## Deployist Adventurism

But what form is this confrontation supposed to take? Dave Kline says "We're going to build a people's army." Bullshit. A close look at the development of the Chinese People's Liberation Army suggests quite strongly that any attempt in the immediate future to build an American PLA would be Deployist adventurism at its worst. In a piece written in 1928 Mao points out that a PLA and Red base area cannot achieve "long-term survival" if it is "in any imperialist country or in any colony under direct imperialist rule." ("Why is it that Red Political Power Can Exist in China," Selected Military Writings, pp. 12-13) Mao argues that "war within the white regime is essential to the development of a political base area, and it should be clear that an American PLA without a base area, or even the hope of establishing one, would quickly be annihilated by the military arm of the ruling class.

Mao's analysis also suggests the importance of unionizing efforts within the army in another fashion, in that, in reference to the PLA's stint in the Chingiang mountains in the late 1920's, he declares "As for the present Red Army, it is a split-off from the National Revolutionary Army which underwent democratic political training and came under the influence of the masses of workers and peasants." To overstate somewhat, we should substitute students for peasants and then the correct tactics of the left in relation to the American military behemoth become much more readily discernible. It is crucial that those who are used as instruments of oppression by the military are aided in a struggle with the immediate causes of their dehumanization and oppression. SDSers and GIs alike should recognize that the American Servicemen's Union is the best vehicle for that struggle.

Dave Burak  
Ithaca-Cornell Chapter

## National question

Wayne Draznin's article on the NC Racism resolution does more than "misses the point": it obscures it. At points, Draznin's misunderstanding of racism is so incredible as to make one think it a misprint. For example, his statement that "psychological oppression makes necessary material inferior will obviously be given inferior material positions in society." Isn't this placing the cart before the horse? How much clearer in analysis is the very first sentence of the NC resolution! — "The material basis of racism is capitalism's drive to maximize profits . . ." then going on "to say that 'the ruling class has also created a whole series of racist myths and prejudices in order to justify and continue the super-exploitation of Third World people at home and abroad.' Inferior positions for black people, women, and other oppressed minorities is a driving necessity for capitalism—it is not just the manifestation of something that's wrong with our heads.

Draznin begins by recognizing that black people do not truly constitute a nation but rather an oppressed national minority, but then goes on to obscure the question of how Marxists have dealt with this question. While quoting "authorities" is not the best way to conduct a discussion, since Draznin pulls a quote from Lenin, I feel justified in doing likewise. Socialists, Lenin says "will always combat every attempt to influence national self-determination by violence or by any injustice from without. But our unqualified recognition of the struggle for the right of self-determination does not commit us to supporting every demand for national

self-determination. Social-Democracy as the party of the proletariat, considers it to be its positive and principal task to advance the self-determination of the working class within each nationality rather than the self-determination of peoples and nationalities." It is to the interests of the class struggle, Lenin emphasizes, that revolutionaries will always subordinate the demand for national self-determination.

In a concrete situation, the Soviet Government at first did not oppose the formation of the Ukrainian Rada, recognizing the right of the Ukrainian people to a degree of autonomy, but when it became clear that the Rada was serving only the bourgeoisie and opposing the power of the Ukrainian Soviets, the slogan became "Death to the Rada!"

In "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", Lenin emphasized that the Socialists of the oppressed nation "must particularly fight for and maintain complete, absolute unity (also organizational) between the workers of the oppressed nation and the workers of the oppressing nation . . . for the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations always converts the slogan of national liberation into a means for deceiving the workers." Communists, Lenin said, "must distinctly single out the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers, of the exploited, from the general concept of national interests as a whole, which implies the interests of the ruling class."

## Pawns in the Game

To talk, as Draznin does, of the oppression of black people by white workers is to "miss the point." White workers have often been used as (in the words of Dylan's song) "pawns in the game" of the bosses—but "only a pawn." To speak of it any other way obscures the real enemy—which is just what is wanted by the ruling class. Racism can only be defeated on a class basis. Black people are not an external colony which can win its "national liberation" outside of the existence of a revolution in what the Panthers call the "mother country." Since this is true, any division which holds that back is contrary to the interests and freedom of the black people. Hence nationalism as an ideology, which raises a secondary contradiction to a position above the basic contradiction in society: that between bosses and workers, can only hold back the struggle for black liberation.

This does not mean that one does not make concessions to nationalism, but it does mean that one maintains a critical approach to demands and organizations. It means that one analyzes the basic class content of what is occurring. It means that one understands that the black movement must be led by the black working class, and that only a movement led by the entire working class, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, can bring liberation to black people.

Bernie Farber  
Roosevelt SDS

## New Left Notes

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# Grand jury moves against the movement

by Kathy Archibald  
No Skarf

The federal grand jury which has been sitting in Chicago since last fall investigating the Democratic National Convention has begun issuing subpoenas to movement people. This indicates that the grand jury has probably finished hearing testimony from the police, FBI, informers and agents. In order to hand down its indictments the grand jury is now fishing for "collaborative" information from hostile, that is, movement witnesses. As many as eight movement people may already have testified.

Most of those receiving subpoenas and testifying so far have been young people, not closely tied to any organization, and generally new or relatively inexperienced in the movement.

In some cases they have been called into the U.S. Attorney's office before testifying for private conversations; these conversations are later used against them in the grand jury hearing room. Because of the naivete of many of those subpoenaed and because the Mobilization assumed no organizational responsibility for the follow-up of the action it sponsored in Chicago, those subpoenaed have responded as individuals rather than in a collective manner.

## Why the Grand Jury Is a Dangerous Weapon

1) Grand jury hearings are conducted in secret; there are no judges, no public spectators, those subpoenaed may not have a lawyer with them inside, there is no public transcript, etc. Therefore most of the tactics normally used in a courtroom—e.g., mass trials, large attendance in court, making sharp political points to the jury and the

public in court cannot be used by the movement in a grand jury proceeding.

2) IMMUNITY AND PERJURY. Those subpoenaed are generally not those whom the grand jury wants to indict. The grand jury is primarily interested in what you have to say that will help them get information against others. Therefore, when someone refuses to testify by taking the Fifth Amendment, they are often given immunity; exemption from federal prosecution. Then taking the Fifth is no longer possible, and the judge can order you to testify. The testimony will be used against other people. This is a very serious responsibility.

Another little trick is that often you are not given immunity from state prosecution, and your testimony can still be used to get you on state charges. They may not tell you that there are two different kinds of immunity.)

Many think give testimony before the grand jury. Then when movement people are called and they do testify, saying "no I did not conspire to..." the ink is paraded out to lie, "But I heard him say..." There is the possibility that, as in the past, you become subject to perjury charges.

The result: damned if you testify and damned if you don't.

3) CONTEMPT. If you refuse to testify at all, you are, of course, subject to contempt of the grand jury charges. That is, the judge will order you to testify, you continue to refuse, and are subject to thirty days in jail.

One of the most courageous, and best political stands before a grand jury in recent times, was taken by the Progressive Labor Party in New York after the 1964 Harlem rebellion. Persons called at that time refused to testify. They did not fall into the immunity/perjury trap; they exposed to the

movement and to the country as a whole how the Grand Jury was used as a weapon against the people. As a result, many were cited for contempt and served time in prison. One person was called up a second time, refused again, and served a second sentence.

## What the Grand Jury Is Looking For

The grand jury seems to be constructing a story of webs of conspiracies and trying to link them into one "great conspiracy" upon which to base its indictments. For instance, demonstration plans to provide legal and medical assistance are being construed as evidence of sub-conspiracies to "violate the law" and provoke "violence". No one knows, of course, exactly who will be indicted or on what charges; but it seems likely that the indictments will be for violation of the federal anti-riot law.

This statute has been on the books for nearly two years; to date there have been no prosecutions. In a nutshell the anti-riot law makes almost every type of ordinary movement organizing illegal: for example, travel, use of phones, mail or telegraph to organize demonstrations may be construed as illegal. Indictments under this anti-riot law will mark an escalation of the state's attack on the movement. Convictions under that law will make day-to-day harassment of the movement by the federal government much more severe and frequent.

## The Big Movement Myth

Much lip service is paid these days to the necessity for exposing the class nature of the courts. Yet a surprising number of folks in the movement think that the grand jury will make up its own mind about the indictments, and therefore

that those subpoenaed should testify in order to convince the jurors to make a just decision. Others think they can "outfox" the grand jury; testify without jeopardizing anyone. (That same attitude prevails in regard to talking to the F.B.I., President's Commission on Violence, etc.) Still others do not recognize that when individuals go in honestly, if naively, that cops and finks can be set against them. In the past agents have claimed that some of the people who have testified before the grand jury turned in evidence. This method of calling someone a cop is a divisive weapon used with some frequency. And since the hearings are secret there is no real counter to it.

## Decisions Will be Political

It should be crystal clear that the decisions about the indictments are political decisions which will be made in Washington. There are special attorneys from the Justice Department in Chicago assisting with the grand jury proceedings. It should be equally clear that a single individual in a secret hearing, not knowing exactly what little odds and ends of evidence are being sought after will not outfox an accumulation of 4,000 years of interrogation techniques. In sum, any decisions about what to do when subpoenaed must rest firmly on the understanding that the grand jury is a weapon of the state, just like the police; that those weapons cannot be turned against the state unless they are exposed to the movement and to the people. We must respond to the grand jury subpoenas and to the indictments which follow. This response must be collective, not individual; it must clearly demonstrate the class bias of the courts and it must seek support from the people—the only protection that a fighting movement has.

# PEROVARDO

**EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN:** Monday night saw the latest militant actions at Michigan State University. The scene was the state of the university address, delivered by University President Hannah, recently chosen head of the Imperialist Agency for International Development. About 600 students gathered



outside in a picket line and rally while five movement people with invitations went inside to "work from within."

Sporadic fighting broke out with jocks and pigs as speakers outside spoke to the true state of the university, and 60 pigs in riot gear dramatized the reality. Students took the streets for a short while, held meetings in a couple of buildings (which kept the cops moving), and hassled uptight faculty and newsmen leaving the building (one impolite cameraman lost his camera).

The students are building on two demands: 1) the rehiring with tenure of Bert Garstok of the Psychology Department, and 2) open admissions for all Black, Third World, and white administrative decision to shut it down.

**MADISON, WISCONSIN:** Nine hundred National Guardsmen were mobilized Feb. 12 to deal with the growing student strike at the University of Wisconsin. The strike began Feb. 10 around demands put forward by the black students, revolving around a demand for an autonomous Black Studies Department. Since then the number of students present at rallies and picketing has grown to almost 3000. The strikers have employed mobile tactics, avoiding heavy confrontations with the cops. There was, however, a clash on Wednesday between strikers and plainclothesmen in front of Bassom Hall during which several strikers were beaten and arrested. After that, the governor called out the Guard.

The Teacher's Assistants have called for a walk-out/teach-in for Feb. 13-16 and the black members of the faculty have issued a statement of complete support for the strike.

**UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (Champaign-Urbana):** A total of 11 Chicago Black Panthers and four black students have been arrested in Champaign-Urbana in the last three days—four of the Panthers more than once. The Panthers were in Champaign-Urbana trying to help organize the black students and the black community. As a result of the recent arrests and the still pending trials in civil court of 240 black students arrested last Sept. 9 in the Student Union, the Black Students Union, supported by the white radicals on campus, have voted to make the university disfunctional until racism is ended on the campus.

Tactically, cadres of students are asking questions about racism while packing administration offices, tying up police and administrative phone lines, and disrupting classes.

**MONTRREAL (LNS):** 90 persons were arrested on Feb. 11 at Sir George Williams University, where students had been occupying the school's computer center and cafeteria since Jan. 29.

The liberation of the buildings originally stemmed from charges made by six black students, supported by seven whites, against an assistant professor of biology, who was accused of discrimination in grading and general incompetence. The administration delayed acting on the charges for months, finally selecting a committee of six faculty members to arbitrate the issue. The committee was unacceptable to both black and white radicals, and the students then seized the buildings.

**EAST ST. LOUIS:** (from a news item) "Over 75% of the East St. Louis public school teachers carry guns to work. Spokesmen said the teachers carry guns for protection against students, outsiders, militants, and parents."

**ROME:** Between 15 and 20 million Italian workers staged a general strike on Feb. 5 for higher pensions. The work stoppage was called as a muscle-flexing gesture toward the government while negotiations on the pension issue continued.

Meanwhile, 10,000 students paraded through downtown Milan to demand changes in the examination and accreditation systems for technical school degrees.



# Student & GI: allies in the struggle

by Bob Tomaszewsky

As opposition to the war in Vietnam increased internally, a new force against this imperialist venture began to develop—that of the rank and file GIs. Not since the "We want to come home" demonstrations of GIs after WW II have the brass of the US armed forces been subjected to such open hostility from enlisted men. Just as the increased dissidence of various elements (students, blacks, etc.) has been brought about by America's role of world-wide

cop, the GIs' "spontaneous rebellions," "riots," "strikes," etc. reflect the growing discord among America's exploited. One needs only to rap with almost any GI to understand the deep-rooted resentment manifesting itself on almost every base at home and abroad. This recent development should not be glossed over lightly by serious revolutionaries. A much more extensive effort to reach and organize this newly-awakened oppressed group is an urgent task for SDS and the left.

Given that we start from an anti-imperialist analysis, we should immediately see the importance of the Armed Forces. Just as the police are needed to suppress internal liberation struggles in the ghettos and on the campuses, the army is the principal tool for the conquest and maintenance of an American economic and political empire which must destroy national liberation movements around the world to survive. US business interests and the US government know full well that their power rests on their ability to keep GIs fighting in the Vietnam of the world. This "ability" is slowly and painfully passing from the level of indoctrination and "apple pie" rhetoric to a new level of brutal coercion. Over 30,000 killed and nearly 200,000 wounded in Vietnam are not bland statistics to GIs. Of those GIs strongly against the war, many are returned vets and not infrequently those who have been wounded there). And no new enlisted man (EM) wants to go to "Nam" now.

## Sharp Contradictions

More and more GIs are experiencing a heightened feeling of discontent, stemming from the sharp contradictions between what the army and politicians repeatedly say they are fighting and dying for, and the truth of what they experience in their everyday lives. This discontent exists on many levels—from individual nitty-gritty anti-authoritarianism to a sharp political understanding of the nature of imperialism. It's always easier for someone who's involved in the everyday bullshit to see through it in non-abstract terms. This is true in basic-training where the "Hers"—drill sergeants, etc.—(the low-level managerial, petty-bureaucratic mentalities) degrade, humiliate, and attempt to brainwash the new recruits. That an army needs discipline is not being disputed; it is the content of that discipline that GIs are questioning and rebelling against every day.

For example, while the GIs are told they're fighting for the Constitution, freedom, etc., they're punished for passing out literature to their fellow GIs. Recently at Fort Dix, N.J., all the GIs had to sign an affidavit promising not to distribute any written materials that were "in bad taste," "prejudicial to good order," or "subversive" (Rec. 210-27), or they would have been denied weekend passes. This contradiction is seen clearly by all. Many similar abuses of the army's power are occurring on every base.

## AWOLs are at Peck

Outside the triple barbed wire fence surrounding the overcrowded Fort Dix stockade, on a large billboard for all to see, is a sign: "Obedience to the law is freedom." This was up long before the Nixon-Wallace-Humphrey barrage. GIs are well aware that stockades now, as never before, are filled to two or three times their capacities, that on some bases court-martial boards are up to a year behind their caseloads, and that desertions and AWOLs are at unprecedented peaks for recent times.

The following are some examples of what's been happening at bases around the country. In August '68, close to 150 black GIs at Fort Hood, Texas protested being ordered for so-called "riot-control duty" at the Democratic Convention in Chicago—that is to say, control of black people and demonstrators whose fight the soldiers agreed with. Forty-three were arrested and court-martialed. (Because of outside pressure and support, none of them received a sentence of more than eleven months, most got less, and some were acquitted.) August also saw major rebellions against overcrowding, rotten conditions, and humiliations in military prisons at Da Nang and Long Binh, Vietnam. Many of the prisoners were there because they saw the truth about the war—that they had been pushed into fighting against the people of Vietnam, not for them—and because they refused to be pushed into killing and possibly being killed.

Others are there for standing up to the brutalities and racism of officers. At San Francisco's Presidio, 27 GIs saw one of their buddies, an emotionally disturbed 19-year-old, brutally shot to death by a guard, and then protested by refusing to obey further orders. They are presently being tried for mutiny, a charge carrying a possible death sentence. Over 500 active-duty GIs, supported by 15,000 civilians and reservists, marched against the war in Vietnam October 12 in San Francisco. Many units have had their orders for Vietnam cancelled by sabotaging their equipment, disobeying orders, and "raising hell." Other units have been disbanded or reassigned due to low morale. Major rebellions have occurred at Ft. Bragg, N.C., Ft. Sill, Okla., Ft. Campbell, Ky., Ft. Carson, Colo., Ft. Lewis, Wash., the Brooklyn Naval Station—the list is too long to be given here.

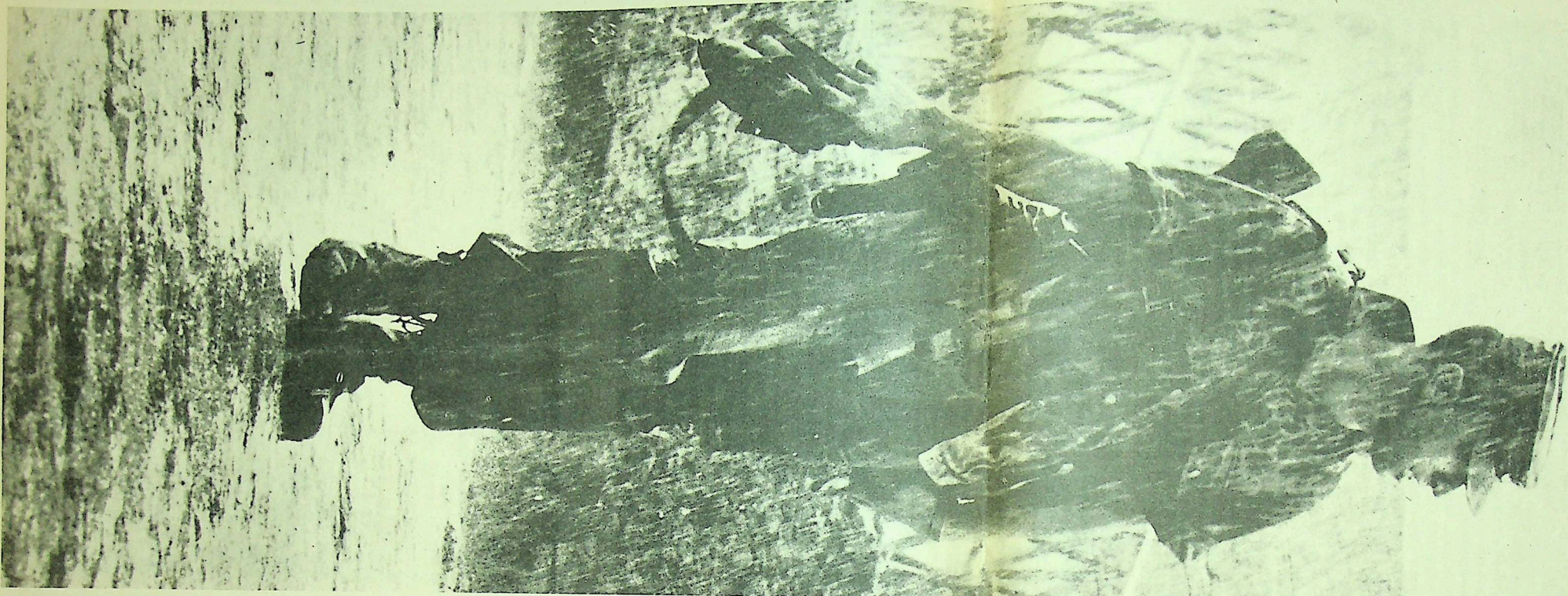
## Individuals Harassed

Besides major rebellions, individuals have been harassed, imprisoned, or discharged for practicing their elemental rights as human beings and as Americans. GIs are threatened with court-martial for possession of underground newspapers and even for speaking up against the war. For more than a year now, two black Marines, Pfc. George Daniels and Cpl. Bill Harvey, have been imprisoned at the Naval Disciplinary Barracks at Portsmouth, N.H. Harvey and Daniels were convicted for saying in a barracks discussion that black men should not be fighting in the white man's war against Vietnam. At a quietly arranged kangaroo court with an officer acting as defense attorney, the result was ten years for Daniels and six years for Harvey. There are of course many other incidents that we never hear about, but as more contacts are made, communications improved, and more of our organizers enter the army, we will be better informed about specific manifestations of the discontent. The army is fully aware of it, and has increased the number of CID's (the army's undercover FBI) at all bases in an attempt to suppress and intimidate the growing expression of discontent. As if secret agents could actually ever stem the rising tide of rebellion!

## Building the GI Movement

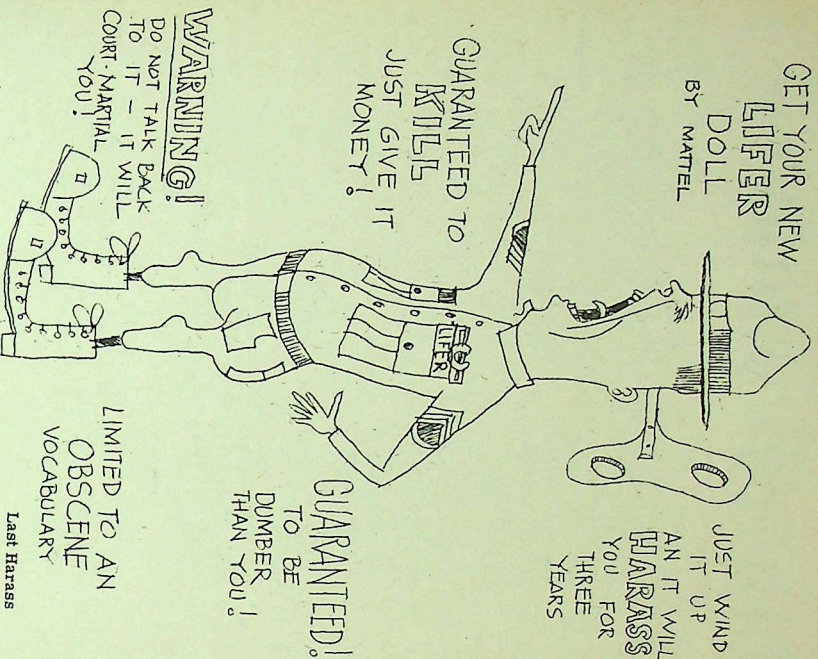
Historically many people and groups have claimed to have had similar ideas and goals; their differences, however, have become clearer in their practice. Initially, a revolutionary GI organization will have various tendencies depending on its strength at a particular base. It is impossible and undesirable as of now to structure such an organization in national terms because much basic work remains on the local level. (This of course is subject to rapid reconsideration, since the conditions on the bases themselves are subject to change. Undoubtedly if the movement outside the bases—blacks, students, etc.—were stronger, the GI's on the bases would reflect this. We must also realize that as the GI's become stronger this added impetus will be felt by other sectors of society.) This, however, does not mean that every base "does its own thing." Rather, what should be done at this stage is to help GI's solidify their strength on each base with the explicit intention of building towards a national democratic revolutionary GI committee. To impose a national structure at this time would be detrimental because it's premature and would lead only to a top-down, elitist, and non-democratic organization. Any GI committee must be just that—a committee of GI's. On each base a counter force to the Army must be built. For such committees to be successful they must be built from a democratic anti-imperialist perspective. GI's must not only understand how they are being used and why, but must also see that the only way to prevent further loss of lives in the service of building an American Empire lies in their

(continued on Page 5)





GET YOUR NEW  
LIFER  
DOLL  
BY MATTEL



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(continued from Page 4)  
collective strength as a democratic mass movement, where soldiers for the first time in US history will have a decisive voice in determining the decisions which affect their lives, instead of being cannon fodder for all the Pentagon brass and politicians. Once an understanding of why they are being used is accomplished, GIs will see that those they are ordered to kill, maim, and destroy are not their enemies but their brothers.

One of the ways in which movement people have been able to aid the GIs in their struggle has been through the use of coffee-houses. These have been successful to varying degrees. A coffee-house can and should fulfill many functions: making movement literature readily available to GIs; helping in the printing of an underground newspaper directed at GIs on the base; helping to get legal aid and publicity for organizers and other GIs in trouble on base; giving GIs a place to meet with other GIs, to talk with movement people, to see political films, and to relax off the base. (Most army towns—right outside the base—are totally parasitical, living off the dollars of GIs by catering to their need to escape army life in bars, pool halls, and whore houses.)

### Soldiers Feel Isolated

The above functions of the coffee-house are all well and good, but must be seen as tools of organizing rather than as ends in and of themselves. The reason some coffee-houses have had only limited success is that they have fallen into the deadly trap of becoming and remaining only service groups rather than seeing their primary task as helping to build a counter-movement on the base. In some cases the coffee-houses have become places where the same bunch of GIs always hang out. This tendency leads to the building of a small clique of GIs that are seeking to kill time as painlessly as possible until they get out of the army.

This tendency can develop easily because above all else in the army a soldier feels isolated and impatient against the awe-inspiring strength of the institution he's caught in. It must be fought primarily in political terms; that is: You are not alone and helpless when you're organized. It also has to be emphasized that other institutions in American society, though perhaps not as blatantly, are quite similar in their function, the maintenance of an imperialist, racist, capitalist system. When students are speaking to GIs, the parallels with the university should be obvious. The army has to be put into perspective as another arm of the system.

The question of why the army needs non-thinking soldiers who only obey orders, if it's really supposed to be

LIMITED TO AN  
OBSCENE  
VOCABULARY

democratic, should be discussed patiently and thoroughly. Organizers must link the individual's disgust with the army to its real political and economic objectives. Before and after battles the rank divisions of the NLF army are completely broken down and discussions of coming battles, political perspectives, etc., occur with all men as equals, each man contributing his part in a democratic manner. (See Wilfred Burchett, Vietnam Will Win.)

Comparisons like this with the internal structure of the Liberation Army should not be overlooked. In time, soldiers will begin to identify themselves with the movement and see themselves as organizers. In this lies the strength to overcome feelings of isolation. As the GI movement continues to grow, its links to outside organizing will become more and more important. The practical ways in which we can all help to build a conscious army are primarily by direct contact with GIs. For example, by rapping, helping to distribute GI underground newspapers at air, bus, and train terminals, setting up dances at college campuses, going to army base towns to bars, restaurants, and pool halls, we can aid in these initial stages of development. Whenever you see that guy in a uniform, see him not as your enemy but as your potential ally, and talk to him accordingly. Because of his daily life experience his views, though not always completely formed, are closer to your own than you realize. As radicals we must see ourselves as organizers all the time. Not only will we aid the GI in his political development through these contacts, but they can teach us innumerable lessons too. One obvious technique would be to have radical GIs speak to high school students who see the army as a quick escape from the realities of life.

The role of students and other movement people in aiding the development of GI committees is at this point almost crucial. During these initial stages of organizing the brass on different bases are going to attempt to crush any attempt by soldiers to organize. Their weapons will be their trumped-up legalities, and they will attempt to operate in secrecy. They will attempt to isolate and destroy those raising their voices in the defense of basic democratic and human rights. The movement must be prepared to support these GIs through mass publicity campaigns and demonstrations. Experience has shown that the brass are much more careful about using heavy repression when there is a lot of outside pressure and support. In this way not only will we aid the struggle of the GIs, but at the same time we will forge an alliance with a strongly oppressed sector of society. When the guns are turned around, the real enemy will be sighted.

# Mozambique leader assassinated

by Africa Research Group  
Liberation News Service

Another black revolutionary leader was assassinated this week.

This time the murder took place in Africa; the victim was 49-year-old Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front. The weapon was a time-bomb professionally placed under his desk at the home of a friend in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, the temporary headquarters for the Front's political office.

It's not clear who killed the Mozambican revolutionary, President of FRELIMO since its formation in June, 1962. The Portuguese certainly had the clearest motive. Mondlane was considered the most wanted man in Africa by the Portuguese police.

FRELIMO's army of 8,000 men has already liberated two Northern zones in Mozambique, and the organization has set up its own administration, similar to that of the NLF in South Vietnam. The combination of heavy Portuguese losses and Mondlane's recent threat to sabotage their Cabora Bassa Dam project may have prompted the Portuguese secret police to move against the movement's leader in his Tanzanian sanctuary.

### Factionalism in FRELIMO

However, Tanzanian police seem already to have nabbed some suspects within the factionalized community of Mozambican exiles living in Dar Es Salaam. Mondlane was not only hated by the Portuguese, but was also mistrusted by many of his own lieutenants and followers, who considered him too close to the West and especially to the U.S. FRELIMO itself is a coalition, uniting people of different ethnic, educational, and ideological backgrounds. Factionalism within the organization erupted into open fighting early in 1968, although Mondlane had restored an easy calm and was re-elected President in a conference held inside Mozambique in July.

Although most external aid to FRELIMO comes from socialist countries, Mondlane was one of the few African revolutionary leaders who sought assistance in the West.

He knew the U.S. well, having picked up one college degree at Oberlin and another at Northwestern. He taught at Harvard and Syracuse and worked at the UN. Moreover, he was married to an American woman, and the beachside home where he was murdered was owned by Betty King, another American.

All this gave rise to continuing suspicion in revolutionary circles that Mondlane was backed by the CIA. He denied this on many occasions, always coupling his denials with sharp attacks



Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane

on American policy in Southern Africa. But the innuendo was there. It was given credence because Mondlane had accepted a one-shot grant from the Ford Foundation for the Mozambique Institute, a school for refugees directed by his wife.

In February, 1967, the New York Times reported that the CIA had been subsidizing nationalist students from Angola and Mozambique. During the same period, Mondlane was named a recipient of funds from the education program of the African-American Institute, an organization which spent at least eight years on the CIA gravy train.

### US Aid to Portugal

However, Mondlane's flirtation with the U.S. does not change the fact that America supports racist and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa. Through NATO, the U.S. supplies military equipment to Portugal, which then ships it to Africa for use against the guerrillas. In May, 1963, the then-commander of allied forces in Europe declared, "The Portuguese soldiers, while fighting for the defense of principles, are defending land, raw materials, and bases which are indispensable not only for the defense of Europe but for the whole Western World."

Among the "principles" the Portuguese troops defend are the Mozambique Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil in the U.S., and the Pan American International Oil Company. Firestone Rubber also plans to invest \$5 million in a Mozambique factory. Thus, only last December, the Portuguese foreign minister openly bragged to have "sure information that such Western support would continue."

There is little question whose side the U.S. is on in Southern Africa: It's not Mondlane's, whatever dealings he may have had with the West.



Mozambique guerrillas

# The correct handling of a revolution

by HU



## In defense of self-defense:

### MINISTER OF DEFENSE

"The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure" ...

HUEY NEWTON

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. The first man who threw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

#### Party Must Provide Leadership

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's, but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or through participation in the activity. To study and learn is

good, but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America. The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

#### Raise Consciousness of Masses

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of the vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above ground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities

# White radical students and black demands

by Carl Davidson

(reprinted from The Guardian, Feb. 8)

The vanguard actions of black students attacking the racism of American universities have raised important strategic questions for white radical students. What is the best way for white students to relate to these struggles?

The main thrust of the black students' actions has been for the self-determination of black people, black studies departments, black curriculum, special black admissions policies, and, most important, control over all these by black students themselves.

White students have reacted to these demands in several ways. Some have directly opposed them, for overtly racist reasons. Many have been confused, not understanding why an education "good enough for us is not good enough for them." Some have supported the demands for the wrong reasons, thinking black students need special assistance to "raise them up to our cultural level."

Obviously, white radicals have a special responsibility to fight against these attitudes among their fellow students. But several approaches that have been taken to this problem are wrong.

One of the worst has been the formulation of "white demands." In order to move white students into a common struggle with blacks against the administration, the argument goes, they must be able to fight for additional demands of their "own."

This is wrong on two counts. First, white people are not oppressed because they are white. The opposite is true. Any formulation for struggle based on "whiteness" is inherently, if not immediately, reactionary.

The second mistake in this approach is the

assumption that anti-racist demands are only in the interest of black people. The rest of the students supposedly would not benefit from winning these demands.

#### Mixed Bag

This raises a complex set of questions. What are "student interests"? How do they relate to the class interests of the working class as a whole and black people in particular? What about self-interest? What role is played by nationalism?

Students as a whole do not have a common class interest. They are not a class in themselves, but reflect the class divisions of the larger society. A few are from the ruling class. Some come from the petty-bourgeoisie and middle classes. But in this country, the majority of students come from the working class and will return to the more highly skilled sectors of the working class after graduation.

This mixed bag is the basis of the ambiguity of "student power" demands. Where there is a common interest uniting all students, it usually only concerns narrow on-campus academic and social conditions. Strategies limited to these concerns can, at best, only lead to university reformism.

#### Explanation Awaits

On the other hand, because of the capitalist oppression of their job-training within the university and the exploitation waiting in their future positions, a majority of students have class interests in common with working people. This is the class basis of the revolutionary potential of the student movement, and why it is possible and necessary to unite most (but not all) students around class demands. This is why

many student rebellions have been class struggles, often higher expressions of the class struggle than many trade union strikes.

Since one of the main barriers to the development of class consciousness and revolutionary class solidarity among working people has been racism and the practice of white supremacy, it is in the class interest of all working people and most students to destroy the structure of white privilege. This is especially true in those situations where some white students and working people might have to go against their immediate self-interests to win their class interests.

#### Dual Oppression

Black people in this country are oppressed in two ways: they suffer a national oppression as a people as well as a class exploitation as a superexploited section of the working class. In this situation, it is in the class interest of the working class of the oppressor nation to support anti-colonial demands as well as the class demands of the oppressed nation. Why? Because there is no other basis for revolutionary class unity as long as the practice and structure of white supremacy exists.

From this perspective, the errors of the "student power" and "white demands" approaches are more clear. The job of white radical students is mobilizing off the campus) to fight for the black demands. This should be done, not out of liberal sympathy for the blacks, but as a struggle in their own class interests. The black students are waging a class struggle. White radicals should expand it, not divert it by raising non-class student power issues in its midst.



The Black Panther

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# on by Huey Newton

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# 10 point program and platform for black student unions

(reprinted from The Black Panther, Jan. 15)

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion, then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students, but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.

We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the school's authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

on the surface will necessarily be short-lived. This is why it is so important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy.

At this time, the people know the party exists, and they will seek out further information on the activities of this underground party.

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious illusion that the vanguard party is to be a secret organization that the power structure knows nothing about, and the masses know nothing about, except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. These are contradictions and inconsistencies of the so-called revolutionaries. The so-called revolutionaries are in fact afraid of the very danger that they are advocating for the people. These so-called revolutionaries want the people to say what they themselves are afraid to say, and the people to do what they themselves are afraid to do. This makes the so-called revolutionary a coward and a hypocrite.

If these imposters would investigate the history of revolution, they would see that the vanguard group always starts out above ground and is later driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution exemplifies this fact; when Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he started by speaking on the campus of the University of Havana in public. He was later driven to the hills. His impact upon the dispossessed people of Cuba was very great and received with much respect. When he went into secrecy, Cuban people searched him out. People went to the hills to find him and his band of twelve. Castro handled the revolutionary struggle correctly. If the Chinese revolution is investigated, it will be seen that the Communist Party was quite on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses. There are many areas one can read about to learn the correct approach, such as the revolution in Kenya, the Algerian Revolution, Fanon's THE WRITINGS OF THE EARTH, the Russian Revolution, the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and a host of others.

## On the Media and the Message

A revolutionary must realize that if he is sincere, death is imminent due to the fact that the things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary. The masses are constantly looking for a guide, a Messiah, to liberate them from the hands of the oppressor. The vanguard party must exemplify the characteristics of worthy leadership. Millions and millions of oppressed people might not know members of the vanguard party personally or directly, but they will gain through an indirect acquaintance the proper strategy for liberation via the mass media and the physical activities of the party. It is of prime importance that the vanguard party develop a political organ, such as a newspaper produced by the party, as well as employ strategically revolutionary art and destruction of the oppressor's machinery. For example, Watts. The economy and property of the oppressor was destroyed to such an extent that no matter how the oppressor tried to whitewash the activities of the black brothers, the real nature and the real cause of the activity was communicated to every black community. For further example, no matter how the oppressor tries to distort and confuse the message of Brother Stokely Carmichael, Black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The people never make revolution. The oppressors by their brutal actions cause the resistance by the people. The vanguard party only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle.

# Militarization and women

(Ed. note—this paper was presented to the Princeton conference)

(Because we think that the subject of militarization has special relevance to the exploitation and oppression of women, and is germane to our work around the Women's Resolution passed at the Ann Arbor N.C., we have prepared some short notes on the subject, to get folks thinking. — Anne Goodman and Sue Eanel)

As evidenced by the cutbacks in budgeting for all social service institutions, at the federal, state, and city levels, since the advent of the Vietnam war, we can see how increased military spending for imperialist wars results in neglect and shut-downs of most state-administered services (hospitals, educational institutions, OEO projects, welfare services...). Not merely in economic terms, but also for purposes of militaristic indoctrination and regimentation of society, these "service" institutions have increasingly become instruments of class repression, and in that respect take a particularly oppressive toll on women in America. And, as in every aspect of capitalist society, in which colonized blacks are the most oppressed sector, black women are even singularly oppressed within these institutions in ways more severe than other working-class women.

## Five Areas of Oppression

We will try to outline briefly how militarization's growth amplifies the effects of existing male supremacy and oppresses women in the social service institutions and on the job.

1. At the point of production: When the men go off to fight for freedom (as more and more will, as imperialism is challenged around the world, American women must serve as a reserve labor force which takes men's jobs—but at substantially lower wages, and with far less representation within the trade union hierarchies.

An example of the way women are beginning to replace men on the job

is in the aerospace and missile industry in Southern California, where women comprise over one-fourth of the assembly and small parts workers, on a lower wage scale than men holding the same jobs, and where the total number of employed women is rising steadily and has been for three years. At the same time, unemployment is holding steady in the population at large. This is because the military and the universities act as a sop to the extra unemployed men, and yet means that jobs are constantly being opened to women.

In addition to lower wages for women, the state cannot provide adequate day-care for young children, and therefore working women are forced to relinquish the raising of their children to sub-standard centers, or to pour out hard-earned money to pay baby-sitters. In either case, militarization here means that the mother's role of inculcating values in the child is supplanted by the imperialist state.

2. In the University: Three-fourths of all women college graduates who later become employed are going to be school teachers. Another ten per cent will be social workers of various kinds. This means that their college education is geared in the very specific ways to preparing them to be the primary indoctrinators of America's children. The ideology of imperialism, of anti-communism, of racism, is carefully taught us.

Idealistic young women, studying to be teachers or social workers, later find themselves serving not the poor by any means. They act as baby-sitting cops in the schools, often finding themselves the object of community hatred for reasons not always obvious to them. They find themselves running as the middle-man between the rulers and the poor, as the main administrators and case-workers in the welfare system.

3. Welfare: As an absolute rule, the welfare system is a means of class oppression. Insurgents are

systematically excluded from welfare rolls. Women are sexually humiliated by being subjected to intimate investigations of their private lives in order to receive Aid to Dependent Children (A.D.C.). In California, women applying for A.D.C. are first given the "opportunity" to subject themselves to sterilization. All this machinery is an attempt on the part of the state to crush the spirit of the poor, and to reduce their potential for insurgency. All of this stringency about who may or may not receive welfare is due to the imperialist economy which will never be able to meet the needs of its people. Welfare even allows bosses to pay black men terribly low wages—far below what is needed to feed a family—in order for the families to remain on the rolls. So it supplies an additional source of cheap labor.

4. Health Care for Women: Nationally, next to care for the aged, maternity and gynecology departments and clinics of all public hospitals receive the lowest appropriations within all hospital budgets. Infant mortality in the U.S. is the eleventh highest in the world, and female deaths from septicaemia following childbirth is 30% higher in the public hospitals (Cook County, L.A., County Bern)—where only working class women have to go.

In a militarized society, care of women is just not the priority. Hospitals: one of the main employers of women, the hospitals regiment, under-pay, and over-work thousands of women. In only a few hospitals in America are nurses unionized. Women are actually forbidden to organize themselves in many hospitals as a matter of policy.

5. Public Education: In this militarized society, the black and brown women sending their children to school see their own teachings totally undermined by the school. They may see their child's self-confidence crushed in the tracking system, and by the racism of the teachers. The mothers

are at odds with the teachers and the administration of the school, but they can locate no redress of grievances against the school. Often, a mother finds that the school is even acting as a cop, turning her kid over to the police as a "disciplinary problem", taking away parental responsibilities, even with very young children.

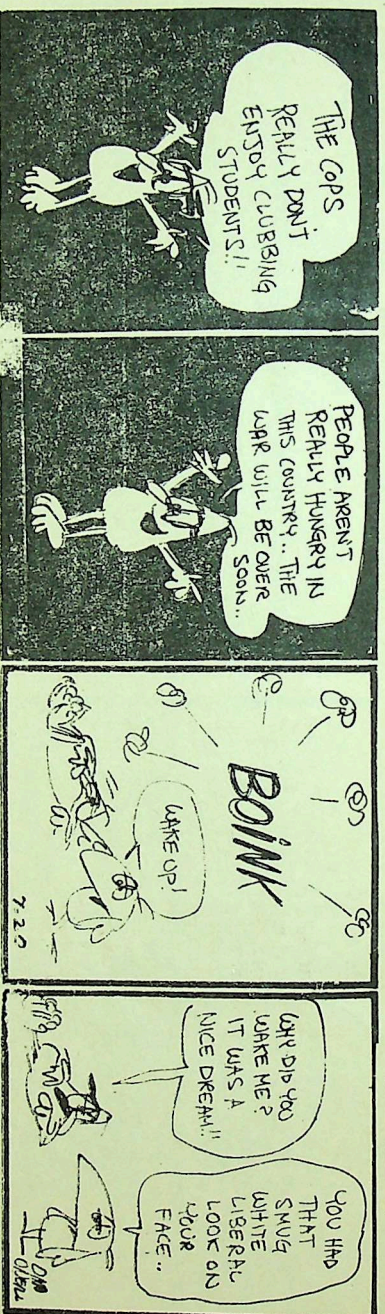
In a male supremacist society, women are supposed to have primary responsibility for caring for the children. But as that society becomes increasingly more militarized, and oppressive, it usurps more and more of that role.

## Young Girls Channeled

As the tracking system in the public schools serves the imperialists by churning young men into the army, it also channels young girls. It first of all treats them psychologically in such a way as to socialize them, instill their self-concept of inferiority, and accustom them to the idea of male supremacy so that they will later be able to accept it at the point of production. Secondly, in the vocational departments and the tracking system, it prepares girls for jobs they may never even be able to get, but supportive jobs which perpetuate male supremacy and the consumption ideology; i.e., beauticians, secretarial workers, garment trades, and "home economics".

These are only a few examples of the ways in which working class women are affected by growing militarization. Their organizing potential lies in the fact that women can attack these institutions, rather than blindly attacking men as the enemy.

This does not mean that men do not oppress women, but rather that strong, organized attacks on the injustices of these institutions—trade unions and shops, schools and universities, welfare and hospitals—can bring men and women together in a class struggle against their mutual oppression. And this is how men and women will gain class consciousness and understand the true nature of their oppression and exploitation.



# Berkeley strike moves into third week

by Paul Glusman  
Liberation News Service

Berkeley (LNS)—The Third World strike on the Berkeley campus has gotten serious, going into its third week. In the wake of a day of battles between police and demonstrators, Governor Ronald Reagan declared the campus to be in a state of extreme emergency and sent in the state highway patrol.

Rallies are now forbidden on campus, and legislation is pending in Sacramento which would suspend any student or faculty member arrested on campus and make it a misdemeanor for a suspended or dismissed student to set foot on the campus of any state college or the University of California.

Thursday's clashes began as strikers set up a stationary picket line at a campus entrance, as they had been doing for a week, and refused to let anyone pass through the line.

Some football players crashed through but were beaten severely by strikers—they had to be rescued by plainclothesmen, who started to make arrests, but strikers didn't let them get away with it. One of the

plainclothesmen is presently hospitalized with severe head injuries.

County sheriffs, who had complained about not being given a free enough hand, were set loose on the crowd, clubs swinging. They rescued the plainclothesmen, but it was no match. They were beaten back by a barrage of rocks, bottles, and picket signs. Several more raids were made with similar results.

Reinforcements were called in and an illegal assembly was declared. Strikers responded by forming a large snaking picket line and moved through classroom buildings and the library, breaking windows, overturning ashtrays, and disrupting classes.

Police moved in and the line melted, so that strikers were indistinguishable from students who were just going to class or watching. The first rule of campus guerrilla warfare: never confront forces superior to your own. One squad of highway patrolmen got temporarily lost and had to consult a map. They were followed by jeering students.

In all, the police made 20 arrests that day. There were 15 injuries, ten

of them were reportedly policemen. The next few days police were on campus in overwhelming numbers and strike leaders made a point of not provoking incidents. On Friday, despite the immense occupation, strikers snaked a large picket line through several campus buildings.

It is questionable how successful the strike is at this point. Third World groups have made little progress in talks with the administration towards initiating an autonomous Third World college. The college would be an integral part of the University, open to all students. It would, however, be run by equal participation of students and faculty members. Third World people would have final say in setting up the college.

Chancellor Roger Heyns, while perhaps now ready to accept the Third World Department, is certainly not about to give in on the question of autonomy, and the faculty has been very cold to the Third World demands. Amnesty for strikers (one of the demands) is certainly not going to be won easily in the face of Reagan's emergency declaration.

Support for the strike has grown, although 2,000 is still the highest number that can be mobilized. Much white support for the strike has been based on hatred of the police occupation and cannot be counted on as solidly pro-Third World.

San Francisco State College is closed down for semester break this week, and about 50 veterans of that strike have been coming over daily to bolster the Berkeley lines.

Striking Standard Oil workers in nearby Richmond have also expressed support for the student strike. Students from Berkeley have been welcomed by the workers in combating scab goon squads who have been beating up the strikers there.

But there is still much question as to where the strike will go from here. Classroom attendance has not been affected too much. Unlike S.F. State, there is no organization of liberal faculty who will walk out in support. And, unlike State, there is no clear idea of what to do in the face of overwhelming and permanent police occupation of the campus.

# NIC approves militarization program

by David Millstone  
editor, New Left Notes

The National Interim Committee, after nine hours of discussion, decided to support a spring program around the militarization of American society. Rather than approving one specific proposal for that program, the NIC mandated several articles for future issues of New Left Notes discussing the program. (See Mike Klonsky's article on the Princeton conference elsewhere in this issue.)

In other actions, the NIC approved plans for sponsoring rallies with the Black Panther Party to commemorate Huey Newton's birthday and support of the black liberation struggle, approved a program to celebrate International Women's Day on March 8, and discussed security and defense specifically with regard to HUAC, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Chicago Grand Jury's investigation of August's demonstrations around the Democratic National Convention. Forty people attended the NIC meeting, held Feb. 8 and 9 in Madison, Wisconsin.

## Militarization Discussions

A conference held at Princeton Feb. 2 and 3 discussed the proposals for spring programs around the military and militarization; the discussion at the NIC mirrored those at the Princeton conference. The direction finally approved grows from a paper printed Jan. 15 in New Left Notes, "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools." Many persons felt dissatisfied with the paper, and at Princeton, several revised versions were presented. One moved the discussion from the military in the United States to the militarization of American society, viewing that militarization as the domestic effects of the crisis in U.S. imperialism.

This revised program included an attack on militarization in the high schools, because people were uneasy about the "big university" orientation of the original paper. In big cities especially, high school kids face incredible class oppression, because of the track system and the racist curriculum. Working-class youth—white, black, and brown—either drop out (and end up in the military) or are given a vocational diploma (which trains them for jobs which don't exist any more, which means they can't find jobs and end up in the military) or are given a general diploma (which is good for nothing besides entrance into the military). Who forces youth into the draft? Guidance counselors, the track system, the different kinds of diplomas, the college boards: all these areas could be explained to high school youth as

part of a class conscious organizing program. And we can show how these areas affect black and brown youth especially hard.

SDS would also not focus on a white middle-class constituency in this organizing. The program would involve "going to the basement" of the high schools and talking to the kids not in college preparatory sections, SDS in the resolution outlined for December NC, "Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement," which called for SDS to broaden its base to working-class youth especially.

The broader emphasis on militarization of society gives us a handle for doing anti-imperialist organizing. Domestic militarization is the ruling class's answer to the crisis facing imperialism around the world; militarization directly affects people in the United States. Using this approach, we can come on stronger than by simply declaring our solidarity with the NLF. We can show how imperialism oppresses working-class people at home, not simply those abroad. The original proposal for an attack just on the military was labelled as "student chauvinist."

Several persons felt the militarization idea didn't really speak to the question of waging a struggle against racism; it was pointed out that at San Francisco State, for example, this would be a step backward, although the proposal might be useful at San Francisco's white middle-class Lowell High. At State, declared one speaker, the only higher-demand could be that the State must provide education for all who want it.

But others felt this objection was spurious. Racism is key in the militarization of society, they argued. Although it is often difficult to separate a class-conscious anti-racist struggle and a liberal anti-racist struggle, the proposed program would do that, would enable us to link materially the anti-racist and anti-imperialist struggles. And the program should not be viewed as a totality, but rather as one part of our spring activity.

## National Action?

The NIC split on whether to call for any kind of national action this spring or summer. Some felt it would be an important step for SDS to once again sponsor a national action; others pointed out that such action should only be seen as one small part of ongoing organizing, and that the action per se should not take up much of our energy. Discussion followed the pattern of the past several NCs, where proposals for a national action in Washington (on election day or at the inauguration) were debated and eventually defeated.

Part of the difficulty in discussing an action was that there was no specific proposal before the group, and people found it difficult to discuss the question in the abstract. Finally, after several hours of discussion which got nowhere, a committee was named to investigate the problem: within two weeks, they will prepare a report outlining a proposed action and site, and the rationale for such an action. The NIC members will then decide what to do. People didn't want to wait until the spring NC before deciding; if a spring action is going to happen, we're going to have to lay the groundwork right away.

Meanwhile, the NO will prepare literature useful for organizing around those areas outlined by the proposal— ROTC, tracking system in the high schools, etc.—and will collect packets of relevant leaflets.

## Rallies with Black Panthers

The NIC affirmed the decision to co-sponsor with the Black Panther Party rallies on Huey Newton's birthday, Feb. 17. (Newton is the Black Panther Minister of Defense, currently in jail.) As outlined in last week's New Left Notes, the rallies would stress the necessity and right of self-defense for the black colony and working class.

Where there's a local Black Panther organization, SDS chapters should work with them to sponsor the rallies, with joint speakers and films on other actions. On campuses, chapters are encouraged to work with BSU's, or if necessary to sponsor rallies alone. Future issues of NLN will carry information on how to obtain bulk copies of The Black Panther, the Panthers' newspaper, as well as Panther literature and posters. The NO will produce a poster and relevant literature which can be used in educational work around racism, the Panthers, self-defense, etc.

## International Women's Day

The NIC called for celebration in public meetings of International Women's Day, March 8. The day started in 1908, when women on the Lower East Side went on strike demanding the vote, an end to sweatshop conditions at work, and an end to child labor. Two years later, the Second International declared it a holiday.

Articles in New Left Notes will describe actions chapters can perform, as well as lay out the history of the women's struggle. Plans call for a special issue of NLN around that date, and new literature.

## Defense and Security

A separate article this issue discusses the Chicago Grand Jury's future

articles will discuss other aspects of defense and security. The NIC agreed that a security force should be established for the spring NC.

Two recent incidents were discussed. At a meeting at Columbia during Cuba Week, a gusano woman was noticed, placed under observation, and then lost again. She re-appeared in the meeting and threw a hand-grenade on stage. The grenade failed to go off, which prevented injury to almost 100 persons.

While the NIC was meeting, the Radical Education Office in Ann Arbor was broken into, very professionally. (Radicals in Michigan are coming under increasing attack, as actions have grown more militant throughout the state.) A glass-cutter was used to enter the office, and the REP mailing list and contributors' list for the State of Michigan were taken. No money was taken.

It's important that movement people with offices set up night watches. You don't have to wait until they get your office before you follow minimum security procedures. Keep duplicates of all your lists in a safe place outside the office, so you won't be left stranded if they mysteriously disappear one day.

The NIC also discussed recording of meetings, and generally agreed that we've been too lenient in the recent past in allowing meetings to be tape-recorded (for example, both the NC and the Princeton conference were taped.) The usual argument, "Well, the cops will get tapes of what happens anyhow, no matter what we decide," is not a particularly strong one when we're facing the kind of repression which is starting to come down now.

## Miscellaneous

The NIC asked NLN to solicit articles on the Middle East, on Biafra, and on the Cuban trips. People want an article which will discuss the trips from the point of view of what happened to the SDS people who went on the trips, not another article generally discussing Cuba. There's a possibility of another Cuba trip this summer, consisting of one month work in the sugar fields and one month travel. Details will be worked out later.

SDS will sponsor a speaking trip by Karl Dietrich Wolff, head of German SDS. Chapters interested should contact the NO. This will be late February and early March. The NIC re-affirmed the decision of the national office staff not to re-hire one member of the print shop. The site of the spring NC is still uncertain, though there are several possibilities in Texas.

Articles in future issues of NLN will deal with problems discussed at length at the NIC.

**WE'RE BROKE--**  
**SEND**  
**MONEY**

The National Office now has around \$600 in the bank. The bills we have to pay total more than \$2000. We're going deeper in debt with each new campus revolt—people take buttons, lit, and bulk NLN and don't pay for them. The situation is desperate. Send the NO some money immediately—you're the only people we can count on.



# Workers yes, bosses no, rehire Felipe, goons must go!

by Ira Perelson  
N.Y. SDS LABOR PROJECT  
Brooklyn College, SDS, PL

On Thursday, Jan. 2, the workers of Figure Flattery began a work slowdown. Figure Flattery is one of NY's largest garment sweatshops, employing up to 900 workers in the busy season. It is owned by Kayser-Roth, a multi-billion dollar international corporation that exploits workers around the world. The cause of the slowdown was the firing of Felipe DeJesus, Marxist-Leninist shop steward and leader of the rank - and - file Workers Action Committee, who had led a wildcat strike in August against the bosses, the sell-out leadership of the ILGWU (garment workers' union) and the cops. (See Dennis Kaminsky's article in the Work-In pamphlet; also the September Challenge.)

Beginning that afternoon and continuing for a week, hundreds of students and workers (including teachers, welfare workers, garment workers, etc.) maintained a picket line supporting the slowdown and demanding Felipe's rehiring. We maintained the line in the face of intimidation and physical attacks by hired goons. During the week, workers and students learned many lessons about the nature of the bourgeois state: the role of the cops and goons; how racism, anti-communism and male chauvinism are used to split the workers.

## Garment Industry is Key

The garment industry is N.Y.C.'s key production industry. The super-exploitation of its 400,000 workers, mainly black and Latin, is the source of millions in profits for the garment bosses. This also holds down the wages of the more skilled white workers. The garment workers' union, ILGWU, is one of the nation's largest and richest unions. It plays a major role in Democratic Party politics. The workers themselves are split up in many shops, which makes it difficult to unite. Many workers are not in the union. In some shops the union representative tells the workers to ask the boss if they can join the union! The bosses make use of the splits between unionized and non-unionized workers, as they do between black, Latin, and white, women and men, etc. Up to now, the union misleaders and bosses have made powerful use of these difficult conditions, and have had free rein to keep the workers down.

In the nine-day August strike, the workers wildcatted, attacking the miserable wages and working conditions imposed on them and agreed to by the sellout leaders of ILGWU Local 32. The issue finally boiled down to giving in to some of the workers' demands, but refusing to re-hire DeJesus. The workers stayed out until the boss was forced to hire him back.

This wildcat was a successful one in a number of ways. First, the unity of the workers was combating racism by defeating the boss's attempt to split the black and Latin workers. The workers fought male chauvinism and the abuses against women workers through the militant leadership role women played in the struggle. In fact, many militant women were among the first to be laid off as the slow season began. This weakened the workers considerably.

## Fight Anti-Communism

The workers also fought against anti-communism by rejecting attempts to split the open communist leadership from the rank and file. This is the first time that workers' struggles in the garment center have been led by open communists. Anti-communism has been used in both the August wildcat and the January slowdown. DeJesus has been red-baited in the Daily News, El Tiempo, and Justice (ILG leadership's newspaper), as the worst kind of communist—a Peking-oriented Plar. In the January slowdown the boss told the workers that the student supporters were white outsiders and communists. The workers haven't bought any of this crap.

The wildcat at Figure Flattery was widely known in the garment center and became a symbol of struggle. Since August, the bosses and ILG hacks have been trying to smash this rank and file movement. The bosses carried out a campaign of harassment against DeJesus and other militants. Workers were laid off as the busy season tapered off, and many were forced to leave the plant. DeJesus, as shop steward, was constantly prevented from carrying out his duties, especially the presentation of grievances concerning the numerous violations of the August agreement. The boss waited until January—the slack time in garment, with only one-third of the workers on the job—to make his move. Finally, on Jan. 2, he was threatened by goons in the bosses' office, and an incident was provoked. He was immediately fired and arrested for felonious assault. In support of DeJesus, the workers called a slowdown and called for

outside support, specifically the New York SDS Labor Project (not to be confused with the disbanded "Labor Committee").

The students responded to the workers' call, knowing that the same bosses that own universities like Kayser-Roth run our universities. The garment workers fight the same system of capitalist exploitation, racism, and imperialism that we students fight on campus.

## Here Come the Goons

During the week the bosses' goons used increasing force in their attempt to break up the support line. On Monday afternoon, the goons who had threatened DeJesus the week before cornered him and three others. They threatened Felipe, punched him, and warned the students that heads would be broken if they were seen on the line Tuesday.

In spite of the threats, students and workers brought over 150 people to picket Tuesday and Wednesday morning. On Tuesday afternoon, the boss sent out his goons to break the line, but the students held firm. On Wednesday morning, we discovered one of the goons among a crowd of the picketers. Apparently the cops had their signals crossed, because they began to chase the goon away. The goon fumbled in his pocket for identification, which was knocked to the ground. The goon's identification showed him to be a cop from BOSS (Bureau of Special Services, N.Y.C. red-squad).

## Marcher Arrested, Released

Wednesday afternoon, the picketers were again attacked by goons, while cops stood by as "protection". Later, as we marched down 15th Street, a dozen thugs, some armed with wooden boards and lead pipes, jumped from behind a truck and attacked the head of the line. The support marchers—students and workers—counterattacked the goons, throwing a number to the ground, beating and kicking a couple severely. Women participated in the battle, taunting and courageously confronting the goons. The cops reappeared, clubs drawn, walked right past the goon leader, who was brandishing a wooden board, and began pulling us off the goons we had downed. No attempt was made to arrest the goons, but one of the marchers was arrested. We decided to march to the 10th Precinct and demand his release. An angry crowd of 100 succeeded in freeing him.

The following day, Thursday, the lines increased in size to over 200 people. We marched together cross-town chanting: Obrosos, si Patronos No! and Workers yes! Bosses no! Rehire Felipe, goons must go! The goons, afraid to attack the large group of workers and students, kept out of sight.

On Friday afternoon, the goons reappeared in force. Bosses, goons and cops jostled near the plant entrance. When the picketing ended, we marched down 15th Street, the goons hurrying and sticks from across the street. A number of fights broke out and some marchers were knocked down. One goon, bleeding from forehead and nose, yelled at the cops to arrest one of the students. A squad of cops waded into the crowd to arrest a student from Columbia, but were turned back.

## Students' Role

We had declared our intention of maintaining a support picket line mornings and afternoons every day until Friday. The students and workers on the line fought back with determination because we were fighting a common enemy. We saw support of the garment workers' daily struggle against the bosses as part of our struggle against the whole racist-imperialist system.

Students are playing an important role in the garment workers' struggles, both by supporting strikes and by raising broader political issues among the workers. An example of this is the leaflet put out by the N.Y. SDS Summer Work-In Project attacking Arthur Goldberg's role as "impartial arbitrator" in the garment center, which introduced ideas about imperialism. In the August wildcat and January slowdown, students gave material aid by spreading the message of the workers' struggle throughout the garment center, giving out thousands of leaflets and raising anti-imperialist consciousness.

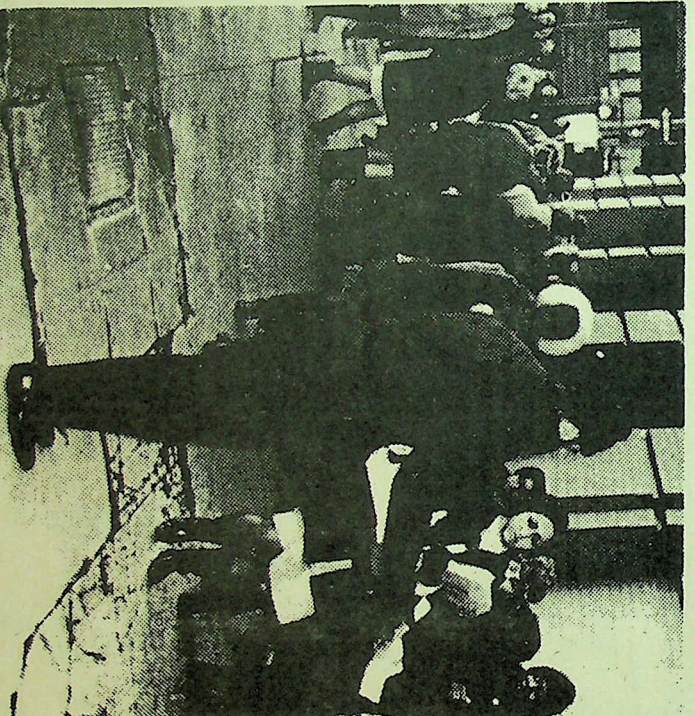
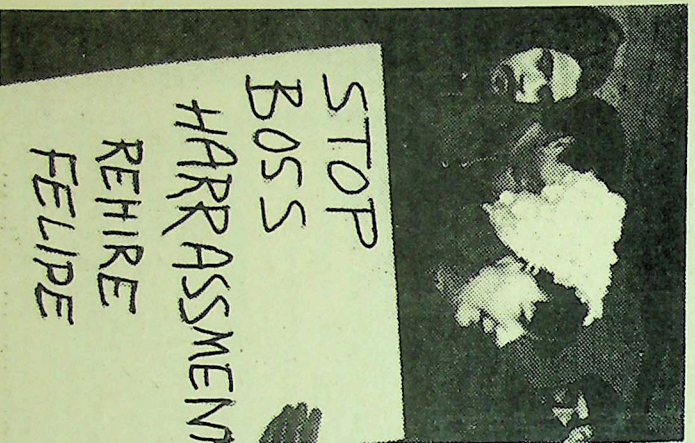
## Strike Coming?

At this point it is still uncertain whether the slowdown will escalate into a strike. Since the qualitative factor in the struggle was this internal development, and secondarily, though very important, outside support, we could not substitute the militancy of the students and supporters for the need for militancy inside the shop to escalate into a strike.

Whether or not the workers at Figure Flattery are successful in winning back Felipe DeJesus's job, the struggle to build a rank and file movement among garment workers will continue. This struggle will be a long and violent one with the bosses using all the weapons at their disposal to divide and intimidate the workers—anti-communism, racism, male chauvinism, police violence.

## Beginning of Solidarity

What the bosses fear is that the lesson of Figure Flattery—militant struggle with Marxist-Leninist leadership—will spread throughout the garment center. They fear the beginnings of a worker-student alliance that brings outside support from high school and university students. They fear that workers in different shops will begin to get together and support each other's struggles—the beginning of this can be seen at Figure Flattery. It is the beginning of this movement that has brought the violent response of the bosses—out of proportion to the size of the struggle. At this point victory (the building of a powerful class conscious workers movement) will not be easy, but the beginnings are at Figure Flattery. The SDS Labor Project wants to be part of that struggle.



Picket line protests firing of Felipe DeJesus, shown at left wearing hood.

The Daily World

# Beyond youth culture the Waukegan movement

by Bill Drew and Mike Rosen

(This is a shortened version of a pamphlet published by the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union, 217 South Hamilton Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53705.)

"OK, man—we're here—now what do we do?"

Talk to people about which ministers were humanists and Norman Thomas socialists, which were into God, and which were mostly interested in their mortgages. Find out which Black organizations had a base in the Black community, and what each group was thinking about integration versus Black separatism. Learn local history: urban renewal, Black rebellions, and Birch activity. Learn the streets, the neighborhoods, and what kinds of people lived in them. Learn the names of the big three: shoot-to-kill mayor, conservative owner of local press and radio station, banker who controls local financial decisions. Sit in libraries doing power structure research. "Him—Abbott Laboratories." Copying something from Moody's Industrials. "Population 75,000; 9,000 Black, 6,000 Puerto Rican, 3,000 Mexican."

"Waukegan, county seat, commercial center of Lake County, major industries onboard motors, construction materials, steel wire, pharmaceuticals."

"Man, this talking to ministers and ranch housewives is a drag. Let's walk around and find out where people's heads are at."

"Picking up hitch-hikers."

"Where you going?"

"Beach."

"What happens down there?"

"Nothing."

"Then why go?"

"No where else to go."

"You in school?"

"Yeah, but I'll be 16 next December."

"What do you think about the draft?"

"Sucks."

"We're in the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union and we'd like to get some anti-draft stuff going here this summer. Think people will dig us?"

"Maybe."

"One telephone call."

"Hey listen, we were arrested for leafletting. Advertising our draft information center. You remember that 'Uncle Sam Is Aiming To Get You' thing I showed you. You suppose you could come down here and bail us out? It's only \$25."

"At the Belvidere shopping center. Really blows my mind. That cop keeps rubbing his billy club like he's getting sexual pleasure out of it."

"OK, thanks a lot."

The repression had struck in the form of condemnatory editorials, the court case, and losing our living quarters. Also most of the kids who were helping us then were put on restriction by their parents. We felt that our organizing was at an end, but we were soon to find that this was only the beginning.

## Anti-Authoritarianism Everywhere

Everywhere we went we found anti-authoritarianism. People began to identify with us because they hated the draft and had also been arrested by the cops usually for stupid reasons.

We had proven the generalization about New Left politics which says that in a confrontation situation, i.e. the two arrest scenes, if the organizers are not overwhelmed by the initial repression, the polarization is beneficial because it brings to the surface latent tensions. By following up the initial impact with clear positions which speak to the needs of numbers of people, organizers force people to identify with one of the poles. Faced with the vitality of the New Left on the one hand and the stodginess of the defenders of the status quo on the other, young people generally take and defend a radical position. When we were arrested a second time in front of 300 kids, the polarization against the cops almost resulted in a riot. The vehemently anti-cop crowd began yelling "Freedom! Police brutality!"

We made a lot of allies among the alienated white working kids. They're the kind who between four guys can finish a case of quarts in a night. They are a mixture of high-schoolers and drop-outs. Sometimes employed, sometimes not. They seem to half-realize their lives do not have to be carbon copies of their parents, that things are changing. But they are uncertain exactly where they will eventually plug in. In the meantime they see themselves controlled by high schools, bosses, the draft, and cops.



Organizing took the form of having discussions and beginning to assert ourselves as community people with rights like anyone else. After being arrested for leafletting we weren't sure just what we could do together. When trying to sell a Wisconsin high school underground paper, five of us were arrested on disorderly conduct, and one of us was charged with a phony assault on an officer. We then organized and pulled off a mass leafletting. The leader blasted the town and the mayor. We did it with 50 people, proving the power of collective action. We even put out our own paper, probably one of the toughest high school papers ever printed. We distributed them guerrilla style. We'd go to a dance with about ten guys each with ten copies of "Fresh Air" under their shirts. We'd gather in the middle of the crowd, give a signal, and go in all directions giving our papers away. By the time the cops could get to the scene we'd all be clean and everybody would be reading a copy. We did have some pretty close calls though.

The biggest problem we had was that we really didn't have a way to get kids out of the army, we really couldn't insure them an interesting job, or

really do that much about police harassment. They were attracted to us because we were against the controls that they were against. But they were so frustrated and hopeless that they sometimes reverted to a desperate identification with the cops, the army, and the mythology of capitalism.

Resentment of authority is strong and shows up in music, dress, drugs, and other aspects of youth culture. We tried not to get hung up in this type of anti-authoritarian life style. Because style is really only another word for form. And form is important only for the content which it conveys. Hippie styles, far from showing that people should not get hung up with empty form, tend to become an added market based on needless consumption. Drugs, when they become a major emphasis, provide individualistic types of escape and draw people from the arena of social consciousness and collective struggle. Music too contains a contradiction, because the kids pay \$3.77 to hear the Rascals sing "people everywhere just got to be free."

The most popular movie this summer in Waukegan was "Wild in the Streets". In the movie Max Frost, the leader of a rock group, campaigns for president and succeeds by getting the voting age lowered to 14 and by contaminating the water supply of U.S. cities with acid on election day. The new regime's major policy change is to put everyone over 35 in concentration camps and turn them on. The implications for us were that latent in the youth revolt is a fascist self-seeking potential. If the needs of this constituency can be appeased superficially in a manner defined by capitalism, the revolutionary potential of youth will be aborted.

But once people attain a strong sense of their own history and direction as a group, they can begin to form honest alliances with other groups—the Blacks for instance. This is an essential stage in the development of a revolutionary movement. We began to establish only tentative links with the local Black movement. Almost every discussion at our "free high school" eventually got to racism. The white kids have resentments not because they think the Blacks are inferior, but because the Blacks are better organized and better able to respond to the harassment from school administrators and police.

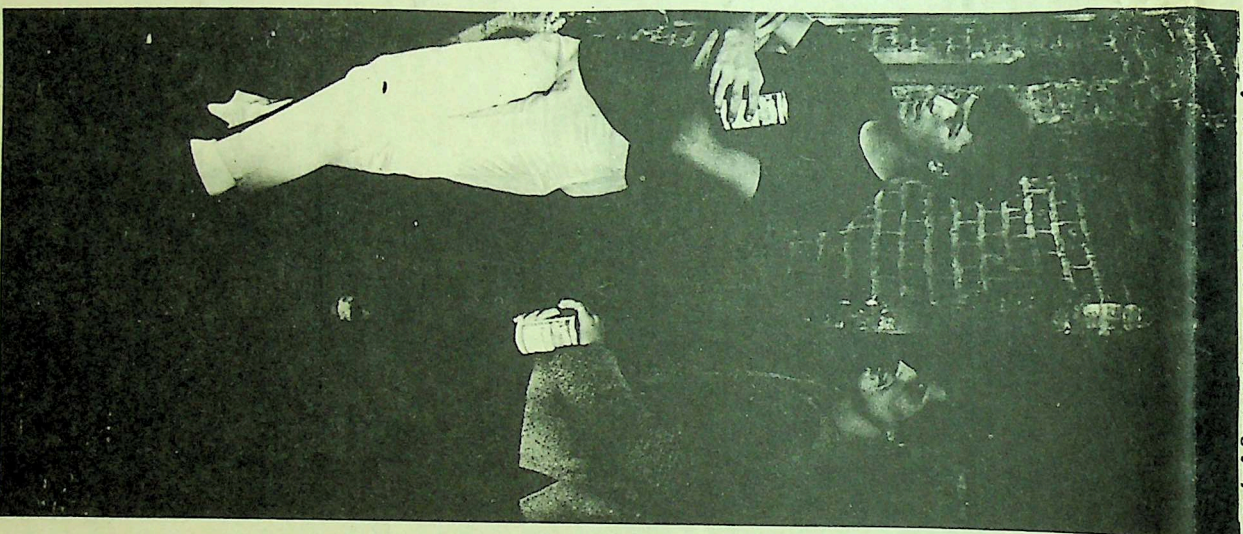
## Questions More Basic than Style

We tried to show how the problems in relationship to the high schools, the draft, and the factories were essentially the same for both races. We argued that the administrators effectively divided the races by showing preferential treatment to one or the other race with respect to particular regulations. Talks about the history of the labor movement and the current situation in housing were also helpful in showing how those who control society must keep the races deluded into thinking that there is only a limited amount of freedom and that if one wants more he has to take it from someone else.

The experience of the campus movement had given us an appreciation of organizing people in other than class groupings. We began to call dorm students, history students, and cafeteria workers constituencies. That is, they related to the same institution in the same way. In Waukegan, while recognizing the necessity of beginning on a constituency basis (working class youth relating to the police in the same way), at the same time we realized how embryonic this step is and how larger groupings must be made to realize similar interests and act as a movement.

The major conclusion is that anti-authoritarian life style organizing in this constituency is only a beginning. Today the movement continues only in the high school. Most of the young factory workers have returned to their jobs, accepting their roles. The movement must expand into armed forces organizing, junior and trade colleges, and the insurgent rank and file labor movement. The left must begin to offer solutions to questions more basic than those of style. Control is weakest in the leisure or consumptive sector of a young person's life. Therefore it is appropriate to begin there. But unless radicalism can deal with the other half, his productive life in the factory or school, it is a lie and offers no real possibility for a working class youth to live as a radical.

We found the vague rhetoric of the young movement not wholly applicable to these young people. We could not easily include them in a "new working class" nor could we talk about a post-scarcity society as a major motivating factor. Instead, we began to help people critically and collectively understand their own positions in society. We had to fight the blurring of class lines which often occurs in youth culture. Only when we had done this could we talk about forming alliances in the midst of struggle. From our success in turning white working kids on to the movement we are convinced that social analyses which emphasize revolutionary potential in only one sector of society are inadequate. Perhaps because social configurations are changing so rapidly no adequate social theory can be advanced. But one must evolve in the course of struggle.



# Princeton meeting attacks militarization

## Original program on "military" broadened to "militarization." Approved proposal calls for attacks on racism in unity with the black liberation struggle, on domestic imperialism, on the tracking system in high schools.

by Michael Klonsky  
SDS National Secretary

A program calling for a concentrated attack this spring on "militarization of the society" and its use as a class weapon was passed by a meeting of 250 SDSers at Princeton University on Feb. 1-2.

The Princeton proposal called for nation-wide attacks on the "ever-increasing state of permanent militarization in the country" which is a result of the growing crisis in world imperialism.

Singled out as organizing focuses were ROTC, military recruitment, the high school tracking system, the police in the black ghetto, and the role of the university in imperialism.

### Three Basic Positions

The floor debate and discussion revolved around three basic positions. One, based on the original "military package", called "Smash the Military in the Schools" (NLN, Jan. 15, p. 8), was presented by Lew Cole from Columbia University. The second position, which was drafted late in the conference, was presented by Les Coleman from the Chicago Region and called for a broadening of the attack to include the concept of "militarization" instead of just the military, and was based on the Revolutionary Youth Movement proposal from the December NC. The third position, centering on PL and the student-worker alliance position, stood firmly opposed to any program which saw militarization as a focus for the spring on the grounds that such a program would compete with SDS's program against racism.

### Support of the NILP

The first "military package" paper was based on a position which said that the re-injection of the war as an issue under "an anti-imperialist banner" will help build the consciousness needed if a movement for "real power" is to come about. While attacking student-power tendencies, it was not clear about which class in America would be the agency of revolution. Many people thought that its narrow perspective on the military was designed primarily for the big, "elite" campuses like Columbia, rather than working-class schools or high schools. Others felt that the criteria of "support of the NILP" as a basis for revolutionary consciousness did not deal with the class struggle within the United States and the effects of imperialism on the American working class.

The second paper on militarization attempted to deal with those problems. It described the role which a youth movement could play as a critical force in taking its perspective on the growing domestic effects of the crisis in imperialism to young workers and other students. It described "militarization"

as a phenomenon which affects the society in a class way, that is by hitting harder on the working class and especially on blacks. It called for an attack on "domestic imperialism" and the class nature of the courts, the police, police institutes, cops in the schools and "the socialization which lays the ideological basis" for class oppression. It also called for an attack on racism in unity with the black liberation struggle and the Black Panther Party. It challenged the student-worker-alliance position on racism, saying:

"The danger in our program against racism, whether it takes the form of fights for black admissions, against university expansion, or for black studies programs, is that it doesn't always raise anti-imperialist consciousness, challenge and communism and the antagonism against the international proletariat."

Both groups saw a program against militarization, as one which could help link up the anti-racism struggles with an international anti-imperialist perspective.

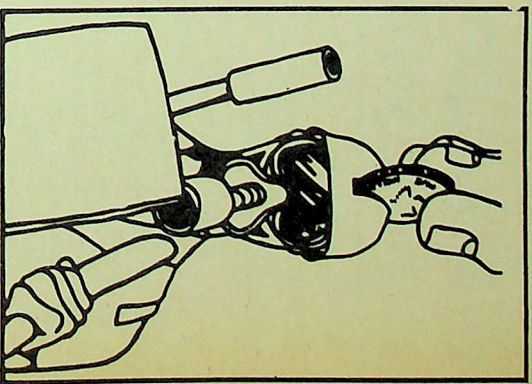
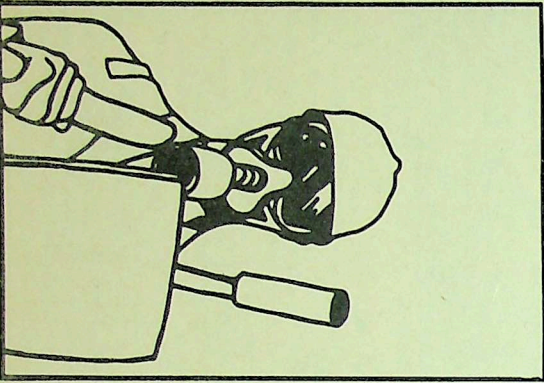
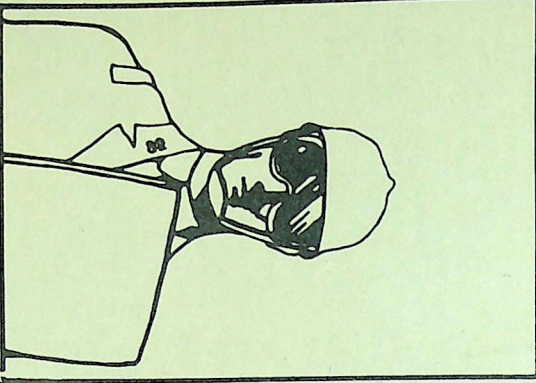
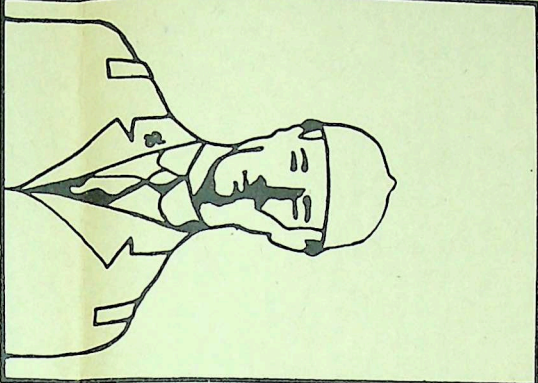
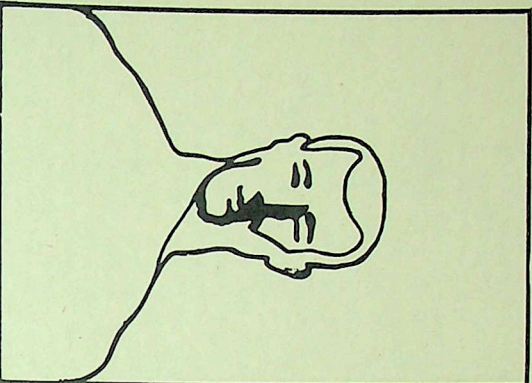
### Attack Tracking System

Both papers also called for attacks on the class and racist nature of the high school tracking system which serves as a "draft board in the schools" funneling working-class youth into the army and low-paying jobs, while middle class students go into the university. Positions in the lower tracks are mostly filled by black and Spanish-speaking youth. By attacking the tracking system in a class-conscious way, high school students could organize into an explicitly anti-imperialist movement.

PL was heavily criticized for its position on racism and especially on nationalism. A PL member from Boston denied the existence of a black culture or a dominant white culture, saying that black people are merely super-exploited workers and suffer no colonial oppression.

The writers of the "military package" accepted Coleman's paper as an expression of the correct analysis of a program for the spring, and the two papers were voted on as one by the body, passing by a wide margin. Many people were critical of the fact that differences between the two positions were not more clearly defined in the floor debate. Furthermore, many of the tactical questions were not resolved. Aspects of the program, such as a national action of some sort, were not decided on at the conference and will be presented at the NC in March.

Many went back to their chapters with the skeleton of a program to organize around. Most people felt, however, that this was the basis of future programmatic developments which might have been prevented had the program been defeated.



MILITARIZATION AND WOMEN: For the text of one supplementary paper presented at the Princeton conference, see page 8.



# SDS takes on HUAC's liberal face

by Michael Klonsky  
SDS National Secretary

In an attempt to shake its circus-clown image and gain some type of legitimacy, the House Committee on Un-American Activities is preparing to investigate SDS with a new, liberal make-up on its Edwin Willis-scarred face.

The nature of the up-coming investigation is not yet clear. There are indications that SDS people (big infiltrators excepted) won't be called on to testify. Rep. Richard Ichord, a "liberal" Democrat from Missouri, who presently heads the committee, has announced that fewer summons would be handed out to hostile witnesses.

"I won't hesitate to call a hostile witness," he said, "but there is no purpose in bringing a Commite before the committee and asking him questions on which he is going to take the 5th (amendment)."

## HUAC's New Inogge

In the face of a confrontation with SDS (which is not likely to take the 5th) HUAC is attempting to take on a new liberal image. Rep. Louis B. Stokes (D-Ohio), brother of Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes, was named as HUAC's token Negro along with Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), a liberal appointee. Pepper has been critical for some time of HUAC's activities and was added as a part of efforts by the leadership of the Democratic Party to improve the committee's image. Stokes was named over another "House Negro," Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.) to the HUAC seat.

"A more constructive perspective is needed on the

committee if the House fails to abolish it," said Stokes. "If its purpose of existing can be reconstructed from witch-hunting, character-attacking, and maligning to providing a forum for communication between the disaffected and the United States government, a meaningful and useful purpose could be served."

Chairman Ichord has introduced a bill to change the name of the committee to "Internal Security," which he says will better describe its intended task.

After Jerry Rubin and Co. turned HUAC into the laughing stock of the ruling class last December, it seems that a few people upstairs got uptight and decided to transform the committee into a relatively useful arm of the domestic counter-insurgency program. This makes SDS's upcoming confrontation with HUAC important.

Confrontation and education around the HUAC investigation of SDS could serve many functions in building our movement. First and foremost, the HUAC hearings could serve as an opportunity to fight anti-communism and its many forms present within the movement today.

People called to testify before the committee (if any) could try and use the national focus on SDS to explain our position on the war, racism, imperialism and capitalism in a way that would make revolutionary politics relevant to the needs of the people of this country. That would be the best attack possible on institutionalized anti-communism. Literature could also be produced for mass distribution explaining the nature of imperialism and its domestic ramifications, such as the growing police state, the militarization of the

society, the world economic crisis as felt here in the U.S., growing institutionalized racism and the emergence or surfacing of fascism.

The HUAC hearings should also give us the impetus to begin mapping out city-wide defense strategies across the country. We must begin to develop a revolutionary theory of defense, defense of the movement as well as defense of the people. The nature of class society will bring the people into perpetual conflict with the police power of the state. It is revolutionary to be able to deal with the problem of people's defense.

## Security, Defense Necessary

We must wage an attack on the class nature of the courts, police and all of the state's instruments of repression (like HUAC). There is also a necessity as part of this defense strategy to deal with "internal security" ourselves. If Ichord is afraid to call "Commies" before his committee, he probably has a whole line-up of Phillip Abbot Lucases in the wings. In the past few months, many of us have begun to see more clearly than ever how the man works inside the movement.

Finally, the investigation of SDS could serve to unify large sectors of the left behind SDS around clear anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-capitalist politics. We should use the national focus HUAC gives us to reach out to other organizations and other movement people in an attempt to build the organization, recruit new members, raise money and see possibilities for building alliances and coalitions. This is a task we must take very seriously.

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Students for a Democratic Society

1608 West Madison

Chicago, Illinois

# SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4, Number 4

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

January 1968

## SDS Moves in On High Schools



## Colorado SDS joins fight against racist Denver schools

by John Buttney

U. of Colorado (Boulder) SDS Cole Junior High School, located in the black community in Denver, has a student body which is 95 percent non-white and a faculty which is mostly white. Last week the tensions created and sustained by this blatantly racist structure came to a head when two white teachers and six to eight black students engaged in a physical confrontation. In response to this fight the teachers at Cole drew up a list of 27 demands and voted on them. The demands were adopted as representing the wishes of the teachers at Cole by a 75 to 5 vote. The list includes continuation of a "padding policy." It seems parents either consent to having their children beaten, as a disciplinary measure, or to having their children immediately suspended. Other items on the list: armed police in the school, immediate suspension for being late to any class, suspension of all social activities until further notice, a dress code which prohibits the wearing of anything that might identify you with, or show support for, any political or social organization, and treatment by a psychiatrist for any student who doesn't fit.

These demands now have to be voted on by the Denver school board, but police were called in immediately because of imminent danger to the faculty and administration. The Denver Black Panthers then called for a

Paranoia of ruling class shows in front page picture from January 22 Denver Post

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(continued on page 4)

# Dartmouth builds student-worker alliance

John Spritzler  
Dartmouth SDS, N.E. Staff

The SLAP proposal for a student-worker alliance has been discussed at great length on a theoretical level. The following account of its application in practice may help to illustrate its potential value in building chapters on a good basis. Beginning last spring with an anti-ROTC struggle, and continuing with election activities and the recent blocking of an Army recruiter, Dartmouth SDS has been building a student-worker alliance and learning to apply a pro-working-class strategy to student struggles.

The first fairly self-conscious attempt to ally with working people grew out of last spring's anti-ROTC struggle which began with SDS calling for a demonstration against ROTC's presence on campus. Unfortunately, however, as D-Day approached, the chapter tended to lose sight of the politics of the demonstration and became more pre-occupied with the tactics of frightening the hell out of a panicky administration.

## An Ivory Tower?

On D-Day 300 people out of a student body of 3,000 showed up. The chapter turned the demonstration into a mass meeting which then decided to meet again that night to discuss how to keep the ball rolling. At this meeting our failure to lay a good political basis for the demonstration became apparent. Most of the students wanted to begin an anti-ROTC fast to persuade the college to sever ROTC-Dartmouth ties. Furthermore, while everyone agreed to circulate an anti-ROTC petition, many people wanted it to avoid mention of the war and say simply that ROTC was "incompatible with a liberal arts education," or in other words that the college is an ivory tower and shouldn't be scolded by ROTC.

Pro-working-class members were a tiny minority at the meeting, but we won a large majority away from their moralistic fast-ivory tower position and towards an essentially pro-working-class position. We argued that the moralistic fast was bad because it led students to depend on the consciences of the ruling-class trustees rather than on the strength of a broad-based student movement.

## Pro-working-class

We criticized the ivory-tower position on the grounds that it was really a selfish demand that "someone else fight the war, but not me," thus a movement built on this basis would support the ruling class and its policy of getting working-class guys to fight the war. Also, to say that ROTC should be kicked off campus simply because it was "incompatible with a liberal arts education" implied that ROTC would be acceptable at a working-class vocational school.

The position which SDS, and eventually the majority, took was that the petition should condemn ROTC because it oppressed Vietnamese working people, not because it soiled a non-existent ivory tower; and instead of relying on the Trustees, we should rely on mass student support built on a pro-working-class basis. Within two weeks of intensive

dormitory discussions, 600 students signed the petition, many joined or came closer to SDS, and all had placed themselves in alliance with Vietnamese working people against the ruling class. Although the concept of a student-worker alliance certainly doesn't exclude direct student-worker contact, it is interesting to note that in this particular struggle the student-worker alliance did not involve students "organizing" or even talking to a single worker.

## Workers Friendly

To buildings and grounds men at the college and to workers at neighboring factories we passed out leaflets which described the recent government strike-busting at a military shipyard to illustrate how the government uses warships in Vietnam to fight militant Vietnamese working people just as it uses state power at home to oppress the American workers who build the warships. We went on to show how the government and all the major presidential candidates serve big business, and concluded by explaining why workers should support the campus anti-ROTC struggle, why SDS would fight against student scabs, and why a student-worker alliance should be built.

The response to the leaflets was friendly. Many people at first thought we were leafletting for a particular candidate and asked unenthusiastically, "Which one is it this time?" When we said, "None of them; the elections are just a hoax," our leaflets became quite an attraction. At a textile plant two excited women, after reading the leaflet, stopped work and came out to get a stack of leaflets to give to the women inside whom we had missed. They told us our stuff was the best election literature they'd seen. A friend of ours who worked at the plant later told us that while the previous day's leaflets for a phony liberal peace candidate had been thrown away, nearly all the women had neatly folded our leaflets and kept them—perhaps, as one woman told us, to show to their husbands.

## Strike Support

Shortly after the elections we heard about a machinists' strike at Bryant Co. in Springfield, Vt., a nearby industrial town. We joined the picket line and introduced ourselves as college students in SDS who thought that students and working people should help each other. They were very friendly and quite happy to have outside support of any kind. They didn't know anything about SDS, but said it was about time students woke up to the fact that they should be on the side of working people. In talking with the strikers about how we could help out, we decided to lead the town's shopping centers to explain the strike demands, urge people to donate to the strike fund, and explain why we, as students, were supporting the strike.

The last point, to which more than half our two-page leaflet was devoted, was important to include, because otherwise our support might have been misinterpreted as a form of charity instead of a political alliance for mutual benefit. Under the heading "Why Students Too Must Fight the Bosses" we made the following points: 1) Students become white-collar workers and are exploited

by the bosses. 2) Students are exploited financially by the high cost of a college education which, since it only trains us to work for big business, should be paid for by the bosses, not by working people. 3) We are also exploited intellectually by a big-business controlled education designed to turn us against working people, make us ignorant of their (our) history and struggles, and instill in us anti-struggle, pro-boss ideas. 4) We are bribed by ROTC to join the Army Brass, scab on our fellow GIs, and order them to "fight and die in the bosses' money-making war against Vietnamese farmers and workers."

however, seeing the necessity for a worker-student alliance around this key issue, leafleted college buildings and grounds workers with a leaflet making the following points: 1) Officers are scabs because, in return for high pay and special privileges, they force GIs to do all the dirty work, and risk death or injury, fighting a bosses' war against Vietnamese farmers and workers. 2) Students blocked the recruiter because they didn't want the bosses' Army getting any scab officers at Dartmouth. 3) The Trustees of the College are big businessmen who encourage students to scab when College employees go on strike and likewise encourage students to become scab officers.

When we showed our proposed leaflet to the workers before deciding to

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- New York City: 131 Prince, New York, New York 10012 (212-674-8310)
- Niagara: 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850 (607-273-0535)
- Southern California: 619 S. Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles 90072 (213-660-0190)
- Texas - Oklahoma: Box 1941, Dallas, Texas 75221 (no telephone)
- Washington, DC: 1829 Corcoran NW, Washington DC 20009 (202-332-7183)

distribute it, we thought they might object to the attack on ROTC and the war; but to our surprise they thought it was great; it sparked a lot of conversations between us about anecdotes they knew that illustrated the points we made about scab educators; the common sentiment was "Yeah, our kids get the same thing."

Each day a few members of the chapter walked the picket line and discussed our politics, while others leafleted the town and had similar conversations with working people at the shopping centers. Imperialism, foreign and domestic, was easy to discuss when one of the workers explained to us that Bryant Co. was owned by Ex-Cell-O Corp., which had huge plants in India where labor was cheap. He also described how the Personnel Director for Bryant Co. was on the local school board which instructed the schools to do Bryant's job training for them at public expense.

Meanwhile, on campus, SDS was preparing for a demonstration (with the same pro-working-class politics as the previous anti-ROTC struggle) against Army recruiting. Unfortunately, most of the demonstrating students made no distinction between GIs getting drafted and officers getting recruited. Consequently they failed to see the need to ally not only with Vietnamese workers but also with working-class GIs. These students, although they forcibly obstructed the recruiter, felt that working people, being pro-GI, would never support them. Other students,

When put this way, we found we had more support among college employees than we had suspected. As we leafleted, the foreman told everyone not to take the "communist propaganda." But still nearly everyone took a leaflet. While most guys seemed just curious, some said they supported us and only one argued vehemently that he had a son in Vietnam and we had no right to block the recruiter. He hadn't yet read the leaflet, so I made the point in conversation, and as he parted he said in a more friendly, doubting tone, "I don't know..."

At Bryant Co., where the strike had since grown much more militant in an effort to prevent merchandise from leaving the plant, the strikers thought blocking the recruiter was great, and some even offered to help SDS in the future. Their attitude was: "So you stopped the bastard, not bad."

## Benefits of Strategy

The student-worker alliance strategy had not only increased off-campus support for SDS, but also helped the chapter grow stronger on campus. A lot of new members have come in this year because SDS now seems to have a more serious strategy than the chapter's previous activism of frustration and isolation. Building a student-worker alliance, especially factory leafletting and strike support, also did wonders to develop in students that basic trust in the people which is vital, and without which the student movement will remain isolated and paralyzed.

Enclosed is \$5 to continue my membership in SDS! Please continue to send me NLN! I don't want to miss a single exciting issue! I have also enclosed \_\_\_\_\_ to help SDS in the difficult days ahead.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Old Address \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

New Address \_\_\_\_\_

(optional)

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

# PURGE

# PURGE

If your New Left Notes mailing label contains a code number with 67 in it (e.g., M. T. Tung P 67), your subscription to NLN has expired. So has your SDS national membership. Please send us \$5 immediately to avoid missing a single exciting issue of NLN.

SDS, 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612

# Racism resolution misses the point

by Wayne Draznin  
Texas/Oklahoma Regional Traveller

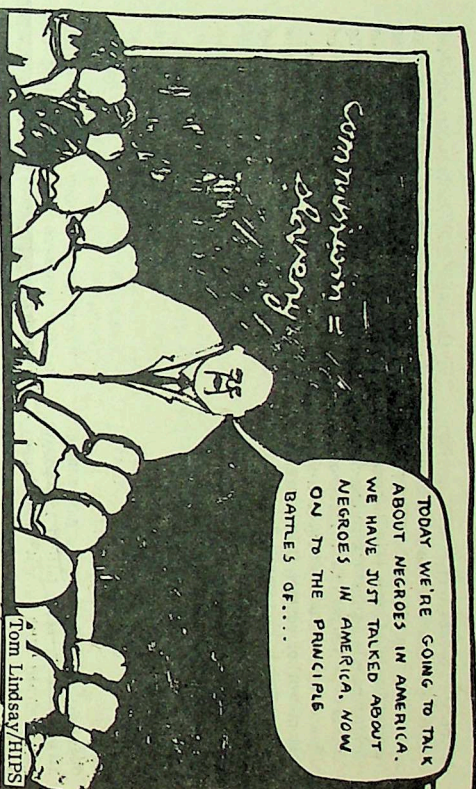
At the December National Council, a program dealing with the need to fight racism was passed. The implementation portion of this program is, for the most part, quite excellent. The analysis of the program, however, is incomplete and in great part incorrect.

The main fault of the program's analysis is the manner in which it deals with the national question. Under a heading which calls on SDS to "Defeat Nationalism," the program states: "Nationalism has replaced pacifism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the Black Liberation Movement. Nationalism is used to divert Third World people from struggle on a class basis and from making alliances with white workers and students."

## Revolutionary Nationalism

This shows a lack of understanding of the way black people are oppressed in America and of the struggle which is being waged to cast off that oppression. It does not deal with the question of revolutionary nationalism.

Black people in the United States are exploited and oppressed. They are exploited and oppressed as workers by those who own and control the means of production and distribution. This ruling class exploits and oppresses them to a greater extent than it does



Tom Lindsay/HIPS

white workers; by giving a little more to the white worker, they attempt to make him believe that this division is in his economic interest. They use the propaganda tools at their disposal (educational institutions, mass media, etc.) to maintain the racist myth that blacks are inferior—a myth which was developed to rationalize the institution of slavery. The Student-Worker Alliance Racism Program correctly points this out.

Quite often these attempts succeed. Historically white workers have believed it to be in their interest to

maintain these divisions, and have done their utmost to maintain them. This has put white people into the position of overtly oppressing black people. The fact that white people are acting against their own long-term interests, and are acting as unconscious agents of the ruling class, in no way negates their actions.

As pointed out above, the bringing of slaves to America caused the development of a myth: that these slaves—black people—were inherently inferior. This myth had a material basis. Slavery was necessary to the

agrarian development of the United States, and this slavery had to be rationalized into Christian ethics. The myth was created, believed, and passed on. It became institutionalized. It became a psychological concept in and of itself, no longer necessarily relating to the economic position of blacks. It was accepted that blacks should "stay in their place". These concepts even became internalized among black people, who saw themselves defined by this myth.

Economic conditions changed. By the time of the Civil War, the United States was well on the road to becoming an industrial nation. The defeat of the Confederacy further intensified this direction. The position of blacks also changed. They were "free"—free to become wage slaves, theoretically "equal" to white wage slaves. The racist consciousness, however, remained. Blacks could not be equal. They were still regarded, and regarded themselves, as inferior beings.

Psychological oppression makes necessary material oppression. Those who are regarded as inferior will obviously be given inferior material positions in society. The psychological oppression of blacks by whites therefore made necessary the material oppression of blacks by whites.

People must organize against their common oppression and exploitation. Workers must unite to fight against

(continued on page 5)

## SF State: 650 busted, strike continues

SAN FRANCISCO STATE: The strike continued strong last week with picket lines and a mass rally Thursday. Tac Squad pigs arrested 186 Wednesday; 459 Thursday in the largest mass arrest the city has ever seen. The Thursday arrests came at a big outdoor rally called by the Third World Liberation Front central committee. A number of the arrested were Chicano community members, who have promised more support for the fight against racism at San Francisco.

Most of the arrests at the rally were for misdemeanors, and bail was posted within six hours of the arrests. But the pigs kept most students in jail for 24 to 36 hours, sometimes in solitary and sometimes dripping wet from being hosed down in their cells.

Two proposals were made at a meeting Saturday to deal with defense strategy. One, to have a mass trial and carry the struggle into the courts; and two, to demand 459 individual jury trials, which would tie up the courts for years. Although the final decision has not been made, many believe that the first alternative is the most principled and the most effective.

When asked if there would be more mass arrests, president Hayakawa answered inscrutably: "There will be no more mass arrests when there are no more masses."

Money is desperately needed for bail of those arrested at San Francisco State. People arrested on Wednesday and Thursday had to post more than \$16,000 in BOND. As the struggle continues, more funds will be needed. Contact Barrish Bail Bonds, 869 Bryant St., San Francisco.

BERKELEY: Black and Third World groups picketed for control of a Third World college at Berkeley last week. Rain affected the picket line, and many students became less sympathetic after a \$500,000 fire in Wheeler Auditorium, thinking the striking students were responsible. Striking groups disavow any knowledge of the cause of the fire.

White radicals and campus unions have declared support for the strike. It continues this week.

FORTIER HIGH SCHOOL, New Orleans: Boycotting students at Fortier are demanding a Black Student Union, a course in black history, an end to prejudicial treatment of black students, and the removal of Fortier's "teacher police force."

The boycott by about 200 Fortier high school students followed the violent arrests of 54 Fortier students during earlier demonstrations.

The school administration does not plan to negotiate on the demands. They announced that penalties would be enforced with a vengeance.

MILWAUKEE: Milwaukee Technical School, a high-ranking vocational school, has practically been shut down by a teachers' strike and student boycott. The teachers went on strike Jan. 1 when the school board refused to negotiate a 1969 contract. The students acted with a sympathy boycott which has been largely successful.

DALLAS: LTV Aerospace Corp., a subsidiary of Ling-Temco Vought Inc., just purchased three colleges. The company, part of one of the biggest military aircraft producers, recently purchased three Texas business schools to, as they put it, "enter the field of education and training."

SAN FRANCISCO: "Do you have any strong feelings about the Vietnam war that would bias you toward the defendants?" is the first question a prospective juror must answer if he is to try the Oakland 7.

This stone political trial of the Oakland 7 opened in San Francisco Jan. 27. In its third week, each side has dismissed 13 would-be jurors, and the process of jury selection is likely to continue for two to three more weeks, unless a side has exhausted its 45 challenges.

On the first day of the trial, about 250 people tried to demonstrate inside the courtroom. They were dispersed, with head injuries to one demonstrator and the arrest of a second.

To rally community support and publicize the nature of the trial, a three-day Commission of Inquiry into the Vietnam war and domestic repression was held in Berkeley Jan. 16-19. Speakers such as Bobby Seale, David Horowitz, Tom Hayden, and G. William Domhoff laid out the class nature of the legal system, the workings of U.S. imperialism and racism in Vietnam and around the world, and the nature of U.S. capitalism.

The Oakland 7 held a press conference Jan. 27 to announce their support for the 27 GIs being charged with mutiny (a possible death sentence) for holding a nonviolent sit-in protesting the murder of a fellow GI at San Francisco's Presidio Army Base stockade. The Seven plan to attend the court martial Jan. 31.

NEW YORK: Corporate recruiters are starting to hit the junior colleges hard. Apparently employers like junior college grads better than high school grads. As one businessman puts it, the junior college graduate "has sufficient education to do a good job and insufficient education to become dissatisfied quickly."

PARIS: High school students in Paris clashed with police Jan. 23 after a meeting of radical students was forbidden and then stopped.

The lycee students (lycee is a combination high school and university preparatory school) fought with police in front of the Sorbonne in the Latin Quarter. Students were evicted from the offices of the rector of the University of Paris, which they had invaded.

Some of the lycee student demands are the same as those of university students last spring—overcrowding, old-fashioned educational concepts, socially unfair admissions policies and study programs that fail to take into account the job possibilities existing.

SYLVESTER, GEORGIA: Nineteen students were arrested Jan. 15 when black students tried to march from their school to a white high school a mile away. The next day a fire swept through school buildings and tension in the community mounted. Disturbances date back to early December when two black sisters, aged 11 and 14, were arrested for "obscene remarks."

MADRID, SPAIN: Student unrest spread throughout Spain following the sentencing of four students to long prison terms. A military court sentenced the four, including a 15-year-old boy, to terms totaling 70 years on charges of setting fire to university property.

Students in Bilbao demonstrated against police brutality there; university officials in Barcelona decided to keep that school closed indefinitely (it was shut last week after violent protests). Students took their protests off the Madrid University campus into the city streets, fighting running battles with police.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON (EUGENE): Fifty black and white students here last week tried a Naval Air Recruiting team for war crimes; the recruiters were found guilty, and the students removed their literature from a table in the Student Union. After the literature was burned outside, students returned and burned the Navy emblem from one of the recruiting tables. Then, locking arms, they chanted the recruiters off campus. Plans are being made for a visit by Dow next week.

# 14 busted in Denver boycott

(Continued from page 1)

boycott of classes until police are removed and the school is put in the hands of the black community. The first few days of the boycott were successful, but the school administration began intimidating parents and students and the boycott fell off. So the Panthers stationed themselves at busy intersections in the vicinity of the school where they could talk to parents and students about the boycott. The police responded to this by arresting five Panthers for loitering.

This was the situation when SDS got involved. At a meeting with the Panthers it was decided that SDS would try to organize a boycott at the 10 high schools in Denver. The next day one high school was leafleted in the morning and one person was arrested. The same school was leafleted again in the afternoon with one more arrest. Following this action SDS members from different chapters in Colorado met to discuss further action. High school students were present at this meeting, which had been scheduled a few weeks before to plan a State SDS Conference.

## Contacts Ignored

We decided to leaflet the business section of Denver the next day, not going to high schools in order to give the high school students some time to organize their own people. However, one group of SDS people decided to go back to the first school they had leafleted. They were subsequently attacked by a small group of students from that school, and one leafleter was hit on the head with a pipe and required five stitches. That same day other SDS people leafleted the business area as planned, without incident and with a fairly good response. That afternoon we held another meeting to assess the day's action and to plan activity for the next day. Some SDS people wanted to go back to the school where the fight had taken place in order to confront the students. This move was stopped by other SDS members on the grounds that we did not want to end up fighting in the streets with high school students. At this meeting it was also pointed out that the incident might have been avoided had these people gone along with the collective decision to hold off high school leafleting for one day.

By this time we realized one of our basic mistakes. We had not worked through the contacts we had in the

school and the high school students didn't buy our presence at all. So we decided to go to a school the next day where we had many contacts and where there was supposedly some organization among radical students. When we arrived at that school the next day no students met us. It turned out that the people in charge of contacting the students had been stoned the night before and hadn't done the work necessary. So we leafleted anyway. The pigs came, and this drew a crowd. We gave most of our leaflets to these students, who took them inside and distributed them.

## Cops Taunted

The Man gave us five minutes to split and we had decided at our last meeting to avoid arrests at this time. But some people thought it would be cool to taunt the cops and dare them to catch us, etc. (These were the same people who leafleted the high school and brought on the fight.) So the Man responded by calling in 12 squad cars; they pulled in 14 people, later releasing 6. Now we have 8 people needlessly tied up in legal hassles and facing a maximum of 90 days and \$300 for loitering.

The rally called for in the leaflet was cancelled when our lack of organization became obvious.

## Political Mistakes

This attempt at organizing a boycott has taught us much about the state of the movement in this area. First, we made two fundamental mistakes. We responded to the Panthers' suggestion without assessing our situation carefully. This hurt us and the Panthers. And we did not work with high school students to organize the schools. We imposed ourselves on them. This never works. A high school movement cannot be organized by outsiders. We can help by supplying interested students with literature and even political education. But they know their schools and they can also teach us something. Now we are trying to salvage something from the ruins we were left with after the police and the press started working us over. We do have a good list of contacts now—but not new people—it's the list we should have had at the start of this action. And these students are beginning to organize themselves. This also began before our action. We didn't even know about it.

The second thing learned is the necessity for discipline and organization. Many of us feel that a few people, by insisting on "doing their own thing", made the situation far worse than it might have been.

## Need for Discipline

The discipline we found lacking is not the kind that demands unquestioning obedience to orders handed down by an elite. The discipline needed is the self-discipline which comes from understanding what it means to build a movement. And this understanding comes from knowing the enemy, it comes from internal education. And by "internal education" I do not mean a lot of "scholarly" bullshit. But people who take pride in not reading Marx because they consider themselves anarchists can only be a hindrance. Education also involves struggle, as this article illustrates. It is in struggle that you learn, for instance, who you can depend on. And the day is coming when one fuck-up will mean more than jail for a few days.

The third result of all this is the beginning of a good coalition with SDS and the Panthers. While we were in jail a Panther was arrested for handing out our leaflets. He ended up in our cell and we had a long time to rap. Now we have a week to plan our State Convention. We hope to be able to deal with these problems and to avoid making the same mistakes again.

# Independent caucuses states position

We are writing this position for New Left Notes so that our comrades across the country will be aware of the political developments within SDS during the prolonged strike at San Francisco State. In the DEC 23 issue of New Left Notes an article appeared entitled "Chapter Position on S.F. State Strike". In fact, this position came out of a small SDS meeting that split 13-9 in favor of issuing a leaflet for the campus that would attack the "Programs", a group of community involvement organizations who are involved in the strike. The nine people who voted against issuing the leaflet agreed with the political criticism of the Programs, but felt that a public leaflet would damage the united

(The city employees of Madison Wisconsin went on strike last month, drawing the janitors out of the schools. The school administration tried to make the students pick up the garbage, so that school operations could proceed normally. Obviously, this would cut the effectiveness of the janitors' strike. The following leaflet, reprinted from LINKS, a Wisconsin high school underground newspaper, was written by La Follette High School students.)

# Garbage

This leaflet is about our school. This leaflet is about garbage. Let it collect in the hallways, classrooms, bathrooms, Mr. Wendt's office. Let it pile up till they have to close the school down.

Then the city will be forced to deal with the janitors who are on strike demanding a decent wage.

The school administration wants us to help pick up the garbage so that school will look clean and neat. But don't take garbage from anyone. Let it all hang out! Garbage is reality. Let's show what our school is really like.

Support your local janitors' union in their just strike. Do not work against their strike. Do not pick up the garbage.

When you finish reading this leaflet, tear on the dotted line, fold, mutilate, and drop on the nearest floor.

front built around the 15 demands of the Third World Liberation Front. The disputed leaflet was never issued, but instead the PL ("worker-student alliance") caucus used the 13-9 vote as authority for publishing THIS chapter position in NLN and in a pamphlet "ON STRIKE SHUT IT DOWN", which is signed by the San Francisco State Strike Committee, but was never democratically approved by the Strike Committee.

## White Oppression

The Independent Caucus of SDS at S.F. State wishes to voice some of our disagreements with this so-called chapter position and to affirm the existence of other political ideas within the chapter. Our first disagreement is one of emphasis. We feel that the issue of racism has been emphasized above and beyond the class nature of the university. We agree that racism is the primary issue, but we feel that students can not be won to fight racism unless racism is clearly linked with capitalism. In the "Chapter Position" the following phrase is found: "racism acts as a divisive force keeping oppressed people fighting among one another rather than uniting to fight the common enemy." Naturally this is correct, but the problem is to convince white students that they are oppressed and that there is an enemy to fight. It is a political error to talk about building alliances against common enemies unless you are clear about the need for white students to fight on their own. The Independent Caucus has been active in departmental organizing during the strike precisely because we can see this as a vehicle to expose the oppressive class nature of education. In order to defeat racism and capitalism we must build a mass class conscious white movement that understands the nature of class oppression and alienation within the university, and thus will have something to struggle against that directly affects their own daily lives.

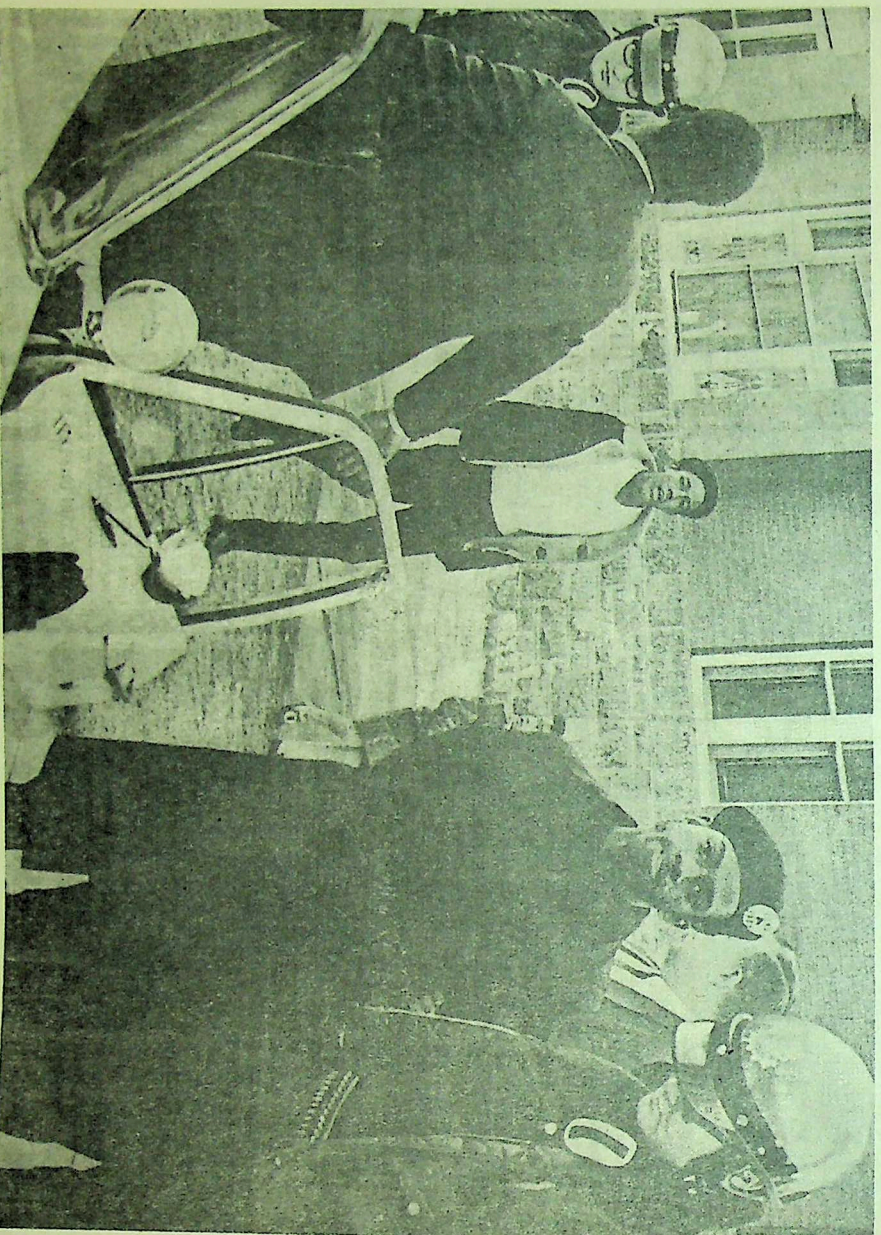
Concretely, departmental organizing can work towards exposing the miseducation received in whole departments. For example, the psychology department is being exposed as a class institution that attempts to fit people into the needs of the system instead of working to design a system

"Students must see that their interests lie in making the college serve the interests of all working people in the community and that the only way to stop the college from serving the interests of big business and make it serve the interests of the working community is for students to ally themselves with working people and fight the common enemy."

## Classroom Rebellions

Once again the basic question is why should students care if business is running the college so long as they can still get their degree or their teaching credential. Why should they want the school to serve the needs of working people ("socialism") when many of them look upon workers as "racist war hawks"? Students cannot be organized in a mass way to fight battles to help the workers of the Third World community. Students must be organized around the physical and cultural oppression of the bourgeois university and once this mass movement is built at a grass roots level, it will seek its natural class allies. The lesson of the French revolt is that the radicals were so well entrenched within the university that they could move almost the entire student population into a fighting alliance with revolutionary workers. We are not yet that advanced. We must spread the ideas of socialism and the class struggle in a mass way among the students until rebellions against bourgeois authority break out in the classrooms!

This argument is not meant as an attack on the efforts of the PL caucus



Parther Chauncey Booker, who helped organize the boycott at Cole, was arrested for loitering and contributing to the delinquency of minors.

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Concretely, departmental organizing work towards exposing the whole education received in whole departments. For example, the psychology department is being exposed to a class institution that attempts to put people into the needs of the system instead of working to design a system

that serves the needs of the people. As part of this general attack on the class nature of education, the issue of tests and grades can be exposed as an attempt to inculcate students with bourgeois values of "competition and individual gain. We are not talking about using "liberal reformist demands" for a more pure education, but we are talking about educating white students about their own oppression suffered because of the class nature of the university.

This entire question is avoided by the position of the PL caucus when they state:

"Students must see that their interests lie in making the college serve the interests of all working people in the community and that the only way to stop the college from serving the interests of big business and make it serve the interests of the working community is for students to ally themselves with working people and fight the common enemy."

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## Revolutionary nationalism

(continued from page 3)

those who exploit them. Black people must unite to fight against their oppression by white people. The ruling class uses this oppression to exploit all workers. Therefore, while white people oppress black people, the real enemy of black people is the ruling class.

Revolutionary black nationalists recognize these facts. Huey Newton, jailed Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party and a prime theorist of the black revolutionary nationalist movement in the United States, has said, "Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore, to be a revolutionary nationalist, you would by necessity have to be a socialist." (Huey Newton Talks to The Movement, page 4) The revolutionary nationalist is not diverted from struggle on a class basis. He recognizes the position of black people within the working class, and realizes that in order to achieve communism white supremacy must be destroyed. He organizes his people against their exploitation and oppression, against the ruling class and against white supremacy. He is not diverted from making alliances with white workers and students, but, as a revolutionary, allies himself with white revolutionaries.

It is true that in the traditional Marxist sense, black people do not truly form a nation. Stalin defined a nation as "...a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." (Marxism and the National Question) Black people in America do not possess a "community of economic life", that is to say, economic cohesion. Therefore, they do not form

Now I've HEARD all this NONSENSE about the STUDENT as a NIGGER!

About 'em having no rights and no protection and so-called student-teacher SEGREGATION and I just want to get a few

blasted things STRAIGHT!! I mean I guess I KNOW MY STUDENTS!



But GOSH DARN it some folks talk about 'em like they were US! And FACE it, what contribution are they making to the ARIST? How many DOCTORS, LAWYERS and BUSINESS LEADERS are STUDENTS? Biologically they're just not EQUIPPED to handle FREEDOM and POWER!



How I envy them!

Firstly, let me say some of my BEST friends are STUDENTS and BASICALLY you couldn't WISH to meet a more POLITE, RESPECTFUL, HAPPY lot when they know their place. Why some of 'em are even quite ATTRACTIVE...

(chuckle) Yeah!



So these OUTSIDERS who try to STIR 'EM UP over RIGHTS and TROUBLE such as just making TROUBLE for EVERYBODY! First thing they'll want to write on every line and use staff washrooms and call us by our FIRST NAMES! And brother, there's NO-THING worse than an UPPITY STUDENT!



And just between us would you want one to marry your daughter?



HURR US, Ann Arbor, Mich.

With their own kind they seem to ENJOY themselves IMMENSELY... dancing (get a lotta rhythm)!!... TEACHERS say if you could be a STUDENT just ONE Saturday night you'd NEVER want to be a teacher AGAIN!

(chuckle) And they're VERY good at SPORTS!



## nationalism

The oppression faced by black people is, however, very similar to a national oppression. They are oppressed as a people, as well as exploited as workers. Thus, the organizational forms they must assume are quite similar to a national form—revolutionary nationalism.

### End of Racism

How should the white revolutionary relate to the revolutionary black national struggle? Lenin, in The Meaning of the Right to Self Determination and Its Relation to Federation (Collected Works, Vol. XIX), said, "The aim of socialism is...not only to bring the nations closer to each other, but to merge them. And in order to achieve this aim, we must, on the one hand, demand the liberation of oppressed nations...Just as mankind can achieve the abolition of classes only by passing through the transitional period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations."

White supremism is integral to capitalism, and will not be totally destroyed until capitalism is destroyed. It is possible, however, to achieve the overthrow of capitalism without achieving the destruction of white supremism. To do so will not bring about a communist society.

White revolutionaries must support the revolutionary national black liberation struggle. We must organize in our own communities against white supremist thought and practice. Only by doing so will we be able to destroy white supremism as we destroy capitalism.

When: weekend of February 7-9 Where: Ohio State University, Columbus (Hagerty Hall, room 100) Why: now that we're back from Washington, we've got to do some hard thinking and talking about strategies for organizing this winter and spring-- as well as the whole political direction of the region itself. Friday night: registration & discussion of Guatemala Saturday: strategies for a spring offensive (military, racism, and chapter structure) Sunday: the region: discussion of role of regional staff, lit programs, speakers, films, regional offices

INFORMATION: 1706 1/2 Summit St., Columbus (614) 294-3975

## OHIO

## PHILADELPHIA

It's about time: radicals in the Philadelphia area are getting together. The movement—student and non-student—is growing, radical organizations and committees are springing up around the city. This conference has a dual purpose: to attract left liberals who are looking for radical analysts and radical organizations to join, and to provide a gathering point for radical revolutionaries who want to get to know each other and begin doing co-ordinated work. Among the sponsoring organizations are: People for Human Rights, Student Health Organization, Radical Organizing Committee, Penn SDS, and the Philadelphia Community Organizing Project. The conference will be held the weekend of February 8 at Houston Hall, the University of Pennsylvania. Saturday's program will include small discussion groups on where we're going, as well as a plenary session.

# CONFERENCE

Second semester is starting. It's crucial that we begin NOW to develop our spring and summer programs. Two proposals to be discussed are plans for a summer project and an idea for co-ordinated regional action against the military on campus. Resource people include: Ted Gold, Nick Freudenberg, Jim Jacobs, Mike Klare, Paul Sweezy, Harry Magdoff, Bernadine Dohrn, Steve Halliwell, Norm Frichter. Albany State Campus, Feb 14-16 registration begins Friday noon free housing available; contact Peter Pollack or Tom Trumpler, c/o Albany SDS, Box 1272, Albany, New York 12201.

## NIAGARA

for this period if we are to avoid leaving our constituency behind. Specifically the Independent Caucus has put forth a 5 point program for the battle to win the 15 demands and defeat institutional racism: 1) Combat racism and the class nature of the university. 2) Departmental community support. 3) Direct action and confrontation to prevent the university from functioning in a racist way. 5) Build a mass base.

We welcome comments and criticism on this position from all our comrades and we trust we will be considered as friends of the revolution who are searching for the correct method. We are also interested in corresponding with people in other chapters on the issues we have raised. Please write SDS Independent Caucus c/o Alex Forman, 271 Frederick Street, San Francisco, California 94117.

Signed: Alex Forman, Renee Johnson, John Webb, Les Sogol, Candy Huerlin, Barry Biderman, Joy Magezi, Bob Biderman, Harlan Garbell, Charles Rasmussen, Dorothy Bricker, Bert Ricci, Bob Gilck, Dave Sperber, Bruce Hartford

### Socialist Ideology

Defeating racism and capitalism will require a mass movement of Third World and white workers, students and youth who are clear about the class nature of American society and all its oppressive institutions. We propose that the spreading of socialist ideology and radical consciousness is a necessity

# Klonsky resolution rests on weak analysis

by Don Hamerquist

Carl Davidson has stated (Guardian, Jan. 11) that the Christmas NC meeting of SDS at Ann Arbor marked a major turning point for that organization. I think that Davidson understates the importance of the NC. In fact, it marked a major turning point for the left in this country. For the first time in a number of years, the debate over a revolutionary strategy seems to be coming out from beneath sectarian maneuverings and aimless rhetoric and to be taking on clear significance for the political practice of important mass movement.

The central feature of the NC was the presentation and the narrow passage of the Klonsky resolution—"Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement". The essence of the resolution is the perspective that SDS must become a revolutionary youth movement and not remain an "anti-imperialist student organization". To implement this perspective, the resolution proposes that SDS place immediate organizing priority on those university students who are closest to the working class, both in terms of social origins and of occupational destinations; that a concerted program of youth organizing be begun outside of the higher education structures, in the high schools, in the community, in the army, and at the point of production; and that in every organizing area primary emphasis be placed on the development of revolutionary class consciousness.

## Weak Analysis

Although the resolution's conclusions are extremely important, and, I believe,

essentially correct, they rest on weak. Until this is changed, the new direction and emphasis for which the resolution argues will not be implemented. Most people on the left, both inside and outside of SDS, will not understand the possibility, the necessity, and, above all, the urgency of these changes.

There are three distinct weaknesses in the resolution. It does not make its case for changing SDS from a student organization, primarily because it fails to clearly define the strategic problems facing the development of a revolutionary working class movement in this country. The treatment of the "contradictions that affect youth specifically" is not sufficiently concrete to demonstrate an objective base for building a youth movement that cuts across the class, race, and social role divisions that exist among young people. Its program of implementation is inadequate. It lacks clear policy guidelines in critical areas—the university, point of production, etc.—and no priorities are indicated between a multitude of programmatic and tactical suggestions. In this piece I intend to restrict my criticisms to the first problem.

## Define Context

The resolution fails to clearly define the political context in which a revolutionary movement must be built in this country. At various points elements of this political context are indicated or implied, but it is never all pulled together. Of course, there will be no revolution without a mass class conscious working class movement, and only the barest beginnings of such a movement can presently be seen. But there is substantial anti-capitalist sentiment and movement among other social strata, even though they lack the potential power to make a revolution and even the homogeneity of interest to maintain a consistent and organized program of struggle against capitalism.

Thus, in terms of the student movement, the problem is the development of a strategic framework which can translate its momentum and revolutionary consciousness into those activities and forms of organization where these can contribute the maximum to the development of a revolutionary working class movement. And without such a strategic framework, the class conscious elements in the student movement will lack a stable base from which to combat the tendency for the politics of this movement to degenerate into either student power reformism or anarchism. The necessity and urgency for the changes proposed, then, comes both from the overall needs of the revolution and from the particular needs of the student movement.

## Marxist Categories

Much of the confusion in the debate over the resolution at Ann Arbor flowed from the failure to clearly state this strategic context. What tended to happen in the debate was that people were able to invoke Marxist categories as an alternative to what was essentially a Marxist analysis. While it is certainly good that SDS is increasingly adopting Marxist categories, it would be tragic if this came to mean that one could invoke the "main contradiction" or the "class character of the state" as an answer to all of the immense practical and theoretical problems involved in developing a Marxist strategy appropriate to this particular historical situation. In this particular historical situation, Marxist theory is a means to a revolutionary strategy, it is not a substitute for a strategy nor a pre-packaged strategy in itself.

The central objection to the Klonsky resolution, which came from the people who saw the "student-worker alliance" as an alternative strategy, was an example of this sort of confusion. The student worker alliance is just not a strategy for building a revolutionary movement in this country. In the absence

of a meaningful working class revolutionary movement—and nobody denies its absence—if the student-worker alliance is seen as a strategy, its practical organizational content will involve either the subordination of the revolutionary student movement to spontaneous trade union reform struggles, or tiny alliances of a campus SDS labor committee and a few class conscious individual workers. It will involve either waiting for the workers, or lecturing the workers about their backwardness—either opportunism or sectarianism, or, most likely, a combination of both.

Of course, if the student-worker alliance is seen, not as a strategy in itself, but as the elementary Marxist premise that it is, it does suggest some valuable tactics and activities. These, however, are not in contradiction with the Klonsky resolution, but, in fact, are subsumed by the strategic framework which it presents.

There is another weakness in the Klonsky resolution that is related to



Mass arrests at San Francisco. See page 3 for story.

its basic lack of clarity. A central point in the argument is that the student movement has major limitations and problems that can only be avoided by the change in direction that the resolution proposes. This, again, is essentially true, but the truth is lost unless the limitations and problems of the student movement are correctly defined. In the resolution they are not correctly defined.

All that is being said is that students and the student movement are not class conscious, but that says nothing about the distinctive problems and limitations, not to mention the distinctive potentials, of the student movement that necessitate the proposed change in direction. In the first place, everyone in the society is indoctrinated with racist and anti-working class notions, not just students. Second, everyone in the society accepts, or would accept if necessary, the proposed change in direction. In the first place, everyone in the society is indoctrinated with racist and anti-working class notions, not just students. Second, everyone in the society accepts, or would accept if they had the opportunity, relative advantages—"privileges". This is no peculiar corruption of students. Such privileges are not "false" except in the ultimate sense; they are real, not illusory. In fact, just being a student is a real privilege, and it would be absurd to say that the problem of the student movement is that it refuses to forego the privilege of student status.

Though they are not indicated in the resolution, there are distinctive limitations of a student movement in this country. They are limitations which contain real possibilities. If the strategic framework of the Klonsky resolution is implemented, while everyone is indoctrinated, with most people it is a disorganized and diffuse process, but with students indoctrination

The university plays an increasingly important role in the development and maintenance of false, capitalist consciousness among people who are objectively oppressed and exploited by capitalism. But the fact of this systematic and organized process of indoctrination of students with bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, creates the conditions for the development of a systematic and organized alternative to it—an alternative that is based on real human needs and potentials. The development of this alternative picture of society is an extremely important contribution of the student movement when it is not seen as an end in itself but is integrated into an overall revolutionary movement. Students are not in stable class roles and are in relative isolation from the realities of the day to day class struggle. This is a major limitation that provides a basis for all sorts of bad politics ranging from university enclave utopianism to technocratic elitist schemes. But this, too, is a

problem which contains a potential. Their relative isolation makes it easier for students to see the overall, the systematic character of monopoly capitalism, and the limitations of spontaneous reform struggle against one or another of the specific effects of the system. And to clarify the limitations of reform struggle is to clarify the necessity of revolutionary struggle.

Finally, the peculiar history of the US student movement, the fact that it developed in the absence of any vital left movement and in a period where reformist class collaborationist leadership was virtually unchallenged in the working class, and the fact that it developed most rapidly among those students and on those campuses which were furthest from the working class (this is true of the movement among white students, particularly), added to the two major problems dealt with above.

However, again, within the framework of the revolution's organizing priority on those campuses which are closest to the working class, the background of the student movement is also a potential asset. The fact that the alienation of the "best sons of the ruling class" is leading them to a revolutionary Marxist position is both evidence of the weakness of the entire edifice of capitalist culture, and a potential source of strength for a frontal attack on it.

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# The old left and the new left

by Paul Mattick Jr.

(This is the second, and final, part in a series. See NLN, Jan. 15, for Part I.)

The content of class consciousness follows from the real nature of the class. For the proletariat it means the class's awareness of itself as socially organized labor which is at the same time not identical with society but is a class, a group with its own interests in conflict with those of other classes in a society ruled by another class, that of the capitalists. In this way working class - consciousness is inherently historically active: for consciousness of an active state of affairs as something to be changed is not simple "consciousness" but a dialectic of consciousness and revolutionary action. Revolutionary class consciousness at once gives rise to and arises out of revolutionary class activity, which is equally two-sided: in which revolt against the capitalist conditions of work may extend in a natural way to the reorganization of society on the basis of a new mode of production and distribution. Above all, the point is that consciousness and activity are not two things but one: the class struggle is the conscious activity of the class.

## Revolutionary Basis

All this is too abstract and "philosophical", but it is only an attempt to condense what we find in the concrete history of the socialist movement. Major workingclass activity has not been the creation of "organizers" either ex nihilo or by the infusion of a "good political line" into the trade union sort of activity. Rather, an examination of past movements reveals a history of revolutionary activity as working class transcendence of workday militance in the face of social crisis conditions which transform reformist and integrative movements willy-nilly into revolutionary ones. Reformism is not a doctrine foisted on the workers by bad leaders but a product of the workers' willingness to be satisfied with the gains obtainable in periods of relative stability of capitalism. The basis of revolutionary activity is the system's inability to achieve permanent stability, its constant tendency to move from a state of lesser to one of greater disequilibrium, and thus to create situations in which the institutions—unions, political parties—that under "normal" conditions channel and contain workingclass dissatisfactions can no longer function. In such situations the working class is forced to find new forms of organized activity in its struggle against capital.

Lenin's supposition that revolutionary consciousness would be impossible without the controlling leadership of the intellectuals organized as a party proved false even in the case of Russia. Indeed, the professional revolutionists of the Bolshevik Party rose to power through their support of the masses' demands. If the "correct Marxist-Leninist line" in 1917 was "All power to the soviets", it was only because the workers of Petrograd had already created the soviets, as they had in 1905 before. Seen in this light, the Bolshevik seizure of power marked, in the absence of successful proletarian revolution in the West, not the completion of the revolutionary process but the beginning of its end. The substitution of a coup d'etat, even by socialists and even on the basis of worker-peasant support, for the direct seizure and administration of the means of production by the workers themselves, meant inevitably the doom of the effective power of the soviets and the replacement of the dictatorship of, by a dictatorship over the proletariat.

If the thought of the party (or its chairman) is no substitute for the consciousness of the masses, neither is its organization a substitute for theirs. Organization is the organization of activity and so grows out of and reflects its needs. Tactics can obviously be worked out only in terms of the specific shapes taken on by the struggle in specific situations, and are nothing to be determined by a central committee.

The same, however, goes for strategy; the cleverest strategies "for the working class" mean nothing if they do not correspond to needs felt by the workers as produced by their own activity. It should be clear that what is at issue here is not "centralism versus decentralism." Centralism becomes possible as soon as it becomes necessary, i.e., as soon as the bourgeoisie is confronted on a large scale, is confronted as a class. For this means that the various groups of producers in struggle are fighting on a common basis, in which case it is the simplest and most natural matter to extend the organization of the workplace to that of several workplaces, of a region, of the country, of the world.

## Workers' Control

The fact is that the workers are already and at all times organized: in the factory, the office, the school, the neighborhood. The core of the socialist revolution is the workers' taking this organization out of the hands of the bosses and into their own. For instance had the general strike in France last May continued, the factories would have had to be started up again, only now under the control of the workers; so that the strike committees elected in the plants would have had to transform themselves into workers' councils (soviets) administering production, organizing armed defense of the premises, communications, etc.

The organization of the working class as a class, capable of taking power, is thus the product of the development of capitalism: "the new social issues from the womb of the old." The party, on the other hand, is (to use Gramsci's word) a voluntary organization, a union of people who share a common program and conception of the fight for socialism. While parties are unable—as a matter not only of theory but of fact—to make plans for the working classes, they can indeed devise strategies and tactics for the realization of their own ends. This is not to say that those ends must be in conflict with those of the workers as a class,

but only that a socialist (or communist) party, as a group which recognizes that the socialist movement "reckons, in all its phases and through its entire course, on the organization and direct, independent action of the masses" (Rosa Luxemburg), must have for end not its seizure of power, but the workers'. The final goal of such a party is indeed its disappearance through its becoming identical with the working class.

What all this means, of course, is a return to a Marxist perspective from which the essential determinant of the class struggle is not the presence or absence of the party with correct ideas but the conditions of capitalist society themselves. (For instance, we should think of the student left as not so much the product of "organizers" who decided to organize students and perhaps should be organizing workers as well or instead, but as the most advanced aspect of the selforganization of students in response to particular historical pressures—proletarianization of intellectual labor, changes in the character of the university, etc.—in the context of increasing general social crisis.) And the crucial question for the left is of what circumstances can be counted on to produce a workingclass consciousness in which we can participate. Viewed in this way, the new old left dichotomy loses its importance as a starting point for theory, for the problems facing the "new" left are those which have always faced the left.

Our intellectual subservience to the old "left" has kept us from seeing this clearly, as they have kept us from wondering how one could denigrate as "left" a CP that proclaimed itself "20th century Americanism", a "progressive" movement whose hero was the savior of American capitalism, FDR, an "international" collaboration with "democracy" (though also, when convenient, with fascism), a union movement that from the beginning aimed at rank-and-file struggles for... union recognition and collective bargaining. The fault of the old left is not that it is (or was) old but that it is (or was) not left; that it failed to base its activity on the realization that "the liberation

of the working class can only be accomplished by the working class itself," to see its task as partaking in a movement which alone as the creation of the proletariat can institute a society, socialism, created by the proletariat. The "new left," likewise, is not so much new as a renewal of the left, at least potentially. This finds expression today in the positive attitudes that have emerged from our vague criticisms of the old: "participatory democracy", "let the people decide", the instinct against "elitism"; it is even, I believe, at the root of our sympathy, however confused, for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and for the particular shape which a leader-directed revolution has taken on in Cuba. The most immediate task which faces us on the theoretical plane is now to cut through the blinders inherited from the old "left" and to deal directly with the problems which history places before us as the inheritors of that struggle for socialism which has always been and must always be the most important product of capitalism.

## To Make History

Whether or not the student movement of which we are a part will really turn out to represent a renewal of the left depends, finally, on whether the only force that can and must challenge capitalist society—the mass of the working class—itself takes up the struggle. That it will become increasingly easier to believe, as the idea that capitalism is capable of overcoming its inherent contradictions is less and less plausible. But the rebirth of the revolutionary labor movement in America is nothing we can passively await. We have the opportunity and thus the duty to ourselves to rediscover for whatever opposition now exists or is coming into being the roots and meaning of radical political class consciousness. That means developing first of all ourselves that practical consciousness in which the class struggle must co-exist. It is because we are despite superb appearances the continuers of the important of traditions, the actual tradition of the left, that we must start our fresh work with what is given to us by that tradition; for in order to help make history we must learn its lessons.

# LEVATHAN

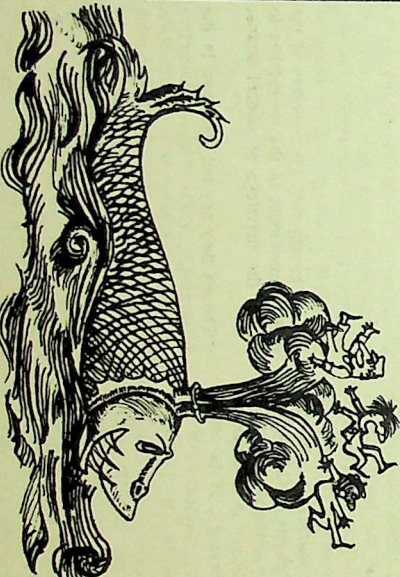
The student movement is growing—in numbers, in ability to confront and expose the institutions that oppress us, and in commitment to the revolutionary transformation of this society. We need to strengthen and expand this movement, but we must also begin to reach beyond our student base and into the ghettos and white communities, the factories, the army, and the streets—wherever people are oppressed and angry, but do not yet see an alternative in the programs of the left. We need to develop the organizational forms that will link their scattered struggles in a broad-based, anti-capitalist movement.

It is to contribute to this strengthening and transformation of the movement that LEVATHAN is being published. Each month, LEVATHAN seeks to be:

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# Cuba: the 10th anniversary

by Carl Oglesby  
NIC Member

We met in Mexico City shortly after Christmas: Bruce Goldberg from Colorado, Russ Neufeld from New England, and myself, more or less from San Francisco. We arrived in Cuba on December 27 and left, in my case, on the 7th of January, and with Bruce and Russ, the 12th.

What we did: from the 28th through the 1st, took guided tours inside and outside Havana to see docks, a fishing fleet, experimental dairy farms, the Animal Institute, new villages; took in the modern dancers, the folk dancers, and the ballet dancers; spent about 15 hours in three different sessions with Domingo Amuchostegui of OSPAAI; met with the editors of Pensamiento Critico; had long talks with Cubans of low, middle and high estate and also among ourselves and with other Americans there.

On the night of the 1st, at a formal reception, we saw (did not speak to or even very much overhear) Fidel in all his incredible charisma. On the 2nd: Fidel's speech at the Plaza de la Revolution. Then to the Isle of Pines/Youth, where Cuba's pet project in the making of communism is going forward, mainly in the hands of some of the most turned-on young people you could ever hope to find.

## Revolutionary Glimpses

What we saw: something of a revolution in progress. Was it a trunk? A task? A leg? "Only the dead know Brooklyn," said Thomas Wolfe, and Cuba is at least as complicated a piece of territory. What's healthy about a short trip is that you leave with no illusions about having seen the whole thing. People who stay longer may be tempted to think they do. "What, you didn't go to Oriente? But that's where the Revolution really is!" No doubt.

We didn't see the whole of the revolution. For that, not even ten years is not a long time. You would also have to know what it's like in Jamaica with the bureaucrats and in Haiti with the peasants, and it would help to have spent a lifetime among the starving fishermen and farmers of Brazil's Pernambuco and in the campo of Argentina. And so on. We live on glimpses. There's nothing else.

My picture: The ground cause of the revolution is fruitless toil and needless suffering. The purpose of the revolution is to eliminate these. The program of the

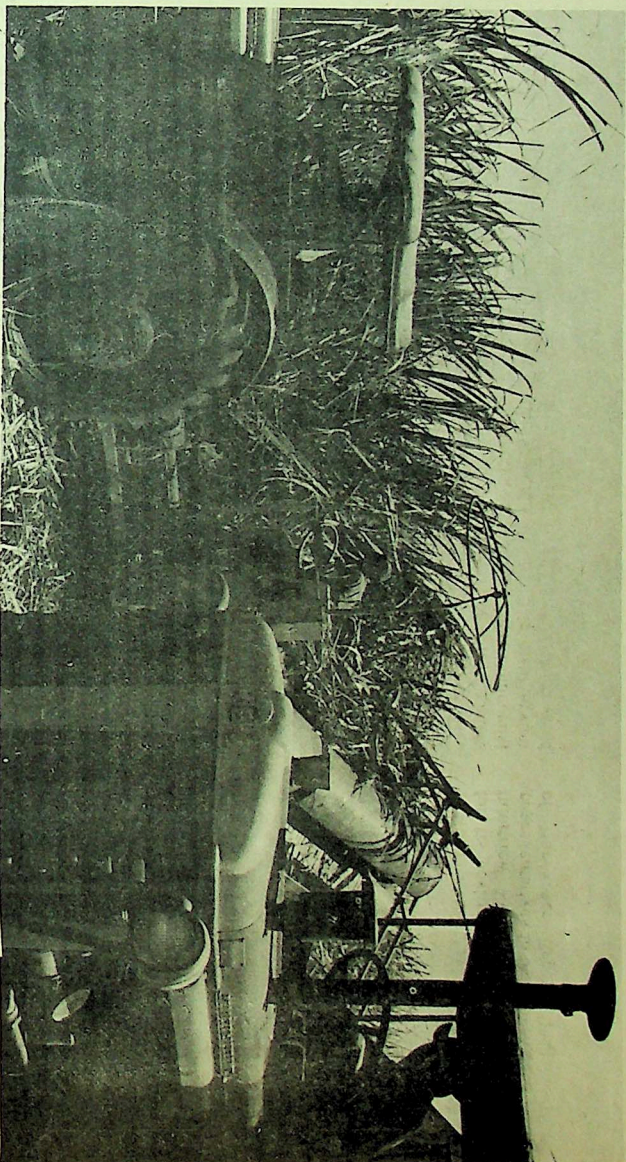


photo by Mark Hardesty/SF Newsreel

revolution is therefore at bottom the social organization of the latent forces of production of the people and the land. Properly organized, people interact with land to produce wealth. Effecting this organization is the prime task of the revolution. This is why there are all these exemplary worker armies busting around all over the island with their tractors and trucks and bulldozers: the Che Guevara Brigade, the July 26 Brigade, the Centennial Column, the wide variety of volunteer labor groups on long- and short-term stints in the countryside.

The revolution's former aim, back in the days when the sky was possibly's only limit, was total and speedy industrialization. It was to be no longer an agrarian economy. Since 1964, a more realistic ambition has taken the place of this: the mechanization of agriculture, or more precisely, of sugar. This is the key objective, because it's through this that Cuba can gradually amass the foreign exchange needed to move onwards to a higher level of industrialization. No Cubans seem to think that Cuba will ever become self-sufficient. She will never become, for example, a big steel producer. She lacks the resources for this. What is being said, rather, is that Cuba has something important to sell

to the world—not only sugar, but many other foods: coffee, citrus fruits, someday maybe beef—and that the world has something to sell to Cuba: cars, radios, etc.

Things are tight and suspenseful now. The austerity is real and especially conspicuous in Havana. Now you see long lines of people in front of stores where there isn't much to buy. Gasoline, sugar, cigars, cloth, meat—almost everything is rationed. The reason is simple: everything the Cubans don't consume at home they can sell abroad. The 200,000 tons of sugar the rationing will save annually will translate over a three-year period into 3000 ten-ton trucks.

At the same time, Cuba's accomplishments are awesome. Illiteracy is wiped out and virtually the whole student-age population is in school. A sixth-grade-level education is available to everyone, and some 300,000 students are on scholarship. A thousand doctors are being graduated a year. The health program has eradicated polio, swamp fever, certain common infant and child diseases. Ninetypercent of all births now are in hospitals. In fact, the mortality pattern in Cuba now resembles that of the advanced countries: the big killers are heart

attack and cancer.

No other country in Latin America has achieved anything like these accomplishments. Cuba's economy will begin to take off if she harvests ten million tons of sugar in 1970, and the revolution has staked its honor on reaching this goal. The best harvest ever, 1952: 7.2 million tons. The best year during the revolution: over 6. Last year, fighting a drought: 5.2. But the 10 are in the ground and the refineries are up to refining it. The only question is whether enough cane can be cut. There will be a total mobilization for this—between the months of November and March.

If Cuba gets the 10, the revolution is stronger than ever. And this show of strength would almost exactly coincide with the failure and virtual breakdown of the Alliance for Progress. This is a key political fact. Couple it with the US defeat in Vietnam, which asks for vengeance, and Czechoslovakia, where the USSR explicitly affirmed and the US implicitly accepted the politics of spheres of influence, and you have a world situation that puts Cuba once again at the hot spot. What will Nixon do? This is a question which Nixon may not immediately answer. But Cuba is nevertheless going to be with us for a long time.

## Negotiations, the NLF, and PL

(Reprinted from The Guardian, January 11, 1969)

by Carl Davidson

In early November the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam and the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces issued a joint five-point position on a political solution to the war. It stated:

1. South Vietnam is absolutely determined to struggle for the achievement of its sacred rights of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, progress, and the country's reunification.

2. American imperialism must end the war of aggression and withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops and all war material from South Vietnam and liquidate its military bases.

3. South Vietnam's internal affairs must be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves without foreign interference, in accordance with the NLF's political program. General elections must be held to organize the formation of a democratic government of broad national union.

4. The question of the reunification of Vietnam must be settled gradually by the Vietnamese people in both parts of the country in a peaceful manner, by means of consultations and agreements, without foreign interference.

5. South Vietnam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. It will

not conclude military alliances with foreign countries and will establish friendly relations with all states in conformity with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

### PLP Misleading

This position does not cede a single principle in the NLF's program, nor in its previous five-point and 10-point positions. However, members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) have claimed otherwise (see "NLF leaders must be criticized," Challenge, December 1968, and "No Negotiations," New York SDS Regional Newsletter). Statements in these articles are slanderous to the NLF and misleading to the U.S. antiwar movement.

For example: "The NLF...has now shifted from an offensive to a defensive position, even pulling back forces from areas in which they had been in control.... Meanwhile, the U.S. has improved its military situation...." PLP gives no factual substantiation of this argument (there is none) and, in effect, pushes the U.S. military's wishful thinking within the antiwar movement.

Other statements are even worse. "The NLF believes that full independence can be achieved through a coalition government of communists, progressive nationalists, and pro-U.S. fascists, established by free elections—under the guns of foreign troops backed by

hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops centered in coastal enclaves."

This is slander. If PLP is opposed to the fight for neutrality and a coalition government of broad national union during the phase of national democratic revolution, it should have opposed the NLF from the beginning, for these demands have always been in the NLF program. But to claim the NLF program has "guaranteed" a protracted U.S. military presence, or that U.S. puppets will be included in a coalition government is a lie (see points two and three above).

The NLF has stated in point 12 of its program, "Officials of the puppet administration who voluntarily offer to continue to serve the motherland and the people in the state apparatus after the liberation of South Vietnam will be treated as equals." This point was also made by a leader of the People's Revolutionary party (the Communist party within the NLF) in an interview with Wilfred Burchett: "...there could be elements almost at the opposite end of the political spectrum from us... even pro-American nationalists, as long as they break with the puppets and are for genuine national independence...." (Vietnam Will Win!, page 155, emphasis added.)

PLP objects to the NLF's call for neutrality because "...there is no such thing as neutrality: all nations and

political forces must support revolution or counterrevolution." This is true in the long run. But neutrality of any government established by the NLF would only be a temporary neutrality with an explicit predetermined direction. This is the point of the NLF's demand for reunification with the North (see the NLF program or point 4 above).

If PLP thinks an alliance of broad national union (excluding puppets) is an incorrect element in a people's war strategy for a national democratic revolution, then they should say so. If they think reunification with the North would give a proimperialist and antirevolutionary direction to the neutrality of an independent South Vietnam, they should make that clear as well. Their position then would at least be consistently stupid.

Much of the "evidence" PLP gives for its position is based on a supposed interview with NLF and Hanoi representatives in the March 1968 issue of War/Peace Report. Perhaps PLP is not aware that both the NLF and Hanoi have disclaimed the political position of that article as well as the article itself. At any rate, serious doubt should be cast on any revolutionary who more readily believes the wishful thinking of a bourgeois journalist writing in a bourgeois publication than the clear and consistent position put forth by the NLF and Hanoi.