

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4, Number 10

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

March 7, 1968

INSIDES:

The center four pages of this issue commemorate International Women's Day. Bulk copies of the center section are available from the SDS National Office for use at rallies and in educational campaigns.

We made the news today, oh boy!

(Here, There, and Everywhere Department)

SAN FRANCISCO STATE: Brief meetings were held last week between the Third World Liberation Front and a "select committee" empowered by Hayakawa to engage in peace talks with the TWLF. The TWLF has always maintained that they will talk only to persons with power to implement the demands, so they sent the following note to the administration:

"We now see very clearly your intentions are to vacillate, waste as much time as possible, and engage in unprincipled dialogue. For these and other reasons, we find it imperative that you answer each precondition yes or no...the select committee must either show that they have the power to meet all the demands, or have the necessary people present who can implement them...that all disciplinary hearings on campus for striking students be dropped...that George Murray must immediately be released from jail to participate in these meetings, or that the meetings must take place in the San Francisco County Jail."

The committee replied that they were not empowered to meet the preconditions. Negotiations have been temporarily suspended, while the administration attempts to get its negotiating team together.

Monday morning, March 3, 400 people walked the first big picket line of the new semester. The AFT teachers have now ended their strike and gone back to work, so the AFL-CIO strike sanction has ended. A mass confrontation is expected later in the week.

YPSILANTI, MICHIGAN: 85 black students at Eastern Michigan University seized the administration building Feb. 20; after a one-hour occupation, 100 riot-equipped police sawed their way in and busted the "leaders." Demands included increased black enrollment, tuition based on family income, and a black studies program.

SDS members were picketing outside and planning an action later that day; when the police brought their prisoners out, clashes started, and two whites were busted for blocking the police van, bringing the total to 13. The next day, up to two thousand people marched through classroom buildings into dorms and through the student union to rally support for a student strike. Negotiations between BSU members and the school administration broke down when the administration refused to drop charges against any of those busted the day before.



—photo by John Daniels

SEATTLE: Twenty-five members of SDS and BSU occupied the president's office at Seattle Community College Feb. 25. They demanded construction of a branch campus, to be controlled by the community, in Seattle's central district, the ghetto area.

The administration's original plan was that the main academic sections of the college would be located at two other campuses, located in predominantly white areas. The central area campus would have a minimal academic program, while the main emphasis would be on vocational training.

SDS demanded that first priority should be given to the central campus. All construction on other campuses must be stopped until construction begins at the central area branch, they demanded. Also, there should be equal representation of black people for all positions to be filled at the campus. The demands were to have been presented to the school's president at a rally, but he didn't show (he was in San Francisco speaking at a conference on "Community College—Urban Crisis Situation"). Students refused to talk with anyone else and occupied his office.

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA: More than 75 persons, including SDS Internal Education Secretary Fred Gordon, were arrested here at Florida State University when they held an SDS meeting in defiance of a court injunction. They assembled in the Student Union, and were told to leave; they refused, the doors of the room were locked, and then the police entered and arrested everyone. They were charged with contempt of court and released on bail after being held overnight. No local lawyers will take the case, and arraignment is being postponed until the students can get a lawyer.

Following the busts a rally was held for several hours in front of the administration building; a student strike has also been called.



ROME: Thousands of militant students took to the streets to demonstrate against Pres. Nixon's Feb. 27 visit. Around 15,000 police were called out, many from outside the city, to defend Nixon and Italian Pres. Saragat. Students used street signs as spears and to fend off police baton charges. Injured: 21 police, 10 students.

Students at the occupied University of Rome bombarded cops in an attempt to break out of buildings and link up with the other demonstrators. A right-wing newspaper was also attacked. The U.S. Embassy, surrounded by police barricades, withstood an attack.

BOULDER, COLORADO: Eight persons were arrested and one suspended from school after University of Colorado activists took action when S. I. Hayakawa visited the campus. Hayakawa, acting president of S. F. State, is currently on a speaking tour. CU students learned of his visit three days beforehand and printed leaflets outlining the State strike demands (with explanations) along with a few choice S. I. Hayakawa quotes. The day of his talk, representatives of the State BSU and Strike Committee came to CU and spoke with representatives of Denver's Third World community at a noon rally.

Over 3,000 people showed up that night for the speech. The CU Afro-American organization occupied a special section; plain-clothesmen were discovered behind the stage curtains; everyone was up-tight. As soon as Hayakawa appeared, the blacks began shouting him down. Chairs, bottles, and other assorted articles flew on stage; some people attempted to confront Hayakawa and fist fights with the cops ensued. After an hour of this, Hayakawa began his antics: "I can outlast all you bastards," he announced. To a black woman: "You have nice hair, sister." In response to a crowd chant of "Pigs off campus," he replied "Rats off campus."

Shortly after this, about 500 people walked out, then returned later when a representative of the SF State strike committee took the liberated microphone and presented the real issues to the somewhat-shocked audience.

MADISON, WISCONSIN: Thirty-three arrested students at the University of Wisconsin are facing expulsion and a state legislature investigation growing out of the UW student strike. They need \$10,000 for a legal defense fund (to pay for legal costs—lawyers' fees are free). Contributions should be sent to Wisconsin Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1082, Madison, Wisconsin 53701.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Al and Margaret McSurely appeared this week before the McClellan Committee, which had ordered them to present all books, records, and papers relating to SCEF, SSOC, SNCC, and SDS from 1964 to the present. The hearing was closed; 300 people had come and couldn't get into the room. The McSurely's refused to turn over any such materials; McClellan hinted that he wasn't interested at all in any testimony from them, just the documents. "You represent the banking and land-holding interests," said the McSurely's, "and we represent the people you oppress." The McSurelys are two SCEF workers from Kentucky.

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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

Penn sit-in appraised

....Since Monday, the sit-in has ended, as you know. The chairman of the negotiating committee that met with the faculty and trustees has called the settlement a total victory. However, "total victory" is not that easy. Surely total victory is not when "all sides were victors", as was being claimed Monday by some liberal faculty and administration people.

The settlement at Penn was no capitulation on student demands. In the first place, it was reached on the basis of "demands" by a group of faculty who were playing the mediation game. Their proposal was endorsed first by the trustees, and only afterward by the students.

Poor Polarization

I participated in sit-ins as a member of the Temple SDS caucus (there were sit-inners from six colleges and the High School Project, in addition to Penn). By the time that settlement was reached, the sit-in had been polarized. However, it was not polarized as SF State was polarized, between the people and the pigs in power, but between a "moderate" faction of Penn SDS, and the radical factions from most of the other colleges. The moderates won because

Philadelphia has been fragmented and dispersed throughout the city as a result of previous institutional expansion, so that the vacuum has been filled by such groups as the Young Great Society and Mantua Community Planners. The latter has three staff members on Penn's payroll, and is also part of the black coalition that entered the sit-in on Thursday. For reasons which are not yet clear, Penn's Student African and Afro-American Society (SAAS) did not play any part in the sit-in, and were not involved in the settlement.

Demands Not Achieved

To sum up, for many of us the original objectives of the demands on the board of the Science Center and Penn's trustees have not been achieved. We feel that we are still a long way from total victory. We have won some limited victories, such as the resolution by Penn's University Council that war-related research cease at the Science Center, in which Penn holds a controlling interest, and the promise of \$10 million for low-cost housing. The struggle has given a lot of students an understanding of the fact that we cannot have a narrow socialism-on-one-campus perspective, that the magnitude of the issues is beyond a particular campus. In doing so, it will eventually provide a real alternative for people which will

stress on one point: that "the cheapness of wages in the Third World is used by the ruling class to drive wages down at home." This assumes that overseas plant investment (or other activities employing large numbers of indigenous workers) is the only aspect of American imperialism. It completely ignores the drive to export American-made goods, which has been so well documented by William A. Williams, Walter LaFeber, Lloyd Gardner, and others, and which has historically been a crucial part of American business expansion. It likewise ignores the exploitation of the Third World's natural resources, most notably in mid-eastern and Venezuelan oil production, in which foreign labor is often not an important factor.

\$22 Billion Insult

It ignores the question of whether the large profits made by U.S. firms overseas enable them to provide more employment, at somewhat higher wages, than they would otherwise be able to provide at home. (I pretend to no particular knowledge on this point, but the idea has been kicked around by Marxist thinkers for decades and should at least be considered.) Finally, there is the whole question of military expenditures. Given the probable inability of American capitalism to

plus the high unemployment of blacks are used as a lever to push down the wages and working conditions of all workers" is true only in a very limited sense. It is true to the extent that a kind of caste system, by which black workers are effectively excluded from the best-paying skilled jobs, doesn't exist. To the extent that such a caste system does exist—and I think we can agree that this is a very considerable extent—then black workers are irrelevant to the wages of the skilled white workers. Irrelevant because they aren't eligible for those white workers' jobs and therefore don't represent an "industrial reserve army" in relation to them. Fred would be on much firmer grounds if he talked about the effect of black unemployment on black workers' wages.

None of this should be taken to mean that white workers are "responsible" for imperialism or racism, nor that these are in the long-term interests of workers (or of most other people). What I'm objecting to is, first of all, the use of intellectually inadequate standards of argumentation, and, second, the narrow economic interpretation of class structure which makes that type of argumentation necessary.

Jim O'Brien
Madison SDS



This land is being urban renewed to make way for the University City Science Center; controversy over UCSC touched off the Penn sit-in.

—photo by Steve Faust/
Haverford News

the sit-in was not much of a confrontation (Harnwell, president of Penn, allowed use of College Hall as long as we didn't disturb or hinder classes and let guards in to protect administration files), and because most of the Penn people, who formed a majority, were liberals.

Of course, the situation is not that simple. The administration played it very cool after the initial shock. The community representatives who entered into the scene as token participants on Thursday last were not radicals in any sense. For example, Herman Wrice, their spokesman, is a leader of the "Young Great Society" (sic), a West Philadelphia group much reminiscent of Floyd McKissick's cooling off operations in Cleveland. Last weekend, Wrice and Penn received a joint award from the Freedoms Foundation in Valley Forge, Pa., for their meritorious community work.

No Mention of UCSC!

The faculty solution accepted by the majority on Sunday night involves the establishment of a task force composed of five community representatives (chosen by Wrice and his group); five students (chosen by the sit-in majority); five faculty (chosen by the faculty senate, which is much more traditionalist than the mediation group); and five trustee representatives. The task force will implement and conduct the spending of \$10 million to build low-cost housing for people in the area. It will also oversee Penn's expansion program into the West Philly ghetto. There are no guarantees on this money, only a promise that the trustees will try to raise that amount as a target. Incredibly, the final agreement makes no specific mention of the University City Science Center, which was the target of the demonstration.

One of the reasons why it was so easy for the liberals to take control of the situation was the style and modus operandi of the radicals; another was that not very much organizing has been done on a one-to-one basis around Penn; finally, the black community in West

eventually defeat the liberals. More important, it has already begun to provide the material basis for links between student radicals and the black community, which if developed on a grass-roots basis in the high schools, etc., will also help the black radicals (i.e., the Panthers et al.) triumph over the Toms.

Ed Aguilar
Temple SDS

Nice set of slogans, but...

I was appalled by Fred Gordon's article in the Feb. 21 issue of New Left Notes. He appears to be attempting to build an analysis of modern capitalism on a nice set of slogans, and it can't be done.

Fred tries to dispense with the question of whether U.S. workers benefit from imperialism by putting his entire

provide reasonably full employment without these expenditures, I would be hard put to dismiss the notion that at least some American workers gain at least some benefits (at least some immediate benefits) from them.

Fred's discussion of racism I found no more satisfactory. In the first place, he uses the \$22 billion figure which has appeared in every "worker-student alliance" document lately and which is an insult to the intelligence. \$22 billion is "the extra profits made off black workers due to racism." As near as I can figure, this amount was calculated by taking the differential between the average wages of white and black workers and then multiplying by the number of black workers. This is fine except that it fails to take into consideration questions of productivity in different types of jobs—which makes the whole thing meaningless.

More importantly, the statement that "The lower wages of black workers

Incorrect view of women?

The weaknesses of the militarization proposal and also the way it's used to obfuscate a class view are particularly evident in the article "Militarization and Women". They describe fairly well some of the effects of the special oppression of women, including the valid point that the war has sharpened it. However they use class rhetoric to hide the lack of class analysis; the theory of militarization, at best is irrelevant and, at worst, harmful to the struggle they give lip service to.

Liberal Focus

The focus of militarization is essentially a liberal focus. It dovetails with their liberal view of oppression at home. This view, like that put forward by Coleman & Klonsky, does not see workers as having a real interest in fighting the ruling class except in times of war, e.g. "service institutions have increasingly become instruments of class oppression," as though they were previously, at least in part, the instrument of benevolent liberals. This analysis leads straight into the demand for liberal reforms. The war is the real cause of oppression, therefore we should demand that the war be ended and social priorities be changed back to benevolent liberalism. They never say that outright, but they continually hint at it. ("In a militarized society, care of women is just not the priority.")

Using militarization as an organizing gimmick denies the importance of people's experience with class oppression. Struggles of people for better wages, better welfare and rent control are only confused by this analysis—what's really wrong with capitalist society is not the everyday oppression people suffer but "militarization."

They never really say anything about

(continued on Page 7)

New Left Notes

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"The phenomenon of women within the Revolution is a revolution within another revolution," Fidel said in December, 1966.

This special section of New Left Notes celebrates March 8, International Women's Day. The day commemorates a demonstration of socialist working-class women in New York City in 1908; the International Socialist Congress in 1910 declared March 8 a holiday of the world proletariat, in honor of women's struggles.

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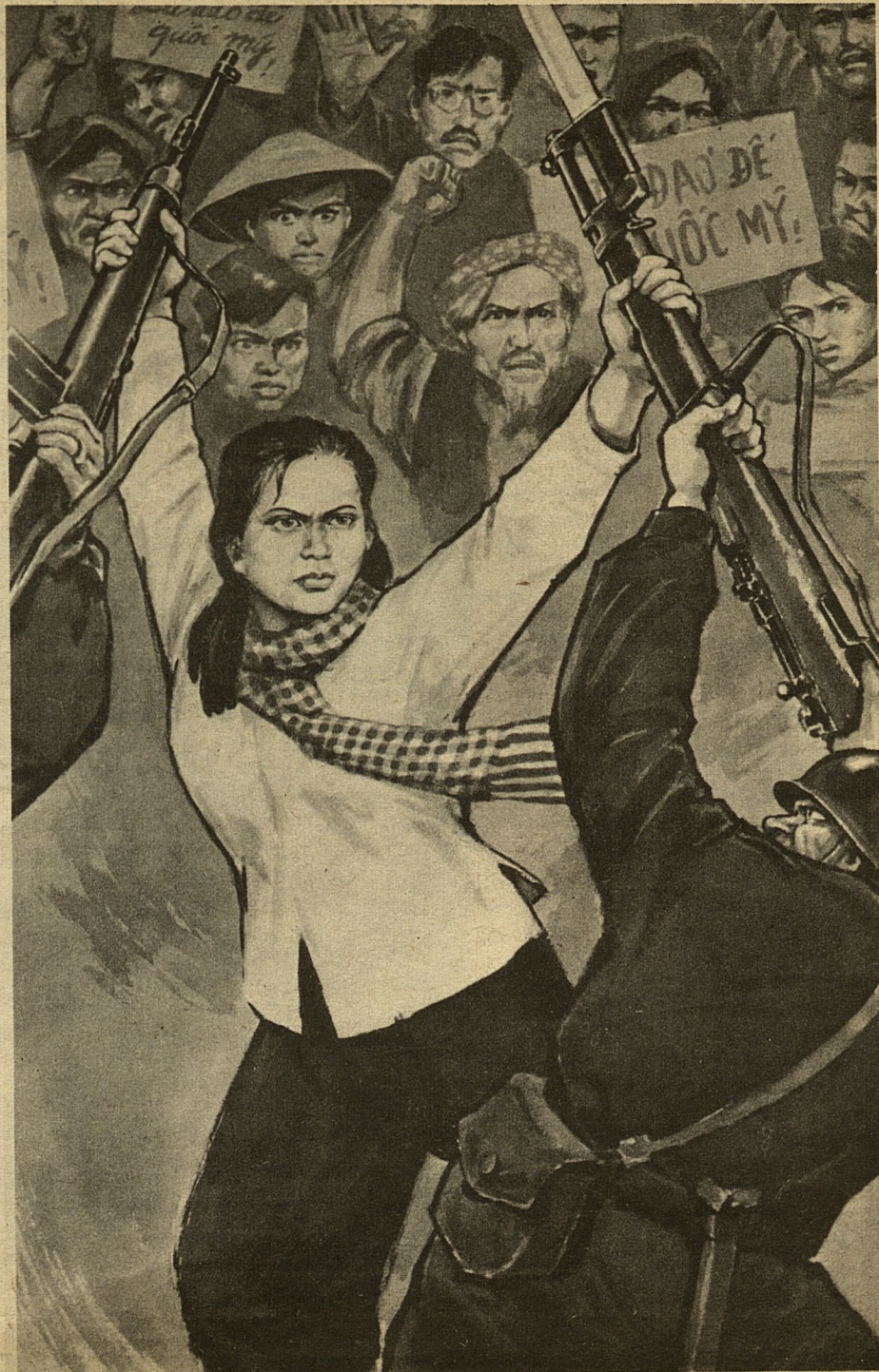
LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

Special Issue

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY



"The proletariat cannot achieve complete freedom, unless it achieves complete freedom for women." --Lenin



The Mud of Vietnam
by Julius Lester

The
mud
of
Vietnam
is
woman-thigh
deep
with back spent,
for muddiness is next to
godliness,
woman-thigh deep
in river mud at low tide,
woman-hands
scooping mud to build
new dikes and
repair bombed ones:
woman-thigh deep
in the fields of
Hung Yen province
carving slabs of
mud that will
be cut to
brick size and
baked in kilns . . .
woman-thigh high
in water,
feet
deep
in
the
mud,
planting rice—
(with a quick
turn of the wrist
green stocks
are
thrust into the mud):
woman-thigh high
midst the delicate rice
hair (tied loosely
at the back of the head)
falling below the
hips
and
brushing the tops
of the
green
rice stocks.

Their
woman-ness
seems to grow from
the
mud
of
Vietnam
where they stand,
woman-thigh high,
woman-thigh deep.

I would like
to make love

woman-thigh high
woman-thigh deep

in
the
mud
of
Vietnam.



Women's struggle

by Marilyn Katz

"There has not been a single great movement of the oppressed in history in which working women have not played a part. Working women, who are the most oppressed of the oppressed, have never stood aloof and could not stand aloof from the great march of emancipation."

J. Stalin

American women have struggled against their own oppression and against the oppression of all working people throughout U.S. history. Their struggles have always been integrally related to the black liberation and labor struggles.

As the colonies developed economically they developed a rigid class structure based on the enslavement of blacks and the iron control of all other sectors of available labor.

This exploitation and control was of course the worst for black women. For over two hundred years, traders had provided black labor for Southern cotton and tobacco plantations and large profits for the New York, London, Boston, and Liverpool banks. These

women were not only exploited workers, but specifically as a race sex as well. In the field they picked cotton for their owners' profit; in house they were made breeders of children to be sold or put to work in the fields, and made sources of sex pleasure for their enslavers.

For white women, this early stage capitalism made them legal property of first their fathers, then their husbands. They had no form of legal existence outside their marriage. In a sex they were denied the right to control any earnings they received, denied the right to sign contracts, denied the right to sue for divorce, and denied the right to participate in any of the church or civil governing procedures of the colonies.

This legal, social, political, and economic enslavement was of course reinforced and legitimized by the Church. It taught that women's subjugation was based on a physical and mental limitation which arose from the original sin of Eve.

The question of legal status for women was first raised in the Puritan theocracy of Boston. Anne Hutchinson claimed that she had a right to voice her political

Women's liberation in revolutionar

(This is an excerpt from William Hinton's book, Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966). The selection comes from Chapter 16, "Half of China." Hinton spent six months in 1948 in China, in Long Bow Village, three years after the village had been liberated by the Red Army from the Japanese occupying forces. His book is an exciting history of the Chinese Revolution and its effect on one village, specifically around the question of land reform.)

While the dramatic, violent, and often macabre scenes of the "settlement of accounts" and the exuberant, lively, often humorous incidents of the "distribution of the fruits" unfolded like the intricate plot of some day-long Chinese opera, another struggle began whose object was the liberation of women from the oppression of their husbands and from domestic seclusion.

A few poor peasant women in Long Bow, the wives of leading revolutionary cadres, early organized a Women's Association where brave wives and daughters-in-law, untrammelled by the presence of their menfolk, could voice their own bitterness against their traitors, encourage their poor sisters to do likewise, and thus eventually bring to the village-wide gatherings the strength of "half of China," as the more enlightened women, very much in earnest, liked to call themselves. By "speaking pains to recall pains," the women found that they had as many if not more grievances than the men, and that once given a chance to speak in public they were as good at it as their fathers and husbands, as had

been proven by Chin Mao's mother in that first district-wide anti-traitor meeting.

But the women found as they organized among themselves, attended meetings and entered into public life, that they met more and more opposition from the men, particularly from the men of their own households, most of whom regarded any activity by wives or daughters-in-law outside the home as "steps leading directly to adultery." Family heads, having paid sound grain for their women, regarded them as their private property, expected them to work hard, bear children, serve their fathers, husbands, and mothers-in-law, and speak only when spoken to. In this atmosphere the activities of the Women's Association created a domestic crisis in many a family. Not only did the husbands object to their wives going out; the mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law objected to it even more strenuously. Many young wives who nevertheless insisted on going to meetings were badly beaten when they got home.

Among those who were beaten was poor peasant Man-ts'ang's wife. When she came home from a Women's Association meeting, her husband beat her as a matter of course, shouting, "I'll teach you to stay home. I'll mend your rascal ways." But Man-ts'ang's wife surprised her lord and master. Instead of staying home thereafter as a dutiful chattel, she went the very next day to the secretary of the Women's Association, militiaman Ta-hung's wife, and registered a complaint against her husband. After a discussion with the members of the executive committee, the secretary called a meeting of the women of the whole village. At least a third, perhaps

even half of them, unprecedented gathering demand was made that Man-ts'ang, arrogant He said that he beat meetings, and "the on is to gain a free har

Fig
This remark arou women assembled b deeds. They rushed him down, kicked h his face, pulled h he could no longer br

"Beat her, will yo will you? Well, rape teach you."

"Stop, I'll never panic-stricken husba fainting under their

They stopped, let a warning—let him wife again and he w "cure."

From that day on beat his wife and f became known to th name, Ch'eng Ai-lien of Man-ts'ang's wife time began.

A few similar inci an errant husband s lockup, soon taught t circumspect in their if it did not teach the life any more than th

The institution of ended in a few wee once shown their po beat every man in a question. Thereafte strong-armed husbar change his ways, at l

Equc

When asked if, as had yet won equal Association said, "I better than before. and most men still o women are no use. time to win equality it will help a lot. I depend on me for a eat the things I ea share they can say land and I can live When it comes to work just as hard a They can do everyt even hoe if they ca drive carts. Well, e the animals are prett

It was not long l in some parts of th for women, and the



in U.S. history

and theological opinion in church affairs and doctrines and to participate in the political life of the community governed by the male hierarchy of the Church. All men and women, she said, could govern themselves, because all had the ability to communicate with God. The political implications of her stand resulted in her banishment from Boston on charges of heresy and treason.

Developing Politics

Women took unified political action during the Revolutionary War years. They organized anti-tea leagues and boycotts of all English goods, stopped the hoarding of goods by profiteers by expropriating property, and took part in the production of goods necessary for the war.

The war, however, did not change their legal, political, or economic status. They were isolated and exploited in their homes and would not be able to act collectively until the industrial development and Western expansion of American capitalism pulled many of them out of their homes and into the factories.

The rise of spinning and weaving as profitable industries, through the

development of the power loom and the expansion of the country with the Louisiana Purchase produced a greater demand for labor. Women were being pulled into the labor force rapidly as textile workers and teachers. This necessitated their being treated as free labor, a need in contradiction to their existing legal status as the slave property of their husbands. At the same time, the general contradiction between the free labor of the North and the slave labor of the South was sharpening, aiming the country toward the Civil War. The conjunction of these two battles of the slave against the free produced a movement for women's right in which the issue of black freedom was a critical focus.

Collective Action

The abolitionist movement brought women into the struggle against slavery, and in the process gave them the impetus to fight for their own freedom. Women's activity in the movement taught them the necessity for collective action, and won for them the right to speak in public. More importantly, in confronting and countering the male

(continued on back page)

ry China

em, showed up. In front of this gathering of determined women a that Man-ts'ang explain his actions. agant and unbowed, readily complied. beat his wife because she went to e only reason women go to meetings hand for flirtation and seduction."

Fighting Back

aroused a furious protest from the d before him. Words soon led to ed at him from all sides, knocked d him, tore his clothes, scratched his hair, and pummelled him until r breathe.

ou? Beat her and slander us all, rape your mother. Maybe this will

ver beat her again," gasped the husband who was on the verge of eir blows.

let him up, and sent him home with him so much as lay a finger on his e would receive more of the same

y onward Man-ts'ang never dared nd from that day onward his wife o the whole village by her maiden -lien, instead of simply by the title wife, as had been the custom since

incidents, one of which resulted in nd spending two days in the village ght the poor peasant men to be more heir treatment of their wives, even n them to appreciate women in public n they had before.

of wife beating was, of course, not weeks by such means. But having r power the women did not have to in order to make progress on this eafter, a serious talk with a husband was often enough to make him at least for the time being.

Equality for Women

, as a result of these actions, women equality, one of the leaders of the d, "No, not yet. Things are a little ore. Still, there are beating cases still despise women's words and think use. We have to struggle for a long ality. When we have land of our own ot. In the past men always said, 'You for a living. You just stay home and I earn.' But after women get their say, 'I got this grain from my own live without you by my own labor.' s to labor on the land, women can ard as men even if they are weaker. verything except plowing. They can ey can't hoe so fast. But they cannot ill, even this they can do, but some of pretty hard to handle."

ong before the Women's Association of the country set up plowing classes d the fame of those who mastered



—photo by Rewi Alley

agricultural labor spread far and wide. A widow in Shen Settlement startled everyone with her strength and skill. She could do everything a man could do and more. She could even push a loaded wheelbarrow on the highway and earn \$12 a day, Border Region currency, transporting bricks. She was so skilled at planting that in the spring all the peasants in Shen Settlement wanted her, and no one else, to plant their millet.

In another village, only five miles from Long Bow, a woman was elected as village head.

Women such as these were rare, but as news of their exploits spread, others were greatly encouraged.

Revolutionary Power of Women

It would be very one-sided to imply that the only goal of the Women's Association was equality for women. Without the successful transformation of society, without the completion of land reform, without a victorious defense of the Liberated Areas against the probing attacks of the Nationalist armies, it was impossible to talk of liberation for women. Many women realized this as if by intuition, and they made the Women's Association an instrument for mobilizing the power of women behind the revolution in all its aspects—behind the "settling of accounts," behind the drive for production, and behind the defense effort. Through the Association, classes were organized for literacy and for the study of politics, cotton loans were made to stimulate spinning and weaving, the women were brought together to make uniforms and shoes for the soldiers, and wives and mothers were urged to encourage their husbands, sons, and brothers to enlist in the army.

All of these activities were intimately linked up with the struggle for equality, with the demand on the part of women that they should no longer be treated as chattels. If this demand alarmed the men, the all-out support which the women gave to over-all revolutionary goals disarmed them and won from them a grudging admiration. In their hearts they had to admit that they could not win without the help of "half of China."

Facts of exploitation

Exploitation and oppression of women is not simply that of a consumer, or a psychologically-repressed group. The statistics below illustrate the definite economic subjugation of working women in the United States.

In 1966, 39 out of every 100 women over 14 years old was in the labor force, accounting for 27.8 million or 36% of all workers. These figures have increased steadily since 1946. More than one out of three married women is in the labor force; of these, 60% are also mothers.

The median wages for year-round full-time employed women workers was \$3,923, only 60% that of men (\$6,375). See Background Facts on Women Workers in the United States, U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, May, 1967.

Women comprise 75% of all workers in the textile and garment industry. New York City's garment trade employs 40,150 women, whose median wage in 1963 was \$2.24 an hour, compared to men's \$3.27 an hour. In Philadelphia, the garment industry pays women a median wage of \$1.87 an hour; in Dallas, the wages are \$1.47. Many Puerto Rican and black women working in this industry earn as little as \$45 a week. In non-union shops they work overtime for no extra pay, not knowing that they are entitled to overtime pay and provisions of the minimum wage laws.

Furthermore, many garment shops are moving south to take advantage of mass unemployment and the almost-non-existent minimum wage laws and trade unions. For example, Levi Strauss and Co. moved to Blue Ridge, Georgia, in 1960. Within seven years, it had sifted through 3,800 employees to select 560 highly-skilled workers, 500 of them women. Workers struck in 1967 for better job conditions, but pay was also a grievance. One woman, on the job for six years, reported her wages at \$1,531 a year, for a 54-hour week.

In clerical jobs, women's wages are only two-thirds those of men. In addition, as new office machines are introduced, the percentage of women office workers is declining.

The average pay for black working women is \$2,642 a year. The largest group of black women workers is found in domestic service: some 30% work here, compared to 5.6% of white women workers in this field. The median domestic service income for these women is \$1,200 a year.

The 1968 Manpower Report shows that in families receiving ADC funds (Aid to Dependent Children), 40% of the mothers in black families were working, compared to 26% of the mothers in white families.

Breakdown of Occupation and Incomes by Sex, 1960

Occupation	Male		Female	
	Number in Thousands	\$ per Year	Number in Thousands	\$ per Year
Professional*	4,542	6,619	2,792	3,625
Managerial*	4,695	6,664	794	3,355
Clerical	3,120	4,785	6,497	3,017
Sales	3,054	4,987	1,746	1,498
Craft*	8,972	5,240	268	2,927
Operative	9,223	4,299	3,612	2,319
Household*	65	1,078	1,759	684
Service*	2,745	3,310	3,020	1,385
Farm*	1,289	1,066	269	602
Laborer*	3,404	2,948	125	1,872

* Professional: professional and technical; Managerial: managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm; Craft: craftsmen and foremen; Household: private household employees; Service: except private house; Farm: farm laborers and foremen; Laborer: except farm and mine.

Women Employees in Selected Industries in 1966

Industry	Women in Thousands	Women as % of Total	Hourly Wages
Retail Trade	4,380	44	1.91
Durable Manufacture	2,303	20	2.89
Non-durable Manufacture	3,314	39	2.45
Finance, Real Estate	1,563	50	2.48
Transportation, Utilities	800	19	NA*
Wholesale Trade	805	23	2.13
Mining	34	5	3.05

* NA: not available.

Toward a revolutionary women's movement

by Bernardine Dohrn
Inter-Organizational Secretary

Women radicals are split; there are the politicians (those women who are full time movement organizers, who are conscious of the oppression of women who raise the question as part of their work, and help other movement women to that consciousness, and who discount the revolutionary potential of a women's movement) and there are the "professional women" (those women who are full time women, who feel the priority of developing a women's liberation movement, often separatist, and who are generally cynical about the movement, any ideology, and SDS).

At the same time, women's liberation groups are dividing and multiplying, generally in isolation not only from men but from the rest of the movement. Popular articles on the women's movement, such as the NY Times Magazine horror, promote a pop personality, individualistic view of the

struggle and are based on an unstated white middle class consciousness and perspective.

Most of the existing women's groups are mired. Their legitimate function has been to turn on "new" women to understanding the collective oppression of women, to studying its economic and social basis, and to identifying the ramifications of that oppressed status. Their program is only a cycle which produces more women's groups, mostly devoted to a personal liberation/therapy function and promises of study which are an evasion of practice.

Most of the women's groups are bourgeois, unconscious or unconcerned with class struggle and the exploitation of working class women, and chauvinists concerning the oppression of black and brown women. They practice a false communalism, reminiscent of the early days of SDS p.d. (participatory democracy), where struggle is not allowed under the guise of "respect for

one another" and anti-authoritarianism.

In addition to these woes, the tendency represented by the separatists, the men-haters, the fanatical feminists share many of the reactionary dangers of cultural nationalism. These women begin with the correct assumption that people do not obtain their liberation except through struggle. They convincingly show how the woman question has always been submerged in favor of "more important issues." But their direction leads to a middle class single issue movement—and this at a time when the black liberation movement is polarizing the country, when national wars of liberation are waging the most advanced assaults on U.S. imperialism, when the growth of the movement is at a critical stage.

Instead of integrating (not submerging) the struggles of women into the broader revolutionary movement, these women are flailing at their own middle class images. To focus only on sexual

exploitation and the tyranny of consumption does not develop a mass understanding of the causes of oppression, and it does not accurately point at the enemy.

Class Base

A revolutionary women's movement must be politically based on the most oppressed sectors—black, brown and white working-class women. This does not mean that movement women are not a significant part of that movement, or that we must wait until there is a working class women's movement to support. It does mean that we must be conscious of our perspective and the class interests which our demands represent. It means that our immediate job is to organize masses of women around the full scope of radical demands—including the destruction of male supremacy.

Until now, program has been discussed as if a demand must be found which in itself defines the nature of the oppression of women. This assumption—that we must organize women only around an issue which specifically fights their oppression as women—is wrong. Particularly given the student base in which we work. In addition, single issue movements, whether they be women's vote, the issue of abortions, or the anti-draft movement, are most easily cut off from the masses of people and directed into privileged, dead-end reforms. Everywhere around us there are concentrations of women: dorms, women's schools, education and home ec departments, high schools, jobs—women can be mobilized to fight against imperialism and racism.

Institutionalized Subjugation

For example, it's easy to think of the many ways in which the subjugation of women is institutionalized in education departments and teachers' schools: low wages, male monopoly on advancement, women isolated from other adults to care for (be cops for) children. But to organize there without attacking the racist functions of education is counter-revolutionary—and it also obscures an understanding of the roots and functions of male supremacy. Similarly, there are many corporations, such as DuPont, which particularly exploit women in textile plants and through the garment industry. DuPont recruiters would be good agitational targets for women. But DuPont also happens to be one of the six largest international corporations (racist here and abroad) and the major manufacturer of munitions. Exposing all of the ways in which DuPont functions strengthens the general understanding of each of those "issues", for the issue is the destruction of capitalism.

When we actively start to organize women around the totality of their oppression—when we build struggles within institutions, which are related to other parts of the movement—then many of the current activities of women's groups will exist in a context which gives them purpose. Women's liberation groups can be study groups and a place to learn, with other women, how male chauvinism oppresses women. Guerrilla theatre actions will highlight ongoing education and program. And by organizing masses of radical women, we will be in a much stronger position to destroy male supremacy within the movement, and to build the basis for the future society.

History

(continued from center pages)

supremacy within the abolitionist movement, the active women saw that the woman question had to be confronted and deal with explicitly. There was no other way for them to make themselves heard. They had to begin to develop an explicit ideology for women's rights, one which recognized clearly that their freedom could not be accomplished so long as slavery existed.

The two movements—to liberate black people and women—grew simultaneously in their fight against the exploitation of their labor and the special oppressions of women and black people.

Women of great courage and political skill emerged from the abolitionist movement. These included Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Susan Anthony, the Grimke sisters, and Lucretia Mott, who risked their lives many times to speak out against racism and the oppression in the North and South and who led in the exodus of black people from the South by the Underground Railroad.

In 1833, when the abolitionists met in Philadelphia, to form the American Anti-Slavery Society, women were allowed to sit in on the meeting but were not allowed to vote or join. The twenty women there, in response to this exclusion, started the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, which by 1837 had spread cross-country into the National Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Fighting Slavery

This society was led by Angelina and Sarah Grimke, two Southern abolitionists who fought for freedom for all people through the abolitionist struggles as well as in the early labor and women's rights struggles. They were attacked by the Southern racists and the Church, who wanted to defeat the anti-slavery movement as being un-Christian and un-womanly in their activities. They replied by linking up the issues of slavery of black people and oppression of women and the necessity to end both. On the one hand, they constantly fought the notion that women were inferior to men, and on the other hand they stressed the fact that women had to have political and social freedom in order to fight against slavery and all the increased exploitation that was manifesting itself as capitalism developed. Without the right to speak and organize, they would be by their inactivity supporting the continuation of slavery. The attempt to attack abolition through the women question was not fought by the men in the movement. They feared that defending the women's cause would be "divisive" and "injure" the cause, and begged the women to drop it.

This pattern of reactionaries trying to divide men and women in their fight against oppression was to occur over and over again. It impeded the development of a unified movement that could define the capitalist class as its enemy clearly, due to the acceptance by men and many times women of the doctrine of male supremacy.

(continued next week)



Arab women fight

"It is not a war waged with an active army and reserves. Revolutionary war, as the Algerian people is waging it, is a total war in which the woman does not merely knit for or mourn the soldier. The Algerian woman is at the heart of the combat. Arrested, tortured, raped, shot down, she testifies to the violence of the occupier and to his inhumanity. As a nurse, a liaison agent, a fighter she bears witness to the depth and density of the struggle."
—Fanon, *Studies in a Dying Colonialism*

The requirements of total war, of resistance to the occupier, are again transforming traditional relationships. Arab women guerrillas and masses of Arab women and young girls have been leading fighters in the Palestine liberation movement, Al-Fatah. In mass demonstrations and in sabotage, the women have been prominent, particularly in Israeli-occupied areas.

Three young Arab women were seized by Israeli forces as suspects in a roundup of terrorists in late January. They were tried by a military court in Gaza, and two—Fatma Murtadjar, 17, and Fatma Afamat, 24, were sentenced to two years each for being couriers between terrorist cells. The third woman, Nahala Hafez el Baiyed, 19, received three years for various counts, including collecting information.

After the trial, 4,000 high school girls in Gaza rioted in the main streets, barricading the streets, and stoning cars, including the car carrying Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gur, the military governor of the region. The girls tore down mud and stone walls outside their schools to throw pieces at the Israeli soldiers. The demonstrators were attacked by Israeli troops with nightsticks: 90 teenage girls were injured, 40 were hospitalized.

Four days later, thousands of Arab women staged sit-in strikes in Iraq,

Jordan, and Lebanon in support of Arab women and liberation fighters in Israeli-occupied territory. A week later in Ramallah, in Israeli-occupied Jordan, 200 girls sat in at the Ramallah Teacher Training School. Under banners of Arab commandos and Palestinian flags, they brandished pictures of refugees and the Palestinian people.

On February 19 came the commando attack on the El-Al airliner in Zurich, by four refugees of the '67 war. The woman commando Ammah Ahmed Dabbor fled Gaza after the war when her brother was killed by Israelis; she was a teacher in a refugee camp. Further, the first woman martyr of Al-Fatah, Shadia Abu Ghazali, returned to her home, now occupied Nablus, and as a member of the Palestine Liberation Movement organized demonstrations against the occupying forces, and was killed defending her nation.

This on the fifth year of the Palestinian movement, whose position is: "Our insistence on carrying arms until we liberate our land accompanies our belief in peace, which is threatened by the Zionist structure in league with imperialism and colonialism. Our armed revolution and our people's struggle will continue until victory."

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Brandeis article shows need to fight lies

by Jane Shull
Brandeis SDS,
Strike Coordinating Committee

I would like to reply to Ed and Albert's article in NLN (Feb. 5) about Brandeis in a spirit somewhat more constructive than theirs. But it's hard not to be angry: criticism is one thing; epithets like "cop-out" to describe a strike committee is another. Tactical, analytical disagreements are perfectly reasonable. The tone of their article, however, was something else. One wants to say to them, Listen, Eddie and Albert, that's no way to talk about people in your movement. Or are we already the enemy?

They should really be replied to line by line, because they have seriously distorted what was said by the Coordinating Committee. But I will restrict myself to the highlights.

Raise White Demands?

It is true that there was debate on the floor of the mass meetings which we held almost continually at first, about white students issuing our own demands. The blacks had told us to "do our thing"; at one point their liaison even suggested to the coordinating committee (which existed by then) that we should raise our own demands. The committee disagreed. But the right and wrong of it were by no means clear.

Some people argued at the meetings of the whole group that white students are also oppressed by the institution, and that in order to make the struggle deeper, and more our own, we should issue our own demands. Among the suggested additional demands were no grades, but also frequently mentioned was the admission of more white working class youth to Brandeis. Other people argued that the black demands were our demands, because the racist

nature of the university oppresses us all. And still others argued against raising our own demands from a position of liberal guilt—we have to do something for the blacks. Most of the coordinating committee (or the people who later were elected to it) argued for the second of the three positions.

The more general point Ed and Albert are making is that our perspective of student power led us to say we should ally with the blacks because they sought to make the decisions that affect their lives. It is perfectly true that we used a new left rhetoric which had gone out of style in certain circles. I would suggest to the authors that it is equally true that, whatever else they were doing, the blacks were in fact demanding precisely that they make those decisions. But we did not say, ever, that they were trying to get power as students. Our statements consistently and exclusively defined the issue as black power, not student power. We argued, for instance, that the black demand to control the selection of the Dept. Chairman for the Afro-Am studies department was necessary not because they were black students, but because they were black, and being the only black people on campus, were the only people qualified to make the decision.

Black Irrationality?

We are next accused of attacking black and white students by saying that "white students' apathy forced black students to irrationally seize Ford Hall." Now we never said anything that could possibly be construed to mean that the black students had acted irrationally, so it took a long time to figure out where they got the idea. But there was quoted in the article the following sentence: "(It was not) as if the blacks were engaged in some rational tactical exercise, determined

in the calculus of a political machine." Take "not engaged in some rational tactical exercise" and simplify it to "not acting in a rational way", and you do have, with one more step, an "irrational act" of seizing Ford Hall.

The only problem is that it is no longer what we said, or meant. The context in which that sentence appears makes it abundantly clear to everyone who reads it, that the point was that the blacks are not some middle-class interest group in a pluralistic society, as Abram's anger at their lack of manners suggests. The President constantly took a "how can you do this to me?" line. We were replying, because these people are not playing games. "They are fighting for their lives." They are not, to repeat, engaged in some rational tactical exercise, determined in the calculus of a political machine.

The Uses of Rhetoric

All of this raises larger questions about the uses of rhetoric. We were involved, as Ed and Albert did not seem to understand, in trying to counter the influence of an extremely effective and efficient propaganda machine. To have written everything in the language that Ed and Albert, by the evidence of their article, seem to prefer, would have been worse than useless—you have to consider your audience, not just the intrinsic correctness of your line. Thus the leaflet in which we are accused of taking the same line Abram took was not written in the simplest of straightforward language. The idea was, in the words of Ed and Albert, to "fight white students' racist ideas," or, in my language, to confront and expose the views held by white students that have in fact supported racism on this campus, among them, certainly, apathy. I find it difficult to understand how they object to that: surely they realize that if most whites had given a damn they would have acted before this to force the Administration to respond to the black demands, all of which have a long history?

On Proper Counting

Two points briefly: Ed and Albert know as well as I do that the Coordinating Committee never referred in writing, or in a public statement of any of its members, to any psychological weakness of the blacks. One leaflet, put out over the signature of an individual member of the committee, because for various reasons we thought it represented only his views, did mention manhood—but not in terms of psychological weakness. Secondly, if the meeting to which they refer held after the strike didn't talk about blacks, why didn't they raise the issue? They were there. Why didn't they try to organize to fight for the demands? In fact, of course, the meeting did talk about the blacks, and a committee to work during exams on the issue was formed. (Also by the way, two meetings were held after the strike ended. Ed and Albert didn't count very well: there were 150 people at one and 200 at the other—not 50.)

Simplistic View

Beyond the specific accusations and inaccuracies, Ed and Albert viewed the situation in an incredibly simplistic manner. This is exposed in their apparent definition of racism as a class phenomenon with no cultural connotations, and in their related inability to define the problem of what was going on at Brandeis further than the endlessly repeated phrase "fight racism", or some variant thereof. Their article shows a complete lack of sensitivity to any current in the situation not directly and visibly and verbally connected with the eleven days and the ten demands.

It wasn't quite that easy for some of us. One of the factors constantly influencing our decisions, which Ed and Albert seem to have missed, was what effect we thought a given analysis or action would have on future prospects of a movement developing at Brandeis.

As movement organizers who also happen to be students, the most important thing we do is recruit people—persuade them to make serious long-term commitments to movement work. That which will persuade people to make such a commitment takes priority over that which will not—over, for instance, what looks "militant" or gets into the papers, if those are in a given instance mutually exclusive alternatives.

"SDS Line" Accepted

When the blacks seized Ford, however, many of us considered it more important to support them, immediately and visibly, than to worry about possible deleterious effects on the white movement. But we were worried, for specific reasons. We had just run an extremely successful sanctuary; by success I mean that people over and over again told me that they had decided the "sds line" wasn't really a crock of shit; they even, to their somewhat uneasy surprise, found themselves repeating some of it to others; others told me that they didn't know what to do when they graduated, but they could no longer do what they had planned before. Two days before Ford Hall was taken, we had 150 people at an organizational meeting to discuss how we begin to move against the University on four specific fronts (only one of which could possibly be defined as student power, by the way). That is the largest political meeting held here in about three years—until the eleven days.

Problems of Leadership

It is revealing that their article never discusses the attitudes and feelings of the three hundred students gathered in the Administration lobby, much less the other students on campus—it describes only the (alleged) positions of the leaders. But we felt that we had to be sensitive to both groups, and that our positions had to take theirs into account, both because we were an elected (representative) leadership after Sunday, and because you cannot push people farther than they will go without breaking and expect to have a movement left when you are finished manipulating. We were talking to white Jewish uppermiddleclass liberals, hippies, and radicals, many of whom had taken a series of steps far beyond their previous intellectual understanding of the issues.

Finally, an issue which I wish could really be discussed. The people who felt responsible for holding things together were often faced with frightening choices, involving information told to us in confidence, our sense of where people were at and where they might get to, our politics, our feelings of responsibility, etc. For some of us, it was a kind of loss of innocence. That kind of thing ought to be discussed in the open, because what happened to us must have relevance for people at other schools—and because it would probably illuminate our experience if we could describe it to people who were listening. But none of us is about to open that kind of discussion in an atmosphere of polemic, as created by Ed and Albert's attack on us. That is a pity—we might have learned something from each other.

RESIST wants names of individuals and groups doing HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZING. We are putting together a pamphlet on HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZING that will contain both accounts of personal experiences and examples of organizing materials being used by different groups. It will be available to anyone interested. If you are an organizer or know someone who is, please write to Allan Berube or Karen Weinberg, c/o RESIST, 763 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 4, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139—or call (617) 491-8076.

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Vol. 6 No. 6 February 1969

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Columbia SDS begins spring offensive

by Tom Hurwitz
Columbia SDS

The 1969 spring offensive of the movement at Columbia has begun. On Thursday, Feb. 27, the myth of peace in our time at C.U. under the reign of ex-CIA pig Andrew Cordier was shattered. As smiling Andy met with the press, to announce that the university had, after a year of squirming, finally bowed to the militant pressure of the people of Harlem and agreed to call off its plans for its gym in Morningside Park, more than 1000 students rallied on Low Plaza to pledge that the war of the people on Columbia University would continue.

Two Sit-Ins Held

In the biggest demonstration since the height of the strike last May, the students, led by red banners and chanting "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, dare to struggle, dare to win," and "Smash the military, smash expansion," marched around the campus and then divided to hold two short sit-ins. The groups disrupted the functioning of administrative offices in Hamilton Hall (where seizure of buildings began last spring) and the University Placement Offices, which handle war recruiting.

During the sit-ins, SDS held political raps to explain, and answer questions on, its program against the military and university expansion. At a predetermined time, about two hours later, the disruptions ended and both groups marched back to the statue of Alma Mater on Low Plaza (now draped with red and NLF flags). There they held a short rally in which they pledged to build, along with the high school students and working people of the community, a struggle which would shut Columbia down until it began to end its racist and imperial service to the ruling class, and began to serve the people.

Five Demands Presented

After nailing five demands on the door of Low Library (the administration offices) the demonstrators dispersed to prepare for a mass meeting that evening for the Columbia community on SDS's spring program. The demands are: end ROTC; end war recruiting; end war research; end the early acquisition package, which allows the city to kick black and Puerto Rican people from their homes for urban "renewal" and C.U. expansion; and open 197 apartments, held vacant by Columbia, to the working people of Morningside Heights.

However, the most important demand that will be made this spring waits, for formal positing, on negotiations with the Student Afro-American Society. That is a demand on admissions. We hope it will be for open admission of the black, Latin, and white working-class students of the four surrounding high schools (about 1,500 each year) to Columbia, in black and Latin studies programs, with full control by students, full scholarships, stipends, and a no-flunk provision.

Black and Third World people have seen education as a tool to help them build their revolution. We must fight to expropriate the resource of education,



Students marched around the Columbia campus and held several sit-ins.

—photo by Richard Howard/Columbia Spectator

to turn it, in the hands of the people, against the ruling class. While we know that such a battle will surely be protracted, we must see that any concession to this struggle will be profound indeed. For we know that as puny a resource as Meritt Junior College helped a Huey Newton and a Bobby Seale to develop both an analysis of the system that oppresses their people and a program to combat that system.

Campaign Only Beginning

In our organizing, we have begun to bring up the possibility of raising this demand. The effect has been amazing. Students see that the struggle to win such a demand must be waged along with the workers and high school students of the city. They also see that if Columbia started to serve the people the entire nature of its education would be changed. Such questions as, "Would it lower our standards?" have been answered by, "No, it would raise them." The elite and racist nature of our education is challenged. Students can see and combat their own racism and class bias. And, since this demand directly attacks the false privilege of students and unites them in a positive struggle with black and Latin and white working people, the task of bringing class consciousness to our movement is made much easier.

SDS sees the Thursday demonstration as only one part of a deep organizing campaign that began a month ago, and will continue into the spring. It was held at a low level, though over a thousand participated, because the time for all-out struggle is not yet at hand.

After a fall and early winter of stagnation, SDS at Columbia began to solidify a class-conscious program, and with it a potent organizational structure. Such groups as the Expansion Committee, the Student Organizers' Collective, the High School Organizing Committee, the Committee on Correspondence (propaganda), and the Street Theatre

enable the membership and the new recruits to participate in that activity which is central to building a strong and politically sound movement—organizing.

As SDS has moved in its organizing from manipulating to serving the people, by going and opening its politics to them, students from many hitherto untouched constituencies have started to come over. At Thursday night's mass meeting, many new faces, a number of athletes, and even a member of ROTC were present for a discussion of our program for the spring. It is clear that the campus has begun to move.

Carrots and Sticks

What is also clear is that the administration will not take our activity lying down, this time around. While with one hand offering us the carrots of a committee on ROTC and a black studies institute (administration controlled), they are simultaneously preparing sticks: prosecutions are planned for class disruptions, carried on the day before to attack the sanctity of the classroom from political action; a security consulting agency has been hired to work with the N.Y. Red Squad to identify, and to protect the university from, SDS; the right wing on campus has mobilized a militant core of about thirty to physically harass our people.

Our defense consciousness and precautions are becoming better and stronger, but we still have a long way to go. Our meetings and demonstrations are guarded and our files are now secure (but not before our mailing list was stolen); our office, though, was left unguarded and was ransacked before the demonstration. And we have not yet developed a collective sense of defense. Too often brothers had to fight alone, and a few of our comrades were ambushed or cornered without protection. We must fully understand the seriousness of our struggle. As we build to "shut it down", we must protect each other and secure our movement.

Women

(continued from Page 2)

the class nature of chauvinism or "male supremacy" or point out how it should be fought. Instead, they throw in hints of a non-class view of it—women are under-represented in the trade-union hierarchies (as though having women sell-out leaders would help); men are the oppressors of women, etc.

Sell-Out Role

An example of a situation where the fight is sharp on concrete issues and, also where, through a "shift of priority", the struggle can become confused is the fight of Massachusetts welfare mothers for better conditions (furniture and clothing allotments). The National Welfare Rights Organization has played a sell-out role in the struggle by using the issue of bad conditions in welfare to demand the reform of the "injustices of the institution." Hence, they confuse the fight by raising false hopes and leading people into placing their faith in the "goodwill" of the ruling class (recruiting people to their lobby for Guaranteed Annual Income). For welfare mothers to effectively struggle they must take the lead in the fight for better conditions, in the short run, and, in the long run, ally with other workers in the fight against the ruling class.

The potential strength of this struggle springs from the common experience of class oppression. The potential for its defeat lies in an analysis which simply sees the answer to oppression in the reform of oppressive institutions and shifting of priorities.

This applies to all struggles working women face; the confused strategy put forward by the "militarization" proposals can only bring weakness and liberalism.

J. W.

Cambridge P. and F. P.
and Cambridge Welfare Client

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN

MARCH 27 - 30

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- 2) PAPERS AND RESOLUTIONS TO APPEAR in the NC issue of New Left Notes must be received by March 17.
- 3) FOR HOUSING INFORMATION: Write Larry Waterhouse, Box 8279, UT Station, Austin, Texas 78712.

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