

IN THE LINES:

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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.)



(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 reasons 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.

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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 classical 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. Tim 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 "lagged 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 FER 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 hacks of merely having "lagged 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. The revolutions themselves break out spontaneously. The "glorious 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

sacred 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

Undeniably, 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 heartland 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



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

Campuses in revolt

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 the 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. (LNS): 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 Duane Kelsch, 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.

New Left Notes

New Left Notes is published weekly (except June and July, when publication is bi-weekly) by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874). Second-class postage is paid at Chicago. Subscriptions are \$1 per year for SDS members and \$10 per year for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of the writers. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of editor David Millstone. New Left Notes is affiliated with UPS and Liberation News Service.

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 key role

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.

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 grand 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

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 SF 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

B 972

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Congress of the United States

To: Margaret McSurely

Subpoena

Subpoena to lawful authority, YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to appear before the SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS of the Senate of the United States, on January 14, 1969, at 10:30 o'clock a.m., at their committee room, 3000 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, and to bring with you and produce the records set forth in Schedule A, attached hereto and make a part hereof.

Should fail to, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To: _____

To serve and return.

You may produce the records specified in Schedule A and transfer them to the Subcommittee's staff representative in person, instead of bringing them to Washington, D.C., when you come to Washington, D.C., to testify, your transportation will be paid for by the Subcommittee.

When under my hand, by order of the committee, this 14th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight.

Chairman, Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations.

This subpoena was served to two SCEF workers. They were ordered to bring all books, records and papers relating to SCEF, SSOC, 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.

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

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

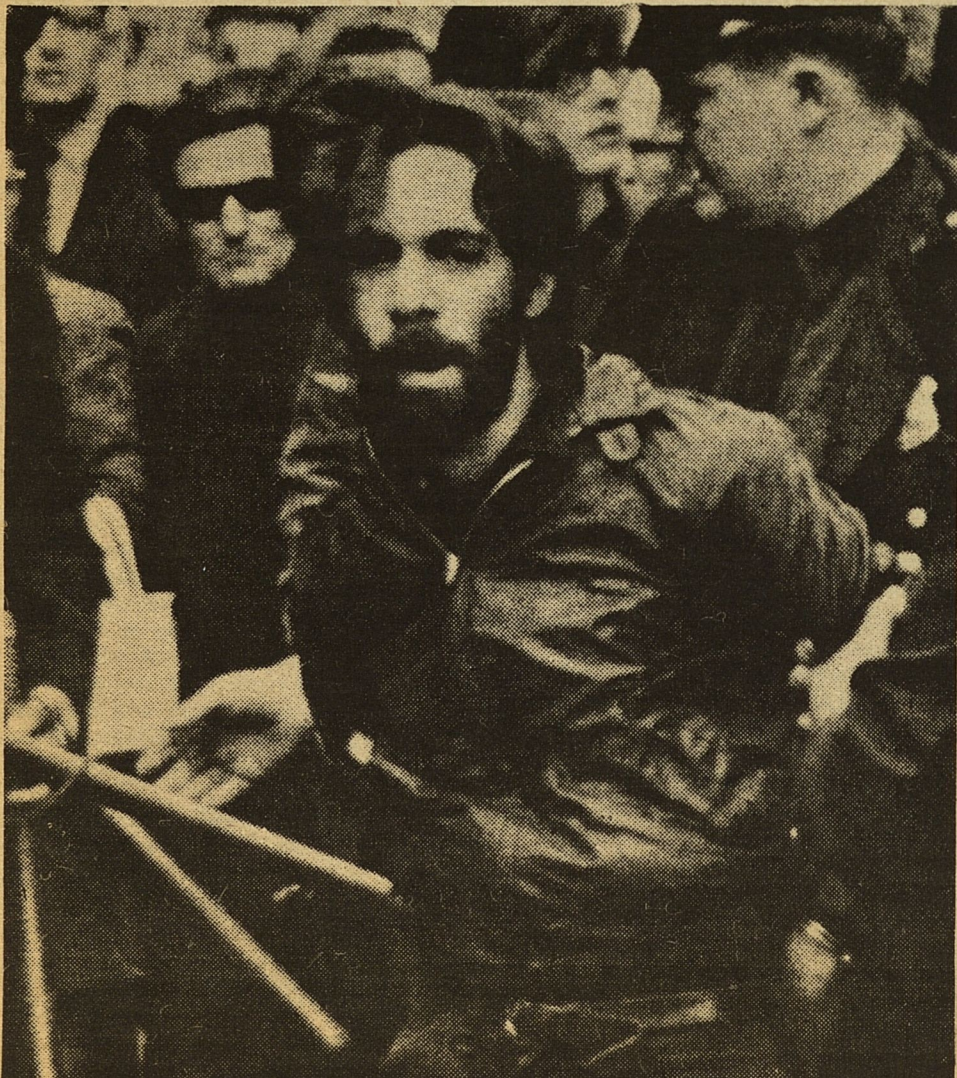
April 14-20: Actions around the military; e.g., march on the Board of Education demanding end of the "general diploma" as a ticket to the army for blacks and Puerto Ricans, convergence on a military recruiting station, attack on a draft center, etc. Presentation of a petition with a call for a general 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; positing 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 NIC 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 lest 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 arrobas of sugarcane every day as required by our economy; when we still have to cut 40 or 50 million arrobas 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 others 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 stint, attend classes in theory or practice taught by qualified teachers who will also be part of the technical personnel in that factory or plant.

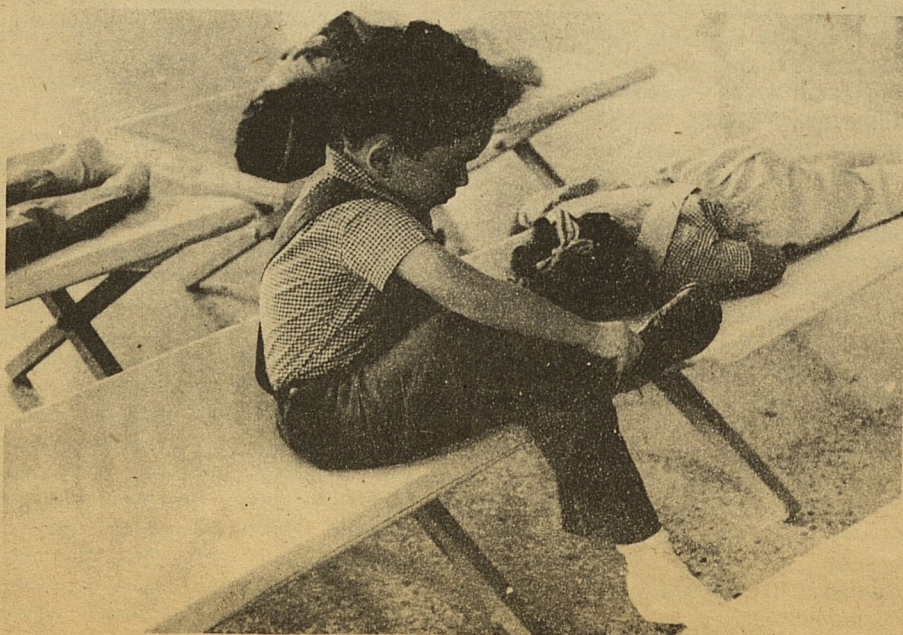
This is our idea of the future development of this entire educational process, which, in turn, will be the result of the idea of education on the intermediate levels. All of this will be closely connected with production programs so that as soon as the students reach the secondary level they will begin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



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

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.

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 pasturelands, 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 Caiguanabo.

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 retained by the state.

The San Andres plan was proposed by Fidel in December, 1966, after he made a tour of the 20-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 Juragua area in the fall of 1966, they had to hack their way north from the coast with machetes.

The 15,000-acre area, between Cienfuegos and

Playa Giron in southwestern Las Villas Province, was inhabited by 50 families who lived by producing charcoal.

Now the 2,000 workers of the Juragua banana plantation live in dormitories with electricity and running water and have thus far planted some 1,500 acres of banana trees and banana seedlings.

This group, made up almost entirely of young volunteers, will eventually expand to more than 5,000 workers. These young people are among the 42,000 mobilized by the Union of Young Communists during 1967 to spend two years in agriculture.

The New Man

Already under construction in the middle of the plan is a new town of 500 prefabricated houses. This town will have all the comforts of city life—a theater, nursery school, primary and secondary schools, stores, market, restaurants, sports area and swimming pool.

"If two young people want to marry, they can settle down right here," the director of Juragua said. "We want to augment production in all senses and this is a depopulated zone."

This represents one Cuban method of resolving the contradictions between the overpopulated city and the underpopulated, backward countryside.

We asked the director of Juragua whether the main importance of the plan lay in its economic or social aspects. His answer came quickly, "The formation of the new man is our most important task. It is important that youth work, and today that work is in agriculture."

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:

- distributing pamphlets, literature, posters, Tricontinentals, and Granmas;
- presenting Cuban film festivals and speakers who have traveled to Cuba;
- 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 Dohrn
Nick Fruendenberg
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 PLP. They felt that SDS was vulnerable on the issue of the working class, and so SDS groups like WDS and the NCU (later NOC) were to be conscripted to prove that SDS was really better at organizing workers than PL. 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.

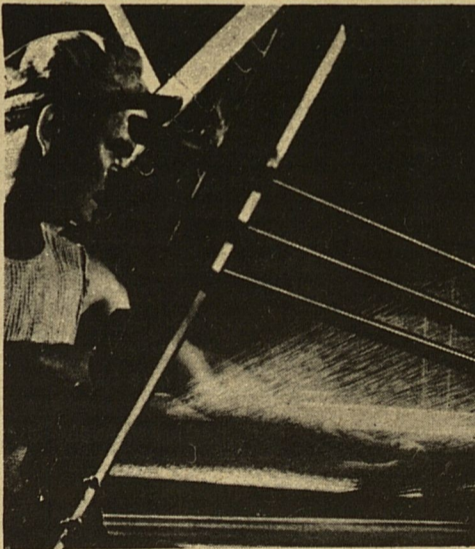
There are secondary, tactical reasons why we prefer to work in factories. One is that it is easier to become part of a community of workers when one is a worker than to become part of the workers-and-unemployed when you are a free-lance activist-organizer. On the street, the activist spends his time 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 results 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 combating 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..." Challenge photos

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: the need is for a revolutionary party 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

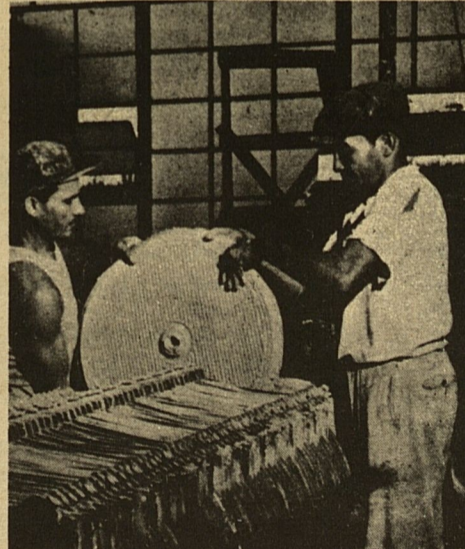
(real wages have been declining) and that it is unworthy of an organization that once led fights against dorm hours to sneer at a struggle over wages and hours. At the same time, it would be suicide to mutilate our political perspective to include only those struggles.

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



"We work in factories because we think the work situation is crucial to the development of consciousness..." 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 same time as we participate in 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 expectantly 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 mousiest 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

(continued on Page 7)

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 tentatively 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 dullest 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 Gramsci'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.

PURGE

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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 Tarlau, 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 sharpshooting, 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 totally 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 anti-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 for imperialist wars. In talking to 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

national scope. Our demands, the comprehensive nature of our tactics, and the clarity of our arguments should show people that SDS indeed identifies with and fights for the liberation of oppressed people that, in terms of the nation, is not simply interested in being a gadfly; that, in terms of individuals, it is not simply concerned with students and others as IBM cards to be put through the radicalization computer. Both the demands and the struggle must be non-negotiable. Any anti-capitalist struggle today must, of necessity, be an anti-imperialist one. This means that the struggles against imperialism being waged 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 guerrilleros on the Granma 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

(continued on Page 3)



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