Students for a Democratic Society 1608 West Madison Chicago, Illinois

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4, Number 5 LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE February 5, 1969

NIC notes

(See Page 9)

Huey rallies to stress self-defense

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

People's Republic of China/LNS

Chicago Grand Jury

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

1. IF YOU ARE SUBPOENAED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE GRAND JURY, NOTIFY US AT ONCE. YOU NEED LEGAL COUNSEL.

2. IF YOU KNOW OF OTHER PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN SUBPOENAED ALSO CONTACT US AT ONCE.

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612

RETURN REQUESTED
Second-class postage rate paid in Chicago, Illinois

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

Inauguration

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

I include in this criticism the minor demonstration at the Agnew reception late Sunday afternoon. I was among those who helped get people over to the Smithsonian, where it was held, partly to move them away from what seemed a stupid confrontation between our own people about whether or not an American flag should remain up, come down, or be set at half mast. It seemed better to confront Agnew than ourselves. But when we got to the reception, we had no organization, no demands, no plans, and less effect. If we'd had nothing more than a petition for Greek liberation to deliver, it would have helped. We were reduced to heckling the few guests silly enough to come in at the entrance we manned instead of through an underground entrance—which is where most went, unbeknown to us—and when a few of the brethren connected with mud on some incoming minks, the cops drove us out easily with a few horses and clubs. So what?

Direct action, whether that means picketing or street confrontation, seems to be effective in present non-revolutionary circumstances when tied to specific demands, even if these are only tactical. That was true at Columbia and even in Chicago (the demand was for the right to demonstrate). Too many of our people at the Agnew thing and again on Monday asked why we were there and what point there was in doing what we were doing. We have to answer such questions. And I think people have instead been slipping into a subjective and arbitrary habit of racing down streets pushing over garbage cans as a substitute for disciplined actions tied to coherent strategic objectives.

Paul Laster
Baltimore

Newsreel/LNS
Why were we there and what point was there in doing what we were doing?

People's army?

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

Kline declares, "We aren't trying to reform the army, we don't see no good values in the army worth reforming. We're going to build a People's Liberation Army." (Page 5) To begin, the politics and long-range strategy of the organizers of the ASU should make it clear to anyone who is willing to take a long, objective look at the Union that they, too, "see no good values in the army worth reforming." However, to suggest, as Kline's statement does, that a demand for recognition of the right of enlisted men to refuse illegal orders and to elect their officers is reformist, and thus not worth struggling for, is to fail to understand one of the most essential dynamics of imperialism. J. A. Hobson, whose analysis Lenin praised, despite condemning the former's revisionism and pacifist leanings, is among those who have observed that the highest stage of capitalism is totally incompatible with democracy. This understanding makes it clear that struggles to democratize the most essential instrument of imperialist aggression—the military—involve what may well be the most meaningful revolutionary potential of any struggles presently being waged.

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

Debrayist Adventurism

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

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

Dave Burak
Ithaca-Cornell Chapter

National question

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

Draznin begins by recognizing that black people do not truly constitute a nation but rather an oppressed national minority, but then goes on to obscure the question of how Marxists have dealt with this question. While quoting "authorities" is not the best way to conduct a discussion, since Draznin pulls a quote from Lenin, I feel justified in doing likewise. Socialists, Lenin says "will always combat every attempt to influence national self-determination by violence or by any injustice from without. But our unqualified recognition of the struggle for the right of self-determination does not commit us to supporting every demand for national self-determination. Social-Democracy as the party of the proletariat, considers it to be its positive and principal task to advance the self-determination of the working class within each nationality rather than the self-determination of peoples and nationalities." It is to the interests of the class struggle, Lenin emphasizes, that revolutionaries will always subordinate the demand for national self-determination.

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

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

Pawns in the Game

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

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

Bernie Farber
Roosevelt SDS

New Left Notes

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. Member subscriptions are $1 per year (paid as part of $5 membership); non-members pay $10 per year. Signed articles are the responsibility of writers, unsigned articles that of editor David Millstone. New Left Notes is affiliated with UPS and Liberation News Service.

National Office: 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874)

Chicago: 162 North Clinton, Chicago, Illinois 60606 (312-641-0138)
Michigan: Post Office Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107 (no telephone)
New England: 125 Green, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 (617-864-3126)
New Jersey: Box 376-C, Newark, New Jersey 07101 (no telephone)
New York City: 131 Prince, New York, New York 10012 (212-674-8310)
Niagara: 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850 (607-273-0535)
Southern California: 619 S. Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles 90072 (213-660-0190)
Texas - Oklahoma: Box 1941, Dallas, Texas 75221 (no telephone)
Washington, DC: 1829 Corcoran NW, Washington DC 20009 (202-332-7183)

Grand jury moves against the movement

by Kathy Archibald
NO Staff

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

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

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

Why the Grand Jury Is a Dangerous Weapon

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of the most courageous, and best political stands before a grand jury in recent times, was taken by the Progressive Labor Party in New York after the 1964 Harlem rebellion. Persons called at that time refused to testify. They did not fall into the immunity/perjury trap; they exposed to the movement and to the country as a whole how the Grand Jury was used as a weapon against the people. As a result, many were cited for contempt and served time in prison. One person was called up a second time, refused again, and served a second sentence.

What the Grand Jury Is Looking For

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

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

The Big Movement Myth

Much lip service is paid these days to the necessity for exposing the class nature of the courts. Yet a surprising number of folks in the movement think that the grand jury will make up its own mind about the indictments, and therefore that those subpoenaed should testify in order to convince the jurors to make a just decision. Others think they can "outfox" the grand jury: testify without jeopardizing anyone. (That same attitude prevails in regard to talking to the F.B.I., President's Commission on Violence, etc.) Still others do not recognize that when individuals go in honestly, if naively, that cops and finks can be set against them. In the past agents have claimed that some of the people who have testified before the grand jury turned in evidence. This method of calling someone a cop is a divisive weapon used with some frequency. And since the hearings are secret there is no real counter to it.

Decisions Will be Political

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

We must respond to the grand jury subpoenas and to the indictments which follow. This response must be collective, not individual; it must clearly demonstrate the class bias of the courts and it must seek support from the people—the only protection that a fighting movement has.

ROUND-UP

EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN: Monday night saw the latest militant actions at Michigan State University. The scene was the state of the university address, delivered by University President Hannah, recently chosen head of the imperialist Agency for International Development. About 600 students gathered outside in a picket line and rally while five movement people with invitations went inside to "work from within."

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

The students are building on two demands: 1) the rehiring with tenure of Bert Garskof of the Psychology Department, and 2) open admissions for all black, Third World, and white working-class people. The slogan has become "Open it up or shut it down"; the students' attempt to open the university may very well lead to an administrative decision to shut it down.

MADISON, WISCONSIN: Nine hundred National Guardsmen were mobilized Feb. 12 to deal with the growing student strike at the University of Wisconsin.

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

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

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (Champaign-Urbana): A total of 11 Chicago Black Panthers and four black students have been arrested in Champaign-Urbana in the last three days—four of the Panthers more than once. The Panthers were in Champaign-Urbana trying to help organize the black students and the black community. As a result of the recent arrests and the still pending trials in civil court of 240 black students arrested last Sept. 9 in the Student Union, the Black Students Union, supported by the white radicals on campus, have voted to make the university disfunctional until racism is ended on the campus. Tactically, cadres of students are asking questions about racism while packing administration offices, tying up police and administrative phone lines, and disrupting classes.

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

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

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

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

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

Student & GI: allies in the struggle

by Bob Tomashevsky

As opposition to the war in Vietnam increased internally, a new force against this imperialist venture began to develop —that of the rank and file GI's. Not since the "We want to come home" demonstrations of GI's after WW II have the brass of the US armed forces been subjected to such open hostility from enlisted men. Just as the increased dissidence of various elements (students, blacks, etc.) has been brought about by America's role of world-wide cop, the GI's' "spontaneous rebellions," "riots," "strikes," etc. reflect the growing discord among America's exploited. One needs only to rap with almost any GI to understand the deep-rooted resentment manifesting itself on almost every base at home and abroad. This recent development should not be glossed over lightly by serious revolutionaries. A much more extensive effort to reach and organize this newly-awakened oppressed group is an urgent task for SDS and the left.

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

Sharp Contradictions

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

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

AWOLs are at Peak

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

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

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

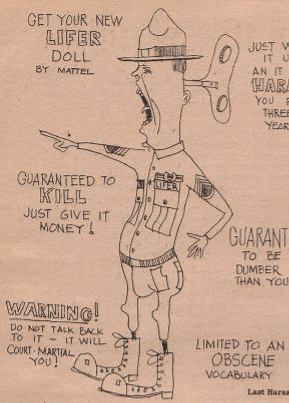
Individuals Harrassed

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

Building the GI Movement

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

(continued on Page 5)



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

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

Soldiers Feel Isolated

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

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

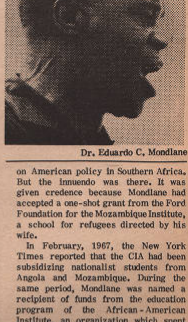
The question of why the army needs non-thinking soldiers who only obey orders, if it's really supposed to be democratic, should be discussed patiently and thoroughly. Organizers must link the individual's disgust with the army to its real political and economic objectives. Before and after battles the rank divisions of the NLF army are completely broken down and discussions of coming battles, political perspectives, etc., occur with all men as equals, each man contributing his part in a democratic manner. (See Wilfred Burchett, Vietnam Will Win.) Comparisons like this with the internal structure of the Liberation Army should not be overlooked. In time, soldiers will begin to identify themselves with the movement and see themselves as organizers. In this lies the strength to overcome feelings of isolation.

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

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

Mozambique leader assassinated

by Africa Research Group
Liberation News Service


Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane

Another black revolutionary leader was assassinated this week.

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

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

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

Factionalism in FRELIMO

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

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

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

All this gave rise to continuing suspicion in revolutionary circles that Mondlane was backed by the CIA. He denied this on many occasions, always coupling his denials with sharp attacks on American policy in Southern Africa. But the innuendo was there. It was given credence because Mondlane had accepted a one-shot grant from the Ford Foundation for the Mozambique Institute, a school for refugees directed by his wife.

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

US Aid to Portugal

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

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

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

Mozambique guerrillas

LNS

The correct handling of a revolution

In defense of self-defense:

MINISTER OF DEFENSE

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

HUEY NEWTON

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

Party Must Provide Leadership

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

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

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or through participation in the activity. To study and learn is good, but the actu of learning. The pa will teach the pe basically not a rea very significant th activists. Without community, one c knowledge of the b

The main functi people and to teac resisting the pow not only to combat massive brutality, community, the bla

If it is learned t people have "x" an this will not stimul itself with guns, b prepared.

The end result for Black people for the power stru the party always e If the party is no of the tools of lib that is to be used, the people will be

Raise Con

The relationship the masses is relationship betwe party is a primary the members of a face-to-face rela important if the pa It is impossible machinery or relationship. The should be tested r the danger of Uncle

The main purpos to raise the cons educational progra the party will pa must be bombarde struggle through th Therefore, the m exists. The party get this informati masses do this be impossible for of the party.

The vanguard p beginning of its ex its effectiveness can you teach peo respect you? The as long as the do hopefully when the the message of the across to the peop

White radical students and black demands

by Carl Davidson

(reprinted from The Guardian, Feb. 8)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mixed Bag

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

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

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

Explanation Awaits

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

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

Dual Oppression

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

From this perspective, the errors of the "student power" and "white demands" approaches are more clear. The job of white radical students is mobilizing the majority of white students (and working people off the campus) to fight for the black demands. This should be done, not out of liberal sympathy for the blacks, but as a struggle in their own class interests.

The black students are waging a class struggle. White radicals should expand it, not divert it by raising non-class student power issues in its midst.

by Huey Newton

al experience is the best means arty must engage in activities that eople. The black community is ading community. Therefore it is hat the vanguard group first be this knowledge of the black could not gain the fundamental lack revolution in racist America. on of the party is to awaken the ch them the strategic method of er structure, which is prepared the resistance of the people with but to totally annihilate the black ark population.

by the power structure that black mount of guns in their possession, ate the power structure to prepare because it is already more than

of this education will be positive in their resistance and negative ucture in its oppression, because exemplifies revolutionary defiance. t going to make the people aware peration and the strategic method there will be no means by which mobilized properly.

nsciousness of *Masses*

between the vanguard party and a secondary relationship. The on the members of the vanguard relationship. It is important that the vanguard group maintain tionship with each other. This is arty machinery is to be effective. to put together functional party programs without this direct members of the vanguard group volutionaries. This will minimize Tom informers and opportunists. e of the vanguard group should be ciousness of the masses through ms and certain physical activities ticipate in. The sleeping masses d with the correct approach to e activities of the vanguard party. asses must know that the party must use all means available to e across to the masses. If the knowledge of the party, it will the masses to follow the program

arty is never underground in the istence, because this would limit and educational processes. How ple if the people do not know and party must exist above ground power structure will allow, and party is forced to go underground party will already have been put le. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short-lived.

This is why it is so important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy.

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

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

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

On the Media and the *Message*

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

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

The Black Panther

10 point program and platform for black student unions

(reprinted from The Black Panther, Jan. 15)

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

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

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

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

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Militarization and women

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

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

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

Five Areas of Oppression

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In a militarized society, care of women is just not the priority.

Hospitals: one of the main employers of women, the hospitals regiment, under-pay, and over-work thousands of women. In only a few hospitals in America are nurses unionized. Women are actually forbidden to organize themselves in many hospitals as a matter of policy.

5. Public Education: In this militarized society, the black and brown women sending their children to school see their own teachings totally undermined by the school. They may see their child's self-confidence crushed in the tracking system, and by the racism of the teachers. The mothers are at odds with the teachers and the administration of the school, but they can locate no redress of grievances against the school. Often, a mother finds that the school is even acting as a cop, turning her kid over to the police as a "disciplinary problem", taking away parental responsibilities, even with very young children.

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

Young Girls Channeled

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

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

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

Berkeley strike moves into third week

by Paul Glusman
Liberation News Service

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NIC approves militarization program

by David Milstone
editor, New Left Notes

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

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

Militarization Discussions

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

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

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

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

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

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

National Action?

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

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

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

Rallies with Black Panthers

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

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

International Women's Day

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

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

Defense and Security

A separate article this issue discusses the Chicago Grand Jury; future articles will discuss other aspects of defense and security. The NIC agreed that a security force should be established for the spring NC.

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

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

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

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

Miscellaneous

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

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

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

WE'RE BROKE--

SEND MONEY

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

$$$$$$$$

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

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

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

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

Garment Industry is Key

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

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

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

Fight Anti-Communism

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

The wildcat at Figure Flattery was widely known in the garment center and became a symbol of struggle. Since August, the bosses and ILG hacks have been trying to smash this rank and file movement. The bosses carried out a campaign of harassment against DeJesus and other militants. Workers were laid off as the busy season tapered off, and many were forced to leave the plant. DeJesus, as shop steward, was constantly prevented from carrying out his duties, especially the presentation of grievances concerning the numerous violations of the August agreement. The boss waited until January---the slack time in garment, with only one-third of the workers on the job—to make his move. Finally, on Jan. 2, he was threatened by goons in the bosses' office, and an incident was provoked. He was immediately fired and arrested for felonious assault. In support of DeJesus, the workers called a slowdown and called for outside support, specifically the New York SDS Labor Project (not to be confused with the disbanded "Labor Committee").

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

Here Come the Goons

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

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

Marcher Arrested, Released

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

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

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

Students' Role

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

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

Strike Coming?

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

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

Beginning of Solidarity

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

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

Beyond youth culture

the Waukegan movement

by Bill Drew and Mike Rosen

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

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

Talk to people about which ministers were humanists and Norman Thomas socialists, which were into God, and which were mostly interested in their mortgages. Find out which Black organizations had a base in the Black community, and what each group was thinking about integration versus Black separatism. Learn local history: urban renewal, Black rebellions, and Birch activity. Learn the streets, the neighborhoods, and what kinds of people lived in them. Learn the names of the big three: shoot-to-kill mayor, conservative owner of local press and radio station, banker who controls local financial decisions. Sit in libraries doing power structure research. "Hmm—Abbot Laboratories."

Copying something from Moody's Industrials. "Population 75,000; 9,000 Black, 6,000 Puerto Ricans, 3,000 Mexican."

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

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

Picking up hitch-hikers.

"Where you going?"

"Beach."

"What happens down there?"

"Nothing."

"Then why go?"

"No where else to go."

"You in school?"

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

"What do you think about the draft?"

"Sucks."

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

"Maybe."

One telephone call.

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

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

"OK, thanks a lot."

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

Anti-Authoritarianism Everywhere

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

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

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

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

The biggest problem we had was that we really didn't have a way to get kids out of the army, we really couldn't insure them an interesting job, or really do that much about police harassment. They were attracted to us because we were against the controls that they were against. But they were so frustrated and hopeless that they sometimes reverted to a desperate identification with the cops, the army, and the mythology of capitalism.

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

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

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

Questions More Basic than Style

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

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

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

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

Princeton meeting attacks militarization

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

by Michael Klonsky
SDS National Secretary

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

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

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

Three Basic Positions

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

Support of the NLF

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

The second paper on militarization attempted to deal with those problems. It described the role which a youth movement could play as a critical force in taking its perspective on the growing domestic effects of the crisis in imperialism to young workers and other students. It described "militarization" as a phenomenon which affects the society in a class way, that is by hitting harder on the working class and especially on blacks. It called for an attack on "domestic imperialism" and the class nature of the courts, the police, police institutes, cops in the schools and "the socialization which lays the ideological basis" for class oppression. It also called for an attack on racism in unity with the black liberation struggle and the Black Panther Party. It challenged the student-worker-alliance position on racism, saying:

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

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

Attack Tracking System

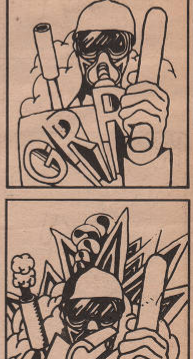
Both papers also called for attacks on the class and racist nature of the high school tracking system which serves as a "draft board in the schools" funneling working-class youth into the army and low-paying jobs, while middle class students go into the university. Positions in the lower tracks are mostly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

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

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

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

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



Tricontinental