

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4, Number 12

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

March 20, 1969

INCLUDES:

- NC Resolutions.....pp. 4-5, 9, 10
(Be sure to bring this copy of NLN with you to the NC.)
- Letters on Middle East...pp. 2, 8
- Super-Duper Roundup.....pp. 6-7
- South Africa.....p. 9
- Women's History.....p. 11

BANNED IN AUSTIN! NC IN ALBUQUERQUE?

"While we believe in freedom of speech and expression, we are not about to let the university be used by subversives and revolutionaries." With this statement to the press, Frank Erwin, head of the University of Texas board of regents, banned the SDS National Council meeting from the Texas campus.

The NC, scheduled for March 27-30, will take place! Albuquerque, New Mexico is the alternate site. This is possible with the aid of Reyes Tijerina and the Alianza movement, who in a moment of great need offered SDS their resources in New Mexico to hold the meeting. This offer of solidarity was gratefully accepted by the SDS National Office.

SDS had previously signed a contract with the University of Texas school administration arranging for space to hold the NC. Since the board's announcement, students at the Austin campus have been rallying by the thousands protesting the regents' move. National and Austin SDS have also filed suit seeking an injunction against the state board and a damage action for the thousands of dollars a change of location means. We are fighting in every way to have the order rescinded. Austin SDS continues to build the fight against the regents.

The Texas board of regents, primarily made up of LBJ's flunkies, felt pressure from the Texas state legislature, which is meeting at this time. The word was handed down from Erwin to university president Hackerman, who made the announcement. Hackerman, a close cohort of Erwin (Democratic Party National Committeeman under LBJ), was recently appointed after former university president Harry Ransom, a liberal, was kicked upstairs.

It was clear a year ago that the ruling class in Texas didn't like us very much; at that time they banned SDS from having a chapter on the campus. It is also clear, however, that they cannot stop us. If they ban us we will organize the students against them and if they don't ban us we will do the same. We will make everything the Man does turn against him.

Albuquerque, while farther west than Austin and therefore farther from many east coast people, is also north of Austin and in a better location for people from southern and northern California and people from the northwest as well as most chapter people from the midwest. The big problem will be letting people know far enough in advance for them to plan to be there.

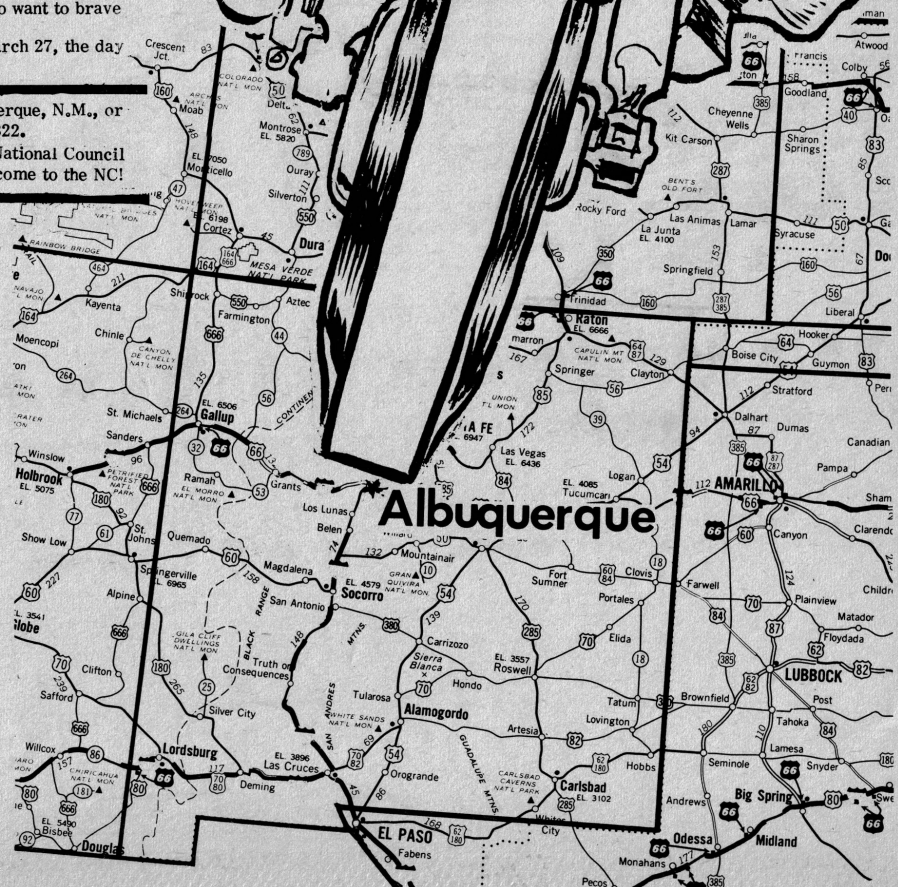
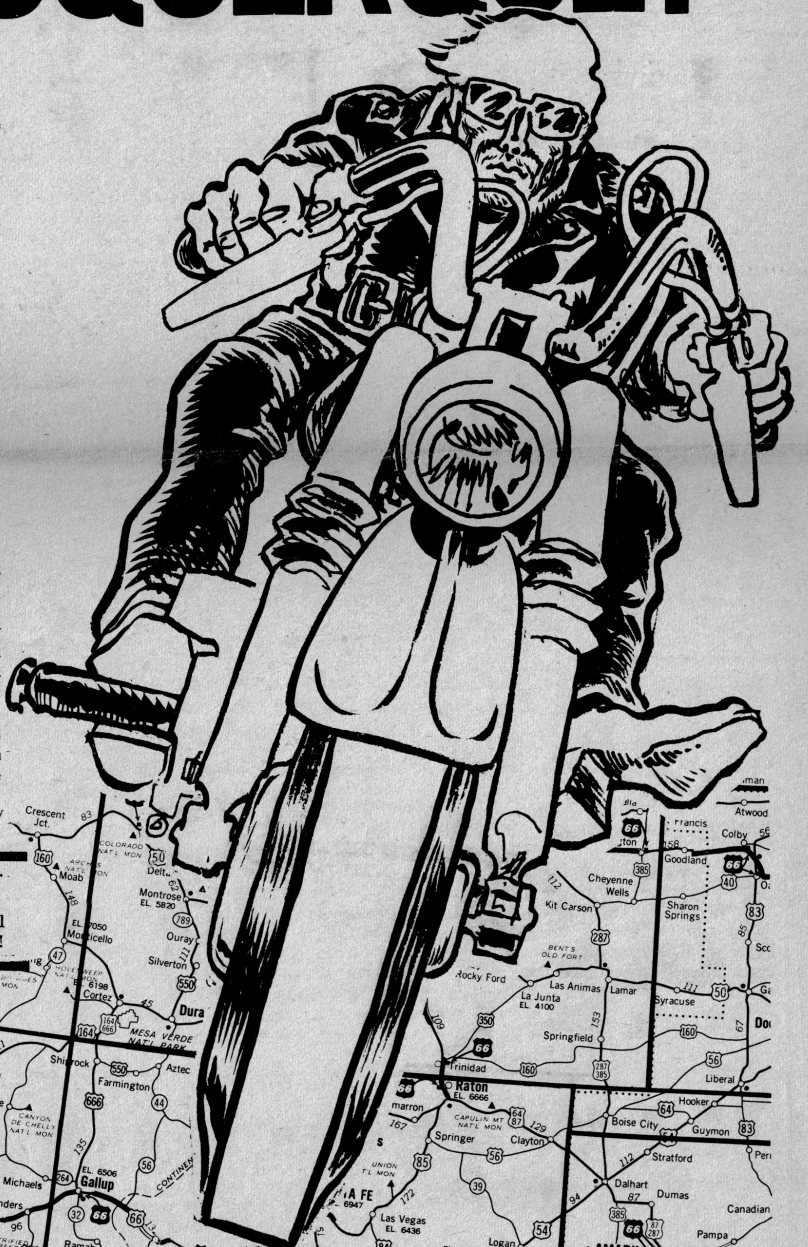
People traveling to Albuquerque should plan ahead by bringing sleeping bags and tents if they have them. There should be adequate housing for everyone, with Alianza families and local students helping out. However, those who want to brave the outdoors will make things easier.

A meeting of the National Interim Committee is scheduled for March 27, the day before the NC. All NIC members should attend.

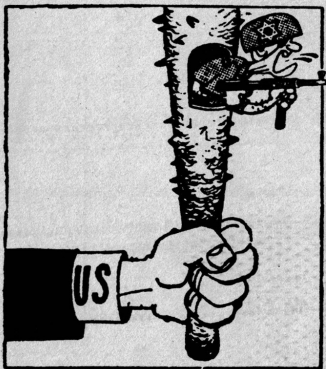
In New Mexico come to the Alianza office: 1010 3rd NW, Albuquerque, N.M., or call (505) 243-3155; or call SDS chairman Alan Cooper at (505) 255-8322.

You will receive a letter from the NO with full details about the National Council meeting. Please look for it, read it, spread the word to others and come to the NC!

NEW LEFT NOTES, Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612, RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED, Second-class postage rate paid in Chicago, Illinois.



LETTERS TO THE LEFT



From a position of "someone else's" strength.

Support Al-Fatah

After the Arab-Israel war of June 1967, SNCC was the only radical organization in the country at that time to come out in full support of the Arab freedom fighters. It has been a serious setback for SDS that it has not come out as an organization against Israel and in support of the Palestine Liberation Movement.

Abolish Israel

The State of Israel must be abolished, its Zionist, racist government and its league with imperialism thoroughly exposed and fought, until the day that the land is again taken back by the Palestine refugees to whom it belongs —before it was stolen by the Israeli Jews. The fraud that brought about the creation of Israel in the U.N. was more than anything else the work of the United States and its imperialist interests.

Because of the huge support Israel has here in the United States, it is a great task for SDS to organize support for the Arab women and men freedom fighters and their organization Al-Fatah, similar to the work SDS did from the beginning to build the opposition to the US's Vietnam war in this country.

In a meeting with members of the Palestine Liberation Movement in Paris last summer, they asked me the question: does SDS support our struggle against Israel?

SDS cannot pretend to be a consistent backer of revolutionary struggles around the world without taking a strong stand on the Middle East war, one of the most important battles in the world today.

Articles in New Left Notes are clearly pro-Arab, but a resolution must also be passed at the NC or at the National Convention on behalf of the whole organization against Israel, against U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, and in support of the Palestine Liberation Movement.

Peter Phan
IIT-SDS

Mis-education

Unfortunately, Susan Eanet's article on the Middle East in the February 28 NLN, intended to "educate" SDS members, contained about as many errors of fact as it did sentences. This is about what one would expect from some of the Old Left sects, but most people in SDS like to think for themselves, so I have found I think they should be given access to the other side of the story.

Miss Eanet states: "The architects of Zionism were mainly bourgeois Jewish intellectuals, like Theodore Herzl and Max Nordau, two Swiss journalists...."

The facts are: Herzl was Austrian, not Swiss; another founder of Zionism was Moses Hess, author of Rome and Jerusalem, who was also one of the early leaders of the German socialist movement and a teacher of Marx and Engels.

Eanet claims: "The Zionists passed laws forbidding the resale of land from Jews to Arabs, thereby preventing the Arab from ever reclaiming the land that was his."

The facts are: once "the Arab" had sold his land, it was no longer "his"; the laws Miss Eanet refers to were actually passed by the British in the 1930's; they prohibited the sale of land from Arabs to Jews and vice-versa; and at the time, Jews were a third of the population of Palestine and owned only six per cent of the land.

Disputed Facts

Eanet claims: "Tremendous land deals were made between the Zionists and the major Arab landlords.... The Arab bourgeoisie and the Zionists forced the masses of Arab peasants into an impoverished and displaced position."

The facts are that the Arab landlords only sold the land which they could not lease to Arabs; the total number of Arabs displaced by the settlement of half a million Jews in Palestine amounted to less than 700; during this same period, tens of thousands of Arabs migrated to Palestine from other Arab nations.

Eanet claims: "By playing on the racism of the Zionists, the British were able to convince the Zionists that the British presence was necessary...."

The facts are that the Zionists supported Britain as the only power capable, at that time, of keeping the Middle East out of the sphere of influence of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Was it a manifestation of racism for the Jews of Palestine to have been against the Nazis?

Eanet claims: "The 1948 War was ended in a secret armistice by the Arab and Zionist leaders... and a detente of the bourgeoisie of both sides was arrived at."

The facts are: the 1949 armistices were not secret; nor did the Arab

leaders ever arrive at any detente with Israel. No Arab state, even the most reactionary, recognizes or has ever recognized Israel.

Eanet claims: "In 1949, there were over two million Palestinian Arabs still within the Israeli borders."

The facts are that the total number of Palestine Arabs in 1949 was about 1.1 to 1.3 million; the number within Israel after the 1948 war was only 150,000.

Eanet claims: "Throughout the fifties... Israel was militarily dependent on the U.S., and waged air strikes against the Arabs at the direction of the U.S."

The facts are that Israeli reprisals were sparked by Arab "fedayeen" raids against Israel; when the Israelis, British and French went into Egypt in 1956, the United States came to the defense of Nasser.

Propaganda

Anyone with a relatively open mind on this question will realize that Susan Eanet's article is not history, but propaganda. In fact, Eanet even manages to present the Arab cause as progressive despite the fact that—within the same article—it is frankly admitted that the "so-called 'left-wing' tendencies within Zionism prevailed" while among the Arabs it was the right wing, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, which remained the respected leaders. She admits that the elimination of Arab workers from certain sections of the economy was due to Arab policies rather than to deliberate Zionist discrimination. She admits that whatever land was alienated from the Palestine Arabs between 1918 and 1947 was alienated because of the policies of the Arab leaders. She admits that the Zionists helped the Allies against the Nazis during the Second World War while the Arabs were sympathetic to Hitler. She admits that the Zionists threw the British out of Palestine while the Arabs sat on their hands. She even admits that the 1948 war was, for the Arabs, a diversion from the real struggle against imperialism within their own countries. In fact, she even goes so far as to admit that the Jews of Europe might have had legitimate reason to want to set up a Jewish state in Palestine. Yet the whole emphasis of the article was on presenting the Zionists as "racist" bad guys, and the Arabs as "anti-imperialist" good guys.

Foolish Socialism

If "racists" rescued thousands of Jews from Nazi persecution, if "racists" fought against Hitler, if "racists" threw a major imperialist power out of a strategic colonial territory, if "racists" fought against the reactionary pro-British regimes of King Farouk and Nuri-Es-Said, if "racists" granted citizenship to 150,000 potential fifth columnists who remained within their country's boundaries—perhaps we radicals had better re-examine our attitude toward "racists"!

Or, better yet, perhaps we should just try to bear in mind the old but true saying, "Anti-Semitism is the socialism of the fool."

Richard Morrock
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Susan Eanet replies:

I stand on what I wrote in the first article, which Morrock criticizes. He does correctly point out one error, which is that Herzl was Austrian, rather than Swiss. However, as to being

bourgeois, Jewish, and intellectual, this is a perfectly valid characterization of the main Zionist thinkers.

To deal with the whole question of land sales: first of all, I made it quite clear that the Arab bourgeoisie was and is reactionary, and collaborated fully and corruptly with the Zionists and the British. Morrock's claim that the Arabs only sold land to the Zionists if they couldn't lease it to Arabs is silly: in that feudal society, it was a rare Arab peasant who would ever find himself in a position to be buying land from his landlord anyway; he could never give a price for it equal to what the Baron de Rothschild could pay. It is true that the British made the laws forbidding resale of land to Arabs; however, they did this under pressure from European Zionist financiers, and the Arab landlords who sold the land received enough compensation not to struggle to buy it back.

Number of Refugees

The most ridiculous of Morrock's statements is that less than 700 Palestinian Arabs were displaced by the immigration. How does he explain the camps which still today hold over 200,000 Palestinian refugees?

It is true that the Zionists felt that the British could protect them from a possible Nazi-Arab alliance, but the alliance between the British and the Zionists originated long before the rise of European fascism. It had its roots in the years of the first settlements in Palestine. Remember that the British occupied Palestine from 1918. That the Zionists have acted in a racist manner is true in the same way that the American colonists acted in a racist manner against the Indians. The modern economic alliance between Israel and the Union of South Africa further bears this out.

Secret Negotiations

The negotiations which led to the 1949 armistice were in fact secret negotiations, and compromises were arrived at among the leadership which were not detailed in the public terms of the armistice. This is one of the means by which the Arab leaders tried to save face while surrendering land to the Zionists in 1949.

Of course, it's a fact that the U.S. defended Nasser more than once since the 1948 war, while simultaneously arming Israel. The imperialists will always play both sides off against each other as long as they can profit from such conflicts. Nasser, like the Israeli leadership, represents the interests of his national bourgeoisie, not of the Arab people. Imperialism will try, as long as it seems feasible, to buy off people's struggles.

Workers' Interests

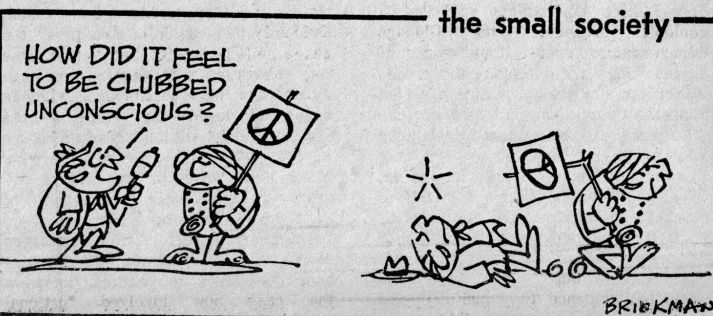
As to the general charges of anti-Semitism which I of course expected, I would first suggest that to criticize and analyze imperialism and racism in the Middle East is no more anti-Semitic than it is anti-American to analyze and agitate against imperialism and racism in the U.S. We do not fight only in the true interests of the American working class, but in the interests of all the oppressed and exploited in the world, and we see the interests of all workers as being the same in essence. So as our international (continued on page 8)

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 (201-371-9761)
New England: 125 Green, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 (617-864-3126)
New Jersey: Box 376-C, Newark, New Jersey 07101 (no telephone)
New York City: 133 Prince, New York, New York 10012 (212-674-8310)
Niagara: 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850 (607-273-0535)
Northern Ohio: 13037 Euclid, Cleveland, Ohio (216-421-3015)
Southern Ohio: 1706 1/2 Summit, Columbus, Ohio (614-794-3975)
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)



German SDS leader attacks 'bandits'

Karl Dietrich Wolff, head of German SDS, last week walked out of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee meeting to which he was subpoenaed. "I found the nature of the questions insulting, and I will not be constantly interrupted each time that I attempt to be responsive and attempt to answer fully," he explained.

Karl had originally been subpoenaed last Tuesday, after a speech at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. After a day's delay, the hearing finally took place Friday morning. Karl insisted on an open hearing; about 25 people came along and heard him denounce the committee as a "dirty gang of bandits."

"By focusing on the myth of the outside agitator they attempt to obscure their own role in exploitation, oppression, and murder at home and abroad. I for one prefer the outside agitator to the outside murderer," Karl said in a statement read to the press and again to the committee.

Quit Fucking Around

"In this specific situation there is the case of the bandit Dodd and his conspiracy with the most reactionary elements of the West German ruling class. Dodd is on the committee which has subpoenaed me, and his history of corrupt financial and political peddling with General Julius Klein is ample proof of why he would like to see me harassed.

"...But our movements do not give in to harassment. The necessity of stopping the Internal Security Subcommittee and their fellow bandits is not just a verbal commitment.... To have spoken to people in this country about the dangerous move to the right in 'free world' countries, the emergence of a new institutional fascism which does not need the goosestep or the black uniform of the

SS, to have talked about the necessity to break the international conspiracy of NATO, and to have been subpoenaed for all this proves that I have done the contrary of incriminating myself—I have spoken the truth, and it has offended."

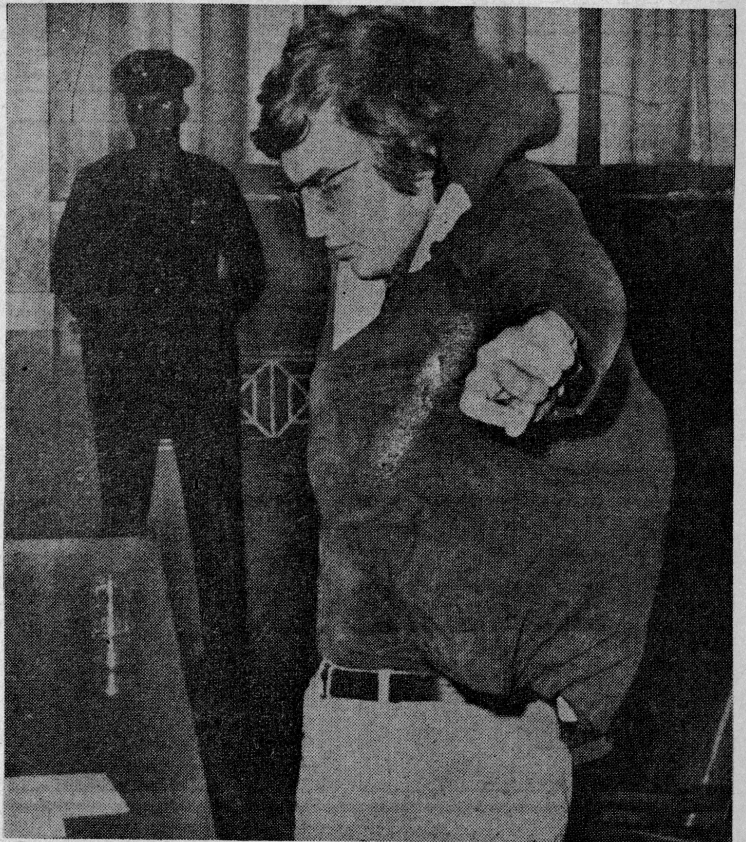
"Are you Karl Dietrich Wolff?" asked the subcommittee's chief counsel, Jay Sourwine. "Let's quit all this fucking around," Karl replied. "You know who I am." After Karl read his statement to the committee, Sourwine again asked his question. "After this statement it is obvious that I am Karl Dietrich Wolff." Strom Thurmond, subcommittee member, cut in: "I observed in this statement you just made that you used foul and indecent language." Karl replied, "Sure."

Walked Out

Karl tested the microphone before the hearing began with the words "Victory to the vanguard struggle of the Vietnamese people." Sourwine referred back to that several times, asking if he was only referring to his own personal beliefs or if he was speaking for any other people. Karl replied that he was speaking for the vast majority of the peoples of the world, who were hoping and fighting for self-determination.

After an hour or so, when Sourwine persisted in breaking into Karl's answers, Karl got up, put on his coat, and left, followed by his supporters in the hearing. Thurmond said that he couldn't leave, that he hadn't been excused yet; Karl called him a bandit. According to the Washington Post, Karl is the first witness ever to walk out of an open session of the subcommittee.

Wolff was subpoenaed to reappear before the committee this Tuesday. Instead, he continued with his travel plans and went on to Montreal for



Karl Dietrich Wolff walks out on Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

engagements there. When entering Canada Wolff was told he wouldn't be admitted to the country unless he paid a \$100 security deposit ensuring that he would leave Canada within 24 hours. While Wolff was in D.C. the region

incurred \$200 in debts: for printing, phone calls, and so on. They are flat broke and urge brothers and sisters to send contributions to the Washington office: SDS, 1829 Corcoran St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009



The Justice Department has reportedly dropped plans to indict participants in the Chicago demonstration for conspiracy to violate the federal anti-riot statute. The government laid out the reasons for its change of heart in one of the phoniest explanations in recent history. The Justice Department said that it couldn't prosecute the Chicago demonstrators because it got "evidence" against them from tapping the phones of foreign embassies. Citing a recent Supreme Court decision which compels disclosure of government wiretapping records in cases where the feds' case is built on evidence from bugging phones, they said that they were "fearful" of causing an international incident by publicly acknowledging they had tapped embassy phones. Of course, the government didn't say what the so-called evidence they had collected from the tapping was; nor did they say

what it had to do with the case.

Previous reports from the Justice Department last week had indicated that the indictments were under "reconsideration" because the government's case was weak; leaked sources said they were taking additional time to "strengthen" the cases. Evidently they couldn't "strengthen" the cases sufficiently and had to find some way to back out of the deal. So front page stories this week in Chicago and other cities disclosed the story of the "foreign" links with the case which are so tricky that the government dare not move now. Woven in and out of the story were discussions about the effects of the new Supreme Court ruling on "espionage" cases. The net message of the story was that not only had there been conspiracy to commit riots, but the case now involved "national security" and was too serious for the

government to even do anything about it! A propaganda feat of some sort.

Meanwhile, of course, the government is reconsidering whether or not it will indict any Chicago police. Sources varied on what the feds will do, but indicated that they would probably drop charges so as to maintain an "evenhanded" image for the public. In any case, the Chicago police department has suspended a number of low-ranking cops for a few days to a few weeks. They are now pointing to their "prompt and uncompromising" actions.

The whole farce has all sorts of internecine political warfare running in and out of it: the Daley machine anxious to have the Democratic U.S. Attorney, Tom Foran, prosecute the demonstrators in a splash trial—but not hot to indict any cops; the Republicans vying to replace Foran so their guy could prosecute the case;

and the Nixon administration, pressured by some Kennedy-type Democrats, not too sure it even wants to take the whole thing on. The resulting compromise suited all of the political groupings: the demonstrators get tried in the press again, the cops melt into the background, Daley and the Republicans can share the spotlight, the Kennedy liberals can avoid the whole show which would have been embarrassing to them. Another plus for the crew is that the anti-riot statute remains on the books, unused and unchallenged, ready to be pulled out as the spring and summer develop.

Back home in Washington the Justice Department issued four leaks last week that "non-student" outside agitators who travel around "fomenting trouble on the campuses" would be a better target for the anti-riot statute anyhow. They are considering indictments, they say.

THE SCHOOLS MUST SERVE

An NC proposal by Les Coleman and others, Chicago Regional SDS

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

Schools Maintain Class Structure

The function of the educational system now is to maintain the class and colonial structure of this society which sustains the exploitation of all working people and the national oppression of imperialism. It does this 1) by maintaining in fact the class and colonial divisions of the society, and 2) by inculcating national chauvinism for the white, imperialist nation through lies about the access to class privilege in this country and lies about the nature of the class struggle throughout the world. The schools therefore function to cover over class and colonial divisions while maintaining these divisions as sharply as possible. Our general objective is to make the schools serve the people, and therefore to end their present functions in maintaining class and colonial oppression. To do so we must confront these two functions of the education system head on: we must expose its class and colonial divisions, fighting against national chauvinism, and we must try to keep those divisions from being made. This general objective is summarized in the following ten point program. The program is addressed, not to one or another type of school, but to key issues through the whole educational system, because it is the whole system, and its systematic function to maintain exploitation and oppression, that we must oppose.

Ten Point Program

1. We demand an end to the track system in the schools. The track system, the classification of students into different "levels" of study by racist, anti-working-class tests and teachers, is nothing but a way of maintaining class and colonial divisions in the society. Consignment to the lower tracks is

nothing but a ticket to the army and then to low-paying jobs or unemployment in the ghetto. This unjust consignment falls systematically on working-class youth and heaviest on black and brown youth.

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

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

4. We demand that schools end cooperation with recruitment for those American corporations which rule and exploit the people, that they end the exploitation of surrounding communities through their control of real estate and urban renewal programs, and that they end the brutal and inhuman wage and working conditions oppression of school employees.

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

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

inequalities in the society. We demand free education and we oppose all tuition increases.

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

8. We want an end to all forms of male supremacy in the schools. This ranges from the male supremacist content of courses and perspectives of instructors to the way women are counseled or tracked into the worst jobs and the most submissive roles in the society.

9. We want an end to anti-communism in our education and a real understanding of the movements of national liberation and of communist countries which the U.S. government has committed us to life or death opposition against. We believe that anti-communism has been preached to us like a religion and we want a chance to make up our own minds about these movements and countries. We want courses taught on Vietnam, Cuba and China from a sympathetic point of view. We want teachers who hold the point of view that wars like the war in Vietnam are fought, not in the interests of the American people, but in the interests of a small class of businessmen to maintain an unjust and inhuman empire.

10. We support and accept as our own demands the ten point program of the Black Panther Party on the campus. The black liberation struggle, which the Panther Party is the true anti-capitalist leadership, is the struggle to which all working people must be won if the oppressor class is to be defeated.

Part Two: Strategic understanding of the 10 point program

The 10 points summarize our central objective in relation to the schools: to make the schools serve the people. They make it clear that the class and colonial domination of the capitalists must be changed before the schools can serve the people. Our objectives are therefore revolutionary objectives because they involve a challenge to the class and colonial basis of the society.

Our campus work has been marked by our failure to do extensive mass education. In most cases a small core in the chapter is responsible for the "analysis," and it does not get taken to the people except during periods of action where it is tacked onto the issue at hand—a firing, a suspension, a demand of the BSA—in an abstract way which the mass of people do not grasp. Therefore, we must establish ourselves on the campus as fighting for a series of clear objectives and with general support for them before this or that action comes up.

No Student Privilege

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

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

The key fight today is against white supremacy; this fight has been raised primarily by the black

A high school composition from Ireland (with teacher's comments)

FREEDOM I DESIRE:
 FREEDOM FROM WHAT? } This is not needed
 FREE FOR WHAT? } here

"Liberty" was one of the three aims of the French revolutionaries. The Proletarian leaders were far from starving people wanted freedom from the oppression of an aristocracy which denied them equal rights. Man will either revolt violently, or lie down and die under restriction of Freedom. In captivity man will consistently try to gain freedom, no matter how hopeless it seems. What is the relevance of this to the rest?

The French revolted, the Americans almost simultaneously and then the Irish. Now the negro in America. People without freedom are an explosive combination. What is this about?

I desire freedom as an Irish citizen: Freedom from (capitalism) and retained colonialism. We perhaps consider ourselves free as Irish citizens but free from what? From British colonialism? It is now, we expect, gone forever. We are free but this colonialism remains under the surface. We still tend to be in awe at the English accent belonging to an Irish voice. The major in the local mansion is a very influential person to know. We retain our feelings of inferiority as a nation. The culture of other countries, music, art, clothes are all "in". We still think of ourselves as a peasant nation, an attitude which was instilled into our ancestors' minds by the English colonialists. Only now is there a real general awakening of the beauty of Irish culture and tradition. A dedicated handful have kept it barely alive up until recently. What do you mean?

Our own Government is riddled with capitalism. What has happened to the ideals of the freedom fighters of 1916? Our ministers travel in black limousines while old men barely stagger, in worn shags to the nearest hostel. Instead of starting at the beginning and getting equal rights and opportunities for her people, the Government gave subsidies to foreign companies. Perhaps these gave employment to a few, but education is the basis of every country. If only the rich can be educated at university, then high offices and top government posts will be held only by the upper classes, and we are then under a capitalist state. What is the implication of this capitalist state which restrict a poor man from sending his son to the school of his choice or further to university, although we are supposedly living under a democratic system. I can not accept these obvious contradictions and these are what I desire to be free from.

Please define these terms Democracy Capitalism, and decide how the use of them is at variance. Look up meanings of other terms mistaken above. Though I think the weakness is in thinking rather than in a lack of understanding of language. How much of this writing is learned rather than thought?

S.F. Express Times

THE PEOPLE

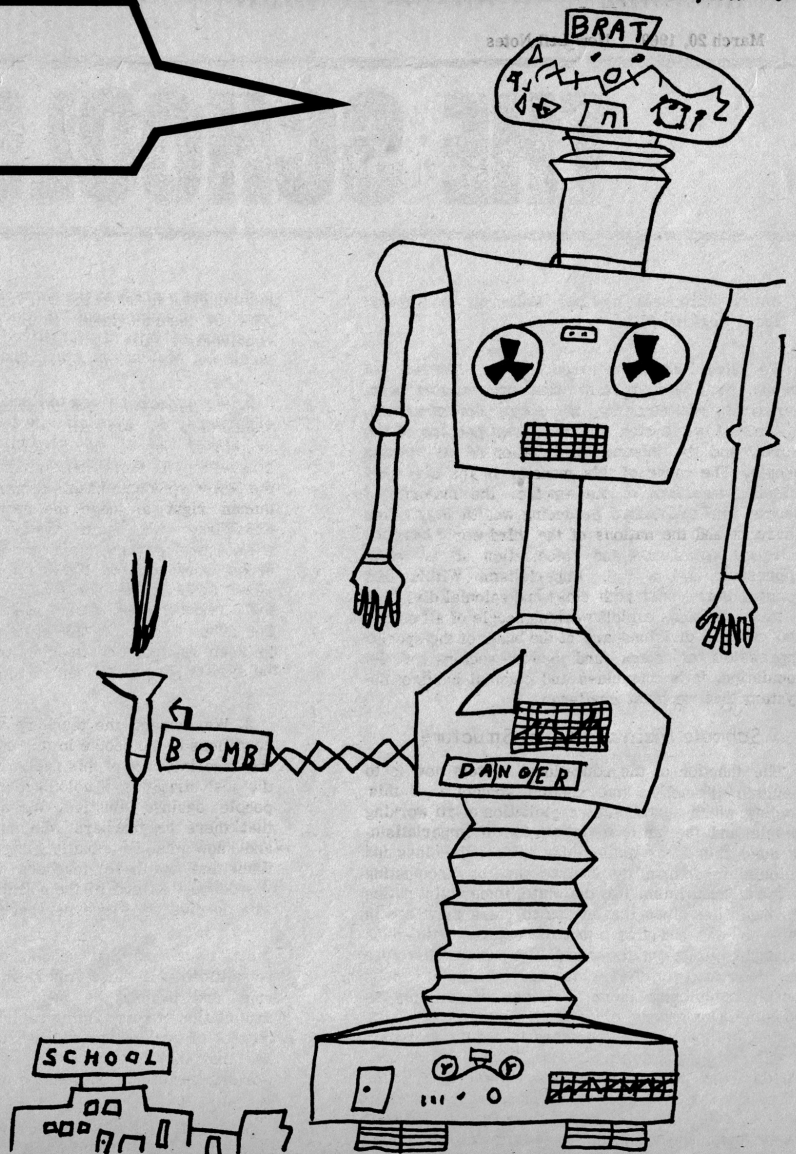
liberation movement, and for the most part still is. Because we incorrectly understand the nature of this fight, we have sometimes talked about adding "white" demands onto the demands of black groups and attacked black student demands as "middle-class," etc.

All the objectives in this program are both anti-colonial and anti-capitalist. Clearly not all these demands would be raised in the same struggle. There is no more need to raise "other demands" in the context of a struggle around demands raised by black or third world students. There is not only not a need, it is often incorrect 1) because loading issues on a struggle, especially a struggle initiated by black students, is often opportunist, and 2) because it fosters the wrong idea that the demands of black people for self-determination and equality are not demands in the interests of all working-class people.

Blacks Doubly Oppressed

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

Finally, we see that as a revolutionary youth movement we are fulfilling our role as a critical force through the 10 Point Program: to raise the class antagonisms in the society wherever possible and to use our strength to further the class struggle, understanding that it is only a unified working class that can make this country belong to the people and serve the people.



Drawn by a nine-year-old student at one of Ann Arbor's elementary schools.

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.



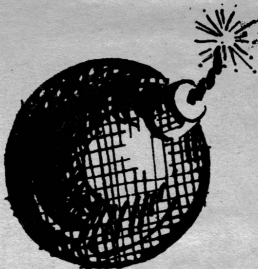
photo by Nacio Jan Brown / S.F. Express Times

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA: In the tenth week of the Oakland Seven trial, the defense has rested its case. The prosecution is now conducting rebuttal and the jury is expected to begin deliberating this weekend.

The defense, conducted by Charles Garry, presented ministers, journalists and students both as character witnesses for the Seven and to defend Stop the Draft Week.

The first question asked each defense witness was, "Why did you go down to the Oakland Induction Center on Oct. 17, 1967?" The defense did not need to call any of the Seven to testify—the people who were Stop the Draft Week defended it themselves.

Witnesses for the prosecution have been cops and finks, presenting largely circumstantial evidence. But in conspiracy cases like this, circumstantial evidence is often enough for conviction.



WASHINGTON, D.C.: Georgetown University SDSers met San Francisco Mayor Joe Alioto as he was scheduled to speak on campus about "Law and the Campus." Supporting the S.F. State strike and denouncing the oppression of black people in San Francisco, the students stopped the speech.

ORLANDO, FLORIDA: 3,000 black students in seven schools stayed out of class to protest a school board decision to close four elementary schools and turn two high schools into vocational schools.

HOUSTON, TEXAS: A rally of 1500 students, black and white, moved on the U. of Houston administration building March 7, calling on the administration to meet demands raised by black students.

Seven hundred of the students occupied the building briefly and then moved outside to rally more student support. A "majority coalition" was formed, made up of SDS; Afro-Americans for Black Liberation, a Panther-oriented student organization; the Committee on Better Race Relations, a liberal white organization; and the Young Democrats. SDS led the white part of the coalition operation very closely with the black leadership. The coalition was based on support for the black students' demands. The demands included: 35% black admissions, a black studies department controlled by black students, \$2.00 minimum wage for cafeteria and maintenance workers on the campus (mostly black and Mexican-American), credit for tutorial work done in the black community, adequate housing for black students, an end to racist admissions requirements, the hiring of more black professors, and the construction of a black student union.

After a leader of AABL was beaten up by white students, black students retaliated by disrupting the Cougar's Den in the University Center. A rally was called that afternoon attended by 1,000 students. The students moved from the rally to a confrontation at the Safety Security Building, attacking the head of safety and security and calling him illegitimate because of his failure to protect black students from racist attacks.

About 500 of the students then moved into the University Center, disrupting and practically dismantling it. The action was taken by both black and white students. SDS members are now trying to build support among the rest of the student body for the demands, as well as spreading the action to nearby high schools and junior colleges.

STONY BROOK, LONG ISLAND: Last month about 300 students at the State University of New York prevented a recruiter from the U.S. Army Materiel Command from conducting interviews on the campus; a four hour sit-in in administration offices followed, demanding an end of recruiting by armed services and defense contractors. Last week, as a Dow Chemical recruiter came on campus, 200 demonstrators went to the Graduate School office where the research files of the campus are kept. Stony Brook, the "Cal Tech" of the East, had previously kept these records open to the public, but SDS revelations of their contents earlier in the month prompted the administration to close the records.

The students had a several-hour-long stay in the office 'researching' the files while holding off the pigs. Two SDSers were arrested. A rally and sit-in followed; demands included an end to military and corporate recruitment and amnesty for those arrested.

MARSHALL, TEXAS: School officials ordered Wiley College closed until mid-March. Students at the black college demonstrated for a week demanding more black history, black professors, and other improvements. State police and Texas Rangers poured onto the campus along with local pigs to "search for guns" which didn't exist.

ONTARIO, OREGON: Mexican-American students, rejecting "the humiliating role assigned Mexicans by Anglo administrators and teachers," presented 16 non-negotiable demands to the administration at Treasure Valley Community College.

CHICAGO: Black students at Chicago State College, with the support of students from surrounding junior colleges and high schools, sat in and then closed the school by a boycott and picket line, demanding an autonomous black studies department, that the black community of Englewood in which the college is located be given access to the school facilities, that racist faculty members be immediately dismissed, that students and faculty have equal power in the hiring and firing of faculty, and that a black cultural center be established. College officials signed an agreement meeting the demands as 300 students sitting in refused to be intimidated by 15 police cars filled with riot-gear-equipped pigs.

LOS ANGELES: The boycott of Carver Junior High School continued this week, protesting the police occupation of the city schools. Students elsewhere around the city went back to classes and began building support for city-wide actions around the demands raised by the Black Student Alliance and the black community attacking the racist use of police on the campuses and the lack of quality education in the black community.

Last week more than 10,000 high school students took part in confrontations with the administration and the police after a Black Student Union spokesman was thrown off the Carver Junior High campus and students were hospitalized from beatings administered by police.

In a city-wide meeting held in the Los Angeles black community last week, struggles between the Black Panther Party and US, a cultural nationalist group headed by Ron Karenga, led to the shooting of another Panther, Ron Freeman, by US members. Freeman, who was seriously wounded, became the third Panther in L.A. to be shot by cultural nationalists. The first two were killed.

A community tribunal in south-central L.A., attended by more than 1,000 people, tried and convicted Karenga and US of the murder of the Panthers.

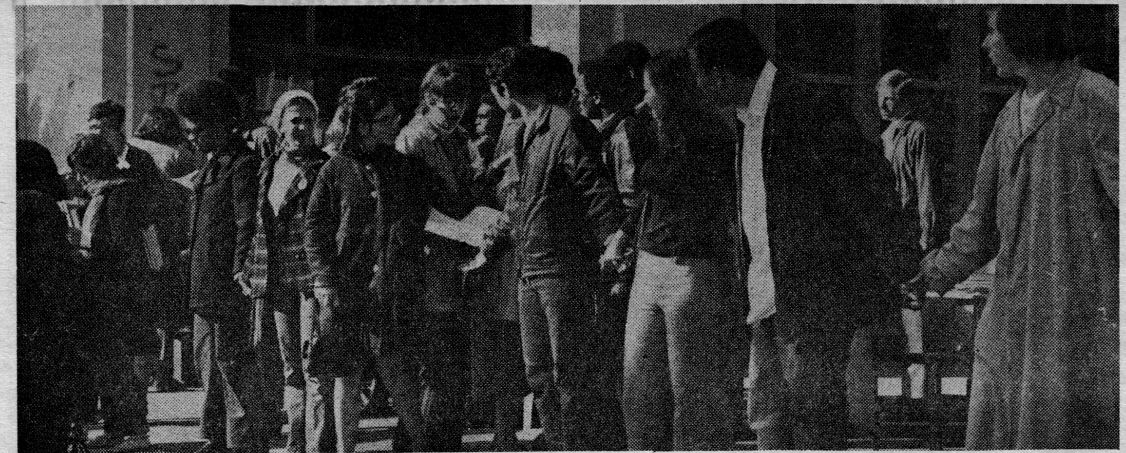
COLUMBUS, OHIO: The Ohio Supreme Court ruled March 5 that the court's chief justice be given extraordinary power to suspend the operations of any state or local courts during a riot or civil disturbance.

CLEVELAND, OHIO: John Jay High School has been reopened after a week of walkouts, boycotts, and other actions as students pressed demands for black studies.

NEW YORK CITY: Antonis Ambatielos, Greek leader of the Patriot Front, has been denied a visa to enter the United States to participate in a teach-in on Greece sponsored by SDS and other groups at NYU.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: A Maryland State judge has directed the state grand jury, which is now meeting, to investigate the Washington Free Press, the local underground newspaper. The purpose of the investigation is to secure an indictment charging the staff of the newspaper with "conspiracy to commit the crime of sedition" (i.e., overthrowing the government of the state of Maryland). The investigation is a reaction to the growing high school unrest in Maryland, which the Free Press has publicized and supported.

Although no indictment has been handed down yet, the announcement of the probe has severely hampered the operations of the Free Press. It has been almost impossible for the paper to find a printer anywhere on the East Coast. At one place in Philadelphia, the workers in the print shop agreed to print the latest issue of the paper, which includes articles attacking the class nature of the courts and the judge in particular. After 5,000 copies had been printed, the shop's owner arrived and immediately ordered all 5,000 copies destroyed. Furthermore, the stores in the D.C. area that have been handling the Free Press have told the paper that they can no longer do so. The store owners say they have been so informed by local law enforcement officials and have also received many threatening phone calls and letters.



Student bodies on the line: pickets at LA City College.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA: Pvt. Henry Mills refused orders to Vietnam. The Ft. Jackson private, who is black, has stated that he will not participate in an immoral, racist war. He has been sentenced to two months hard labor in the stockade. It is expected that, after he serves the two months, he will again receive orders to Vietnam.

NEW YORK CITY: Mental health workers at Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx are in their third week of a wildcat strike. The workers, mostly black and Puerto Rican, seized the mental health clinic of the hospital and have been running the services themselves.

Lincoln Hospital is commonly known in the Puerto Rican community as the "butcher shop." The workers went on strike over demands to fire three administrators and have since raised demands for community control of the mental health facilities of the hospital. Only 3% of the community knew such services even existed. Local 1199 of the hospital workers union does not support the strike.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY: The Association of Black Collegians, SDS and other groups sat-in here demanding that the university sell its stocks (\$127 million) in companies which do business in South Africa. The university, of course, refused, adding that the demonstration was "a violation of University protest policy".

CORVALLIS, OREGON: A BSU-SDS (Oregon State University) sponsored rally featuring John Carlos ('68 Olympics, remember?) drew about 500 supporters. Students are protesting a decree by the athletic department that several black athletes had too-long hair. At the rally, the BSU from the University of Oregon announced their support for the strike called by the OSU BSU. U of O black athletes have announced that they will not compete against OSU teams in any sport until the issue is resolved.



SEATTLE: Students at the University of Washington disrupted a university disciplinary hearing on five students charged after a demonstration several weeks ago, at which a recruiter for United Fruit Company was ejected from the UW campus.

More than 1500 people attended a rally Thursday called by SDS, after which people pushed past cops and into the hearing room, which seated 125. The demonstrators argued that the hearing should be held in a room large enough to seat everyone who wished to attend. After listening to continued shouts of "people's trial or no trial," the disciplinary committee declared the hearing adjourned. The chairman of the committee remarked, "Next

time we're going to have it in a small room."

The demonstrators proceeded to the school's ballroom, where they held a trial with the 600 assembled people as the jury. That night, listening to the television, they learned that the university had announced it was suspending eight students for their part in the day's actions; furthermore, the university is sending the names of nine non-students to the Attorney General for prosecution.

The photograph is from an SDS rally two weeks ago, which outdrew a student government rally on the limits of dissent by 10,000 to 1,000.

BLACK STUDENTS SHOT IN NORTH CAROLINA AS THEY SUPPORT CAFETERIA EMPLOYEES STRIKE

Several hundred black students at North Carolina A&T were tear-gassed and three were shot by the National Guard in Greensboro, N.C. last week as they rallied to support striking university employees. The nonunionized cafeteria workers at the school, who currently earn \$1.25 an hour, went out on strike seeking better working conditions, job classification, and a pay raise. Some of the black workers' demands for improvements in working conditions were met, but they were refused any wage increase.

A&T students have a long history of militancy; they began the black southern student movement in 1960 with the first lunch-counter sit-ins—just nine years ago. Last week the A&T students, angered by the treatment of the employees, rallied on campus in support of the workers' demands. They then held a militant march several hundred strong through the streets near the campus. Local police and the National Guard were called out to put down the students' demonstration.

And they did, attacking the students with tear gas and shooting into the crowd. Three black students were wounded. The police claimed that some shots had been fired at them from the crowd—the same sham story they used last year to justify their attack and massacre of black students at Orangeburg, South Carolina last year. The campus and town remain tense.

Meanwhile, at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, university cafeteria workers have been on strike for three weeks. The demands of the employees, mostly black, include: that they be addressed as Mr. or Mrs. while on the job, job classification (for instance, some work as head cooks and get paid as assistant cooks), improvements in working conditions, a pay raise, and payment for overtime. Spokesmen for the cafeteria workers charge that the state university system in North Carolina owes cafeteria workers at various schools nearly \$1 million in back pay—even at the current abysmal wage scale.

The black student movement and several hundred white students have been actively supporting the strike. The employees had closed down all but one cafeteria. Students tried closing down the remaining one by first slowing down the food lines, then filling up the cafeteria so that no food would be served, and finally by fighting off some of the jocks who tried to reopen the cafeteria lines. State police and the National Guard were then called on the campus in force to quell the students' actions.

Meanwhile, the employees and students had taken over an old unused building on the campus and served food from that building. The Governor ordered them to vacate the building and sent the National Guard to force them out.

The strike continues. And support of the strikers continues as black and white students draw as many as 1,000 students to campus rallies. State police have been occupying the campus for the last two weeks, and the National Guard remains on ready alert nearby.

Class Oppression in High Schools

(Reprinted from the Hard Core)

by Juan Gonzalez

Benjamin Franklin High School, on 116 Street in East Harlem, has a population of approximately 3,000 students, 92% Black and Puerto Rican. As of this year, according to Board of Education statistics, 100 are enrolled in the vocational program, 670 in the academic (college preparatory) program, and 2,286 in the general program. The graduating class of June 1967 comprises 20 graduates of academic curriculums, 50 graduates of the vocational curriculum, 130 graduates of the general curriculum. Of the 763 students who entered in September 1964, 29.8% of the original class received diplomas, of which 1.8% were academic. Drop-outs, transfers, or unaccounted for students number 60.2% of the class.

The situation of Ben Franklin is duplicated more or less throughout the majority of New York City public high schools. It is a situation in which Black, Puerto Rican, and white working class kids are systematically miseducated, systematically tracked into the worst courses, systematically programmed for failure, systematically inculcated with racist curriculum, systematically oppressed by conditions that verge on prison-status—most high schools are occupied daily by anywhere from 4 to 15 New York City police—and systematically prepared for semi-skilled jobs and for America's military. In Washington, D.C., for instance, recent studies report that 80% of all public high school graduates are in the army within two years. It is a situation the crisis proportions of which have only recently been discovered by large sectors of the radical movement (and concurrently by the ruling class) because of the growing number of high school rebellions in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and last spring and this past December in New York.

Black Rebellion

Black students have been in the forefront of these rebellions, just as Black university students, Black G.I.'s and Black workers have been in the forefront of battles in other sectors of the society. There are, of course, real social conditions that determine the depth and militancy of the Black rebellions—the Black high school student is the worst victim of the high schools. Over 50% of all Black and Puerto Rican students in New York City drop-out. Only 20% of those who graduate from academic high

schools go to college. Meanwhile, in Vocational High School, like Food and Maritime or Aviation, where 60% of the students are Black and Puerto Rican, and where the possibility of jobs awaiting graduates in the vocation they are trained is slight, no one goes to college. The same class society that determines the nature and function of those high schools determines what happens to students when they leave. Black high school graduates have a higher unemployment rate than white drop-outs, and those Black graduates who find work average lower pay per week than white drop-outs, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Class Oppression

For the average Black and Puerto Rican high school student, then, the schools are prisons, part of the same elementary school system that determined his functional illiteracy in the first or second grade, part of the same system that assures the dilapidated housing, the unavailability of decent jobs, and the police and court system ready and eager to strike at him if he begins to protest. What has not been as apparent as the racism of the schools however is the class-nature of the educational system. The high schools prepare white working class kids for similar semi-skilled jobs, prepare them for impressment into the working class army, paid twelve cents an hour to kill and be killed in wars against working people in other countries to protect the empires of Standard Oil, General Motors, Englehard Industries.

In the same way that there are elite universities like Columbia, Stanford, Princeton, and working class colleges that produce low level professionals and technicians, there are also elite and working class high schools. According to a 1961 study by Patricia Saxton, 5000 of the nations 26,500 high schools produce 82% of all college bound students. The overwhelming percentage of Black and Brown students in non-college tracks in high schools are matched by large numbers of white working class kids in the same tracks. In one mid-west city, Saxton found, 25% of the students whose family income was below \$7,000 were in college preparatory courses, whereas 79% of those with incomes over \$9,000 were being groomed for college. Radicals were not aware of the deep felt resentment of white working class kids against the schools until December, 1968, when they



Black high school students boycott classes in Chicago.

joined with Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the high school student strike—when Flushing, Cordoza, and Francis Lewis High Schools in Queens, had thousands of students walking out, leaving the middle class radicals and liberals in the buildings worrying about their grades and catch-up studies. The Black and white working class kids were not worried about the studies they had "missed" during the teachers' walk-out for they knew that those studies prepare them for nothing but the army and a \$70 a week job anyway.

Socialist Movement

SDS has begun to realize that it can develop into a true revolutionary socialist movement only if it fights with and in the interests of Black and white working people. At present, the best and most organic way to develop that working class orientation is to ally with the inherently revolutionary fights emerging among young working people—G.I.'s impressed into a losing imperial war in Vietnam, and high school youth who, because of the increasing demands of imperialism for the waste production of bombers and missiles, instead of housing, good schools and hospitals—find themselves with a shrinking job potential, find themselves less and less prepared for the technical skills necessary for the waste production America's rulers have set as its priority.

NEW JERSEY

High schools around the state erupted this month as black students and parents led fights for black studies, an end to tracking, and quality education in the public schools.

In Plainfield, the high school was closed for a full week after the black community led a campaign to have racist teachers and the racist principal removed. When schools finally reopened they were surrounded by 200 policemen, most of them carrying long clubs. Only 35% of the students returned to school, most of them white.

Black high school students in Patterson, N.J. sat-in in the school cafeteria as part of their campaign to remove security guards from the school, change the "guidance" department, establish black history courses, and get rid of racist teachers. At a second sit-in the following day 50 students were arrested as students fought police outside the school. A similar sit-in took place at a high school in Passaic.

White students joined black students to picket the high school in Teaneck to demand a black history course, the end of the school's tracking system, ending overcrowded classrooms, and a student voice in evaluating teachers. One teacher, active in the sit-in, was suspended.

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

(continued from Page 2)

perspective grows, our fight must extend to support all anti-imperialist struggles. Anti-Semitism is a ludicrous charge, for I have noted in these articles: 1) that the Arab bourgeoisie does oppress and exploit the Arab people—I made that quite clear in both articles; 2) that Jewish people are not the only Semitic people—that the question is not one of racial divisions, but of class divisions. I would gladly support any Israelis who chose to wage a struggle against Israeli imperialism.

Anti-Semitic?

The New Left purports always to attempt to support its actions with a true and penetrating analysis of historical, economic, political, and social phenomena. New Left Notes, the 'house organ' for SDS, purports to serve as the medium for the presentation of such responsible and undeniably sound analysis. Some may say that though the facts are sometimes a little off, since it appears in New Left Notes, the position supported is indubitably correct. Those of us who were exposed to part one of a three-part "educational" series on the Middle East "liberation struggle" recognize, once again, that this point of view is naive, false, and

dangerous. NLN has told us that they will provide "insight into the movement against imperialism in the Arab countries," in preparation for a resolution to be drafted at the next National Conference. What NLN in fact provided was blatant anti-semitism, an insult to one's intelligence, and a pernicious example of how a 'house organ' can try to pervert minds. Let's take a look at just the first few paragraphs of Part One (2/28/69).

Inconsistent Claims

The statement "the political thinkers who shaped Zionism...represented the commercial interests of bourgeois Jews in Western Europe" is false. The overwhelming majority of Zionists were members of the Eastern European subjugated proletariat. Their leaders, Theodor Herzl and Chaim Weizman, were a journalist and a chemist respectively. Zionism is and always has been animated solely by the strong and natural desire of a people to return to its homeland. It is an outright lie that they believed in 'the white man's burden' and/or thought about the return to Palestine as a colonization of 'the heathen.' Not only is this sheer propaganda, but, in that it is inconsistent with a later claim, it is poor propaganda. Two paragraphs later, it is noted that those who had come to "colonize the 'heathen,'...completely

ignored the existence of the Arab population." It is a marvelous thing that in regard to the Arabs, the Zionists could 'bear the white man's burden,' and at the same time ignore them.

Helped the Needy

In the third paragraph we find the following: "De Rothschild...wanted to use the immigrant Jewish masses as the settlers and colonizers for his own financial interests." What a travesty. Is it the case that SDS is unable to conceive of someone with wealth who is motivated by anything other than personal aggrandizement? It may be hard to believe, but he was simply a Jew aiding a Jewish cause. And in so doing, he manifested the natural human tendency to help those people and causes with which one identifies.

Degradation of SDS

In the middle of the fourth paragraph we find the statement, "Israeli 'socialism' was founded on the relocation of thousands of people of color." Now this is a beautiful propagandist's ploy. In context, NLN gives us the false impression that Palestine was a densely populated, agriculturally prosperous, well settled land. To then speak of the 'relocation of thousands' is to play on our emotions. In point of fact, those Jewish refugees from the

pogroms and persecution on the continent who did not settle in the cities settled on arid, rocky land that was for the most part uninhabited.

In the same paragraph we are told about a Zionist Marxism that is 'phony.' Though they did not necessarily conceive of themselves as Marxists, the Jewish settlers formed communal agricultural settlements, known as kibbutzim, which were, and are, paradigms of communism.

This article reveals the unfathomable depths of degradation into which many of those who represent the SDS critical mind have sunk. Such individuals obey the dictates of emotions grounded solely in bitterness. Their analyses are the product of a vision that is warped by both a distrust of reason and an indecency of mind. All too often a particular judgment is nothing more than the product of either a blind, spontaneous rejection of the 'establishment's' view, policy, or judgment, or of an indiscriminate, obsequious veneration of anything taken to be militantly black.

David Cwi
Stephen H. Levy
Johns Hopkins University SDS
(with thanks to Jerome A. Weinstock)

Support the guerrilla struggle in Southern Africa

Proposed to the SDS National Council

From Bill Burnett, Goleta Beach John Paul Jones Chapter, Santa Barbara, California (with Martin Legassick, co-author of "American Imperialism in Africa," to be published in United States Imperialism, David Horowitz, ed.)

Whereas,

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

1. That US corporate and governmental support rescued South Africa from near financial collapse following the March, 1960, Sharpeville massacre;
2. That since 1960, total US investment in the Republic of South Africa has quadrupled, now totalling over \$1 billion;
3. That US investment is now primarily in manufacturing (as opposed to mineral extraction, etc.)—particularly manufacturing with export orientation. Continued profit exploitation is dependent upon the availability of continental wide markets for SA-US exports;
4. That the United States is partner with the Republic of South Africa in a co-imperialism, designed to penetrate and make further subservient the economies north of the Zambezi;
5. That the massive development of South Africa's production base has further entrenched the policies of apartheid...not the opposite, as depicted in the fulsome attempts of US apologists to justify American support to Pretoria;
6. That, since August 1967, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC-SA) has, in military

alliance with ZAPU, carried on an armed guerrilla struggle in Rhodesia, as well as the continued covert development of revolutionary cadres within the fascist state of South Africa itself;

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

8. That the ANC-SA (the only South African revolutionary movement recognized and supported by the OAU), in order to intensify the guerrilla struggle, has made an appeal for financial support at this crucial stage of the armed struggle;

9. That, finally, just as armed revolutionary struggle is demanded for the liberation of southern and South Africa, so our support is necessary for that liberation.

Therefore, be it Resolved,

That the SDS-NC extend to the South African liberation struggle its full and active support. That this program include immediate and long-term projects. That:

1. SDS immediately initiate programs to provide financial assistance to the ANC-SA, and to such groups actively engaged in armed struggle in southern Africa if and when they should similarly request our assistance in the future;
2. SDS intensify its educational programs on American involvement (both present and potential) in South Africa. This long-term project should be initiated and/or intensified at the earliest possible date. The corporate-government elite must be made painfully aware that American support for a South African war will mean war at home;
3. SDS continue to initiate direct pressure on corporate and governmental interests which directly support the Republic of South Africa;
4. Finally, these actions be undertaken in close cooperation with Third World movements (BSU, UMAS, Panthers, etc.) in the United States. Determined action in support of the armed struggle against fascism and racism in South Africa will provide a catalyst for greater revolutionary solidarity in the United States.



The Sharpeville massacre: apartheid in action

by Africa Research Group

Friday, March 21, marks the ninth anniversary of the massacre of 69 Africans at Sharpeville, South Africa. Today, Sharpeville is remembered not only because the massacre is one of the most brutal examples of apartheid in action, but because it marks a watershed in South African history.

Prior to the massacre black political parties had been non-violent in nature. Afterwards the situation was summed up by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela (now serving life in a maximum security prison in South Africa): "Government violence can only do one thing, and that is to breed counter-violence. We have warned repeatedly that the government by resorting continually to violence will breed in this country counter-violence among the people until ultimately, if there is no dawning of sanity on the part of the government, the dispute between the government and my people will finish by being settled in violence and by force."

Protest Pass Laws

Sharpeville is a typical "township" in South Africa. Thousands of black workers live in this official area—ugly, flat, dusty, and treeless—not far from Vereeniging, an industrial center and headquarters of Afrikaner nationalism. Black workers feed the industries, but for all other purposes are kept totally separate from white Vereeniging. The only link between Sharpeville and Vereeniging is a bus service carrying workers back and forth to the factories. Early in the morning of March 21, 1960, bus drivers did not carry their usual loads. Instead some 6,000 Africans marched to the township offices in Sharpeville to take part in a demonstration to protest against the 'pass laws'—a series of laws that forces

all black adults to carry pass identifications at all times (there are 1,400 arrests a day in South Africa under these laws). This demonstration was dispersed by the police using tear gas bombs and then a baton charge. Some police did open fire, but nobody was hurt.

Shoot into Crowd

During the morning the news spread that an important announcement concerning passes was to be made at the Police Station in Sharpeville later that day. People began to drift towards the station, and by lunchtime a crowd of about 5,000 surrounded the building. At no time did any policeman try and ascertain the reason for the gathering. The crowd was, according to all reports, not hostile and made no attempt to provoke the police. As the crowd increased, so did police reinforcements, and by one o'clock the 12 original policemen had been joined by 300 others, in addition to five Saracens. There had still been no attempt to communicate with the crowd, who were still of the impression that an announcement was to be made.

Then Lieutenant Colonel Pienaar arrived at the station. He too made no attempt to communicate with the demonstration leaders. Fifteen minutes after he arrived he gave an order for his men to fall in and to "load five rounds." No one knows what happened next, Pienaar himself swearing that he gave no order to fire. But within forty seconds fifty white policemen opened fire using service revolvers, rifles and sten guns, firing directly into the crowd of waiting Africans. For a few seconds some were so stunned that they stood their ground. Most turned to run.

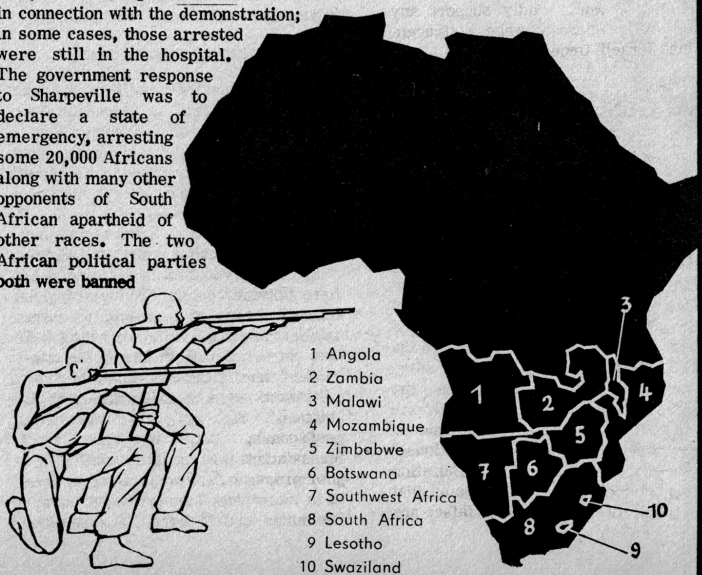
Forty seconds and sixty people were dead, including eight women and ten children. Forty seconds and 180 people were wounded, including 31 women and

19 children. During the shooting 705 rounds were fired from revolvers and sten guns. It was quite clear from medical evidence gathered later that the police continued to fire after people turned to run—155 bullets had entered the bodies of the injured and killed from their backs.

In the minutes after the shooting, only one black minister tried to help the wounded and the dying. Some of the wounded later gave evidence that they were taunted by the police as they lay on the ground and were told to get up and go. Only much later were ambulances called. At the hospital each ward was surrounded by both black and white police and members of the security police who refused permission for almost everybody to enter. Even relatives were turned away. Later the police made 77 arrests in connection with the demonstration; in some cases, those arrested were still in the hospital.

The government response to Sharpeville was to declare a state of emergency, arresting some 20,000 Africans along with many other opponents of South African apartheid of other races. The two African political parties both were banned

and have since then operated underground. The government also refused to pay any compensation to the families of those killed or wounded, passing special legislation to make this possible. Six months later the state of emergency was lifted, but the police measures remain. In the intervening eight years, mass trials have taken place, all open political opposition has been stifled, political leaders have been imprisoned or forced into exile. But most important of all, the intervening eight years has seen the growth of a South African revolutionary force which seeks to make real the historic prophecy of Nelson Mandela: "The dispute between the government and my people will finish by being settled in violence and by force."



May Day proposal

An NC proposal by Marilyn Katz and others, Chicago Regional SDS

Our movement, beginning largely in the anti-war movement and developing into an anti-imperialist movement, has a tendency not to relate to the struggle of the American working class, especially in the labor movement. While many of us were and are willing to put ourselves on the line for the Vietnamese, we have actively joined in only a very few labor struggles. At the basis of this failure is the idea that—at the least—the white working class in this country is entirely bought off by the super-profits of imperialism and therefore will never form the guts of an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist movement. This image of a primarily middle-class country—of Galbraith's affluent society—is the official state propaganda that Americans are taught to believe so that no germ of an internal movement against imperialism could be started. Our willingness to believe in the "bought-off working class" is simply a product of the class nature of the lying education we are given, and the class origins of much of our organization.

It is true that there is an enormous difference between wages of black and white workers, for example, in this country. And this points to the real internal struggle within the American working class—the fight against white national chauvinism and the white-skin privilege.

White Privilege Question

Through the systematic lies of capitalist state education white working people have been made to believe that a wealth of privilege belongs to them as members of the white oppressor nation. Bits and pieces of the criminal wealth of this country are given now and then to some individuals and sectors of the white working class—and it is taught that this wealth and privilege is available to all. This Horatio Alger myth—historically generated through the false promise of free land and wealth in the westward expansion—has sold the white workers on an allegiance to the oppressor white nation in its colonization of third world countries and of black and brown people within this country.

But the realities have always given the lie to the Horatio Alger myth behind national chauvinism. Even though "60% of Negro families in this country today still have incomes of less than \$3,000 annually compared with 28% of the white families"—28% of the white families DO have incomes less than \$4,000 a year. Half this country has a family income of less than \$6,000 a year, which in most cases means just getting by if there is no family crisis—which there almost always is—and if the anarchy of the capitalist system doesn't produce sudden consumer price increases, sudden lay-offs, systematic job oppression—which it always does. Without even considering the super-profits made from foreign investments and the exploitation of colonized labor, the truth is that white workers make only a miserable fraction of the wealth they produce. The imperialist, racist exploitation of colonized labor in fact drives wages down and weakens the power of the white worker. Imperialism is not in any way in the interest of the white worker.

Black Labor Leadership

The real crux of white national chauvinism among white workers is its tradition, social acceptance and the constant implicit choice not to take the side of the oppressed, but the oppressor. There is of course a material basis for the white-skin privilege and national chauvinism: For instance, white workers are given access to jobs black and brown workers don't have, and on the whole make more. But they don't make it off the wealth that black and brown workers produce, they just get a somewhat larger share of the wealth THEY produce.

The continuing economic strain, and the enormous human costs of militarization needed to protect the empire are beginning to cut away at this chauvinism. But the greatest single force in the internal struggle against white national chauvinism is the black liberation struggle and the leadership of its black workers in labor struggles.

The black population, oppressed as a people by the white imperialist nation, are also in vast majority exploited alongside whites as the internal labor force of U.S. imperialism. In their clear national fight against the white supremacist power structure, they have been able to show the way to militant class struggle in the labor movement as well as in the community: of these the best and most recent example is the DRUM movement in Detroit. Black leadership of the labor movement is thus the strongest force against white national chauvinism and the link between white workers and the laboring and colonized people of the world.

Any program of our movement which relates to the struggle of working people must keep two principles to the fore:

1. We must attack anti-working class indoctrination in our own movement.
2. We must understand that the great internal struggle within the working



The first Labor Day parade was held Sept. 5, 1882, in Union Square.

class of this country against white national chauvinism must be won before the class struggle can be successful.

We should also understand that the politics of "worker-student alliance" as they have been put forth in SDS point our movement in an essentially reactionary direction. Although "worker-student alliance" politics has correctly urged this organization to concern itself with the struggle of working people in practice and not just in theory, the thrust of these politics has been 1) to urge students to hold down the political level of student struggle to the level of economism which is the level of most labor struggles at present and 2) to vocalize everywhere the counter-revolutionary idea that all nationalism is reactionary, and in particular that the revolutionary nationalism of the black liberation struggle—exemplified by the Black Panther Party and such movements as DRUM—is reactionary, designed to split the workers, etc.

PART TWO: HOW WE CAN BEGIN TO MOVE

Our strategy should be as Marx laid out: to join in the struggle of the working people and to raise the interests of the class as a whole. This means that we should support openly and join in all struggles where strike leadership is opposing white national chauvinism and white supremacy. We should join picket lines, do the hard work of strike support (raising money, student and community support, etc.) and publicize the cause of the strike fairly and accurately in whatever way we can.

This strategy means that where the leadership of the strike openly opposes forces fighting white supremacy, like the New York teachers' strike, we should condemn the strike and call the union a scab on the whole working class.

This strategy means finally that when the situation is ambiguous we should offer concrete support, like walking on the picket lines, getting supplies, etc., but should attempt to raise the fight against white chauvinism among the rank and file as strongly as possible.

The second strategy in respect to the labor movement is to take our own issues and struggles to the working people, explaining them and attempting to enlist their support. We should not be hesitant to ask for support for any fight in which we are involved against the class and colonial nature of the schools, against the militarization of this society

to protect imperialism, the oppression of women or the special oppression of youth in employment, by the police and courts, and by the army.

PART THREE: SOME PROGRAMMATIC SUGGESTIONS

1) The National Office should be mandated to call and organize for national boycotts and demonstrations against companies like Standard Oil where our movement is joined in common cause with the working people on strike.

2) May 1-7 should be called May Day Week; we should attempt to 1) hold rallies in support of labor struggles which confront white supremacy, getting speakers from such groups as DRUM wherever possible; 2) hold city-wide rallies where working people are asked to come (plants, working-class high schools, trade schools leafleted, etc.) and hear presentations about the struggles of the youth movement; and 3) we should stress the history of the labor movement, pointing to the failure in many cases to fight white supremacy, but also pointing to the militancy and justness of the struggles.

3) We should begin plans immediately for a youth-work program this summer. As Mao says: "to tell whether a youth is revolutionary is to see if he joins with workers and peasants and becomes part of them, learns from them and takes part in the struggles as a worker or a peasant." Students should be urged to take jobs in factories and shops and in the field this summer. Wherever possible, people going to work this summer should meet together regularly, pooling their collective experience and participating in the movement struggles of their area.

The youth-work program should follow the two general principles and two strategies laid out in this resolution. While attempting to learn on these jobs about the struggles of working people, we should be clear to state strongly our principles, our involvement in the youth movement and convince others that these principles are correct. The struggle against white supremacy and white national chauvinism should be urged and fought for at all times.

Women especially should design collectives where women work in many different occupations generally held by women (hospital jobs, secretaries, telephone operators, stenographers, typists, sewers and stitchers in factories) to learn about the special oppression of working women in this decadent inhuman society.

Women's struggle in U.S. history

(second in a series)

The basic impetus for the organization of women in America came the development of industry. Women were joining the labor force in increasing numbers in the production of clothing and cloth in the factories and in their homes. As a mass of unskilled labor except for sewing, they were in desperate competition with each other from the beginning. They were barred from further training in the more skilled trades and from entering occupations other than the garment industry, and were denied equal pay for the work they did engage in. Women who were engaged in sewing in their homes in the 1830s were making as little as \$1 a week. It was among these women that the first attempts at organization occurred. From these women developed the United Tailoress Society in New York, led by Lavina Waight and Louise Mitchell, the Shoe Binders of Lynn, Massachusetts, and other similar groups in Baltimore and Philadelphia. However, these attempts at organization were short lived and unsuccessful due to the 1) inexperience of their members, 2) isolation of the women who worked in their homes, and 3) lack of support from the men in their trades who feared the entrance of women into their industries would bring down their wages and leave many of them without work.

Women's Strikes

In the mills, women worked 15 to 16 hours a day until the middle 1830s, when sporadic strikes of unorganized women reduced the hours in mills all over the New England states to 13. Women's wages in the mills were much lower than their male counterparts', and they were forced to turn over large portions of their wage to the company for room and board in the company "dormitories." When wage cuts and speed-up occurred in New England in the 1830s, women struck. The first all-women's strike occurred in Dover, New Hampshire. After that, similar ones occurred throughout the textile industry. But spontaneous action was not enough, and the women were too weak and unorganized to be effective.

The first organizing of women into a more permanent structure was done in 1834 in Lowell, Massachusetts. Sarah Bagley organized women into the Lowell Female Reform Association. Brought together to fight for the 10-hour day and against the especially brutal conditions under which women worked, within six months the Association gained 600 members. In its brief life span it successfully fought against speed-ups and wage cuts by the various mill owners. However, because of the women's lack of money (due to their meager wages) and their lack of time (due to their double exploitation as workers in the factories and in their homes), they were unable to sustain their organization in the absence of any aid from working men.



Victoria Woodhull argued in 1871 that she should be allowed to vote because the Constitution didn't specifically say she couldn't.

Women's Rights Movement

The development of female leadership in the labor and abolitionist movements reinforced and pointed out the necessity for women to act in an organized manner to fight for their own freedom. The Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 signified a new era in the struggle for female liberation.

Called together by two abolitionists, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, this convention called for complete legal, economic, social and political equality, including the right to vote. American men were horrified by their actions and condemned them roundly. What little male support these women received was from other abolitionists, such as Frederick Douglass.

Unconditional Emancipation

The westward expansion after the Mexican-American War and the rapid industrial development in the North brought the issue of slavery into growing prominence. Slavery, its extension into the west, and its effects on wage earners and industrialists became the main debate of the day. The work of leading women went into the abolitionist movement. These women understood that while slavery existed, no man or woman could be free. The institution of slavery meant that all reform movements would be stifled, and that the demand for female labor, which would lay the material basis for a liberation movement, would be stunted due to impeded industrial development.

The Women's Rights Movement, under Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, joined into this fight, with great reservations. They didn't trust Lincoln, and their slogans were absolute: "No Compromise with Slaveholders" and "Unconditional Emancipation."

Get the Vote!

With the outbreak of the Civil War, women campaigned for Congressman Sumner's constitutional amendment to forbid slavery forever. They used this campaign to call a meeting of "Loyal Women of the Nation," which resolved 1) to support the government only if it continued to fight for freedom, and 2) to petition Congress to pass the 13th Amendment. By the end of the war many women felt confident that they could now get the vote. Throughout the war, they had participated as nurses, producers of goods, speakers, and politicians; everything except military strategists. Having proved themselves in production and in politics equal to any task counted on the support of the Republicans and the abolitionists to help them obtain the vote.

However, neither the Republicans nor the abolitionists would risk taking on the controversial issue of women's rights for fear they would be jeopardizing the passage of the legislation which



Emmeline Pankhurst carried the women's rights struggle to the streets.

would give black men the rights of citizenship. Thus, the 14th and 15th Amendments were passed, and women were excluded from the rights of citizenship by federal law.

and respectable jobs; and classical trade unions.

Into Trade Unions

On the one hand, women entered male-dominated unions in which they had great difficulty in raising issues of equal pay and better working conditions, more of a role in union leadership, etc., and in which they were discriminated against by union foremen in hiring and firing practices. On the other hand they started all-women trade unions which, although able to lead and raise important issues, could not be sustained without support from the men's unions. In 1881 the Knights of Labor decided to organize men and women on an equal basis to meet the increasing exploitation of workers that accompanied great immigration and rapid industrialization. By 1886 their national convention was attended by 16 female delegates who raised a resolution for equal pay, equal work, and abolition of child labor. The Knights even appointed a female organizer in an attempt to aid women. However, by 1889 Lenora Barry had quit this job, discouraged by the response of women who had accepted the myth of their own inferiority and had resisted organization.

AFL Lip Service

Throughout the 1890's many attempts at unionization were carried out by women who succeeded at setting up unions in textile, garment, cigar, millinery and other shops. Some were locals of the American Federation of Labor; others were locals of A.F.L. affiliates; and others were independent and therefore short-lived. But the A.F.L. never gave much encouragement to the organizing of women. They accepted women's locals, but they merely paid lip service to the idea of necessity of women's trade unions. The A.F.L. was a craft organization, whose interests they felt lay far from those of the masses of unskilled female laborers. They did appoint a woman as organizer in 1892 (Mary Kenny, who later started the Women's Trade Union League), but only for a period of five months.

(The next issue of New Left Notes will contain Part III of this summary, the history of twentieth century women's movements in America.)

Movement Splits

This issue of the vote split up the Equal Rights Association which was formed at the end of the war to press for equality for both blacks and women. From the split came two new organizations: Anthony and Stanton formed the Women's Suffrage Association for women only, aligning themselves with the working women's struggles of the day. A conservative, middle-class delegate organization called the American Suffrage Association was the other splinter: it concerned itself with women's "social freedom," and failed to ally with working women.

Union Troubles

Industrial development was stimulated by the war, while equipping and maintaining the army, and by westward expansion, which led to large-scale capital growth. Simultaneously came a rapid influx of women into industry. Again, their lack of skills and the bosses' economic motives landed them in desperate straits as a new source of cheap labor. Women were used as a reserve army to constantly threaten the men who were beginning to fight for better wages. Men were not open to aiding women in their plight. In many cases they fought actively to bar women from the trades and their unions. The first unions to allow female members at all were the cigar makers and the printers. The National Labor Union (a federation of national trade unions), led by William Sylvus of the Ironmoulders Union, also supported the organizing of women into trade unions. He was one of the few radical men of his day who pushed the idea that the interests of men and women workers were inseparable.

Organizing Women

The necessity of organizing grew clear to working women and took on many and varied forms. Three main organizational forms were used: the Working Womens Associations, which cut across class and trade lines but had no weapons with which to act; the Protective Associations, which mainly tried to provide services for working women, like housing, food, legal aid,

THE WHITE QUESTION

by Mike Klonsky
SDS National Secretary

The growth of the black liberation struggle on the campus has produced various responses from within the mother country. As the first round of campus confrontations simmer, we must take time and evaluate what has developed so far. For all the campus struggle and rebellion against the racist nature of the schools, there has been little critical analysis done. This is primarily due to the fact that many SDS chapters went into these struggles completely unprepared for them. While the contradictions were sharpening each day for the small percentage of black students on the college campuses, the white students were, as usual, thinking white.

The reaction to white supremacy on the campus came sharp and quick. San Francisco State, Columbia, Valley State, Duke, Madison, Kent State, all blowing up, one after another, left many newly developing chapters in a frenzy. White students had to react. A challenge was placed before them. "Which side are you on?" Black students led the way, demanding that the schools begin serving their people, demanding black studies departments, black history, open admission to white schools, an end to racist treatment of athletes, etc....

Incorrect Responses

Generally speaking, you could say that white students reacted in one of two ways. The first response came as many SDSers and campus radicals called for "white demands" to go along with black demands, so that whites could fight "their own struggle" and not "tail after the blacks."

The second response was to support the black demands in a liberal fashion. That is, to deal with racism as a single issue, again seeing the struggle as the "black people's thing," only this time supporting it for that reason instead of the usual racist pattern which stemmed from an unwillingness to ever follow black leadership.

Both of these responses were inadequate and therefore wrong; and, as a result, black students on campuses everywhere have found themselves isolated and left at the mercy of repressive state power.

I believe there has been a failure on the part of many SDS members to see the struggle against racism as a two-pronged attack. The first prong is the fight, led by black people, for self-determination. This struggle, coming out of the understanding that black people in America have been colonized and stand as a nation within a nation, with the revolutionary right to determine their own destiny, should be supported by all revolutionaries. In fact, support for self-determination for the black colony is the key demand white people are going to have to fight behind before any successful class struggle within the mother country can be waged for the liberation of all the people.

The second prong is the struggle, led by whites, against white supremacy. The lack of any white-organized fight against the white-skin privilege, the keystone of capitalist exploitation, has

left the masses of white students void of any understanding of their own role in the struggle, even on campuses where confrontations have gone on for weeks. A clear example of this lack is San Fernando Valley State, where hundreds of white students were arrested in support of the Black Student Union's demands for a black studies program, open admissions, etc., when they correctly sat in buildings and carried out actions, sometimes militant ones, in support of the black students.

White Privilege

While support of the black liberation struggle at Valley State was good, there was a void in the struggle because there was never an attack against white supremacy and the white-skin-privileged position of students at the school. A situation occurred where many white students were willing to get arrested in support of blacks, but were not willing to miss examinations so a strike could be called because failing or missing an examination would challenge the whole privileged position which white students are placed in. This privileged position is key to the maintenance of students' allegiance to the ruling class.

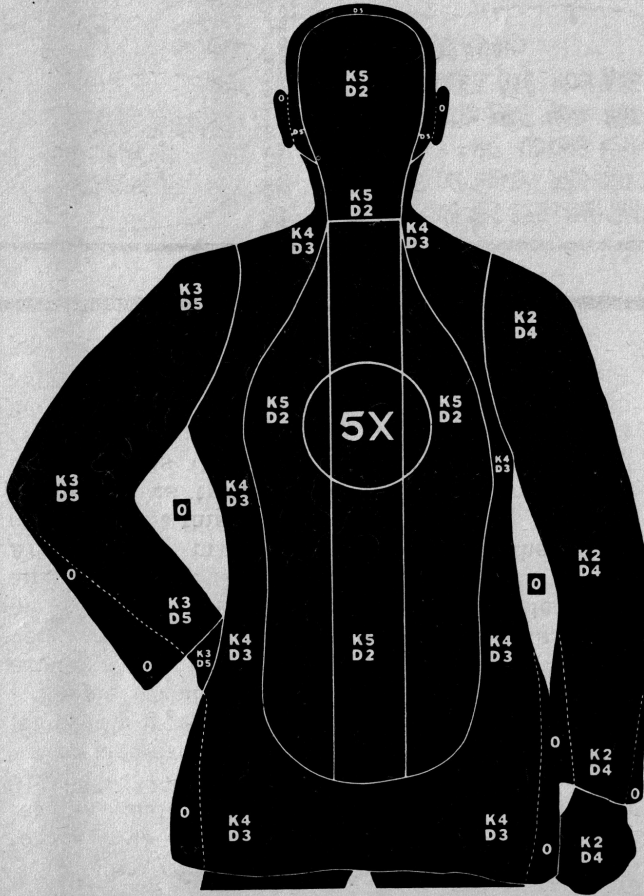
Historically, as long as whites were allowed a few more crumbs from the table than black people, they were quicker to attack black people trying to gain equality than they were to attack the ruling class which exploited both of them.

Fight White Supremacy

The biggest need on the campuses at this time is a well-defined program, coming from SDS, attacking white supremacy and the class nature of the schools. A program of this sort, which could be learned and understood by the masses of students, with a key point being support for the black liberation struggle and the right of self-determination, would serve as a guide when spontaneous struggles, led by black students, erupt. The lack of any such program on many campuses prior to black-led struggles meant that SDS chapters didn't even grow through the struggle. At Valley State, in fact, traditionally the largest chapter in Southern California, SDS practically disappeared.

Now, again, this program would not mean that white students opportunistically raised "white demands" (even under the guise of "class demands") whenever the black students led a struggle for self-determination. What it does mean is white students having an analysis of white racism ahead of time which provides them with the tools to attack this "white problem."

This would also mean an end of the crying that is becoming more and more common among students at some campuses, "we can't do anything here because the black students are bourgeois" or "cultural nationalists." It is racist to think that white people cannot lead the attack on white supremacy when cultural nationalists exist. Until the white problem in America is struggled against, there cannot possibly be revolutionary class unity.



I HEAR YOU KNOCKING BUT YOU CAN'T COME IN

If you're coming to Chicago and want to come to the National Office, call us beforehand and let us know that you're coming. (Phone is 312-666-3874.)

Standard security procedures mean that we can't let people into the building unless we expect them.

People should not simply drop in on the NO, especially at strange hours in the night. This is very important during the next few weeks, when many people will be passing through Chicago to and from the National Council (which is in Albuquerque, in case you didn't see the story on page 1 of this issue.)

The NO is trying to be a functioning office, which means that it's a work office, not a rap office. If you want literature, try to order it by phone or through the mail. If you want to help collate the piles of literature we have sitting around, call us in advance.

