

Students for a Democratic Society

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Boston, Mass.

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Vo. 5, no. 1

LESS TALK, MORE ACTION

June 30, 1969

1st class

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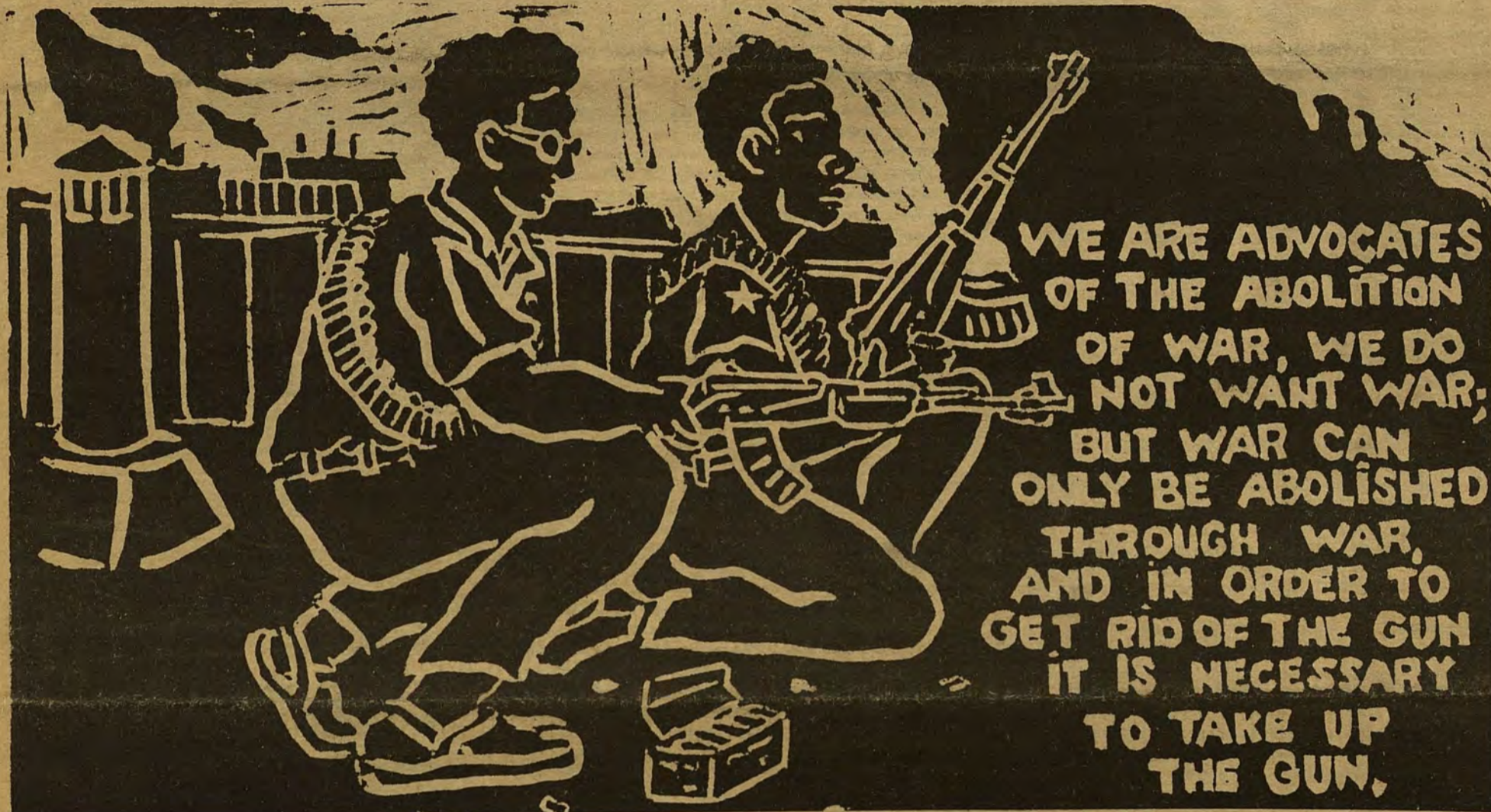
The Paper

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**WE ARE ADVOCATES
OF THE ABOLITION
OF WAR, WE DO
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BUT WAR CAN
ONLY BE ABOLISHED
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AND IN ORDER TO
GET RID OF THE GUN
IT IS NECESSARY
TO TAKE UP
THE GUN.**

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

RYM Walks Out

by John Pennington

On Saturday night, June 21, outgoing National Secretary Mike Klonsky and Inter-Organizational Secretary Bernadine Dohrn led a walkout of about one-third of the 1969 National Convention. After the walkout, their Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) faction set up a separate meeting, with tight security procedures, claiming to have expelled members of the Progressive Labor Party and other SDSers with whom they disagreed. Meanwhile, the Convention continued in the Chicago Coliseum, debating and passing resolutions, electing national officers, raising funds. The following editorial, written in close consultation with all members of the National Interim Committee (NIC), is an evaluation of this situation, which has shaken SDS.

Unprincipled split

Splits are not good or bad of themselves. But the RYM walkout at the Convention was unprincipled because it was not rooted in a good political basis. A lot of the appeal was, rather, to anti-communism -- to the notion, around which the RYM leaders have organized, that PL is a bunch of robot-masters, an outside force which directs opposition to the RYM with deadly efficiency. 'All that appeared necessary for WSA membership,' argues the Guardian's Randy Furst, 'was to raise one's hand at the correct moment in support of the PL position on a vote.' (6/28/69) The dangerous PL external cadre are behind all opposition to the RYM, argues the 'national collective', and they have no place in SDS. Distorting their opponents' views and appealing to this anti-communism to smash opposition, the RYM leaders have them-

selves united on an opportunistic basis. Politically, RYM leaders are at each other's throats. But Dohrn and Klonsky led the split (Education Secretary Fred Gordon stayed) because the fact that their 'national collective' has provided no good leadership was becoming increasingly exposed. That is, they figured they might lose. This, and not anti-imperialist politics, made possible these leaders' unity.

Their opportunism manifested itself most grossly in racism -- their attempt to hide behind the Black Liberation movement, thus intimidating opposition.

Such an unprincipled split can hardly build the movement. It can only damage chapters, can only hurt our ability to fight Imperialism. It must be taken seriously. Many who walked out with Dohrn and Klonsky have seen that the split was unprincipled. We hope these people will return to the organization.

Opportunist history

Throughout this year, RYM leaders have concentrated on two things: infighting for political control, and uniting to 'get PL', i.e. to smash the growing worker-student alliance caucus. Instead of anti-Imperialist leadership, that learns from people and criticizes its mistakes, we've seen a series of revolutionary poses shifted time and again to fit selfish needs -- the particular leader's place in the sun, and the campaign against 'PL'.

Thus, at the Princeton Conference this winter, worker-student alliance advocates were attacked by the 'na-

tional collective' as being insufficiently anti-Imperialist for presenting the fight against racism, focused against the especially fierce exploitation of Black workers, as key. But within two weeks, the RYM leaders had dropped the anti-militarism packet they'd pushed through the conference, without even explaining why. New Left Notes not only did nothing to aid struggles against racism, it also offered no help to the growing fights against ROTC. While liberal student power politics were cloaked in revolutionary-looking clothes ('universities must serve the people') positions were adopted and then dropped with bewildering rapidity.

RYM leaders at Columbia backed a Black student group's demand for \$100,000 for a student power board to help plan an ethnic studies program. Then the Columbia leaders pushed through a motion banning further chapter action against Columbia's expansion (which is destroying Black and white working people's homes) and ROTC, until the student power committee was granted! When people speak of the RYM leaders as anti-working class, the charge is hardly without real basis! They refused to fight against the vicious attacks Columbia was making against working people, unless some student power was obtained! Then, when

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Black student leaders joined deans in condemning SDS, the whole program was dropped, though previously it had been the PRECONDITION for other struggles.

And NLN! At best useless, in many ways NLN was harmful -- filled with revolutionary posturing, but little analysis of good and bad aspects of struggles; pages of support statements to build the 'national collective's' power, but no programs useful for building campus struggles -- and, through it all, WSA ideas simply banned. Many wouldn't join National SDS because of NLN.

Most people came to the convention fed up with the 'national collective's' misleadership. Realizing that they had been exposed in practice, the RYM leaders tried preventing full discussion. Thus, as the Convention opened, RYM leaders first opposed workshops on the ground that there was no room. When that was exposed as a hoax - there was plenty of room - they tried a more 'political' attempt to torpedo discussion. Klonsky argued (incredibly) that workshops were 'PL's hunting ground for naive young people'! Another RYM leader maintained that supporting workshops was anti-communist, for it showed people didn't trust a few leaders to fight it out on the floor!

The membership voted them down, so the 'national collective' proposed speakers and panels to replace various slots of workshop time. This tactic was cleverer. They got away with it.

Baits and distortions

What people wanted was a discussion of how different approaches relate to the actual practice of building an anti-Imperialist, anti-racist movement. Demonstrating real contempt for people - both in how they argued and what they said - RYM leaders avoided discussion of practice, always trying to divert debate into baiting PL and the large worker-student alliance caucus, of which PL is a part, smearing worker-student alliance people as being racist, reactionary, opposed to all struggles, etc. The aim was to isolate PL from the WSA caucus and the caucus from most delegates, to brand any opponent a PL simp, and everyone knew what THEY were like. Counting on many people's unfamiliarity with WSA stands, the RYM leaders never showed how the WSA people's supposedly wrong ideas affected their practical work, in the campus fights from S.F. State to Harvard, in which they have played a key role. And when their own practice was criticized - as at Columbia and Berkeley - RYM leaders had no response.

Despite RYM leaders' attempts to glide down an anti-PL, anti-WSA ski trail, it was clear they were losing the debate. Jim Mellon, RYM leader from Michigan, is quoted in the Guardian as saying, 'PL outorganized us and made us look politically ridiculous.' While the RYM leaders' unprincipled politics were definitely exposed, the way Mellon puts it is typical of how RYM leaders try to distort the situation. It was not just PL or for that matter the WSA caucus which 'made RYM look politically ridiculous'. Many people who disagree with WSA ideas (as stated, for instance, in the Student Labor Action Project Proposal, and the Less Talk, More Action - Fight Racism proposal passed at the Convention) opposed the 'national collective's' 'politically ridiculous' leadership. The 'national collective' was hardly defeated politically ONLY by PL, i.e. 'outorganized' by the proverbial 'handful of skilled and highly organized reds' who've been plaguing the world this past century. Putting it that way is an attempt to scare people away from SDS, to say 'now it's just PL's thing'. The fact is that many people not in the WSA caucus opposed the 'national collective's' misleadership, and in doing so all were speaking to the experience of much of the membership.

A good example of the 'national collective's' total bankruptcy was their handling of the racism panel. Mike Klonsky, one of the participants, offered no program, instead repeating over and over again that 'PL doesn't believe in self-determination'. Jared Israel of PL cited the LESS TALK - MORE ACTION - FIGHT RACISM program as the way to fight racism and back Black people's struggles, as opposed to Klonsky's verbal support for secession-in-the-abstract. The message was clear. For the RYM leaders self-determination was lip service.

Similarly, the Bay Area Revolutionary Union (RU) faction of the RYM could not defend their practice. RU's notion that 'communism appears in disguise' and that 'every great rebellion is the conclusion of every partial rebellion' were attacked as opportunistic. It was argued that revolution doesn't spread of its own like a field of mushrooms, that great rebellions have always required the defeat of bad leadership that builds itself based on bourgeois ideas among the masses of people -- precisely what RU does not oppose.

Many saw that in practice the 'national collective' functions either to the detriment of working people (e.g. at Columbia, blocking the anti-expansion fight

or simply provides no leadership. They indulge in unprincipled - really careerist - organizational battles, trying to cover rotten practice by revolutionary posturing.

So things were getting clearer by the second day, Thursday. The RYM leaders began to quarrel more among themselves: the 'national collective' was getting wobbly, and very nervous.

Friday evening, resolutions on racism were to be presented. What an embarrassment! Having called everyone racist, the RYM leaders had no program or proposals on the question.

The RYM leaders seized on an opportunity to bring matters to a head and hold onto some position. Although three members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) had already addressed the convention Thursday, Friday evening a group of Panther officials returned with an urgent message. The message, which was delivered for nearly an hour, was an attack on PL, including threats.

After the attack, Jeff Gordon from PL responded. First he stated that PL would not be intimidated. Second he discussed certain political questions the Panthers had raised. Supporting the BPP stand on armed self-defense, he argued that contradicted recent talk about community control of police. Gordon asserted PL support for self-determination. PL differed with many, he explained, in that while backing anti-imperialist struggles for self-determination, it was their estimate that such fights could only win by achieving socialism, the rule of the working class. He also explained PL's stand on nationalism -- which was highly critical, but hardly, as RYM leaders maintain, that 'Black nationalism equals racism in reverse'. Third Gordon stated that his main point was the RYM leaders had functioned with gross opportunism. Their politics, he said, were defeated. Unable to defend them, they distorted the struggles of Black people and then used them just the way white liberals had used SNCC -- as a cover.

After Gordon finished, someone suggested the debate return to how to fight against racism. This was discussed. Then Bernadine Dohrn took the podium. Opposing discussing racism, not answering a word Gordon had said, she declared that: 'It's clear that we can't work in the same group as an organization that hates the Black Panthers and opposes self-determination.' Amidst a deafening chant, 'NO SPLIT, NO SPLIT' from most of the room, Bernadine led less than one-third into an adjoining room.

Arguing that the split was not planned in advance, the Guardian cites 'tactical blunders, utter confusion, manipulation and unpreparedness attendant upon the decision.' Whether or not the split was planned in advance isn't the issue. The Guardian is correct, the split was highly 'manipulative'. Instead of arguing for their politics, the crumbling RYM leadership hid behind the Panthers, jumping in with the walkout call. They had first used this approach at the Austin National Council. 'We speak for the BPP,' runs the argument, 'support us or you're a motherfucking racist.'

With the RYM factions meeting in closed session all Saturday the Convention continued, finally holding good workshops. LESS TALK - MORE ACTION was finally DISCUSSED, as were the war and women's liberation -- and, of course, the walkout. In the adjoining room, with all opposition excluded or intimidated, the RYM leaders whipped up support for expelling PL 'and their supporters'. Finally the RYM returned. With Bernadine Dohrn at the podium, RYM supporters surrounded the room, standing in the aisles. (Apparently some had been warned not to sit beside the delegates, who, they'd been told, would attack them.) Dohrn launched into a long, by now familiar, but even wierder attack on PL -- which by this point opposed all struggles of oppressed people -- worldwide! People were intimidated at first. But when Dohrn declared that 'PL and all those who agree with their counter-revolutionary positions (?) are expelled from SDS!' people broke into laughter. No discussion. No vote. No nothing. Just: Out Demon, out! A small faction had returned to the Convention and declared -- who?: who knows, perhaps the majority? -- expelled. Despite the rottenness of what Dohrn was doing, despite everything, people laughed. After that, the intimidation effect vanished. People reacted especially angrily when the speaker said, 'Now I'd like to say a few words to the worker student alliance people in the room.' Poor dupes! As if the RYM leaders expected members of that caucus - a large part though by no means all of those who'd remained - to react favorably after listening to half an hour of lies.

About one-third of the room walked out. The next day, with the convention continuing in the Coliseum, the RYM faction met in a church. The two meetings were very different. SDS discussed and passed resolutions around fighting racism and male chauvinism, as well as a constitutional amendment and a statement on the walkout. The RYM passed NO on-campus programs at all. And the atmosphere in the two rooms also differed considerably. In the SDS convention, peo-

ple spoke, and came in and out with minimum difficulty. But in the church, RYM security was highly intimidating. People with 'the right' politics could heckle. Those with 'the wrong' ideas were silenced by defense guards. Door security bordered on paranoia. Instead of debating campus programs, the 'national collective' conducted a not-so-disguised battle for political position, a positional war of careerists. Many who'd gone to the church out of curiosity or from fear of PL began wondering whether, indeed, they could work in the RYM. (Apparently, the Dohrn/Mellon faction won this in-fight. At least two of the three secretaries and most NIC members elected by the RYM are part of the Dohrn/Mellon weatherman-proposal 'group' -- whose politics are about as certain as the weather.)

Fight racism

The main resolution the convention passed was LESS TALK - MORE ACTION - FIGHT RACISM! The RYM leaders were handy with verbal support - they could out-talk anyone. But this proposal is a plan for actions to fight the racist university. Seeing the key link between building a pro-working class student movement and fighting racism, it calls for a militant three-pronged campaign next fall:

- * AGAINST pig institutes and racist courses.
- * AGAINST racist university expansion.
- * FOR preferential hiring of Black and Latin workers on campus, unionization of campus workers, improvement in pay and working conditions.

This anti-racist program should be tied into anti-imperialist struggles demanding the immediate withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam and around the world. Concrete demands should include the immediate and total end to ROTC, banning of all military recruiters and ending weapons and counter-insurgency research. The proposal calls for actions in mid-November to give nationwide thrust to this anti-racist, anti-imperialist program.

This, far more than RYM verbalism, will hurt the bourgeoisie and build ties with working people on a good basis. As opposed to student power demands for 'sharing' control of racist universities, these concrete struggles can really hurt the rulers.

But we shouldn't wait for the fall to launch this fight. Racist law-and-order propaganda is being pumped out continually. Militant Black groups, like the Panthers, are under fierce attack. Conditions of all working people - especially Blacks - are rotting. Militant actions against ruling class attacks on Black people are key. Especially important is support for Black rebellions. This will be discussed in NLN -- but people shouldn't wait for that. Plans can be made locally -- to reach white working people, as well as for demonstrations against the National Guard and possibly attempts to block their use. The work-in is also important for fighting racism. Learning from working people really makes possible effectively attacking racism among white workers, building ties with militants - especially Blacks - which can make possible upping the ante on worker-student alliances in the fall.

What now for SDS?

We are very much alive. Last year we attacked the bourgeoisie on many campuses. This year we must build far more militant struggles, turning campuses into political battlegrounds against the rulers.

The RYM walkout is unprincipled and will divide many chapters. But the question can't be avoided. We must fight hard to hold SDS together. If this is done, the split can be defeated.

The RYM seized the office with all the records and the press. The N.O. has been moved, temporarily, to Boston; it will remain there over the summer. National Officers have been elected -- mostly people with a lot of basic organizing experience. They will be contacting local people during the summer, soliciting articles for NLN, discussing summer and fall program, trying to be what the old N.O. never was -- responsive to the membership.

The National Interim Committee (NIC) met Monday after the convention. We discussed fighting racism, holding the organization together and building it stronger. The RYM leaders, with their very sectarian outlook, are planning who next to expel. We all agreed, and this is very important: as opposed to the RYM, SDS is NOT closed off. This is no phony liberalism on our part. Although politically diverse, the NIC is thoroughly opposed to the leadership of the old N.O. -- but we are expelling no one. The debate on how best to build SDS into an anti-imperialist force capable of developing a pro-working class student movement must go on within the organization.

We are convinced that most of the minority who walked out will realize this and return.

by Alan Spector

The question of demanding open admissions to college for working class youth (and especially Black and Third World) has become something of a major debate within the organization. It has also produced considerable confusion. Most of those who argue in favor of supporting demands for open admissions put forward at least some of the following arguments.

Expose the schools' class nature

First of all, it is clearly a 'pro-working class' anti-racist campaign. Fighting for open admissions would expose the universities as tools for the maintenance and perpetuation of anti-working class practices as well as ideas. By showing how fiercely the schools (and the rich whom they serve) resist the efforts to really open up the schools, we can offer concrete evidence of the rotten nature of our education system to the masses of students who still have illusions that education is somehow 'neutral', and stands above, rather than participates in the system's injustices. This is very important and should not be underestimated. One of the major obstacles which we face when organizing students is their illusions about the nature of their education. Launching struggles which can demonstrate how those institutions have taken a side, that those institutions consciously perpetuate the racist anti-working class practices of the system can enable thousands of students all over the country to better understand the nature of the system and can begin to develop more effective ways of fighting against the ways it oppresses people.

Serve the people

To be worth waging, however, it is not enough that a particular struggle enable us to make certain political points. A second criterion must be met. The fight must be for something which, if won, will clearly benefit the people. For example, the fact that the US has never had a Black president is due in large part to the racist nature of the system. Yet while a campaign for a Black president might help 'expose' the racist nature of the system, it is clear that the election of another figurehead - Black or any other color - won't in fact help the broad masses of people, Black or otherwise. Actually, such a campaign would probably confuse, rather than enlighten, most people. In any case, such a campaign would benefit virtually nobody.

Generally speaking, if our struggles

don't flow from the needs of the people, we constantly run the risk of becoming manipulative, of synthesizing and contriving struggles in order to 'teach people things for their own good'. There is the opposite danger of just becoming a reformist social service group which uncritically supports every reformist fight without raising a radical analysis and trying to win people to it. But in avoiding that reformist mistake, we should be careful not to divorce ourselves from the people's real needs and struggles.

The fight for open admissions satisfies this second, and most important, criterion -- it meets people's needs. Winning this fight at a particular school, even partially, will clearly serve the interests of many working class youth, especially Third World youth, in a very tangible way. While a diploma is not a passport to heaven, it is clear that BEING FORBIDDEN the right to college training is an attack on working class people -- heightened in the case of Black kids. Why shouldn't they be able to get jobs as teachers, lab technicians, or other non-ruling class white collar jobs?

Arguments against open admissions

Before dealing with this question, one important side point is worth mentioning here. I haven't heard anyone argue against open admissions on the racist grounds that Black and white working class youth will be bought off easily while we SDSers somehow get through without getting bought off. That argument was raised as a straw man by Klonsky at the convention so he could knock it down, while his arguments amounted to a self-contradictory hodge-podge of rhetorical thunder.

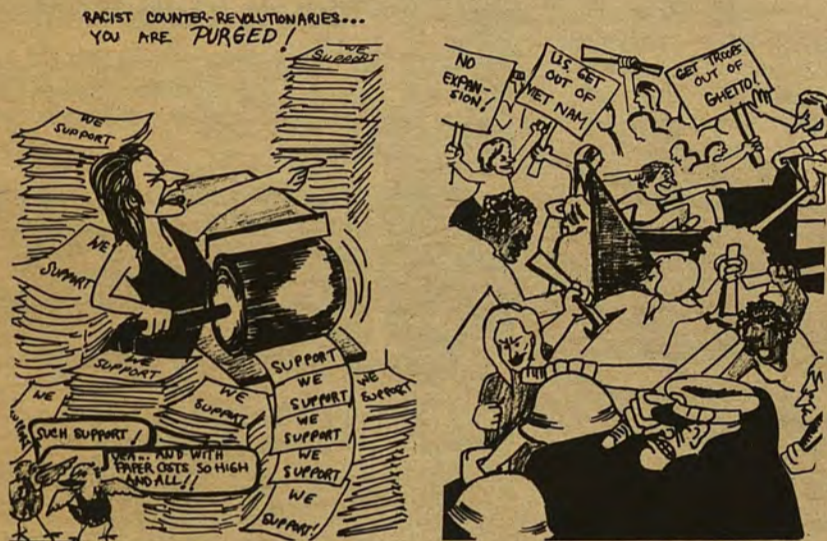
The opponents of open admissions demands actually argued that such campaigns build illusions about escape from the working class. I'd like to see more discussion of this in NLN, but to me, that argument seems silly. Just about ANY struggle is co-optable and hence can build illusions if the organizers, don't struggle vigilantly politically against illusion-building notions, and try to involve the whole movement in such struggle. No struggles are automatically unco-optable. The only guarantee against co-optation is a highly conscious political base which is politically aware and understands the situation deeply. If we're sensitive to the possibilities of illusion-building and struggle against that, the fight for open admissions can be an effective way to fight some of the oppressive educational practices, tangibly benefit numbers of people, and draw important political lessons for thousands of students.

As we were going to press we received a newspaper which has the title New Left Notes. This was issued by the people who walked out of the SDS Convention after it became evident that their politics had been exposed and defeated. There are two interesting things about this paper. First, its tone is hysterical, which shows the political weakness of these people. Second, they offer no program, but only attack SDS, worker-student alliance people, and PL.

There was one point so vicious it must be answered. It showed the level of their 'criticism'. And it demonstrated the level upon which they want to carry out the struggle. The issue - how best to build an anti-imperialist, anti-racist, internationalist movement - must be decided in practice and in theory as related to practice. They say:

"National Secretary" John Pennington is the individual who refused to testify last spring at the Boston trial of Motherfucker Ben Morea. Ben was on trial for felonious assault on a group of Marines who had attacked him and some other brothers and sisters... Not only did Pennington refuse to testify at Ben's trial (on the grounds that Ben would not allow him to make a political statement about the Worker Student Alliance) but he also spread vicious lies around the country that Ben had in fact started the attack himself, going after a Marine who was on crutches. Pennington's PIG work was unsuccessful and Morea was acquitted by the trial jury.

This is not true. Pennington offered to testify in defense of Ben Morea. He was going to give a political statement attacking the court. But he in no way refused to testify, nor did he ever spread rumors that Morea was guilty -- which would, in fact, have made him liable for perjury, since his statements to the court would have been in defense of Morea. He was never asked to testify.



New Left Notes is published weekly except during the summer by Students for a Democratic Society, 173A Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02115 (617) 864-3126. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the managing editor, Alan Spector.

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- David Rosoff: Cornell

Alternates:

- Gordon DeMarco: San Francisco State
- Jim Prickett: San Diego

New Constitutional Amendment

The present Constitution of SDS now contains an Article VI (National Council). This article begins:

Section 1: (a) The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative from each chapter with from five to twenty-five members, and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof in that chapter....

This proposed amendment would change that section to read as follows:

Section 1: (a) The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative from each chapter with five members, and one additional representative for each additional five members in that chapter....

It is intended by the sponsors of this amendment that this amendment shall take effect at the Fall 1969 meeting of the National Council.

ARGUMENT

We think that the National Council should be democratized by increased chapter representation not merely because democracy is an abstractly good thing, but because a more democratic National Council means a more effective National Council and a stronger SDS. For these reasons we urge the adoption of this amendment.



Less Talk, More Action - Fight Racism

(resolution passed at convention)

(This resolution is meant to go along with and give a main anti-racism thrust to the article 'The MOVEMENT Must Serve the People -- the Schools Can't', by Jeff Gordon in Fight to Win.)

All US colleges are racist institutions, part and parcel of the imperialist state apparatus. Right now, they are a main center for the spreading of liberal racism. Black workers are leading struggles against imperialism. This makes the ruling class desperate. Racism is absolutely necessary to imperialism. They are strategically weak. Therefore, they are intensifying their building of racism to further oppress Black people and disunite the working class.

We must advance under this attack. We must turn it into its opposite. The main thrust of SDS's work this year should be a major anti-racist campaign on campuses across the country. We must turn the campuses into battlegrounds against racism and the imperialism it serves.

The schools are centers of racism

1. Schools are paid for by the working class and only the working class. All wealth is produced by workers. Schools are supported by tax money stolen directly from workers. The heaviest burden for this falls upon the super-exploited Black and Latin workers. Also, the schools are physically built by workers -- not mayors, planners, or Boards of Trustees. Thus, schools are built on the backs of all workers and especially come from the racist super-exploitation of Black workers.

2. The basis of US colleges is to teach and research racism and imperialism. Racist courses, cop institutes, and counter-insurgency centers abound. Future teachers, social workers, etc., are taught to spread racism to the working class. They are also prepared to be pitted against Black workers -- as in New York's racist teachers' walk-out. Universities serve as a major intellectual and ideological center. Statements by leading professors have an important impact on many people.

3. Many Universities are expanding so as to better get and spread ideas for imperialism. Often, this expansion is done at the expense of the working class around the University -- most often, Black workers. Expansion throws Black workers out of their homes so as to expand the facilities for studying how to smash their movements and for teaching racism.

4. Universities and university hospitals have racist hiring practices and super-exploit their workers. Colleges welcome, of course, recruiters from companies with similar racist practices (i.e. all companies).

We have done much research into how the university is imperialist in general. We should now expand that to a particular understanding of all its racist uses. The above is a beginning in that.

The movement must serve the people

Most students can be won to fight in a pro-working

class, anti-imperialist and anti-racist way. About one-half of the students who enter college do not graduate. Over 40% of graduates teach. These and others need to fight the rulers. Our job is to expose the University's lies and its programs. This can be done by organizing mass struggles for real reforms (e.g. abolish ROTC, stop the pig institutes, stop expansion, stop scab and racist recruiters, stop racist courses, etc.). In the process, the rulers will expose themselves. We can develop and deepen the class consciousness of many students.

This cannot be done if we fight for 'control' or 'democratic participation' in running of any phase of the imperialist, racist, rotten, lying, exploiting university. Our job is to win masses of students to a fighting anti-racist, pro-working class movement. Our unity and fighting power can win concessions. We must not mislead students to become petty managers -- front men for imperialism. Therefore, we must oppose all 'student power' demands.

Revolutionary violence - class war

We must win white students and workers to seeing why it is necessary to use revolutionary violence to defeat imperialism. We must win them to supporting the violence of Black workers. But that isn't enough. We must defeat pacifism, especially among students, and engage in revolutionary violence. This does not mean we stand for individual terrorism. We must learn from and advance the example of San Francisco State and Berkeley on the question of using mass violence. No social class ever surrendered.

Turn attacks on Black people into their opposite

The ruling class is upping its attack on Black people and right now particularly the Black Panther Party because the rulers are running scared! It's a sign of weakness, not strength. Our response must be to advance under the attack. We must build support for those attacked, exposing the rulers. This must be done among students on campus and taken to white workers. It is a serious mistake to only mobilize the already existing movement in support. If we can't win new people, we're in trouble. The national leadership of SDS had a parasitic outlook on support. They are incapable of winning students to opposing attacks on the Black liberation movement as an attack on the working class and all the people. Their program at the last NC for Panther support includes only the usual bandaid cant that Trotskyist groups have been putting forth for years.

Fight for demands in the interest of Black workers

In fighting racism, we must ally with Black workers and students. Our struggle must be part of the class struggle. The ruling class is trying to divert these struggles into demands that don't serve Black workers -- demands for Black student 'control' over Black studies departments, Black deans, Black trustees, etc. They don't fight the super-exploitation of Black working people. A dean is a dean is a dean. A cop is a cop is a cop.

Tactical program

Fight Racist Expansion -- Avoid the trap of demanding 'good expansion'. That is impossible -- rulers' schools' expansion must attack the people.

Attack Racist Exploitation of Campus Workers -- Demand preferential hiring of Black and Latin workers. Support better wages, working conditions and right to unionization of all university workers. Unite with these workers. Students can take campus jobs during the year as part of the year-round work-in.

Smash Racist Courses and Institutes -- Especially pig institutes and 'riot' control courses.

Support Black Rebellions -- Defend Black Liberation Movement Fighters. Raise money, demonstrate, educate, mount sharp attacks on schools in support of Black rebellions. Fight attempts to turn white against Black students and workers.

As a step toward implementing this anti-imperialist, anti-racist program, the following is proposed:

SDS should call nation-wide student actions, such as local and regional mobilizations, rallies, sit-ins, etc., on the second Wednesday in November with the following demands:

- END THE RACIST ATTACKS ON BLACK PEOPLE
 - * Free all Black political prisoners, end crackdown on the Black liberation movement, oppose ruling class attacks on the Black Panthers.
 - * End pig institutes, smash counter-insurgency courses, stop university expansion.
 - * Attack racist exploitation of Black workers.
- U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM
 - * Total and immediate abolition of ROTC.
 - * End military and war researcher recruiters.
 - * End counter-insurgency research.

Where specific issues are already important, they would of course be emphasized. Working people and schools without SDS chapters should be leafletted to win support. Workers who agree should of course be encouraged to take action -- but we are clearly in no position to lead massive working class action. The work-in is an excellent way of beginning to build ties that could lead to forms of working class participation.

Statement on

(resolution passed at convention)

Last night a minority group faction of the Students for a Democratic Society National Convention split off from the original. This faction included a majority of the previous leadership whose anti-working class politics and practices have been exposed and defeated. They have lost the confidence of the majority of the original -- both on the campuses and at the convention. Recognizing this, they walked out of the convention hall, held their own meeting, and declared that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was purged from SDS. This fallacious attempt to cover up their political defeat was coupled with the false claim that they legitimately represented SDS.

However, there is only ONE S.D.S.: This meeting in the Coliseum is the 1969 National Convention of SDS. This attempt to split and destroy the student movement must and will be fought.

We of this convention repudiate the disgraceful anti-communist and anti-working class attacks of this splinter group's leadership on the Progressive Labor Party, the Worker-Student Alliance caucus, and in fact on all members of SDS, regardless of their positions on various other questions.

In splitting, this minority faction of the convention shamelessly distorted and lied about the positions of other SDSers. To clarify and correct these distortions, we reaffirm our complete support of the right of all oppressed nations to self-determination and give active support to such struggles as that of the Vietnamese people. By self-determination we mean the political and economic independence of all oppressed people. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of US imperialism from Viet Nam and everywhere else in the world. Furthermore, we reaffirm our support for the Black Liberation Move-



4- Black and white workers handed scabs their just desserts...

The Fight for Women's Liberation is Basic to Defeating Imperialism!

(resolution passed at convention)

Unfortunately the question of women's liberation is little understood and fought for even less in the movement. Since one-half of the working class and one-third of the labor force are women and they suffer oppression and dual exploitation, they have an essential role to play as fighters and leaders in any anti-imperialist movement.

In order to fight male chauvinism it is necessary to understand its origin and the material basis of the super-exploitation of women workers. Women were not always especially exploited. There is nothing 'natural' or 'classless' about it. The special oppression of women grew out of economic needs based on the relation of people to the mode of production. Its main characteristic has been the special oppression of peasant and working class women by dictatorships of minority classes -- slave, feudal, or capitalist. Black, Brown and Yellow peasants and working women have always suffered triply.

With the rise of capitalism and modern industry, the economic foundation on which the traditional family was based was destroyed. Women were taken out of the home and put into the factory. But the special exploitation of women, who became a cheap reserve labor force, continued. To justify the double exploitation of women workers, the ruling class fostered the ideology of male chauvinism.

Soon after joining the labor force, women became a vital element of the labor movement. As early as 1824, women in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, joined with the men in a militant strike against wage cuts. The following year, women workers took the initiative and led a strike of New York tailoresses. From then on, women workers took an active, militant part in labor struggles and frequently rose to leadership positions, e.g. Mother Bloor, Mother Jones (a key organizer of miners), and Ella Mae Wiggins.

At the turn of the century women led a militant strike of 20,000 NYC garment workers (75% of whom were women) that ended in recognition of the ILGWU (at that time still a pro-worker union). A particularly significant struggle for women was the strike of 8000 New England women telephone operators supported by 4000 men. This caused the most complete tie-up of any public service ever experienced. The strike was a complete success.

As in the past, women today play an important part in class struggles. Last year women workers at Fig-

ure Flattery, continuing the militant tradition of New York garment workers begun in 1825, led a militant strike to re-hire their Communist shop steward. They successfully fought a coalition of bosses and sell-out ILGWU leaders, showing what can be done when men and women workers fight together. This action was supported by the SDS Work-In.

Chauvinism's economic base

The real basis of male chauvinism in contemporary capitalist society is the profits made off of the super-exploitation of women workers.

The primary way that working class women are super-exploited is that women workers, who comprise one-third of the labor force in the US, are paid an average of \$2,875 per year less than men workers.

This super-exploitation has several different forms. First, women workers are often paid lower wages than men for the same or similar jobs. Often, the bosses 'justify' this wage differential with the argument that men are the principal support of families. But since the male workers do not receive higher wages as a result of the difference, it is clear who this argument serves -- the bosses. They are the ones who get more profits. Another point not mentioned by the bosses is that one out of every ten families is headed by a woman (this doesn't count single women). 42% of these families have less than \$3000 per year!

In addition, women are used by the bosses as a marginal labor force -- the first laid off during economic recession or depression. Because of the lower wages and lack of job security, women can be and are used as scabs, further splitting men and women workers.

Similarly, working class women are used as part-time or temporary workers (one-fourth of all women workers are part-time or temporary), enabling the bosses to manage with fewer permanent full-time employees. In this way, they save money by cheating workers out of hard-won fringe benefits. Part-time and temporary workers do not receive vacation pay, retirement and other benefits. Hiring an extensive number of part-time or temporary workers also makes it more difficult for all of the workers to unite. In a factory or office with a rapid labor turnover, it is less likely that strong ties among workers will develop. Temporary workers also are likely to have less class consciousness than women who are steadily employed. In addition, sellout union bosses often do not permit temporary workers to join unions through requirements of several months work in a factory before eligibility for membership.

The bosses also exploit working class women who are not in the factories. These women provide the services for their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons, which are necessary for the continuation of the labor force. The bosses know that if this source of cheap labor were not available, it would be necessary to pay higher wages in order to have a strong and perpetual labor force -- and profits would be smaller. The bosses prefer this permanent source of labor rather than having to pay from their profits for the day-care centers and services which would have to be provided if all women were full time paid workers. (This is counter-balanced somewhat by the profits which could be made off women employed in commodity production. Also, after an initial outlay of capital, day-care centers might be a cheaper way of taking care of children during the working day.) This, however, would not allow the bosses to employ women as marginal laborers. In many cases, the same women suffer dual exploitation in both factory and home.

Black women are triply exploited -- first as workers, second as Black people and third as women. Black women have the lowest yearly median income of all workers. They also have the highest unemployment rate.

Since union leadership, for the most part, no longer serves the worker's interests, they help to promote bourgeois ideology, like male chauvinism, in the same way that the bosses do. To keep men and women from waging a united struggle, union misleaders have fostered the growth of separate unions based solely on sex. Specifically, this has occurred among telephone workers where men and women belong to separate unions. This separation has weakened their ability to unite and frequently they do not support one another during strikes. Male chauvinism has penetrated all levels of unionism. On the local level, women are discouraged from assuming leadership positions. This lesson was brought home to us by the SDS work-in. For example, in one office of Kaiser hospitals, where there are over fifty women and only a handful of men, the shop steward was a man. The entire local union hierarchy, in fact, except for one minor official, was composed of men. And this in an area - office and technical personnel - where the vast majority of



workers are women.

Family

In the home in capitalist society, we often find reactionary ideas. After a day of exploitation, the husband comes home to 'comfort' and escape from his everyday oppression. He expects his wife to serve his needs, often whether or not the woman also works. This means extra work for the married woman, who is expected to work, clean and look after the children -- a lot of cheap labor for the ruling class.

The relationship between husband and wife in the home creates antagonisms among the people which can only serve to set them against one another instead of seeing their class enemy clearly. Bosses often play on these antagonisms when workers strike. For example, last summer, the Chicago Work-In supported a wildcat strike of Railway Express Drivers -- all men. REA called all of the workers' wives to get them to pressure their husbands back to work, on the basis that the men were only hurting their wives and families by staying off work. (Many wives rejected this line and several men struggled with their wives over this question. A few women even came to the picket lines as a result.)

The family does not have to be primarily reactionary. We should attempt to attack the bourgeois aspect and make the family a unit for fighting the ruling class. A good example of this kind of struggle is the REA drivers' struggle with their wives.

The most realistic responsible way to free women to struggle and work is to demand day care centers for workers' and students' children. This struggle can both win a needed concession and raise consciousness about the extra exploitation of women.

Superstructure of chauvinism

A superstructure of myths, prejudices and ideologies stems from and helps to continue the material basis of chauvinism in a capitalist society. US culture, education, etc., perpetrated by the ruling class, create this superstructure of romanticism and sexuality for very specific reasons. The promotion of the idea of women as 'gentle', 'weak', and 'feminine' is put forward to convince men and women that women are not fighters! This idea does great service to the ruling class, since it keeps one half of the working class and its allies docile. The fewer who struggle, the better for the ruling class!

The superstructure also promotes escapism and individualism both for men and women. Both are led to believe that happiness will be achieved through certain products, images and life styles. Women can marry the man of their dreams who will give them security and happiness. Men can escape from the hardships of work to the nurturing wife at home. These ideas are escapist and individualistic because they build the illusion that by personal and material gratification, it is possible for an individual to escape the effect of economic exploitation.

Male chauvinism within the movement

If our movement is to serve working people's struggles against imperialism, we must defeat male chauvinism within our own ranks. It is easy to see chauvinism in the mass press, but when it comes to the movement many look the other way.

Certain movement publications ape Playboy magazine and pander to male chauvinism. A quote from an issue of the RAT (NY SDS's subterranean news) reads: 'Last time we ran a naked chick on the cover we temporarily doubled our circulation. Thought we'd do it again.' In a recent leaflet put out by the PPNC and RSU in Berkeley, around People's Park, we find

(continued on page 6)

the Walk-Out

ment in this country and we oppose the vicious attacks by the ruling class on this movement, most clearly demonstrated by the severe repression of the Black Panther Party.

The attempt of the old National Office leadership to say that the various interpretations of specific strategies within SDS are in contradiction to these basic principles is a complete distortion of the truth.

We shall not let this struggle end in Chicago. Over the summer and next fall we shall take the SDS struggle back to the campuses. We shall rely upon the people to further repudiate the splinter leadership and reaffirm that there shall not be two SDSs. We know that many people who were part of the group which left the convention do not support them politically and have serious doubts about the action. We appeal to these people to return to SDS and fight for their politics within the organization. The leadership's attempt to split SDS is a service only to imperialism and it will be defeated!

The class struggle is sharpening internationally. In this country the black liberation struggle is taking the lead. The growing student movement is beginning to lead mass struggles to fight against imperialism, racism, and male chauvinism, and to build an alliance with the working class -- the key force in defeating US imperialism. The past SDS national leadership failed to give any direction to that struggle. This convention shall not fail. We have worked out a program today to continue to build this fight!

DARE TO STRUGGLE

DARE TO WIN

SDS 1969 CONVENTION

Fight Male Chauvinism cont.

at the top a picture of a girl raising her blouse and the words "Today we relax."

Our tolerance of such blatant examples of chauvinism within the movement is a clear indication that we don't understand how chauvinism works against us. Chauvinist ideas, that women are scatter-brained, that they are mere sexual objects, that they are physically weak and not fighters, hold women back -- keep them politically undeveloped, and thus rob the movement of half its fighting force.

Male chauvinist relationships between our men and women create antagonisms and distrust which divide us from within. Such divisions are an internal poison which must be fought or they will defeat us. Irresponsible relationships are chauvinist and exploitative, not revolutionary. They foster individualism and a non-struggle attitude. While pretending to oppose bourgeois ideas in the movement, we often accept romantic 'haven' notions about our personal relationships. Our personal relationships should not be counter-institutional 'liberated zones' under imperialism, but should build the struggle against imperialism.



It is not just the men who must struggle against their chauvinist ideas. For it is often women as much as men who put men first within the movement and SDS. Picking up on the ruling class line that men are talkers, doers, etc., many women are intimidated by men and fail to think and act in political terms as anti-imperialist, pro-working class student leaders.

SDS's task is to build a Worker-Student Alliance; we must see the need to ally with working class women, and fight chauvinism in a number of ways. One way to put this into practice is to develop women leaders and fighters on campus for pro-working class battles. For it is through those anti-imperialist struggles that men and women are forced, if they are to win, to fight a common battle. One possible way that the involvement and development of women can be advanced is through the formation of women's caucuses within (not separated from) SDS.

A major role of these caucuses would be to organize those women already in the movement and to reach other women and bring them into the struggle to build SDS and a Worker-Student Alliance (on campus fights against ROTC, military recruiting, racist expansion, support for workers). At Columbia, a group of women within the WSA caucus, recognizing the need for women to take a more active role in building the anti-imperialist, anti-racist movement at Columbia, began organized work in Barnard College. They discussed with the women at Barnard the importance of SDS, the building of a WSA, the concrete struggles against the University administration, and the need for women to be active within the movement. Through this concrete work at Barnard, these women brought additional women into the pro-working class struggle against racist expansion and helped to build SDS. Also, by proving to themselves and to the men within the movement that women can and must be an important part of any progressive movement, they were (and are) fighting chauvinism. Another role of women's caucuses would be to lead SDS in directly supporting specific struggles which benefit working class women (e.g. day care centers for children of University workers, supporting strikes led by militant women workers).

How do we fight male chauvinism?

Many men and women see the necessity to defeat chauvinism. However, in attempting to raise this issue and fight for women's liberation, many of them have made a fundamental error. That is the error of not seeing the ideology of chauvinism as a way to justify the super-exploitation of women workers. If we do not see this exploitation as the basis of chauvinist attitudes, then we cannot fight them -- only strike out at symptoms, or in some cases actually help to build these attitudes.

One view is that of seeing women as a whole as oppressed, and fighting for women's liberation 'across the board'. This raises some women's positions within the bourgeoisie and does not recognize class as the primary allegiance. Even though bourgeois women are oppressed, the most we could hope for would be that a few of them would be won away from their class. Because their allegiance to their class (capitalist) is stronger than their oppression as women, we should not make it our task to work with or for them.

This line (sex above class) takes shape concretely in demands for women trustees, foremen, deans, doctors, executives, etc. These demands attempt to improve women's positions within the bourgeoisie or within the petty bourgeoisie, or they take women workers out of the ranks and make them part of the management. There are basically two things wrong with these kinds of demands, both stemming from not seeing class as primary. First, giving women positions as foremen, deans, etc., does not deal with the fact that these people are tools of the bosses or administrations and do their work. This kind of demand puts sex first, i.e. a woman foreman is okay because she is a woman, even though she (like a man foreman) does only the bosses' work.

The second error is catering to individualism and the desire to get ahead, rather than seeing that the liberation of the working class can take place only through a process of collective struggle to improve everyone's conditions. That is, the working class cannot (because of capitalism's need to exploit labor) improve its situation through its members moving 'up' one by one. And, to support demands which would help a few move upward is giving in to individualism and is essentially screwing those who still have to take the worst jobs.

This error of putting sex first is tied to not seeing the primary enemy as the ruling class. This also leads to seeing men as 'the enemy' or thinking that working class men (even in the short run) benefit from chauvinism.

Many Women's Liberation groups would argue that working-class men and male students do derive advantages from the exploitation of women. The National Office-affiliated groups talk about fighting male supremacy, not male chauvinism.

This way of looking at the oppression of women is basically liberal, no matter how thick the cover of revolutionary rhetoric. Most existing Women's Liberation groups organize women to discuss their personal problems, about their boy friends -- but have never shown women how to defeat their male chauvinist attitudes. They also hesitate to attack any woman (except WSA women, who have been thrown out of their groups) on the ground that it is not 'sisterly' (read ladylike) to struggle hard! For example, the University of Chicago administration set up a University Committee to study the case of Marlene Dixon after she was fired for political reasons. SDS had taken over a building to support her. One of the women on the Committee was sent to try to get SDS out of the building. A leader of WRAP, the Women's Radical Action Project 'liberation' group at the U of C, appealed to her as a woman to support the struggle when she was clearly a conscious and willing agent of the administration!

The idea that women as a group suffer from oppression by men as a group obscures the reality that both men and women in the ruling class profit from the super-exploitation of women workers as a whole, and that the fight for Women's liberation is the enemy of the entire ruling class, male and female. For this reason, it is possible for men to overcome their male-chauvinist attitudes and join struggles led by women against their exploitation. It is also possible for men to overcome male chauvinism in the course of anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggles when they see the need for women, who are often most militant, to take part. Men can and must come to understand that it is in their own interest to fight male chauvinist attitudes and practices, and see the vital importance of women's role in the fight against the ruling class. On the other hand, male chauvinist attitudes are often pushed by University administrations, factory owners, etc., when women fight hard. For example, one girl at Radcliffe was thrown out on charges including directing and inciting male students to use

force against the deans and use of obscene and abusive language to deans. Welfare clients have had tons of male chauvinist abuse heaped on their heads from a welfare system they've fought militantly for years. The idea that women should be only sweet and submissive sexual objects - and that militant women must be hysterical or whores - is pushed hard by the ruling class to scare women from fighting and to win men against them.

Some women's liberation groups are putting forward that because women are the prime consumers, they can be organized to consume less products. These demands are both anti-working class and escapist. Anti-working class, because the problem of working women is not that they consume too much, but that they cannot afford the things they really need to lead a decent life. Escapist, because to tell women that they shouldn't wear lipstick is to say that their problems can be solved by adopting a different life style -- that is, changing their personal consumption habits and not fighting the ruling class. Women who attack the Playboy Club or the Bridal Fair are attacking escapism without making it clear that escapism to counter life styles is no answer either. If the Bridal Fair demonstrators had pointed out that GE, the purveyor of many products there, was engaged in putting down a militant strike (of largely women workers) and attacked GE on that basis, it would have helped women to see the material basis for their exploitation, and attacked the escapist propaganda. Instead, it attacked, in effect, the women who bought these products by telling them not to be so crass and materialistic, and see themselves as objects. The source of their exploitation is not subjective but material and economic. Middle class women, as women in the movement, need to ally with working women not by telling them to consume less but by fighting with them in concrete struggles against the ruling class of this country.

To defeat male chauvinism we must fight it in such a way as to overcome its divisive effect on the working class. That is, we must fight it with the understanding that it is not men against women, but the working class against the ruling class. Concretely this means supporting demands that improve wages and working conditions for women workers and are in the interest of all workers. It means uniting with and supporting the organization of women workers, the fights in the schools in which working class women play a vanguard role, the organization of women on campus to lead SDS's fights against imperialism, racism and male chauvinism. For instance, demands for equal pay for women attacks the bosses' ability to use low wages of women to keep all wages down. And we can help defeat male chauvinism among ourselves and workers by mobilizing students' support for working women's struggles like this and others.

For example, last summer's SDS Work-In supported Puerto Rican women workers who led the wildcat strike at Figure Flattery in NYC's garment center.

Another demand that students could raise and support on the campus would be day-care centers for children of campus workers and students (at Columbia, the faculty are provided with such care). Such a struggle would certainly be in the interest of working class women and families, who have to pay exorbitant fees to have their children taken care of.

On campuses, especially on all-women campuses, there are recruiters for the all-women's sections of the US armed forces. To kick these military recruiters off campus would be to fight in the interest of super-exploited working women and oppressed peoples all over the world.

We must also wage an intensive ideological campaign among male workers and students and in the classrooms to expose and defeat all male chauvinist practices and ideas. Through our experience in the SDS Work-In, we saw the triple ways in which all women are oppressed: as workers, as women workers on the job, and then at home as women in the household. After a hard day's work it was they, not their husbands, who had to cook, clean, and take care of the children.

The same holds true for women students. Where a couple are both students and have the same course load, it is most often the woman who must do the housework, shopping, and cooking and where there are children, take care of them. Often, women work hard to send their husbands through college. Often, too, the men have an easy time of it and the women are still saddled with the housework.

In the last analysis, we must realize that as long as the material base for male chauvinism exists, it cannot be completely defeated. Therefore, the primary fight must be against this capitalist system of exploitation. In the same light, we must also see that the end of capitalism is not an instant guarantee to the end of chauvinism and that the struggles against it (like racism) must continue to be waged by women and men.

(This resolution is just a beginning. More program must be worked out. This will mainly occur through the lessons of struggles around organizing women. We welcome criticisms on how to improve the analysis and further develop program.)

DEFEAT MALE CHAUVINISM
FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION!

Defend the Panthers

by Leslie Lincoln
U Cal Irvine

In an important but little known part of the nationwide crackdown on the Black Panther Party, three young Black men have been accused of the June 4 murder of Santa Ana cop Nelson Sasser. The three - Michael Lynem, Odis Grimes and Arthur League - leaders of the fledgling Santa Ana Panther organization - are charged with first degree murder and conspiracy to commit murder. Lynem was arrested June 5. The FBI is hunting the other two nationwide.

On the pretext of searching for Grimes and League, the city government subjected the Black community to a reign of terror. Cops broke into homes, beat children, confiscated people's belongings without warrant or receipt, forced people to lie on the floor while their homes were pillaged and threatened to kill them. They pulled in or beat Black youths who 'looked like' the two missing Panthers!

Although the local press - led by the Santa Ana Register - has already 'convicted' Lynem, there were in fact no eyewitnesses. The little existing evidence is conflicting. Moreover, the Panthers' Southern California newsletter says '15 witnesses place him somewhere else all the night of the murder.' Instead of allowing Lynem a pretrial hearing with cross-examination, the county rammed through a Grand Jury indictment in record time, setting the trial for July 21.

Orange County Peace and Freedom Party (P & F), dormant until recently, called a community support meeting for June 11. U of C Irvine SDS and BSU moved to turn people out for Lynem's June 9 arraignment and the meeting, leafletting classrooms every morning at 7:30 a.m.

Over 60 showed up for the arraignment -- surprisingly many on short notice. An overflow crowd of 250 jammed the support meeting, forming the Panther Defense Committee.

From the beginning, we in SDS saw our role as both political and organizational. Along with a few P & F people we argued that a support group should - in addition to raising money - conduct a POLITICAL defense. To liberals who said our job was to ensure Lynem a 'fair trial', we answered that a Panther CAN'T get a fair trial. Only massive community support can affect the outcome. Our leaflets stressed the racist repression of the Black community and the nationwide attack on the Panthers.

U of C Irvine SDS and BSU came to the support meeting well organized, with a specific plan for action, so things got off the ground fairly fast.

First we organized a mass leafletting (15,000) at twelve large shopping centers. The leaflet was based on one written by SDS. Mailings were sent out to peace group mailing lists.

We also set up a speakers' committee. One of the first fruits of a speaking engagement was that a moderate Black group, previously cool to the Panthers, passed out 5,000 copies of our leaflet to Black people.

On June 22, the Defense Committee, along with the BPP, sponsored a defense picnic and rally. 150 people showed up.

Despite the breadth of these actions, the effect has not been deep. Attendance at weekly Defense Committee meetings and involvement in its work have fallen off. This can be attributed partly to fear of harassment. But SDS has made several errors.

Political weaknesses

Although stressing that the Panthers can't get a fair trial, we've hardly discussed what 'fair trial' means in a capitalist state. We haven't disagreed strongly enough with liberals' arguments that Panthers have only exer-



NOW I GET THE POINT OF RULING CLASS RACISM

cised first amendment rights, or with tendencies to portray Panthers as Black VISTA types. Liberals keep wanting to discuss the 'evidence' to make sure Lynem is 'innocent'. We haven't opposed this hard enough, or their argument that legal defense is primary.

We've also taken on too much of the shit work ourselves, not involving enough new people. But most important is the question: Who have we reached? Though a few working class P & F'ers have been doing much work, it's clear we've really reached mainly traditional liberals -- the people on peace groups' mailing lists. They can't provide the base for the massive turn-

out and support needed for Lynem's hearings and trial. And there's been almost no attempt to reach the Chicano community. (Chicanos make up about 15% of the population, with Blacks about 5%.)

To mount a really broad-based defense group doesn't just mean getting together revolutionaries and middle class liberals. The latter are fine to include, but the core of our political strength must come from reaching out to working class communities -- Black, Chicano and also white! THEIR massive support is the alternative to the liberals' 'legal defense' approach.

Two Busted at State

by Pat Forman S.F. State

On June 20, Sue Bethel and Larry Larsen were found guilty on three counts of misdemeanors. The charges grew out of the mass bust at San Francisco State during the strike. The two, who are members of Progressive Labor Party, were immediately remanded into custody and sentenced to one year prison terms.

During the six week trial, Sue and Larry had served as their own lawyers and made their communist outlook, their commitment to serving the working class, clear to all. They refused to play the judge's legal games and continuously exposed the racist, anti-working class nature of the courts. They put forward the objectives of the strike at S.F. State clearly and explained the need for revolutionary violence. Their general strategy was to make it clear that the courts are just one of the ruling class's weapons to use against the people, and to turn their trial into a platform to build the fight against imperialism, to win working people to their ideas.

The extremely heavy sentence was given with only one intent -- to intimidate the movement and its allies. They use their courts and laws just like they use their clubs -- to scare us into hiding our politics or apologizing for them. Our only response should be to fight back even harder. We must fight back in the courts, taking the offensive, but never let these fights become a substitute for building a movement on campus.

Suppression and political defense

Attacks on the movement are a sign of our growing strength -- not weak-

ness. Repression is a tool the ruling class uses carefully -- it's not the result of a few maniacal, sadistic types, or the influence of oil millionaire right-wingers. They've had years of experience and experimentation, learning when and how much to crack down.

If we don't view it this way, we can end up considering REPRESSION ITSELF as the problem. Our enemies then are the most blatant 'reactionaries', the Reagans and Daleys. Liberals like Mayors Hatcher or Lindsay seem to be our friends. Thus we forget that the WHOLE RULING CLASS needs to smash the movement. And we neglect obvious facts, as well -- e.g., liberal and conservative officials, Black and white, have called in the National Guard to smash Black rebellions and militant strikes.

Viewing the problem as REPRESSION ITSELF, 'security' becomes the main focus of our defense. So we keep our politics quiet. No one ever knows what we were doing that brought on the attack. We lose sight of our only real strength -- a mass movement with anti-imperialist politics. Afraid of 'prejudice' the judge, we rely on lawyers and legalisms instead of turning the courts into a forum to expose the state and build the movement.

Taking the political offensive against attacks is not a strategy favored by lawyers. This doesn't mean we should never have lawyers. It means we should never rely on them. Instead, we should rely on the people, on winning people over politically (not out of first amendment liberalism) to support the movement. Building a fighting movement is the only strategy relevant to defense. Even while carrying on that fight in a good way in court, we should realize that this strategy must be implemented mainly outside the courtroom and directed against the Imperialists as a class, not just one of their weapons.



Third World activists handle pro-administration racist scab.

