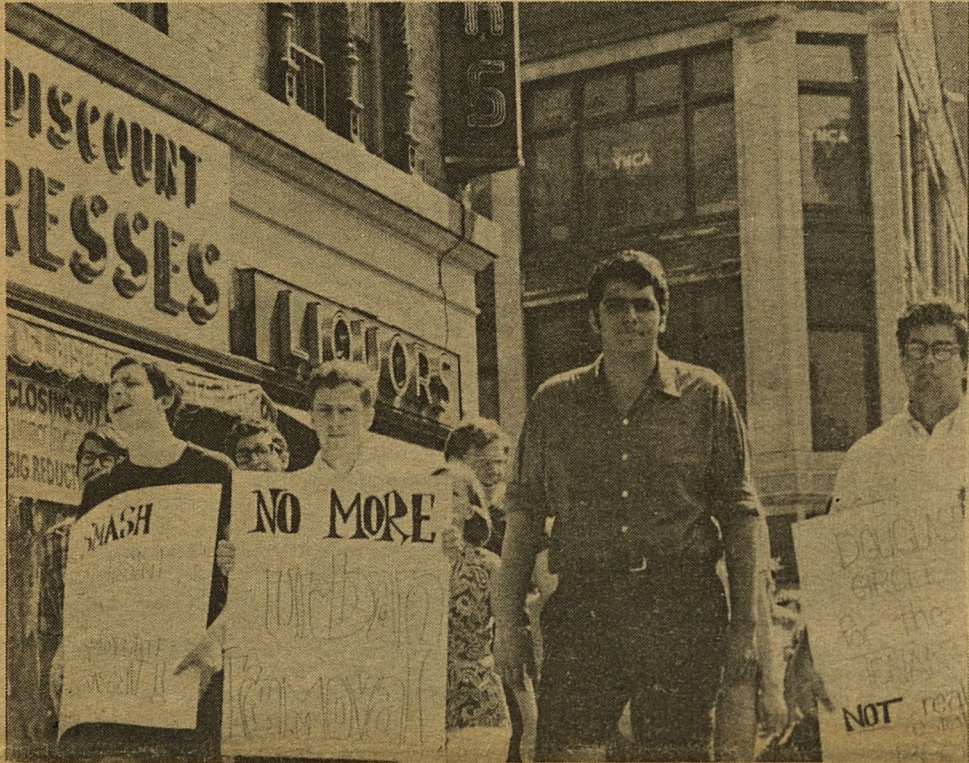


sds new left notes



printed by union labor - other labor donated
FIRST CLASS

Vol. 5, No. 4 LESS TALK, MORE ACTION -- FIGHT RACISM September 20, 1969



In New York (Sept. 13) SDSers march against Columbia expansion into Harlem (left). In Cambridge (Sept. 11) members of the Rent Control Referendum Campaign push their way into the Election Commission to demand their proposed law be put back on the ballot. In both these places (and in



many others), large universities are helping kick working people - especially Black people - out of their homes to make way for big business and government research. SDS opposes these racist attacks on working people around the country.

SDS FALL 1969

Over the past few years, SDS has led tremendous struggles on campuses all across the country. These have included the fight against Columbia's expansion and its connection with the IDA (Institute for Defense Analysis); the anti-racist strikes at Berkeley and San Francisco State (S.F. State was the longest student strike in US history -- over 160 days!); and the Harvard struggle against ROTC and Harvard's attempt to turn Cambridge into Imperial City. These and many other struggles have been waged against the ways the university screws the people.

The best way to learn the lessons of these struggles is through discussion in New Left Notes. What we should fight and why; what's the best way of developing the struggle; how do we defeat the Administration's attempts to squash us -- all these questions come out in discussion of our practice. This is the reason why New Left Notes (the regular newspaper of SDS) concentrates on printing articles about struggle -- so that the membership and other readers can better develop the fight against imperialism and racism.

There is a great deal of debate in the organization over the best way of doing this. For instance, the first issue of NLN after the convention had an article in favor of open admissions. This is a very complicated question, and has been debated heatedly; people should submit articles giving their views on the subject. Other questions being debated are the role of the student movement, Black studies, what it means to serve the people, whether or not fascism exists today in the US (see NLN, vol. 5, #2).

This issue of NLN is an unusual one in that articles were especially solicited for it, in addition to regular articles about what people are doing. These articles represent the opinions of the authors (unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editor). The purpose of this was to give an overview of SDS and our coming activities. The issue puts forward some of the ideas in the organization, on the questions of racism and imperialism, for example; it also discusses the so-called Revolutionary Youth Movement, the group that split from SDS at the June convention (see article, p. 5). And it puts forward what some people think should be the thrust of SDS on campus this year -- allying with campus workers. Since this is seen by some as the key task of SDS, it should be fully discussed in NLN.

Also, the National Headquarters is preparing pamphlets on many of these subjects, as well as on the summer Work-In, male chauvinism, and a play by the Radical Arts Troupe (see NLN, vol. 5, #s 1 and 2). Pamphlets on campus worker-student alliance, racism, imperialism, and an introduction to SDS will be available in bulk soon.

We welcome letters, criticisms, comments, articles, pamphlets, requests for literature, and -- money!

IN THIS ISSUE:

- p. 2 Phone Workers Walk-Out--SDS'ers Join In
- p. 3 Build The Campus Worker-Student Alliance
- p.4 Rulers Build Racism--Attempt to Divide and Conquer
- p. 5 WARNING--"R"YM May Be Hazardous To...the People
- p. 6 U Maryland--Racist Boss
- p. 7 Imperialism--The Bosses "Run Away" For Profits
- p. 8 Lessons From the Summer Work-In

Phone Workers Walk Out -- SDSers Join In

by Shirley Laver, SF State

On August 18th two thousand telephone workers in San Francisco walked off their jobs. Many people in the SDS Work-In were involved. The six-hour work stoppage was sparked by fifteen workers who walked off their job because of intolerable working conditions at their plant. As word spread, other employees throughout the city walked out in support of these fifteen even though office bosses were busily telling everyone it was an illegal strike and anyone who walked out would be fired.

Yet even with this harassment and intimidation and even though the specific issues were unclear, people did walk out. They walked out for every reason workers have to fight against job conditions at American Telephone and Telegraph.

Operators, like ourselves, suffer daily the pressure of management secretly monitoring our calls. This means that operators must make sure that every word they say is correct and that the boss can hear everything the workers say to each other.

Speed-up is constant. Long distance calls cannot wait more than ten seconds to be answered. Information operators must answer 160 calls per hour. That's 2.6 calls per minute!

Pay is about \$77 a week after taxes -- hardly enough to support four or five children single-handedly as many operators do.

And the company is also blatantly racist. The bosses are afraid of the leadership Black workers have given in actions against the company and constantly single out and fire Black workers on trumped-up charges. When customers call in and use racist epithets against Black operators, the operators are warned that they will be fired if they answer back.

The walk-out was a direct unified attack by the workers against these daily grievances. Picket lines were set up at the city's scattered locations and workers discussed the need to stay together and to fight to win better working conditions, higher wages, job security, etc. This has been the 20th walk-out in the past year and workers insisted that it would not be the final one as long as their grievances weren't settled.

The Union's Role

The leadership of the phone workers' union (Communications Workers of America) again exposed themselves as really not giving a damn about the workers they supposedly represent. The walk-out was totally unplanned. The first time the workers heard about it was the afternoon it happened. In some offices, shop stewards came in and told the workers there was a walk-out. In other places workers heard about it by accident (another worker called the office to spread the word, etc.). And in some places the union did nothing, leaving people on the job and not telling them what was going on in the rest of the city.

The situation at 25th Street office is a good example. Here four women were fired for responding to the walk-out and trying to encourage other operators to also leave their positions.

Union stewards called workers out in other offices at 25th Street. But the steward on duty with the long distance operators only whispered to about five of the 50 women about the walk-out and then left the office to spend the rest of the afternoon in the bar across the street. Another steward from the office also refused to announce the walk-out. This type of non-action by the union is what prompted the four women (two of them Work-Inners) to call for a walk-out. They were fired on the spot.

At 7:00 p.m. the walk-out was officially called off with no grievances settled and these four workers fired.

The following evening a union meeting was scheduled which some 350 workers attended. Lack of avid support for this meeting was due to the union leadership not publicizing it among the membership. Union leaders blamed the workers for the low attendance, saying, 'Let's face it, phone workers just don't care.' This statement was greeted by angry shouts from the membership who insisted that the workers do care, and they would come if they saw proof that the union cared!

One rank and file member after another stood up calling for a strike vote in support of the four fired workers. Many of the workers were critical of the way the union handled the walk-out, demanding to know why the walk-out was ended without any of the grievances being settled. As one worker said, 'We walk out to win!' Over 80% of the workers at the meeting were in favor of a strike vote. Yet each strike vote motion put on the floor was called out of order. The union leadership thus kept trying to cool things off, saying that striking

Elena Dillon, SF State

was illegal ('What about yesterday's walkout, then?' yelled a number of workers) and that we couldn't win anyway, AT&T was too powerful.

The workers really spoke out against these remarks. Finally, after two hours of speeches from the floor in favor of a walk-out, a representative of the International Union answered the membership's demand for a strike vote by saying no one was going to risk 'his' \$300,000 treasury on a strike for four jobs. After this remark a chant started from the floor demanding to know 'whose money is it, anyway?'.

Rank and File Committee

After the meeting a number of workers got together to discuss the meeting and to figure out ways to keep the fight going. So far, these workers (calling themselves the Committee for On The Job Justice) have put out three leaflets to their fellow workers emphasizing the fact that workers fighting together can win against AT&T. They have also talked about the need to fight not only for the four jobs, but for job security for all workers, and have criticized the union leadership for holding back the fight.

The leaflets have been so well received by the workers that it is scaring the hell out of the company. Intimidation on the job has really increased. The week following the walk-out, the Committee for On The Job Justice was urging people to go to the union stewards' meeting to demand action on the firings. On that day the bosses called people into their offices by ones and twos and read them a letter warning that walk-outs would no longer be tolerated, etc.

The company and the union have been red-baiting SDS, both to scare people away from our politics and also in an attempt to make SDS the issue in the hope workers will forget their grievances (fat chance!).

Several days after the first leaflet by the Committee for On The Job Justice came out and workers were talking about going on strike the company and the union began spreading rumors that 'two of the girls are rioters from S.F. State, they deserved to be fired'. Although both of us had made friends inside who knew we were in SDS and had taken part in discussions about it, there certainly weren't many workers who knew us and supported us.

But, we felt the best way to deal with this situation was to meet the red-baiting head on. We wrote an 'open letter' to all the workers in our office, saying that we were in SDS, explaining the purpose of the Work-In, being self critical of our arrogance during the walk-out, and talking about how the bosses were trying to use the issue of SDS to cover up the real problems, like job security, etc.

We stood outside the office ourselves, passing out the letter and talking to the workers about it. Most people were friendly, saying they hoped we would get our jobs back. Our friends inside said that people really read the leaflets and that the discussion about SDS was very divided, but most thought we should get our jobs back. They also said that our being very open about SDS and not trying to hide it got a lot of good response from the workers. The company's attacks on SDS have not been able to obscure the real issues that the walk-out centered around.

What We Learned

All of us in the Work-In learned a tremendous amount through this walk-out. All the Work-Inners at the phone company have made friends that they see off the job, and a lot of good political discussions have gone on since the walk-out. Most of us have gone to meetings or parties of the Committee for On The Job Justice with friends from work. We've really been making an effort to talk to people about SDS, especially since the barrage of red-baiting. In doing this, we have had to struggle sharply against the tendency to want to hide our politics since SDS has been attacked so sharply.

One of the clearest lessons was that the often-stated position of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) that older workers are usually too satisfied to fight, is dead wrong. At the large union meeting older workers gave most of the leadership in pushing for a strike vote and during the walk-out much of the leadership was given by older workers.

We've also learned through the mistakes we have made. For example, the two of us who stood up and called for support of the walk-out at 25th Street did so in a very arrogant way. Making a speech in the style of an on-campus SDS rally and telling them how rotten the boss is, after we had been on the job only a month and a half, was a serious error.

In discussing this we felt it resulted from a tendency to view the Work-In primarily as an experience for ourselves, a way for us to learn more, rather than seeing it as a key way to raise anti-imperialist, anti-racist politics, and to struggle over these politics with workers.

Taking this action alone after such a short time on the job was also a denial of the importance of building a base. This reflects an elitist approach toward the people -- 'I don't really have to go among the people, become a part of them, I'll just take some exemplary action and they'll follow.'

This type of incorrect attitude toward the working class is essentially that of RYM's. In an article on the Ohio Summer Project, one of their

main summer projects (see RYM's newspaper, which they call New Left Notes, Aug. 23, p. 3), they speak of raising people's consciousness by charging through the parks with an NLF flag. This type of action isn't thought out from the point of view of building a base among working people or

cont. p. 6

Build Demonstrations Against the War & Racism

The SDS National Interim Committee (NIC) met in Boston August 25-27 to discuss the summer's progress and make plans for the fall. The NIC is the ten-member executive body of SDS between National Council meetings; as such it is responsible for implementing decisions of the larger body like the 'Less Talk, More Action -- FIGHT RACISM!' resolution passed at the June Convention. The next issue of New Left Notes will carry a fuller account of the NIC, but there are two discussions which should be summarized immediately so people can consider them at the chapter level.

Demonstrate against the War Now

The NIC suggested that whenever possible, chapters and regions start the fall off by very visibly raising the issue of the war in Vietnam -- specifically by organizing demonstrations on campus or in the community around the theme, US get out of Vietnam NOW--NO negotiations. There has been no change in the war basically; in fact, the US still has as many troops in Vietnam as it had before the announcement of troop withdrawals, and bombing in the South has continued and intensified. It is crucial at a time when most students oppose the war to win them to see that it is not just a tragic blunder but a planned attack on the Vietnamese as well as the American working people, that it is an imperialist war, and that the US has no right to negotiate one inch of Vietnam! Wherever possible this should be tied in with ongoing campaigns to abolish ROTC, stop war recruiting, etc.; but for schools without such campaigns, these demonstrations are even more important. Putting forward our position on the war in a mass way, saying that we must fight to get the US out, not rely on the negotiations, is vital to building a consciousness of international events -- of solidarity with working people and students fighting around the world.

Nationally Coordinated Actions

The Fight Racism resolution passed at the June convention calls for demonstrations on November 12 against both the war and other racist attacks on Black people. As Black workers have been militantly taking the lead in the fight against the bosses, there has been a real increase in attacks on them around the country: increased police harassment in the community and in the schools, and frameups and murders of Blacks almost daily in the cities. Given the hardest, most dangerous jobs with the worst conditions, many Black workers get killed at work. And welfare recipients - especially Black people - are under constant, ferocious harassment.

To smash Black people's militancy, the rulers of this country try to whip up more and more racism among whites -- teaching white working people the lie that they gain from the suffering of Blacks and lose by their rebellion. Black organizations and revolutionary Black individuals are under sharp attack. Thus Black Panther Party leaders are being framed all over the country. And the rich and their government are stepping up attacks on revolutionary Black workers: Chris Wylie, one of the first to crack the lily-white sheet-metal trade in New York City, has been framed for armed robbery for organizing his fellow workers. Some of the most blatant racism is manifested in the way colleges exploit Black workers.

In this context we discussed the necessity of reaffirming LESS TALK, MORE ACTION -- FIGHT RACISM's call for a nationally coordinated day of actions. The anti-racist fight needs a national thrust. Of course these demonstrations and other actions on campus, or region-wide, should be tied in with, flow from, ongoing anti-racist campaigns -- against racist courses, cop institutes, university expansion into Black neighborhoods, ROTC -- and especially in support of Black campus workers!

This means not just one day of demonstrations it means developing an anti-racist thrust as part of the day-to-day work of every chapter! This has been an important weakness of chapters all over. Often, for example, we have not raised the racist content of ROTC -- that these officers will push Black and white working class troops into fighting against ghetto rebellions. And we've demonstrated really deep-rooted racism in almost NEVER launching fights against the miserable conditions faced by Black campus workers.

LESS TALK, MORE ACTION -- FIGHT RACIST ATTACKS ON BLACK PEOPLE!

U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM NOW! NO NEGOTIATIONS!

SDS OFFICERS AND NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE
John Pennington Nat'l Sec'y 125 Green St. Cambridge, MA 02139 / Pat Forman Interorganizational Sec'y 159 Wool St San Francisco CA 94110/Alan Spector Ed. Sec'y 173a Mass Ave Boston, MA 02115 / Ed Galloway 227 A. Fulton St. Baltimore, MD 21223 / Mike Golash 421 W. 118th St. N.Y.C., N.Y. 10027 / Fred Gordon 200 Columbia St Cambridge, MA 02139 / Jared Israel 100 Antrim St. Cambridge, MA 02139 / Leslie Lincoln c/o Miller 700 Heliotrope Corona del Mar, CA 92625 / Gordon de Marco c/o Pat Forman (above) Sandy Meyer 709 W. Cornelia Chicago, IL 60600 / Jim Prickett 806 1/2 N. Rampart Blvd Los Angeles, CA 90026 / Becky Reavis c/o Chester Wilson 703 W. 11th St. #5 Austin, TX 78701 / David Rosoff 101 N. Quarry St. Apt. C Ithaca, N.Y. 14850 .

Build the Campus Worker-Student Alliance

by Fred Gordon, NIC

Several articles in this issue discuss an idea that's new in SDS -- allying with campus workers. Around the country, SDSers will be getting jobs on campus, getting to know campus workers, and discussing our politics, supporting their struggles against exploitation and racism, and, where campus workers are not yet themselves making demands on the administration, exposing and fighting to end some of the extreme abuses to which these workers are subjected.

What's the reasoning behind this strategy?

During the past few years, many SDSers have seen that a mass-based student movement that can fight imperialism and racism must ally with working people. Thus we developed the idea of worker-student alliance. Students (and the mental workers most become) NEED in fact to ally with working people. Both groups are oppressed by the same class, which owns the industries in which workers are fiercely exploited, and which controls the schools as well. In order to make a worker-student alliance possible, we've tried to develop a pro-working class student movement. Thus we've backed strikes, from telephone to transit to United Parcel, trying to involve many other students, raising our politics with the workers. We've supported welfare and other community struggles, fought the racist attitudes dividing white and Black workers. On campus, we've fought anti-working class ideas among our fellow students, tried to organize struggles in an explicitly pro-working class way. For example, we've come to see that students should fight ROTC because it trains officers for wars like Vietnam and for putting down Black rebellions and strikes in the US -- that is, ROTC attacks working people. Other ways of fighting ROTC, aimed at 'purifying the university', really build the students' anti-worker attitudes, and must be rejected.

The idea of a pro-working class student movement has been key in drastically changing SDS. Last fall, the old national leadership was able openly to write off workers as 'reactionary, bought off', etc. These ideas are still around, but many SDSers have rejected them. We have seen that just building a student movement - ANY student movement - is not enough, that we need a mass student movement THAT SERVES THE PEOPLE, that serves working people here and all over the world. This understanding is no small gain.

But it's not enough. The purpose of a pro-working class student movement is to win students and mental workers to ally with other workers. But this strategy can't succeed unless, in practice, that alliance gets built. After a certain point, either you reach your goal or you stop running. It is impossible to build a pro-working class student movement indefinitely without more and more building actual alliances with workers.

This has been discussed a good deal over the summer, especially by roughly a thousand people involved in the SDS Work-In (see article in this issue of NLN). How should we develop the alliance -- what steps do we have to take?

A Real Alliance

The conclusion of many is that the best way to begin the transformation of SDS from an increasingly PRO-WORKING CLASS movement to one in fact ALLIED WITH WORKERS, is to begin on campus. In a sense, the fact that we didn't realize this earlier is a serious criticism. In some places where this strategy was discussed, people thought there weren't any campus workers at their schools... it turned out there were 'only' a few thousand. Supposedly trying to build a pro-working class movement, nevertheless our anti-working class attitudes led us to miss the exploitation going on on 'our' own campuses!

The University as Boss

The universities are bosses, plain and simple, employing hundreds of thousands of workers.

These people are terribly exploited -- lousy pay and working conditions, no job security, student part-timers used to cut down the full-timers' pay, racist pay differentials and employment practices. Many have been fighting school administrations harder - and a lot longer - than SDS. Allying with these workers is very possible -- and absolutely necessary, if we are serious about serving the people. ('I want to serve the people if they're miles away and it's all very abstract, but getting a regular, unglorious job at school, getting to know the workers, and fighting alongside them, and organizing struggles around their interests among many students is beneath me' -- this is not a very good approach.) For most of us, campus worker-student alliance means a much more serious approach. It's one thing to have a big demonstration against ROTC. Of course, we should keep on doing that, but it's a lot harder for many of us to develop real roots among campus workers, getting to know them as well as the more working class students who often are not attracted to SDS. So campus worker-student alliance means upping the ante for us! But as the rich and their government tighten the screw on the people, we HAVE to up the ante -- on our own commitment and on how much we accomplish. Otherwise we'll turn into a bunch of fancy-talking 'radical' phonies on a self-serving ego trip. Who needs us?

Tactics

Space prevents a much fuller discussion of the thinking behind this strategy. A pamphlet on the question should be out soon. Here are some tactical ideas on how we can proceed.

1. We should get jobs, now, in school cafeterias, libraries, hospitals, offices, print shops, as janitors, gardeners -- everywhere. Find out the real situation from the workers. (Our limited experience shows that it's usually pretty horrendous and getting worse.) A related step is for those of us who've moved off campus to go back to the dorms. Being 'radical' doesn't mean keeping away from the people. This means taking other students' problems more seriously and linking the struggles of campus workers to our fight against anti-working class and racist ideas among students. This will help us get to know dorm workers also.

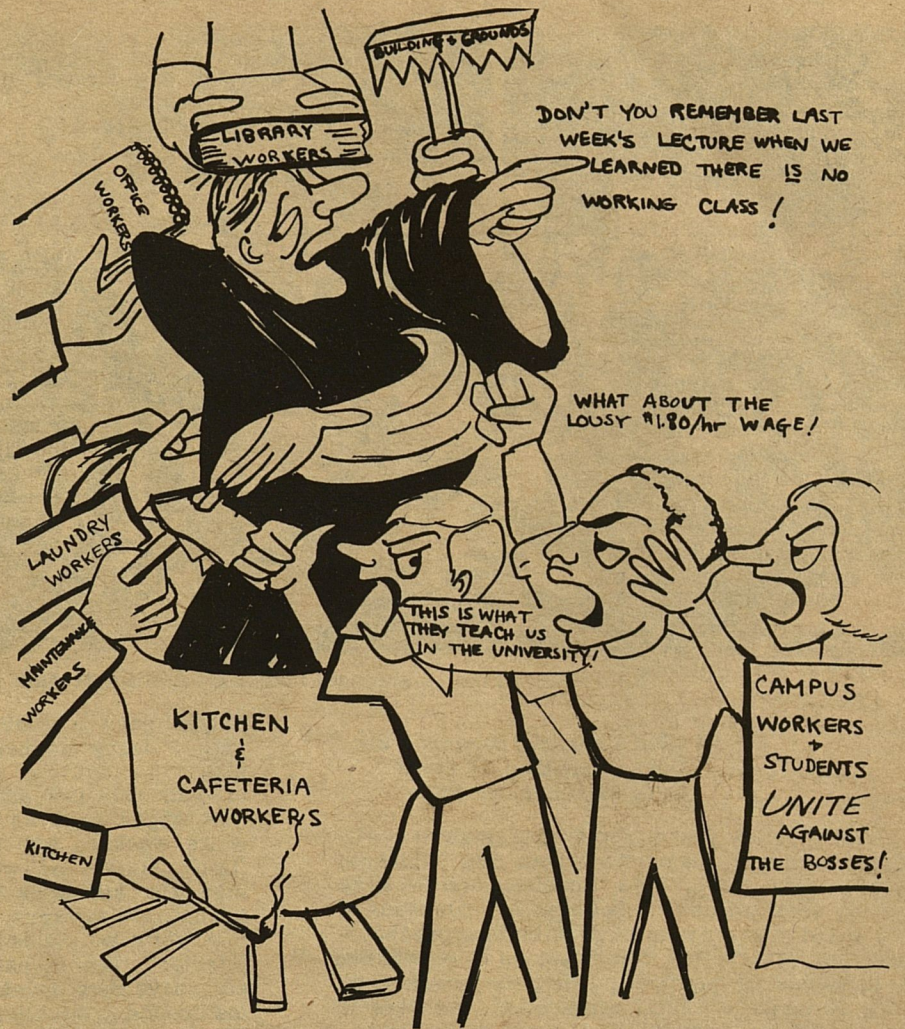
2. As soon as possible, issue a pamphlet and/or leaflets exposing your particular school as a boss. Find out the history of your school as a boss and let people know that, as well as exposing the current situation.

3. Where workers are already engaged in organized struggle against the administration, we should organize mass support. Where they're not, chapters should study the situation and launch struggles against particular abuses.

4. Get to know the workers, discuss politics with them. Bringing the issue to students in a mass way (as discussed in point 3) will help show the full time workers we're serious. Our attitude should be humble, but not opportunist. That is, racist ideas, mistaken notions about the war, etc., should ALWAYS be argued against. At the same time, we should remember that campus workers have been hurt a lot more by these things than we have. They understand the situation, in many ways, far better than we do. If you want to serve the people you have to learn from them.

Two things should be kept in mind in general. One is that fighting around campus worker-student alliance is often an excellent way to fight racism. Many campus workers are Black -- often they have the most difficult jobs. Racist hiring, pay, and employment practices are used to squeeze more out of non-white workers as well as to build racism among whites. (See the article on Columbia campus worker-student alliance in this issue of NLN.) Fighting the super-exploitation of non-white campus workers hits at the very roots of

cont. p. 6



SDS Backs Campus Workers - Fights Columbia as Boss

by Mike Golash, NIC, Columbia

At Columbia last June, as a result of university negligence, a Black campus worker was decapitated in an elevator shaft. His wife and five children received \$1,000 compensation and a card of sympathy from the Administration.

During the last week in August, a Black janitor had a heart attack on the job. After calling a University-affiliated hospital, four blocks from the school (St. Luke's) for an ambulance and waiting over thirty minutes, his co-workers carried him over to the hospital. He was dead on arrival. If Columbia had emergency procedures for campus workers (you can be sure they do for university officials) that worker might be alive today.

Three weeks ago, six workers were laid off from the cafeteria at Columbia because the Administration decided that business was slow. Since the University is not required to provide unemployment compensation, they received nothing.

In general, the situation for campus workers at Columbia is very bad. The wages of the janitorial staff averages about \$4,000/year, and those of the clerical staff as well as the cafeteria and library workers are about \$5,000/year. Columbia's pension fund is obscure and ill-defined. At best, a worker who has been employed 40 years is eligible for \$2,000 a year. Also, the University uses student workers to cut down on costs for full-time employees. In many offices, two or three part-time student workers will take the place of one full-time worker. Since student workers' wages begin at \$1.60 an hour, this saves the school a lot of money.

One way Columbia maintains this situation is through racist hiring practices. Night shift workers - mainly janitors and maids - are predominantly Black and Latin, while the day shift - skilled and clerical workers - is largely white. Even though both maintenance and clerical workers get lousy wages and no benefits, the clerical work force is made to look like they really have it over the maintenance crew. This builds racism, divides the workers, and keeps the Administration soaking profits out of the labor of all the employees. And if this is not enough to show how really liberal

the University is, it hires mostly Black and Latin cops to confuse the issues even more.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics notes that an income of \$200 per week is needed to maintain a moderate standard of living in New York City. Clearly Columbia keeps most of its campus workers on the brink of poverty, particularly Black and Latin workers.

What We've Done

To help build a real alliance with these workers nearly a dozen SDSers so far have obtained jobs on campus, trying to get to know the workers, saying that we're in SDS and that SDS wants to build an alliance between students and workers at Columbia. We have also begun to agitate on campus around specific grievances -- those facing the widows of the two Black workers who have died on campus in the last three months. Building a mass consciousness among students that the University is a boss and that the workers are really getting screwed is vital to building a fighting alliance. Doing this puts the workers in a stronger position to fight the Administration and shows them that the alliance we're talking about is real.

We've handed out leaflets about the two workers' deaths and the initial response from students and campus workers was very favorable. One Latin worker offered to translate the leaflet into Spanish so that other Latin workers could read it more easily.

Although having jobs makes it far easier to talk to the workers on a regular basis about our politics, many of us have not been raising our ideas and this tendency toward timidity is wrong. It is only through open discussions that the issues of the war in Vietnam, racism, university expansion into working class communities, can become a basis for a real, fighting alliance between workers and students.

We can beat the bosses if we tie SDS to the working class, with anti-racist, anti-imperialist politics. Get a job on campus. Build the campus worker-student alliance. Build SDS.

Rulers Build Racism -- Attempt to Divide and Conquer



S.F. State Strike -- students march on Administration Building

by Glen Pritcker, Sonoma State
Curt Schneider, SF State
Greg De Giere, SF State

In the last few years, ghetto uprisings have occurred in every major American city. Chicago, Detroit, New York, Los Angeles, and Newark have all seen militant rebellions by thousands of third world men and women. Sociologists, psychologists, and government commissions have cranked out hundreds of studies pinning the problem on 'white America's racial prejudices'. But this is only one side of the problem. For non-white Americans, the major aspect of racism is the oppressive impoverished conditions under which they are forced to live. Black people are not rebelling against whites -- they are rebelling against the miserable reality of ghetto existence.

Compare the realities of life for the average Black and white families. A Black worker earns \$3000 less a year than a white worker. His family has to make do with one-half a white family's income. A Black worker is lucky if he's able to find a full time job; only one out of two Blacks can as opposed to two out of three whites. And 7% of Blacks are unable to get any work at all -- more than twice the percentage of whites unemployed. The chances are one out of three that a Black family falls below even the 'poverty level' set by the government at \$3300 for a family of four. (In San Francisco a family needs \$10,000 to live 'moderately' according to the government!) Half of all Black families live in housing so bad that even the government classifies it 'substandard'. And slumlords and ghetto merchants force Black families to spend 10% more money each year than whites for this housing, food and clothing.

The average Black teenager goes to a rotten high school where the most he learns is how to do an unskilled or semi-skilled job. And it's three times as likely that he'll drop out to work by the time he's 16 as it is for a white teenager. Even the Blacks who stay in school find out that an education doesn't free them from the effects of racism. A Black high school graduate earns 25% less than a white high school dropout. And the income gap between Black and white college grads is the same \$3000 that it is for all Black and white workers.

To pour salt into the wounds, Blacks (11% of the total US population) are forced to provide 40% of the US manpower in Vietnam -- a war against their interests. And the Black soldier's chances of being killed in action are substantially greater than the white's (18% vs. 11%).

Pretty rotten situation, and it's getting worse every year, not better. It is this situation which has led to the hundreds of rebellions in ghettos throughout the country. But what is the basis of this racial oppression? Some will argue that the problem is caused entirely by people's attitudes towards Blacks, and that no one really gains anything from these attitudes except a 'feeling of superiority'. We feel that some people definitely profit from racism: the businessmen, landlords, and ghetto merchants. Within the capitalist economic system this class (about 0.5% of the population) own and control over 85% of basic industry, communication and transportation, and thus dominate the US economy. They are out for one thing -- to make money. To do this, they will pay as little as possible in wages to workers (who make up the vast majority of the population) and charge as high rents and prices as they can. Low wages and high prices mean billions in profit for them, and lousy economic conditions for the vast majority. Racism is one way they insure high profits. For one thing they bring in an estimated \$20 billion just from differentials in wages between Blacks and whites, and this doesn't take into account the untold billions they make by keeping Blacks and whites divided to keep down the wages of both.

Some members of SDS feel that all white people are enabled by their 'white skin privilege' to benefit from these profits. However, when an em-

ployer pays a Black worker \$3000 a year less than a white worker, the \$3000 goes to the employer -- not the white worker. In fact, if they tolerate this pay differential they help keep their own wages down as well. When a boss threatens white workers who want higher wages by saying 'Don't strike, or we'll give your job to a Black man who will work for less', he is using racism against all workers. We feel that the racist ideas that white people hold (e.g., Blacks are 'naturally inferior', 'lazy by nature', 'dumb no matter what', etc.) have been developed and perpetuated to justify the economic situation, to divide white workers from Black workers who have an even greater need to fight back and have been taking the lead in working people's struggles around the country. The ruling class pushes racist ideas through its press, media and its educational system. As long as whites see themselves as threatened by Blacks, both lose.

The idea of 'white skin privilege' rests on the myth that most white people are part of an affluent 'middle class'. Real wages have been going down for most workers every year, while taxes, prices (and profits for the bosses) are skyrocketing. One-seventh live in slums and one-third aren't fully employed -- which says nothing about the lousy wages of most who are. Racism is one of the main ways the ruling class achieves its age-old strategy -- divide and conquer. Historically workers have faced poor economic conditions and historically they have seen that it was only unity that gave them the strength to change these conditions. Out of this need, unions developed which allowed workers to struggle collectively in their own interests. Racism serves to destroy unity by pitting whites against Blacks, causing them to compete with each other instead of uniting against their employers. Down south, all workers labor for the lowest wages in the country. A primary reason for this is because they have been divided by racism. Yet in Newport News, Va. (to cite just one example), thousands of white workers defeated racism enough to follow the lead of 250 Blacks in a strike that shocked the bosses -- the result, better wages and improved conditions for all.

FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

People all over the country have begun to see the need to do something about racism. SDS sees this fight as crucial. As a broad-based organization of people with differing views, there are varying approaches within SDS as to how this can best be done. However, we are generally united around the need for students to ally their struggles with those of working people, especially Black people. Over the past year, we have led and participated in many anti-racist actions and have learned through these struggles some of the best ways to go about this.

Students at San Francisco State, for example, recognized that problems of racism existed on campus. We saw racism in hiring and firing practices, in course content, and in the exploitation of campus workers. Our first response to these problems was to turn to the administration and trustees ('If they just knew, they'd do something about it'); but after two years of committees, convocations, and red tape, we found them absolutely unwilling to act. We realized that their 'hangup' was not lack of knowledge -- they knew all too well. The trustees, all of whom are rich corporate businessmen, have a material interest in perpetuating racism.

So in June 1968, S.F. State students, led by the Third World Liberation Front, sat in and successfully demanded the rehiring of a Chicano professor. This was the beginning of mass student action against racism at State. On November 6, 1968, the Black Student Union called for a strike and presented the administration with 15 demands. (The 15 demands will be fully discussed in a pamphlet on racism being prepared by people at S.F. State.) SDS and many other white students saw the importance of continuing the fight against racism and joined the strike.

At first the majority of white students opposed us. Racist attitudes -- often manifest as 'That's their problem, I'm here to get my education' -- worked effectively for the administration at first. However, we felt that most students -- who were presently working, or who would certainly work upon graduation (as teachers, social workers, etc.) -- had a real interest in defeating their own racist attitudes and the racist policies of the school administration. Through discussion, rallies, forums, leaflets and classroom education, we talked to these students. By January, 80% of the student body was on strike and they fought every attempt by the trustees to break that strike -- from brutal cops to phony committees.

So, too, at Columbia, Black and white students, led by SDS, built a campaign against Columbia's plans to kick hundreds of families out of their homes in Harlem and to build a gym in Harlem's park. After futile discussion with the administration, students went on strike, forcing Columbia to cut back its expansion plans for a time, and showing the people of Harlem that students could be their allies in the fight against racism.

And at Harvard, students opposed a 'riot' control course when they realized it was designed to devise new ways to put down Black people fighting their oppression. Led by Harvard Afro American Society they forced the administration to cancel the course at its very first meeting.

At the SDS national convention in June, a proposal was passed calling for SDS to step up the fight against racism. Tactically the program calls

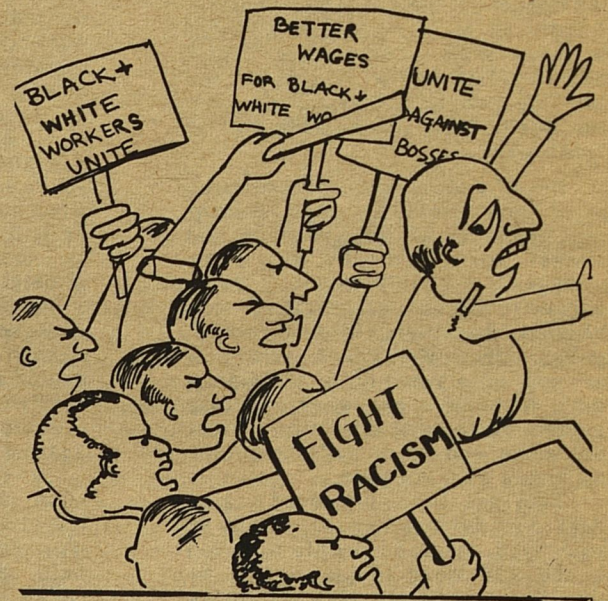
1. Fighting the racist exploitation of campus workers -- supporting demands for preferential hiring of Black and Latin workers, better wages, better working conditions, and the right to unionization. Uniting with these workers and getting jobs alongside of them. Immediately we should raise as mass issues on campus demands for an end to sharp examples of racist oppression of Black workers.

2. Opposing racist university expansion -- making sure we don't fall into the trap of asking for 'good expansion' since the ruling class's schools will only expand to attack the people.

3. Smashing racist courses and institutes -- especially police institutes and courses for putting down ghetto rebellions.

4. Supporting Black rebellions -- and defending Black Liberation Movement fighters. Raise money, demonstrate, and mount sharp attacks on the schools in support of Black rebellions.

5. Building for actions nationwide this November 12th with two main demands: END THE RACIST ATTACKS ON BLACK PEOPLE! and U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW -- NO NEGOTIATIONS!



SEND CURRENT ADDRESS	JOIN SDS !! (\$5 includes NLN)	BUILD SDS & NLN !! SEND \$\$
	SUBSCRIBE (\$10 for non-members)	
	NAME _____	
	last (please print) first	
	ADDRESS _____	
	no. & st.	
	City _____ State _____ ZIP _____	
	____ Member at Large ____ Non Member	
	____ Chapter \$ ____ Enclosed	

WARNING -- RYM may be Hazardous to... the People

by Norm Daniels, Tufts
Jared Israel, NIC

At the June SDS convention, the old national leaders (calling themselves the 'Revolutionary' Youth Movement, 'RYM') led a minority (about 1/3) walkout, then declared that the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and Worker-Student Alliance caucus (WSA), as well as many others, had been 'expelled'. The clear majority, including hundreds not in any caucus, repudiated any attempt to split SDS and avoid the political struggle which, it was evident, the 'RYM' leaders had been losing all last year and at the convention. 'RYM' leaders walked out to maintain as much legitimacy as possible. To cover their opportunist maneuver - which threatens the existence of the anti-imperialist student movement - they whipped up some principles. Perhaps key among these was the fact that PL, most WSAers and many other SDSers have sharp disagreements with the Black Panther Party. Having lost politically, 'RYM' leaders used this, maintaining that the Panthers' hostility to PL and others was grounds for 'expelling' the majority. But within a month the Panthers' leaders had denounced 'RYM' as 'National Socialists' - nazis! 'RYM's leaders had used the Panthers in a completely racist way -- to 'get' their opponents. And the two 'RYM' factions (they call themselves 'RYM I, or 'Weatherman', and 'RYM II, the better to communicate with ordinary people), which had united all year to 'get' PL and WSA, have been at each other's throats for two months, calling each other 'running dogs of imperialism'. Their 'principled' unity and that between 'RYM' as a whole and the Panthers has crumbled into a scramble for position since they walked out -- or, as they claim, expelled everyone else.

'RYM Strategy: Serving the Rulers

In the past, many SDSers have opposed 'RYM's ideas and practice. We argued that 'RYM' is terribly arrogant towards most people - especially working people - and has a thoroughly elitist, self-building notion of how to organize. They've advocated 'small group' or 'exemplary' actions, going 'wild in the streets' for the purpose of psychological self-liberation instead of organizing masses of people into REALLY militant struggle against imperialism. 'RYM' always denied that, but their practice since the convention has more clearly than ever shown that our analysis is right.

The owners of this country and their government and press love to paint SDS as a bunch of vicious rich kids, out for kicks, fanatics, fascists-on-the-left ready to kill any who won't mouth insane slogans.

Articles in the 'RYM' paper show that by posing workers as the enemy, by attacking the people, 'RYM' is trying to live up to that lie. The government can smear SDS with 'RYM's practice!

Death to all Passengers!

Consider the picture below.

SDS new left notes
all power to the people

BRING THE WAR HOME!



The caption reads: 'WITH A DEFINANT SMILE, 5-YEAR OLD MARLON DELGADO SHOWS HOW HE PLACED A 25-POUND CONCRETE SLAB ON THE TRACKS AND WRECKED A PASSENGER TRAIN.' The newspaper, which 'RYM' calls 'NEW LEFT NOTES', has no connection with this 'New Left Notes'. It's issued in Chicago by the group that splintered from SDS at the convention.

What is the message of this picture, which appears on the front page of 'RYM's paper on August 29? 'BRING THE WAR HOME!' is 'RYM's slogan for their October action in Chicago. So this is an illustration of that slogan! The war, we are told, is the fault of the American people -- most of whom are exploited working people. The 'RYM' leaders aren't putting forward a too-militant approach. They aren't proposing 'left-wing' terrorism. To blow up a train carrying millionaires would be terrorism against the rich -- who alone gain from the war and are responsible for it. That would be a bad mistake, given the effect it would have. But THIS train is identified only as a PASSENGER train! So 'RYM's line is that American working people gain from and caused the war, that they must be fought -- must be attacked and destroyed! What need newspapers do to convince most people (except suicidal maniacs) that SDS is their deadly enemy? Just reprint this picture!

We could go on talking about this picture, but the point is clear. 'RYM' is TRYING to LOOK LIKE the enemies of the people.

'RYM Practice: Fighting the People

That's bad enough. But 'RYM' puts its theories into practice. They haven't yet reached the stage of the 5-year old, but they've already done tremendous harm. Their attacks on the people are like something the Green Berets would think up, something they would hire Vietnamese finks to do, disguised as Vietnamese revolutionaries to turn off the people.

'RYM Attacks Detroit...

In the August 29 'RYM' paper an article boasts that in Detroit 'about 30 cadre and people starting to work with us swept the beach in a line distributing Chicago leaflets and carrying a red flag.' After planting the flag, the 'RYMers told the people 'that it's a political world and that they have to deal with that. The main contradiction is between those who have it (auto workers?) and those who don't -- between white America and the colored nations.' People on the beach, seeing a bunch of dangerous nuts, attacked the 'RYMers. But 'RYM' was heroic. They 'fought the attackers (the people) to a standstill and left the beach chanting.' As the excerpt below from 'RYM's paper notes, they're studying karate. Why such half-way measures?

We've become fighters this summer. Our study of karate makes us strong, and our practice makes us real to young people. Fighting understands winning. Our words have content because they are backed up by a growing base of power. Opening a new front here at home can only be achieved by striking blows at the enemy and building a movement that understands that to aid the Vietnamese and blacks we must develop a white fighting force that FIGHTS!

Why not just shoot down the people and be done? What will those people think if they hear some REAL radical say that not we but the rulers are the people's enemy?

A group of female 'RYMers (the Motor City 9, as 'RYM' calls them) barricaded a class taking exams and attacked two men (using super-duper karate) when they tried to leave.

McComb Community College is located in an all-white working class community and trains the local white youth in the skills necessary for lower managerial jobs, positions that objectively oppress black people. By busting into a classroom during final exams, and by talking to people about what's happening in the world, we confronted them with their dual position in capitalist society. They are oppressors because of their acceptance of privilege, and they are oppressed because of their objective relationship to the ruling class.

'RYM' calls this an 'exemplary action' raising the 'consciousness of women's oppression and male supremacy in the context of world revolution'. In reality, this was an attack on all the men and women present. The point wasn't, say, that the students were striking, and this was an attempt to win others to the strike and shut the place down completely. The administration wasn't even focused on. Instead, the students (for reasons unknown to them) were presented with a raving, surrealist visitation and told: accept or die!

Was 'RYM' self-critical? Indeed! They noted that 'we didn't look over the area thoroughly before our action, we didn't have getaway routes planned, and that resulted in a bust.' In the same vein, their criticism of the beach episode was that their retreat was 'disorderly' -- 'it became obvious that the danger of somebody becoming isolated and left behind, with the resulting immobility of the whole group, had to be overcome.' Real radicals and revolutionaries defend the people, try to change themselves so that we can serve the people. We try to fight self-righteous attitudes on our own part and while trying to explain what's wrong with pro-imperialist ideas - like racism - which most people (including us) hold somewhat, we always try to differentiate between the people - working people and students - and the rulers, who are the enemy. That's what being 'a fish in the sea of the people' means. But for 'RYM' -- fearing the people, self-righteously despising them, hating workers, attacking them like spoiled brats and (of course) antagonizing them -- for 'RYM' OF COURSE it's dangerous to remain among the people! Like the Green Berets, 'RYM' knows -- you can't rely on the native population.

and Columbus...

'RYM' activities aren't confined to Detroit. In Columbus, Ohio, they criticized themselves as follows:

Our correct fighting instincts led to a few fistfights when the men's chauvinist baiting reached an unbearable level. Such fights led the men to take us more seriously at first, but because they were in the context of no practice, the political content of such struggles became more and more unclear.

Aside from the weird sound of 'our correct fighting instincts' -- aside from the paragraph itself, what was 'RYM's solution? To redirect their 'fighting instincts' against working women. Some working women, in desperate need of money and unable to leave their homes, are tricked into working for Stanly Co. Giving parties at home, they sell Stanly household products to their friends and get a small commission. Instead of uniting with these highly exploited saleswomen against Stanly, 'RYM' accepts Stanly's lie that they are 'sales representatives' and attacks! Going to a 'Stanly party', 'RYM' puts forth its politics. Afterwards, again, they are self-critical:

It was the first time we had really organized around women's liberation, and we made lots of mistakes. We were too liberal and we didn't put the women, particularly the representative from the Stanly company, up against the wall.

Not only the saleswomen, BUT ALL THE WOMEN PRESENT needed to be 'put up against the wall'. 'RYM' won't let these 'imperialists' off so lightly next time, they promise!

And, indeed, overcoming their 'liberalism', Columbus 'RYMers' began charging through the parks with an NLF flag, leafletting and rapping... And in job after job, racists were put literally up against the walls. One can imagine the local rulers trembling... with glee!

and Pittsburgh

Shouting the slogan 'jailbreak', a large number of 'RYMers' charged into Pittsburgh's South Hills High School at lunch recess, shouting 'Ho Lives!' After sporadic fighting with cops, 34 were arrested. Completely unrooted in any work being done at the school, and in any case, on its own, pretty crazy, this action is supposed to represent the essence of the 'RYM' march on Chicago, planned for October. Take heed.

Building on Decay

These actions are so clearly geared to isolating radicals from the people that it's clear cops are influential among 'RYM' leaders. (One 'RYM' attack on the people is worth more to the rulers than a thousand editorials against SDS!) But why do these guys have any following? Clearly, some honest people get tricked.

'RYM's attraction comes from ideas most students hold to some extent--that the 'insensitive' (working) people are to blame for what's wrong in America. 'It is THEIR bad traits which are the problem, it is THEY who foment racism and wars like Vietnam. The answer is for us (who've never exploited anyone and are free of wrong ideas) to form in-groups and fight the people. We should run down the streets very militantly, ferociously in fact -- shout at people until they change and act like us revolutionaries. We'll teach those insensitive bastards to go to work every day and sweat their asses off and thus be part of 'the machine' -- we'll teach their sons to go and die in Vietnam!

That sort of thinking is just an hysterical variation of the old liberal moral witness strategy, the idea that by confronting people with our moral superiority, we can change things. This strategy only helps the rulers. By attacking the people, 'RYM' is a tool in their hands, to use as they want to against the anti-imperialist movement. And, indeed, if one opposes the people, who does one have really left to ally with?

The very selfish and also mystical thinking that 'RYM' appeals to comes out in Detroit 'RYM's leaflet for their Chicago demo -- the leaflet is called 'TAKE THE BLUES TO CHICAGO'. It reads: 'People all over the world will feel the blues in that city. The mass march on Saturday - October 11 - will be everything; all the reasons for our anger crystallized in our love for the people of Viet-Nam, the NLF, and joy at the strength of their will. It will be as real and as pure as we can make it. Come and help us organize, sing the blues loud and strong; for these days in October, and for our future.' 'RYM' appeals to the worst in people -- in all of us -- the desire to get together with the 'other good people' and squash everyone else with-in striking distance.

'RYM II

As we said earlier, 'RYM' is rife with factions. There isn't room for a complete discussion here. But let us discuss 'RYM II', briefly. This faction is of minor significance, very small numerically. To a certain extent it criticizes 'RYM I', the main faction, accusing it of being 'adventurist'. This is actually both hypocritical and wrong.

Hypocritical -- because all last year Mike Klonsky and Les Coleman, who lead the 'RYM II' faction, worked hand in hand with 'RYM I' leaders. In fact, Coleman/Klonsky were first to put forth 'wild-in-the streets' as a 'serious' strategy for SDS. Klonsky was National Secretary of SDS last year, and from

U. MARYLAND -- RACIST BOSS

by Mark Woodard, U. Md.
Ann Pogorelskin, U. Md.

This fall at the University of Maryland, SDS will attempt to build a strong alliance with campus workers. Last year we made some small steps forward but were unsuccessful because our program was not directed toward long-term basebuilding.

At the U of Maryland, as at many universities, workers are in a company union controlled by the administration. Because of bad conditions and low wages (average \$1.60-\$1.80/hour), service workers, most of whom are Black, have been urging their fellow workers to join the Associated Federal State and County Municipal Employees union (AFSCME), AFL-CIO.

Lousy Working Conditions

The University of Maryland pays its campus employees wages that are far below what even the government says is necessary for a family to live on in this society. Service workers at the University, who include members of the Dining Halls, Student Union Cafeteria, Dorm workers, Grounds Crews, Physical Plant, Janitors, etc., are paid \$1.69 to start, and after many years they just may get a raise to \$1.80 or \$2.00 an hour. This hourly wage comes out to between \$65 and \$80 a week before taxes, or about \$3200 or \$4000 a year before taxes.

Thus the University strives to perpetuate poverty. Most of the workers in the above-mentioned categories are Black or Latin; these workers are super-exploited by the University. At the same time, secretaries are also paid rotten wages, about \$90-\$100/week before taxes. Almost all the workers at the University (clerical and service) are women, and male chauvinism is used by the bosses and their lackeys in the administration to set back the workers' struggles. For example, when women shop stewards try to recruit male ground crew workers, most of the men either turn away or make a crack about this 'woman who doesn't know her place'. What this means is that the work force is divided and when push comes to shove in fighting for better conditions, they only have half their strength to fight the boss. In addition, intimidation, threats of firing, and cynicism about being able to improve conditions are problems created and constantly reinforced by the administration. While the majority of service workers are Black or Latin, most clerical workers are white. The wide wage differential and the phony idea that the secretary is in a far better position of employment than the maintenance worker (an idea pushed by the administration) breeds racism and weakens struggles for better pay and working conditions for all workers. Another way the administration tries to divide the workers is through

differential treatment of housing and plant employees. One group of employees is furnished uniforms while others have to buy their own. Workers also have to pay \$9.89 bi-weekly for so-called health insurance with no knowledge of benefits they are allowed to receive. This 'insurance' offers no benefit in case of death and no emergency leave.

Workers at the U of Maryland face a similar situation to that of all workers in this society. Day to day grievances, working conditions, and rotten wages are the concern of all workers. The union provides a form by which workers can unite to fight for their common needs. The alleged assertion that the university is a non-profit institution is false. The fact is that the University is tied to the military (CIA, ROTC), financial and industrial corporations, and the Chase Manhattan Bank which exploit people all over the world. So we see that the University of Maryland is out to make profits, and does so by any means possible.

Weaknesses in our Approach

Last year, the Labor-Racism committee of Maryland U was formed to ally with union members who asked for help in their effort to recruit the thousand non-union campus workers. At the request of the union members, we tried to talk to workers on other shifts and areas

of work about joining the union. The drive was only partially successful because we did not have the perspective of getting part-time jobs and building real ties with the workers. Only by getting to know the concrete aspects of the workers' oppression can we build a fighting alliance. For example, a struggle was waged by the cafeteria workers over being forced to pay for meals even if they didn't eat the rotten food. Recently, after hearing of the SDS Campus Worker-Student Alliance program, the workers suggested that SDS student workers meet with them to discuss the problems involved in building ties and trying to find out why workers are afraid to join the union. The discussion was good and the groups plan to continue these meetings. The other weakness was not winning large numbers of students to fighting racism and demanding better conditions for campus workers.

The exploitation of campus employees at the University of Maryland is not an isolated situation. All working persons constantly face lousy conditions so that the bosses can make more profit off of their labor. The U of Maryland serves as a stinging reminder to all of us that not enough is being done on the part of students to fight against the bosses. The campus is a stronghold for the bosses' power. We must build long-range alliances with campus workers to break down that stronghold.



Liberal Harvard calls cops in attempt to save ROTC

IMPERIALISM

from p. 7

Although many people believe various patriotic and racist lies, that is no reason for us to accept such lies as true! People make mistakes -- especially when the whole press, schools, etc., are used to teach them those 'mistakes' -- those lies!

In fact, in terms of imperialism, it is precisely workers - Black, but also white - who are hit hardest by the government and businessmen within this country and who need most to fight imperialism! A student movement which claims to support the oppressed, but which IN FACT opposes U.S. workers, could only help imperialism!

Build an Anti-Imperialist Student Movement

Many think that, while much of what has been discussed may be true, still the best way to 'get a lot of people involved' is to tone it down. 'So what if the war isn't just a mistake -- if you SAY it's a mistake, people will listen.' And so on. In the area I come from there have been several struggles against ROTC. One, at Dartmouth, was evaluated in the August 26 issue of New Left Notes. Perhaps it would be good to compare some of the others in future issues. In any case, our experience at Harvard, where masses of students were involved in fighting ROTC, was that

watering down your ideas is completely unnecessary to effectively fight ROTC -- or any other of the ways the schools are used against the people. It is obviously elitist (to put it mildly) to think that only a few radicals can understand imperialism. Our experience was that, to the extent we were able to fight effectively, it was because we worked hard to win masses of students to understand and oppose imperialism.

SDSers JOIN WALKOUT

from p. 2

attempting to build firm ties with them. Rather, it is an isolated action that is not pertinent or relevant in decreasing the daily oppression that working people face.

Our arrogant attitude and over-ambitious tendency at the 25th St. office reflected a lack of seriousness about the oppression workers do face -- it is one thing for a student to get fired but quite another for a 45-year old woman with three children to support to get fired. On the other hand, the desire to support the two workers who were physically thrown out of the office minutes earlier for urging people to walk out, and the willingness to risk our jobs to build the walk-out, was progressive.

The way to correct these errors is not to necessarily hold back at all times from taking action, but is to struggle more sharply against

our anti-working class attitudes by spending more time with working people, becoming friends with them, raising political ideas with the attitude of really struggling over the questions of racism, the war, etc.

At this point the fight was still going on. The developing rank and file movement has tremendous potential. Through the Work-In we have made real ties with some of the workers and we can see the possibility of developing and extending these to form the beginnings of a real worker-student alliance.

GET CAMPUS JOBS

from p. 3

racism and helps expose the racist nature of the university as well as challenging the racist attitudes of white students and workers. (Our previous failure to organize such struggles in most places reflects our own racism!) Some of the biggest campus struggles of the last year grew out of campus worker-student alliances -- for instance, at Duke and the University of North Carolina.

Second is that we can start RIGHT NOW. While many fights - for union recognition, overall changes in conditions, and wage raises - usually require the mass participation of campus workers, we can raise certain demands immediately, even if the workers aren't themselves already fighting openly around these questions. (See Columbia article.) Doing this is only possible if, by

working side by side with full-timers, we learn examples of flagrant abuses. Initiating struggles around these grievances will help us develop really close ties with campus workers and begin to raise the issue of campus worker-student alliance in a mass way on campus.

WARNING

from p. 5

that position he and his friend and co-'R'YMer Coleman pushed the anti-working class notion of 'discontentment' -- that by some unexplainable catharsis of violent street action, whose goals were incommunicable -- by some such process people's discontent would become revolution. Coleman and Klonsky tried to put that into practice somewhat last fall. Mark Rudd and Bill Ayers, who presently control 'R'YM headquarters, are merely perfecting Coleman/Klonsky's old ideas. SELF-CRITICISM is therefore what is called for.

Wrong -- because 'R'YM I is not adventurist. They aren't pursuing good goals too quickly. Their approach is to attack the people. They see the people as the enemy. If that's someone's outlook, what's the difference what speed you use? 'R'YM II only objects to the OPENNESS of 'R'YM I's approach. They see 'R'YM I's tactics as too vividly anti-working class. They desire greater subtlety.

Coleman/Klonsky have other bad reasons for criticizing 'R'YM I. One is that they are jealous -- the 'R'YM I faction has control of 'R'YM facilities, and 'R'YM leaders are above all fierce careerists. Moreover, Coleman and Klonsky are linked to the thoroughly discredited 'Communist' Party. They therefore want 'R'YM to rely more on forming united fronts with the 'C'P and with liberal elements among the rulers. (There isn't space to discuss this question fully. It is just as much an attack on the people as 'R'YM's 'exemplary actions'. For more discussion of the 'C'P's 'united front' approach, see the July 30, 1969 issue of NLN. The article, entitled 'Report on Oakland United Front Conference', is available in pamphlet form from the SDS National Headquarters.)

'R'YM attacks the people and discredits serious radicals and revolutionaries; in addition, the 'R'YM leadership is trying to split SDS. These parasites must be rejected.

Imperialism -- the Bosses 'Run Away' for Cheap Labor

Sugar mill pioneer Herbert Fuller promoted a \$10 million operation at the coastal city of Tuy Hao. 'I am in it for the money. We could get back our investment in two years.' Like all entrepreneurs Fuller once again is pushing ahead with his plans because he assumes that the US is now committed to saving (sic!) South Vietnam.
(Fortune Magazine, March 1966; our emphasis)

by Alan Gilbert, Harvard-Radcliffe

Liberal spokesmen often maintain that the Vietnam war is an incredible accident or miscalculation. They express horror over the 'terrible consequences' expressed, for instance, in the statement of a marine captain after the bombing of Ben Tre, a city of 35,000: 'We had to destroy it in order to save it.' But liberal leaders claim that the intention was pure, that Vietnam is a terrible but unnecessary catastrophe.

The long US government presence in Vietnam its massive military aid to the French from 1945 to 1954 to fight the Vietnamese, its creation of the Diem regime and attempt to put the overthrown landlords back in power, its guiding role in the 'strategic hamlet' concentration camp program, and, finally, its open invasion with 500,000 troops -- all clearly show the war has been a carefully planned US policy for years.

But why?

I see the Vietnam war as rooted in the imperialist nature of capitalism in present-day America. The giant corporations which dominate the US economy need to exploit the cheap labor and raw materials of the 'third world' to maintain and extend their profits and thus compete with other imperialist nations -- France, Japan, etc. Liberal professors reply that calling America an imperialist society is nonsense, that the term is itself old-fashioned. 'It's what the British did in India a century ago,' they say. 'You guys are looking at things through ancient, red blinders, you just want to make trouble, and anyway, even when it existed, 'imperialism' was just due to moral, not economic-social causes.' Then the professors return to their books.

But some 'leading Americans' are franker. This is how, for instance, Nation's Business puts it:

The best thinkers on the subject in business and government agree that magnificent business opportunities await in Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. As the military situation in Vietnam improves, they expect the flow of business to double, triple, and quadruple. (2/28)

The overseas manufacturing capacity of US companies increased 150% between 1957 and 1965. Manufacturing capacity at home rose only 39%. More and more of that investment is going to Asia, Africa and Latin America -- with Asia the fastest growing. This is because US companies pay miserable wages to the workers in these countries. In Saigon, the MAXIMUM wage (you read it right!) is \$1.40 A DAY. In Taiwan, girls working in electronics plants make 35¢ A DAY. And on and on all over the world.

The exploitation of cheap labor in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is so profitable that the usual racist contempt for 'listless and slovenly' Black and Brown peoples is dropped in delight over the vast quantities of money to be made:

Americans comment on the dexterity and aptitude of Korean workers, who are available at cash wage rates averaging 65¢ a day in textiles and 88¢ a day in electronics. These human characteristics produce industrial results. (Korea, Determined Strides Forward, Chase Manhattan Bank, May 1968, p. 3, our emphasis)

Contrary to the lies we are taught in school about the nonexistence of imperialism, the fact is that the very small sector (0.5%) of the US population which dominates the economy has a world-wide empire. And their profits are more and more sucked out of non-white people, especially Asians. Many of the largest corporations make over half their profits abroad! A sharp example is Chrysler. In 1961 it made 81% of its profits outside the US, although 91% of its assets are in this country! Chrysler's profit rate abroad was 50 times greater than at home! Clearly, the small group of businessmen who rake in the money aren't going to give up these investments and potential for future investments lightly!

Added to the profits from cheap labor are those from raw materials and additional markets. Henry Cabot Lodge sums this up succinctly in terms of Vietnam:

He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the South. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum -- from it large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined. (Boston Globe, 2/28/65)

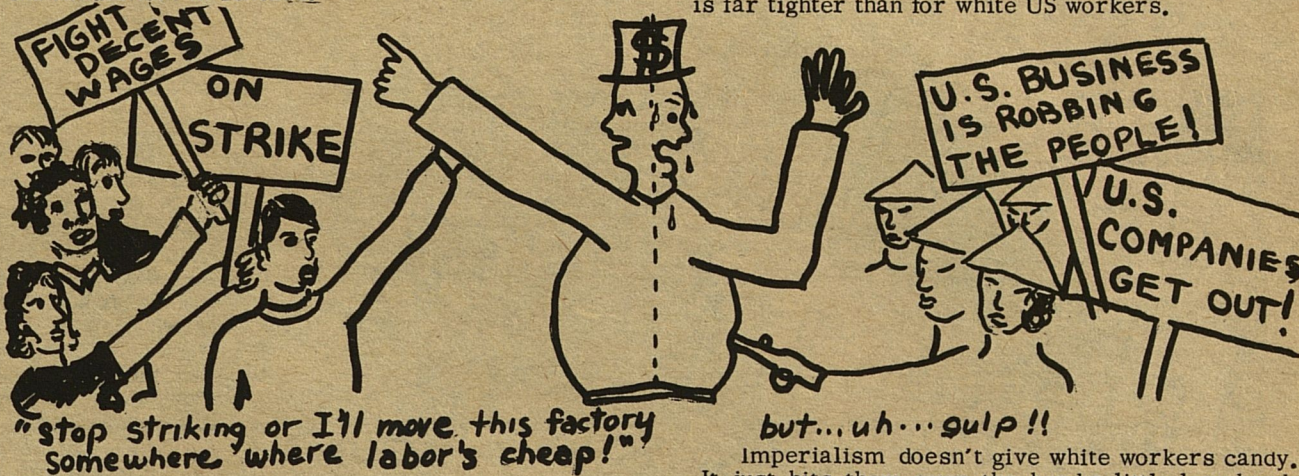
While present US investment in Vietnam is RELATIVELY small, the 0.5% (and the US government, which they control) are very clear on the potential of Vietnam and the surrounding area in terms of their real, imperialist interests, and also about the long-term strategic importance of the war. For it is key for them to show all the people they keep down that if they fight back, they're dead. (Most immediately, they want to teach this lesson to people in the rest of Southeast Asia and, by defeating the Vietnamese, to improve the US position in this area.) And, last but not least, they want Vietnam as a key link in the government's chain around China -- which represents the strongest center of opposition to US imperialism in the world.

Imperialist Pattern

US companies don't just want Southeast Asia -- they're after any part of the world that's available. By the same token -- precisely because of the needs of the businessmen they serve -- US government policy has not been imperialist just in Vietnam but sweet elsewhere. In fact, US foreign policy has followed the same pattern all over. There is massive aid to dictatorships which defend landlords and other local oppressors (plus US companies) against peasants and other working people. In Guatemala and Thailand -- to cite just two cases among dozens -- several thousand US troops are actively fighting guerrillas. The situation is comparable to Vietnam perhaps ten years ago. The only reason the US government has used more force in Vietnam than in these other countries is that the Vietnamese people have waged the most massive struggle to throw the US out. The problem, then, is not that a few military nuts got out of hand in Vietnam, or that some unusual 'military-industrial' complex is suddenly appearing. Vietnam -- and Thailand, and Laos, and Iran and on and on -- are part and parcel of US imperialist foreign policy. The US military does what the government thinks will best serve the best interest of the US rich around the world. As former Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon explained those best interests:

I am an investment banker by trade and I speak as an investment banker when I say that today's less developed nations are tomorrow's richest economic and political asset. (State Dept. Bulletin, 5/6/68, p. 881)

Liberal leaders sometimes claim that US business benefits Asia, Africa and Latin America by 'modernizing' these areas. In fact, the consequences of imperialist domination for these people is distorted economic growth -- with a predominantly stagnant agricultural sector, in which most are poor tenants who give one-half to one-third of their crop to absentee landlords, or else are unemployed. In addition, there is usually a truncated industrial sector producing mainly three or four raw materials for US or European consumption. As we have seen, this industrial development means starvation wages and huge profits for the US companies -- in no way aiding the local population. In general:



Since 1965 the GNPs of Ghana and Indonesia declined 5%. There was no increase in India. In Brazil and Kenya there was only a 1% increase since 1965. Average prices of raw commodities exported by poor countries have dropped 7% in the last decade. (Wall Street Journal, 1/31/68, pp. 1, 21)

For the people of these countries, imperialism means the destruction of the existing economy by US corporations, and vicious exploitation of labor and raw materials by the US. Per capita incomes stand around \$50 to \$80 a year!

Imperialism and US Workers

Liberal leaders deny the existence of imperialism. They try to explain away the real fact of Vietnam and the many Vietnams emerging around the world. This is intended to refute our stand that millions of Americans should be organized against the imperialist system. After all, if imperialism doesn't exist, if the US only needs some patching and then everything will be all right, everything we're doing is bullshit.

We've answered some of the ideas put forward

by liberal leaders to justify their approach, but there is another, apparently 'radical', stand which also, really, argues against the notion of winning millions to an anti-imperialist perspective.

This has been put forward, in the past, by some members of SDS, especially by some factions of the splinter group from SDS which calls itself the Revolutionary Youth Movement. RYMers view imperialism essentially as a matter of foreign policy -- that is, they think imperialism hurts foreign working people BUT THAT IT ENRICHES THE AMERICAN POPULATION. Not just the rich, but everyone. They argue that white US workers are thoroughly corrupted by their position of (supposedly) gaining from US expansion. White workers therefore are seen by RYM as members of a 'white oppressor nation' which dominates Black and Brown peoples all over the world. The logic of this stand is that white workers can't be won to oppose imperialism except, maybe, by trickery, for, in essence, white workers are seen as junior partners in an international stickup. Indeed, in practice, many RYMers advocate and indulge in blatantly anti-working class action. Like the liberal argument, their stand leads to opposing the actual efforts necessary to win masses of Americans to oppose imperialism.

The RYM argument has an apparent plausibility. White American workers clearly are better off than, for example, Saigonese workers, who have a MAXIMUM wage of \$1.40 daily. But the plausibility is only apparent. In fact the argument is dead wrong.

What about Black workers within the US, for instance? They, also, are much better off than the Saigonese. Couldn't one argue that their higher standard of living (relative to workers elsewhere) makes them part of the imperialist 'mother country' and that therefore they, by implication, will not be won to fighting imperialism? The only problem is, of course, that Black rebellions led, mainly, by Black workers, have occurred in every major city where Black workers live! And, then, what about the WIVES of male Saigonese workers? They are worse off than their husbands in many ways -- so why not include male Saigonese workers in the rapidly increasing list of bad guys? And one could go on. (There are plenty of people in Vietnam worse off than female Saigonese workers, for instance.) If they tried hard, RYM could include almost everyone in the list of people who gain from imperialism. (Except, of course, themselves. RYM leaders, unlike white auto workers, are not exploiters.)

The RYM argument claims US bosses give domestic workers part of the spoils of imperialism and thus buy them off. This is wrong in two ways. First, US workers (Black AND white) are not bought off. In fact, although US investment overseas constantly accelerates, US workers are more rebellious than ever before! Secondly, rather than gaining from imperialism, US workers get exploited by the same bosses who screw the Taiwanese electronics worker. It is not that the US worker MAKES MONEY from other people's exploitation, it is only that he gets exploited somewhat less. Bosses squeeze plenty of profit out of every worker -- but in the case of the foreign (especially non-white) worker, the squeeze is far tighter than for white US workers.

Imperialism doesn't give white workers candy. It just hits them over the head a little less hard.

Indeed, US workers have made limited gains or kept their living standards from being driven down (if they've done that!) only by ORGANIZING AND FIGHTING HARD! U.S. bosses have used many techniques to defeat the militancy of US workers -- for instance, union busting and buying off union bureaucrats.

Another method used to defeat working class militancy is having factories 'run away' to the cheaper labor of the unorganized south or abroad. That way the militant workers can be thrown out of work, or the threat of running away can be used to dampen their militancy. In order to fight their oppressors, working people all over the world have got to unite -- it is an absolute necessity.

One of the main weapons used against workers is US nationalism and racism. That is, many workers THINK (just as RYM argues) that they gain from imperialism, that they share a 'national interest' with the bosses, that rebellions threaten them, etc. Graphic illustration of this is anti-Black racism. White workers need the special militancy of Black workers to fight their common enemy. Racism cripples, to the extent it exists, their ability to fight!

Although many people believe various patriotic

Lessons from the Summer Work-In

by Bob Siegal, U of Illinois Circle
Fred Kushner, U of Illinois Circle
Carol Schik, U of Illinois Circle

Over the last few years SDS has changed a great deal. Not only is it growing in numbers, but it is also growing politically, seeing the need to go beyond the campus and ally with other forces in this society in order to bring about real change. The question of what is the key force for change must be seen in terms of who really makes the society run (i.e., who produces all the wealth), are they benefiting from or being hurt by the system, and, as a result, do they have a real stake in changing things. The summer Work-In, a project in which SDSers took jobs in plants that produce steel, glass, clothing, telephones, magazines, etc., made us see much more concretely the fact that working people produce all the wealth of this society.

And we came to see something much more important, something that contradicted everything that we had been taught in our universities, and was told to us by the newspapers and TV: the fact that although workers produce everything, they really get nothing in return. Like in this printing plant where some of us worked, the workers took home about \$110 a week (if they were there for a few years). Well, what does it mean to live on \$110 a week for a family of four? It comes down to barely getting by. With skyrocketing prices, you spend \$40 a week for your family just to eat, and then make payments on a car and other things (including credit), pay \$125 a month in rent, pay increasing taxes for the war in Viet Nam -- you wind up treading water and still sinking. And you don't get that paycheck without sweating. There's a bundle of magazines coming down a conveyor belt continually. For three hours straight you put 35 pound bundles in sacks and throw them up on skids. So, comes a ten minute break, what happens? The boss doesn't let people on the line go all at once; no, you 'relieve' one another. That means that when the worker next to you goes for his break, you have to bundle twice as fast! The boss makes you pay for your fellow worker's break -- not to mention your own!

Then there's speed-up. This printing company is making millions in profits but won't spend the dough to have safe machines; in fact, the conveyor one of us worked on was built in 1924. So they break down. But they never get really fixed: the boss makes more by patching them up and then increasing the rate of speed than by having them repaired. And in the lunchroom the workers see a sign that says, 'Keep Our Company Growing!'

In the final analysis, the vast majority of this society (working people, men and women) work for 35 years, if they live that long, and in return get polluted lakes, deteriorating schools, and bad housing. They also have their sons drafted to fight in a war that's against their interest. All of this so that a very few can get richer and richer --

Well, you can say, 'What are they doing about it? Do they really want to fight? There is a very deep lie we often hear in our sociology classes about the 'happy and contented' workers who have plenty and don't really care about anything but baseball and beer. (Kind of like the racist myths about the 'carefree' slaves on the plantation.) The fact is that there have been more wildcat strikes (strikes against not only the company but also the union leadership) in the last two years than in the fifteen years before that. We have seen the power of workers' unity not only across the ocean in France, but right here in the U.S. Like at United Parcel Service here in Chicago; the men had to work compulsory overtime, up to seven extra hours a day; no time to see their wives and kids, either work the overtime or get bounced. They fought back! 250 of the workers wildcatted because the sell-out union leadership took the side of the company; even though the overtime was a violation of contract, the union misleaders told the men to go back and then it would be 'discussed'. For two weeks they stayed out with no strike fund, harassed every day by the cops (who made sure that trucks and scabs could get through the picket lines).

Another lie that we're taught in school is that workers are the most reactionary force in this society. But the increase in strikes and wildcats has come during the war in Viet Nam despite the squeals of bosses and politicians that they're against the 'national interest' -- kind of funny for 'super-patriots'! While it's true that workers have many bad attitudes (like all of us in this society), the key question is who gains from these attitudes and who do they hurt. Our experience and the facts show that only the bosses benefit from racism, patriotism, etc., and all these attitudes and ideas hurt workers. Racism, for instance, is one of the bosses' main weapons to divide the working class, to prevent Black and white workers from uniting. The material basis of racism is the super-exploitation of black workers: bosses make \$22 billion a year on the wage differential between Black and white workers. To maintain this situation they push the idea that Black people are inferior, lazy, the ones who are responsible for the miserable conditions faced by whites, etc. Racism - seeing Black people as the enemy - makes white workers ally with the same bosses who are putting the knife in them -- it means that the boss can play one group off against the other, breaking strikes and all attempts to fight back. It's not workers who benefit from the oppression and exploitation of Black people -- it's the same class that controls everything in this society! More and more, though, white workers are allying with and following the militant lead of Black workers. In the United Parcel strike, for example, the white workers followed the walk-out of the Black workers; this has been true of all the militant strikes in Chicago over the last two years.

The myth that we have been fed that all workers are innately racists has been demolished by our experience on the job. One Work-Inner was working in a giant department store. While she was on break, a rich white lady came over to be served. The lady refused to let one of the Black salesgirls help her. When the Work-Inner returned from her break, she noticed the woman; since nobody was helping her, she took care of her. Afterwards, the women in her department explained that none of them (Black or white) would help this woman because of her racism, and told the Work-Inner that catering to racism could not be allowed.

All across the country, from militant battles at Newport News Shipyard in Virginia to the long struggle at the Figure Flattery Clothing factory in New York City, workers are struggling to gain a decent life. So what does this all mean? Is it just something to put in a muckraker's novel? We think it means a lot more. The exploitation of the working class is the basis of this society. The bosses maintain the armies, the cops, and the courts (the whole apparatus of the state) by stealing the value workers produce. The contradiction between Henry Ford's daughter's \$500,000 coming-out party and a worker losing his hand making a Fairlane, between the billions GM makes each year while paying its workers a few thousand, makes clear the interest workers have in changing this system. With workers united against them, the whole class of corporation owners and all their front men (from politicians to university administrators) are very weak.

Students and working people have a common enemy. The bosses who screw workers in the plants are the same guys who run universities. This means that they not only oppress campus workers, but also students. They run the university in order to further the interests of their class, seeing to it that only ideas that help them are taught: racist ideas (like the idea that the problem with Black people is that they live in a matriarchal society and have to regain their manhood, not that they are super-exploited), anti-working class ideas that make students think there is no working class, or that it is below their super-sensitive beings, etc., and every other idea that divides people in this society, especially students from working people. The university also performs many other concrete tasks for imperialism: counter-insurgency research, ROTC, etc. Intellectually the ideas that are taught in the university oppress students -- they are deliberately mis-educated as to the nature of this society, as to who their real friends and who their real enemies are. They also suffer material oppression: most students who graduate (50% of all entering freshmen flunk out of drop out) become mental workers in some form -- teachers, social workers, etc. As such, they face terrible working conditions, lousy wages, etc. -- not to mention getting drafted for wars like Viet Nam. The only way this oppression can be fought is by allying with the key force -- the working class.

Male Chauvinism Defeats Struggle

by Alan Spector, Educational Secretary



Clippings from Chicago Sun-Times show bosses' attempt to divide these militant women from their husbands

On Aug. 4, an estimated 40 firemen's wives set up a picket line around the central fire station in downtown Gary. They kept the station's trucks from rolling and made an engine from another station detour on its way to a fire.

The incident had the men slightly surprised at first, and then amused. They saw it as a harmless event which might help dramatize their wage dispute.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

Gary's firemen came away from their six-day strike with little to show for it except a battered public image and their pride slightly wounded because their wives had prodded them into it.

'Male chauvinism', briefly described, is the set of ideas and practices based on the assumption that women are inferior to men. Women are taught to be submissive, quiet, non-aggressive, apolitical, and often, little more than sexual objects and 'good mothers'. Their supposed 'benefit' for these services is having a man to protect and provide for them. Men are taught to assert dominance over women -- they produce most of the income, and are supposed to command respect from the woman. Their 'benefit' is mainly in demanding the final say on most questions, as well as experiencing certain types of psychological gratification. Women are hurt by male chauvinist ideas and practices because of the extra oppression they suffer. But BOTH women and men are hurt by male chauvinism when women are discouraged, ridiculed, or attacked for taking initiative or leadership in struggles against the ways the system hurts people.

This question should be much more fully discussed; but to begin the discussion it is essential to see who benefits from female oppression and disunity between men and women, especially in the working class. The people who reap great profits from, and thereby encourage and concretely perpetuate male chauvinism, are the same people who benefit from racism -- the very wealthy minority which owns most of the wealth, which runs the news media, and pretty much calls the shots in the government. The Chicago Sun Times recently carried a rather blatant concrete example of how the press - supposedly 'objective' and 'neutral' - pushes male chauvinism to defeat workers' struggles and concretely hurt both the men and the women involved. The article did this by appealing to 'manly pride' and ridiculing the women for their laudable aggressiveness and initiative, and by attacking them for not 'knowing their place' (presumably in the kitchen). Part of the article is reproduced below. The harmful effects of male chauvinism to this and future struggles of the Gary firemen should be apparent. It shows us how important it is to struggle against male chauvinist ideas and practices within the student movement, too.

Build SDS - Sell New Left Notes