

Students for a Democratic Society

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sds new left notes



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LESS TALK, MORE ACTION

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HOLY CROSS STUDENTS OUST GE RECRUITERS

Vito Trimarco, Holy Cross SDS

On Wednesday, Dec. 10, approximately 50 members of SDS, the Revolutionary Students Union, and the Black Students Union successfully blocked two GE recruiters, preventing them from carrying on business as usual. The 50 students were supported by about 120 other students. We had prepared for this action and had been involved in building a base for approximately one month, through mass meetings, leafletting, pamphlets, petitions, and individual discussions. The actual decision to block, rather than merely to picket, was taken one week before the action, when it was felt that our base was sufficiently strong. The remainder of the time was spent in strengthening that base and clarifying the politics upon which it was founded -- support for the particular GE strike at hand, and general pro-working class attitudes. The administration attempted, predictably, to shift perspective, and to make the issue one of freedom of speech and 'open campus', failing to point out that an open campus meant one open to scab recruiters. One factor which helped us was that some of the students who supported us had fathers who worked for GE and were on strike; they helped to make the entire struggle a much more real one, exposing the arguments of 'academic freedom' and the 'intellectual pursuit

of truth'. Some of us, prior to the action, visited a number of GE plants and talked to workers about the strike and about what we were planning. The response from the workers was unanimously one of support.

After the actual blocking, the Dean of Men's Office engaged in 'selective arrests', i.e. they singled out sixteen students and brought them up before the College Judicial Board, for disciplinary action, for having 'blocked access to college facilities'. There had been five black students engaged in blocking with us. Of these, four were selected for punishment. This fear of pro-working class black students resulted in a justified accusation of racism against the administration by the Black Students Union. The administration then attempted to 'divide and conquer' by asking the four blacks if they wished separate trials. The black students unanimously rejected this and reasserted that they would stand with the twelve members of SDS-RSU! The position which SDS put forward during the 'trial' was that we did not recognize the legitimacy of the Judicial Board, that our actions were just, and that we demanded no punishment. During the trial, over 200 students gathered outside the room to voice, graphically, their support of the struggle and of the sixteen. After thirteen hours of 'deliberation', the Board passed sentence of

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NATIONAL
COUNCIL
IN NEW HAVEN
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NEWS ROUNDUP



Boston--500 students, teachers, welfare workers and clients, and other workers march to support GE strikers



We are picketing today to support GE workers in their demands for decent wages and improved working conditions, and to defeat the UConn Bosses' plan to help recruiter-scabs weaken the GE strike. We take this action because:

1. 147,000 GE workers, black and white, are presently on strike. We support their struggle against the racist bosses who exploit workers for profit and cause imperialist wars, like Vietnam, to insure that profit.
2. GE is racist. The bosses at GE use racism to divide workers and weaken their struggle. Racist hiring practices and wage differentials are only a part of the racist atmosphere created by GE.
3. The recruiter is a scab. The University has once again demonstrated its anti-working class, racist practices by helping GE management to keep 'business as usual' during the strike. We join with other students across the country to support the striking workers and to help defeat the interests of GE Bosses and University Administrations who serve those interests.

BSU - SDS

U. Conn.

J. Doody, U Conn.

At a meeting on Sunday night a joint steering committee of the Black Student Union and SDS was set up to write a statement of purpose for the action on Monday morning. This meeting decided to have a militant picket line.

On Monday, Dec. 15, about 60 of us set up picket lines and waited for recruitees to arrive. When they attempted to enter the interviewer's building, our statement of purpose was given to the recruitee, and we explained how and why he would be scabbing if he went in to be interviewed. Some students decided not to go for their interviews after listening to our arguments. Some others insisted on their 'constitutional right to scab'; they were convinced by our picket line.

Four YAF students ran through us while we were just picketing, and escaped into the recruiting building. The police inside the building didn't seem too upset as long as we didn't start anything. Also, an official of the state YAF came up to make a citizen's arrest (!?!). At 2 p.m., after five hours of militant picketing, Dean Hewes emerged and read a statement to the effect that 'recruiting was 'temporarily' suspended due to 'obstruction'.' That included GE's scheduled interviewing for Tuesday.

At Monday's action we made clear to everyone the pro-working class content of our action. Although termed only a 'temporary' success by some people, we in SDS at UConn, who have gained a much clearer pro-working class politics unifies the picketing strikers at Bridgeport, Conn. and Lynn, Mass., it unifies their supporters at the University of Connecticut.

U. Mass.

Norm Bender, UMass SDS

On Thursday, Dec. 11, GE recruiters were met in the Whitmore administration building by 25 pickets supporting GE strikers. This action was initiated by U Mass SDS. Many people involved in this campaign did not take the struggle as seriously as it should have been taken; when students circulated a petition to increase support for GE workers, the students did not emphasize the importance in allying with workers to end the Vietnam war and smash racism.

Soon after the GE demonstration, U Mass SDS heard that at least 17 women workers in the Hatch, the restaurant in the Student Union, were being laid off for a month without any compensation. SDS circulated a petition to demand compensation for the workers which received over 850 signatures. These workers have been very strong in their will to struggle

but have been held back by a contract that attempts to destroy their real power, that of the strike. Many campus workers have expressed support for the students' efforts; women workers raised their fists and shouted down a boss when she attempted to spread lies to the students gathered around the SDS table in the Student Union.

Again we made the mistake of talking about the lay-offs as an isolated issue. Instead, it should be brought out as another example of bosses - U Mass, GE, and all others - attempting to exploit workers. It is important to show students that all bosses are united in obtaining super-profits, whether in Vietnam or Amherst.

On December 18, fifty students confronted Boss Colvin in the Hatch and forced him to discuss the demands for compensation. Boss Colvin threw 45 minutes of bullshit to the students who turned his lies against him. Another boss, Scanlon, came by and said, 'News, News!'; he claimed that the university bosses are attempting to get other jobs for these workers. If this is true, it will be a terrific victory.

A real worker-student alliance is beginning at U Mass. As a result of these struggles, many students are being won to struggle alongside workers.

CAMPUS WORKERS FIGHT BACK

Nelly Blacker
Shelley Duncan
Barbara Selfridge UC Berkeley SDS

On December 1, the cafeteria workers at Mills College in Oakland, Calif. went out on strike demanding the Administration recognize their right to unionization. Mills is a private, all-girl school (the 'Vassar of the West'), which since its existence (over 100 years) has exploited its workers and amassed profit for its owners. Over half of the workers (25 of the 40, according to the College) are on strike, and many more are refusing to cross the picket lines.

The Role of the Administration:

The college has used racism and male chauvinism in its dealings with the workers both before and during the strike. Racism, in addition to discrimination in hiring, means exploitation -- the college employs mainly women and Asians, knowing that these people are least able to reject its scandalously low pay and take a job elsewhere. Samples of these wages are appalling: pot washer, \$1.89/hour; kitchen help, \$1.81; fry cook, \$1.85; etc. The top salary (head cook, not striking) is \$3.55.

In the past ten years inflation has sent prices sky high, yet one woman's pay has only been raised from \$1.15 to \$1.92 in that period, and in the past four years they've given one 'cost of living' raise: 2¢. But the college administration needn't worry about money: the Vice-President's cattle ranch has a monopoly business on the college's beef purchases!

The college has managed to scare a large number of the Asians into staying on the job, despite their desire for unionization (40 pledge cards were submitted to the Union). These workers are scared: an unsubtle hint at deportation, loss of citizenship papers... The administration is pulling out all the stops in its attempts to harass and intimidate the strikers. One such example of this is its attempt to divide the campus workers by explaining the 'benefits of non-unionization' as such: 'If you join the Union and a strike is called by any other Union on campus, you will not be allowed to cross the picket lines. If you do not come to work, the college could not pay you. Would you want to be out of work while the gardeners are on strike? or the truck drivers? or the engineers?' Yet these men are staying out for this strike! There are scarcely any black workers there, but they are receiving particular harassment. One black woman was misled into signing a statement refusing to strike (she has since gone back on that!); because she is old, and particularly because she is a black woman, she knows jobs are hard to find.

The workers are really aware of how the administration is trying to break their strike. One woman expressed the thoughts of most when she told us: 'We do the work here. We cook and clean and serve those girls, yet he (the president) sits up in his fancy office refusing to meet with us, just taking in the money. When we go in he looks more concerned with whether we'll mess up his chair or dirty his carpeting!'

The fact that racism can be overcome by workers in class struggle against the bosses is very clear in this strike. The other workers acknowledge Howard Lew, the baker, as leader of the strike (he started the walk-out by circulating a petition for unionization); this is another example of where the most oppressed - in this case an Asian - will lead the battle against oppression. The fact that the white women, who are in the majority position in the strike, insist that everything be translated for the Chinese shows their awareness of the bosses' efforts to split them by using racism.

The Role of the Students:

Of course the administration has been trying to isolate the students from the workers, making the students feel that the inconveniences of the strike are the fault of the workers, and that somehow the strikers are a threat to the College's 'tranquil community', i.e. its violent exploitation. One such example is the letter put out by the president to the 'Mills College Community': '...to protect the health, safety and welfare of the people in our community... our security force (read: 'pigs') has been augmented by extra personnel to assure that our community remains safe... (every facility that they can manage) is being operated by management personnel...' But the students at Mills have been supporting the strikers from the start. The second week of the strike, a rally of over 200 students was held (enrollment: 780) and 219 signed a petition demanding a vote for unionization. The weaknesses in the student support generally stem from the lack of an organization -- that is, there is no SDS chapter there (or other radical organization). The support seems mostly spontaneous. Without a cohesive strategy the students will not develop any analysis through which they can remain clear on the issues, and build an ongoing movement to seek out and fight racism and exploitation on the campus.

The Role of SDS

Berkeley SDS will be organizing a Regional Action in early January in support of the Mills College strikers. Beyond that, we have arranged a meeting between the Mills strikers, the cafeteria workers at Cal, and interested students. This seems like a good opportunity for the workers we have met at Berkeley to gain a sense of solidarity with the Mills strikers, and build a consciousness of the power that working people have to build a movement which struggles against the bosses. Our role in SDS now is to build student support throughout the Bay Area, clarifying the necessity of allying with campus workers and workers around the country and world.

FIRST, WE GIVE HIM A TRANQUILIZER



II-S contd.

Either they will see us as missionary do-gooders or as selfish kids out to make a big splash (like the bosses' media portrays us). In either case, we will be divided from workers, which only serves the bosses and sets back the student movement against imperialism.

Ruling Class Pushes II-s

To see how far-reaching these anti-working class ideas are, suppose for a minute there were no II-S. What reasons does college education give students for staying out of the Army?

I. Pacifism. College teaches us to abhor violence mainly because the bosses fear the violence of people fighting back against their exploitation. Thus it's wrong for us to fight ('war is not my thing'). But this makes students accept the violence of the bosses (who initiate and benefit from the injustices in this society) instead of allying with those who are fighting against these injustices -- the working people in the US, Vietnam, and throughout the world.

II. Complicity. Another idea is that students are sensitive and must stay in the moral atmosphere of the university. This idea is wrong in two ways. The first lie is that the war is caused by those insensitive working people, who are easily 'militarized' in the Army and who produce the weapons in the factories. It is working people who are hurt most by the war, by the rising inflation and increasing taxes which cut through their standard of living like a boll weevil through cotton, by deteriorating schools, and pollution, and by filling the coffins. Furthermore, the workers are in the forefront of the struggle against this war. 150,000 workers out against GE (the second largest producer for the war) hurts the bosses more than any demonstration.

The other lie is the university is 'sensitive and moral'. In fact, the university is controlled by the same bosses who benefit from imperialism and racism. The same bosses, for example, who sit on the board of trustees at S, F, State and smash students who fight against racism, also are the bosses of Del Monte Col., which pays slave wages and oppresses third world workers in the vegetable fields of California. The bosses keep ROTC on campuses (ROTC provides 80% of the officers for the Vietnam war), and have numerous on-campus counter-insurgency centers. The university is a very real aid to this and future imperialist wars; the 'moral university' holds to the bosses' morality -- imperialism!

The task of an anti-imperialist student movement is to ally with the key powerful force in society that can smash imperialism; this force is the working class. By this alliance, we'll build a strong movement that can win! The question of the II-S is not just one for men, but for the entire student movement; the II-S only helps to prevent a winning movement, by building attitudes which isolate us from working people.

Implementation

1. The National Council should issue a statement in opposition to the lottery.
2. SDS should oppose the II-S deferment because it is anti-working class and divides students from workers.
3. There should be more articles and discussion in New Left Notes about the II-S and the draft.
4. The National Headquarters is mandated to publish a pamphlet on the draft and II-S with some of the ideas aforementioned to stimulate widespread discussion of the issue on the chapter level.

NO DRAFT FOR IMPERIALIST WARS!
THE LOTTERY IS A HOAX!
OPPOSE THE II-S -- FIGHT ANTI-WORKING-CLASS ATTITUDES!

Defeat Individualism - Build

Alan Garfinkel, Harvard-Radcliffe
Vito Trimarco, Holy Cross
Jim O'Neil, Worcester
Alan Gilbert, Harvard-Radcliffe
Cheyney Ryan, Harvard-Radcliffe
Peter Bilizarian, Worcester

The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.

Mao Tse-tung

In the past year, SDS has increasingly attempted to build a pro-working class student movement. We have fought against ROTC, university expansion, GE recruiters, racist hiring practices and harassment on the job, etc., in order to ally with all workers and especially with campus workers. The ruling class fears this kind of movement, and has responded by attacking us ever more sharply (at San Francisco State, BU, etc., many students have gone to jail or been suspended or expelled). As more and more students are won away from the ideas that the ruling class proceeds fairly, justly and democratically, and doesn't really exploit working people, the ruling class seeks to crush where it can no longer deceive.

Now we are attempting to take a new step in this movement, to develop deep and throughgoing ties with campus workers as a basis for fighting harder against university bosses. In order to do this, we have to remold ourselves as an organization and adopt the approach of people's war: by integrating ourselves fully with campus workers and students, putting forward pro-working class ideas in every aspect of life and winning masses of people to engage in struggles against the ruling class. If we fail to adopt this approach, if we do not defeat the anti-working class, antistudent, self-serving attitudes which isolate us from masses of people, then we can only become a more and more isolated group, shouting our truth in the wilderness and ultimately become anti-working class in practice and attack the people. We could do this by isolated militant actions against the people, i.e. by becoming sharks in the sea of the people like the Weathermen; we could do this by immersing ourselves in the sea of the people on a pacifist basis as jellyfish by catering to the racist, male chauvinist and anti-working class ideas that most people have and becoming liberals who mouth radical rhetoric. Given the necessity for an actual fighting alliance with workers, we must dig in among the people and develop the approach of people's war which can sustain the movement and win masses of people under its leadership to attack the bosses.

The potential for our becoming fish in the sea of the people is clearly there: masses of students hate the war and want to oppose it; masses of working people, on campus as well as off, are increasingly fighting against the ways the bosses directly exploit them (this direct exploitation constitutes the root of imperialism).

We can rely upon the people -- the obstacles to SDS leading mass struggles lie within ourselves, in those individualistic attitudes and practices which isolate us from masses of people. Changing these practices is a fundamental political question -- we cannot lead these struggles without integrating ourselves with the people.

Fight Individualism - Defeat Bohemian Live Style

Bohemian life style implies that to be a radical is to withdraw into isolation with a select group of friends, to treat them as 'beautiful people' with whom there is no need to struggle, not to struggle with masses of people who are 'obviously' impossible to get to know (those beer-swilling, bought-off workers), etc. This approach, essentially selfish escapism, is reinforced in many cases by

drug use and receives expression as 'youth culture'. In us, this approach often coexists with and contradicts a pro-working class approach of getting to know and struggling with most students and workers. Individualism, therefore, comes out in our practice in a somewhat different form than open bohemianism: we feel morally superior to other people, have contempt for their approach, for instance, going to class, because it is 'bourgeois', hold back from getting to know them because it might involve struggle, can't be bothered to explain our views in a way which would make sense to them, etc. If we are to lead ever sharper mass battles against the ruling class, then we must defeat this individualism.

For instance, in many colleges, most students live in dorms. If we want to get to know more students and win them to fighting the ruling class we have to move into the dorms.

Most students go to class and spend time talking about their courses. They have many bad reasons for going as well as some good reasons. SDSers, on the other hand, usually don't go to classes for bad reasons on the excuse that others' reasons are bourgeois, that we are 'too busy' doing political work, etc. Basically, this is just laziness on our part and embodies the approach of a rich kid even if we aren't. We should go to at least some of our classes, get to know other students, struggle with them about their bad reasons for going, and win them to fight the rulers.

One SDSer raised an example which indicates how harmful this approach of avoiding classes is. At one time, he got to know a working class student in one of his courses and won him to come on a demonstration. Then this SDSer became a 'full-time radical', stopped going to class, and stopped seeing this student except to approach him 'like a con-man' just before exams to get his notes. If the SDSer had gone to class once in a while, on the other hand, he would probably have won his friends to fight against the ruling class.

We should not adopt the bourgeois approach of becoming a super-student or spending our time in self-cultivation producing voluminous radical course critiques with endless footnotes. We should, however, think of ways of raising the ideology of the working class in every situation, including classes, clubs, extracurricular activities, etc., of defeating bourgeois culture, including racist anthropology, reactionary literary and sociological theories, etc., in order to win more students and workers to launch mass struggle against imperialism.

This approach means assessing everything we do from the point of view of winning over workers, and, using this as a focus, winning over other students to ally with workers, fighting the ruling class and fighting bourgeois culture -- and can be done during school or after dropping out or finishing. On campus, students should make ties with campus workers. On the picket line doing strike support, we should try to make friends with strikers and sustain contact after the strike ends. If we become high school or college teachers, we should think about how to ally with working class students, with their parents, with the workers at the school, etc. If we become lab technicians, we should struggle to win the more well-to-do to ally with the less well-to-do technicians and workers and follow their leadership. In the factories we should fight for working class ideology, defeat racism and support the leadership of black and third world workers. And we should put forward our thinking on these matters to our friends who will end up in the same or similar jobs, to give them an idea of how a radical movement can sustain itself, be genuinely integrated with masses of people, and wage people's war. We can't expect to win masses of people on a one-shot basis, to an organization with crisis mentality which only thinks of today's political struggle -- the leaflet

that has to get out, etc. Instead, we have to develop a more strategic approach, dig deeper and deeper roots and proletarianize ourselves over the long haul in order to fight the rulers. Without defeating individualism, we will live for the moment like isolated prophets at the expense of working people and ultimately become the parasites which that life-style implies (e.g., many 'C'P student organizers of the 1930s dropped out and became stockbrokers, corporate lawyer, etc. -- the only ones in this society who can sustain an easy living, isolated existence).

Given that we want to build a campus worker-student alliance, we must remold our organization and ourselves to ally with workers. The individualism which holds us back from forging this alliance should not be seen in isolation as a question of this or that person's habits. It is rather the basic political question of whether or not we are going to become fish in the sea and serve the people.

Fight Bourgeois Culture

Fight Drugs

Bourgeois culture in all its aspects puts forward the concept of the all-important, self-serving individual who is essentially a manipulative egotist, a male chauvinist, anti-working class, racist parasite. Since this crude reality turns most people's stomachs, the ruling class also fosters and merchandises the culture of escapism, of finding some private, artificial paradise in which all of these vicious relations exist but are suspended in temporary, seeming tranquility. The hippie, for instance, with his scavaging life-style, does not escape the world of commodities -- he resurrects it in the fetishism of long hair, bizarre amulets and whirling lights, or in the highest 'personal' relationship of 'youth culture' -- with that singularly lucrative commodity, drugs.

To many students, including many of us, drug use represents or has represented 'personal liberation' as against taking part in a competitive rat race. In essence, however, drugs further a selfish, escapist approach to life which is why the ruling class pushes them. Over a year ago, Fortune magazine gave its views on two conflicting tendencies in the student movement. On the one hand, youth culture may 'make a great contribution to American liberty'; on the other hand, 'dogmatic Maoists' could 'destroy that liberty'.

Eliot Schapiro, superintendent of the Hughes School in Harlem, where 40% of the students, by his account, are hooked on heroin, summed up the use of drugs to the ruling class: 'More drugs, less violence; less drugs, more violence; that's just the way it is.' (Boston Globe, 3/1/69)

At Temple University last year, the day before several thousand students were going to launch a major demonstration against university expansion into the black community, the largest shipment of marijuana appeared on campus that had hit Philadelphia in ten years. Many people got zonked and few showed up for the demonstration.

In general, pushing drugs is an old imperialist trick. The English launched the opium wars in China both to make money and to diminish the capacity of the Chinese people to fight back.

We do not oppose the use of drugs on moral grounds, but on the political basis that drug use strengthens individualism and defeats mass struggle. We should by no means be arrogant and write off those students who take drugs (we would then have written off most of ourselves at one time or another) but unite with them around opposing the war and racism and oppose drug use as a drawback in those struggles.

The objection might be raised that most students smoke grass and hence grass is part of the sea of the people. So is racism. Wouldn't we struggle with students who put forward that black peo-

CWSA

ple are 'lazy, unqualified', etc.? We should get to know people in order to be able to struggle with as well as learn from them, to change the sea as well as to be part of it; to be a fish does not mean to get hooked.

Another objection is that smoking pot is bad as a culture, but good once a month. If smoking grass builds escapism and selfishness in general (and did in us when we did it a lot), how are these attitudes transformed by smoking only once a month? It is hypocritical to criticize drug use in others but to build it by doing it ourselves.

SDS should issue leaflets and initiate discussion on campus against drug use in the context of building mass struggles against the bosses, and we should have in-depth discussions of this question with all the people whom we are working with. We have to fight against drug use just as we must fight against every aspect of the reactionary culture which the rulers push. We must reject the needle and grass and all other reactionary ideas and habits in order to take up the banner of people's war.

Build the CWSA

In the past SDS has led many struggles on campus in the interests of working people, and has talked a lot about the necessity of allying with workers to win demands. But we have not yet built a real alliance, fought side by side with working people against our common enemy -- the bosses who run this country. The best place to achieve such an alliance is on campus where thousands of workers and students face the same administration and boss. The approach of people's war should mean that we dig in, make ties, and mobilize these students and workers for sharp struggle against the university-boss.

Since this idea was first raised, many SDSers have gotten jobs on campus and gotten to know workers. On many campuses we've initiated campaigns to expose the university as a boss with petitions raising some immediate grievances of the workers. On some campuses we've been able to take sharp actions against the administration around these grievances -- making CWSA a mass issue on campus and giving the workers some basis to trust us.

We should be able everywhere to build for a significant action around workers' grievances, consulting and developing ties with them at every step of the way. Significant action doesn't mean we should seize a building on every campus, but we should do enough to make the conditions of campus workers and the working class in general a mass issue. At first many of us hesitated to make the CWSA a mass campaign against the administration. Instead, we waited for the workers to go on strike or until we could find some 'spectacular' grievance. The result: no practice was initiated, no ties developed. Fortunately, this reluctance to initiate a fight has been reversed in many chapters.

The CWSA Fights Racism and Male Chauvinism

Many colleges employ a large percentage of non-white workers, and all use racist pay differentials or hiring practices against the workers. Fights against the racist attacks on campus workers, like the firing of Charles Bargaineer at UCLA or Mrs. Williams at Yale or the painters' 'helper' category at Harvard or the murder (decapitation) of Charles Johnson at Columbia, strikes at the very root of racism: the extra profits which bosses make by their special oppression of black workers.

But we should examine these campaigns self-critically. Often we have not raised in a thoroughgoing way that these fights were anti-racist. We generally haven't raised the racist character of the university as boss in every fight on the side of campus workers. Where we have raised the issue of racism, we haven't done much to explain

it. People often think that we are combatting the racist attitude of a particular dean or personnel director -- not that we were fighting against the way racism justifies the bosses making extra profits off black (and also white) workers. If we don't take on both the ideological and material aspects of racism, we're leaving the rulers with a key weapon undamaged. We can't build mass struggles against superexploitation without defeating its ideological justification.

Fighting the university's racism and our own racist attitudes also implies that white SDSers should get to know black students, both to learn from their greater experience of oppression and militancy and also to win them to a pro-working class outlook. One reflection of our own racism is that most white SDSers know few black students -- we should all make a conscious effort to change this.

The campuses also employ large numbers of women who are paid less than men and generally work in the worst conditions. As Radcliffe SDS led a fight against a male chauvinist pay differential, showing how the university used chauvinism to hurt all workers and exposing the lies they use to justify the double exploitation of women (although we failed at Radcliffe to raise the issue of racism). But at Yale, where SDS led a terrific fight to rehire a militant black woman, the issue of male chauvinism wasn't raised.

It is a sign of our isolation from most students that we launch struggles against racism and male chauvinism without taking on clearly and directly the reactionary ideas which many students hold. We must know students well enough to see the conflicting ideas or questions they have, and to raise and answer them in our leaflets, not just to put forward abstract analyses of super-exploitation.

Build a Concrete Alliance, Get to know Workers

Although we've made very good progress toward developing the CWSA, we have yet to build an alliance with workers and students fighting side by side. Once we've taken the first step to get a campaign off the ground and built to an action that makes CWSA a mass issue, we have to build our friendships with the workers to the point where we plan and act together. If we don't do this, CWSA will just be all talk. Maintaining our isolation from the workers, the initial good effects of these campaigns will be reversed. Joint actions mean that workers must take the lead more and more. This may mean a less militant tactical plan in some cases, but the actions will be taken at a much higher political level.

In order to make this step towards a CWSA a reality, we'll have to get to know the workers much better. The main obstacle to doing this is us. We must defeat our timidity and anti-working class ideas and take a lot of initiative. For instance, at Radcliffe, some SDSers who work in the kitchens threw a Christmas party for the other workers there.

In making ties with workers, however, we should also defeat our own liberalism: too often we just make friends and say 'we'll support you in whatever you do'. We should also struggle with workers around what step would be best to win the demand.

Building CWSA also means defeating subjectivity: on some campuses morale in SDS has become very hard to predict since it changes so quickly from day to day. After a sharp action and a sharp counter-attack at UCLA people became demoralized. This spirit changed abruptly when 140 workers attended an administration-called meeting and took the leadership in exposing the administration's attempts to (1) 'solve' their problems with talk, (2) divide them from the students, (3) use racism to defeat them and (4) divide the men and women workers!!! We spend too much time thinking 'the workers won't come through' and use this lack of faith in them to justify our own weaknesses. Where we've taken a bold approach to building the CWSA we've made it a mass issue on campus and gotten

to know workers. Only our own individualism can keep us from taking the next necessary step.

Give Leadership to the Anti-War Movement

Our own bad attitudes and isolation have kept us from giving more leadership to the growing numbers of people who actively oppose the war in Vietnam. In Washington there were hundreds of thousands of potential SDSers whom we must make an effort to reach. The demonstration at the Dept. of Labor was a good first step, but we haven't been doing nearly enough to fight against the war on campus.

The Vietnamese people are waging the sharpest fight in the world against US imperialism. This fight has brought out more clearly the contradiction between imperialism and US workers (like the GE strike). Most students see the first part, but not the second. We should unite with them in demanding NO NEGOTIATIONS, U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM NOW and win them to a fuller understanding of imperialism. This means setting up anti-war committees in every chapter where we have the strength to do so and initiating agitation against the war and campaigns against ROTC, military recruiters, etc. For instance, at Fordham, hundreds of students fought campus police to abolish ROTC.

In general, we have been sectarian in this regard. At Harvard, for example, we made a leaflet on the theme the Cambridge Project (a computerized counterinsurgency program) serves imperialism the focus of our canvassing. The leaflet barely mentioned the war. The introductory issue of New Left Notes this fall contained an article on imperialism which only touched on the war. Continuing to make the same mistakes - to raise the question of imperialism without uniting with people on the war - leaves many honest people to be misled by McGovern, the New Mobe or RYM -- that is, it leaves no one really fighting the war.

The key thing we must put forward in contrast to the New Mobe, etc., is that there should be no negotiations, because the US government has no more right to negotiate than a thief in another man's house and should get out now. Without this approach, the anti-war movement can be mis-

cont. on p. 9

ELECT THREE NEW OFFICERS

At the June Convention, three national secretaries and a NIC were elected, the officers representing the political make-up of SDS at the time. Since June, SDS has grown tremendously and many of its members have developed a stronger and sharper commitment to building an anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement. The organization's development has been reflected in the leadership as well. Four members of the NIC - Pat Forman (Inter-organizational Secretary), Becky Reavis, Sandy Meyer, and Mike Golash - have become members of Progressive Labor Party. By joining PL, we have made a commitment to fighting for a revolutionary movement to defeat imperialism and to establish a socialist society. The growth of PL is reflective of the ever-sharpening class struggle. Within SDS, PL has played a key role in winning students to fighting racism and imperialism, to fighting on the side of the working class, and in the building of chapters all around the country. New chapters are springing up everywhere with many people never before involved in the movement. As a result the political base of SDS has broadened. The leadership of SDS should reflect its development, and certainly much new leadership has developed through recent campus struggles. To help in building SDS, we feel that the National Council should accept the resignation of three of its officers - Pat Forman, Mike Golash, and Becky Reavis - and elect new officers to replace us.

Pat Forman, Interorganizational Secretary

Resolution on Racism

Dave Wolfensohn
Vic Coffield
Nelly Blacker
Eric Rosenthal
and many others
---all from Berkeley

The US ruling class forces millions of third world working people to work in intolerable conditions. It is the most viciously racist ruling class the world has ever seen. It must be fought by the most forcefully anti-racist movement in history. What this means for SDS is that the main thrust of our work must be an all-round fight against the rulers' oppression of third world working people.

Third World Working People Are the Most Oppressed

The black worker earns \$3000 per year less than the average white worker. 7% of blacks are unable to get any work at all -- more than twice the percentage of white unemployed. The chances are one out of three that a black family falls below the 'poverty level' set by the government at \$3,000 for a family of four. Half of all black families live in housing so bad that even the government classifies it 'sub-standard' and ghetto merchants force black families to spend 10% more money each year than whites do for this housing, food and clothing. (For more facts, see NLN, v. 5, no. 4, p. 4.)

Black and Latin working people are in the forefront of the fight against racism. In the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s, tens of thousands of black working people fought against the armed might of the US government in their struggle for decent jobs and housing and an end to police terror. Militant black caucuses are springing up in factories all over the country. The mounting number of wildcat strikes (not recognized by the unions) have often been organized by black and Latin workers. This storm is also being felt on the campuses across the country. At the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, black cafeteria workers went out on strike because of super-low wages and blatantly racist supervisors and succeeded in leading most of the campus - black and white students and faculty - in a very strong fight against the university boss and the state government. The power of this alliance led by militant black workers resulted in a quick victory.

The militancy and power of anti-racist struggles led by black workers is clear. Black workers, because they are the most oppressed, fight back daily in a thousand and one ways against boss, cop, slumlord and loan shark. This experience in class struggle is what explains the leading position of the black working class. SDS must recognize and follow this leadership. The only way this can happen is if a conscious daily struggle is waged against racist attitudes among students.

The Ruling Class Profits From Racism

Most students think of racism as primarily the prejudiced attitudes that white people have towards people of other races. According to this view, white people in general are responsible for the oppression of third world people. However, when the ruling class pretends to fight racism (with their OEO programs, civil rights legislation, etc.) most students believe they are sincere, and falsely believe racism is perpetuated by the white working class. Students are led to rely on liberal rulers like the Kennedys and Rockefellers to handle the problem. But in fact these are the very people who profit from racism.

As we pointed out above, black workers are paid an average of \$3000 a year less than white workers. This saving goes directly into the pockets of the bosses as extra profits. This super-exploitation is something the ruling bosses (from liberals like Kennedy to conservatives like Hunt) must preserve in order to compete effectively on the domestic and world markets. But bosses gain much more from racism than just direct profit. By lowering the wages of black and Latin workers and keeping large numbers unemployed, they force down (through the resulting competition in the labor market) the wages of all workers.

This material oppression is justified by the set of ideas which says (in various crude or sophisticated ways) that blacks or Latins are inferior and deserve what they get (see NLN, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 4). These ideas which the ruling class pushes keep white and third world students and workers so divided that they are often unable to effectively fight the rotten conditions of this society. For example, in 1968 at the Dodge plant in Hamtramck, Michigan, black workers led a wildcat strike demanding an end to the speed-up (doing more work in the same amount of time)

that was hurting all workers. But the bosses were able to convince the white workers that the black workers were just 'trouble-makers' and the white workers did not support the strike. As a result, it was defeated. Similarly, at CCNY last spring, black and white students fought each other instead of uniting against the administration.

The Ruling Class Pushes Racism

Most students do not believe that the ruling class consciously encourages racist attitudes. We must point out how the movies, books, papers and TV shows that everyone sees daily are reeking with racist slanders against third world people. A few typical examples, not the most blatant ones, sharply point out how well the rulers use the mass media.

Take the N.Y. Times' coverage of the student struggle at Greensborough, N.C. last spring. They wrote, 'Five policemen were wounded today, one seriously, as gunfire crackled here between Negroes using infantry tactics and the police and National Guardsmen.' Then the N.Y. Times goes on to explain how blacks made unprovoked attacks against white truck drivers. All of this without a single mention of the cause of the rebellion. The N.Y. Times, with its staff of hundreds somehow managed to forget to mention that the black students were defending themselves and black students of the local high school from armed attacks by the police. The article was designed to give the impression that a group of wild black people went berserk, attacking everyone in sight; it was designed to build racist fears in white people.

The movies and TV are also used by the ruling class to teach attitudes which separate whites from third world people. This takes many forms. Just one example: In Woody Allen's latest movie, 'Take the Money and Run', Allen is harassed by black youths who pick on him and perpetrate many purposeless acts of violence, like stepping on his glasses. Building this image of black people solidly makes the point the rulers want made: the black people who are leading rebellions, having wildcats, and leading student actions, are being mindlessly wild, i.e. 'white workers and students had better play it safe and side with us, the rulers, who are attacking those roving bands of blacks'.

Racist Attitudes Among the People

Unfortunately this ruling class propaganda is to some extent effective. Perhaps the fundamental way this can be seen among white students is in their reluctance or failure to follow militant third world students' and workers' leadership, and to defend such leadership when attacked by the cops or press. Such reluctance or seeming apathy has been largely based on pacifism.

Part of winning white students and workers to an anti-racist outlook is convincing them of the need for violent self-defense against the government. Students and workers must understand that when they fail to support militant fights against racist super-exploitation because these struggles are violent, they are actually asking the black and Latin communities to capitulate to the ruling class' daily violence of miserable schools, unsafe under-paid jobs, police harassment, etc.

In order to win students to follow third world leadership and to unite third world and white people's efforts to fight racism, SDS must make a particular effort to bring its politics to third world students and workers, to involve them in campus worker-student alliance, anti-ROTC fights, classroom exposures, etc. (see below). When black and Latin people participate in and lead these fights (as at the University of North Carolina and at Duke) the struggle will be harder fought, more

cont. on p. 10



Holy Cross students kick scab GE recruiter off campus

Resolution on Women's Liberation

Randee Russell
Jerry Salak
Kathy Rakochy U of Chicago

Last June, the SDS National Convention passed the resolution 'The Fight for Women's Liberation is Basic to Defeating Imperialism'. It said that the real basis of male chauvinism is the profits made off the double exploitation of women workers. Male chauvinist ideas are created and perpetuated by the ruling class of this country to justify this extra oppression of women. More important, these ideas are used to divide men and women in their fights against the bosses, imperialism, and racism, by keeping women from doing things as 'unladylike' as fighting, and by telling men that it's unnatural to follow the often more militant leadership of women. Thus the fight against male chauvinism cannot succeed if it is seen as separate from the struggle of workers and students against imperialism. This proposal does not intend to repeat what was written and discussed last June; rather, it will try to go further, to relate some of the lessons that we have learned in building CWSA, and give some concrete suggestions of ways to fight male chauvinism.

Male Chauvinism and the Campus Worker Student Alliance

Male chauvinism, and the extra oppression of women, is not just a bad idea. It is grounded in the basic need of the ruling class to constantly increase profits from the exploitation of workers, and its need to maintain power against the workers by any means necessary. This includes dividing working people, and all oppressed people, in many different ways -- including by sex. So women's liberation cannot be achieved by treating it as an idea, a question of life style ('become a liberated woman'), etc. It has to be attacked not only ideologically, but also at its roots -- the double oppression of women workers.

A look at the situation of campus workers shows that universities use male chauvinism in hiring, pay, etc. Women (often black women) get the lowest paying jobs -- as food service workers, secretaries, maids. Usually there is a pay differential between these jobs and similar -- sometimes exactly the same -- jobs given to men (as food service workers, clerks, and janitors, for example). (A good example of this from U of Chicago: a sign went up in a dorm cafeteria for two male workers, \$2.24/hour. Two weeks later, that sign was replaced by one for two women: same job description, different name -- \$2.11/hour.)

These ideas are taught in all disciplines. In art and literature, women are presented mainly as sex objects. Psychology explains why that, in fact, is in the nature of things. Sociology ascribes some of the 'problems of humanity' to women doing a poor job of bringing up children. (E.g., Moynihan's racist and male chauvinist explanation that the 'problem with black people' is that they are brought up by their mothers and not their fathers!! Ideas like these have to be smashed!) And history acts like women never even existed, and certainly never did anything which might influence the course of events. In fact, in many countries around the world, and certainly in the US, women workers fought some of the bitterest class struggles in the history of the entire country. Things like this are covered up by our 'education'.

Male Chauvinism in the Movement

Like racism, and many other ideas we have been brought up with and taught all of our lives, male chauvinism sticks with us and doesn't disappear once we understand that it exists and must be fought. In fact, male chauvinism has weakened

SDS. Some questions which we should think about in terms of our chapters and friends:

What is the percentage of women in the chapter? Why not more?

Do women in the chapter speak up? Do they argue about their ideas? Do they speak at rallies, demonstrations, etc.?

When there are couples: Who does the housework, cooking, etc.? Who speaks up most? Does he encourage or discourage her about struggling politically, ideologically, and physically?

Often - too often - the answers to these questions show that women are not encouraged to really get involved in fighting the ruling class, in learning and teaching ideas, etc. This does not just apply to new people in chapters, but also to people who have been involved for a while. (For instance, we know one case in which an SDSer was attacked by three Weathermen while putting up SDS posters. Three SDS women were with him, but did not help him defend himself!) When struggle with the ruling class gets sharp, there is no reason why women should not be out on the front lines fighting!! Male chauvinism robs the movement of fighters!

Implementation

The ruling class - in this case in the form of the university - justifies this situation by saying that women are 'only secondary income earners'. That is a lie: Women work (often earning only \$60 to \$70 a week) because they have to. When they get home from work, they also have the job of taking care of their children and home. Often, a large percentage of women workers' wages goes to paying babysitters so mothers can work. This whittles the real take-home pay of many working mothers to \$30 to \$40 per week.

In addition, male chauvinist ideas are used to keep women campus workers from fighting back. The most common of these is the idea that women fighting, and particularly taking the lead in fighting, is 'unladylike'. Another is to convince men workers to look down on 'women's' jobs, and women workers. Thus the bosses can create situations in which men and women workers are divided. (For instance, at U of Chicago last year, busboys in a cafeteria wildcatted demanding free meals on the job. Women in the cafeteria resented the fact that the men were paid more than they, and the fact that the men had not consulted them about the walkout -- and they didn't walk out together. The strike was broken.) What really scares the rulers is when these ideas are overcome and the workers unite, like they did at UC hospitals in last year's wildcat strike. When that happened, the administration sent in cops, phony union officials, and everything else they had to break the strike.

In building the Campus Worker Student Alliance, we have all too often overlooked blatant cases of male chauvinist pay differentials and other practices. When we haven't overlooked them, we've been much too mild about exposing and attacking them.

Male Chauvinism and the Content of Education

The US ruling class runs the educational system here, including colleges and universities. This means that, although they are often very subtle about it, they teach students all kinds of lies, distortions, and divisive ideas in the courses we take. Male chauvinism is part of this. Most importantly: (1) students are taught to disregard the oppression of women workers (and, of course, all workers, especially black); and (2) we are taught that women in general, including women students, are mainly for the pleas-



Cyanamid striker vs. cops

ure and service of men, and that they should not fight, be interested in politics, etc.

A. CWSA. SDS should take the lead in exposing and fighting male chauvinist abuses of campus workers, male chauvinist pay differentials, etc. We should closely examine the situations on our campuses, learn how male chauvinism is used, and fight it. For example, we could fight for free day care for the children of campus workers. This would be clearly in the interests of all campus workers, men and women, but would help to lift the additional burden that women workers have.


B. In Class. Instead of letting the ruling class put over its ideas unchallenged, we should be in there fighting. We should try, in class and in the papers we have to write (we have to write them anyway -- why not make them useful?), to convince other students not to accept the various ideas the ruling class is teaching them, especially male chauvinism. Also, this should not be done abstractly: we should show classmates an alternative -- fight male chauvinism, and ally with campus workers.

C. In Chapters. The question of male chauvinism should be taken up in chapters -- not just discussed in workshops every few months at NCs. This resolution and last June's resolution can be used as a basis for discussion in chapters, chapter educational meetings or workshops, special forums on the subject, etc. These discussions should also be practical, and apply the ideas to the particular campus (see A. above). In addition, chapters should figure out ways of getting more women involved in SDS activities: canvassing women's dorms, holding special meetings, etc. Women in the chapters should be encouraged to speak at rallies, etc., also.

Of course, these are only a few suggestions. Much more can be done. If we start taking some steps in this direction now, SDS will be a bigger, stronger force for imperialism to have to deal with in a few months!

FIGHT MALE CHAUVINISM!
ALLY WITH CAMPUS WORKERS!

SDS NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING



**DEC. 27-30
YALE UNIV.
NEW HAVEN
CONN.**

**Registration
and
Housing**

**WOOLSEY HALL
Dec. 27 9-12 noon**

**Early Arrivers
Call:**

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Baltimore, Md.

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Austin, Texas 78701

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Pat Forman
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San Francisco, Cal.

Jim Prickett
806 1/2 N. Rampart Blvd.
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Jared Israel
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Leslie Lincoln
606 Jasmine
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Gordon de Marco
c/o Pat Forman
(see above)
Sandy Meyer
709 W. Cornelia
Chicago, Ill.

Build SDS! Support G.E. Workers

P. J. Matzoukas, CCNY SDS
Keks Dalton, Columbia/Barnard SDS
John Murray, CCNY SDS
Janis Murtaugh, Columbia/Barnard SDS

Rising costs of living and lousy working conditions have forced 147,000 General Electric workers to call a nationwide strike. In addition to fighting the GE bosses, the workers have had to face the cops, National Guard, court injunctions against picketing, sell-out leadership and Nixon's baloney about the 'national interest'.

Thousands of American Workers Affected by Strike

Threatened by workers' resistance to inflation, the ruling class is trying desperately to break this strike. They understand that its success spells increased militancy from other key industrial workers (for example, auto, teamsters, and NYC transit workers are all up for contract renewal in the next few months). This is their test case.

The bosses claim that inflation is caused by high wages. This is a lie. Prices are high because corporations, in competition with each other, have to keep those profits rolling in. The truth is that GE's profits have been increasing at a record rate. Their need to maximize profits and to keep up immense war spending to protect the source of those profits is what causes inflation.



Chicago students boycott Hotpoint

G.E. and the War in Vietnam

General Electric is the nation's fourth largest corporation. It is the second largest government defense contractor. It has 115 foreign subsidiaries and one-quarter of its 400,000 workers are employed abroad.

GE, like all the big corporations in the US, has a big stake in the Vietnam war. Many of GE's foreign investments are in the Far East -- South Korea, Japan, Taiwan. They want desperately to insure the rest of Southeast Asia as a safe place for American investment. Why do the corporations place so much importance in foreign investment? \$1.40 a day legal maximum wage



A car is checked and permitted to pass through picket line at General Electric Hotpoint division plant at 1538 S. 54th Av., Cicero.

for Saigon workers! 25¢ an hour for South Korean workers in American-owned factories! That's why!

Imperialism Hurts Workers in US

These low wages abroad mean super-profits for US bosses. They directly threaten the wage level for all American workers. An example: GE workers are told they can't get wages above the 'competitive level' (average \$6200 a year -- below subsistence level) or the company will move where labor is cheaper. A wildcat in their Schenectady plant in 1966 was broken by this threat. This is why the working class can be brought to fight imperialism. Not only do they pay the most for it, through taxes, inflation and the draft, but they pay to hang the noose around their own necks! It is in their real material interests to fight against the corporations' wars.

Anti-war Movement Needs Workers- Eventually To Lead

SDS feels that the anti-war movement, while it is composed of students, intellectuals and other middle class elements, will never by itself have the power to end imperialist wars. Demonstrations, even those as massive as the Nov. 15 march on Washington, will never do it. The wars are waged to protect present and future super-profits; only the working class, at the point of production, are in the position to strike at those profits and bring the companies to their knees. That's why students, intellectuals and the anti-war movement in general must ally themselves with workers. Otherwise we will be protesting until we are blue in the face. Workers not only can be brought to see their interests in fighting the war -- they must be brought to do so. Because of what it can and will represent, we say that the present strike against General Electric is the most significant struggle against imperialism in the movement's history.

Therefore, we propose the following general strategy for supporting the GE workers on and off campus:

1. Fund-raising. Tables should be set up in cafeterias, student centers and on plazas, students should go from door to door in residence halls, collecting money to help support striking families. The money should be used to buy

canned goods and given directly to rank-and-file strikers -- not to the union bureaucracy.

2. Educational Program. Leaflets, discussions and teach-ins about the strike's and GE's connection to imperialism should be instituted on all campuses. If possible, perhaps some rank-and-file striker could come on campus and discuss what is happening.

3. Boycotting GE Products. Each university's departments should be researched and any GE products that are bought should be boycotted. Tactics would vary -- picketing and/or blocking delivery, preventing already shipped goods from being unpacked until future purchases are cancelled, and so forth. Talk to Buildings and Grounds workers about GE equipment -- they'll know!

4. GE Recruiters. GE recruiters should be blocked, picketed or thrown off campuses. No recruitment for scab managerial positions should be allowed.

5. Picket Line Support at Plants. Small groups from every school within reasonable distance from a striking plant should organize to help man picket lines where needed, or just bring food and literature. This is a great tactic for students new to SDS. We always learn from conversations with the picketers.

6. Always clearly differentiate SDS support for rank and file workers from the support of the DuBois clubs, the New Mobe, and other such groups. They are working hand in hand with the IUE and UE leadership with the condition that they not criticize that leadership. SDS, we repeat, supports the rank-and-file workers.

7. If this resolution is passed, the National Headquarters should print up hundreds of copies to distribute to workers on our next trips to the plants, so that they can know what SDS is doing and why it is doing it.

Student support for GE workers has the potential for bringing new students into SDS on a pro-working class basis. It will be a qualitative step forward for both the anti-war movement and worker-student alliance politics. The Washington rally was a great success. Now it must be followed up!

SMASH IMPERIALISM!

ALLY WITH G.E. WORKERS

CWSA cont.

led by any politician who puts forward the option of 'better negotiations' or 'faster Vietnamization' or 'more troop withdrawals'.

The war is the foremost political issue for most students. The fact that we have not reached out and united with them on this question is another example of our isolation, of our failure to apply the approach of people's war.

Link the War to other Issues

The demonstration in Washington provides us with a model for raising the issue of the war along

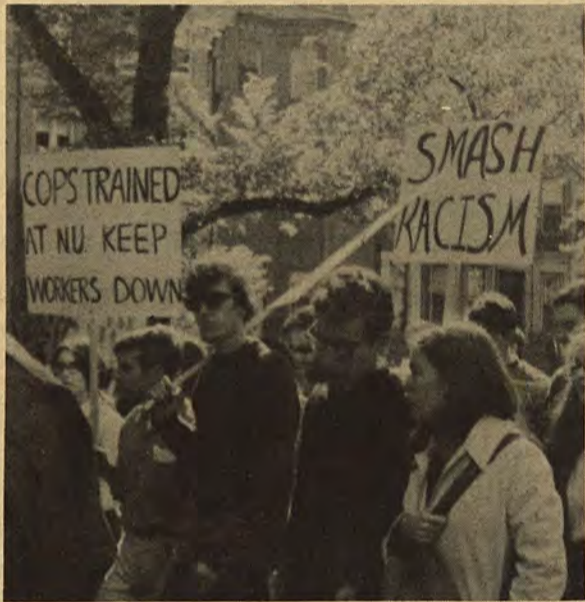
with other issues -- in this case the GE strike. We should apply this approach on campus as SDS at Rutgers has already done, waging a struggle against ROTC and in support of campus workers. We can win people who oppose the war to see that it is part and parcel of a whole system, US imperialism, that is based on the exploitation of working people. Linking anti-war struggles to the CWSA is a forceful and concrete way to make this point. Similarly, this link makes it much clearer that fighting the university bosses alongside of campus workers hits the very roots of imperialism and racism. Doing both should help us to deepen our ties with workers and students and launch mass struggles against the bosses!

Racism cont.

effective, and more likely to be carried through to the finish. This strengthened movement can only weaken white students' racist attitudes.

Racism can Destroy the Student Movement

Racist attitudes are also present in the movement. Last May, for instance, when one white student was shot during the People's Park riots a phenomenal movement against police terror was sparked off in California and all over the country. During the same week, in Greensboro, N.C., a black student was shot while fighting the cops, but hardly anyone noticed. Another example of racism in the movement, again in the People's Park events, happened at a mass meeting. A black student union leader who tried to reach the microphone was literally jumped by some members of the People's Park negotiating committee. A fist fight broke out and soon the whole auditorium was in turmoil. At the next meeting, when a very popular black leader referred to the incident, urging the audience to take a self-critical attitude, he was hissed and booed. The point is that the racist attitudes of students, if left unchallenged, can turn any struggle around. A movement which does not fight the material super-oppression of third world workers will wind up being a racist movement.



How do we go about fighting racism? Primarily through an alliance with campus workers. We also have to inject an anti-racist content into all aspects of our work: our fight against the universities and our support for workers' struggles.

Ally with Campus Workers to Fight Racism

The campus worker-student alliance is the best strategy for SDS in the fight against racism. For one thing, the racist super-exploitation we always talk about is present right here on campus, and it should be fought. Moreover, we must explain to the masses of students our analysis of racism: it is based on the super-exploitation of third world workers. If we merely show it with statistics and far-away examples, we will not win over large numbers of students. The CWSA offers us a concrete and efficient manner of putting forward this analysis to the campus.

For example, at Berkeley, SDS pointed out that black workers are systematically forced into the hardest and lowest-paying jobs; although black workers make up 8% of the total campus employees they make up 90% of the cafeteria staff where the pay and working conditions are the worst on campus. It is around such racist practices that SDS should raise demands. At Harvard a struggle was waged against a racist pay differential. At UCLA and at Yale, militant sit-ins were led by SDS in alliance with third world students, to win back jobs lost by black

workers. Some of these demands will be won and some won't, but the crucial point is that any anti-racist reforms won will be reversed unless an anti-racist consciousness is developed. Otherwise, the administration can renew its attack on the workers, counting on the racist attitudes in the white students and workers to keep the third world workers isolated from support.

Fight All Forms of the Colleges' Racism

The campus worker-student alliance must be the primary focus of our work, for the reasons presented above. However, the colleges (1) propagate racist ideas into the ranks of the working class and its allies, (2) train cops, managers, and officers, and (3) carry out research to strengthen the racist US ruling class -- as well as use racism against their own workers.

These are the most racist aspects of the colleges (in fact they are one of the main reasons for the very existence of the colleges). These aspects contribute to the oppression of the whole working class, especially the third world working class (not just campus workers). Fighting against these aspects of university racism should be part of the overall strategy of SDS: building a worker-student alliance. This strategy is of crucial importance: the working class is most oppressed by racism, and because of its strategic position in society, has most power to fight it. Besides, if we do not struggle in these areas, we will let viciously racist practices go unchallenged. For instance:

1. Racist professors -- At Berkeley, Arthur R. Jensen, one of the heads of the Education Department, wrote an article for the Harvard Educational Review in which he claimed that his research showed that working people's children, especially black children, cannot 'grasp concepts' and can only learn by rote. These ideas, when spread (there were articles on Jensen in every major newspaper) and when put into practice materially (e.g. tracking in the public schools), hurt black working class children.

2. Racist courses -- Most social science classes (sociology, history, 'black studies', etc.) have a racist content, which has gone unopposed far too long. SDSers must begin to critically analyze the ideas being put forward in the classrooms and expose their racist and anti-working class nature in a mass way among students. To do this we must go to classes seriously, and raise our ideas to students by challenging the texts and lectures and by bringing blatant examples to the campus at large.

3. Racist and anti-working class research projects conducted by the universities should be uncovered, exposed, and fought.

4. Fights against police science institutes provide an excellent opportunity to expose to the masses of students on campus the racist and anti-working class nature of the police (e.g. the crack-down on the Panthers).

5. Anti-ROTC struggles should point out that ROTC trains officers to put down the rebellions of black and other third world workers at home and all over the world. Racism, pushed by officers in Vietnam, is what makes it possible for the military to engage in the savage mass murders of peasants and workers. Would the Song My massacre have occurred in an English village?

6. University expansion into third world working class communities is an obvious case of the university's racism. In fighting it we can unite with the neighboring third world workers (e.g. Harvard, Columbia).

Support Workers' Struggles

Another area where racism can be fought is

in support of workers' struggles:

1. In our strike support activities, we should inject an anti-racist perspective, explain the racist practices of the strikers' boss and company and the militancy of black workers. On the picket lines, we can raise the question of racism with the strikers.

2. SDS should organize militant support for black and Latin workers during ghetto rebellions; we should combat the pacifism that prevents the building of such support, pointing out what role the liberal politicians play at such times, what they say about law and order, racist economic oppression, etc. Targets for such actions could be halls of injustice, pig-science institutes, National Guard armories.

Holy Cross cont.

suspension till next September, for all sixteen. Fifteen minutes after the decision, the chairman of the BSU announced that, in view of the racist nature of the decision and of the College, all the black students of Holy Cross (about 70) were withdrawing immediately. About 70 white students also withdrew, on condition that all sixteen be reinstated. On the following day, Friday, the student government, recognizing an opportunity for a student power issue, declared a student strike, putting forward the demand that the sixteen students be given amnesty, as a means of 'getting the blacks back'. The most serious error which we committed was in not combatting effectively enough the student power approach. The result of this was that the struggle against GE and its initial cause were buried under the weight of 'student-faculty committees' and 'ad hoc committees'.

Faced with a rather strong showing of student support, the administration was forced into a corner, and, on Sunday night, the president of the College granted amnesty to the sixteen -- justifying it, however, on the grounds of a 'legal technicality'. In view of the amnesty, the black students returned, as well as the other seventy white students.

An evaluation of the tactic of withdrawal must include the fact that although it was successful in this instance, its effectiveness in future struggles involving demands which would seriously damage the College's pro-imperialist stance (such as the abolition of ROTC) is limited, precisely because it is built upon belief, whether implied or explicit, in the 'liberal' image of the university. It is a passive appeal to the conscience of those who run universities, not part of an active struggle against them. A final criticism, and a most serious one, is the poor organization of the Left during the peak points of the struggle, even though, at times, this lack of organization was due to objective conditions.

A more complete and detailed analysis of the entire struggle, pinpointing key errors, will be given at the NC at Yale.

KEEP UP STUDENT PRESSURE ON G.E!
SMASH RACISM! SMASH G.E.!

Sell NLN

TOWARDS A MASS BASED STUDENT MOVEMENT: THE JUNIOR COLLEGE PROJECT

Jim Rosenholtz, Merritt
Larry Myers, Merritt
Ray Croteau, Merritt
Nancy Croteau, Berkeley
Steve Dennis, Laney
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SDS is centered in the largest and most elite universities. Because of this, its appeal and base lies with middle class students. In the last couple of years, primarily because of the Progressive Labor Party, the main struggle in the movement and in SDS has been to win these students to pro-working class ideas and fighting racism. An example of the anti-working class attitudes held by students in SDS at that time was their reluctance to even agree that there was a working class. Now there is general agreement, at least in theory, that pro-working class ideas must lead in the struggle for change.

If we go along with the theory that the working class is essential in fighting imperialism, then two things become evident. First, that racism is the main contradiction in the working class; it is an ideology that separates white workers and students from the most militant section of the working class and student movement and must be defeated. Second, that a strong worker-student alliance is necessary. This alliance can not be built by students who are pro-working class in theory only. We need to win more students from working class backgrounds to pro-working class politics and engage them in mass struggles fighting racism and imperialism. Otherwise we will be little different from other organizations with pro-working class rhetoric and a mimeograph machine.

Merritt SDS feels that in order to be successful in building a pro-working class, anti-racist movement it is time for the emphasis and practice to be changed from the universities to the junior colleges and state colleges; specifically, those schools with higher percentages of black, brown, and white working class backgrounds. We also feel that the Campus Worker-Student Alliance (CWSA) is the best way to fight racism and anti-working class attitudes. It is the best way to expose the role of schools as that of a boss. Students from a working class background have a material basis for fighting for workers and against racism, as racism in the working class is responsible for the low wages and rotten conditions that always is present when working people are divided and hostile to each other instead of to the boss. Therefore the strategy of the CWSA if carried out properly will be more effective, on a long term basis, on campuses with higher percentages of students from working class backgrounds.

Merritt SDS has found that the bad ideas taught by the ruling class are everywhere. But the perspective of most junior college students is work. It is a little harder to see ourselves in a comfortable job guaranteed by a fat degree. The dropout rate at most junior colleges is around 80%, and most people attending JCs come from and go back to the working class. The percentage of third world students is also much higher at JCs than at other schools. The need for fighting racism is never more clear than when we see ourselves and our families affected by its use, materially. Veterans from Vietnam and other imperialistic ventures comprise a sizable section of the student body. In short, of all college students in California, 85% of them go to junior colleges. On the other hand, most of the work in SDS is centered in the University of California university system and some state schools. Noting this, we feel that far too little emphasis has been placed on the role of working class students fighting racism in a mass struggle and that SDS is failing to reach these

students with pro-working class politics.

In building the CWSA at Merritt College, we saw the type of divisive tactics used by the bosses to break the CWSA. Specifically, the administration at Merritt (black president Norvelle Smith) throughout the struggle allied with black nationalists to heckle speakers and 'white boy' bait at rallies. This tactic was used to build racism and defeat pro-working class politics by saying ally with color (black president Smith) rather than class (campus workers, SDS, and other students). For pointing out the role of the black president, black police science head, and black head boss in the cafeteria, the administration attacked us for being racist, and tried nationalism as a last resort to smash the legitimate demands of campus workers and their student supporters. But we have seen that nationalism is not as strong among black workers and black working class students; it is a luxury which only middle class blacks can afford. The ruling class has been pushing this ideology more and more to black students from working class backgrounds. It is easier to fight this when white and black students have a common class interest. The attempts to use nationalism to divide us failed because we struggled against our own racism and brought home the common class interest of black and white students as future workers. The building of the CWSA also helped to smash the white liberal label on us because we were fighting for demands which benefitted all workers.

This does not mean abandoning the universities. There have been many good struggles against racism fought on these campuses and will no doubt be more. But it is a reality that these universities have a smaller percentage of the student body coming from white, black and brown working class backgrounds. We realize that building a strong SDS chapter at a junior college is going to be a long, hard task. It is not the intention of this resolution to say it will be 'easier' to build within junior colleges and state colleges.

As the student movement now stands, the vast majority of working class students have yet to be reached by pro-working class politics being waged in mass struggles. This must be changed so as to better implement the CWSA and the fight against racism. Racism and anti-working class ideas have been so ingrained in students' heads that direct contacts with working class students and workers is essential. Neither racism and anti-working class attitudes can be fought in a vacuum. The time to start correcting these things is now.

IMPLEMENTATION

1. SDS should set up a pilot project of building or greatly strengthening a chapter in school with high concentrations of students from working class backgrounds, in each region. This Junior College Project (JCP) is to be carried on nationally but implemented on a regional basis.

A. First of all, regions should set up JCP committees to select such a school and recruit SDSers from big schools to go to it. In selecting a school such criteria as percentage of third world students, percentage of students from working class backgrounds, and amount of workers on campus should be considered.

B. Where there are no chapters in such schools, one should be started in the area.

C. Where there are existing chapters, conditions should be assessed as to whether to strengthen them or start a new one.

D. The JCP should begin immediately and a report from each region should be given at the next National Council meeting.

2. At universities, state, and community colleges where the CWSA is not one of the programs, students should still try to get part-time jobs on campus. Cafeteria and custodial jobs are best, because the majority of these workers are third world due to racism. These jobs will help us to understand the workers and their conditions better and enable us to struggle with them politically over our existing programs on campus. It is also important to get to know white workers too. This is an area which in many schools has been neglected. We cannot effectively fight racism unless we fight anti-working class attitudes, as black people are overwhelmingly workers. Friendships with campus workers should not be limited to the campus only, nor should we hold back our political viewpoints. Student workers at these jobs are more likely to be from working class backgrounds also. Whether we are working or not, these ties should be built. Racism and anti-working class attitudes cannot be fought in isolation. Build the CWSA and smash racism where it hurts the ruling class the most -- in the working class!

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The Lottery and the II-S Deferment

Barbara Fisher
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The Lottery is a Divisive Tool

Millions of Americans are fighting against the war, but the corporation owners need to stifle this growing opposition because they benefit from imperialism, making super profits by exploiting foreign labor. The corporation owners employ many tactics to misdirect the anti-war movement, to keep hesitant people on the fringes of the movement, and to keep activists from thinking that a strong anti-imperialist movement is necessary. These owners, who control the government, are enhancing their strategy since the anti-war demonstration at the Pentagon in 1967, where their cops clubbed hundreds of heads. Beside using the 'stick', they are also using the 'carrot' to pacify students' and workers' hatred of the war. In 1968, with the start of the Paris negotiations, the ruling class started its 'good guy' assaults, attempting to lead Americans into believing that there are great disagreements within the government over Vietnam, and that the liberals really want peace.

The phony troop withdrawals and the Moratoriums are other attempts to drive the movement into the arms of the liberals. They will 'bring the troops home now' or even demand 'immediate withdrawal'. The ruling class is using every trick in the book to stop the growth of a strong anti-imperialist student movement which allies itself with workers, not this or that politician.

The latest gimmick that the ruling class has put forward to show how the government 'can respond to the people's need for change' is the draft lottery. This has been the pet project of the bosses' ace liberal, Kennedy, who worked overtime for months to put it through. This is supposed to make us believe that the rulers want a 'fair and equitable draft' for imperialism, the same way the negotiations are a 'meaningful path' to an 'honorable' peace (a peace where the corporation owners keep a piece of Asia).

There is no fair draft for imperialist wars. Working class youth in the Army have no interests in fighting against workers and peasants in Vietnam. Furthermore, the only thing new about the lottery is that it doesn't discriminate against people born in January; instead it takes people born on September 14th first. However, it always takes working class youth. The Army was always overwhelmingly working class. But now the lottery has made things 'fair' -- the Army will still be working class, since student deferments will continue to be given. Even a possible future volunteer Army would be taken from the ranks of the working class. The imperialists are dead-set against changing the class nature of the Army.

Besides building illusions about the fairness of the draft, the lottery divides us students among ourselves and further from workers. Drafting by birthdays, making guys number 1 through 366, is a conscious effort to buy off anti-war militancy and create the attitude that 'I don't have to fight against the bosses as hard because I'm in the last third of the draft lottery'. An example of this is the UICC SDS chapter meeting one day after the drawing: SDSers went around asking each other what number they were, and saying things like 'Oh, too bad, what kind of flowers do you want?' or 'You lucked out!' This is the same type of divisive reaction that people had a few years ago, when students were to be given II-S deferments according to their grade average.

The ruling class is trying to build complacency towards their imperialist war, hoping that young workers further down on the list won't continue to fight back. This is nothing new; the rulers always try their hardest to divide and build hostilities among workers -- to keep them from uniting and fighting against their common enemy.

These ruling class ploys and the divisions



they create must be rejected! They will not make the Vietnam war any less against the interests of the people, and they will not change the nature of the Army. The ruling class isn't interested in ending imperialism or changing the anti-working class draft for the Army; they are only concerned with buying off militancy through building and strengthening liberal ideas, and dividing the people.

The II-s and The Role of Students in Society

Like the lottery, the II-S is a tool that stifles an anti-imperialist movement. Why is there a II-S? In answering this, we have to see what role students play in this society. Most students who graduate from college go on to teach or be social workers or technicians. It is very important to the corporation owners that the people who are in these positions see things similarly to the bosses, so that we will side with them against workers in our future jobs. For example, a function of teachers in this society is to pass on the lies they are taught in college (we live in a democracy where everyone has an equal say or everyone has the freedom to change things, etc.) as well as pass on the attitudes we also 'learn' in college: get ahead by competing against the next person; look to the people with degrees (like lawyers and congressmen) for changing things. Teachers are also taught they are 'professionals' and to look down on the parents of their students. It is no accident, then, that although overcrowded classrooms, bad facilities, and bad pay are caused by the bosses' government channeling money for the war, most teachers do not see allying with the working class parents and students against the boards of education which are run by the businessmen.

The II-s Builds Student Elitism

Anti-working class attitudes are drilled into college students every day. The II-S is an integral part of this. It is a material way in which the bosses try to win us into their camp and divide us from workers. 'You don't have to worry about the war; you're not going to get killed. You're the sensitive ones, and we understand that -- we'll protect you. So it's good to think about the war, but it's not your problem.' In short, the II-S builds the idea in students that they're special, that what they're doing in college is more important and more vital than the rest of the people in society who work for a living, and therefore that student interests are different from those of the masses of the people.

Anti-Working Class Attitudes on the Campus

You don't have to dig deep to see the effects of student elitism (anti-working class ideas).

Go to any campus and you'll find that most students regard the campus workers as 'invisible' or as valets, instead of seeing them as the strongest allies against the imperialist university (who is the boss of those workers and directly oppresses them). Look at any strike by campus workers across the country, and you'll find that students have been used as scabs to break them. The fact is that anti-working class attitudes are rampant among students. The II-S directly feeds this attitude; after all, we can 'escape'. And why not? We're going to carry on; we're the emerging leadership for the country, right? But the ruling class knows that we're not going to really escape; we're not going to have it so rosy after we get out of school, though we won't be oppressed nearly as hard as industrial workers. So they try to win us to seeing things their way in the classroom, and they use the II-S and other things to enhance the package, to make sure that we don't try to build an alliance with workers, to make sure that they can play students for suckers through building elitist attitudes.

II-s Sets Back a Pro-Working Class Student Movement

These anti-working class attitudes are not just something over which we should 'breastbeat' ourselves. They specifically hurt our ability to build an alliance with workers. This can be seen when we first initiated building the campus worker-student alliance. Many SDS chapters, for some reason, couldn't find any substantial workers' grievances to fight around. They all seemed too 'petty'. A worker 'let go' (fired) here; a nasty supervisor there; they just seemed too small. But if some university professor got fired (like Marlene Dixon at the U of Chicago), we would fight hard to get her back. In other words, a professor fired was a 'university issue', but a worker fired is 'business as usual'. We viewed faculty as colleagues in the university community and campus workers as alien to our intellectual environment; thus, by seeing ourselves as special, an attitude which the II-S directly feeds, we continue to separate and isolate ourselves from working people, our most powerful ally.

These anti-working class attitudes also affect our ability to struggle with workers over anti-imperialist politics. For example, on campus there was a real hesitancy and fear in getting to know workers, and in building friendships, and struggling over our ideas about the war and racism. These practices flow directly from regarding workers as not up to par (not smart enough) to understand our ideas. This elitism also builds mistrust of students in workers. Many workers don't think we are serious when we are talking about the bosses' war in Vietnam. 'Why are you making all that fuss? You don't have to worry about going to Vietnam. You've got a II-S.'