

sds new left notes

Vol. 5, No. 2

LESS TALK, MORE ACTION -- FIGHT RACISM

JULY 30, 1969



ALLY WITH CAMPUS WORKERS !

BY EMILY PERKINS, BU.
JAY SARGEANT, BOSTON STATE

SDS has taken big steps in the direction of a worker-student alliance in the last several years. We have spearheaded pro-working class struggles on campuses across the country -- to get the U.S. out of Vietnam now, abolish ROTC, stop imperialist university expansion into working-class communities, fight university racism, etc. Hundreds of us have worked-in for a summer or two, learning from workers and talking our politics with them. We've made many temporary alliances with workers by organizing students to support their strikes against the boss.

Many students are learning to reject the ruling class's propaganda, once very openly argued for within SDS, that workers are disappearing, reactionary, stupid, rich, etc. They have seen that the only student movement worth building is one which serves the interests of working people all over the world, causing the ruling class a great deal of concern (as witnessed by the barrage of anti-work-in propaganda in the press). The basis for going further in building fighting ties with working people has been laid.

Ally with Campus Workers

But the worker-student alliance is still more an idea than a fact. Situations where large numbers of workers and students actually fight the ruling class together, in a really solid, on-going way, are very rare; we have to go much, much further. It is vital, at this time, that SDS and other students build real ties with campus workers, as a step towards developing that alliance with other sections of workers.

As a beginning, we should GET JOBS ON CAMPUSES. This should be done NOW, if possible -- as part of the SDS work-in. We can then keep these jobs on a part-time basis throughout the year, working in buildings and grounds, cafeterias, university-affiliated hospitals, libraries, clerical, etc. There are



Campus Workers are on the Move -- B.U. maintenance workers on strike in fall '66

hundreds of thousands of campus workers who are oppressed by the same boss which brings ROTC on campus and expands into workers' homes and teaches students anti-working class, racist lies all the time. These workers are very severely exploited and in many cases are fighting back against the administration harder than we are. For the most part, SDS has ignored them, except sometimes when their struggles break out into strikes. Yet THESE are the workers who are closest to us, with whom we can get jobs as students, with whom we can work most easily over a period of years. Effective alliances

will be a hundred times more likely to happen and have far more meaning if we work ON THE JOB alongside these workers, face the same exploitation and harassment they face, take part in the daily struggles against the administration-boss, get to know their situation deeply and thoroughly. This approach means organizing student-workers to ally with these full time employees, means building broad support for their struggles among all students. Such an approach involves becoming far more serious -- really upping the ante on allying with workers against Imperialism. It means SDS developing roots among the more working class students. At present, many SDSers live away from school, isolated. As part of the new approach we should all try to live in dorms, learn to take more seriously the problems most people face, win ourselves and others to fighting Imperialism more seriously!

Wait - or Do It Now

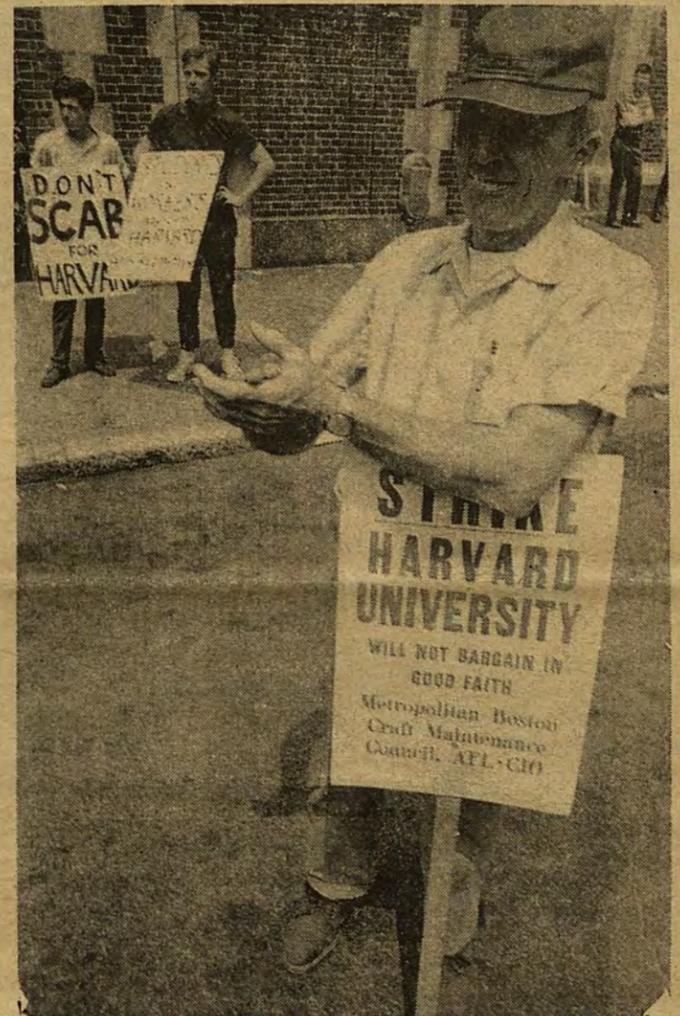
The concept of campus worker-student alliance has been discussed widely in the SDS Work-In, which up to now has mostly involved students taking industrial jobs for the summer. Some work-inners are leery of beginning this project now, in the midst of the work-in. People note that we learn more about capitalism and workers from experiences in factories than from campus jobs. There is a lot to this, but the main question is not what will give us the best experience in the abstract, but how to really build a worker-student alliance! The work-in's most serious weakness is that it has NOT led to a real alliance, but rather has provided learning experience which lays the basis for that alliance. Industrial jobs are good, but not as good as campus jobs in terms of our ability to develop lasting ties based on political struggle. If we get and keep campus jobs, begin to build serious ties with the workers and join them in fighting the administration, that will be a real advance in our understanding as well as a big and necessary step toward a worker-student alliance.

Learn from Past Struggles

The sharpest campus fight this year was probably at Carolina A & T, a Black college in the South where six students were shot, one killed, when the school exploded over workers' right to organize. The issue was the same at Duke. There A THIRD OF THE WHOLE STUDENT BODY was involved in militant support for Black campus workers. Thousands of students battled cops and the National Guard. These were mass student struggles which really struck at the basis of racism -- the ferocious oppression of Black working people!

Such a struggle has many effects. Liberal Duke students discovered that 'their' university is a business operation like any other -- not interested in workers' welfare, not even neutral, but violently opposed to workers winning even the most minimal benefits. Students can begin to see more clearly who is on which side of the class struggle and how fierce that struggle really is.

The effects of such a struggle on the workers is tremendous. In the first place, it helps them win. One of the main ways the administration has broken strikes has been by using students as scabs. Taking this weapon away makes workers stronger. And the knowledge that students will actively support them encourages workers to fight. As student support for workers grows, it will get pretty hard for the ruling class to portray SDS as 'a bunch of crazy rich kids, bent on destruction for kicks'. Imagine the Duke deans trying to tell workers that! And the word will



Harvard Buildings & Grounds workers on strike - spring '67 - with SDS support

spread among working people, making clear that SDS is serious about a pro-working class outlook, that it's not just talk.

In joint struggle against the administration, we can begin to win campus workers to seeing how, for instance, racism works against them and benefits the boss, how the war in Vietnam is a fight by Vietnamese working people against the very same enemy they face -- we can win workers to radical politics.

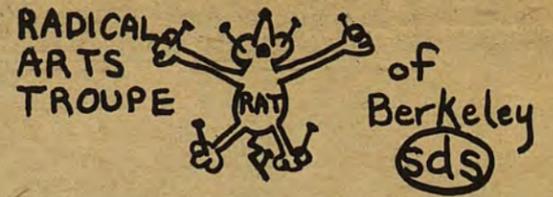
In Self-Criticism...

We should have realized this before. This approach would have made SDS far stronger. In retrospect, we can see many missed opportunities. Thus, in the Boston area, over the past three years, there have been three strikes (at BU and Harvard), narrowly averted strikes at Radcliffe, BU, and MIT, and three attempts of campus workers to unionize -- that we KNOW of. (We only found out about one organizing drive - at BU hospital - because the workers leaf-letted US!)

Now in most cases we did a little work, sometimes quite a lot. But we should have been working alongside these workers, building solid, honest political relations with them. Then we'd have known about and been involved in these struggles from the start. Thus we and other student employees, able to reach out to large numbers of students, could have done a great deal more. One small example of what can happen: After Harvard-Radcliffe SDS stopped a scab truck during a drivers' strike against Gordon Linen (which rents to Harvard), a trucker approached SDS at a Worcester school, 50 miles away, about possibilities of similar action there!

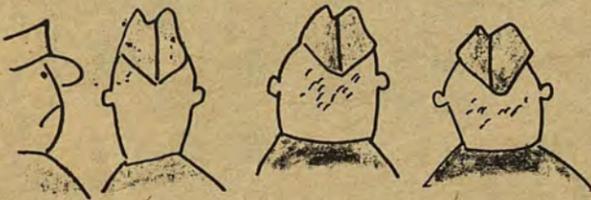
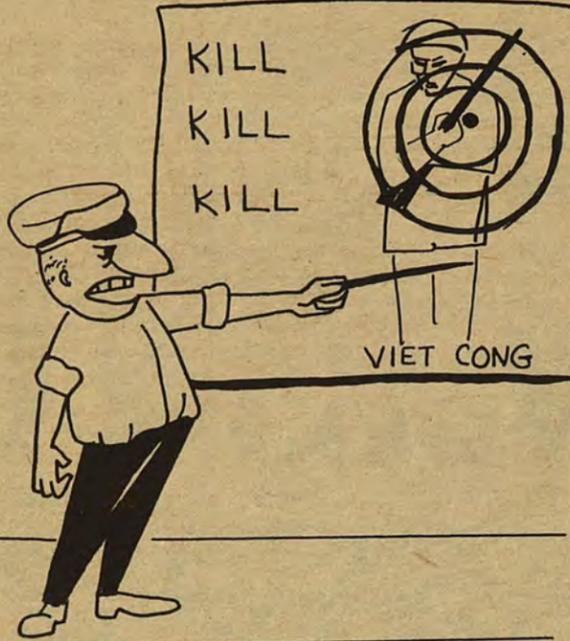
RESERVE LIBERAL TRAINING CORPS

by



ROTC WITH CREDIT ...

ROTC WITHOUT CREDIT ...



Dramatis Personae

- four liberals: professor, chancellor, hippie, student
- commanding liberal
- ROTC leader, and bomber
- Vietnamese
- radical
- Ron Yank (Berkeley sds prof fired for supporting TWLF strike winter quarter)
- Arthur Jensen (tenured Berkeley prof who proved 'scientifically' that blacks are inferior to whites)
- students

Scene One: AT THE TRAINING CENTER

commanding liberal: Forward march! (leads the four trainees in march to gain attention and gather an audience) Company halt! (trainees halt) Right face! (to audience) The Radical Arts Troupe of Berkeley sds presents--

first liberal: R!
second liberal: L!
third liberal: T!
fourth liberal: C!

commanding liberal (pacing): The Reserve Liberal Training Corps. (to first liberal in super-military tones) Are you a liberal?

first liberal: Love me, I'm a liberal (military yell).

commanding liberal: Do you feel like a liberal?

first liberal: Love me, I'm a liberal.

commanding liberal: You have chosen to serve your country, free speech, motherhood, checks and balances, in short, truth, justice, and the American Way!! Your RLTC training has been rough, but after all, becoming a skilled liberal is not easy. Today is your final exam. The first test takes us to the strife-torn rice paddies of Vietnam.

ROTC: (acts like a bomber, arms spread, making plane noises. Zooms around a sitting Vietnamese and bombs him. Vietnamese falls back as if shot. Scene freezes.)

commanding liberal: And what is the correct liberal response?

second liberal: Good. This is an excellent example of brute force met with moral fortitude. (all liberals nod approvingly)

Vietnamese: Moral fortitude my ass! (shoots ROTC bomber, who sputters and crashes)

commanding liberal: The correct liberal response?

first liberal: We feel concerned.

second liberal: It's all so irrational.

third liberal: We cannot condone violence by any party.

fourth liberal: In fact, we deplore the violence of both sides.

commanding liberal: Both sides?

all liberals: (pointing to Vietnamese) Both sides!

commanding liberal: A plus! You have mastered the art of double deploring. Now we test your ability to use that one word every liberal must know. You start (to first liberal).

first liberal: Getting into Vietnam was certainly a mistake--- (liberals all flash cards at the audience, reading in sequence B-U-T-I)

all liberals: But!

second liberal: Getting out is no solution. (all liberals hide cards behind their backs)

third liberal: Minority groups are underrepresented on campus---

all liberals: (again flashing cards) But

fourth liberal: They're dumb... uh... unqualified.

commanding liberal: Ah yes, brilliant butology. And the last speaker brings us to the troublesome problem of the neg.. bla... rac... the colored difficulty. Listen to this extremist.

radical: Exploitation of Third World people is no slogan; it's a brutal fact. (points to chart with graphs) Third World high school graduates earn less than white high school drop-outs.

third liberal: But this is all so one-sided. Let's see what the government and corporations are doing for these people. (enthusiastically turns back side of chart to audience; it is blank. He looks down, embarrassedly mumbling)

radical: What the government is doing for Third World people is sending them to fight and die on the front lines in Vietnam and terrorizing their communities with police and other minions of law and order.

fourth liberal: Four hundred years ago these people were savages, a hundred years ago they were slaves. Change takes time.

all liberals: (chanting rhythmically) Slow down, you move too fast, you've got to make the morning last.

commanding liberal: Groovy! You guys are outstanding liberals. In fact (he begins to cry) this is one of the best classes (sniff) ever to graduate from RLTC.

all liberals: (hum graduation music and march around in a circle until lined up facing the c.l. They wait to receive their diplomas)

commanding liberal: (to first liberal) You will serve your government as a faculty member. Here is your diploma (hands toilet paper to liberal), your tenure, and the keys to your home in the suburbs (hands keys)

first liberal: That sounds like a viable alternative (walks solemnly to the other side of the stage)

commanding liberal: (to second liberal) You will serve your country as a professional hippie. Here is your degree (hands toilet paper to liberal)...

second liberal: Man, these diplomas give me bad vibes. (throws paper away)

commanding liberal: ...and your utility belt (hands liberal a rope with a plastic bag tied to it. Bag contains grass -- literally)

second liberal: A new belt, far out. (walks to other side of stage)

commanding liberal: (wiping eyes with flag, in emotion) Son (to third liberal), a great responsibility weighs on your shoulders. You will be a student power advocate! Here is your diploma, and the latest copy of Time magazine. (hands third liberal toilet paper and a Time magazine)

third liberal: (walks to other side of stage with fingers in 'V' salute) Be sure to vote.

commanding liberal: And last but not least, you (turns to fourth liberal) will serve the system as a Chancellor. Here is your diploma, and book of university regulations. (commanding liberal hands toilet paper and a large book)

fourth liberal: (holding up paper) Has it gone through the proper channels? (sniffs toilet paper) Ah yes! (walks to other side of stage) (telephone rings)

commanding liberal: Hello, RLTC emergency service department. A riot, I see... Calling ROTC racist and imperialist, oh dear! We'll send our very best liberals immediately! (turns to liberals) We've got an assignment. We're going (hesitates; liberals listen expectantly) to Harvard!

liberals: Woe! Harvard! We're off to Harvard! (assemble in formation and ride off, as if horses, driven by the commanding liberal. Lone ranger music)

Scene Two: AT THE UNIVERSITY

(students stand on one side of the stage, while ROTC, c.l., and liberals stand on the other)

ROTC: By Schlesinger, we're saved. The liberals are here!

radical: The liberals will try to mislead our struggle against ROTC.

ROTC: We train 70% of the officers for the US Army.

radical: ROTC trains 70% of the officers for the US Army.

ROTC: We risk our lives to defend the American Way of Life all over the world.

radical: Half the ROTC graduates in Vietnam die protecting the economic interests of a few.

ROTC: We also handle riots at home.

radical: They also suppress black rebellions.

ROTC: Therefore, ROTC must stay!

radical: Therefore, ROTC must go! Smash ROTC! students: Smash ROTC!

commanding liberal: (to student power liberal) Promise them anything, but save ROTC.

student power liberal: (rushes at students) Look, I agree we must purge our university of such evils as ROTC, but ROTC is just symptomatic of a larger ill. As Time Magazine says (he reads), 'Harvard is a large impersonal institution with a faceless administration. The answer is to restore democratic governance on the campuses.' What I'm talking about is student power. (takes out strings and gestures to student to come forward) If we fight hard enough, we can get this trustee here (the commanding liberal) to share some of his power with us. (ties student's hands with string and gives string to c.l.) For instance, a student-faculty senate to run the university. (now ties up legs and gives string to c.l.) And with power like this, you can do anything.



student: But what about ROTC?

student power liberal: Well, not quite anything. Here, have a federal grant (stuffing money in student's mouth)

student: (spits out money and breaks strings) Smash ROTC!

all students: (cheering) Smash ROTC!

second student: Go play in your sandbox!

commanding liberal: (to student power liberal) Go play in your sandbox, kid. They didn't go for you, but surely they'll respect the opinion of a faculty member.

liberal faculty member: (walks towards students, reads from student newspaper) 'ROTC is not only antithetical to the ultimate purposes of higher education, but contrary to basic pedagogical principles as well. Its course materials are blatantly propagandistic and cheaply moralistic.' So in order to re-assert the sanctity of academia, we propose a seven-year plan to gradually take credit away from ROTC.

(cont. p. 3)

STUDENTS HELP WORKERS

FIGHT RACIST BOSS

by Rich Schneirov, Eric Thor, Jane Friedman, U of Illinois Circle

About 135 Chicago workers recently won a militant strike against Follot's Textbook and Book Store Co. Students from the SDS Mid-West Work-In joined the picket line and played an important role in helping the workers strike a blow against racist sweat-shop conditions.

The Deep Myth of White Skin Privilege

One of the main issues the strike raised was that inside Follot's the Black women, mostly production and warehouse workers, got \$1.50 to \$1.90 an hour. Most of the women had to support families alone on these starvation wages. There was no seniority system; one woman was still getting \$1.90 after 23 years. In order to divide the workers and make more profit, Boss Follot hired white students off the streets for \$2.00 and \$2.50 an hour. The Black women, with more seniority and lower pay, were then asked to train these students to do their own jobs! Boss Follot also hired mostly white office workers, paying them at least 10¢ an hour more to make them think they benefitted from the extra exploitation of the Black workers. Thus, during the strike, the production and warehouse workers walked out almost 100%, but the mostly white office workers and students scabbed, falling for the bosses' lie this time. The union (Retail Wholesale Department Store's Union--RWDSU) helped the boss along by failing to organize the white workers, implying that they had no common interests with the Black workers and thus building racism. The result is that many of the white office workers are left out of the benefits won by the strike.

In our support activities, we concentrated on trying to persuade student scabs not to go in. We made the point that by scabbing students were putting their selfish interests first -- making a few bucks for school at the expense of regular workers fighting for their livelihood. We also said that they were scabbing against their real interests, because the extra ten to fifteen cents they were making was a temporary bribe if the boss broke the strike. With the union smashed and no unity on the job, Boss Follot could ride roughshod over all the workers. We persuaded several scabs from going in to work and our presence and leaflets sparked a walkout of at least ten scabs before a bargaining meeting. At the next meeting the company surrendered.

RAT (cont.)

radical: ROTC with credit (ROTC shoots machine gun at the audience; everyone makes the noise of a gun)
ROTC without credit. (ROTC again shoots machine gun at the audience; again, everyone makes noise of a gun)

students: Smash ROTC, thoroughly, wholly, resolutely, and completely!

liberal faculty: But what about academic freedom?

radical: Academic freedom at work--- Jensen (see dram. per.): Hey boss, guess what I found? Third world people are dumb, and you're smart!

commanding liberal: You get tenure!

Yank (see dram. per.): Guess what I found out: You oppress Third World people, and we must unite against you!

commanding liberal: You're fired!

radical: Academic freedom is a fraud. Let's take university hall!

liberal faculty member: Oh, you poor idealistic, misguided youth, (wailing) Someday you'll understand what I'm trying to tell you, (exits)

commanding liberal: (wringing hands) This has been a bad, bad day for academia. (turns to liberal hippie) But certainly, our professional hippie can recapture their spirit! Blow their minds, baby!

liberal hippie: Look, man, this isn't where it's at. You talk about revolution, I can't relate to that. You gotta free your mind instead. It's gonna be alright.

ROTC: It's gonna be alright.

liberal hippie: Let's go groove in the park. (offers

RYM Plays Liberal Role

Members of the 'Revolutionary Youth Movement' (RYM) came down to the picket lines. Their theoretical position on racism - that white workers and students make a deal with the boss and get white skin privilege from it - is the same as Follot's line that white workers benefit from the extra exploitation of Blacks; but, despite their claims that understanding this position is key to class consciousness, the RYMers' leaflets didn't raise it. They talked only about the immediate issues of the strike, failing to put the struggle in an anti-imperialist context. They talked a lot about students paying high prices for text books at Follot's, an argument that was somewhat abstract to the students, relating to them only as consumers -- but they didn't point out the need to ally with working people. But worse, none of their arguments confronted the racism of the white workers and students.

Build a Student Movement that Sides with Workers

Later in the strike we learned that the U of Illinois Circle campus employment service was actively recruiting students to scab, advertising \$2.00 and up per hour, with a '\$100 bonus'. (They didn't say for scabbing.) In light of this, we decided to leaflet the campus, call a meeting where students could talk to rank and file strikers, and picket the employment service. We intended to make the point to students that the university is not neutral, it sides with the bosses. We also tied this in with our program on campus, saying that like cops and ROTC, the employment 'service' is really just a service for the bosses provided by the universities. Like the workers and students at Follot's, our leaflet said, we needed a worker-student alliance to defeat cops and ROTC. The strike was won before we had a chance to picket or bring workers on campus, but we did have a meeting on campus and our leaflets led to increased interest. In fact, one student we met joined the work-in.

The main thing that we learned was that while strike support does help workers materially, the main effect is on us, students, in helping us to see more clearly the need to build a pro-working class movement on campus.

students a joint)

students: (reject joint) Getting stoned won't smash ROTC! (liberal hippie floats away)

commanding liberal: What a bummer! (turns to Chancellor) You're our last chance, Chancellor.

Chancellor: (scowls but suddenly bursts into enthusiastic smile) Hi gang! Come on in! (motions them toward him) I've been meaning to get down and meet each of you personally but I've been too caught up in this damned bureaucratic paper work. Gee, if only you had gone through the proper channels, this mess would have been cleared up long ago. But that's okay because I agree with much of what you say... After all, we're all revolutionaries nowadays! Now come on, let's stop this strike business and get the ball rolling.

all students: (chase him off stage) Smash ROTC! No expansion!

Chancellor: (reels back but returns wearing pig mask and beats students) Police! Police! Oink! Oink! (all students fight back and chase C. away again. All liberals sneak into audience)

student: Is this the end of the liberals?

radical: No, we haven't seen the last of those fiends. (turns to audience) People, BEWARE, when last sighted, they were headed towards... Berkeley!

A plea for contributions is made at this point. Liberals are in audience whispering 'student power... free your mind... academic freedom... rules and regulations...' etc.

Raise Our Political Ideas with Workers

During the French rebellion of last spring, radical students started out on campuses, but ended up at the factory gates talking to workers. This helped spark the workers' rebellion there. One important way we can build a student movement that serves the working class is by raising our political ideas in a mass way. At Follot's many of us began to see much better the need to struggle politically with workers on the line. This meant talking about imperialism, racism, male chauvinism, the rotten nature of the university, and explaining what SDS is



doing and the need for a mass worker-student alliance. We passed out leaflets from our campaign to abolish ROTC and throw cops off campus to help our discussions with the workers.

During the strike we found a number of obstacles to political struggle with workers. The main problem was breaking down our own sectarian, anti-working class attitudes. In the beginning of the strike we often failed to say why we were there or were very abstract in our reasons. Often we looked at talking to workers as a duty. Talking about these problems among ourselves in the work-in and pinpointing them helped. We found that making it clear we were there to fight a common enemy - not as Christian dogooders - broke down both the workers' and our own liberalism, making better political discussion possible. The workers then knew they could raise disagreements without losing our support.

Another obstacle we encountered

during the strike was the attitude among some students, both in the work-in and at Follot's, that we were just 'using' or 'exploiting' workers in order 'to try to bring up our politics'. We explained that correct politics are necessary to the success of workers' and students' movement, both in the short and long run. At Follot's, for example, a special fight against racism is key in the fight for better conditions, as well as to defeat imperialism. The argument that by raising our politics we were 'using' the workers is also anti-communist. The ruling class always is telling working people that students, intellectuals, radicals and communists have no common interest with them in



their struggles, but rather only want to use other people's struggles for their own deep, ulterior, self-serving motives.

Build Ties with Workers

At Follot's the personal friendships we built with many of the workers was invaluable. It meant that when the union leadership said they didn't want any anti-imperialist politics in our strike support leaflet, we could go to the rank and file, explain the situation, and get their approval.

Only by building friendships with workers on the basis of political struggle can we get our ideas across in a meaningful way and build ties that will last past the immediate struggle. Making lasting friendships with workers is necessary for the strategy of building a worker-student alliance in practice which can eventually smash imperialism.

Work-In Contacts

As the summer goes on it gets harder to locate (politically) good jobs. Below is a list of Work-In coordinators in various regions. Contact them soon for more information, or write the N.O. directly.

NEW YORK/MID-ATLANTIC - Janet Foley, 2553 Decature Ave., Bronx, N.Y. (212/367-8785)

NEW ENGLAND - John Berg, 51 Norfolk Ave., Cambridge, Mass. (617/354-6526)

MIDWEST - Cathy Rakochoy, 1324 East Hyde Park Blvd, Chicago, Ill. (312/548-7523)

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA - Liz Dewitt, 264 Coleridge St., San Francisco, Cal. (415/282-4845)

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA - Steve Lippman, 500 Land Fare Ave., Westwood, Los Angeles, Cal. (213/469-9070)

SOUTH - Ed Clark, c/o New Orleans MDS, Box 2647, New Orleans, La.

National Office: 173A Mass. Ave., Boston, Mass.

617/267-6152

Report on Oakland United Front Conference

On July 18, the three-day United Front Against Fascism conference convened in Oakland. The conference included speeches on how various groups should oppose 'fascism', and on 'community control (decentralization) of police'.

Called by the Black Panther Party (BPP) along with the 'Communist' Party (CP), the conference was endorsed by various liberal and 'radical' groups and individuals.

Hardly a conference, the meeting was really one long lecture. The same theme was repeated over and over. Throughout, disagreements - even questions - were squashed. 5000 attended the first night, but that soon dwindled to one-tenth the number, only reaching 2000 briefly at the very end. Most delegates were white students; perhaps 10% were Black. Many delegates left disgusted, and most thought the conference had failed. They found speeches thoroughly irrelevant to actual struggles and were turned off by the attempt by 'Revolutionary' Youth Movement (RYM) and Panther goon squads to intimidate disagreement away. In general, people disagreed with inviting ruling class agents - Black cops, 'liberal' Democrats and the anti-people 'Communist' Party - while pro-working class people, including SDS and PL members, were barred. Most important: many rejected the political strategy of the conference.

The first session included speeches by CPer Herbert Aptheker (who dominated the evening), Bobby Seale (BPP) and Carleton Goodlett, millionaire editor of a Black 'community' newspaper, the Sun Reporter.

They all said the same thing: We've got to fight 'fascism' which is the rule of 'avaricious businessmen', 'lying politicians', and, above all, 'fascist pig police'. The key is uniting all 'anti-fascist elements' including those in the ruling class (?). The main obstacle is the centralized police structure. The main task is to vote ourselves control over the cops. Kick out the old pigs and elect new ones who will be stationed in the neighborhoods they 'protect'.

CP Liberalism

This line of thought -- which appeals to people's fear of current repression and is defended by accusing its opponents of wanting to see the Panthers wiped out -- is not a new strategy. Many SDSers are familiar with it as the politics of the 'Communist' Party. Most of us have rejected the CP -- in fact we figured it was pretty much dead and gone. But at the conference, it became clear we've been dead wrong! The CP represents a very real threat to the growing, militant, anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement. The CP has developed a close alliance with the top BPP leaders. With that as a cover, the CP tried to capture the movement at the Oakland conference. The conference was a flop. But the bid will continue, and, especially with the BPP's national leadership as allies, the CP shouldn't be underestimated.

Backing 'Liberal' Imperialism

The CP sees a split in the ruling class between 'liberals' and 'reactionaries' as key. The 'reactionaries' are vicious elements who want fascism while the 'liberals' oppose it. They're so opposed, in fact, that they will possibly ally with the people -- from whom they've squeezed out a fortune! The CP therefore pushes a strategy of backing ruling class 'liberals' against the ever-present threat of a takeover by the 'ultra-right'. Thus the CP has supported and worked for one 'lesser-of-two-evils' candidate after another. JFK, LBJ, Lindsay, McCarthy -- the CP splits hairs to back the 'good guy'. Thus, in 1965, the CP's People's World (1/30/65) claimed: 'Pres. Johnson's concern with the nation's domestic well-being is unquestionably genuine.'

Every liberal illusion that in practice holds people back from fighting imperialism, every liberal lie is pushed by the CP -- from peaceful coexistence internationally, to voting in fundamental change at home.

Vote for LBJ or else Goldwater will get you! Back Reuther -- he's not as bad as the KKK, right? And Lindsay -- would you rather be clubbed to death in the subway by roving fascists?

But LBJ delivered on Goldwater's promise to bomb North Vietnam. JFK had planned that bombing several years before. And it was the great bulwark against fascism, Mayor Stokes, who called out cops and National Guard against Black working people in Cleveland. And labor's 'friend' Reuther has been breaking strikes and crushing every rank-and-file movement in the UAW for years! And McCarthy admitted he was just trying to 'get the kids off the streets'. (As another of his activities, he lobbies for drug companies -- or perhaps they are also 'good imperialists'?) It was RFK who okayed the 'ultra-extreme-right-wing' wire taps that were placed on various Black leaders' phones. And the Poverty Agency which the CP helps build all over the country -- it's controlled by the same government which sends out similar pacification teams to defeat the South Vietnamese people!

There is ONE ruling class! To be sure, the bourgeoisie has certain internal differences. But these are a matter of timing and style. Reagan uses sweet talk, and violence. So did LBJ. (Remember Watts!) Same with Lindsay (a 'good guy'), and the 'somewhat bad' Nixon. (How does he differ from the last 20 presidents?) Is Carleton Goodlett, a leader of the CP-BPP 'United Front', any better than any other newspaper boss? Maybe the cops and scabs he used for union-busting in his 'community' newspaper were also 'anti-fascist elements'?

Which politicians are not 'demagogic liars'? Which businessmen are not 'avaricious' bastards? And perhaps we should say, then, that all those college presidents who attacked SDS with cops are 'good' now that they've told Congress not to pass special laws but rather 'let the schools handle their own'. Are they now anti-fascist? Are cops controlled by 'good' poli-

ticians (Stokes, Lindsay) anti-fascist, and those sent out by 'bad guys' (Reagan) not similarly tainted?

Differences exist. But they are not over WHETHER OR NOT to crush the people's sharpening fight against the tightening capitalist screw, the daily worsening of conditions which are faced by most people -- especially Black working people. How can the people ally with those who feed on the people?

What the rulers quibble over is: How should we use which tactics at what time? Besides that, their 'differences' are strictly phony. Depending on who they are trying to con, they use a different approach. Their act creates the illusion of choice. Millions are coming to see through this farce, despite the CP's best efforts to paint the circus tent red so as to preserve the illusion.

BPP leaders have been moving closer to the CP for months. One example is the increasing influence of CP-line lawyer Charles Garry, who heads Huey Newton's legal defense. The Panthers once said that 'unless Huey goes free, the sky's the limit'. Everyone understood this pretty clearly as, let us say, a call for collective militancy. But Garry gave the slogan a new interpretation. The sky, he noted, is the Supreme Court! Thus, the people don't need mass struggles, they don't need rebellions. Some 'good guys' on the Supreme Court will save us from 'bad' local pigs. Who does Garry think is giving these local pigs their orders?

The BPP leaders didn't fire Garry for his POLITICAL ATTACK on their previous stand. Instead he was called a 'Lenin of the courtroom' and made a veritable BPP spokesman!

Good Pigs?

'The only good pig is a dead one,' used to be the BPP slogan. They argued that Black people can't depend on ANY member of the ruling class, that they must defend themselves, in a militant way, based on class understanding. This approach produced great respect among Black people around the country. Huey Newton was a hero to millions.

But now, BPP national leader Bobby Seale says:

'Community control of the police itself is in fact directed to the ballot. The community control of the police concept is related to a petition that is to be circulated in every city. You get a percentage of the voters in that city to sign the petition, thereby it automatically goes on the ballot where the masses of the people themselves can in fact vote to decentralize police departments. Naturally electoral politics is going to be affected by the conference because the conference is going to deal with whether or not it's going to support politicians who do not stand up against fascism. This will be the machinery all across the country to let the politicians know that we will not vote for you and we will in fact work for that politician who works for community control of police and who stands for the end of fascism and the other points that come out of the conference.' (Black Panther, 7/12/69, emphasis added)

In other words, the only good pigs are... pigs the people 'control'? From advocating relying only on the people - and this idea is really the essence of the countless Black rebellions - the BPP leaders have adopted the CP stand: rely on politicians who back liberal stands.

Is Fascism Coming?

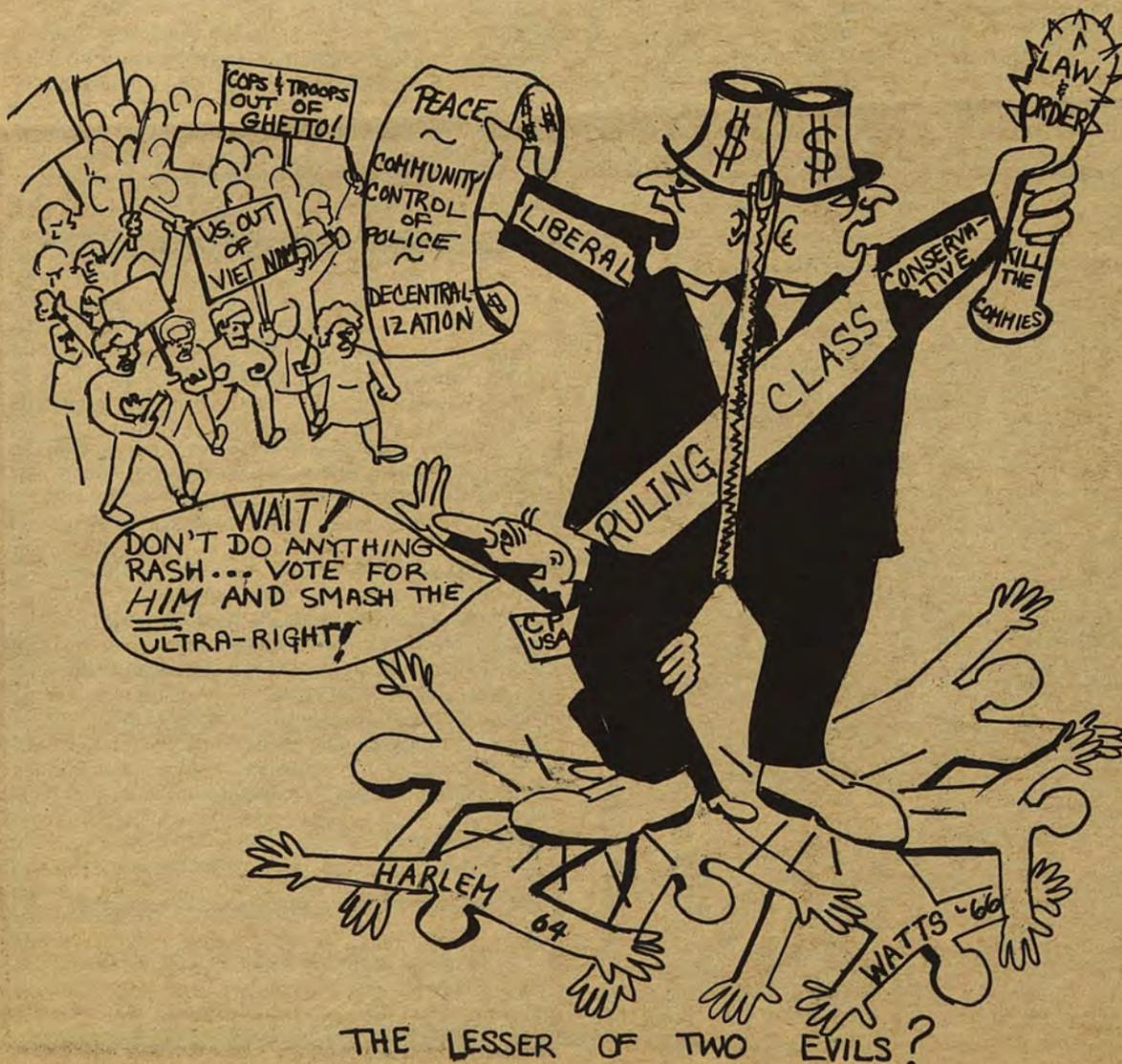
What is fascism? What are we supposed to unite against? Without attempting a full discussion - impossible in this article - some things should be talked about.

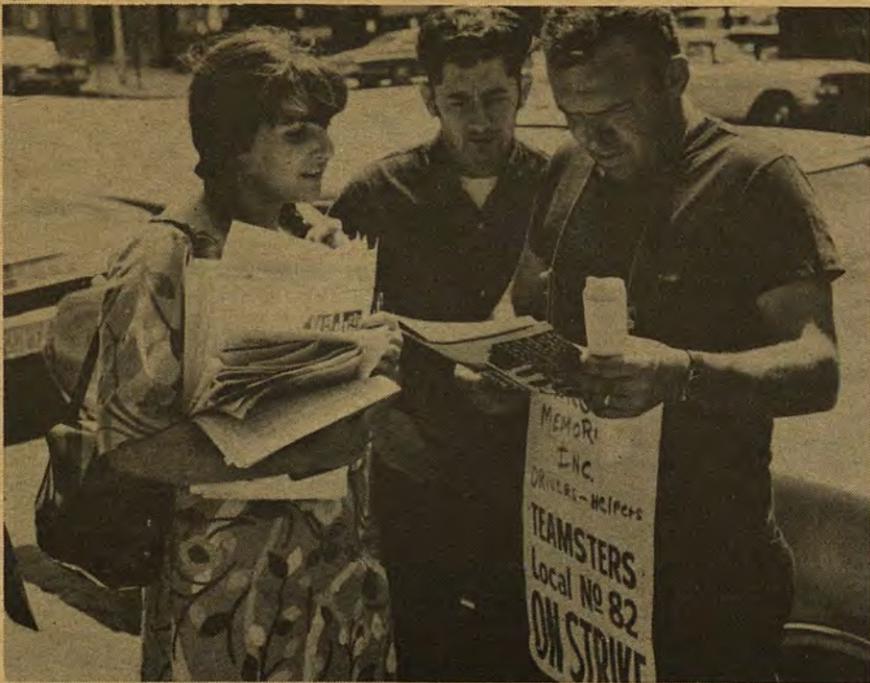
Fascism does NOT mean a change in who runs things. The bourgeoisie owned the industries, banks, etc., in Germany in 1923, when bourgeois democracy existed, and they controlled the government -- it was THEIR government! That remained the same in 1933, under fascism! Fascism meant that the terror that is ALWAYS present under bourgeois rule was far more open. No opposition of any serious kind was permitted. So-called bourgeois freedoms (speech, press, etc.) were dropped. The soft covering was removed from the bourgeoisie's hob-nailed boot.

In terms of the social base of the regime, the rulers dropped all appeals to 'liberal' ideology and openly cultivated everything decadent, built on every reactionary tendency among the less clear sections of the middle class and to a lesser extent, among workers.

Two things are key. First, this was not a matter of a few 'ultra-rightists' taking over. The big bourgeoisie backed fascism! They backed it because it was ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY to them. There was a great and increasing danger of communist revolution. That takes us to the second key point: millions of workers actively backed reds. The ruling class instituted fascism for the same reason they sent troops to the Congo. To stay in business.

Now, this is not the case right now in the U.S. Black and white workers have not been organized into





Boston Morgan Memorial drivers on strike- SDSer talks over leaflet and New Left Notes

S.D.S. NEEDS MONEY

In order to develop an organization that can best serve its chapters in their struggles against the ruling class we need to continue and increase an interchange of ideas and experiences among its members. This can be done through the articles and letters in New Left Notes and a good literature program... but these things take money. When the RYM walked out of the Chicago Convention, the SDS treasury went with them. In order to defeat the split and build SDS we'll need \$\$\$\$. We had to borrow to put out the first two issues of NLN, and we'll have to borrow more to put out the next one if money isn't sent in. This is a political problem and must be dealt

with as such. We must pay more than lip service (e.g. \$\$\$) to fund raising, in fact we should make it an important part of our work. (Have fund raising parties and dinners, show films -- there are plenty of ways to raise money that work. If you think of ideas send them in!) If you're not paid up send us \$5, if you are send any spare money you have. Also, we must develop new files, so send in lists of all national members with names, addresses (and zip codes) and, if possible, membership expiration dates.

Membership cards and copies of the SDS constitution are available now. Please include, with your order, the necessary postage.

United Front Conference cont. from p. 4

a gigantic force by communist or other anti-imperialist leaders. Most of the titanic class struggle that's going on - especially Black rebellions and wildcat strikes - is not linked with left-wing leadership.

The ruling class always dislikes fascism. They would much prefer to rule with a cover of liberal illusion. (This, of course, allows them to use force -- the point is, the force is better disguised, less likely to be seen as the weapon of a class.) Fascism is only introduced as a desperate measure, when bourgeois democracy just won't work any more!

Most people in the U.S. still accept liberalism to some extent -- whether it's the liberalism of Kennedy, McCarthy, Humphrey, or just lots of liberal ideas. Despite many doubts, despite a context of sharpening class struggle, there is not yet a massive revolutionary awareness among millions of people. So the bourgeoisie DOES NOT NEED FASCISM. We are not such a threat yet.

'Nice Cop - Nasty Cop'

There's a lot of repression. Many - especially BPP members - are being attacked sharply by the rulers, both 'liberal' and otherwise. We must defend these people! But this repression - while serious - is not a new thing in U.S. history. As black and white workers know too well, in the 1930s, hundreds were killed and wounded in single strikes -- for example, the infamous Republic Steel massacre. In the Palmer Raids, many were beaten and deported to countries where they were jailed or shot. The rulers have always used the stick to defeat movements.

So repression exists. It has two uses. One is to simply crush the people's movements. A subtler function is at this time probably more important. That function is to defuse the movement's politics. The rulers figure that after a good beating with the stick, the carrot will look more attractive.

That's an old cop trick. Two cops interrogate someone. The first - 'Bad Cop' - punches the prisoner around, cursing him, turns on the bright lights. The works. After awhile, the second - 'Nice Cop' - enters. 'Cut it out,' he warns 'Mean Cop'. 'Don't treat this guy like that! Put that goddam rubber hose away!' 'Bad Cop' sulks out. Offering the prisoner a cigarette, 'Nice Cop' comforts him. Then he offers some friendly advice. 'You'd better come clean. There's no telling what 'Bad Cop' is apt to do!'

That is essentially what was done to the BPP. When Huey called for armed self-defense, the rulers

pulled out the stick. Faced with what they conceived as unbeatable power, the leaders have dropped their militant stand and adopted the CP's approach. (They took the advice of 'Nice Cop'.)

The irony is tragic. The BPP was faced with repression -- much of it from 'liberal' imperialists. The BPP leaders took the line that fascism (which the CP convinced them is the 'ultra-right') is coming. Then they switched their attack from the BOURGEOISIE to the 'RIGHT-WING'. Now they're pushing the politics of reforming a PART of the state, which the bourgeoisie controls COMPLETELY! Having once stressed the need to fight the rulers, they now wish to ally with the (huge) 'liberal' section of the bourgeoisie -- to reform a group (the police) who they once said were only good when dead! Once leading the most militant large group of Black people, they are now aligned with the most reactionary force on the 'left' -- the CP!

The CP Bears Poisonous Gifts

The BPP was vulnerable to this 'make-them-change-their-politics' attack because of an internal weakness. BPP leaders lacked faith in working people's ability to defend revolutionaries. That alone can explain why they turned to the CP. The CP is experienced and well organized, with lots of money, contacts, and big-time lawyers. The CP was quick to take advantage of the BPP leaders' position and their lack of faith in the people, while the BPP national leadership compromised militant politics to 'meet the urgency' of the situation. As the strings attached to the CP's aid have tightened, as the CP has won the BPP national leaders more and more to their theories, they have found themselves in a position to gain far greater influence in the movement. So we have the fruits of the alliance: the Oakland conference. From their position of strength (they hope), the CP is trying to force 'community control of police' and 'oppose the ultra-right' on the entire movement. THIS MUST BE DEFEATED!

Rely on the People!

This sort of thing really happens often -- on a smaller scale. That is, in many struggles, we water down our politics under the threat of repression. But, as in all cases, the people CAN in fact be relied on! This can be seen from past experience of the BPP. The key reason Huey Newton is alive is that the power structure knew that sending him to the chair

"GENERATION GAP" SERVES BOSSES

by Kit Meade, staff

We learned a valuable lesson at a plant in the Boston area after only a few weeks of work: The bosses use the so-called 'generation gap' to separate older workers from younger workers and students. Younger workers were persuaded to do more work than they had to by contract, often not realizing that their work load was easier because older workers had fought constantly against speed-up. Their foreman told them it was because the older workers were 'slow', 'stupid', or 'behind the times'. Lack of unity allows the company to fire older workers so the bosses won't have to pay their pensions, and to get more work out of them using this threat. For example, an Italian worker who had been in the plant 33 years was forced to do the job of three men while two foremen bragged about the bonuses they got for saving company money, humiliated him with racist remarks, threatening to fire him before he got his pension if he complained. This type of treatment sparked the following leaflet:

TO: ALL PERSONNEL

SUBJECT: EARLY RETIREMENT PROGRAM

As a result of automation as well as declining work load management must of necessity take steps to reduce our work force. A reduction in staff plan has been developed which appears to be the most equitable under the circumstances.

Under the plan, older employees will be placed on early retirement, this permitting the retention of those employees who represent the future of the company.

Therefore, a program to phase our older personnel by the end of the current fiscal year via early retirement will be placed into effect immediately. The program shall be known as RAPE (Retire Aged Personnel Early.) Employees who are RAPE'd will be given opportunity to seek other jobs within the company, provided that while they are being RAPE'd they request a review of their employment status before actual retirement takes place. This phase of the operation is called SCREW (Survey of Capabilities of Retired Early Workers.)

All employees who have been RAPE'd and SCREW'd may then apply for final review. This will be called SHAFT (Study by Higher Authority Following Termination.)

Program policy dictates that employees may be RAPE'd once and SCREW'd twice but may get the SHAFT as many times as the company deems appropriate.

THE MANAGEMENT

We deserve some criticism for not immediately struggling with both young and old around the need to unite against a common enemy, but we learned that the bosses had made this task difficult by using the 'generation gap' to divide young and old and get more work out of both. We learned in very concrete terms that for radical students to ally primarily on the basis of youth would, in this plant, be siding with the boss, and in any case, only serve the boss by dividing workers.

would mean much of the nation would explode in 'costly' rebellions. The threat of the people's fierce anger - not Garry's wheeling-dealing - saved Huey! Relying on the CP, on pig reform, and on ruling class liberals will kill ANY anti-imperialist movement, whether an SDS chapter or the BPP!

RYM Shares Bad Politics

'Revolutionary' Youth Movement (RYM) leaders (that is, the group that is trying to split SDS) like to rhetorically denounce retreat and reliance on lib-

cont. p. 6

Build New Left Notes

New Left Notes is the news organ and political journal of SDS. It should be a place to struggle for good ideas through shared experiences and criticisms. It should serve the movement. It is your paper. Send:

- * Articles: especially on the concrete struggles that we should know about and learn from
- * Photographs: include with articles whenever possible, but also send in with caption or short explanation
- * Cartoons, drawings, etc.: help fight bourgeois art
- * Posters, Leaflets: can be very helpful to other chapters
- * Clippings from the Bourgeois Press: newspaper and magazine articles can be revealing
- * Work-In: anecdotes, information, and analysis from your own experience are good for NLN as well as possible contributions to future Work-In pamphlet
- * Letters: anecdotes, comments, disagreements, criticisms, questions, etc. We learn through criticisms, we change through struggle. Letters are a vital part of building political struggle in NLN.

All should be sent to the national headquarters at 173a Massachusetts Avenue, second floor, Boston, Mass. 02115; phone, 617/267-6152. Always include your phone number as well as return address. Send in articles as early as possible to make any necessary editorial consultation as easy and cheap as possible. Most articles should be three double spaced pages (typewritten).

eralism. But practice belies their rhetoric!

Garry said: 'On May 1, we believe that we are going to have enough legal arguments to show that the action of the state of California in denying bail is a denial of due process of law, and we believe that Judge Zirpoli has the courage to be able to grant this bail, if we can persuade him.' The argument - given favorable coverage in the Black Panther - again backs 'good guy' rulers instead of attacking the government as the people's ENEMY! It relies on 'liberal' servants of the bourgeoisie instead of the people!

So does RYM! Their reaction to the repression is to recede and protect themselves! Putting themselves first, they have retreated into isolated, sectarian politics and relied on 'their own' for protection when attacked, making wild gestures at false security. This is non-reliance-on-the-people in militant dress. It also comes out in the ordinary, undisguised liberal way. Thus, in court, the RYM group at San Francisco State, called the Joe Hill Caucus, has had a strategy of acquittals 'by any means necessary'. Playing on fear of jail, they led students to accept a free speech defense, saying people should hide the S.F. State strike's politics. The result, of course, has been demoralization. Of course nobody wants to go to jail. But in order to turn the rulers' attacks around, we have to raise our politics clearly in court.

RYM: Goon Squad for Bad Politics

RYM played a bad role at the conference. RYMers from Joe Hill caucus and the Berkeley Radical Students Union fingered members of SDS and PL. SDSers mostly tried to avoid fights. We concentrated on talking politics to many people. Nevertheless, there were several hassles, some violent. At one point, Mark Rudd tried to grab some leaflets from a guy in PL, starting a fight. Rudd was hurt pretty badly. Several times RYMers jumped SDSers when the odds were heavy on their side. (At a RYM meeting, Rudd soothed his followers, saying, 'Any three of us are a match for one of them!') Inside the hall, roving RYM goons eavesdropped on conversations and threw people out if they were overheard TALKING about PL! (This is not a sign of political confidence.)

RYM: Cloaking the CP Alliance

Aside from playing goon and spying on people, the RYM leaders put on a weird display of contorted phrasemongering, managing NEVER to attack the blatant sellout politics of the conference. They made a few minor attacks on revisionism, but never in fact criticized the BPP-CP alliance, which is the key question.

Here's a sample of discussion in the small (200 member) RYM caucus at the conference:

Q: This conference is a step to the right. Why should we join anti-fascist committees?

A: (Rudd) Well, we already helped set some up in New York and Chicago.

Q: Why haven't you criticized the conference from the floor?

A: (Bruce Franklin) The Panthers don't want us to. One way to support self-determination is to let the Panthers run their own conference even if they make mistakes.

Many at that meeting - not to mention lots of people not in RYM! - opposed RYM's support for the BPP leaders' alliance with the CP. Hiding this support by talking about 'self-determination' is completely opportunist. Even RYM's constant invocation of the PL boogy-man couldn't quiet people's anger.

Advance under Attack

The recent increase in government attacks is due to growing strength of the people's movement, led by non-white sections of the working class. The increased strength and militancy of anti-imperialist, pro-working class ideas is viewed - and rightly so - as a threat by the rulers. So they've stepped up repression. Our response must be: win more people to our 'threatening politics' and RELY ON THE PEOPLE to defend us. The best defense is to attack harder!

On campus this fall, this means winning more students to fighting racism and imperialism, allying with workers. A good basis is put forth in LESS TALK, MORE ACTION -- FIGHT RACISM (see last NLN) -- fighting expansion, kicking cop schools off campus, allying with campus workers.

Just as we must not retreat because of attack from the government, we must not let the movement be destroyed from within. That means defeating ideas - such as those put forth at Oakland - that undermine the people's very capacity to fight. It also means we should take attempts to intimidate pro-working class forces very seriously, politically -- for they only aid the rulers. For instance, a few people were hurt by RYM goon squads at the Oakland conference. Most SDSers adopted a restrained response, so that it would be clear we were not trying to disrupt the conference. We have good memories, however.

Lots of people - a tremendous number - left the conference simply disgusted. They'd come expecting to find something useful -- and they got liberal lectures, goon squad discussion, and the ever-present and very gross hand of the CP wherever they turned. It's very important for people NOT to get demoralized. The conference was, indeed, rotten. The BPP leaders' alliance with the CP is certainly a very serious matter, very harmful. But, at the same time, pro-working class politics are stronger than they've ever been in this country -- at least for a very long time. That includes many rank-and-file members of the BPP! Instead of becoming demoralized, it's key to learn the political lessons of the conference -- the need to oppose ALL so-called 'sections' of the ruling class, to oppose alliances with sellouts like the CP, the need to advance POLITICALLY under attack from the rulers -- the need, when you get down to it, to build a movement that serves the interests of working people. Bad politics will lead to fiascos -- either sooner or later. The point is not to get frustrated, but to learn from mistakes and build a stronger movement!

by Dave Rossof, NIC
Pat Forman, Inter-
organizational Sec'y
Gordon DeMarco, NIC
Leslie Lincoln, NIC
Howie Forman, S.F. State
Mark Taylor, S.F. State
Jim Prickett, NIC

GET CAMPUS JOBS NOW!

(cont. from p. 1)



Scab truck emptied by Harvard-Radcliffe SDS during strike against Gordon Linen, spring '69

Organize Student Workers

A key part of building the campus worker-student alliance is organizing part-time student workers. Paid miserable wages, these students HAVE to work to get through school, and the deans pressure them to scab when non-student workers strike. As long as students will work for minimum wage, full-time workers' wages are held down, and the administration can threaten to replace them with students if the full timers fight too hard. But if student workers were organized and fought for equalization and raising of wages, the situation would be quite different. Both groups together could shut the school down cold, winning better conditions for all.

The class composition of SDS itself would change as many of these students joined. We'd begin to expand and develop the deep roots among students - especially working class students - that we now lack.

Fight Racism!

Campus worker-student alliance adds a new dimension to fighting racism. At most colleges many workers are Black and Latin. They're very much exploited, without even such 'rights' as unionization or minimum wage (since universities are, as we all know, 'non-profit' as all hell). Conditions of these minority workers are in fact deteriorating. Universities - great bulwarks of Liberalism - are responsible for a lot of the immediate, on-the-job exploitation of Black workers. Fights against this racist super-exploitation challenge the racist attitudes of white students and white campus workers while striking at the very ROOT of the racist oppression of Black and Latin people. They also go a long way toward exposing the racist nature of universities to the students.

All colleges have racist hiring practices. Kitchen workers are often Black while buildings and grounds or secretarial workers are white. Then when the trustees pay kitchen employees even less than the rest, they justify this by appealing to racism. So maybe the Black workers get \$1.65 and the whites get \$2.00 -- and business goes on, as usual. This helps keep the Black workers down by isolating them from their potential allies. And by isolating these most oppressed and most militant, it helps hold down the rest of the workers as well!

Understanding how racism works against the people, we can discuss this with white workers -- both student and full time -- trying to show them it's key to support demands for equal pay, fair treatment, and preferential hiring. Winning these demands will be a big step toward the kind of unity all workers need. But how can we do this JUST FROM THE OUTSIDE? We must get to know the white workers very well, work beside them, build political relationships with a basis for trust. Without that, we are just preachers, with a big mouth but little substance. Our 'support' for Blacks is commendable -- it just doesn't accomplish very much.

Getting jobs, integrating ourselves with student and full time campus workers, developing a more serious approach in general, allying with the mounting struggles of campus workers -- none of this means we should stop fighting racism and imperialism in other ways. In fact, fights against ROTC and university expansion will be strengthened by these ties, by discussing such struggles with workers and broader groups of students. It is especially good for a new SDS chapter to begin this way, avoiding a lot of the sectarian attitudes that this approach combats so well. The campus worker-student alliance means providing the movement with more of the depth IT MUST HAVE TO GROW, TO SURVIVE!

In Practice:

1. People who are working-in should try to get campus jobs starting now. Going into the school year already knowing the situation is a great advantage. If this is impossible, people should apply anyway for part-time jobs immediately. Some are better than others, but we shouldn't be super-choosy. All areas of school employ full and part time workers - students and non-students. We belong everywhere!

2. Form committees to plan campus worker-student alliance activities, research on-the-job conditions (a good way is by talking to the workers!) as well as the history of 'labor-management relations' at school.

3. We should live in dorms, which not only will help overcome our sectarian attitudes in a very practical way, but help develop ties with dorm workers.

At some schools, massive and very sharp campaigns will be possible soon, at others it will take a long time. We should try to involve as many students in whatever level of struggle is going on as possible, linking the struggles of campus workers to fighting anti-worker and racist ideas among students.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES

California Regional Builds SDS

by Rich Brongel, S.F. State

A Northern California Regional Conference was held Saturday and Sunday, July 11 and 12, in Berkeley. The conference repudiated the former national leadership for their attempt to split the organization, and discussed programs for the summer and fall semesters, the building up of new chapters on State and Junior college campuses, and the creation of a functioning Northern California Region.

Although specifically invited, the Joe Hill caucus of S.F. State and the Radical Student Union of Berkeley (both affiliated with the RYM splitters) declined to attend and defend their view. Instead, they passed out a leaflet alongside the YSA (Young Socialist Alliance), while 230 students went in to register for the conference.

The workshops and floor discussions centered around three main areas: Racism, Women's Liberation, and Repression.

The primary issue that interested most people in the racism workshops was the question of open admissions. Many people felt that it is a good demand because it exposes the class nature of the university and benefits Black and white working class kids by allowing them into somewhat easier and better paying jobs.

Other people felt that while some Black and white working class kids could get out of the working class, the needs of the system dictate that millions of workers will be needed and kept in an industrial work force. Most working class kids, therefore, would not benefit if everybody went to college, and we would be building illusions about colleges and the working class.

Most people involved in the Women's Liberation workshops agreed that much work has to be done within the movement to defeat male chauvinism and

to organize women students and workers against their special exploitation. The major bone of contention was whether women's caucuses in SDS should contain only women, or men and women. Some people felt that women could only develop leadership in the absence of males, while others felt that this was essentially running away from the problem, and that while caucuses could start out as only women, they should orient to soon contain both sexes.

Eight regional travelers were elected in addition to the two members of the NIC who live in, and would be traveling in, Northern California. They are: Carla Roemer, Rosline Goldstein, and Dave Wolfinson, all of Berkeley; John Levin and Howie Forman of S.F. State; Irva Hertz of Sacramento; Henry Peterson, Davis area; and Ed Shimburg of Marin Junior College. Two NIC members, Pat Forman and Gordon DeMarco, as well as travelling, are in charge of running the Regional Office, which is at 362a Sanchez, San Francisco 94114.

All these will be members of a Regional Interim Council (RIC) as well as one elected representative from each local chapter.

Probably the high point in the conference was Steve Dennis's outline of the blatant racist and imperialist nature of Junior Colleges and many areas of political organizing work that can be done on those campuses which are now mainly composed of Black and white working class students.

NEW REGIONAL OFFICE

362a Sanchez
San Francisco, Calif. 94119

Oregon Meeting

by Howie Forman, S.F. State

Sunday, July 25, a regional SDS conference was called in Portland, Oregon by the travelling national officers of the group that split from SDS at the last convention. The conference was called to build their national action this fall and to attack Progressive Labor and SDS. Four of us from PL and SDS who were travelling in that area heard of the conference and decided to attend to present our politics and talk about the worker-student alliance and the national program that was passed by SDS at the convention.

Almost as soon as we came into the room, two guys walked up to me and asked me to leave. I spoke up and told the crowd I was being told to leave by the SDS splitters because they were afraid that people would be interested in SDS's ideas and the politics of building a pro-working class student movement. Then Bill Ayers, a leader of the splitters, started hysterically denouncing PL, WSA, and anyone who would work with them. He denounced PL for its destructive role in SDS (he naturally didn't mention the struggles at S.F. State and Harvard, where PL played leading roles).

Then the people from the region be-

gan to speak, and most defended us. One guy said that he didn't agree with what the splitters said and wanted to hear our side. Another said that the splitters were full of shit and afraid to discuss the issues.

After calling us disrupters the RYM leaders called a walk-out and nobody followed. They talked some more (something they do a lot) and called a second walk-out; again nobody followed. Finally they left and about half the meeting followed.

After hesitating the rest followed too. As one guy put it, 'It's the only meeting in town, we might as well go.' We stayed around and talked to about seven or eight people, and encouraged them to go down and join the meeting and fight for their politics. The next day I got a call from one of the guys I met there who told me that he always thought he should hate PL, but after reading NLN and talking to us he had changed his mind.

RYM fear of meeting SDS politics head on is growing. And it's clear why. As the splitters issue more paper support, SDS people are leading concrete struggles to build a student movement that serves the people.

New England Condemns Split

The New England Region held a conference in Boston on July 3. After long debate, the conference voted overwhelmingly to condemn the RYM leadership for attempting to expel WSA and PL from SDS, and for walking out of the National Convention in Chicago. About 40 RYMers at the regional tried to defend the splitters, including Bill Ayers, who calls himself 'SDS Education Secretary'. At first they called for a vote to ally with the RYM, but they were so isolated after several hours of debate that they changed their position, arguing that the conference was 'illegitimate'. About thirty staged a trickle-out (leaving the meeting a few at a time) rather than face the almost unanimous vote of 250 SDSers to ally with the real national headquarters in Boston.

SPECIAL FROM NEW YORK

RYM Meets with Police Protection

On Monday, July 7, leaders of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (which walked out of the SDS Convention in June) called an SDS regional conference at NYU's Loeb Student Center. The meeting was billed as a discussion of the convention, but a goon squad at the door asserted that only supporters of certain 'unity principles' including community control of the cops were in SDS. People who wouldn't pledge weren't let in -- that is, PL, WSA and many other SDSers were excluded.

Not only was this sectarian and unprincipled, it was clearly provocative. There are always police in the Loeb Center, which is right off Washington Square where there are many more. Calling a regional conference and then trying to bar half the organization was an open invitation to the cops!

The RYM 'security' squad (only 30 of the 150 inside) tried to bar over 100 SDSers by force. When the 100 began to force their way in, the goon squad retreated behind glass doors and locked them. Shouting 'there is only one SDS', the 100 broke down the thick doors. RYM leaders Bernadine Dohrn and Mark Rudd, standing at a safe distance back from the action, ordered everyone inside to 'break off a chair leg and fight the PL bastards or leave.' Almost no one joined the small force, who turned on a fire hose after the doors had been smashed down. The hose fizzled and the SDSers prepared to charge in. Suddenly, four cops emerged from inside the RYM meeting hall, guns drawn, ordering the SDSers to leave! At the same time, ten squad cars full of tactical police pulled up outside.

After the 100 SDSers were forced off by cops with drawn guns, more than half the RYM meeting walked out in disgust. But Dohrn, Rudd and their followers continued meeting for several hours -- under the armed protection of the NYPD! The cops guarded their meeting, letting no one else in.

This move by RYM - calling an SDS regional meeting but trying to bar SDS, picking a spot where they knew cops could come at once, and then meeting for several hours under the protection of police guns - is an attack on everyone in SDS. The RYMers did this because they can't defend their political theories or practice. Their attempt to keep those they can't defeat politically out of the meeting by force had an effect -- it left many disgusted with SDS. The blame for this falls on RYM.

This practice - along with having everyone swear to a long list of positions to get in - makes clear that RYM wants to build a small, sectarian clique, not a fighting, anti-imperialist movement that serves the people!



JUNIOR COLLEGE ORGANIZING

by Steve Dennis, Laney
Larry Stickell, Laney
Patti Cohen, Merritt

This is a summary of a presentation given by Steve Dennis, Laney SDS, at the Northern California Regional SDS conference, July 13, 1969. Hopefully it will stimulate discussion on the subject of junior college organizing.

Junior colleges are popping up at an increasing rate throughout California. The community college 'concept' seems to be one of the pet projects of the local rulers and their favorite tools, foundations and the ever-present school board. They never seem to arise out of any grass roots people's movements. Have our local rulers under the influence of California's balmy climate suddenly become benevolent? Why this sudden concern on the part of the heretofore indifferent bourgeoisie to make the schools 'serve the community'?

JCs 'Help Disadvantaged'

If we were to believe our suddenly 'jolly' local bourgeoisie and their close class friends, the smiling liberal politicians, the junior college would be a training center for skilled and semi-skilled jobs. They would also act as a funnel that allows educationally 'disadvantaged' students to get ahead and to go on to a four year college or university.

Unfortunately, just the opposite is true. The community college in reality serves to inculcate students with bourgeois ideology, to perpetuate the Horatio Alger myth of social mobility in American society, and to absorb discontent from an increasingly restless working class. As usual, the bosses are busy perpetuating their stay in power at the people's expense. For them 'serve the community' is business as usual -- serve yourself!

Let's take a short look at who goes to a junior college. What is the class background of these students? How well do they do in school? How many go on to be a 'success' at a four year institution? How many finish a trade or vocational course and actually work in their field of study after graduation?

The class background of the junior college student differs greatly from his counterpart on the university campus. The vast majority of J.C. students are from working class background. They are much more likely to be Black or brown. Some go to a junior college to keep a tenuous grip on a II-S deferment. Many are servicemen returning to civilian life. All in all, the students at a J.C. represent a cross section of the American working class -- the very people that the rulers of this country inevitably find themselves in conflict with.

Let's take a look at the job training center myth. Laney College in Oakland is purportedly a major trade training center. Laney offers everything from three major programs in nursing to four major programs in the field of auto repairs, Aeronautics, electronics, and the building trades are all fully represented on campus. Yet 85% of the students at Laney end up taking a 'liberal arts' program of one type or another. The atmosphere of intellectual chauvinism is so rampant in the counselor's office, that it is a wonder anyone takes any courses but 'Introduction to Fuzzy Thinking 1A'. The student who has the perseverance to finally enroll in a trade course finds himself totally isolated from most other students, and on a completely different schedule. This schedule, combined with a group of instructors that are chosen for their close resemblance to 'real bosses'(!), make for an oppressive sweat shop atmosphere. It's surprising that only 75% of the students drop out in the first year!

JCs 'Step to Higher Education'

What about our funnel to 'higher education'? According to the rulers, junior colleges are paving the way for working class people to get into state colleges and the various campuses of the University of California. Let's take the case of Merritt College in Oakland. Merritt is supposedly one of the

real gems in the crown of California academia. In fact, Merritt recently had quite a spread in Time magazine. Time fell all over itself letting us know what a heavy place Merritt is. Well, Merritt sends 2% of its students on to a four year school. In other words 98% just don't make it. The highest figure we have heard of in California is 3 or 4%. So much for the funnel concept.

With these figures in mind, we are faced with the possibility that the rulers are, in the case of junior colleges, either stupid or inefficient. You can be sure that the training courses in industry, with the boss directly footing the bill, are damned efficient. And the University of California does a lot better than any 2% in turning out managers for corporations throughout the country. San Francisco State would be shut down by the board of trustees themselves if it failed 98 times out of 100 when it attempted to turn out an engineer or a teacher.

JCs Build Horatio Alger Myth

The rulers are lying to us as usual. They promote junior colleges with the express purpose of creating illusions. At a junior college all the liberal lies come true: Student-faculty power! Open Admissions! And in many schools non-punitive grading (no flunk-outs)! Anyone is allowed to drink at the fountain of bourgeois intellectualism. Once you are in school and get your 'chance', you are smashed and smashed hard! Within nine months most students are sent directly back to the working class. They are cynical, disillusioned, and angry from an experience that could only be funny to the ruling class. After all, they profit all around. The students become part of their large unskilled labor force, many with the 'everybody can get ahead' image intact. The real clincher is that the bosses get off scott free, because the junior colleges are paid for directly by the working people of the community.

The question is: How does SDS, until recently a white middle class university oriented organization, reach these students? What are the problems specifically related to junior college organizing? Can these obstacles be turned into long term advantages?

First of all, what are some of the difficulties that are indigenous to J.C. work? Students only stay at the junior college for a maximum of two years, most leaving much sooner. This makes it difficult to build the traditional ongoing SDS chapter. Many students live at home with their parents. There are many more Black and brown students at J.C.s -- this is a reflection of the working class character of these schools. We know of no university that has a 50% non-white student population as does Merritt College. These characteristics are in reality advantages if our real goal is to build a pro-working class, anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement. SDS should be built on the following principles:

I. Smash Racism: Build a pro-working class movement, not a white middle class youth movement. To put this forth, racism must be fought within SDS. At Laney College this spring, SDS led a fight against racist expansion, contrary to the wishes of the BSU and TWLF. As a result of our work around this issue, Third World students began coming to SDS meetings. We made little or no attempt to get to know them individually. Vague references were made to the effect that the third world students should try to influence the leadership of their respective organizations. Certainly no attempt was made to encourage third world leadership of that struggle. 'People's Park' in Berkeley then erupted. By the time the furor had died down, we found ourselves in the middle of finals week.

We won't be able to fight and expose the racist nature of this system until we can learn to fight our own racism. Only then will we be able to build a movement that will serve the interests of working

people. We should always encourage third world students to join SDS, especially when there is a hard core nationalist leadership in Third World organizations on campus. However, we are almost always too quick to criticize bad leadership in the third world organizations and almost always too slow to criticize ourselves for racist attitudes.

II. Fight Anti-Working Class Ideology: SDSers should be encouraged to take trade programs -- to reach out to more working class students, not just the local campus 'radicals'. Since workers produce most of the goods in society there is no reason to pursue an education that leads to an exploitative role. The program should emphasize the key strategic role of the working class as a force for social change. The chapter must break down the artificial divisions between trade and 'liberal arts' students. This is a key point in building a committed base in the working class for radical ideas.

What Role for SDS?

Although programs to educate students are important, the education is irrelevant unless practiced in struggle. SDS should take the offensive in the fall. Our suggested program for action contains three main areas.

1. Fight hard against the overt racism in the schools. Build campaigns against racist, anti-working class expansion. Smash urban problems (i.e. riot control) and other racist course. Also, police training must be exposed as the local armed force of the ruling class and stopped. The pigs help the bosses break strikes, suppress rebellions, and play a key role in trying to intimidate people, especially Black people, from fighting back. The latest liberal cover given to obscure the true role of cops is the 'civilized cultural' training given in the schools. Ask anybody involved in a struggle against the system, whether it is in the community, on the job, or on campus, if it feels any better to be smashed by a 'cultured' pig or by an 'uncultured' pig.

In general, we must win white students to see that racism is against their short term, long term, any term interests. And we must point out its material basis, the super exploitation of Black working people and the resultant increase in PROFIT. A key part of doing this is building support for the struggles of campus workers, many of whom are Black and Brown.

2. Imperialism, the ruling class's international means of exploitation, can be fought by waging struggles against ROTC and recruiters. Careful attention should be paid to recruiters on campus; don't let innocent sounding names like Sears-Roebuck fool you! Sears has enormous holdings in Central and South America. At Merritt last quarter, we stumbled across a recruiter for that great humanitarian institution, Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (major war researcher in the country). Armed forces enlisting recruiters pay particular attention to J.C. campuses. We should return the courtesy!

3. BUILD TIES WITH WORKING PEOPLE. A key part of doing this is building the Year-round Work-in. A majority of people at junior college work part-time. The many people who drop out of Junior College and go to work can be involved in this program too. This is an ideal way to build a base in the working class. Students should try to get jobs on campus and build ties with non-student workers on campus. Much research can be started this summer to investigate the conditions of campus workers. Research your campus's hiring practices. Strike support is another important aspect of building ties with working people. With a 75% drop-out rate, J.C. students will be on the picket line themselves in a short time.

In conclusion, it is important to realize that increased emphasis on building SDS as a mass-based student organization means increased emphasis on the working-class schools. The students who attend J.C.s are primarily of working-class backgrounds, and will remain so. Therefore, allegiance to the working class is strongest in the Junior College students, and the potential for building a pro-working class student movement is greatest. By building ties with campus workers, and by putting forth demands which expose their rotten working conditions, we will be taking the necessary steps in building a concrete Worker-Student Alliance on the campus. We must put into practice the masthead motto of New Left Notes -- LESS TALK -- MORE ACTION!!

BUILD THE WORK-IN

Work-In Pamphlet Available Now

The student movement has begun to break down its isolation through the work-in. Hundreds of students are now working in factories, making friends, talking politics to workers, and learning the real content of class struggle right alongside working people. Every day we learn something new -- about conditions, special exploitation, new ways workers organize, ways to defeat our own anti-worker ideas, and, most of all, strengths and weaknesses in our political work. These must be shared with other students who have a shared commitment to radical change. The Work-In pamphlet should not be static -- very few of us err on the side of writing evaluations too often.

Copies of last year's pamphlet SDS SUMMER WORK-IN 1968 are available from the national headquarters now. Write in orders and get them out to people interested in SDS -- sell them at lit tables with New Left Notes. We hope to have more literature soon -- if you have ideas, or lit from your area that might be useful, send it in now!

Orders for the pamphlet will be filled only if 5¢ for each pamphlet is sent in. We have been selling it for 10¢ and urge chapters to do the same, sending in as much of this as possible.