The Split in SDS

Albania Without Tears

G.I. Resistance - N.Y. Primaries

Repression & the Movement
three poems

The Gheto

I am the Gheto
Largest of life's man-made hells
I was conceived by the dark side
of White America's mind
My voice is not unheard
but crushed
Anger is measured and branded
while truth fans the flames of the hopeless
My borders were erected
out of guilt and fear
A forced lifestyle
in a desert of unawareness
I am maintained by a Monster
that eats potential while it shits a controlled hope
The emptiness of smiling so rue
agreeing on demand
I am the cancer that will consume America
unless a great change is made
I feed on hopelessness
Awareness is my cure
while violence is the deathbed for all dreams.
I am the Gheto
Whatever response - the alternative is mine

America's Prison

High walled heaven
demented minds
Do the system's thing
attacking an excuse
Masshood
on the wings of misery
Enforcing a myth
Re-habilitation
More often than not-
Criminals.
High walled hell
choked spirits
See a sick control
a system nude
Recommitted to escaping
the bullshit myth
Enforced re-habilitation
More often than not-
Victims.

Son of Iceman

O you Sons of Iceman, how many must die before
you too learn Pride walks not in Limbo nor will it dwell on
Le-em Street.
O my brothers lost, when will you know Manhood seeks
not the shelter of your acceptance, but would rather its own
chamber.
Is that gained acceptance, the oppressor's approval
vital enough, is your escape balmy enough, that you hear not
the agony of the still captured?
O you Sons of Iceman, excused in your desire to be
accepted rents the perpetuation of your less fortunate
brother's torment.
O you Black captives, allow the ice to be consumed by
the fire of unity and thereby understand the past and present
course of White America.

My son keeps writing that I'm part of the problem. And I didn't even know he had one!
SIDS and the Movement—Where Do We Go From Here?

Jack Weinberg and Jack Gerson

The split that occurred at the SIDS national convention should have come as no real surprise: it was the logical culmination of processes long at work inside the organization. Its significance goes far beyond the simple fact that the Progressive Labor Party and its followers are no longer in the same organization as the old SIDS national leadership and its followers.

Until only a few years ago, SIDS in its overwhelming majority was anti-centralist and anti-ideological. Action was everything, and the word "organize" was still associated with "Old Left." The working-class was seen as non-existent, irrelevant, beyond modification. Community organizing and participatory democracy were the key phrases which defined the organization. Neoliberalism had much to offer: away from the political arena, the elements of the SIDS were effective. The idea of unity and self-development was the key to a new society, the end to a non-existent class war, the working-class dialectical data was understood. And when the question was posed, "Which groups in society are by their very nature anti-ideological," most SIDS' saw the answer to be students together with an ever-expanding student activist. With the working-class poor, the black community, the "new working-class".

1. THE QUEST FOR IDEOLOGY

SIDS began to develop politically, but not in a social vacuum. In society at large, the death of the American capitalist regime was an immediate challenge. Industrial stagnation and recession. A movement against the Vietnam war was initiated by SIDS and other student militants, and spread into all sections of the population. This mobilization of anti-war sentiment was based on pacifism and militarism, increasingly—particularly among students and black activists—on the links between the war and the issue of black community.

In poultry, a small "consensus war" in Vietnam escalated into a massive manhunt of American troops and the black community. A movement against the war, inspired by SIDS and other student militants, spread into all sections of the population. This mobilization of anti-war sentiment was based on pacifism and militarism, increasingly—particularly among students and black activists—on the links between the war and the issue of black community.

In the context of this sense of isolation from the bulk of the American people, a new form of organizing took birth. The movement against the Vietnam war, initiated by SIDS and other student militants, spread into all sections of the population. This mobilization of anti-war sentiment was based on pacifism and militarism, increasingly and more particularly among students and black activists—on the links between the war and the issue of black community.

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In 1971, the National Student Association (NSA), which was composed of SIDS members, was formed to represent the national interests of the SIDS. The NSA was the result of a consensus among the national leadership of SIDS that the organization needed a new focus and a new strategy to support its goal of creating a "revolutionary community." The NSA was formed to address the need for a new direction, one that would focus on the development of a revolutionary community organization.

The NSA was to be a national organization that would represent the interests of all SIDS members and support the goals of SIDS. It was to be a forum for the development of a revolutionary community, one that would be based on the principles of anti-imperialism, anti-racism, and anti-capitalism. The NSA was to be a place where SIDS members could come together to discuss and develop strategies for creating a revolutionary community.

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weakness, but it demonstrated its strength—if it indicated the size of the base who would follow RVM against the SDS without question. But all attempts to open up panel discussions to points of view other than the SDS line and let the combined forces. PL's fight to "open up the con-
ceptual base" of the revolutionary movement was unique, besides its other contributions.

As the movement progressed, it became clear that for those outside the orbits of both RVM and PL, an aggressive and disciplined organizational effort was re-
quired to realize the revolutionary potential that had been expressed. The Independent Socialist Clubs (ISC) were the first to make a strong push in this direction, and their efforts were rewarded. The text was used for attacks and counter-attacks, chants and counter-chants. All politics were subordinate to the revolutionary struggle and, in the words of several of the panels, not because of its point of view, but because of the potential it offered to the movement, in which only organized and coherent tendencies with their ideological and programmatic identity were represented on the basis of the struggle itself.

During the first two days of the conference, every dis-
ussion was marked by a struggle against the use of the language of imperialism, the Red Guards, etc.—was dominated by the fact that the struggle was being carried out on the basis of the text. The text was used for attacks and counter-attacks, chants and counter-chants. All politics were subordinate to the struggle itself, and some of the panels, not because of their point of view, but because of the potential it offered to the movement, in which only organized and coherent tendencies with their ideological and programmatic identity were represented on the basis of the struggle itself. The text was used for attacks and counter-attacks, chants and counter-chants. All politics were subordinate to the struggle itself, and some of the panels, not because of their point of view, but because of the potential it offered to the movement, in which only organized and coherent tendencies with their ideological and programmatic identity were represented on the basis of the struggle itself. The text was used for attacks and counter-attacks, chants and counter-chants. All politics were subordinate to the struggle itself, and some of the panels, not because of their point of view, but because of the potential it offered to the movement, in which only organized and coherent tendencies with their ideological and programmatic identity were represented on the basis of the struggle itself. The text was used for attacks and counter-attacks, chants and counter-chants. All politics were subordinate to the struggle itself, and some of the panels, not because of their point of view, but because of the potential it offered to the movement, in which only organized and coherent tendencies with their ideological and programmatic identity were represented on the basis of the struggle itself. The text was used for attacks and counter-attacks, chants and counter-chants. All politics were subordinate to the struggle itself, and some of the panels, not because of their point of view, but because of the potential it offered to the movement, in which only organized and coherent tendencies with their ideological and programmatic identity were represented on the basis of the struggle itself. The text was used for attacks and counter-attacks, chants and counter-chants. All politics were subordinate to the struggle itself, and some of the panels, not because of their point of view, but because of the potential it offered to the movement, in which only organized and coherent tendencies with their ideological and programmatic identity were represented on the basis of the struggle itself.
The main content of the document seems to be a discussion on the relationship between power and class, with a focus on the role of revolutionaries in challenging existing power dynamics. The text mentions the importance of understanding the context of class struggle and the need for collective action to challenge the status quo. It discusses the role of leaders and organizations in promoting revolutionary change and the importance of unity among revolutionary forces. The text also references historical events and figures to support its arguments. The overall tone is analytical and focused on strategic approaches to achieving revolutionary goals.
In fact, of course, the very dynamic which originally created and shaped the two RFX movements, however hostile to each other, form a unitary whole. We can understand why the growing sentiment for an open test of strength within RFX, and the need of reaching a new front, remained a threat—intensified the desire to get rid of PL.

The split within the National Collective grew out of the intervention of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union into the political arena. At a meeting of the National Collective meeting in Austin, Texas, the Revolutionary Union leaders urged all groups to come together for the Red Power Injection Conference of San Francisco, and to get started in the movement. The RFX leaders, in turn, were unable to throw out the RFX members in the group which functioned at the center of the Radical Caucus in the region on the basis of a series of recent splits around the time of its public debut in March, it included members drawn from the Leftist, middle-class Leftist, and pro-Chinese split-offs from the Communist Party—increasing the number of potential founders of PL who had subsequently split from it.

This organizational merger, between a harder current of the National Collective and the more moderate RFX, led to a political synthesis which had great appeal to many of the RFX members who showed up at the Austin meeting for the first time. They had a sense that they were joining a struggle against PL, and when they were tested in action, they were able to project themselves as the only political force in the region. They emerged as a hard political pole within the National Collective, and this new sense of political identity, of at least one aspect of the collective's own internal development, was very rapidly to reflect the political influence of the RFX.

While a significant and influential section of the National Collective had already been moving into the political section, though infrequently politically, sought to conceal a new alternative pole. This other group, centered around a section of the SDS National Office, the Michigan and Ohio RFXs, was also doing its best to bring about a revolutionary transformation of social relations in the region. The National Collective has emerged as the leadership of competing tendencies in the Revolutionary Union and the RFX, with the National Collective tendency sometimes called RYM 1; the RFX tendency calls itself RYM 2.

5. WEATHERMAN

The Weatherman document begins with a quote from Lin Piao's 1970 speech to the Red Guards: "The people have the power to change the world. The Potatoes and the carrots are two sides of the same coin. The people can use the carrot to change the world." The document then lays out a series of the politics of both RFX movements: "The contradiction between the revolutionaries and the ruling class is acute. In the face of imperialism and RIM's self-congratulation, the National Collective, the National Collective's positions are crystallized. Even the political leadership of the people is not under the control of the people of the whole world against imperialis and racism and the other [lacks]."

Both RFX movements agree that the primary purpose for building a National Collective tendency is to generate support for the national liberation struggle in the United States, and to build a revolutionary movement in the USA, as a way to support the various struggles around the world for the liberation of the peoples of the whole world against US imperialism and racism and the other [lacks]." The Weatherman document then lays out a series of the politics of both RFX movements: "The contradiction between the revolutionaries and the ruling class is acute. In the face of imperialism and RIM's self-congratulation, the National Collective, the National Collective's positions are crystallized. Even the political leadership of the people is not under the control of the people of the whole world against imperialis and racism and the other [lacks]."

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which will support the banks in moving as fast as they have to and are able to, and in the style they judge correct, so that while revolutionary things are being done, the share the cost and the blame and the loss. They are then told that any white that doesn’t follow the order is a traitor.

One might ask what would be the nature of the state or the society that would result from this? It would result in a situation where power and wealth are concentrated in the hands of a few, and the rest are left to fight amongst themselves for the crumbs that fall from the table.

The central driving force behind the revolution is its control of political and economic resources. Its adherents see the state power of deposing presidents and other political leaders as a means to achieve their goals. The revolution is driven by a combination of ideological and material motivations. It is motivated by a desire to change the current political and economic system, and by a desire to seize control of the resources and wealth of the country.

As for how Doctrinaire sees the revolution, he tells us that, if neces-
sary, blacks can make the revolution alone. "The gen-
tleman farmer, the backwoodsman, does not allow any leisure time to wait." Throughout history, there have been many instances where people in a state of matter how imperative, have not in, and of themselves, countermovements. The sentiment stands in the way of an analysis of material relations as a whole.

The revolution is not just about the power of a few. It is about the power of the masses. It is about the power of the people. It is about the power of the people to control their destiny. It is about the power of the people to make change happen.

The revolution is a class struggle. It is a struggle between the working class and the ruling class. It is a struggle for control of the means of production. It is a struggle for control of the government. It is a struggle for control of the country.

The revolution is a call to action. It is a call to arms. It is a call to change. It is a call to a better future. It is a call to the people of this country to rise up and take control of their destiny.
The "white skin privilege" approach, which seems, at least in part, to have its origin in liberal ideology, presents an alternate view of racial relations. By elevating the status of blacks, it would have much to recommend it. But it is a view that lacks the potency of the "black power" approach, since it would not, in fact, provide blacks with the tools for fighting the racism which is destroying their lives. The black power approach, on the other hand, recognizes that the black masses are the source of the power that can free them from their oppression and gives them the tools for combating racism. The black power approach sees the struggle for black power as a struggle for the liberation of the black masses from racism, as a struggle for the power of the black masses to control their own lives and destinies.

The RYM perspective is that the working class, and in particular the working class in the United States, is the model for the Future. The working class is the only social group that has the ability to change the world. The RYM perspective is that the working class is the only social group that has the ability to change the world. The working class is the only social group that has the ability to change the world.

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Very roughly speaking, a group had a perspective which viewed the working class as the primary grouping in society toward which revolution must be directed. As a social group, one will only achieve an understanding of the objectives of this other perspective for their self-interest as workers, and that the struggles of the group is essentially a struggle against capitalist imperialism, against all the evils of capitalism, and eventual victory through the organization and flow from the consciousness of their interests as a class. As the consciousness of the organization of workers at this time must be on self-interest, so it is the immediate objective and the resulting consciousness within the American working class.

At the same time, those in the group agreed that struggles around immediate interests must be viewed as a step toward an end—namely, an understanding of every opportunity into struggles and directions leading to the furthering of the consciousness of class and revolutionary consciousness. Also, though there was geographic concentration of the group in the black, working-class, etc., most rejected the practice in both RYSL and tail-end Left and romanticizing the black movement.

The new group, however, failed to crystallize. Making in competition with RYSL, there were situations, etc., that forged itself, while its slogans dragged on.

Even where the new group could find a group that would be a people wandered away. Finally, there was a sense of ineptness in any proposal. Discussion among the group was often, correctly, rejected.

Attrition finally succeeded where coercion failed, and the caucus disbanded. Weatherman, RYSL, and PL, were all in a similar state. There was the convention—the only organized groups with a significant presence in the movement. The question was whether there were groups and individuals who shared a fairly substantial basis of agreement outside of the WSA and both RYSL and PL. After several months of an ongoing basis of communication and collaboration, they issued a joint statement. As a result, they weakened the impact on the movement as a whole, and perhaps, their role as an important center of innovation.

Weatherman, now that they have joined the other organizations, will be more open to discussion. As a result the nominators ran unopposed.

Many of them politically healthiest people and groups were hotly contested. Both the Weatherman and RYSL ran candidates for WSA. In the 1964 WSA convention there was a scramble just to get people other than PL members or long-time associates to run. No one else seemed to want responsibility for the group that it had isolated. PL was eager to let independent or even potentially hostile candidates win, regardless of the threat of the organization.
"IF YOU GOTTA ASK, MAN, YOU’LL NEVER KNOW"

Jesse Lemisch

I recently saw Newreel's "Columbia." The whole thing was very moving. I lived through something a little bit like it in the University of Chicago administration building over two and one half years ago. So I was very much with the movie, with the joy that comes from liberation, from those few moments of real community which living in this rotten society has allowed us.

I do not think that it is extravagant to say that this film is something like the revolution itself, and I hope that the rest of my life is not so poor that I do not feel it again. This movie was really own something in it, awarded each other grants in the comptroller's office, came over our friends on the fifth floor from our offices on the first floor, announced the stops on the elevator (second floor, sleeping, third floor, brushing), and hundreds of us talked day and night about what to do with the building. For some months afterwards, I looked at these buildings, both on and off campus, with a new pride and elation, a kind of arrogance: Those buildings did not have to be theirs.

We felt joy in the building, despite at hearing it: we did not want to give it back to them. For some months afterwards, I continued to feel that the building was ours, and I looked there and there was a lot of noise to let the office worker know that it was still ours. But little by little, I realized that the building was in fact theirs; when I went there, I was angry, no longer at buildings.

The Columbia movie brought me both elation and despair. The member of the Columbia Strike Committee who spoke afterwards when the movie was shown at Northwestern talked about elation, but not about despair. Wondering about reports of successful "pacification" at Columbia, I had looked forward to hearing a first-hand report not only about what had been so obviously right at Columbia then, but also about what was at fault at Columbia today: had the left grown? Could we do better? But when asked, the man from the strike committee could only bring himself to mention the possibility of one or two "miscalculations." Other- wise it was all beautiful and victorious.

He advised Northwestern SDS to do the same thing on election day, and was seconded by someone from the Chicago regional office. I asked for analysis of both success and failure and was told, "it's right if it feels right." I asked how come the guy from Columbia knew enough about the situation here to tell Northwestern to sit in, and the man from the regional office told me that the Columbia visitor had been to two meetings of the Northwestern chapter, so he knew. There was a lot else: more exhortation and observation to analysis; the man from the regional office showed that radical organ- izers could be at least as patronizing and condescending as straight professors, while those who were against the race to raise their hands. When I got fed up with this elitism, this paternalism, he offered to smash my face for me.

Do what feels right, don’t ask why. The movement is, among other things, hippy, zippy (and now at North- western, zippy). That they are existentialists, romantic, spontaneous, it says, "if you gotta ask, man, you'll never know... it's right if it feels right."

These attitudes were born of the movement itself. If we have any movement today, it is because of the courage of those who have gone to Haven, those who have refused to go elsewhere, those who said hell no, we won’t go. But at the Columbia movie, the movement's anti-analytical strain showed an authoritarian underside.

Anti-rationalism, the denial of the possibility or value of analysis, leads to authoritarianism, to dogmatic super- men as opposed to those who want analysis, about the authority of men over women, or more generally, about intuition as a guide to moral con- duct. Here is D.H. Lawrence arguing for intuition: "Know that you are responsible to the gods inside you and to the men in whom the gods are manifest. Recognize your superiors and your inferiors, according to the gods."

Resole to abide by your own deepest promptings, and to accept these as the greater. Kill when you must, and be killed the same: the more coming from the men in whom you recognize the Holy Ghost.

The only justice is to follow the sincere intuition of the soul, angry or gentle, Anger is just, and pity is just, but judgment is never just.

Whose intuition, yours or mine? In the absence of judgment, how can there be justice? In the absence of critical analysis, there is only authority. Questioning of authority—asking why—is an extremely radical goal. Right now, there is a premium in the movement on not asking why.

There is a close connection between the movement's elitism and authoritarianism and its male chauvinism. One becomes in question; to magic characteristics is the fact that it is a place where people are told that their genius defines only half of their importance. Few women in the move- ment are only Americans, and it is no surprise that they should succumb to American diseases; it is no surprise that the movement should have in common with other American diseases. The movement itself is a manifestation of the Eastern European family. The beginnings of a women's liberation movement is in the East European family. The fact that women's work is woman's work. But the problem goes deeper. Consider the analysis in this area of "If you gotta ask, man, you'll never know" and "it's right if it feels right.", the Hemingway, the Mailer.

The trends of attitudes pollute the relations between men and women in both straight society and, perhaps to an even greater extent, the movement. It gives women, for example, to the Eastern European family. The beginning of a women's liberation movement is in the East European family. The fact that women are woman's work. But the problem goes deeper. Consider the analysis in this area of "If you gotta ask, man, you'll never know" and "it's right if it feels right." For the woman to ask why, why should she do this office work, why should she cook, why should she fuck on demand? Well, I'll tell you, it's really not a deal (just as it was when I asked why at the Columbia movie). Don't talk, you'll only slow us down.

Non-verbal communication is usually ambiguous, and people cannot question unjust authority if there is a commandment against analyzing, questioning, demand- ing explanation and justification. If words are sometimes impinging, then silence is more so. So the woman in the movement must be an earth mother, subordinate herself to the whim of the male, to figure out how to please him. If you gotta ask, man, you'll never know. It ain't me babie.

Rather than preserving these attitudes, which are exaggerations of the worst in non-movement American society, puede analyze the phenomena, to be political, analytical, and to re-examine men and women seriously and scientifically, not spontaneously and existentially. The unorthodoxy of non-sexual role research suggests Masters and Johnson in their cold sex lab, using an electric dildo to test whether women really like it. It's not that there are, as Freed claimed, two kinds of female orgasms and that the one which happens to be most satisfying to the male is the only one which deserves to be called fully female—this unconscious research has contributed immensely to the struggle for human justice in an area where the movement has taken up a position.

Contrast the methodical testing of Masters and John- son with the spontaneity of the Motherfucker who I, I am told, went in his pants in mockery of a political position with which he disagreed at a recent SDS gathering. Tell me which is radical and babun: truth-seeking by experi- ment, test and analysis, or, if you gotta ask you'll never know.

In this disreased American atmosphere, to question the content and implications of any action is to put one's maleness in question; to put one's maleness in question is to put one's worth as a person in question. But why, given our history of war against the left, to which we are as French claimed, two kinds of female orgasms and that the one which happens to be most satisfying to the male is the only one which deserves to be called fully female—this unconscious research has contributed immensely to the struggle for human justice in an area where the movement has taken up a position.