

Students for a Democratic Society

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sds new left notes



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THOUSANDS PROTEST CONSPIRACY DECISION

Anti-War Conferences

Santa Barbara

Z

Puerto Rico

PUERTO RICANS FIGHT ROTC - GIRL KILLED

On Thursday, March 4, the CAFU (Women's Student Action Committee) of the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras campus, called a demonstration demanding the abolition of ROTC. Fifty women began picketing the ROTC building, and 60 or so onlookers, mostly men, looked on. As more women began to join the picket line, ROTC cadets began to harass the demonstrators and the onlookers, and soon fighting broke out.

At a nearby meeting of the Liga Socialista, led by student organizer Jose Marcano, students heard of the fighting and came to the assistance of the demonstrators. The ROTC cadets decided to single out Marcano as an example, and so they shot him with a shotgun, leaving pellet wounds in his chest and abdomen. But the students only fought back harder, and hundreds more joined them in driving back and ROTC cadets. However, Acting Dean Benitez quickly came to their rescue by calling the police task force; before the police could muster their forces, students had set fire to the Air Force headquarters and the ROTC building.

In the melee that followed, cops had an orgy of beating. A woman student, Antonia Martinez, was murdered by an infuriated cop while watching the fighting from the balcony. The police, yelling obscenities at the girls, entered the University library and even the washrooms to beat the students. Though 13 students in all were wounded by the cops' guns, seventeen cops were wounded by the people's rocks. After four hours of ferocious fighting (including the use of helicopters), cops held the campus, but the fighting off campus lasted another five hours as the students smashed windows in retaliation. In the following days, 150 professors refused to go back to school while the police were still there, and a student-faculty strike is now in the making.

This is not the first time the students of Puerto Rico have used the ROTC building for kindling: on Sept. 26, 1969, the ROTC building was burnt to the ground, and on Nov. 23, 60,000 people demonstrated against ROTC and the Selective Service. The government has, of course, met this action with repression. The Puerto Rican rulers, in conjunction with the men responsible for Vietnam, always try to smash people fighting back. The leaders of the Liga Socialista have been indicted under 100 charges of supposed violations of conspiracy and weapons laws. These attacks closely parallel other racist attacks on black and third world people around the world and in this country.

A major topic of discussion at the recent NCS was the importance of strengthening ties with foreign students and groups of radical students in other countries, particularly those directly op-



(On Sept. 26, 1969 ROTC building was burned.)

pressed by American imperialism. Also discussed was the absolute necessity of fighting racism. In this spirit, the National Interim Committee of SDS has called for demonstrations all around the country in support of these Puerto Rican students, demanding 'US Out of Vietnam, US Out of Puerto Rico'. The struggle of the Puerto Rican students highlights the important role that women are playing, and will continue to play, in fighting against American imperialism and oppression. As the Puerto Rican students advance under attack, it is important that we raise in a mass way the importance of their struggle, and relate it to the struggle of Third World and black people around the world and at home. These demonstrations should start immediately!

U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM!
U.S. OUT OF PUERTO RICO!
SUPPORT PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS!

Knoxville 22

Brothers and Sisters,

On January 15, 2500 people gathered in front of the Administration Building of the University of Tennessee. They came to witness a guerrilla theater protesting the Trustees' selection of Ed Boling as President-elect. The selection was illegitimate as the Student-Faculty Screening Committees on the two largest campuses (Knoxville and Chattanooga) specifically stated that Boling was 'acceptable under no circumstances'. To suppress dissent, the administrators sent YAFers out of the building to start fights. Once the peace was broken, campus and city pigs (with dogs, gas, shotguns, and machine guns) made repeated attacks on the people, arresting twenty-two.

The Knoxville 22 have been indicted under anti-riot statutes carrying up to ten years. The laws are unconstitutional as they make vulnerable to arrest anyone present at an assemblage of three or more people at which acts of violence occur, irrespective of their behavior. The laws must be attacked with a legal offensive in the Federal courts to enjoin application of and prosecution under the statutes until their constitutionality has been determined. No person in this state will be safe to organize dissent until the laws are removed, and since most states have similar laws, the outcome of our case will influence people everywhere. To aid in the struggle, Bill Kunstler has agreed to argue our case in court, providing he is not in jail himself.

Power to the People
Free the Knoxville 22



60,000 March against ROTC and the Selective Service in Puerto Rico

WAR MEANS PROFIT

With negotiations and 'Vietnamization' in the news lately, it's interesting to look at what the US rulers themselves have actually been saying all along about the necessity of maintaining US domination in Vietnam.

1953. Senator McGee of Wyoming was blunt: 'That empire in Southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any one of the major powers on the globe.'

1954. US News and World Report, in an article entitled 'Why US Risks War for Indochina: It's the Key to Control of All Asia', explained: 'One of the world's richest areas is open to the winner in Indochina. That's behind the growing US concern... tin, rubber, rice, key strategic raw materials are what the war is really all about. The US sees it as a place to hold -- at any cost.' (April 4, 1954)

1965. Henry Cabot Lodge, former Ambassador to Vietnam, went even further: 'He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Phillipines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum -- from it large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined.' (Boston Globe, Feb. 28, 1965)

1965. The Machinery and Allied Products Institute (a research association for manufacturers) concluded: 'We submit that to restrict - or to permit to be restricted - US investment abroad will not only kill the goose that lays the golden eggs but will serve to deplete our store of golden eggs as well.'

1966. As LBJ put it: 'We cannot shorten the length of our reach into the world... The economic network of this shrinking globe is too intertwined, the political order of continents is too involved with one another.' (NY Times, March 17, 1966)

1968. And Nation's Business, the journal of the US Chamber of Commerce, sums up: 'The best thinkers on the subject in business and government agree that magnificent business opportunities await in Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. As the military situation in Vietnam improves, they expect the flow of business to double, triple, and quadruple.' (February 1968)

Negotiations in Vietnam aren't new. In 1954 the Geneva Accords resulted in virtual 'Vietnamization' and foreign troop withdrawals. But one year later, actual foreign (this time US instead of French) domination in Vietnam was still so blatant that even the New York Times wrote:

'A political battle more significant than Dienbienphu is being fought in Vietnam. The US, with all its prestige, is actively engaged... What exists in Vietnam is a barren dictatorship... Ngo Dinh Diem doesn't dare install political freedom... General Collins... the real boss here, has been given the job of sweeping out an Augean stable with a wiskbroom... Government must be extended to the village where all too often... communism obtains... And the time is short. Geneva fixed July 1956 as the date for all-Vietnam elections. These really will never be held... the non-communist south cannot afford the slightest risk of defeat. Nobody likes to talk about this.' (emphasis added)

To pull off another 'Geneva', with phony elections or some other scheme, is exactly what the liberal 'Dove' politicians like McCarthy, Goodell and Company are trying to do in Paris. In an interview in America magazine, Dec. 16, 1967, during his Presidential campaign, McCarthy said:

I think a phased withdrawal with some stop along the way would lead to a reasonable settlement. But it would be precipitous to remove US forces within six months of negotiations as promised by President Johnson. I think I would advise him against moving that fast. I would put the time limit at five years. (emphasis added)

But what about Sen. Goodell? Goodell was appointed Senator by Gov. Rockefeller, the owner of the Chase Manhattan Bank. The Vice-President of that bank in charge of Far Eastern operations said in 1965 that 'US actions in Vietnam... have considerably reassured both Asian and Western investors.' (quoted in Monthly Review, Nov. 1966, p. 13) If Goodell was really for getting the US out of Vietnam, would Gov. Rockefeller have made him Senator?

The only 'peace' that US politicians (including the 'doves' who pop up at anti-war demonstrations) want is a piece of Vietnam, by hook or by crook. From within the anti-war movement, these politicians tell us, in effect, 'The war is a horrible mistake. Don't organize to fight against the warmakers, just go home quietly, vote for me on election day, and I'll correct this blunder in foreign policy for you.' The sooner we expose these misleaders, and kick them out of the anti-war movement -- the better. For a more thorough look at the war, its history, US motivation, the negotiations, etc., see the forthcoming SDS pamphlet 'Vietnam--No Mistake'. Order copies now at the National Headquarters at 15¢/copy, 10¢/copy for bulk orders.

Laos - Another Mistake?

In their effort to work themselves into the anti-war movement, liberal politicians have proclaimed US involvement in Vietnam a 'tragic mistake'. In the scenario they paint, the US is portrayed as a hesitant, naive 'young thing' who meant well but was ensnared in the problems of Vietnam in spite of itself. Completely ignored is the reality -- that American businesses were plundering Vietnam long before the military was sent in; that the military was sent in only when the people of Vietnam made it difficult for those businesses to continue their peaceful exploitation. At this time, too, it became harder for the US to hide what it was doing from the world and from its own people.

Completely disdaining the massive outcry against this oppression of Vietnamese peasants and workers, and American workers (who in this country pay most dearly for this war), the government has again chosen to avoid the issue and pretends it has something to negotiate in Paris. And the final insult comes with the newest gimmick -- calling what it's doing by a different name, namely 'Vietnamization'. After considering these facts, politicians' calling US involvement in Vietnam a 'mistake' can only be seen as a deliberate effort to further cloud the real issue -- the US's blatant and concerted aggression. To further discredit the invention that US involvement is a 'mistake', consider what the US has been doing in Laos for the last sixteen years.

The presence of the US military and CIA has been steadily increasing in Laos, until now, even the mass media in this country finds it hard to ignore. The following excerpt from Time magazine gives witness to how deliberately and viciously American Imperialism strikes again.

After 1955, the Pathet Lao (with heavy North Vietnamese support) tightened their hold on northeast Laos. The Royal Laotian Army--trained by U.S. advisers along conventional lines--proved incapable of fighting a counter-insurgency war. By 1959, a mysterious mission known as the Programs Evaluation Office (PEO) was functioning in Vientiane. Ostensibly an arm of the U.S. aid mission, its actual function was to oversee training of the Laotian army, and it had almost total control of all U.S. aid to Laos. The money, however, failed to shore up the Vientiane government. A new Geneva accord signed in 1962 called for the establishment of a tripartite government in Vientiane

Foreign troops were expressly forbidden.

The accord was completely ignored. American

planes filled the skies

The U.S. presence is substantial, and the program goes far beyond simply supporting military operations. Aid now runs at more than \$250 million a year in a country of only 3 million people

According to the American embassy in Vientiane, there are 2,350 Americans in Laos--833 U.S. Government employees and the rest dependents. The real total is far higher, for the official figures do not include American personnel assigned for three- to six-month temporary tours of duty in Laos, or CIA men who spend their nights in Thailand but commute daily to Long Cheng. Many of them are Green Berets who have completed their Army service and signed up as "spooks." American casualties in Laos are equally difficult to assess. The Pentagon will say only that since 1961, the U.S. has lost 193 air crewmen--Army, Air Force and Navy--over Laos, chiefly while bombing the Ho Chi Minh Trail. It is not known whether the missing men have been captured or killed.

Moreover, it can be argued that the continued U.S. effort in Laos is a logical consequence of the Nixon program in Viet Nam

After seven years of fighting, the Pathet Lao revolutionaries control about three-fourths of the country. The American answer to this is exactly the same as it has been in Viet Nam -- since last summer, US bombing has continued at the almost incredible level of 20,000 sorties per month. Little-known, liberated Laos is now subject to the same intensity of bombing as was North Vietnam two years ago.

To facilitate this situation, the CIA fell back on the old imperialist principle of divide-and-rule and began courting the favor of the Meos, a large mountain tribe with deep historical resentment against the lowland Lao. Promising the Meos future autonomy (the same approach used earlier with the Montagnards in Vietnam), the CIA or-

ganized 15,000 Meo men into a full-time army and enlisted their families in a support and logistics system.

This is only one part of the three-pronged strategy Americans are using. The other two forces are US bombs and Thai mercenaries. In this orchestrated effort, the Meo play the role of cannon-fodder -- Asian 'boys' doing what American 'boys' now refuse to do -- die for colonialism. If pressed to name this process, the US government might appropriately call it 'Laotianization' because it is an exact duplicate of what is called 'Vietnamization' -- in the words of Ellsworth Bunker, 'substituting colored bodies for white bodies'.

FLORIDA STATE

On Feb. 10, Florida State U SDS began a campaign against the racist employment practices of Ogden Foods. Ogden Foods, a subsidiary of Ogden Corp., serves the campus cafeterias. Ogden Corp., the nation's 94th largest corporation, has extensive holdings in food service industries, sulfur mining operations in Guatemala and contracts to build destroyers for the navy. This corporation has increased its profits by 13% last year; to make even more profits, Ogden is laying off workers on many campuses, including FSU and State U of New York at Stony Brook.

Ogden's cafeteria employees at FSU face the poor working conditions and low wages typical of all cafeterias. Black workers get the worst of these conditions. Wages are as low as \$1.35 an hour, there is no job security, and talk of unionization leads to harassment and firing. This year Ogden has fired about 100 employees, including 32 in a recent layoff.

Almost all 32 laid off were black and women. The remaining employees were left each doing the jobs of two and three people. After talking to workers who wanted to fight to get their jobs back, SDS wrote a leaflet exposing Ogden. A rally was held and thirty students confronted the bosses to demand that the workers be rehired and there be no more layoffs. The bosses refused to talk to students, so the group left to discuss further action. A week later a rally was held and one of the workers spoke, as well as an SDS member. Then 60 students presented a petition of about 300 names to the bosses demanding that all the workers who want their jobs back be rehired and there be no further layoffs.

Workers' participation was the strongest part of the action; workers spoke at the rally and wrote a leaflet which exposed Ogden and won support for the struggle. The day after the rally, two workers were rehired with a pay raise. Six more will be rehired within the next few days. But we are facing further developments. The bosses are threatening to fire six part-time workers -- black high school workers.

by Debbie Russell



On Monday, February 23, about 125 anti-war students from the State University of New York at Stony Brook and surrounding high schools and six black workers from the Long Island Farm Workers' Service Center at Riverhead, N.Y., demonstrated against the Army Materiel Command. The AMC, created in 1965, is concerned with the production and use of ballistics (steel-pellet bombs, phosphorus and magnesium bombs, etc.) and chemical and biological warfare (nerve gas, etc.) used to suppress working people at home and abroad.

The demonstration was called by the Anti-War Committee, which is made up of SDS members and other interested students. It was called not only to fight against the war, but also to show our solidarity with the striking GIs and with workers around the world on strike against the army -- since there have been many GI rebellions in the army (in effect they are on strike), the recruiter is a scab. Prior to the demonstration we attempted to arouse student awareness and increase participation in the fight against US imperialism, by canvassing, leafletting, and educating by means of a teach-in the day before and a rally on the morning of Feb. 23. We focused on personal contact (canvassing). About 40% of the campus was reached in this manner. A number of leaflets were also put under every door. The purpose of the teach-in was to familiarize students with the nature of the AMC and the university. It consisted of a movie about a North Vietnamese women's brigade, a Radical Arts Troupe skit, and various speakers on related topics. Unfortunately, the student turnout was not overwhelming.

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Irvine

'Are you trying to proposition us?' These were the final words of two GE recruiters to two UC Irvine SDS women who followed them in a car to make sure they left the Irvine campus on Wednesday, Feb. 4. This small but disgusting attempt at male chauvinist intimidation was just an expression of frustration on the part of the recruiters, who had suffered complete defeat at the hands of 100 UC Irvine students (and others) that morning.

A month earlier SDS had begun a campaign of leafletting, discussions in dorms, canvassing in student apartments, and getting several hundred students, campus workers, and teachers to sign a petition demanding that the university stop buying General Electric products and deny the use of its facilities to scab GE recruiters. The New University Conference professors organization and independent campus radicals also sponsored the final action against the recruiters.

STRIKEBREAKER'. Pausing for frequent chants, we talked about how GE profits from the Vietnam war; how GE doesn't pay its workers a decent wage; how it keeps Third World and women workers in the lowest jobs, etc.; and how the university is a boss, just like GE.

A dean and a vice-chancellor came in and asked us to leave. We voted no, kept on talking and discussing, and they started taking down names. Then they led the recruiters to another room. We followed, chanting, and finally at about 11:00 they gave up completely. We then followed them out to the parking lot, chanting 'WORKERS, YES! G.E., NO! SCAB RECRUITERS GOT TO GO!'

We wrote up a quick news leaflet and held a short rally in the cafeteria at lunch time to explain what we'd done and why. Later on when some bosses questioned workers in the administration building about whether they were bothered



At 9:30 a.m. on Feb. 4 we held a rally, and explained how many GE workers, including the huge local in Schenectady, N.Y., and a local in Los Angeles, were rejecting the rotten 'settlement' just negotiated by GE bosses and union bureaucrats. Then we marched into the administration building, chanting 'WARMAKER, STRIKEBREAKER, BLOCK G.E.'

To get into the recruiting room, two people had to climb over a partition and unlock the door from the inside. Then we streamed in, some of us climbed on top of partitions and bookcases, and we began reading through a bullhorn an SDS research pamphlet called 'G.E.: WARMAKER

by our action, some employees replied that they hadn't been especially bothered and that we were getting out some interesting information.

Now the administration is trying to divide students from each other by saying they won't release their list of 18 names until a student brings a complaint against us and a student court will try us! But this probably won't work. Vice-Chancellor Jack Hoy told the student newspaper, 'We have not drawn up a list of acceptable or non-acceptable punishments... But if the (Student) Supreme Court is unable to conduct its business, then the administration will step in and perform the appropriate tasks.'

by Leslie Lincoln, UC Irvine, NIC



photos by Cathy Jones

NATIONAL COUNCIL REPORT

by John Pennington, National Secretary

Ann Levine, National Headquarters Staff

'...because of the record of SDS involvement in disruptive activities in the California State Colleges and elsewhere, the potential for campus disturbance associated with the proposed conference warrants the denial of the use of state college facilities.' Chancellor G.S. Dumke

'What California campuses can well do without is these people (SDS) who despoil its traditions, mock its leaders, tear down its moral and spiritual ideas in every way possible... Our institutions are returning to places of learning, thanks to Dumke, Aldrick, S. I. Hayakawa and other strong administrators.'

For months now the newspapers have been claiming that SDS is dead, but the denial of state college facilities although a written agreement already existed was clear proof that the rulers are scared. The National Council meeting held in Los Angeles was one of the largest meetings of radicals ever to occur in the state of California. Many attended who had only recently become acquainted with SDS.

SDS is strong and getting stronger, and more and more people are seeing the need to fight the war, racism and male chauvinism. And we've helped make the idea of allying with the working class a mass issue on many campuses -- especially with the militant leadership of the GE strikers. New chapters have grown up through many struggles and more diverse ideas have come into the organization and its leadership. But there are very important weaknesses. We haven't fully grasped what's necessary to make SDS more and more a mass organization -- an organization which fights militantly on the side of the people and which reaches out to the masses of students in this country who honestly oppose the war, racism, and male chauvinism.

Broaden SDS

Often those of us who have been around for a while hesitate to let newer people provide leadership. In extreme cases this means the 'old guard' or whatever becomes the de facto leadership of the chapter. A good way to correct this tendency is to discuss it in the chapter and then elect a steering committee which is to call meetings, make plans in emergencies, and guarantee that things get done. Where this has been done, people have proven themselves very

willing to take a lot of initiative. And the same is true on a regional level. Here in Boston we've had a regional council most of the year, but it was only informal and tended to be (1) ineffective and (2) mainly people who had been in SDS for a while. At a recent regional conference this was discussed and each chapter is supposed to discuss it and elect representatives. Already, it has improved; but the plan must be completed. If these organizational steps are not taken, we will be keeping people out of the organization because they'll have a hard time figuring out how to play a role in providing leadership.

Another problem that chapters face is that they've turned people away who aren't interested in whatever their major project is. In most cases this has meant we've turned away people who are interested in fighting the war, male chauvinism, or pollution. Often the way this works out is that these subjects are put off until the last short part of the agenda -- which could be justified in terms of what people in the chapter think is most important but which results in nothing getting done about, say, the war. This has to change. If chapters form committees that meet regularly and have chapter meetings a little less often we would be much stronger in terms of numbers and get a lot more done. We should set up these committees right away around particular issues that people want to do something about, and we should make them as broad as possible. If we do this many will come to the committee meetings who might not come to all chapter meetings right away, and we'll get some of these campaigns off the ground! In order to do this we'll have to defeat our cliquish attitudes and reach out more to other students.

The National Council in Los Angeles made the necessity of doing this much clearer. Proportionately, there were many more new faces than in New Haven, and the result was more debate and more thorough discussion. Not to mention much sharper criticism of many of the mistakes we've been making.

Ally With Workers

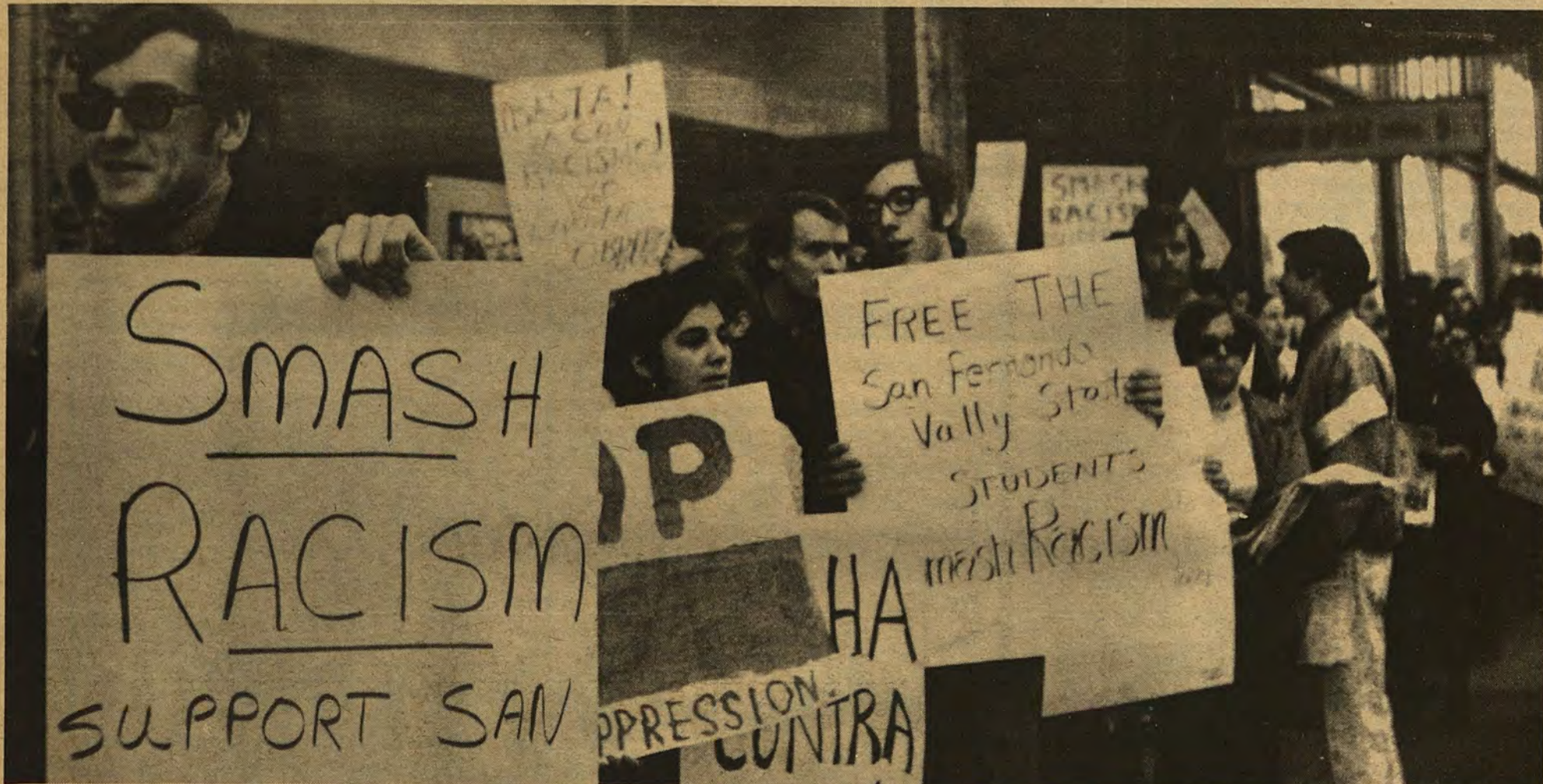
The N.C. passed a resolution entitled 'Fight Imperialism, Build a Campus Worker-Student Alliance' which reaffirmed the New Haven N.C.'s decision to build an ongoing, fighting alliance

with working people in practice. Most of the debate centered around the question: 'Is the campus worker-student alliance the most important thing for SDS?' Education Secretary Alan Spector argued that it isn't, saying he thinks it's one of many good ways to build a student movement that is pro-working class. The resolution disagreed, saying that if we don't develop a concrete alliance (which is most possible on campus) with workers, all our talk about allying will be nothing more than that -- talk. Moreover, we'll start to think an alliance with workers is impossible if we don't build one and begin to develop theories to justify our weaknesses -- theories which will be not too far from the hate-the-people ideas of the Weathermen. At some schools, however, the nucleus of an alliance has been built. People from the University of Chicago circulated copies of *The Alliance*, a newspaper put out by a joint committee of workers and students; and similar papers and committees exist at several other campuses. Of course, this is only a first step, but it's a very important one!

Smash Racism

A key part of the discussion at the N.C. centered around the question of racism. There were more proposals around this than any other subject. The sharpest dispute was over a resolution originally drafted by Ray and Nancy Croteau and rewritten with a number of other people called 'Resolution on Racism'. It put forward that more white people have low paying jobs, live in slums, etc. than blacks; so we should not talk to white people about the super-profits made by putting blacks in the hardest and lowest paying jobs, but rather about how they have it just as bad as blacks. It said that the way to confront the racist remark 'Those lazy welfare mothers are all black' is to point out that over 50% of people on welfare are white. In general, it argued that 'whites need their own thing to relate to and we haven't been giving it to them.' The ideas in this proposal were overwhelmingly rejected by the conference as racist, the proposal mustering about 13 votes. But the discussion made clearer to everyone the necessity of confronting racist ideas head on. If all we said to people was that over 50% of welfare mothers were white, they'd reply, 'Yes, but proportionately more blacks are on welfare', thinking that this fact means that black people are inferior. We have to explain

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LA National Council resolves--Advance the Struggle, Fight Racism!

Ohio

by Pete Lyman, Mark Meldola,
John Wolffe, Case Western Reserve

Over the weekend of Feb. 13-15, the Student Mobilization Committee met at Case Western University in Cleveland to formulate plans for its 'spring offensive'. The role played by SDS at the conference was hindered by the lack of SDS personnel. But even though our small numbers kept us from reaching as many people as we might have, those we did talk to were generally receptive to our ideas and interested in building a real anti-war movement.

Friday afternoon, as kids started piling into the CWRU Student Union, it became apparent that many in the anti-war movement had become disenchanted with the Young Socialist Alliance leadership of SMC. Frustrated by SMC's 'single issue, non-exclusionary' stand, confused by the promises of the liberal Moratorium, and disgusted at SMC's refusal to grasp at the political and economic roots of the war, nearly 600 youths (20%) combined to form the independent radical caucus. While various sentiments were represented at the caucus, it was united by the political awareness that the time had come to firmly take hold of the issues such as racism, male chauvinism, and the significance of workers' struggles during wartime.

Radical Caucus

After the baiting and haranguing perpetrated by the YSA and the Revolutionary Youth Movement leaders, who walked out of SDS last June, a vote was taken. A merged proposal of the Independent Radical Caucus, originally initiated by Dima Utgoff of CWRU, was defeated, but not by an overwhelming margin. After the YSA proposal passed, and everyone realized that the politics of YSA would continue for at least another year, the conference died. Those who came to advance the anti-war struggle were clearly discouraged that the coming months would not offer anything beyond the liberal mass marches of the past.

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Boston

SDS IDEAS WELL-RECEIVED

Last weekend (Feb. 28-March 1) the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) called a New England Anti-War Coalition Conference as a follow-up to the SMC National Convention in Cleveland. Many SDSers in the region were skeptical about the value of SDS participation in the coalition. In the past, the big spring and fall mobilizations have been planned by a handful of people, mostly leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and its youth branch, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). We felt that the analysis behind most of these marches was wrong, that you couldn't end the war by gathering the largest number of people together on the most deliberately vague politics and somehow hope that Nixon would change his mind about the Vietnam war. While SDSers have built campaigns on campus all year against ROTC, war research, GE recruiters, and the oppression of campus workers, the lessons of these fights have been confined to our own meetings and literature, rather than becoming the property of the anti-war movement as a whole.

After the Cleveland SMC Convention, SDS chapters in New England held Anti-War committee meetings to discuss the best ways to change this situation. We talked about our own reactions to the marches last fall and about the cynicism many students felt about the anti-war movement. While the largest demonstrations in the history of the movement had taken place in Washington, war-caused inflation, and US involvement in Southeast Asia were increasing. Most male students felt the threat of the draft despite the new lottery and government promises of 'troop withdrawals'. More positively, anti-war sentiment and SDS activity had cut ROTC by 25% in the past year and a demonstration called by SDS at the Labor Dept. during the Washington Mobilization had tied in the struggle of American GE workers with the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US imperialism. Given all this, we decided to attend the SMC conference, not to merely take a principled minority position, but to win the New

England anti-war movement away from the leadership of liberal politicians like McGovern and McCarthy and towards the kind of actions that could really force the US out of Vietnam.

Rely on the People

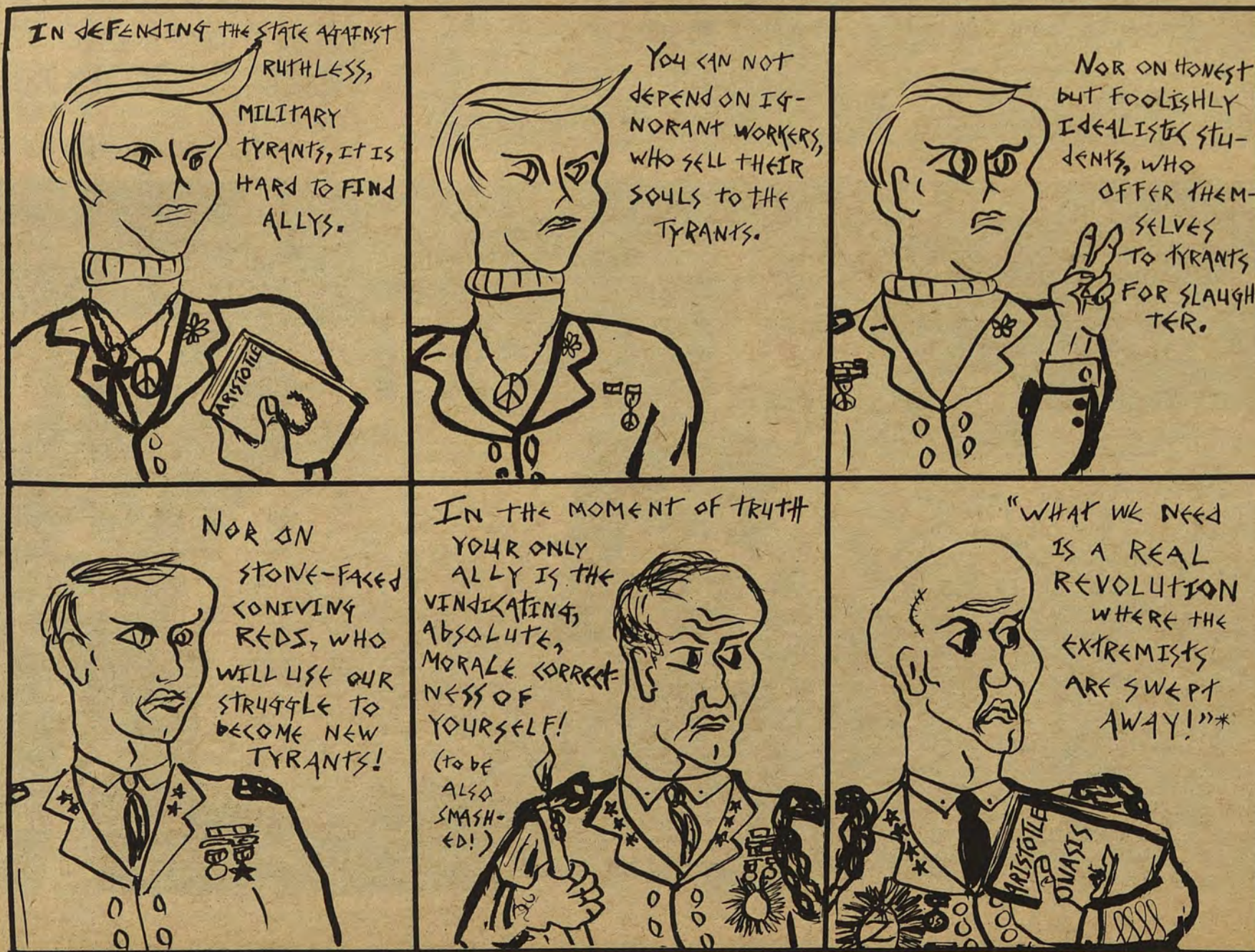
The first night of the conference, we called a workshop to write an SDS proposal and to discuss various ways of bringing out political exchange on the important questions facing the anti-war movement. The experience of SDSers in Cleveland was that convention workshops rather than plenary debates involved delegates in an evaluation of the successes and failures of the movement. We talked about workers and the war, the new strike wave, and the role that racism plays in dividing GIs and justifying the brutal oppression of the Vietnamese. We decided to fight in the plenary itself for the slogan 'US Out Now! The US Has Nothing to Negotiate!', for the exclusion of liberal politicians from the speakers' platform on April 15th, and for actions leading up to the march that tie in racism and male chauvinism with the war.

In the meeting the next day, SDSers proposed workshops for the afternoon session, to allow everyone a chance to discuss the implications for the movement of the various proposals on the floor. The leaders of SMC charged that this was a move by radicals intent on destroying the 'unity of the coalition' by pulling people into small groups where they could be manipulated more easily. Despite parliamentary moves by the chair, the meeting voted to hold workshops.

Multi-Issue or Single-Issue?

During the workshops, talk centered around the relationship of the war to workers, women, and black people. People who brought out the importance of fighting alongside of those who are hurt most by the war - workers - and the system that makes wars like Vietnam, were ac-

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The film 'revolution' has 'liberated' movie-making from Hollywood's established forms. In the hands of film-makers like Arthur Penn, Dennis Hopper, Harold Wexler, and Costa-Gavras, cinema has taken on a new style, new content, and new financial backing, all aimed at its new audience. Films must show the 'truth' no back-lot sets, shoot on location, document real events. The hand-held camera moves in and out of the action, creating a scene of movement and freedom with which the young audience identifies. The movement and freedom are juxtaposed to a society which is 'shown like it is' -- thoroughly repressive, whether in the cultural repression of 'freaks' by 'red-necks' or the political repression of war-protesters by pigs. The style and the content flow together to produce a feeling of intense personal identification with rebels asserting their freedom in a society that smashes anything that moves. These 'revolutionary' films affirm, even glorify, the sensitivity, alienation, and righteousness of those who have risen above the general level of robotism, only to be unexpectedly and brutally destroyed by the robots in the last minutes of the film.

The two outlaws pull over to help a friend change a tire. A flock of birds are frightened from a grove of trees; four cops open fire, and the hero and heroine float to the ground in slow motion, their bodies riddled with bullets.

The pick-up pulls alongside the chopped bike. 'Why don't you get a hair-cut, kid!' A finger is answered by the blast of a shot gun. The bike crashes and explodes. A second blast lifts the other bike off the road in a burst of flame.

Leaving the scene of police brutally beating war-protestors, a young woman and a photographer drive down a peaceful boulevard. The car veers off the road and crashes into a tree. A kid leans out of a passing car and snaps a photo of the burning wreck.

A Times Square hustler shoves a telephone receiver down a man's throat and robs him for the cash to go to Florida with his crippled friend, dying from a diseased lung. Just outside Miami, the bus stops for a moment. The driver walks back to the man slumped lifeless in his seat. 'There's nothing to worry about, folks,' and the bus goes on.

'A real revolution... we're sure to win the elections... the extremists will be swept away.' He is sentenced to jail indefinitely without trial. Other leaders of the pacifist movement die from 'cardiac arrest', or 'fall' from windows during interrogation.

Shock, grief, helplessness, anger, emptiness, nausea, despair... Society is rotten, fascist... run by pigs... people don't care... they are stupid, hateful... it's all so senseless, so grotesque... what can I do... why should I try... it's hopeless...

In producing and reinforcing attitudes of self-righteous cynicism, do these 'revolutionary' films help to build a mass struggle capable of bringing about fundamental and revolutionary social change? Is it really hopeless, in Greece or the United States? Why did the peace movement's 'real revolution' end in fascist repression, banning Beatles and long hair, and murdering politicians? Why the conspiracy trials, the murder of Black Panthers, the jailing of student demon-

strators? Is it enough to document the repressiveness of society without attempting to explore its causes?

In 'Z' the kind of 'senseless violence' with which 'Easy Rider' ends is investigated, but never really explained. Retracing the events leading up to the military coup in Greece in April 1967, the film depicts the assassination of a left-liberal peace candidate campaigning against foreign bases in Greece. The Investigator, with the help of a zealous photographer (shades of 'Medium Cool'), uncovers the true nature of what the police claimed was 'an unfortunate traffic accident'. He charges several high government officials, including the Chief of Police and the Inspector General, with murder and abuse of power. Although they are acquitted (most of the witnesses die before the trial), public outcry forces the government to resign and assures the election of the pacifist Opposition. However, on the eve of the election, a military junta seizes power and jails and murders the liberal leaders.

Speaking through the radical lawyer, Costa-Gavras exposes the futility of trying to work 'within the law' without struggle. After the assassination, he criticizes the liberals for being defensive, and calls for taking up arms against the government. However, this is not their idea of



revolution -- after the government officials are indicted, the liberal lawyer (who strikingly resembles Teddy Kennedy) proclaims 'a real revolution', that is, an electoral victory in which 'the extremists will be swept away'. Moments later, the film announces his life imprisonment; the coup has shown that 'legal process' can not stand up to the power of the military.

However, the film gives only a glimpse of the interests behind that military power. The radical lawyer's implication of American involvement is cut off by the liberal deputy's reply: 'What has America to do with this?' Later, the lawyer suggests CIA complicity, but is again silenced by the liberals. The only other hint of US involvement is a TWA sign flashing in the background during the assassination of Z. And there is no indication why the US would be interested in Greece at all; no mention of the US role in crushing the guerrillas in 1949, followed by massive investment; no mention of the attempted 'development' of Crete by Litton Industries.

Nor is there mention of Greek-owned industries protected by the US military and thus threatened by the potential dismantling of foreign bases. Poverty, for example, is caused by bad priorities in the budget, according to Z, and is not due to the exploitation of working people by American and Greek businessmen. Workers are portrayed as bought off by the police and government -- one needs a vending license, one needs a passport, one needs money for his truck payment. Through bribes and threats, the police chief manipulates workers into committing brutal attacks on the liberal Opposition. The one worker, a carpenter, who refuses to be intimidated, is portrayed as dim-witted, easily tricked by the journalist, wanting only to get his picture in the paper, not really concerned about fascism (he says he wants to testify 'to help the police'). Except for the bricklayer who attacks the two assassins, workers are shown to be at best naive supporters of fascism, and, at worst, police agents, perverts, and murderers.

The fascist government is seen as the enemy not of workers, who are taken care of in exchange for doing its dirty work, but of students

and liberal intellectuals, the 'ideological mildew'. We sympathize for the student demonstrator whose hair is clipped by the pigs, and for Deputy Pirou, beaten by the vendor. Yet this vendor is oppressed every day by rich bosses whose profits depend on there being too many people to compete for not enough jobs. If he doesn't do what the police chief says, he doesn't eat. In reality, the workers' collaboration with the police is not by choice, and is in fact, directly opposed to their real interests. Thus, as the producers of the capitalists' wealth, workers not only have the greatest interest in overthrowing the fascist state, but also the greatest power to do it!

Fascism and repression are traced not to the capitalists' need for a military to defend their property and business interests, but to the Neanderthal personalities of the police, who claim Dreyfus was guilty, and explain sunspots as God's refusal to give light to the Reds. Not all police are bad, however; a hero of the film, the Investigator, is not only a loyal anti-communist but a cop!

In failing to present any analysis of fascism beyond character assassinations of the police and vague references to America, the film suggests no way of fighting back successfully. The film does not show how fascism and political repression protect the profits of rich bosses by forcing people to permit foreign bases, to toil for low wages, and even to murder. Lacking any analysis of the causes of repression, or the interests it serves, the film leads one to believe workers are hopelessly bought off by the state. The film leaves its audience (mostly students) with a burning hatred of fascism and yet it leads them to fear the very people who are most oppressed under fascism, who have the greatest power to smash it. Students are led into feelings of contempt for and isolation from the masses, in which their struggles will be crushed; or, realizing their isolation and impotence, into despair and cynicism.

The irony of the film is that its 'revolutionary' form and its suspense, accentuated by moving camera, close-ups, fast cutting, and flashbacks, serve finally to make more intensely personal the isolation and futility inherent in the plot.

The film ends on a cynical note of defeat and despair; anyone who says 'no' to the repressive society ends up like Bonnie and Clyde, Billy and Wyatt, or Z and....

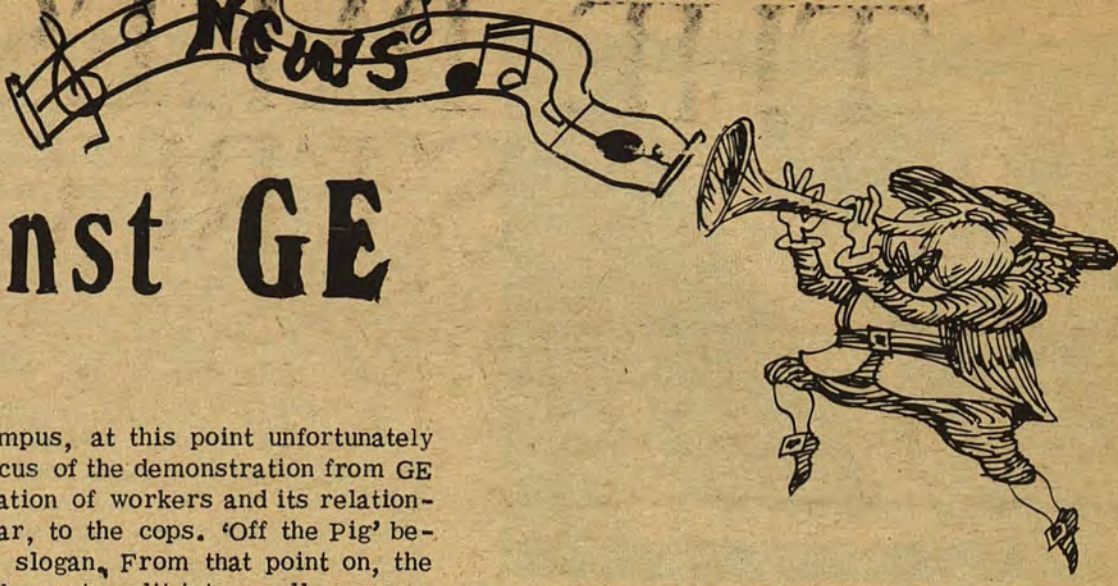
Bob Mathews and Michael Macy, Harvard-

Radcliffe SDS



Cinema:





2500 Rally Against GE

Madison

On Feb. 12, 2500 students turned out for a rally and demonstration against a GE recruiter under the banners of Warmaker--Strikebreaker--Smash GE!! and One Boss, One War -- Victory to the Vietnamese!!

The rally was called by a United Front Against GE led by various campus organizations including SDS, Black Council, Third World Unity Movement, Student Mobilization Committee, and Young Socialist Alliance. Despite the cold, 2500 students turned out to support the GE strikers and link their struggle to the struggle of the Vietnamese. After four speeches, the crowd marched off to the Electrical Engineering Building where a number of GE recruiters had been since the early morning hours. When we arrived at the building, we were met by 100 to 150 campus, city, and county cops, completely surrounding the place. All loudspeaker equipment was confiscated by the chief campus cop. The crowd, angered and frustrated by an inability to physically throw the re-

cruiter off campus, at this point unfortunately changed the focus of the demonstration from GE and its exploitation of workers and its relationship to the war, to the cops. 'Off the Pig' became the new slogan. From that point on, the demonstration began to split into smaller groups of students 'trashing' everything in sight. It was literally 'wild in the streets' as groups of students turned over a police car and burned it. Rocks and bottles were thrown at both cops and windows. By this time the issue of supporting GE workers was lost to spontaneity.

We in SDS have learned various lessons from this action. (1) A united front can only be successful if there are clearly defined anti-imperialist politics and objectives. Because we did not realize this before, the differences in politics of the rally speakers were confusing to the crowd. There was no unified leadership. As a result of this, when police provocateurs and crazies tried to build up false militancy, the

leadership could not put an end to it. (2) A demonstration can only be successful when sufficient general base-building and discussion of the issue (GE strike) have been done beforehand.

by Vivienne Simon and Jed Baumwell

Ann Arbor

by Peter Ostrow, Ann Arbor

On Feb. 18, over 100 students led by Ann Arbor SDS marched to the Engineering Placement Office and militantly stopped GE from recruiting. This is the most recent in a series of anti-recruiter actions which have exposed the University as a partner in corporate imperialism. Other attacks have centered on DuPont for its racist control of Wilmington, Delaware, and on Chase Manhattan for its support of South Africa and its key role as the chief imperialist bank.

We discovered that GE was sending a total of ten recruiters for two days, a clear admission that SDS had successfully cut down their recruiting during the strike. The first day, about thirty women disrupted the recruiters with stink bombs in response to GE's special oppression of its women workers. The next day, we held a brief rally at which GE was indicted for its attacks on workers here and abroad, its role in the war, and its use of racism and male chauvinism. Then we set out for the placement office, chanting 'GE Gets Rich, GIs Die' and 'Warmaker, Strikebreaker, Smash GE'. Entering the building, we found the administration had organized a goon squad of some fifteen engineering students to fight us. After a few minutes, we fought our way through them, and then proceeded to completely block off the hallway. Breaking into their cubicles, we forced two recruiters to leave, and we prevented the others from recruiting. While in the building, we kept up our spirits by chanting and successfully blocking students and plainclothes pigs from the recruiters. One problem which we didn't solve was the intimidating presence of numerous cameramen and agents within our ranks.

After about two hours, President Fleming called about thirty cops to bust us. Alerted by guards posted outside, we rushed from the building but remained close by, chanting and harassing the cops, while a crowd gathered. When the pigs grabbed one of our sisters, people made an effort to free her, and soon we were in a general fight with the cops in the street. We were able to free several students and even rough up some cops, but thirteen got busted then, and at least five more were arrested later from pictures.

After another short rally, over 100 students
continued on page 18



Rally at Madison

new haven

'SDS is really active in New Haven,' said a newsdealer, little realizing he was talking to an SDS regional traveler. Five area colleges had had militant actions in the course of the previous week.

New Haven College had a four-day sit-in over a tuition increase, although the issue of the largest police institute in New England was ignored (for the moment).

Shortly following, a strike threat by the 1000-member Yale employee's union, supported by a 100-person SDS demonstration, stopped a Yale pay-cut aimed at 99% of the women dining hall workers and most of the blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Then, at Quinnipiac College, 500 of the 2000 students sat in (1000 had rallied) over another tuition increase, demanding instead an increase in faculty and staff salaries.

For two days 50 to 200 students sat in at Southern Connecticut State College demanding

that SDS member John Parks be re-admitted to school and rehired for his campus job. When SCSC President Hilton Buley called the cops, students agreed to leave, but Buley ordered the pigs to beat and arrest Parks and five others anyway. Bails up to \$3000 were placed on the six. (Contributions can be sent to SCSC Bail Fund, c/o Mark Zanger, 1887 Yale Station, New Haven, Ct. 06520.) SCSC students answered with a 600-strong rally. 350 sat in for an hour, still demanding Parks' re-admission and the dropping of all charges.

That evening, night students from South Central Community College seized their building to prevent the school from being moved to an empty factory owned by Democratic town chairman Bok Barbieri.

by Jim Sober



THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

by E. D. Farjoun

This article was written by a member of the Israeli Socialist Organization and represents the opinions of that group. Comments and other opinions on what is happening in the Middle East are welcome.

The American public is getting very interested in the development of events in the Middle East. The American government has been paying very close attention to this conflict. The two most obvious reasons for this are: first, the strategic geographical position of the Middle East, being a bridge which connects Europe, Asia, and Africa; and secondly, because 75% of the known crude oil reserves of this globe are concentrated in and around the Middle East.

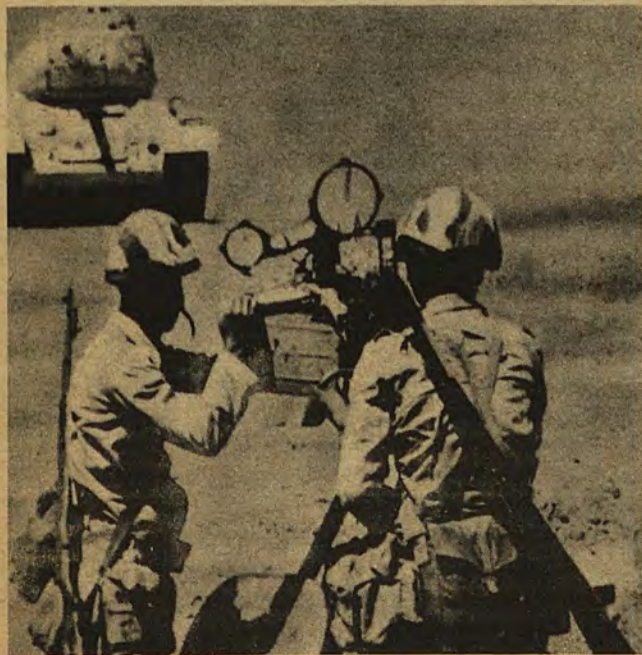
Traditionally, the Middle East conflict was represented to the west and inside Israel as a conflict between the young, 'dynamic' Israeli state and the archaic Arab states. Only the development which followed the June 1967 war and the occupation of all Palestine by the Israeli state made one thing crystal clear both inside and outside Israel: The Middle East conflict is not one between Israel and the Arab states but between the Zionist colonization enterprise and the indigenous Palestinian people who are its main victims.

Recently Dayan put it bluntly: '... We came to this country which was already populated by Arabs and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is, a Jewish state here... Jewish villages were built in place of Arab villages... Nahalal (Dayan's birth place) arose in the place of Mahlul, Gvet (a Kibbutz) in the place of Jibta, Sarid (another Kibbutz) in place of Haneifs... There is not one single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population.' (Dayan's speech in the Israeli Polytechnic (Technion) in Haifa, as reported by the Israel newspaper Haaretz, 4/4/69)

This process of replacing the Arab inhabitants of Palestine by Jews from all over the world has been (and still is being) carried out by the Zionist movement since the very beginning of the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, due to the constant state of war, the Zionist Movement has been able to win the minds of the Israeli people to Zionism, a system which oppresses not only the Palestinian people but also the Israeli people. The Zionist Movement has built a capitalist garrison state that doubly oppresses the Jewish workers in Palestine: (1) by using them as cannon fodder for the accomplishing of the below stated aims, and (2) by exploiting them as workers in the capitalist state.

The Zionist movement has two main aims: (1) building in and around Palestine an exclusively Jewish state; (2) concentrating all the world Jewry in this state.



Egyptian troops on maneuver

The second aim may seem as a fantastic dream to the majority of world Jewry and not a reality they want to go to. However, the function of Israel as a Jewish immigration center, the 'ingathering of the exile', has the highest priority in Israeli politics. (1) No speaker during these election days (in Israel) fails to deal with it.

It has been the continuous attempt of the Zionist movement to achieve the first aim - that of establishing an exclusively Jewish state - which has deprived the Palestinian people of their political, economical, and cultural rights.

Right from the beginning, the Zionist movement strived to build an exclusively Jewish economy and Jewish political and labor organization. During the first half of the century it ran against all common Zionist practice and 'morals' to hire non-Jewish labor or to buy Arab agricultural products. The Jewish Labor Organization was, by its constitution, tightly closed to Arabs up until 1965.

The most notorious example of this policy is the behaviour of the Zionist 'left', which always dominated the Zionist movement, during the six-month strike against the British colonialism which brought to a near-halt the economical and military activity from Syria to Egypt in 1936. The Zionist left, calling itself Marxist or Socialist, was feverishly trying (and quite successfully) to use this strike in order to replace the Arab workers by Jewish workers. (2) Thus killing two birds in one shot: economically, by getting jobs for more Jews, and politically, by reducing the effectiveness of the strike and sabotaging the struggle of the Palestinians for political independence. It was only after World War II when the Jewish community established its political and economical supremacy in large areas of Palestine, that the Zionist movement began fighting for an independent Jewish state against the British. However, an independent state is not yet an exclusively Jewish state; thus, during the war and immediately after the war the Arabs were 'pushed' to the other side of the cease-fire line, and 80% of the Arab land was 'nationalized' -- 'Jewsified'. (3)

This process continued up to 1952 -- three years after the end of the war! The year 1952 became the dividing date for the Law of Citizenship: A racist law which permits only Jewish people to become citizens of Israel after 1952 and which automatically granted citizenship to everybody inside Israel in 1952. This obviously excludes the Arabs who left Palestine between 1948 and 1952.

Thus the Law of Return grants automatic immigration rights to a Jew born, say, in Boston, while denying these rights, as a matter of principle to a Palestinian refugee born, say, in Haifa.

There is no place here to deal in detail with the results of the implementation of this basic policy line: building an exclusively Jewish state. One should reflect on the concept of building a white state in the US or in South Africa in order to grasp what this policy has meant to the Arab citizens of Israel: banning Arab political organizations (Al-Ard), while excluding Arabs from the most important Jewish political parties; denying officially, their right to settle in Jewish cities (Carmiel and Kibbutzim), while using them as unskilled labor to build these same cities.

The Middle East conflict came to a peak in the June 1967 war. As a result of the occupation of entire Palestine by Israel, the suffering and disgrace of the Palestine people reached its highest point ever. Half of the Palestine people (about 1.5 million) are refugees and the other half (about one million) are under Israeli occupation. (4)

In light of this sketch it is obvious (even to many Israelis) that the struggle of the Palestinians is primarily a fight for national liberation, and for self-determination. To sum up the historical logic of the Palestinian struggle let me quote from the March 22, 1968 declaration of the Israeli Socialist Organization.



Israeli soldiers guard Palestinian guerillas

'The Palestinian Arab people, the chief and direct victim of Zionist colonization, a people whose greater part was reduced during and after 1948 to the state of pauperized refugees, and another part of which has lived for twenty years in Israel under severe conditions of discrimination and persecution -- that people has now entirely become a conquered people. It has been robbed not only of the most elementary political rights, but also of the very prospect for national and human existence. Regarding the fate of that people, the various schemes suggested by Israeli government circles range from outright annexation to Israel (accompanied by pressure to emigrate from the annexed territory and even by measures intended to reduce Arab birth rate! 'To deal wisely with them lest they multiply' - as Pharaoh had once put it...) to the setting up of a Bantustan, a political 'Strategic Hamlet' in the form of a protectorate camouflaged as a 'federation' between Israeli overlord and Arab subject.

'It is both the right and duty of every conquered and subjugated people to resist and to struggle for its freedom. The ways, means and methods necessary and appropriate for such struggle must be determined by that people itself...'

So far, we have made the case for the recognition of the Palestinian people as a genuine national entity whose right to self-determination has been denied. Lest there be a misconception, let us make the following clarification.

The solution of the problem does not lie in the acceptance of Palestinian self-determination while denying the existence and rights of the Israelis as a national group. Twenty years of hectic national living has resulted in knitting the Jewish population into a viable national unit. The human solution to the Palestinian-Israeli crisis is the recognition by these two peoples of each other's national rights in Palestine.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of Israel, Mr. Ben-Gurion who led Israel in the first fifteen years, said: 'The destiny of the Israeli people is to be the chosen nation and to absorb big Jewish immigration.' Davar, 68.

2. Jewish port workers were brought from Salonika, Greece, to Haifa port as strike breakers.

3. See Ben-Porat's book 'The Arab Labor in Israel' (Polack, 1966): 'After the establishment of the state... a sharp decline occurred in the total cultivated Arab land... The main reason being nationalization of the land of the missing Arabs.' (translated from Hebrew)

4. As part of Israel efforts to Jewsify Palestine about 400,000 Palestinians left Palestine since the war. Most of them were 'pushed' and forcefully transferred out of Palestine. (For partial account see Maariv 6/12/69.)

The Great Conspiracy Caper

When some 10,000 young people converged on Chicago for the 1968 Democratic convention demonstration, they came in response to a growing disgust with the system. Several years of civil rights protests, the war in Vietnam (and countless anti-war demonstrations), and the ghetto rebellions had made thousands of students aware that the country was not what they had been taught in school. They were beginning to develop a commitment to major social change and beginning to understand that it was necessary to fight militantly to bring about this change.

In the school year 1967-68, numerous events contributed to this understanding. As the struggle of the Vietnamese people intensified, culminating in the Tet offensive, resistance to the war increased at home: the Pentagon demonstrations, dozens of actions on campuses all over the country against Dow Chemical and CIA recruiters, and finally the Columbia rebellion against the Institute of Defense Analysis and the construction of a gym in Harlem. These struggles increased people's awareness of the nature of the society and what was necessary in order to change it -- the people in power made it clear at the Pentagon, at Columbia, and in the brutal suppression of the black liberation movement in Orangeburg, S.C., in the harassment of the Black Panthers, and in the suppression of black ghetto rebellions that they would not accept change without a fight. This was the background of the Chicago demonstrations.

Thousands of people came to Chicago, largely to protest the war. Primarily they were students; but there were also many non-students, young workers, and high school students. Yet in spite of the lessons of the past year, most of the people who came to Chicago would probably not have fought with the police if the police had

As a focus for its repression, the government launched procedures against eight of the individuals singled out as leaders of the Chicago demonstration. The government accomplished three things when it picked out the eight: first, to show people that it intends to come down hard on those who fight against the war, and the rotten conditions in this country, and by doing so, to scare as many people as possible out of rebelling. The conspiracy law had been prepared years before as a tool to get movement leaders. Ironically, it was an amendment to the 1968 Civil Rights Act (see box) and Rap Brown was the first to be indicted under it. The government meant to get convictions in this trial. It certainly isn't accidental that the case was held before a well-known hanging judge and prosecuted by a gang-busting attorney. Although Thomas Foran now claims that the idea for the trial was entirely his and his assistants', it is highly unlikely that such an important prosecution could have been begun without the full consent of Foran's superiors, Mitchell, Nixon et al.

Secondly, the trial and the media served to identify much of the movement with the antics of Rubin and Hofman, something which could not help but turn off many of the working people and non-movement people who were otherwise sympathetic to the anti-war cause. Finally, and most important, the trial continued the systematic attacks on black people, especially the Black Panther Party, by singling out Bobby Seale. The government is scared of the masses of black people in this country, and so it has tried through making an example of the Panthers to scare all black people who fight back -- it's no mistake that Seale was shackled and gagged and the first to be put in jail (for contempt) and in the end will most likely receive the longest sentence of any



The courts and the laws are made to serve the minority of men who profit from them and make them, and the only proper route for a po-

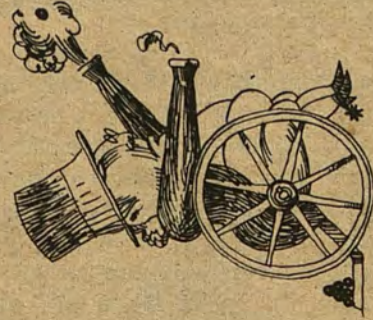
Throughout the Conspiracy trial, Chicago Circle SDS made a serious mistake in underestimating the importance of the trial. We began to connect this mistake to the...

out there were also many non-students, young workers, and high school students. Yet in spite of the lessons of the past year, most of the people who came to Chicago would probably not have fought with the police if the police had not initiated attacks upon them.

The government was clearly alarmed by the willingness of first black people, and then white high school and college students to counter police attacks and to reach out to their potential allies, workers (which they began to do in a mass march during convention week on a North Side bus barn in support of black transit workers). So a two-fold strategy was developed; first, the government tried to explain away the events at Chicago and the rebellions of blacks throughout the country with phony 'reports' which blamed these struggles on the errors of a few individual police, and (in the case of the ghetto rebellions) on the racism of the masses of white people. Secondly, the government stepped up repression against the movement in an attempt to intimidate people away from fighting back.

But in 1968 and 1969, people were not convinced by the Kerner Commission's explanation of 'violence' in our society. The students who struck at San Francisco State College and Harvard against racism and ROTC officer training for Vietnam and other imperialist wars like it were not impressed. Neither were the hundreds of thousands of high school students, teachers and workers (like the Memphis sanitation workers) who struck for just demands and often had to fight the police. The government thus decided to turn to force and the courts to take up the slack where 'reports' failed.

Repression fell first and heaviest on the Black Panther Party. Because black people have shown themselves most willing to fight back against their oppression, the rulers hope to intimidate them by destroying the Panthers. Repression came down on students too, particularly black students, but also on militant white student leaders. In the trials that followed the San Francisco State strike, for example, it was the blacks who received the longest sentences. After the blacks, the most severe sentences went to members of SDS (particularly members of progressive Labor Party) who, like the blacks, refused to compromise their militancy, and turned the courts into a forum against the system.



making an example of the Panthers to scare all black people who fight back -- it's no mistake that Seale was shackled and gagged and the first to be put in jail (for contempt) and in the end will most likely receive the longest sentence of any of the eight.

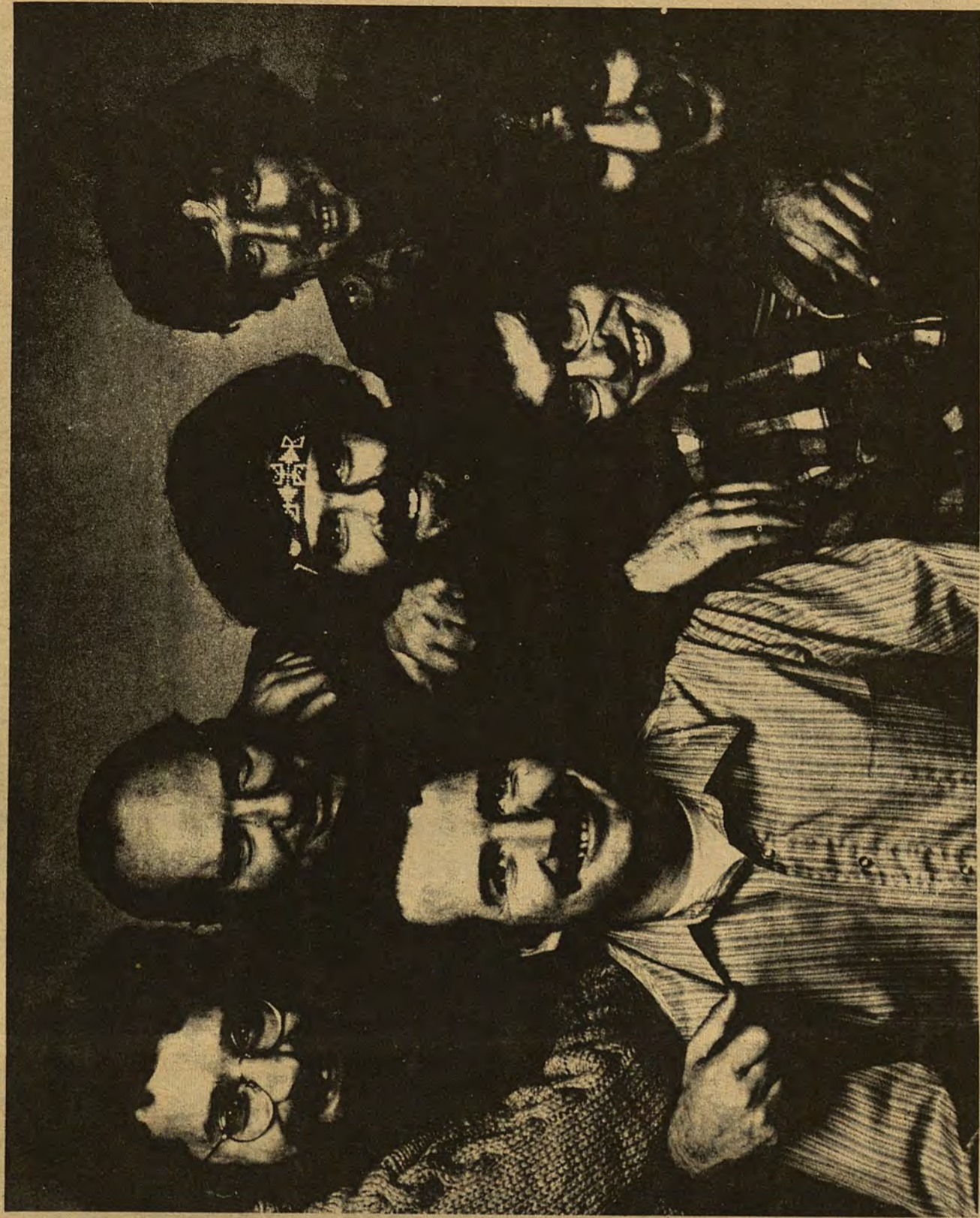
In order to understand the defense of the Conspiracy 7 used in court, it is necessary to understand just what the courts are and what they are not. The government claims that it is the vehicle by which justice can be meted out to every man, and woman accused of breaking the law. This is obviously not true. For example, if the courts are so fair, why is it that 90% of the Cook County jail inmates are black? Why is it that if you can afford a good lawyer you can get off on almost any charge by buying off the judge, jury, and/or prosecuting attorney? Why is it that the courts and the jails are always filled with poor working people, and the rich are almost never seen there? Why are all the laws (anti-trust, injunctions, etc.) made in the interest of big businessmen and those on top?

The courts and the laws are made to serve the minority of men who profit from them and make them, and the only proper route for a political defense is to expose the courts to the people for what they are. Unfortunately, members of the Conspiracy 7, like Rubin and Hoffman, decided to make the issue a conflict of life styles. They tried to show that the courts are a farce -- to freak out straight society. They proceeded in court to criticize the judge and call in celebrities to testify about life styles, failing to mention workers, who are hurt the most by the system, and the just struggles of the people in this country and throughout the world. Only Bobby Seale was consistently defiant in exposing the racist nature of the courts and all they serve.

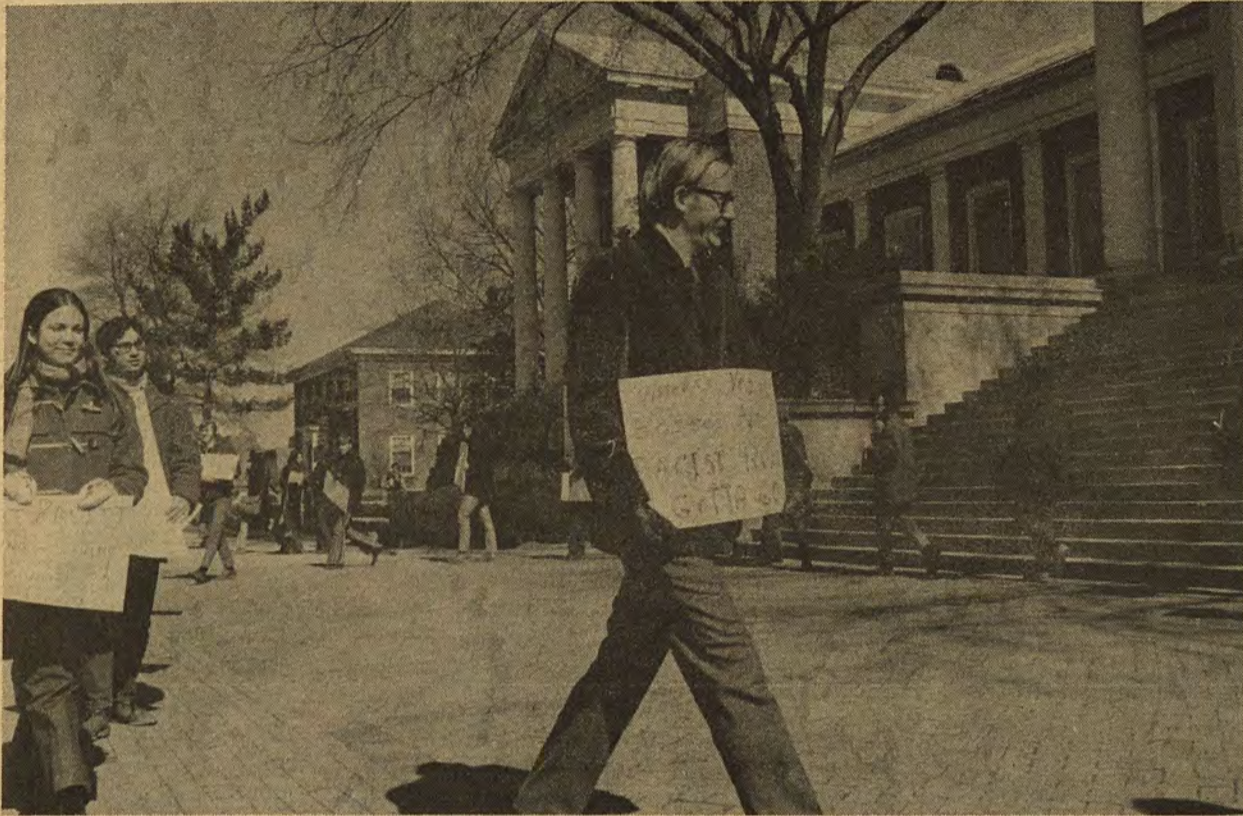
Throughout the Conspiracy trial, Chicago Circle SDS made a serious mistake in underestimating the importance of the trial. We began to correct this mistake, though, and will continue to fight against repression. Millions of people not in SDS, workers as well as students, who may well not have seen the Conspiracy trial as the highest expression of the leftist movement in this country, correctly saw the trial as a real attempt to intimidate people from fighting back, and responded by coming to rallies, contributing money, demonstrating or simply hoping for an acquittal. We should unite with these people and advance the struggle against racism and repression.

by Henry Ilian and Rose McKiernan

U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus



Maryland



U. Maryland picket line in support of campus workers

photo by Mark Holliday

and the Diamondback

In the process of building a Campus Worker-Student Alliance, U of Maryland SDS made the demand for Free Meals for Cafeteria Workers in December 1969. We felt that this demand would clarify to the students the issue of super-oppression of black workers and could begin a fight against male chauvinism and racism. The average beginning wage given to campus service workers is \$153.81 every two weeks before taxes. After working at the University for many years,

a worker may be able to gross about \$100 a week. Many take home \$60-\$72 a week. Out of this wage workers must pay an average of \$8 a week for transportation from Washington, D.C. and \$10 biweekly for hospitalization, if wanted. Dining hall workers who prepare and serve the food must buy a meal ticket at \$10 every two weeks if they eat that same food. The workers are now in the process of unionizing for \$100 a week and collective bargaining rights, and we felt a demand for Free Meals would be an indication of student support for the workers.

Petitions were drawn up stating the nature of the working conditions and were distributed

around campus, gathering 1600 names in two weeks. Just before semester break, two SDS members met with Milo C. Knight, director of Food Service. He told us that he was not budgeted to provide free meals, yet when we pointed out to him that the University receives funds from the Defense Department for contracts for military research done by the University, he responded that the army is the most important force in this nation -- a nation he claims as the greatest in the world. He continued with more anti-working class remarks, e.g. workers steal their food anyhow, inferences that they were stupid, lazy, etc., and statements that most workers make \$100 a week already. Mr. Knight also emphasized that since production was so controlled, there was no waste. However, there is waste, but the point is that the University should provide meals whether there is additional food left over or not. We then showed him the petitions and left.

ALL-OUT STRUGGLE

After vacation, we continued distributing the petitions and publicizing the meeting with Knight. Through more extensive base building -- by living in dorms, working in dining halls, raising the demand in discussions, involving other organizations (Campus Coalition Against Racism, Women's Liberation), selling NLN -- SDS began to grow. The demand had a lot of appeal to a lot of students -- not to mention the encouragement many others gave us. At our second meeting of the semester, we drew about 70 people to discuss strategy and politics in winning our demand. Many of the students are also part time campus workers and extremely enthusiastic. From this meeting, a demonstration was planned and student workers decided to form an association to support the state workers and to air their own grievances. That meeting was held the next week, drawing about 40 students with future plans to help the state workers and to air their own grievances. That meeting was held the next week, drawing about 40 students with future plans to organize a larger union.

STUDENTS RALLY

The demonstration was held on Thursday, Feb. 26, in twenty-five degree weather with 70 people showing up. Beginning at noon, a picket line was started in front of the Administration Building with people holding up signs and chanting: 'Workers yes, Bosses no, Racist Rulers gotta go!', 'Men and Women, Black and White, Unite to Fight the Bosses!', 'Fight for Free Meals, Ally with Campus Workers!', 'Smash Racism/Chauvinism, Build a Worker-Student Alliance!'. The line grew for about an hour until we broke up the line for several short speeches. Topics raised were themes on a worker-student alliance, reasons for a free meals campaign, and the operation of racism and male chauvinism on the campus. A member of the Black Student Union also spoke of the need for support of campus workers and the need to reach many more students. Once racism can be fought within SDS and much of BSU's mistrust of white students can be dispelled, both groups will be able to unite to fight with campus workers.

After the speeches, we moved into the Administration Building to meet with Dr. Martin, Vice-President of Student Affairs. There we held a short, militant verbal confrontation. After several minutes of intellectualizing, we told him that we didn't want to discuss abstractions, pointing out that the U of Maryland had no trouble with investing in racist corporations like GE and Chase Manhattan Bank, building new classroom buildings, maintaining a ROTC unit, etc., yet does not provide anything for its workers. We left, promising that we were returning to the students and workers to build a bigger base, and that we will return to win the demand.

Clare Bracken, Karyn Pomerantz, Mark Woodard
- U of Maryland SDS

Boston State

Four recruiters from the army were greeted by over 100 angry students at Boston State early this month. Their arrival took us by surprise, but SDS spent the whole morning mobilizing people we knew for a 12:30 confrontation. SDSers started things off by denouncing the Vietnam war. We explained why it was an attempt by US corporations to secure a foothold on the natural and human resources of Vietnam and all South-east Asia. We demanded that the recruiters (who are officers, not draftees) justify their role in the effort to smash the Vietnamese people's resistance to native (Thieu, Ky, etc.) and foreign exploiters. We rejected their assertion that abstract principles of free speech gave them the 'right' to recruit, because this 'right' is in inalterable conflict with the right of the Vietnamese people to remain alive and decide their own destiny.

Many black students joined in the attack and set the tone with their extreme militance. The extra oppression they have known in terms of the realities of ghetto life has made them and other black people the leading fighters against the ways the system hurts people.

These students pinpointed the racist nature of the war and insisted that black people's fight was right here. Some took a nationalist approach, denouncing the war as the 'white man's thing', and scoring inequality of opportunity to become a black boss or general at home. These students saw their main antagonists as all white people rather than the ruling class. SDS argued the reverse of this and put forward that white students had an interest in fighting racism in themselves and in the system so that unity could be achieved in the fight against the ruling class -- the real source of racism, war, etc.

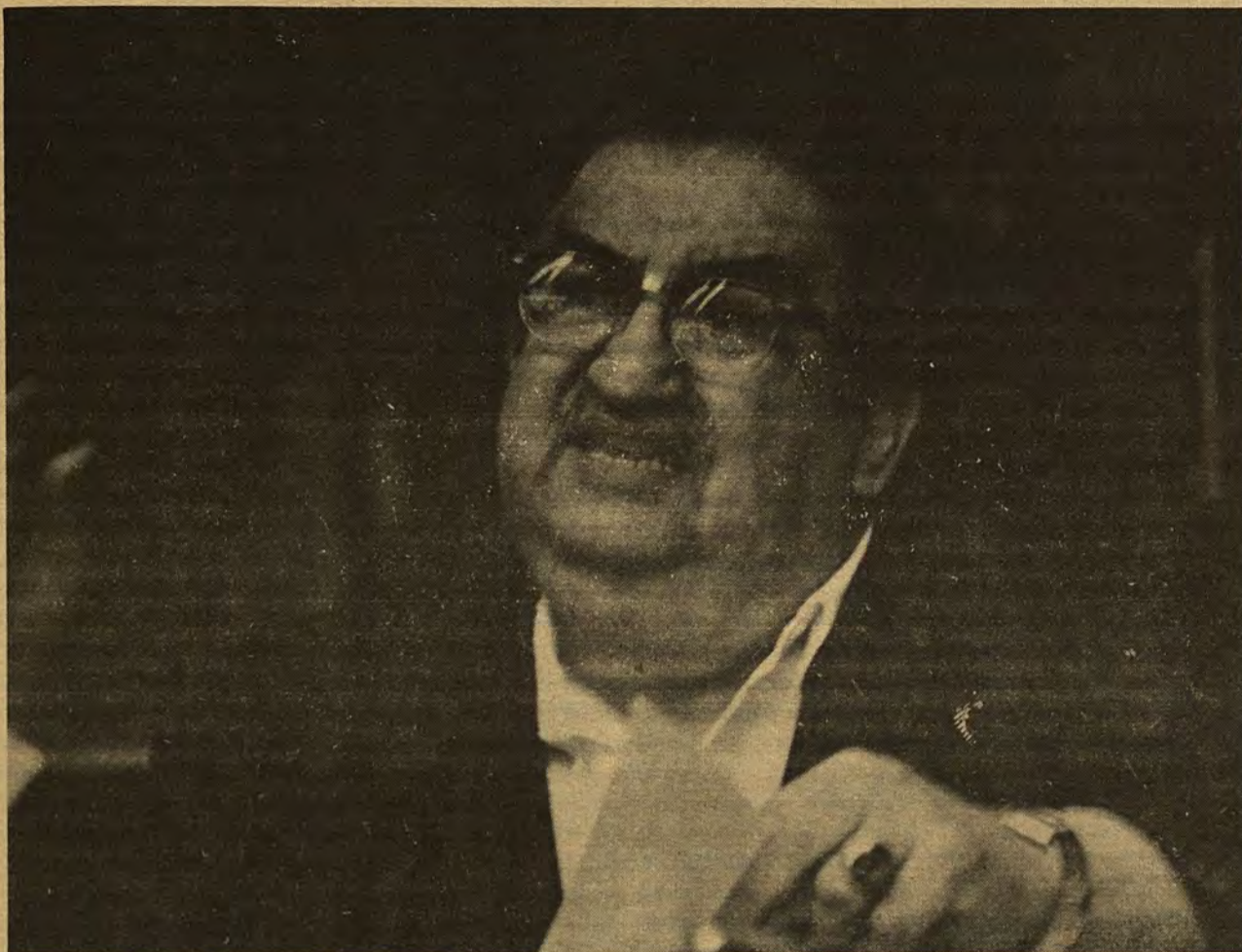
Seeing a way out, one of the recruiters (who was black) played on the black students' nationalism and mistrust of whites. He didn't succeed in ingratiating himself with them, but he did provoke an attack on SDS by a few black students. One of the latter said, 'SDS is just on an ego trip,' and 'What have you done to fight racism anyway.' He hit a weak spot, since the racism in us had hindered our making honest political and personal friendships with black students and launching solid campaigns.

The recruiters loved this. They all laughed, thinking they were off the hook. However, we turned this around somewhat by talking some more about our own material need to fight racism, some of the few things we'd done, and pointing out how racism was being used to prevent us from fighting the recruiters. We saw concretely that we will have to fight racism hard if we are to have any credibility among black students.

Another good aspect of the action was the fact that people new to the chapter as well as other students stepped in and denounced the recruiters. In fact they confiscated all their recruiting literature and sat down on their desks. Awareness, enthusiasm, and militance grew considerably among these people. As the recruiters headed for the door, thirty students followed them chanting 'US Get Out of Vietnam Now! No Negotiations!' This was the third time this year we have chased off recruiters. Now we are talking about a campaign to bar them from campus for good. We are setting up an anti-war committee to work on this as well as a forum on US imperialism and Vietnam, agitational leaflets, and more articles in the school paper. This committee should greatly spread anti-imperialist consciousness, bring more students into SDS, and hopefully lead a struggle.

by Jim Taff, Boston State SDS

MR. CHUBBS FOILED



MR. CHUBBS photo by Linda Allison

The Women's Liberation Committee of SDS first heard the story of 'Mr. Chubb's', a delicatessen near the UC (Berkeley) campus, from the janitor. 'Chubbs' was a smart guy; he knew all the tricks. By capitalizing on male chauvinist myths -- that women are weak, that they should be feminine, passive, and not speak out, that they are only useful as sex objects and their incomes are only 'supplementary' - he was able to get the most from workers for the least cost.

When a woman was hired she was rarely told the pay scale was \$1.55/hour, or that she was expected to work for a 'training period' without any pay. In the three months the deli has been open, over two dozen women have been fired, often at the end of their training period. Often 'Chubbs' sexually harassed his new employees. If they protested, he quickly found excuses to fire them. The situation at 'Mr. Chubb's' is a blatant example of the kinds of conditions that working women are forced to contend with throughout this country. For example, here are 1967 statistics on the incomes of service workers:

white male	\$5813
black male	4097
white female	2953
black female	2738

The male workers at the deli also felt the effects of male chauvinism. The workers did not have regular work schedules; they were told to come in at certain times, then often made to stand around for a few hours before starting work or sent home early; they sometimes had to work eight hours a week or ten hours a day; there also was no scheduled pay day, no breaks, no paid meals, no vacation or sick pay.

SDS called a meeting with the employees past and present. The workers wanted to strike. Demands were formulated and presented to Chubbs. His response was no surprise: he immediately tried to divide the workers by speaking only to the men and talked about the lazy women workers.

The following morning the strike began. SDS held a rally on campus and a march to the delicatessen. About 60 people picketed the first afternoon. The boycott was almost 100% effective. Support from the campus was widespread.

Although people and delivery trucks were not crossing the picket lines, weaknesses began to

appear on the second day. Most of the women workers were not back on the picket lines. The men workers began to huddle together to discuss what was going on, excluding the two women workers who were there. It was clear that we in SDS had not struggled enough with our own male chauvinist ideas or with those of the workers. We hardly talked to the women workers, and with the men, we didn't struggle around the need to involve the women workers in all the decisions and planning throughout the strike. The idea that the picket lines were not the place for women meant that all the workers were half as strong.

'Mr. Chubbs' soon called for negotiations. His first trick was to demand only men on the negotiation committee. Some of the men workers felt this was all right because the women were not as strong and wouldn't speak up to 'Chubbs' and could not argue as well. They forgot that one of the first people to speak out about the conditions there was a woman. His next tactic was to try to scare the committee into believing that he'd have to close down the business completely if they prolonged the strike or forced him to grant 'all' the demands. 'Chubbs' then said he'd grant all the demands of the men and set up a grievance committee of employees to handle the problems of the women workers after the strike was settled. He said that the women in his Berkeley store weren't as good workers as the men so they did not deserve a pay raise. Some workers were scared and wanted to settle immediately and let the grievance committee handle the demands not won. But we talked to the other workers about the fact that if you couldn't win demands on strike, by using the real power of workers to stop business, how could you expect to win them by presenting 'Chubbs' with a paper decision of the grievance committee. For one thing, the Culinary Workers Union already had 'Chubbs' in court for ignoring a Union contract.

We also talked about the need to fight for demands of women workers. As long as any group of workers, in this case women, are systematical-

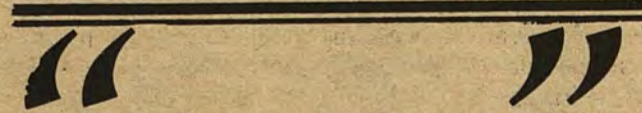
ly forced into the worst jobs, they are used to pull down the wages of all workers. Whenever workers fight for better wages and conditions, those workers who are the most desperate for work, who always get the lousiest jobs can be used as strikebreakers. To put it another way, why should a boss pay \$3.00/hour to a man when he can get a woman to do it for \$1.85/hour? Male chauvinist ideas are used to justify the wage and other differences between men and women. But the difference in wages doesn't go in the men workers' pockets, but to the company owners, the bosses like 'Mr. Chubbs'. All workers suffer from the division that these differences create.

The women workers at 'Mr. Chubbs' started to speak up again. They struggled with the men not to settle until the demands for the women workers were won. The other workers began to see the need to fight the divisions on the job. They demanded that the next sandwich maker (the highest paid job) hired be a woman. They saw that if only men had the highest paid jobs it might be difficult to get the higher-paid workers to fight for the interests of the lower-paid workers. All were convinced of the importance of getting Sue Hersh re-hired. 'Chubbs' said he'd take back all the other workers after the strike except her. It was no accident that she was the most militant woman and one of the first organizers of the strike. 'Chubbs' thought he could get away with singling her out as a lesson to women not to fight back and he counted on the men not supporting her. He depended on ideas that seem to justify the exploitation of women, for example, he said that Sue was 'too slow' and that these women are always complaining about something or other.

When the workers faced 'Chubbs' the next day they were UNITED. The picket lines were full of workers and students, male and female. After two and a half days of striking, 'Chubbs' gave in and signed a contract. The workers won every demand, including: pay increases which in three months would equal union scale of \$2.55/hour and \$2.90/hour, the rehiring of all strikers, weekly schedules definite pay periods, the firing of scabs, and an equal number of men and women in all job categories.

The news of the victory spread quickly. Students were excited and new people were involved in SDS through the strike support. Workers from other stores were amazed at the gains. The 'Chubbs' employees won. Many campus workers were really encouraged about what workers and students can do when they unite and fight back.

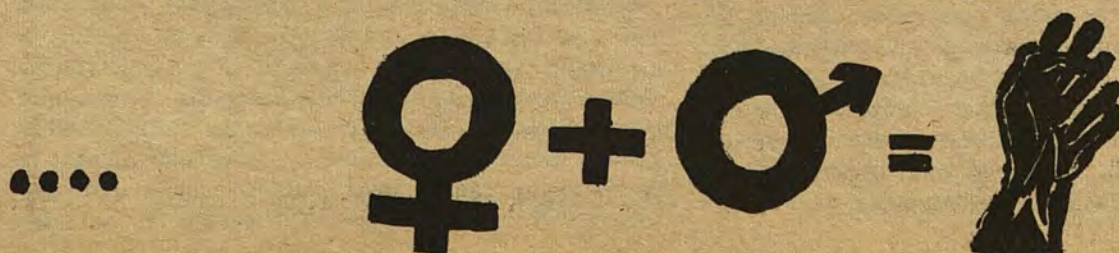
by Linda Mehling and Anita Roger, UC Berkeley



'President Pusey says we can't take fewer men (to get a more even ratio) because Harvard has a commitment to the nation.' (quoted by Roberta Benjamin in the Harvard Crimson, Feb. 10, 1970)

In the Radcliffe kitchens, women cooks get 91¢ less an hour than men cooks. Why?

According to J. Boyd Britton, Vice-President of Radcliffe, 'There's a long tradition...'



IMPERIALISM IMPERIALISM

In 1970, three million workers in basic industries like electrical products, steel, and rubber will confront the bosses of US imperialism. These workers are fighting to catch up with price rises and tax increases. The approaching battles will prove again that imperialism has not been able to 'buy them off'.

During this year and in the future, therefore, SDSers will be speaking to students about the question: Why is imperialism against the interests of the working class in the US? Why must US workers fight imperialism? In offering answers, SDS has been mixing two theories of imperialism which must be sharply distinguished. One theory is correct and leads to a higher level of unity against imperialism; the other is wrong and narrows the struggle of US workers and students against imperialism. These two theories are:

1. Imperialism is a policy resulting directly from the drive of capitalists for higher profits. The lower wages paid to workers in neo-colonies provide these profits. 'Imperialism -- the bosses' 'run away' for cheap labor.' (This notion is expressed in Alan Gilbert's article in NLN, September 20, 1969.)

2. Imperialism is a necessary stage of capitalism, a world system of sharpened competition between monopolies, which protects the very ability of all invested capital to make a profit -- and makes possible and necessary an alliance between US workers and colonial people - workers and peasants - to defeat imperialism.

Workers in the US are in a very different position from the peasants and other people in Vietnam and elsewhere -- but they have a common enemy in US imperialism. Only the second analysis above reflects these differences and how they make unity against imperialism possible and necessary.

Worker Distribution

Where are the industrial workers? Taking rough figures for 1964, manufacturing workers paid in wages or salaries numbered 19 million in the US alone and 66 million in the US, Canada, western Europe, Australia, and Japan combined -- the developed capitalist countries. In all the areas dominated by imperialism - Africa, America south of the US, and Asia (excluding Japan) - wage and salary workers in manufacturing number 19 million, about the same as in the US alone. In short, 78% of manufacturing workers are in the developed capitalist countries. (Statistics omit the Soviet bloc, China, and Albania.)

On the other hand, the 'economically active' population in agriculture and mining (whether wage-earners, share-croppers, small peasants, etc.) number 282 million in the colonial countries. (Source: Year Book of Labour Statistics, ILO, Geneva, 1964) In the colonial countries, there is an agriculture-bound population kept in stagnant backwaters; imperialism uses some of them to extract raw materials - crops, ores, and oil. The people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America face the oppression of US imperialism: their economies remain backward and largely subsistence agricultural; their resources are plundered; the few employed receive pitiful wages; they fall under the hand of State Department-managed puppet regimes; the way to developing their country without the exploitation of man by man is blocked.

Money is the Weapon

This situation is reflected in the direct foreign investments of US corporations. In the neo-colonies, mining and petroleum account for one-half of this investment; about 38% is in manufacturing. Manufacturing comprises 42% of all direct foreign investment by US corporations. Four-fifths of it is in Europe, Canada, Australia, and Japan. To make a rough comparison of extremes, the amount of direct private investment in manufacturing in the colonial world - about \$5 billion - should be put against the total stock-

holders' equity in US manufacturing corporations -- \$250 billion. Direct foreign investment in manufacturing in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is a tiny part of the total capital of US corporations. (Source: Statistical Abstract, 1968 and 1969)

Raw materials are made into industrial products in the developed capitalist countries; we have already seen where industrial workers are.

The developed capitalist region and the colonial region of the world are linked by way of connected but distinct productive spheres. The raw materials are grown, mined, or pumped out of the colonial countries and worked up into basic industrial products in the imperialist nations themselves.

In this situation the theory of runaway plants and cheap labor does not hold. It leaves marginal profit gains as just that -- a marginal bonus for the giant corporations. A factory in the US does not generally run away and become transmogrified into a coffee plantation, a copper mine, or an oil field. But the 'marginal' investment in raw material extraction is the basis for propping up the entire load of capitalist investment.

Investments' Role?

Investment in the neo-colonies protects the entire mass of existing capital in the imperialist nations. If this marginal investment had to be made in the US, then larger output, lower prices, and hiring of unemployed workers would threaten the profit-making ability of all US capital. Capital invested around the world puts pressure on US workers to accept the fewer jobs and lower wages offered in the US. Corporations say to US workers: 'You won't accept the low wages and declining standard of living we offer? Then we'll go invest in our neo-colonial empire.' With a 'dangerously low' unemployment rate, the low wages paid US workers would be in danger of attack by the fighting working class. Investment in colonies 'protects' the rate of unemployment, protects the profit-making ability of all invested capital, and protects the prices on restricted output in the US.

Along with unemployment, imperialism 'protects' speedup, unsafe working conditions, racist concentration of these effects among black workers, impoverishment of whole regions (e.g. Appalachia), and contempt for the health and education of the people. In short, imperialism 'protects' and heightens all the general conditions of oppression under capitalism, by expanding its sphere of activity compared to the US alone. Imperialism gives nothing to US workers. The driving need to maximize profits always operates, and imperialism uses the expanded sphere of capital investment as a tool to drive down the wages of US workers. Against this oppression, the workers are fighting back. By understanding how imperialism is the enemy, the fight against this oppression can be sharpened.

Further, the special contradictions of imperialism now sharpen, too. The wars by US imperialism against people's liberation movements and the intensified rivalry with other capitalist nations lead to the special phenomena that have appeared since 1965: an absolute decline in workers' real wages (due to inflation and surtaxes), cracking the whip harder in the factories under a phony 'national interest' cover, and a death tax for imperialist wars in the form of a draft (or 'volunteer' army) on working class youth.

Numbers Show Pattern

This overall pattern is revealed by comprehensive population and investment statistics. Within it, minor variations and misleading exceptions may be found. One example reports that Motorola employs a thousand workers in an electronics plant in South Korea. They assemble components out of basic electronic elements made by sixteen thousand workers at Motorola plants in Phoenix, Arizona. Most of the output of the Korean factory is then shipped back to the US for sale.

Often, the quoted examples of low-wage plants abroad reflect a special position -- in the showcase fascisms of US imperialism: South Korea, Taiwan, South Vietnam. This cheap labor is not concentrated in the same industrial production done in the developed capitalist countries. As the Motorola example illustrates, exploited labor abroad tends to be in final assembly operations that exist only as an appendage to basic production done in the US. Most of the plants in the US do not 'run away' to Asia; we cannot convince US steel, rubber, and other workers that they do. And the point is not that other workers have jobs that 'belong to the US' but that US workers lose in their fight against the bosses when corporations can invest capital throughout a world empire big enough to oppress every part of it. The foundation of this empire is the vast oppressed peasantry and other working people of the colonial world.

Another common illustration is the statement that 'Chrysler made 81% of its profits outside the US in 1961, although 91% of its assets are in this country.' The first requirement, however, is to take a representative year. In 1961, Chrysler made one-third the profit that it made the year before and one-fifth what it made in 1962. Profits then grew steadily after this crisis for the bosses of Chrysler. Chrysler is an example of a US corporation moving into Europe in order to maintain its parasitic life. It bought up Simca (France) and Rootes Motors (Britain). In 1966, plant and equipment value was approximately distributed as follows:

US and Canada	\$1,082 million
Europe, So. Africa, Australia	177
Other (mostly Mexico, So. Am.)	23

About one-quarter of Chrysler's employees are outside the US, they make about one-quarter of its cars, and they get about 13% of its payroll. (Source: Moody's Industrials, 1965; Moody's Handbook of Common Stocks, 1965) According to Fortune, November 1965, foreign earnings provided about one-quarter of Chrysler's total profits in 1964. The picture, then, is this: by its French and British holdings, Chrysler earns a substantial minority of its profits abroad at several times the domestic profit rate. Foreign operations also allow Chrysler to avoid extra investment in the US that would be unprofitable. Chrysler cannot put more profits back into US operations until it can hope to beat GM and Ford for more of the market.

Total View Needed

These are the grounds for an alliance of US workers and the people of Vietnam and other neo-colonies. Precisely because the economic forms of imperialism are different in the developed and the colonial parts of the empire, but linked in one economic process and mutually supporting of the whole load of the system, there is the basis in fact for this alliance. There is no need, possibility, or defensible reason to wait in each industrial sector until it is threatened by runaway plants. That view is a narrow one -- too narrow to encompass the world within which US corporations shift around investment. The time for an alliance of US workers and peasants and other working people on the basis of working people's internationalism is now!

Imperialism is not a chosen policy of the greedy bosses. It is not a bribe to buy off US white workers (the theory of 'white skin privilege'). It is not a strategy to increase marginal super-profits, separable from the whole system. Imperialism is not an option that might be given up -- to 'reform' the system. If such were the case, anti-imperialism would help capitalism to work. The battle against imperialism is fundamental to oppressed people everywhere! SDSers must show this in anti-war actions and in struggles by the side of campus workers, GE workers, and others, to forge a worker-student alliance.

Charles Pine, U. California, Davis

G.E. STRIKE ENDS

by Cheyney Ryan

The GE strike has ended. Last month, officials of the IUE/UE negotiating group announced that an agreement had been reached with the GE management, thus signifying the end of a strike which had been a landmark in many ways. The GE strike marked the first time that students throughout the country had linked up their struggles with those of workers, and had fought on the side of the GE workers against their racist and imperialist bosses. At the Labor Department on November 15th in Washington, SDS had expressed its solidarity with the GE strikers by holding a demonstration of thousands of people around the slogan 'US Out of Vietnam Now -- No Negotiations -- Support the GE Workers'. On campus after campus throughout the country, demonstrators fought scab recruiters who had come to recruit strikebreakers (see recent issues of NLN). The success which SDS had in enlisting student support for these actions show how far the masses of students have come in understanding the importance, and the necessity, of a pro-working class student movement.

But what of the settlement itself? Throughout the strike, union leaders did everything in their power to cool down the militancy of the striking workers. Hence it was little surprise that the settlement finally arrived at was more pleasing to the GE bosses than it was to the workers. At the largest GE factory in the country, Schenectady, N.Y., the workers voted the contract down. In Utica, Syracuse, and Evandale, strikers also refused to ratify the contract. And in the Louisville area, the contract received a bare majority of the area's 15,000 workers.

The union leaders claimed that the strike was a victory over 'Boulwarism', the previous policy of the GE management by which they made simply one offer before the contract deadline and refused to budge afterwards. Many GE workers have realized that the new settlement they 'won' through their strike is little better than the original GE offer, no better than the GE offer of December 6th, and hardly a 'victory' by any definition of the word. The details of the contract are as follows:

- The increase of 74¢ in wages and cost of living over the next 43 months matches the offer GE made December 6th. This increase is hardly enough to match the increases in the cost of living that will take place in the period, and is far below that needed to make up for the losses of the previous contract.

- The demands for the abolition of differentials between the north and south and between men and women were entirely dropped. The maintenance of these divisions ensures that the management will continue to split the workers and play them off against each other for their own profit.

- Similarly, the contract is longer than even GE offered at the beginning of the strike, and all provisions for job security demanded by the workers were essentially dropped.

The press, management, and union leaders have done their best to stem a rank-and-file revolt by making the settlement appear as a

victory for the strikers. But what we in SDS should learn from the strike is what many workers have already come to know -- that you can trust the union management about as much as you can trust GE -- maybe even less. We should not make the mistake that the publications of other groups, like the Young Socialist Alliance (in *The Militant*) and the *Guardian*, have made in joining the chorus of ruling class voices that call the settlement a victory for the strikers. Stanley Aronowitz, writing in the *Guardian*, summed up the settlement by observing that in industrial strikes neither side wins or loses. Most likely, if the US succeeded in imposing a coalition government on South Vietnam, Aronowitz would state that in people's war neither side ever wins or loses. The fact is that the settlement was a sell-out, and in talking to students and to the GE workers that we have met on the picket lines we should raise the true nature of the settlement and what it means for the future.

But the union leadership cannot cloud over the militancy of the GE workers who struck for months against their bosses, nor can they wish away the ties and alliances that students who demonstrated against GE on their campuses formed with the workers. SDS certainly could have fought a lot harder on the side of the GE strikers, and done a much better job in talking to students about the nature of the strike and how it tied in with other issues like the war. But the actions that took place were important first steps in building a broad based pro-working class movement.

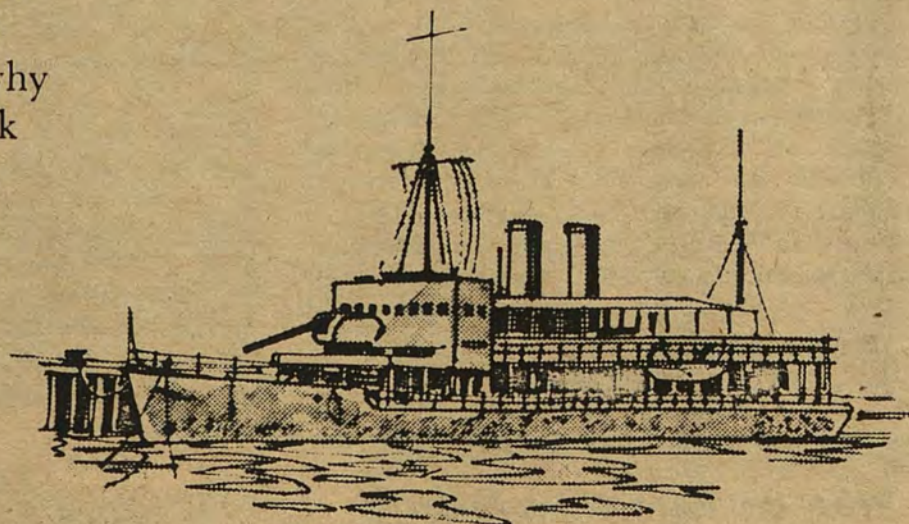
When you need something more diplomatic than a gunboat

Times have changed. Empire builders can't shoot their way to success as they did in the bad old days. But there's nothing to regret about the passing of gunboat diplomacy: it was costly, it was risky -- and in the long run it was ineffective. Today's way, the diplomatic way, is infinitely more efficient -- but it depends on *inside* knowledge. That's why you'll do well to choose Chemical Bank as your international business partner.

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the bank that knows the people who count in the places that matter

Stony Brook (cont.)

The day of the demonstration began with a rally at the Student Union building where we repeated the RAT troupe skit and listened to a speech by a member of the NIC. From this rally, we marched to the security building where the recruiter was being protected by the campus security force. Once there we formed a picket line outside the door, chanting slogans such as '1, 2, 3, 4... Vietnam's a bosses' war; 5, 6, 7, 8... Nothing to negotiate.' A shoving match ensued between security and demonstrators, in which a patrolman's nightstick was liberated. One SDS member, a Chinese student also in PL who already has 29 charges against him for previous actions, was singled out for attack by the university. Even though there were over 100 demonstrators, only this student was threatened with violence and legal action. After about an hour, the demonstration broke up.

There were many shortcomings to the teach-in and the demonstration. The most important of these was the lack of organization and direction. Due to this, there was hesitance on the part of the tactical leadership, thus making it impossible for the crowd to take an effective action.

Though the demonstration was not as militant as it could have been, it was at least a partial success. Even with bad coordination, we succeeded in mobilizing a fairly large number of students. Only through continued active struggle can we form a mass movement at Stony Brook. We will continue in the future to canvas, leaflet, and put on RAT troupe skits, an especially effective way of reaching students.

General Electric plants in the New York-New Jersey area are going back on strike. On March 5, the GE recruiter is coming to Stony Brook. We hope to be better organized for the next action.

Stony Brook SDS
by Robin Karasik Bob Nizewitz
Jerry Schechter Ronit Zagorski

Boston SMC (cont.)

cused of being 'multi-issue oriented'. What the SMC-YSA leaders who used this phrase meant was 'You radicals aren't really interested in ending the war; you're just trying to drag a single-issue movement into distracting fights about racism and male chauvinism.'

The unwillingness of the conference leaders to discuss these issues came out most clearly the next morning. An hour-long debate took place around the relationship of anti-racist and anti-male chauvinist actions to the spring demonstration. When an SDSer moved to extend debate for one half hour and this motion carried, the SMC staged a walkout.

They called a caucus for those who wanted to build for 'mass actions', implying that people who raised the issue of racism and male chauvinism were concerned only with making isolated fights, unrelated to anti-war actions. The conference leaders were able to pull off the walkout partly because of misunderstandings we created ourselves. In attacking marches with liberal speakers, we often gave the impression that we opposed all marches. While advancing our own proposals for fighting ROTC, war research, recruiters, and racist and male chauvinist pay differentials, we should have emphasized the importance of mass demonstrations in building for these struggles. In fact, the SMC split was defeated only when many people made it clear that we all wanted to build for mass demonstrations, and that the real divisions in the conference were political.

Who Do Politicians Help?

This became evident when the conference reconvened. An SDS member proposed that 'liberal politicians, big businessmen, university presidents, or other imperialists' be excluded from speaking at the April 15th rally. This proposal raised two questions that SDS members considered crucial for the anti-war movement:

(1) Would we continue to ally with the very people who benefit from the war and who use ROTC, war research, and police institutes to maintain it? (2) Would a clearer exposition of the imperialist nature of the war 'alienate' people and 'narrow the base of the movement' as the SMC argued?

The proposal was defeated in a disputed vote, but the debate was extended and a recount taken. In the extended discussion, Mark Zanger of Yale SDS told of the role played by Moratorium speakers Kingman Brewster, Richard Lee, and William Sloane Coffin in maintaining ROTC and war research and their part in suppressing the fights of students and workers against racist firings and urban renewal. By talking specifically about the role of these men in promoting the war and exploitation in the US, we convinced many SMC members that men like these were not desirable leaders for the anti-war movement. The proposal passed on the second vote.

An error that SDS members made was not to stress heavily enough the need to fight racism. An SDS member proposed that all speakers at rallies stress the need to attack the racist justification for the war and the ways in which racism keeps people from fighting against it. But we didn't fight for the provision in the SDS proposal that a central demand of the anti-war movement be 'End all racist attacks on Third World Peoples'.

Women



and the Anti-War Movement

One of the best experiences of the conference was in the women's caucus, where SDSers drafted a joint proposal with NAC (Boston area Revolutionary Youth Movement) and other radical women. We were brought together by our anger at the SMC's refusal to discuss male chauvinism and also by the portion of the SMC proposal that dealt with women. Typical parts of this were 'If the war weren't going on, the government could be spending money on things like day care and better medical care', and 'Women are hurt by the war because they are forced to become wage earners'. This last point was disputed by women in SDS. They felt that it is true that the war exploits women (that the pay differential in this country is bad enough in peacetime; but that it's worse when women are forced to take underpaid jobs in order to support themselves and/or their families; and, by so doing, they are unwillingly subsidizing their husbands' presence in Vietnam). People found fault in the SMC criticism in that it implied that it's bad for women to work, that 'woman's place is in the home'. When women work and fight male chauvinist ideas which relegate them to a lower position in society, then they are helping themselves and their sisters to destroy their oppression.

SDSers argued for a series of actions the week before April 15th around equal pay for women and men, free abortions and birth control, free day care centers and an end to the ideology of male chauvinism that is pushed in university courses, textbooks, and popular culture in general.

We presented this proposal at the plenary along with the NAC demand that at least 50% of the speakers at the April march and 50% of the leaders of the anti-war coalition be women. YSA and SMC speakers attacked this proposal as an 'artificial' answer to the question of women in the movement and added that if the anti-war movement involved itself in fighting around these issues, it would 'turn off a lot of our potential base' and 'undermine the autonomy of the women's movement'. We had spent many hours before winning people's support for this proposal, and finally the conference passed it, although not unanimously.

Lessons

At the New England conference there were two separate views of what kind of movement can get the US out of Vietnam. One said (the title of the SMC proposal) 'Why argue on what we already agree on?' Or, in other words, 'Let's just turn out those thousands of people again this April and forget about politics. The other said that political differences in the anti-war move-

ment are important because they represent the different experiences and analyses that have evolved from the fight against the war. This approach led a majority of the delegates to engage in sharp debate, to learn from the varied experiences of the movement, and to develop clearer positions on the negotiations in Paris, liberal speakers, and the role of racism and male chauvinism.

We felt that the votes on these questions reflected the success of this approach. Although the SMC leadership has already taken steps to deny these votes, many of the 900 delegates at the conference have become convinced that the only movement that can fight effectively against the war is one that allies with those most hurt by the war and exposes those who benefit from it.

by Lowry Hemphill, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS
Aaron Tovish, MIT SDS
Robert Matthews, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS

Ohio SMC (cont.)

The last day of the conference, SDS held a forum where some of the best political discussion of the conference went on. Attended by 100 people, the discussion centered on the struggles that SDS had waged this year and the relationship of the Progressive Labor Party to SDS.

SDS cannot stand blameless for what happened at the SMC conference. The ideas of SDS were responded to warmly by many independents at the conference, as was evidenced by the huge literature sales made. But not enough SDS people were present to put forth our ideas, or to counteract the 'image' that SDS is dead. SDS formulated an excellent position paper stressing a national anti-ROTC campaign, supporting workers' struggles, and exposing the liberal Moratorium politicians. SDS did not present the paper as a proposal because it was decided by the members who were there that SDS should encourage people to drop out of SMC and join SDS, so we decided not to work with the SMC. This chapter feels that we should have made a proposal, because the independent radicals should have been confronted with an alternative to the YSA-Yippie-RYM proposals.

Despite the weaknesses of SDS's approach, we were heartened to see the large numbers of people who were sincerely interested in fighting the war. The key now is for SDS chapters throughout the country to find ways of mobilizing people this spring in concrete actions against the war.

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SANTA BARBARA

Santa Barbara, Feb. 24 - March 3. Students rebelled against police in three nights of fighting in Isla Vista, the student town of the University of California at Santa Barbara. They fought police, faced the National Guard, gutted a branch of the Bank of America, and attacked several real estate offices. Big newspapers distorted what happened, describing it as a riot of crazed mobs provoked by William Kunstler, defense attorney for the Chicago 7. The papers focused on the terror and violence of students, censoring the facts and reasons.

In fact the beginning was a provocation by police the night before Kunstler spoke. (When Kunstler came, he said that he couldn't approve of the violence the night before.) Police arrested two Isla Vista (IV) residents on the street, one a well-known black organizer. During the arrest, a scuffle with police grew into a battle of 200 students who threw rocks and damaged a police car. The campus termed the precipitating arrest as 'routine' for Isla Vista where police harassment is common. That night the students built bonfires in the street and the crowd damaged the Bank of America and a few realty offices.

After Kunstler's speech the next afternoon, rioting continued -- the Bank was completely destroyed in flames, a police car was demolished, and realty firms were attacked again. 200 or 300 cops converged to protect property and disperse the students. At first the crowd of 1500 ran, but later attacked the cops with volleys of rocks, slingshots, and bottles, forcing them to retreat. Far from being the acts of a few lunatics, 1500-2000 residents were in the street, many fighting the police.

On the third night, police and 600 national guard attacked students with tear gas, clubs, arrests, and guns. A campus worker was shot in the arm by police as he drove through campus. Students were arrested in apartments, dorms, and the street at random.

stration against racism. Militant striking workers have been beaten, arrested, and scabbed against, and they have fought back violently, by necessity. The current Independent Journal newspaper strike is an example in the Bay Area (see last page). It has become clear to students and workers that the police, the army, the courts, and all other arms of government act for the owners of the blacks, factories, universities, and corporations. These few rich controllers are the same ones who benefit from racist exploitation and imperialist wars. They are the oppressors not only of Vietnamese and Laotians, but also of students and workers in the US, and peasants and workers of the Third World.

Santa Barbara students alone, or even all seven million American college students cannot themselves end the war or stand up to repression for long. We must seek to join with all who are hurt by the war, racism, high rents and oppression against the working class.

Role of Racism

Last year students at UC Santa Barbara gave little support to the arrested black students. Students across the nation react more to the Chicago 7 trial than to the repression of Bobby Seale and other Panthers. The murder of James Rector by cops during 'People's Park' in Berkeley initiated loud protests from white students who themselves ignored the murder of black students by police in North Carolina. Racism also allows us to forget the seriousness of the war in Southeast Asia, where we are told that 'life is cheap' and Asians come in 'hordes'. It is often Third World students and workers who are oppressed the most by this system, so it is usually they who lead militant struggles and fight back. Students and workers must not let racism be used to split the movement against the common oppressor. Racism only helps those in power who teach racism in schools, magazines, television, and movies.

to change draft and war policies by going to jail. During the Moratorium the leaders urged non-violence and invited liberal politicians (who helped get us into the war) to speak for peace. The Moratorium ignored the fact that the US capitalists exploit millions of people in other countries 'peacefully' with puppet governments. The Bank of America responded to Santa Barbara students in many newspapers across the country in a full-page ad which was entitled 'Violence in America' but neglected the violence of the Bank of America and the rest of the ruling class:

Let us, as a nation, find once again our ability to distinguish between protest and revolt: between dissent and chaos; between demonstration and destruction; between non-violence and violence... (Bank of America)

The violence of the ruling class goes on every day in Vietnam, ghettos, factories, farms, etc. The destruction of property taken from the working class and the violence against oppressors cannot be equated with the continued brutality of the ruling class through the army, the police, and the jails.

Error of Terror

The targets that UCSB students attacked were clearly bullseyes of the exploitative system. The riot certainly aimed well against high rents, the war, and the police. However, an ongoing growing movement of students and workers militantly raising concrete demands is necessary, and without this the actions of UCSB students will have little effect. Specific campaigns against war research, ROTC, racist courses, high rents, the Bank of America, etc. can be successful, and militancy would play a crucial, but not an isolated, role.

by Paul Englesberg
Berkeley SDS



STUDENTS FIGHT REPRESSION

Banks and Realty - Good Targets

The Bank of America was known to students as controller of DiGiorgio and other scab growers who exploit the mostly Chicano grapepickers and break the strike. Students were aware of the Bank's racist profits in Apartheid Union of South Africa. The Bank's power extends from control of Lockheed Corp., the largest war contractor; Union Oil, polluter of beaches and a chief exploiter; to Safeway stores, which sells scab grapes and makes huge profits by charging working people high 'discount' prices for food. A student at UCSB was quoted in the San Francisco Chronicle as saying, 'The Bank of America is the largest bank and one of the largest exploiters in the world.'

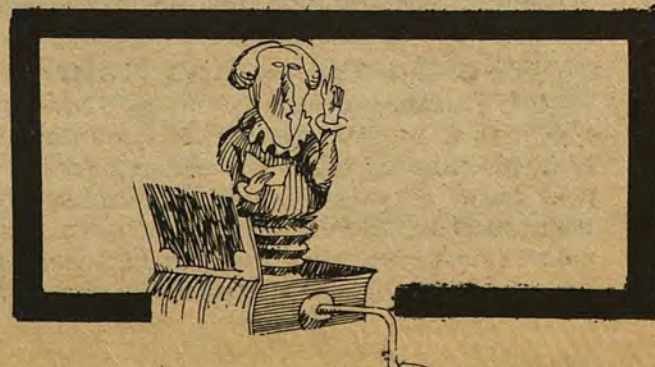
Real estate companies are a common enemy of students and many working people. In IV they charge high rents for shabby apartments on cheap land, providing little service or repairs, and forcing students to sign unfair contracts. While the Bank of America claims no profit off students (they make their profit from third world people and workers in the US) the rental firms make thousands.

Meaning for Student Movement

Police repression was not new to Santa Barbara, and certainly not new to black people and communities of working people and most campuses. Last year, the leaders of the Black Student Union at UC Santa Barbara were arrested on compound felonies after an illegal raid on their apartments. After almost a year, they still have not been tried; this has effectively paralyzed the organization. The Black Panthers have been attacked by police and the courts, and black students at San Fernando Valley State College received 1 to 25 year sentences for a demon-



Students have not always fought back against police and destroyed property. On Jan. 30 at Santa Barbara, 200 police came on campus to disperse students demonstrating for an open hearing for a fired professor. The 1000 students chanted 'Peace' and retreated. In the past, many students have relied on peaceful and symbolic protest, hoping that the morals of those with control would produce change. War resisters hoped



COURTS VS. STUDENTS

On February 13, seventeen UCLA students and workers who pleaded guilty to misdemeanor false imprisonment charges were sentenced to terms ranging from one year probation to six months in jail. The sentences were in reply to the militant sit-in that had taken place in the office of the Executive Director of ASUCLA (the administration-controlled corporation that runs the food services, book store, etc.), on November 19th. This sit-in led by the Asian Radical Movement (ARM) and SDS protested the racist firing of a black cafeteria worker. (see NLN, 10 Dec 69)

What the sentencing showed was how much the University works with the courts to try to destroy movements that hurt their interests, in this case the interests of the UC Regents who are directors and owners of some of the largest banks, corporations, and real estate companies in California (like Lockheed, Union Bank, Hunt-Wesson Foods, Hearst publishing empire). The University clearly saw how an alliance between students and campus workers can damage the profits they derive from the University both monetarily and by trying to inculcate racist, chauvinist, and anti-worker myths into students.

The University told the judge (who admitted as much) which students should get jail and which should get probation. The University also supplied the judge with information concerning which students had participated in the successful boycott of the cafeteria in December, and the picketing of a GE recruiter's visit to campus. One member of ARM was sentenced to six months in jail because, the Judge said, he had a 'dirty mouth', and because in a statement to the Judge where he emphasized the need for students to ally with working people he quoted directly from Mao

'Tse-tung's Little Red Book' (look it up yourself)! He also sentenced Barbara Hertz, a member of SDS and the Progressive Labor Party, to sixty days in jail, also, he said, because she had a 'dirty mouth'. Since the judge also verbally attacked other students for their statements, actions, etc., but did not sentence them to jail, the two above attacks must be seen as attacks on third-world students who see a need to build a worker-student alliance, to fight their super-oppression, and also an attack on communists who bring pro-working class ideology and practice to mass movements.

An added attack on the movement at UCLA was the terms of probation handed down by the judge; the sixteen cannot:

- take part in demonstrations on campus
- leaflet for any campus demonstration

The judge also forced an SDSer who had a full time job on campus to quit her job (after fining her \$200), and further instructed her not to set foot on any college campus anywhere for the next two years, under penalty of six months in jail!

Advance Under Attack

But in response to these attacks, the movement at UCLA didn't fold up; rather, SDS and ARM mobilized 150 students to come to a student conduct committee hearing, where five students (who like seven others are still being charged with felonies for the same sit-in) are being charged with violation of campus rules. Faced with all the students, and after a law school professor asked that the hearing be postponed until after the 'criminal' proceedings, the committee postponed the hearing.

by Neil Berger

Ann Arbor (cont.)

After another short rally, over 100 students marched to the Administration Building and occupied Fleming's office, exposing him as the protector of GE. He sat in his plush office smirking as we expressed our determination to continue to fight against the ways the University attacks the people.

That night several thousand people took to the streets to protest the repression of the Conspiracy 7 as an attack on all those fighting back against racism, the war, and exploitation. The police viciously attacked the marchers, but many fought back and attacked police cars.

These events mark a real advance for Ann Arbor SDS. The chapter remained independent after the split and only a few SDSers have national memberships. Some members have had ties with the Weathermen and the Revolutionary Youth Movement. The GE lock-in was the first expressly pro-working class action taken by the chapter. This is also the first action where people have actually thrown out recruiters and fought with the cops. Some of us who have been working mostly on the campus worker-student alliance have tried to correct our sectarian approach and integrate ourselves more with the chapter, especially since working on the GE action. People are now preparing to advance the level of struggle and win far more students and faculty to take part in such actions.

N. C. cont.

the super-exploitation of black working people argued the proposal which passed, 'Advance the Struggle--Fight Racism', which explains why proportionately more blacks are on welfare, etc. If we don't show how the rulers use racism to keep blacks in the worst positions and how this hurts black and white working people and students, if instead we say whites must have 'their own thing', then we build racism.

More generally, the N.C. agreed that our main failure has been not to fight racism hard enough. Not to point out the racist nature of the war, not to wage campaigns against racist textbooks and courses on campus, not to respond to racist attacks on black people by the police (like the attack on the Panthers), not to fight on the side of campus workers against racist pay differentials and hiring practices, and not to see fighting racism as a vital part of everything we do. Not doing this enough means that we remain divided from those who are leading the fight against the rulers; SDSers have not nearly enough friendships with black students. On every campus we should have committees with the task of initiating or strengthening struggles to fight racism. And we should launch a general offensive against racist ideas aside from those campaigns -- issuing leaflets regularly (at least every two weeks) that expose the racist culture and events we are surrounded by.

The N.C. agreed that fighting racism was key. The proposal passed said that racism, more than anything else, allows the rulers to maintain their power here in the U.S. By keeping people divided and fighting each other it weakens our strength to fight back. And without the racist idea that the Vietnamese are less than human the US would not be able to get GIs to carry out massacres like Song My.



SDS march in support of San Fernando Valley State students

NC Fights Racism

The National Council closed with a spirited demonstration that marched through Los Angeles to the old Hall of Justice shouting 'Smash Racism, Free the Valley State Students'. It was held in support of the black students at San Fernando Valley State who have been jailed for fighting back against the racist harassment of a black athlete by a coach. Although white students were involved, blacks were singled out for the harshest punishment -- three were given one to twenty-five year sentences while white students got only misdemeanors. This was 'justified' by the newspapers and the court by requiring the black students to undergo 'psychological testing' before they were sentenced. We passed out leaflets attacking the racist notion that only crazy people

fight back, and the idea that 'blacks are savages so they must be punished worst in order to keep them in line'.

Police came to us beforehand suggesting a route for the march that went through the financial district, different from the route we had picked just by looking at a map. So Howie Weiner of the NIC checked out the routes and discovered the one we had chosen would take us by a lot of working people, black, white, and Mexican-American. We kept our original plan and the reception we got was very friendly, with a number of people joining the march when we explained what it was about. This demonstration was a good note to end the NC on, and it should be an impetus to redouble our efforts fighting racism on our campuses.

Letters

Foreign Students

Dear Editor,

Since the New Haven and Los Angeles National Council meetings, it has become clear that SDS must reach out and we must involve ourselves in the struggles of other students. In order to do this, many chapters have set up anti-war (or anti-imperialist) committees, ecology committees, women's liberation committees, strike support committees, CWSA committees, ROTC committees, police science committees, expansion committees, etc. I think that these committees should have contact with similar committees of other chapters around the country in order to discuss how other chapters are dealing with particular problems that these specific committees are working with, to share with other chapters successful tactics and programs that certain chapters are having, etc.

This kind of committee chapter-to-chapter contact can be done by each chapter submitting a list to the NH of each on-going committee and the name, address, and phone number of one person from each committee. That person would be the committee contact for that chapter (lists could be revised twice a year, January and September). The NH could compile a list by committee, and send the completed lists back to each chapter which sent in a list.

I think this would be a real boost to chapter work by providing new sources of ideas for new chapters, isolated chapters and those who just aren't sure where to turn. It would also help SDS develop as a national organization and aid in planning and coordinating national actions (such as last November's anti-imperialist SDS action during the Moratorium, where anti-war committees with many regional contacts would have helped make the SDS actions even more successful).

I would suggest comments on this suggestion be sent to NLN and that if chapters think this is a good idea, the NH staff should move to implement it as soon as possible.

Terrie Barrett, SF State SDS

SMASH JARGON! (a letter to the editor)

New Haven was my first NC and the newness should perhaps make me reluctant to criticize; but it does not. The subject is small but significant: language and its exclusionary use.

Aside from being tedious, pompous, and inflated, the excessive use of expressions like 'struggle' and 'smash' can build nothing but walls. Describing their most recent struggles and smashes may make insiders feel all warm and militant inside. But workers and new and prospective members can only be put off by facile slogans, dozens of exclamation points, and an exclusionary, sectarian vocabulary.

If we want to be fish in the sea, we have to (sorry) talk like them.

Priscilla Labovitz, Cambridge



Dear Brothers and Sisters,

Here in Japan, workers and students have been more tightly organized through the fall offensive. I should emphasize that Anti War Youth League of the young workers and the Zenkyoto (newly reorganized group by allying the factions of the old Zengakuren) of the students have the strongest solidarity ever seen in the Japanese movement. Now we are preparing the big spring offensive, the climax of which will be seen from April to June of this year. Our main slogans are: Smash the US-Japan Security Treaty, Smash the joint comunique published by Nixon and Premier Sato last November in Washington, DC, which indicates Japanese imperialism is now ready to oppress the Asian people from Korea to Indonesia partly in place of the United States, which has been forced to retreat (relatively, of course) by the people of Vietnam. Other slogans are US and Japanese ruling class out of Okinawa (instead of US out of Okinawa), and so on.

Greetings of International Solidarity
Kenichiro Hayashi

To the editor of New Left Notes,

I don't feel that the article on basebuilding as written by Sonoma California SDS (NLN, Feb. 5) was of much positive value or relevant to many people who read New Left Notes. It mentioned bad attitudes, arrogance, laziness, and sectarianism, that hinder basebuilding but never made it very clear why basebuilding is important or even what it is. What is worse, I feel, it attacked a lot of honest people in saying 'True, many new members are self-centered and individualistic.' How arrogant indeed! As we are all products of the same system we all share similar ideas about the importance of ourselves or our personal liberation. In the course of struggling ideologically and in building campaigns, we see that many of these ideas are obstacles to fighting. I feel there are many people who have questions on the role of individualism, and that it is, therefore, not much of a basis for criticizing anyone in SDS.

Ann Sullivan, Boston State SDS

It has become clear that SDS has, in general, not been reaching out in a mass way to foreign students either in this country or abroad. This is due, in part, to our general isolation, which until recently kept us out of touch with the majority of students on our campuses and on other campuses; but it is also due to the strong national chauvinism in all of us.

Even New Left Notes has failed to put across to students the fact that our actions should be seen in an international perspective. The basis for internationalism is not just that there is student activity in other countries, however; rather, it is that the basis for imperialism abroad as well as here at home is the exploitation of workers. And students all over the world must unite with workers and other students against the imperialist ruling class. This is not relevant just in relation to the Vietnam war, though this is the only country for which we have really been actively demonstrating in support of the people's war against the bosses. We, in the committee to build ties with foreign students now being formed, propose looking into struggles of students and workers anywhere they might be happening, and especially in other advanced capitalist countries. The student movements in France and Italy are, at least in action, more developed than we are -- ahead of us on the same road. Events in France in 1968 and more recently in Italy especially vindicate a worker-student alliance.

Specifically, studies of worker-student alliances in other countries could not only help us in our own struggles, but might allow us to engage in support actions here for foreign struggles. An example is the demonstration at the International Industrialization Conference in San Francisco in September in support of striking Inco nickel workers in Canada. This is especially meaningful and concrete when workers in another country are striking against a subsidiary of a US corporation (e.g. right now, if Brazilian workers went on strike at GE of Brazil!). At some point we may be able to be in direct contact with workers and students involved in struggles, and plan actions together with these fighters in other countries (although we should constantly get enough information to carefully evaluate people's practice and not be tricked by fake radicals out to make opportunist alliances with us). Eventually we should work toward a time when we can cooperate in calling for genuine international actions, on a better political basis than the occasional days of protest against the Vietnam war that have been called by peace groups to the right of the movement. This might be facilitated by work trips abroad for SDSers (and return trips for foreign groups), probably to Western European countries where work conditions would be most similar to our own. Thus, the hazy distant goal: BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT!

In the meantime, the NC showed us that there are a lot of foreign students who are very interested in allying with us in our struggles. This is despite the fact that they are in constant danger of being deported and facing severe repression in their own countries. We should build strong ties with these students and try to seek out others who are willing to ally with us, although we should not urge them to join SDS when this would isolate them from other foreign students.

For the present, a few of us have gotten together to gather and disseminate information, especially through NLN, to students across the country. We urge all SDSers who can read, write, or speak a foreign language, as well as those who have contacts here or abroad with student groups whose experience will illuminate our struggles to give their support to this effort. Anyone interested in contributing skills or information should write to Anne Hack, 5217 Dorchester, Chicago, Ill. 60615 (phone 312/288-0481). A list of area contacts is given below. We still need to hear from people in the South (except SE) and the West (except California) interested in being area representatives.

Contact List

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Southern California

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Baltimore, Md. 21223

Southeast

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Florida State U.
Tallahassee, Fla.

SHUT IT DOWN

In the eastern corner of 'wonderful uptight Marin county', home of the Sausalito art colony, Stinson beach, \$30,000 a year hippies, and Alan Watts, lies the small, unassuming city of San Rafael. By car, San Rafael is about thirty minutes north of San Francisco. If you are at all familiar with Marin, you probably wouldn't suspect anything other than art festivals, grass, and beautiful weekends at Stinson was happening. You would probably suspect even less was happening in San Rafael. But you are wrong! A close look reveals the truth about what's happening -- 45 printers, members of the International Typographers Union (ITU), Local 21, have been striking against the San Rafael Independent Journal (IJ) newspaper since January 7th of this year.

Why single out the IJ strike from the more than 4500 strikes that have taken place in this country during the past twelve months? It is because this strike has two very significant aspects -- (1) there is an open attempt by the IJ management to not simply win the strike, but smash the union. This attack on the working class is part of the pattern of attacks by the ruling class on all workers (like GE's attack on organized labor, rising cost of living, the government's racist attack on black and white workers in the construction trades), and (2) labor's response to this attack, which has been a tremendous outpouring of rank-and-file workers from all over the Bay Area to defend the union.

Management Tries to Bust ITU

The IJ building at Fifth and B Streets, just a block from the main street, has been turned into an armed camp since the strike began. How did the strike begin? Wishard Brown, publisher, and Norwin Yoffie, general manager, whose main duties are as a professional strike breaker reminiscent of the days of the hated Pearl Bergoff and the Pinkerton goons, have been planning this strike for over a year. The typographers have been without a contract since November 1968. The management refused to negotiate for a new one. This situation gave Brown and Yoffie the advantage they wanted so they could set up the union for the kill. That is, they were in a position to create an incident with Local 21, force it to strike, and then smash it. That strategy was working until Saturday, February 14, the day of a massive labor picket-demonstration. The incident that forced the strike has been called 'The Great Coffee Bust'. Yoffie mandated a regulation that no typographer could consume coffee, food, or other drinks in the composing room where they worked. This edict didn't apply to the other workers in the plant. Since there is no contract the management didn't have to arbitrate with the union over the harassment regulation.

Not long after the 'coffee law' came down, Yoffie fired three workers for violating it. One worker had fifteen years service. Next, Yoffie fired the vice-president of the local for taking a half day off without finding a replacement (which had never been required before). The union, under heavy attack by the management, went out on strike, not over wages, but the survival of the union. The strike was just what the management wanted. They wasted no time in moving in 80 Nor-Cal special police (read: strikebreakers) with shotguns and trained dogs to occupy the plant and harass and beat up pickets. The management then brought in scabs to keep the paper operating. So, up to that point management seemed in firm control - their strategy - just to sit and wait: starve the ITU out.

The Workers Strike Back

The working class didn't sit idly by and allow this attack to go unanswered. In a move not seen in the Bay Area in a long, long time the unions - Teamsters, ILWU, Printers, etc. - called for a mass picket of trade unionists on Saturday, February 14. The purpose of the picket: to defend the ITU. Some time before 8:00 a.m. on that Saturday, hundreds of workers set out with 'strike tools' and smashed every window in the plant and set several newspaper trucks on fire. This was a great demonstration of working class solidarity and violence, the two things the ruling class of this country cannot stand.

Shortly after the assault on the IJ building, 200 Marin County cops swarmed to the scene and proceeded to surround the building to protect the management, the scabs, and the strikebreaking Nor-Cal cops from the righteous wrath of the 800 workers who were picketing. Workers from many unions were there -- printers, plumbers, seamen, oil workers, laundry workers, longshoremen. Many students, including SDSers, came to support the workers; the support was warmly received by the workers.

The air was tense from 11:30 to 1:30 -- the time the IJ trucks were to come in and pick up the Saturday afternoon paper. At noon a scab car pulled into the parking lot. It took half an hour and two assaults on the pickets by the cops to get him out of the lot and away from the plant. The police bullhorn had announced for the third time that the picket was an unlawful assembly and was subject to arrest. But nobody flinched. Chanting 'Scabs gotta go!' the workers increased their determination not to let the trucks in to pick up that edition. Then the police began slowly pushing back the pickets moving across the parking lot with gas masks on. It looked like a full battle was developing when a union official got on a bullhorn and called for all 'unionists' to gather



ITU strikers refuse to be intimidated by cops.

across the street for an announcement. The announcement was that the union leaders had been conferring with Yoffie and Brown and had a commitment from them that 'There would be NO PAPER TODAY'. This was a tremendous victory for the working class. Through mass militant solidarity, they had beaten the management. However, the victory came at a high price. How high will only be known as the strike progresses. The price was that the union official demanded that since the paper wasn't coming out, everyone should 'cool it and go home'. It seems possible that the official made a deal with Brown and Yoffie that went something like, 'If you (Brown and Yoffie) don't publish today we will get rid of that mob for you.' The union leaders also violence-baited the students (how strange -- remember what happened earlier in the day), saying, 'We don't need support from violence-prone students.' Most people rejected this bait.

The workers, feeling this victory, refused to jump at the leadership's orders, especially when just at that time the cops were arresting someone. To really 'cool it', the leadership got on the POLICE sound system and told people to split. This exposed the leadership to many people there, but to all, trade unionists and students, the main feeling was one of victory.

What can be said of this demonstration? It was a tremendous breakthrough for the working class. The union bureaucrats had been forced to 'put out the call' for trade unionists to mobilize in support of their striking fellow ITU workers and beat off the attack of the IJ. Militant working class solidarity, as visibly portrayed in San Rafael, was ample proof to many that the working class is a powerful force when united, capable of repulsing all attacks by the ruling class and leading the masses of the people into mass struggle against the exploiting class. It is this kind of working class action that must be the wave of tomorrow. Had the Richmond Oil workers, GE strikers, etc., been able to force mass rank-and-file actions of as many unions as possible and sustained them against Standard Oil, GE, etc., the strikers might have won their demands. This kind of action is part of the task facing the working class. Time will tell whether the IJ strike can withstand the tremendous odds facing them (injunctions, cops, sell-out leadership, economic reprisals, etc.), and pull off more mass militant working class actions.

Northern California Regional SDS is calling for a mass rally and demonstration in San Rafael in support of the striking workers for Saturday, February 28th.

by Gordon De Marco, SF State, NIC
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Marin County cops protect management and scabs of IJ.