

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 West Madison

Chicago, Illinois

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol 3., Number 36

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

December 4, 1968

NC Set!

See page 3
for gory details!!!



December 20 marks the 8th anniversary of the founding of the NLF. The NO is planning on issuing this picture as a poster. Revolutionaries are invited to show solidarity through appropriate actions.

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NEW LEFT NOTES
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Oklahoma SDS challenges convention

by Wayne Draznin
Woody Guthrie SDS
Oklahoma University

With a \$30,000 inaugural ceremony, J. Herbert Holloman became president of Oklahoma University. A new era was to begin. The creation of what Holloman—undersecretary of commerce for President John F. Kennedy—terms the "academic community" was to take place.

One of the first steps taken towards the establishment of this "community" was the creation of a constitutional convention. This convention was to draw up a document creating a new student government.

From the beginning, the direction the convention would take was obvious. The steering committee was hand-picked by out-going president George Cross. Early in the Convention sessions, Holloman made it clear that any decisions made by the body would have to be approved by himself and the regents. Final authority would always be left in the hands of the administration.

This left many of the convention delegates with a feeling of impotency. Coupled with tremendous student apathy towards the convention (only 2,000 out of 15,000 students bothered to vote in delegate elections), control of the delegate elections by the Greeks, and lack of minority representation, many of the delegates were becoming radicalized.

Radicals Move In

The convention was given four days to draw up a document. By the final day, people were convinced of the need for action.

The convention session was scheduled to begin one Sunday morning. About 75 people, mostly members of SDS and the Afro-American Student Union (ASU), showed up as observers. After a roll call showed only 28 of the 52 delegates present, the observers moved into the vacant delegate seats. Bob White, convention chairman, ordered the students to move; no one did, and a 30-minute recess was called.

After several more recesses, still with the SDS and ASU people occupying delegate seats, White announced that the convention was being moved to another building. During the break, a goon squad of White's fraternity brothers and Navy ROTC's were called in to block the entrance to the new building, only letting in press and regular delegates (the convention was supposed to be open). Other students tried to get in and were denied entrance, including ASU president Sterlin Adams, even though he was a regular delegate. The students demanded entrance, the guards started swinging, the students defended themselves, and moved into the building, where they declared the formation of an open convention. Any student who wanted to enter the room was recognized as a delegate. Bob White

returned to pick up his gavel and was laughed out of the room.

The body decided to write a student constitution for submission to the student body. It was declared that "the body which called itself the 'constitutional convention' ceases to exist because of lack of representation."

The open convention will be meeting during the coming days to write the constitution. The puppet convention is continuing to meet. Presumably, they will also prepare a document. The students will decide.

To understand the importance of this action, one must understand the nature of the Woody Guthrie SDS Chapter. Last year, SDS found itself completely irrelevant to the campus. By the end of the year, meetings consisted of nine

people, who sat around and bullshitted in New Left rhetoric. Over the summer, most of these people dropped out of SDS at OU. The new chapter started out fresh. Eighty people attended the first meeting. Most of the people were new to the movement.

Two Factions

Two main leadership factions emerged. One, comprised mostly of the newer people, felt a very strong need for some sort of action—action which, with correct propaganda, would be capable of organizing the student body. The other faction was made up primarily of people who had been around the movement (in one sense or another) for several years. They felt that radicalism was more likely to turn off the student body. (It's important to

point out that these two groups differed not so much in theoretical views as on the question of what types of action should be taken.) The newer people found themselves blocked every time they put forth a program proposal. General SDS meetings dissolved into bullshit. People stopped coming. The action types were becoming disgusted.

It was in this atmosphere that the convention action took place. It was spontaneous—developing out of an understanding of the feelings of the student body; the frustration of white radicals over their own impotency and their realization that the way out of that impotency was to cut the bullshit and act; and the frustration of black students over the lack of minority representation in the convention and in

(continued on Page 5)



-- photo by Peoples International News Service/LNS

SF State continues strike

Ten students were arrested and five suspended from San Francisco State College as the school attempted to open on Monday, with cops on campus and a new president trying to end the strike there.

S. I. Hayakawa replaced Robert Smith as president, and over the Thanksgiving weekend established more rules for the campus, one of which was that all rallies, without the express permission of the president himself, would be illegal. Monday morning, at 7:30, a picket line formed. Around 8 a.m., Hayakawa came running out, climbed onto the students' sound truck, tried to disconnect the wiring for the sound system, and was stopped after a brief scuffle with students. Two were busted when cops appeared to protect Hayakawa.

Kay Boyle, a teacher, yelled at the president, "Eichman Hayakawa." He yelled back, "Boyle, you're fired."

The majority of the students at State struck classes, with around one-fourth of the student body attending classes Monday. More than 3,000 attended a rally at noon; later that day, around 500 marched off campus and blocked traffic and leafletted. Eight were busted on felony charges.

Suspended are John Levin (SDS/PLP); Roger Alvarado, Tony Miranda and Hari Dillon (all of Third World Liberation Front), and Jerry Vanardo (Black Student Union).

Support for the strike is growing; Hayakawa is getting little support from the faculty. BAIL MONEY IS BADLY NEEDED. Send to Todd Gitlin, c/o Express Times, 15 Lafayette St., San Francisco, California 94103.

The strike at SF State started Nov. 6

in response to the summary suspension of teacher George Murray, who is also the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party. Murray had been under attack after a trip to Cuba last summer; on Oct. 28, he made a speech on campus advocating armed self defense for the black community and he was dismissed.

The Black Student Union called the strike and added nine demands in addition to the reinstatement of Murray. These included making autonomous the Black Studies Program and admitting all black students who wished in spring, 1969. The strike was also backed by the Third World Liberation Front, the Mexican American Student Confederation and white student groups including SDS.

New Left Notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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We're trying to get some feedback from regional and chapter levels about New Left Notes. Each week (more or less) we put out another issue, push copies through the addressograph machine, and carry the bundles to the Post Office. That's usually the last we hear of them.

Do you find NLN useful for organizing? Informative? Boring? Rhetorical? Do you read it? Why not? The only way NLN is going to be a more useful paper for the movement is if you tell us how you want to use it.

"We're not Columbia here"

by Bernardine Dohrn
SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary

The first three days of the December NC will be an education conference. The swollen ranks of SDS, the demands produced by the new organizing areas we're moving into, and the total failure of past internal education—all require that SDS focus on the educational needs of the organization. Education is NOT something tacked on to regular chapter program; it's not a precondition to action, nor a monopoly of the chapter theorists.

The isolation of chapters, the feeling that "It's different at this school. Students are really conservative here. We're not Columbia" is always a signal that little outreach is going on. Simply hustling newspapers in campus cafeterias at noon, having an SDS lit table in the most crowded classroom building each day, using guerrilla theater and films to "teach" in classrooms and lectures (with or without permission)—these all create a center, a forum, for SDS activity and also produce conversations and raps which demand politically sound chapter members. We develop our understanding by having to respond to questions, to other ideologies. The educational level of a chapter goes apace with the needs of the political programs. To condemn our history of education is to criticize all our activity.

NC Topics

Many of the chapters have been experimenting with education/action programs. This NC is a time to systematically exchange those ideas and to discuss them in the context of strategy for SDS.

We are planning panels and workshops to include:

1) SDS and racism: issues and strategy raised by black student demands, schools and the black community, community control and city-wide issues;

2) Developing a class perspective: new areas of SDS organizing, including high schools, community colleges, the work-ins, the Army;

3) Internal education: literature, films, and research and how to use them, mobile "action" teach-ins, lit tables, canvassing, mock sessions, study groups;

4) International perspective: 10th anniversary week of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, the Vietnam war, 8th anniversary of the founding of the NLF, military and counter-insurgency research;

5) Defense strategy for the movement: principles of defense, community protection and patrol, defense squads, legal raps, city-wide programs attacking the police, courts, the entire law and order apparatus;

6) The economy and imperialism: the organization of capitalism, the necessity of imperialism.

These questions underlie the probable subjects of the NC plenary discussions: programs for Cuba Week, campus program, the Inauguration, off-campus organizing, summer projects. They are basic to the programmatic debates and issues which are the ongoing subject of chapter discussions. That means that we need to know about your education programs; send copies of leaflets and

"Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that."

Chairman Mao

brochures which are produced locally; let us know what you've done and what you need. Chapters should prepare mimeographed reports on their work and educational discussion papers.

In the NO, and with the NIC, we've been discussing ways of serving these expanded needs and potentials of the organization. Our press is now working double shift. We are preparing literature on high schools and GI organizing, a history of the NLF and its forms of

organization, materials on the Cuban revolution and the struggle to build a socialist society, the work-in, a history of the American labor movement, new pamphlets on the nature of schools, and more. We would like to bulk mail one issue per month of New Left Notes to be used for "external" organizing by chapters and regions. We want to coordinate and plan travelling brigades of speakers, films, theater.

But resources and educational programs are only valid if they further and reflect our political strategy, that is, if they develop people within the organization (consolidation) and present and interpret SDS and US society to new groups (outreach). Both of these must be done on the most solid political basis possible—revolutionary education is not neutral.

Hayden Baites HUAC

special to New Left Notes

HUAC opened its second round of investigations into the Chicago Convention week disorders Dec. 2, in the wake of the violence commission's report calling the disorders a "police riot." Newsmen and cops were out in force, but there were no large crowds of visitors and no theatrics such as there were the week of Oct. 6, when Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin were testifying.

The lineup this month was Hoffman, Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, and Dave Dellinger. Abbie was sick, so they called Hayden. Tom set the tone for the day with comments of icy politeness, which often became extended and uninterrupted monologues on the state of decay in the American political system, and in the House Committee on Un-American Activities in particular.

Tom opened with a biography of himself, concluding with the statement, "At present, I am an organizer of a movement to put you and your committee out of power. You are racist and irrelevant in the twentieth century."

State Department Contacts

On the theory that the best defense is a good offense, Hayden waved a copy of the violence commission's report around the room and asked that it be submitted for the record. When asked by the surprised congressmen where he had gotten the report, Tom smiled and mumbled something about contacts in the State Department.

Hayden again set the committee off balance by discussing his recent trip to Paris to confer with American ambassador Averrill Harriman and with the Vietnamese delegation. John Ashbrook, Republican of Ohio, asked incredulously, "Did you see Harriman?" Hayden answered disdainfully, "Yes, of course."

The committee tried to link his talks with the North Vietnamese with his alleged plans to physically disrupt the convention. Tom put them down by saying that although the Vietnamese were interested in the convention they would never meddle in another nation's internal affairs, "contrary to (your) theories about aggression."

Hayden lectured the committee on revolutions, conventions, American politics, and civil rights. The committee constantly tried to get Hayden to admit his advocacy of violence. Tom hedged some, and said that "violence can contribute to upsetting the status quo, but only politics and organized effort can change it."

Pressed further, he said that he could understand violence and the destruction of private property on moral grounds, but philosophically he couldn't advocate it, because he didn't quite see the constructive function of it.

The committee also continually tried to catch both Tom and Rennie Davis, who appeared Tuesday afternoon, on words like militancy and confrontation, trying to make them sound violent. They consistently countered by forcing the committeemen themselves to define such words, and by putting the words into the context of some statement of obviously non-violent intent. Tom said that anyone who was attacked by the police was justified in defending himself. When challenged on this, Tom merely replied, "Oh, you don't know what you're talking about."

When asked, "Is it your aim to destroy the American political system?" Tom answered coldly, "I believe that you have destroyed the American political system."

No Free Speech Allowed

He was also asked if he thought the young people who place their confidence in him should take a second look. Hayden, disgusted, answered with "Oh, shit," and started to get up to leave. One of the committee members said that he would not tolerate such free speech because there were ladies in the room, and threatened to have him arrested on the spot.

One committeeman, having heard something about the youth movement, asked whether or not Tom thought his (Tom's) generation would win. "At least we will outlive you," Tom replied.

Rennie Davis' testimony was shorter. He kept insisting that he agreed with everything that Tom had said, so there was no reason to continue the farce. He stated that his formal education was irrelevant, and that his real education came when he had a cigarette butt ground out on the back of his neck while trying to have a hamburger with some blacks in the south, and while working with JOIN in Chicago in 1965. Asked if he had ever gotten any money from JOIN or SDS he said, "No, don't be silly, they don't have any money."

Both Hayden and Davis refrained from theatrics and superficially cooperated with the committee. In doing so, they were able to lead the unsuspecting committeemen into a lot of verbal traps. Chapters and defense groups should study this approach to government harassment as well as the flamboyant ones used by Hoffman and Rubin in October.

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DATES:
the NC will run from the evening of December 26 (registration) to January 1 . . . three days for educational conference, the rest for plenary sessions . . .

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE:
the first three days of the NC will be devoted to educational meetings of various kinds . . . send resolutions and working papers to the NO as soon as possible . . . topics suggested so far include racism, defense strategy for the movement, developing a class perspective, international, economy and imperialism, how to use educational tools . . . send us your ideas . . .

DELEGATES:
each chapter is entitled to one delegate . . . chapters over 25 national members are allowed one delegate for each 25 . . . write the NO soon and tell us who your delegates are . . .

HOUSING:
contact SDS, c/o Sue Palmer
Student Activities Bldg.
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105
phone: (313) 663-6610



SEND MONEY SEND MONEY SEND MONEY SEND MONEY
We're several thousand dollars in debt right now.
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To produce new literature, desperately needed to educate our rapidly-growing membership, will cost thousands of additional dollars.
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We decided at the NIC to embark on a membership drive. Everyone should recruit at least one new national member immediately. New memberships mean more active people, more informed people, and more money for SDS.
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Work-in experiences

by Pat Canavan, SDS at-large member, and Will Rogers, San Francisco State SDS and PLP

The San Francisco SDS summer work-in involved student radicals in two levels of struggle. Students went into shops to learn about the day-to-day experiences that confront most working people, and to acquaint working people with radical students and their analysis of US imperialism. We also participated in the drive for rent control and tax relief in San Francisco.

This rent control drive grew out of the experience of the Mission Tenants Union, an organization started two years ago by Progressive Labor Party. Last year MTU circulated a petition that called for lowering rents in the mission called for lowering rents in the Mission District, although the idea of rent control is nothing new. The city's high rent-high tax combination is partially succeeding in creating a Manhattan of the West for banking and big business interests. Already urban removal has torn down low-income houses, replacing them with studio apartments and office buildings.

Circulated Petitions

In order to demonstrate the ties between the city government and big business, early this summer a coalition of neighborhood groups including the Western Addition Community Organization, various Peace & Freedom Neighborhood Groups, and a few churches were organized into the Committee for Fair Rents and Taxes. We circulated two petitions, one which called for establishing elected neighborhood boards which would set rents, with a rent ceiling of 20% of a family's net monthly income. This amendment also provided for a cut in property taxes for improvements made on property. The other petition stated that the policy of San Francisco would be that small home-owners wouldn't have their property assessed at more than 10% of the appraised value (now it's 25%) and that the tax burden should be put on corporations.

Support for the petition grew as the summer progressed, although we had a real problem fighting people's cynicism. The main argument was that big business (US imperialism) would still be on top, and that it would take more than a counter-institution (neighborhood boards) to take power from them. We realize that until the system is smashed, there can never be complete control of anything, but we felt that neighborhood boards would bring people together, and would put them in a better position to fight. We saw the ballot campaign as the

beginning of a long-range organizing program with the petitions serving as an introduction; contacts made would be worked with to set up tenants' unions in their neighborhoods.

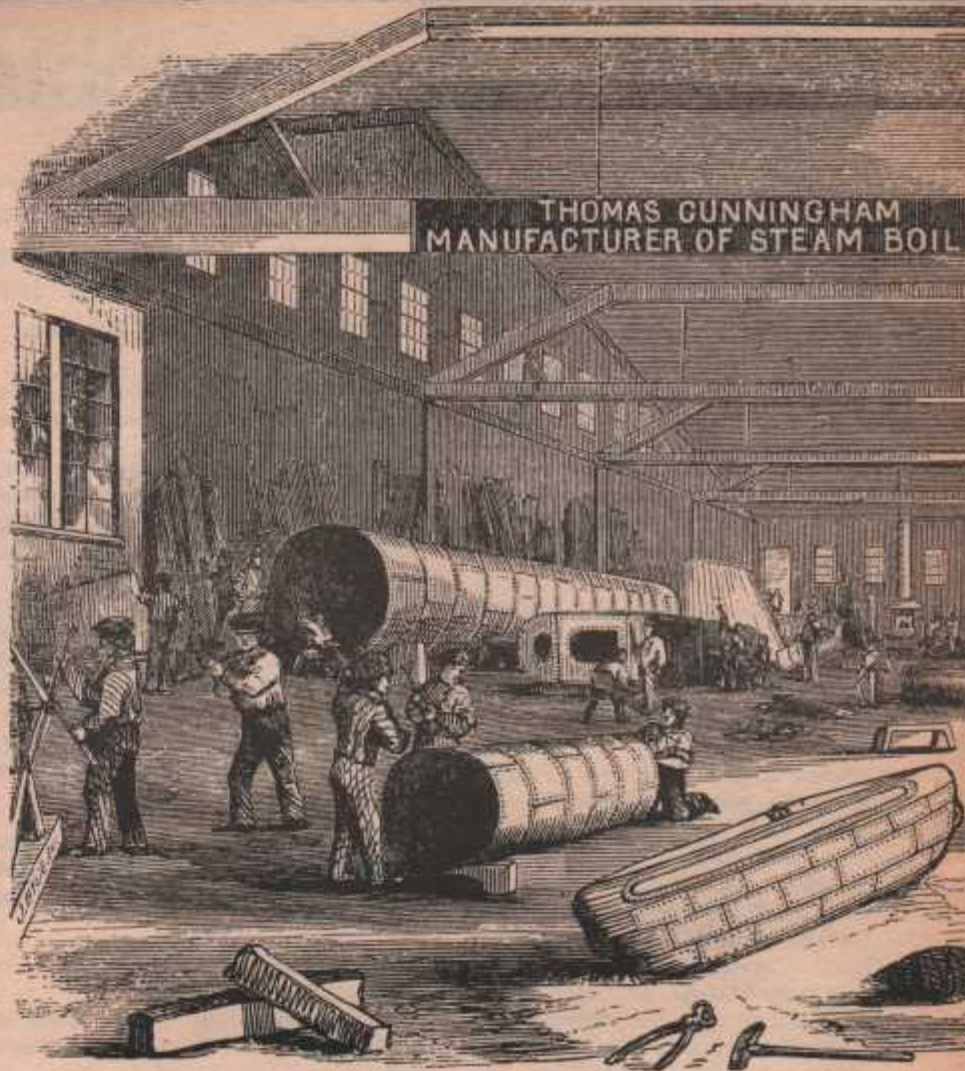
However, one mistake we made while petitioning was to view the people we met, not as potential community organizers, but merely as signees. While working day-to-day on the campaign, we lost sight of the longterm aspects and because we did, our work now is harder. For one thing, most of us involved in the signature-collecting have returned to campus, and while we can and should work with students on rent control, our success is dependent on the ability of permanent neighborhood groups to really fight the system by carrying out rent strikes, getting together to stop evictions, and improving neighborhood conditions.

Question of Liberal Reform

Some radicals argued that ours was a liberal reform and that we as radicals shouldn't take part in it. We think that this is a narrow view and does not consider both sides of the question. To refuse to participate in any reform struggle would isolate us from the majority of people who are not yet radical, but who still get screwed by big corporations and banks. The Left must fight in the interests of working people and must start becoming relevant to working people's daily struggles. We must win the working class to a radical position because of their key relation to the means of production that gives them the power to bring the ruling class to its knees. There is, however, the danger that we go too far to the right and become like the 'Communist' Party and see reform struggles and elections as ways to achieve lasting meaningful change.

In the end it must be the role of the Left participating in a struggle like rent control to win people involved to a radical outlook. We must convince people that as long as the big banks and corporations are the rulers and maintain the power of the state they can never be assured of decent housing at low cost or no cost at all.

The involvement of student radicals in this campaign was very important. It was a positive step in convincing working people that student radicals are serious about fighting around issues that are in workers' interests. Many people who signed the petition were shocked to find out that we were the same people who demonstrated against the war in Vietnam, who sat in at San Francisco State, and who demanded that Huey Newton be set free. This was a positive step toward building an alliance with the working class.



SDS needs organizing

by Jim Jacobs

(The author is a former staff member of Radical Education Project. He is now teaching at Macomb County Community College, near Detroit.)

The recent debate in SDS concerning working class organizing is both a healthy and disappointing development. Healthy because students are beginning to see the need for programs to deal with the interests of working people in the society. Disappointing because each of the four resolutions presented at the 1968 national convention and those considered at the Boulder NC are vague in programmatic ideas, misleading in their analysis and simply unadaptable to the actual organizing situations in factories and working class neighborhoods. Rather than dealing with the issue abstractly, what SDS needs is more discussion initiated from the concrete experiences of people who have been organizing. At this time a "position toward the working class" is less helpful than a clarification of perspectives which will initiate organizing attempts and aid in strengthening those already in progress.

From my experience of teaching at a working class community college and living in a working class neighborhood in Detroit, I want to suggest some potential strategies for organizing workers.

You don't need an elaborate ideological argument to justify working class organizing (for the sake of simplicity, workers are individuals, paid an hourly wage, who do not own a business or work in an administrative or management capacity). Clearly they are the majority in this society whose support is necessary in any building of a democratic movement.

In addition, workers are exploited daily at their jobs and in their neighborhoods. From their everyday experiences most working people can develop a radical consciousness. The meaningless work which dulls and shatters their humanism; the continual inflationary spiral and regressive local taxes which erode their hard-earned "affluence," the effects of crime, ghetto rebellions, and automation which are feared and widely misunderstood; and the hegemony of national American culture that preaches an educated middle class elitism all lead to a fundamental and profound alienation for American society on the part of many workers.

In the past this alienation has resulted in cynicism and despair. Yet, increasingly there are signs of unrest as workers react to the changing conditions of modern capitalism.

Young vs. Old Workers

Perhaps the most important development for radicals to recognize is the increasing gap between the life styles and aspirations of the young and old workers. The young workers are the products of an affluent society that has stressed leisure time and a consumptive style of life. Consequently younger workers are less likely to take their jobs seriously, and more prone to view their jobs in the factory as temporary. They reject the factory as a lifetime alternative.

The reaction of the older workers to these young upstarts is typical: younger people do not want to work hard for their money, have no respect for the unions or management, and simply don't care about their trade. Most of the older workers have been imbued with the work hard to maintain yourself ethic, and react very suspiciously to the young.

At the same time the values of the



SLAP generates controversy

by Jim Prickett
approved by San Diego Workers
for a Democratic Society

Attending an NC and then reading New Left Notes is a curious experience. For example, Les Coleman's piece on the SLAP proposal is calm, rational, almost fraternal—the exact opposite of his conduct at the convention. Coleman supported SLAP in the labor workshop, argued against it on the floor, and when it was defeated, jumped up and down, saying, "We won; we smashed the PL bastards." Which Coleman is the real one (the one that supported SLAP, or the one that wanted PL smashed, or the one that calmly evaluated SLAP) is not the question; the real question is why did the SLAP proposal make Les (and what Klonsky calls "the national collective") so uptight?

I think that it is safe to dismiss the arguments Les makes in New Left Notes; if they had been good ones, he might have mentioned them during the NC. Besides, the criticisms are unclear and mutually contradictory. At one point Coleman says that nearly everybody supported the tactics of SLAP; later those tactics are called "liberal programs" which would "inhibit chapter participation and chapter growth."

Even though the proposal calls for, in Coleman's own paraphrase, "support of black rebellions," he accuses it of failing to recognize that the black "struggle is also one of liberation." Coleman's alternative to the student-worker alliance is explicitly stated, and it sounds like student power: "Students must construct programs which appeal to students." Yet, one can never be sure what politics he is arguing for (the national collective is nothing if not undogmatic and flexible). All that is clear is that the student-worker alliance is somehow menacing to him, but he is not quite willing to argue against it.

If the arguments offered against the proposal were irrelevant, why was it defeated? SLAP was beaten for three reasons: first, because of the politics of those who opposed it; second, because of the strong anti-working class prejudices in the campus constituency of SDS; and finally, because the actual workings and rationale of the student-worker alliance on a chapter level were never clearly articulated.

Purge PL

The first reason needs, unfortunately, little elaboration. It is no secret that part of the national leadership of SDS wants PL purged from the organization, and that any PLP proposal has to be defeated or else the constructive role PLP plays in SDS would have to be acknowledged. The desire to purge PLP necessitates a certain political approach: appeals to SDS unity by obscuring politics and political differences, while attacking PLP for "knowing all the answers." This is why no delegate at the October NC has the slightest idea what the position of the national office actually is on the revolutionary or counter-revolutionary significance of the use of drugs. The question will be dealt with at greater length in part two, "Anti-Communism and the Movement."

Crude anti-working class feelings are not dominant in SDS anymore, but they pervade the section of the campus community that responds most readily to SDS rhetoric and programs. SDSers are quick to question (even to the point of sectarianism sometimes) the beliefs of this section of the campus on Eugene McCarthy or the possibilities for university reform, but very slow to challenge anti-working class feeling. As long as most students, even those sympathetic to SDS, see the people as the enemy and the university as an enclave, they can do nothing but beg for favors from the ruling class.

But the vagueness of the student-worker alliance is another problem, and here the proponents of SLAP are somewhat at fault. As written, the proposal alienated those who thought that more and more SDS members should go into factories by emphasizing on-campus organizing around the student-worker alliance; by just mentioning workers it terrified those

who thought that SDS "should concentrate on our own people and organize where we are." It was the latter group which thought that the tactics of SLAP would turn people off.

It is essential that those areas with experience in student-worker alliance oriented work describe how that work relates to chapter growth and development. It should be obvious that the student-worker alliance will not organize workers by itself; more important is the experience and understanding it imparts to a student movement. Articles on the work-in, experiences leafleting workers, conversations with workers, etc. should be prepared.

One final remark. A counter-SLAP proposal is now being circulated. It is still in the formative stages and so I think it is unfair to quote from it at length, but early drafts indicate that it will be a minimum statement, as uncontroversial as possible. Its author explains that he has "worded it vaguely to avoid sectarian squabbles." Moreover it is seen as a public relations ploy: "Some people feel, however, that 1) many SDS members are prejudiced against workers, and 2) SDS might be developing the reputation of being anti-worker. There is merit in expressly denying both points." At present, the proposal seems like nothing more than an attempt to short-circuit a valuable political debate within SDS.

(Editor's note: This is the first in a three-part series leading up to the December NC. Next week's article discusses anti-Communism in the movement.)

Oklahoma

(continued from Page 2)

the University.

The action served several functions. It forced black and white radicals to work together for common goals—forming an alliance out of struggle. It gave radicals a tool with which they can begin campus organizing—the writing of a constitution of, by, and for the students. And it brought a dying SDS chapter back to life.

We are not finished yet. All of the lessons have not been learned. But an important point has become clear. To prove a political point, talking is not enough. One must act. To organize, you have to engage in struggle.

NOTICE

The National Office no longer has its WATS line. What we do have are lots of bills. We can't make many long distance calls and we cannot accept any collect calls. Send money.

ng perspectives

older workers are being rejected, the youth culture revolt has penetrated the working class. Increasingly, young workers sport beards, take dope, and dress in hippie-style fashions when off the job. For the most part the consciousness of these young men is determined by the events outside the plant.

It would be foolish to expect that these workers will be open to the same actions which attracted middle-class college hippies to SDS, but organizers can discuss the war, the draft, and youth alienation, as well as basic economic demands. Somewhere between the alienated middle class kids who join SDS and the traditional left stereotype of the noble blue collar worker with lunch pail in tow lie these younger workers. They're experimenting with new styles, and their interests can be made into political issues.

Racial Antagonism

A second important development is the growing racial divisions among the American working class. As greater numbers of blacks fill the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations of the society, and as the major corporations shed their now unprofitable racist hiring practices and attempt to assist blacks through substantial job training programs and selective advancement into management (the automakers are in desperate need of black foremen and supervisors), the white workers grow insecure and fervently attempt to protect their privileged positions. White workers react to these job training and placement programs as simply a waste of their tax dollars, and they are considerably angered at all this time, money and publicity given to the plight of the black man when they had to work themselves up from the bottom.

Racism among workers is not only fed by experiences on the job. As white workers are able to scrape together enough money to obtain a 30-year mortgage on a house in the suburbs, housing segregation and isolation from black continues at a rapid rate. Safe in his suburban ghetto, the white worker watches the media document the rise of inner city crime, and he becomes committed to the preservation of his new neighborhoods from blacks.

If the present situation for white-black unity among the working class appears bleak, the future holds a worsening of conditions. As automation begins to chip away at the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs (around Detroit, management predicts unskilled and semi-skilled jobs will be cut by 66% in some plants

over the next ten years), it is conceivable that in urban areas blacks will become the majority of the work force. It seems likely that great force will be exerted by whites to keep the skilled trades a haven for working class whites. With racial lines drawn between skilled and unskilled, a bitter interclass struggle is a very uncomfortable prospect.

Given the present and possible future situation, it is absolutely clear that radicals must combat racism among workers. Upon this struggle to bring white-black unity, the strength of the working class will be decided. In organizing in the plants or in the communities, radicals should seek to raise racial issues (for an excellent example of this see Noel Ignatin, "Organizing Workers: Lessons for Radicals," Guardian, July 20, 1968). In the community we need to emphasize the economics of racism (how it has made living in white suburbs three times as expensive as normal, while at the same time not decreasing property values in mixed areas). Radicals must be clear about the need for whites to respect black attempts to organize themselves in the unions and make the racial issue a part of all union demands. For every black caucus there should be a militant white group which will unite upon issues that effect both.

Stagnating Unions

A third development among the working class is the new attitudes workers have for the unions. For the most part during the ten years ago, the unions enjoyed at least passive support by most workers. Yet, as unions became bureaucratic, and as they lost touch with the rank and file, two forms of worker reaction have emerged. The first has been the rank and file rebellions that have so dominated the labor scene.

The other response to the stagnation of the unions has been for workers to lose interest in the unions and grow more concerned with issues of their community such as taxation and law and order. Although workers realize the importance of a union in any area of industrial conflict, they regard union politics, as many students view their student governments, as meaningless personality struggles.

Given these attitudes, radical organizing in the shops, particularly within organized unions, is not as fruitful as it may have been. Demands for wage increases should be coupled with a call for management to pay

(continued on Page 7)

HUEY!

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ALL CAMPUS, ALL PURPOSE, INTERDISCIPLINARY
(you had better not fail)
6 WEEKS EXAM



(Editor's note: Below are excerpts from a mock exam used by Madison SDS at the University of Wisconsin during their six-week exam period. Questions marked with an asterisk were taken from actual University of Wisconsin examinations. Once again, we ask chapters to send in leaflets and other creative forms of educational materials which they are using.)

Without peeking at your fee card, in the upper right hand corner of this paper, put your 1) student number, 2) Protection and Security dossier code number, and 3) the middle 3 digits of your maternal grandmother's social security number.

SECTION I - MULTIPLE CHOICE (1/4 pt. ea.) Instructions: Deliberate carefully. (But do not spend too much time on any one question.)

- * 1. Studies in thumbsucking show that: a) restricted sucking experience in infancy may be an important determinant of habitual thumbsucking, b) self-regulating feeding times without limit in nursing time is no panacea for thumbsucking, c) none of the children allowed to use pacifiers became thumbsuckers, d) all of these.
- 2. Spiro T. Agnew is: a) a West African cattle disease, b) a Ceylonese rain chant, c) a neo-archaic Greek term for love between a man and an animal, d) an ad hoc apropos.
- * 3. Harvey, the man-sized rabbit, who "really isn't there", is an example of: a) illusions, b) delusions, c) hallucinations, d) compulsions.
- * 4. It is publicized nationally that cabbage eating is associated with blindness. In terms of cognitive dissonance, the prediction would be made that: a) non-cabbage eaters would place less credence in these statements than heavy cabbage eaters, b) people who ate two or more heads of cabbage daily reduce dissonance by noting that cabbage beetles have very acute vision, c) people who eat a great deal of cabbage would readily accept these statements, d) both would be equally likely to stop eating cabbage.
- 5. The food in Gordon Commons: a) is 100% pure beef, b) builds bodies 2 1/2 ways, c) is fresh Daley, d) is caressed by the Jolly Green Giant.
- 6. Sergeant Jiver contends that the Peace Corps: a) is not a front for the Baptist Student Union, b) brings life and culture to friendly Tanganyikan natives, c) helps man help himself, d) helps man help US.
- 7. Leading UW functionaire Peter Bunton, at a recent Union Sympleposium, theorized that the Wisconsin Union: a) is Memorial, b) is Immemorial, c) is the most advanced training ground for bureaucratic ossification east of the NYC Welfare Department, d) disguises the suffocation of university existence by:
 - 1) fabricating a shallow veneer of life
 - 2) presenting vicarious cultural spectacles
 - 3) continually raising the standard of boredom
 e) should prepare to defend itself against students who someday may get hip and attempt to liberate it for their own needs and imaginations.
- 8. Two, four, six, eight, organize and: a) eat a grape, b) masturbate, c) accept your fate, d) smash the state.
- 9. A man is murdered and his heart is then successfully transplanted; the police capture the murderer, but Wisconsin statutes provide that a man is not legally dead until his heart stops beating—therefore: a) the killer can't be prosecuted until the recipient dies, b) Gunsmoke should be taken off the air because it purveys violence, c) Pres. Johnson should institute a blue ribbon commission to investigate immediately, d) WSA should have a referendum, e) a national heart control law must be enacted, f) as a show of good faith in de-escalation, the killer should donate his heart to Dwight D. Eisenhower.
- 10. Ford has a better: a) oligopoly, b) Foundation, c) V.P. for advertising, d) Edsel.
- 11. UW dormitories: a) are designed by Frank Lloyd Wrong, b) make the student ghetto look like a utopian communitarian experiment, c) offer students a nice place to live and meet people. (Think concretely in choosing your answer, and don't rely exclusively on class discussion.)
- 12. The student ghetto is: a) a utopian communitarian experiment, b) a repository of repressive desublimation passing for a quasi-liberated zone, c) the carefully monitored child of a landlord-pig alliance.
- 13. Leading social psychologists have revealed that post-adolescents are motivated to join the New Left: a) because of blatant racism, b) because of genocide in Vietnam, c) because the American empire is the enemy of progressive social change the world over, d) because of the globalization of the Guevara spirit, e) because American capitalism suffocates life, f) all of the above and MUCH MORE.



SECTION II - TRUE-FALSE (17 pts. ea.) After careful consideration, beside each statement put either T for true, true for T, me for you, you for me, can't you see how happy we would be, dear, ST for sometimes true, F for false, and SF for San Francisco, or any of the above combinations.

- 1. "The contemporary ghetto riots grow out of the failure of the civil rights movement to achieve normative readjustment for black people through nonviolent protest." (Ralph W. Conant, the assoc. director of the Lemberg Center for Violence at Brandeis University, writing recently in the New York Times.)
- * 2. The importance of understanding the beggar is to show that despite negative findings about the role of poverty in other areas of deviant behavior, poverty is significantly related to begging.
- * 3. Intimate communication and informed control are not possible in large cities.
- * 4. The American sex code, which defines 'normal' activity as genital union which is simple, direct, and without variation, is broken more often by the lower socio-educational groups.
- 5. I wish I were an Oscar Mayer weiner...then everyone would be in love with me.
- * 6. The Falloplan tubes are a subway in Rome.

- 7. I wish I were an Oscar Mayer weiner...then I might get a 1-Y.
- * 8. Psychophysiological, autonomic, and visceral disorders were formerly called dementia praecox.
- 9. Omar Sharif postulated that Che Guevara would have been one of the great men of history if he hadn't advocated the use of violence.
- * 10. There is evidence for the assumption that a need for sucking is learned.
- 11. Karl Marx might well have been a distinguished scholar had he not been a commie. (Furthermore, he refused to support Gene McCarthy.)
- 12. QUESTION EVERYTHING.

SECTION III - ESSAY (13 pts.) As you all know, in constructing a response to a university-level essay question, it is more than imperative to use correct grammar, good language, and as an a priori syntax which, as usual, is based on the full sentence outline you will design before responding to the aforegiven query. Be sure to tactfully ponder the various angles from which you might attack the question. Do not mix metaphors. Deal only with materials dealt with in the class or text. Do not improvise. Think. Good luck.

- * 1. Describe some of the humorous devices used in "When the Buffalo Climbed the Tree" and show how some of these devices are related to realism.
- * 2. How would you explain the slow progress of civil rights in this country to an indignant African student? This student argues that the government should simply pass a law outlawing segregation and then carry it out, by force if necessary. You should try to explain to him your understanding of (1) federalism, (2) "presidential power", and (3) the legislative and judicial processes.
- * 3. "The United States is a democracy. This means that the people have a voice in governmental decisions." To what extent is this statement true? In writing your answer, review all aspects of American politics and government that you deem relevant for supporting or rejecting the statement. (1 1/2 hrs.)
- 4. Under neo-capitalism, man is treated as an object, profit is the motor force, and one man's success is another's suffering. It is said that this organization of political economy requires a world-wide empire, domestic economic mal-distribution, institutionalized racism, drastic technological misusage, and the suffocating socialization of the cultural spectacle. Comment.



SECTION IV - MAP QUESTION: Know Your Empire

- 1. You have been provided with a set of pastel pencils (blue, red, yellow, and black). Do not chew on or play with. Rather, use the appropriate color to shade in on the map below: a) the Free World, b) the Red Menace, c) the Yellow Peril, and d) the teeming uncivilized world.
- 2. Alongside each statement below place the number of the correct map location.
 - 99 millions joyously snake-dance here in celebration of our use of their turf for Vietland genocide and in hopes of renewing our Mutual Security Pact.
 - Aegean country where the Truman Doctrine has helped restore classical democracy.
 - Asian archipelago where we oversaw the elimination of upwards of a million Reds so's to show third world nations that there's no business like American business.
 - Red island which faces invasion and/or nuclear annihilation because its illiterate bearded leader is unable to read the Monroe Doctrine.
 - Middle Eastern country where we helped the ruler overcome the folly of oil nationalization.
 - Sprawling Euro-Asian monolith—once seen as menacing foe—who we now flirt with in a power alliance above ideology.
 - Lazy Latin nation which has consistently needed us to help redefine its notion of revolution.
 - English-speaking land whose labour government has emulated American Peoples' Capitalism.
 - Our leader sent Marines to this Caribbean Isle in 1965 because 51 Reds (13 of whom were adult males) threatened to undermine American tourism.
 - Small, mountainous European state which (under the tricky-dicky guise of neutrality) plays a key role in maintenance of our control of world finance.
 - The more than \$1 billion we have invested in this S. American land is crucial to U.S. hegemony of the world copper market. Thus Nation's Business magazine points out, "If anyone thinks the U.S. will sit on its hands while a Marxist is elected president he is crazy."
 - N. American neighbor whose sovereignty we bless by controlling over 80% of their industries and raw materials.
 - Nation whose popular African-nationalist leader met with a CIA assassination overseen by Columbia U's Pres. Andrew Cordier...for the good of Africa.
 - Midwestern academy which serves as a dutifully efficient service station for the Empire.

KEEP THIS EXAM TO HELP YOU PREPARE FOR THE FINAL. You may be tested again on any of these questions. However, send completed answers to SDS-WDRU. Those who finish in the top 8% will receive: SDS-WDRU recommendations to the joint faculty-student committee of their choice; 3 RESIST buttons, and a guaranteed 5-yr. II-S deferment.

U.S. colony fights for independence

by Constance Ullman

(The author was the official SDS representative to the Lares celebration mentioned below.)

Three flags fly above the Texaco gas station. The one in the middle, the Puerto Rican flag, tells you what country you're in. The other two, the Texaco and U.S. flags, are the context in which Puerto Rico exists.

Despite its name, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is a colony of the U.S. The U.S. controls the Puerto Rican economy and occupies 13% of its territory with military installations. School kids pledge allegiance to the U.S. flag (in English) and are drafted to fight in Vietnam. Puerto Ricans working for U.S. firms (the overwhelming majority of the work force) are paid one-third the salaries of U.S. workers who do the same jobs.

Independence Struggle

While the Puerto Rican colonial government celebrates July 4 as a national holiday, the Puerto Rican independence movement celebrates Sept. 23 as the initiation of the independence struggle. On Sept. 23, 1868 the armed struggle against Spain began and the Republic of Puerto Rico was proclaimed in the town of Lares.

The centennial celebration of that event, called the Grito de Lares (Cry of Lares), occurred this last September. The Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI), the main Puerto Rican independence organization, invited SDS to the demonstration and to a tour of the island afterward. Although the tour never materialized, I stayed in Puerto Rico for about a week and talked with many people in the independence movement.

MPI is the most significant mass organization in the movement. There exists also the Puerto Rican Independence Party which engages only in electoral activity, a small Communist Party, a smaller "pro-Chinese" party (Socialist League), a few autonomous community organizing projects which split off from the MPI, and the Armed Commandos for Liberation (CAL), an underground group which inflicted \$14 million in damages to U.S. property over the last year.

While the MPI "reserves the right to armed struggle" and applauds the

activities of CAL, it is a legal organization which sees its task as achieving independence through an alliance with all sectors of the Puerto Rican population except the pro-imperialist national bourgeoisie. Their strategy is to achieve a crisis of the colonial system through five national campaigns:

- 1) refusal to serve in the U.S. military (this is also a condition for membership in the MPI);
- 2) electoral boycott—primarily an educational campaign about the nature of Puerto Rican colonialism which has been in effect since 1964;
- 3) prevent U.S. mining companies from exploiting Puerto Rican resources on the grounds that Puerto Rican wealth belongs to the Puerto Rican people (Kennecott Copper and American Metal Climax have in fact been prevented from starting to mine);
- 4) demand equal pay for Puerto Ricans as U.S. workers—this is seen as the main hook for organizing the working class and economic challenge to U.S. imperialism;
- 5) against high cost of living (higher in Puerto Rico than the U.S.).

MPI believes that these challenges to U.S. control, if successful, will create so many economic and political liabilities to the colonial system that the U.S. will find it more convenient to grant formal independence. But even with the MPI leadership there are some who think their liberation struggle will proceed in two stages (paper independence and a neo-colonial rule followed by an openly socialist struggle) and those who think independence will be accompanied by revolution.

Youth Movement

The most militant members of the MPI are the youth—and about 75% of the MPI are younger than 25.

FEPI (Student Federation for Independence) is the high-school branch of MPI. It was organized in 1964 by the MPI Youth (anyone under 30 in MPI is automatically a member of the Youth). Although FEPI works on the five national MPI campaigns, their major activity has been around draft refusal. Last year, FEPI closed a number of high schools to selective service recruiters.

FEPI does not have a national leadership, rather each FEPI group works within the MPI mission (community club) in its area. (There are

now 24 MPI missions in Puerto Rico.) FEPI is strongest in working class and poor districts; the majority do not go to the University.

University students are organized into FUPI (University Federation for Independence). Although FUPI was formed three years before MPI (in 1956), it has become for all practical purposes part of the MPI.

FUPI organizes around both local student issues (cafeteria and book prices) and national anti-U.S. issues. Their main campaigns last year were against the Vietnam war, selective service and ROTC. (In 1960, FUPI won its campaign against compulsory ROTC.)

This year FUPI will also be organizing around the political defense of the 25 students who face up-to-life sentences as a result of a student-cop battle at the University last Sept. 27. Of the 25 students charged, 23 are members of FUPI (and 17 of these are also members of the MPI).

The international stance of MPI is pro-Cuban-Vietnamese-Korean. MPI is on the Secretariat of the Tricontinental and FUPI on the Executive Secretariat of OCLAE (the Cuban-based

organization of Latin American students).

MPI sees the need to link up with other third world liberation movements but, and this is particularly true for those who see their struggle as two-staged with formal independence the only one on the current agenda, there is little interest in the U.S. movement. In the course of rapping with people from MPI, the MPI Youth, FUPI and FEPI, only two people questioned me about SDS.

Although there is some tension within MPI on this score, the prevailing strategy seems to be purely nationalistic. SDS was invited to the centennial celebration in order that we could help them in pressuring the U.S. into granting formal independence to Puerto Rico.

We should do at least that much, in the course of which we will educate our own people about the specifics of U.S. control of Puerto Rico.

In a future issue of NLN we'll lay out ways in which SDS can relate to third world liberation struggles in more than a passive "solidarity demonstration" fashion.

CUBA, SI!

January 1 marks the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution. In solidarity with that struggle, and with the ten years of struggle there to build a socialist society, SDS plans a week of programs to explain and learn about Cuba today, through literature, films, and speakers—and to attack and expose the agencies of US imperialism in all of Latin America.

Cuban film festivals will have been organized to travel in seven different regions, accompanied by people who have been to Cuba during the past year. These films and speakers can be used in high schools, classrooms, rallies, coffee houses. Regional people will be scheduling the caravan; contact the NO.

Literature on the history of the revolution and major addresses of Fidel and Che are being reprinted, on Man and Socialism, internationalism, abolishing a money economy, and the role of students. Pamphlets on US

interests in Cuba and investments in Latin America will help to make clear the political history leading to the US economic blockade of Cuba and US economic and military penetration of Guatemala, Mexico, Bolivia, etc.

An SDS delegation of five will be at the festivities in Havana, and will be available for speaking on their return.

Cuba Week is an occasion for talking about the revolutionary principles being fought for daily in Cuba: a classless society, planning for people's needs, liberation from need and exploitative labor, a society which serves the people. This is not to import wholesale a socialist pattern. It is an opportunity for talking about the real struggle of building socialism after the revolution. It requires an understanding of anti-communism in America. And it is a case study in US imperialism in this hemisphere.



Scene from an American colony: the picket sign says, "Get Yankee."

--photos by Pito Colon