

Students for a Democratic Society

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Boston, Mass.

# sds new left notes



VOL. 5, #13 Less talk, More Action--Fight Racism

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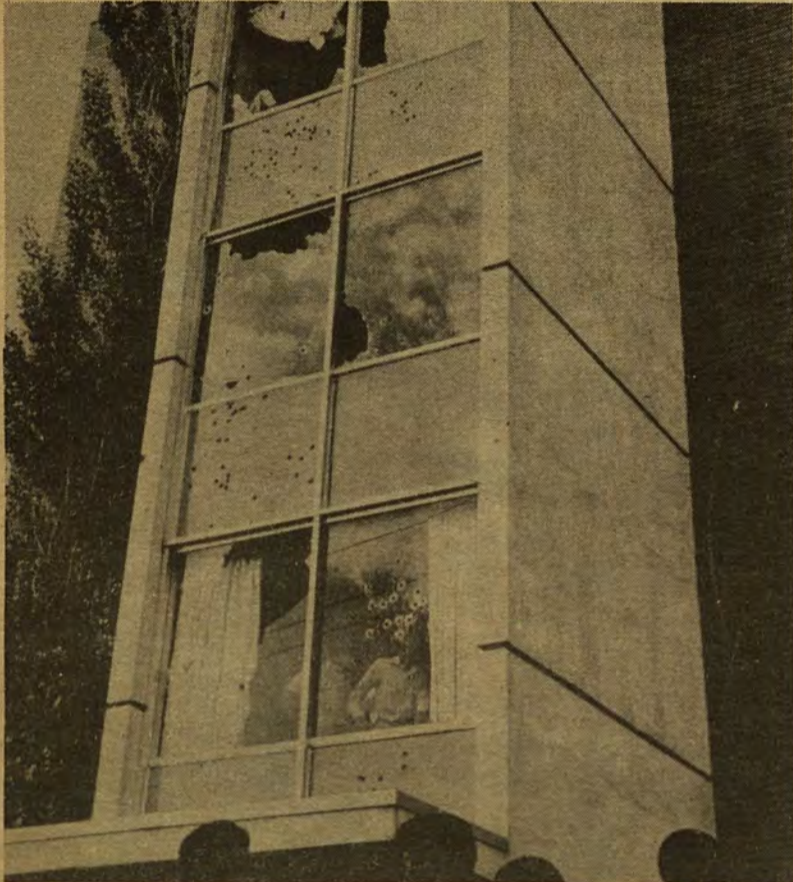
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Cambodia  
Augusta  
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## Augusta, Jackson- Fighting Racism Cambodia Invasion National Student Strike SDS- An Evaluation

# SUPPORT GHETTO REBELLIONS - N.I.C. STATEMENT

In the past month black workers and students were murdered in Augusta, Georgia, and Jackson, Mississippi. Six blacks were shot by the National Guard in Augusta in a rebellion stemming from the racist murder of a black youth in the city jail. In Jackson, two students were gunned down in front of a dormitory by state troopers after an anti-ROTC demonstration. In both cases, black people were murdered because they were fighting against this system and the big businesses that run this country. Rebellions, such as the one in Augusta, are justified because they are fights against the lousy conditions in which black people are forced to live and work. After the rebellion in Detroit, blacks won thousands of jobs, because the giant corporations understood who the rebellions were against. These things would have never occurred had not black people fought for them. In Jackson, students were fighting against ROTC, an institution that trains people to put down ghetto rebellions, break workers' strikes, and put down people all over the world whenever they rise up against US business interests.

Whites should support black rebellions because they are a fight of people deciding no longer to live with their oppression, but to rise up against it. We should also fight ROTC and other racist institutions and thoughts. SDS and many white students have been fighting racism, but not hard enough. We have campaigns against ROTC, racist courses, university expansion into the black community, and many other racist ideas and practices. Yet after Jackson and Augusta, most white students did nothing and SDS did not do nearly enough to fight these racist murders.

It is important that we understand the reasons why we should fight racism. Racism is the biggest weapon of the big businesses that run this country. Not only does it divide people and keep workers from fighting back against their real enemy, but these same large corporations actually profit from racism in a big way. For example, by pitting black and white workers against each other, they are able to pay black workers on the average \$1000 less than white workers (the difference was \$20 billion total last year) and use this as an excuse to keep white workers' wages down also. They are able to use racism to justify fighting wars against whole peoples solely for the purpose of profit, i.e., first proclaiming certain peoples 'underdeveloped' and then proceeding to 'develop' their land, that is, they extract billions from the raw materials, markets, and cheap labor of these countries. Until people effectively fight against racism and the rich people who use it and profit from it, wars like Vietnam will continue and the National Guard will be used to quell rebellions in the ghetto, smash workers' strikes, and suppress students on campuses around the country.

The government and the media are presently waging a scare campaign designed to instill in whites a fear of black people. They try to make it seem that things like ghetto rebellions are attacks on all white people, when in reality they are attacks aimed only at the people who make ghetto situations exist, the big businessmen who run the country. The media, controlled by the same businessmen, also try to make it appear that rebellions are a result of blacks being 'savages'. Racist lies like this divide whites from blacks and keep them from following the militant lead



of blacks in fighting their common oppression. Similar lies lead people to believe that the Vietnamese are fighting because 'they're culturally unequipped to understand democracy'. But the Vietnamese have been fighting to throw the US out. They realize that the only way to fight bosses' oppression is to fight the bosses. And these same people who use racism to characterize blacks as savages and Vietnamese as subhuman use this to camouflage the violent means they use to protect their profits and to attempt to make more and more.

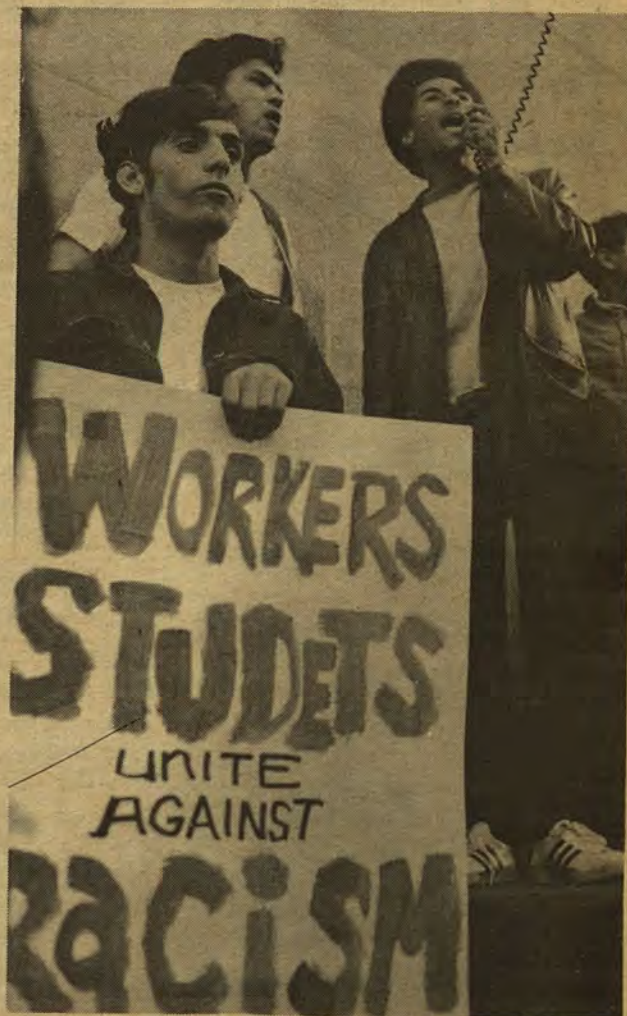
Whites must see how the rich use racism to keep us divided from black workers and students. And we must not be fooled by condemnations of violence, which only disguise the government's violent wars and suppression of rebellions. Violence is a necessary weapon against the people who use it only for their own profit. We must win masses of people to follow the lead of black militancy in fighting back against the war and racism, not mourn about them.

Liberal politicians play a major role in the way racism is used to keep people fighting each other instead of the bosses. They condemn black rebellions -- denying people the right to fight back against the lousy way they're forced to live. In fact, liberals like John Lindsay and Carl Stokes consistently called in cops and National Guards to quell ghetto uprisings. They also talk about a negotiated 'peace' in Vietnam, when the US has no right to negotiate for an inch of Vietnam or the rest of Southeast Asia. These politicians mourn over the fact that 'innocents' were killed in Kent ~~when~~ when people were really fighting against the war and racism. In essence, they're saying it's alright to shoot people who are fighting back.

When the four students were shot and killed at Kent State, many white students had thoughts like 'it could have been me', but saw Augusta, Jackson, or the murder of two teamsters in Ohio by the National Guard as something 'unrelated'. For example, after black students were shot and killed in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Texas Southern in 1968, there was absolutely no reaction from white students except maybe thoughts like 'Nothing to get excited about; it happens all the time.' Instead of 'It's because it happens all the time that we should be mad as hell.' After Augusta or Jackson (where students fighting ROTC, just like the students at Kent) there was still almost no reaction among white students. Why? The reaction of white students to these events was overwhelmingly racist. This racism was evident in the strikes that took place on campuses around the country.

Whenever racism was brought up as an issue during the strike, many students ignored it, saying that it was a separate issue from the war. Racism is not a separate issue from the war; in fact, it is one of the main ways the war is 'justified'. Even the 'doves' say things like 'Life doesn't mean much to the average Vietnamese.' And racism within the US means that blacks make up 40% of the fighting force in Vietnam, while are only 11% of the population of the country. In this way many blacks are forced to pay the highest cost for a war which is against their interests and serves only the few wealthy men who run this country. In order to ever stop the war, we must fight racism, which allows the war to continue.

This statement was drawn up by the National Interim Committee of S.D.S. at its most recent meeting. It stresses the need for S.D.S. members to support black struggles and to fight racism.



Another thing we must fight is the mis-leadership of pseudo-radical groups like the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). After the shootings at Augusta, Jackson, and Kent, the Militant (the YSA newspaper) read, 'No More Augustas, Kents and Jacksons'. This headline says two things. First, that we should expect to be put down whenever we fight back against the people who run this country; and, even worse, it implies that we shouldn't fight back at all. In fact, during the strike, YSA/SMC leaders actually tried to sabotage the attempts of students to effectively fight back against the war and racism. At the University of Illinois in Chicago, Mobe marshalls tried physically to prevent SDS and other students from sitting in at ROTC, and all around the country they played the role of trying to keep students from fighting against concrete ways the universities further racism and this racist war. By pushing the line, 'Keep the Universities Open', and by allying with liberal college administrators, the YSA confused people about the role the university actually plays in furthering the war and racism -- through ROTC, war research, police institutes, 'riot control' courses, etc.

And the YSA/SMC leaders, not surprisingly, made no attempt nationally to even have rallies or teach-ins or to demand 'Cops & Troops Out of Augusta and Jackson' and support the struggles at both places. The same is true of other pseudo-radical groups like Boston's November Action Coalition or the 'Revolutionary' Youth Movement, both of whom give a lot of lip service to defending the Black Panthers, but in practice do nothing at all to fight racism. And the 'Communist' Party's demand was 'Impeach Maddox', implying that a liberal like Lindsay (who helped frame the N.Y. Panthers) is the answer.

The murders at Augusta, Kent and Jackson are not only something we can't back down from. Rather we must fight back even harder. We must initiate programs to fight racist course content in schools, to fight University expansion at the expense of black and white working communities, to defeat racist pay differentials, and to oppose cops and National Guard in the ghetto

### nic on racism continued. . .

and all other forms of overt or covert racism. White students must be won to meet racism head on and not consider it as a separate problem or irrelevant issue. We must see the usefulness and need of militancy in our fights against racism. The people who run this country have no second thoughts about using violence when people get in their way and we should not hesitate to turn this weapon against them. Students must reject the lead of groups such as YSA/SMC who consistently try to curb people's militancy and sabotage effective means of struggle and follow the lead of black workers and students who are fighting back the hardest because they are oppressed the most.

University administrations constantly try to divert the issues, from the war and racism to the issues of violence and nonviolence. They hope to keep students quarreling among themselves and play on pacifism. We must see through this smokescreen and keep the issue of racism clear. We must fight racism and fight it hard. Augusta and Jackson should have made this even clearer to us and should have made sharper the necessity not only of doing something immediately, but also of fighting racism in an ongoing way.

But SDS did not do nearly enough, although we were the only national student group to do anything at all to fight racism around the events in Augusta and Jackson. Many SDSers had many rationalizations for this. Arguments such as 'the black students here didn't do anything' or 'it will divert the struggle' are racist. And the argument 'there wasn't enough time' is only an excuse for our own racism. There is no excuse for not fighting racism on a day-to-day basis, and we must realize that. If two SDSers stood up on a campus to give a speech and were murdered by the cops, we'd have massive demonstrations around the country without a lot of talk about 'we need a lot of time to build for actions'. And, to the extent that our friends and fellow students wouldn't respond on short notice, it's to that extent we're not doing nearly enough to fight racism in an ongoing way -- every day. And if we had more real friendships with black and other non-white students, we'd be quicker to see this, because they'd tell us. In fact, around the country, black students walked out of high schools and shut down colleges in response to Augusta and Jackson; if we knew them better, we'd be quicker to follow this leadership.

We shouldn't sit around chastising ourselves for our own racism; this would just be racist bullshutting. What we should do is to discuss in every region and every chapter what we've done to fight racism this year, and WHAT WE PLAN TO DO this summer and next fall, and how to MAKE FIGHTING RACISM AN INTEGRAL PART OF ALL OUR PROJECTS. And we should get to know black and other non-white students and discuss with them how to do this as well.

Concretely, the NIC felt that the work-in should concentrate a lot on fighting racism in ourselves and among the white workers and students we know, as well as organizing campaigns to do this in a more mass way.

Finally, we thought that the National Day of Action on August 1st should have anti-racism as a key aspect, and that the national focus 'Cops and Troops Out of the Ghetto' should be linked with a fight against some concrete racist practice in

# UNIFIED STRIKE

# AT COLUMBIA

On Monday, May 4th, a general assembly meeting attended by over 3000 students of Columbia University voted overwhelmingly to go out on strike in support of the three national demands. Two days later, the workers of Columbia University walked off their jobs in support of the three demands. These two events highlighted the strike activity at Columbia following the US invasion of Cambodia.

The workers' action was prompted by the refusal of Columbia's business manager, Joseph Nye, to give workers a two day moratorium with pay to allow them to participate in anti-war activities (this after President Cordier had granted the students a two day moratorium). Once the workers had taken the lead in fighting the administration, many students began to see through the anti-working class ideas the university had fed them, and realized that workers too were opposed to the war and the government's racist practices, and were ready to do something about them. The effect that the strike had in building the idea of a worker-student alliance was tremendous: many students, who had not previously been reached by SDS ideas, came to see the potentialities for allying with workers in fighting university bosses and the government's policies.

every area. These practices exist everywhere; we should make plans to expose and defeat them NOW. In order to effect these plans we should IMMEDIATELY get in touch with progressive black and non-white workers and students and organizations in order to begin to build working alliances with them, in order to learn from their leadership.

Among the students, the central issue of the strike was whether the action should be against the university and its role as war-profiteer, or with the university administration. Liberal leaders argued that the strike should be one which focused entirely on pressuring the Nixon administration through electoral channels. Allying with college administrators and their friends, they argued, was the best way to bring about the type of political pressure needed to alter the policies of the administration. Despite the fact that one of the three national demands was directed against war research and ROTC, the liberal leaders argued that no action should be taken against the college administration.

The viewpoint expressed by SDS, the Third World Coalition, and other radical groups, was that the strike should be directed against Columbia as well as the national administration. This viewpoint held that the strike should be concentrated on winning concrete victories on local demands. These demands, which had been forth by SDS during the year and were now adopted by the Third World Coalition, centered on the University's complicity with the war machine and its racist politics towards third world workers.

Throughout the strike, weaknesses in our past work of talking to students about the relationship between fighting imperialism in Indochina and fighting imperialism at Columbia (in the form of the South East Asian Center and CFIA) were apparent. The Third World Coalition presented these issues and demands at mass meetings and rallies, and were repeatedly booed with cries of 'Talk about the war'. It became clear that most students were not clear on the relationship between the government's oppression of black and latin people (particularly the attempted extermination of the Black Panther Party) and Columbia's oppression of black and latin workers.

These weaknesses became more clear in the actions led by SDS in the coming weeks. On Tuesday, May 5, SDS led a march of about 4000 students to City College to support their fight against ROTC. After we returned, we decided that in order to effectively stop the organization from functioning we would seize Low Library, the administration building. It was here that our inability to convince the students of the need to fight the university, was most apparent. While 200 radicals charged the steps of Low, 3500 people stood below, some of them chanting 'Save Our Strike'. Seeing our lack of support, we were forced to abandon our attempted seizure.

Afterward the YSA-led Student Mobilization Committee proposed that the University should not be shut down, it should be opened up as a center for anti-war activity. Once again, SDS failed to explain why this was a bad idea. We failed to explain to students that if the University were opened up while SMC was organizing anti-war work, war research would still be going on inside the buildings. We also failed to show how opening the buildings would allow the strike to die out. Militant picket lines were formed in front of each building, but lack of student support forced us to drop them.

As a result, the University was opened up, though little anti-war work actually went on. Some students, feeling that the semester was over, started to drift home, while others joined actions of 'peace' and collected signatures for the Hatfield-McGovern resolution.

With the end of the school year, it has become clear that the strike has meant advances for pro-working class politics at Columbia. The strike of campus workers showed many things, particularly that workers are the natural ally of students in fighting things like the war in Vietnam. Students who realized the importance of shutting Columbia down tight as a way to fight the government saw that this could only be done with the help of the working people at Columbia.

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# MARYLAND.

## students take anti-rotc action, fight cops

Thousands of students at the University of Maryland have responded to Nixon's speech concerning the U.S. invasion of Cambodia by fighting ROTC, the cops and the administration, and are in the process of building for a student strike. The political demands that people are being organized around are:

1. U.S. out of Indo-China now!
2. End racist attacks on black people, especially Black Panther Party -- Free Bobby Seale.
3. Abolish ROTC and military recruiters on campus.

The present situation started on Friday, May 1, when students called for a rally on the University Mall. A few thousand students sat listening to anti-war speeches. After an hour of speeches, people moved in anger and practically spontaneously to the ROTC building. There, a mass of people moved into the building, destroying files, furniture, windows, and uniforms, and broke the door to a ROTC office and continued the mass destruction.

However, rather than holding the ROTC building, the crowd surged down to Route 1, where traffic was blocked and cars were stoned. A teamster voluntarily stopped his mail truck in solidarity with students in anger against the expansion of the war. Students responded with clenched fists and cheers. Seeing this worker join the crowd did a lot to fight student anti-worker attitudes.

After two hours the state and county cops moved in to clear the streets. When the cops began to push students back on campus, students responded with rocks and chants of 'Pigs off Campus'. During this, SDS and PLP member Mark Woodward was arrested for joining with the students to push cops off campus. Five times the cops advanced and students en masse blocked their aggressive drives. During lulls between the fighting SDS members handed out hundreds of SDS fliers 'U.S. OUT OF VIET NAM, LAOS, PUERTO RICO...' and got a very favorable response.

Until dusk, crowds of students forced the cops to chase them from intersection to intersection along Route 1. However, when it got dark, the cops were able to entrench themselves on campus, throwing gas and beating people. Students continued to respond with bottles, rocks, and canisters of tear gas that had not exploded.

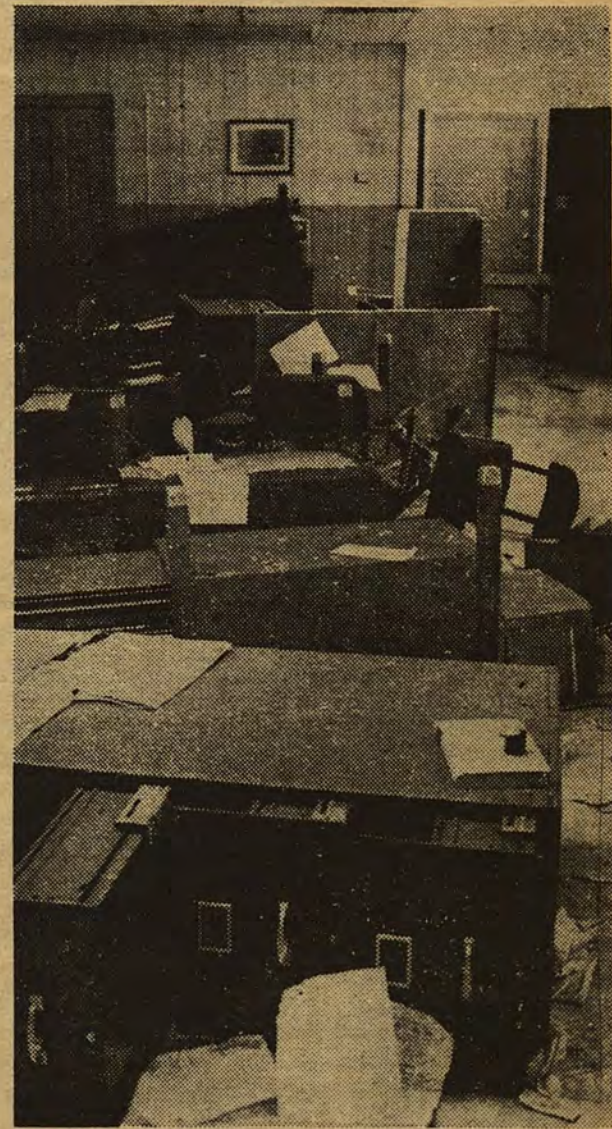
Cops shot gas into some dorms and chased some students into dorms to beat and arrest them. When the dorms were evacuated the escaping students were gassed and arrested. The next morning, a classroom was found burnt. It had a tear gas canister inside. A fire in a dorm was started by sparks from a tear gas canister which exploded near some curtains. Skirmishes continued until 2:00 a.m., when the campus was cleared of people and covered with gas. Twenty-eight people were arrested.

Saturday was quiet until midnight, when hundreds of people started to crowd into the street again. County cops issued an ultimatum to clear the streets. After only a few minutes they began the arrests. Some people had gone into the Donut Shop thinking they would be safe there. The cops entered the Donut Shop and 'firmly' arrested twenty-eight people for disorderly conduct.

Sunday night there was a meeting to plan Monday's actions. The above-mentioned three demands were adopted and a rally was scheduled for the next day.

On Monday, actions began with a short rally at the library in the rain, followed by a march of at least 1000 people down to the administration building. SDS leaflets on ROTC and imperialism were distributed. Although many students wanted to hold that building, misleaders diverted them to Route 1 by playing on their fears of being trapped in the building. Route 1 was occupied by about 5000 students for six hours. State cops, Baltimore riot cops, and county cops backed up by the National Guard, attacked the students with tear gas, clubs, and pepper gas. They carried out military maneuvers to disperse the crowd and established 'law and order'. During this attack dormitories were gassed indiscriminately. This gave Maryland students a taste of the systematic violence directed against all working people, especially black workers. Students did not take this repression lying down. They stood and fought back courageously. They threw back the tear gas canisters and pelted the pigs with rocks and bottles. For three hours a virtual state of war prevailed on campus between Route 1 and the Mall. After the cops could not smash the students into submission, administration called in the National Guard. That night a curfew was declared and 160 students were busted.

The next day SDS handed out 3000 leaflets attacking ROTC and pointing out that the war will not end until the working people force it. Just imagine if the postal workers had refused to work until the US got out of Vietnam. The ruling power structure simply could not ignore that action. Political theory and practice was discussed over an open microphone for the entire afternoon. Later students heard a recording of Governor Marshmellow Mandel's speech which stated that he would not allow a small band of troublemakers to control the University of Maryland and that all students involved should be expelled from the university. Then an administrator said the administration had no way to meet the students' demands. These speeches aroused the militancy of the students, who moved down to the administration building. Faculty shouting 'Go Back' turned the students away from a confrontation with the National Guard. Instead, there was a march commemorating the deaths of the students at Kent State. Some attempts were made to start a rock concert instead of a march. Significantly, the commander of the National Guard was all in favor of this. The march attracted well over a thousand students, who were still in their dorms. About 5000 students participated in the evening activity.



On Wednesday about 2000 students gathered on the Mall to continue the strike started the day before. They listened to speakers except during the class breaks, when they picketed in front of the classroom buildings. This gave a tremendous psychological boost to the strike.

As for an evaluation of the tactics, the spontaneous action taken against the ROTC building in response to Nixon's speech was tremendous. Students' anger and frustration immediately erupted in the form of an attack against the main tool of the military on campus - ROTC. After an initial destruction of \$10,000 worth of property, a few people suggested that they move to Route 1 to immobilize traffic. Because of the lack of a clear understanding of who the real enemy is, the other students followed to Route 1 and others continued to come, bringing the total to well over 1000. Their anger was directed against the community by stopping traffic during rush hour. Many people who work in Washington were greatly inconvenienced while trying to get home. These working people should not have been attacked because they are oppressed by the same system which oppresses students and conducts the war in Asia. Workers are students' natural allies, but by attacking them they can be easily turned against us. People who were aware of the bad effects of an action that attacks the people tried to move the crowd toward the administration building or to the ROTC armory, the rationale being to focus the attack on the ruling class army and its allies. It proved impossible to move the large, new and scattered crowd, so instead traffic was rerouted and the motorists were helped out of the crowd.

In spite of the mistakes in the focus of attack, thousands of students were involved in fighting back against the police. These students certainly have a better understanding of the role of the police to squelch any action that starts to threaten the power or 'order' of the ruling class. The largely new-to-action crowd was skeptical of suggestions to appeal to your congressman, but suggestions to organize and act to 'Abolish ROTC' and 'Smash Imperialism' were received with enthusiasm. Many students - more every day - want to take a positive militant action against the administration and ROTC. The most encouraging result of the week's actions is a new willingness to organize for action which hurts at least a little the power of the ruling class and, more importantly, which builds a radical movement.

Clare Bracken  
Brian Rennex  
Anne Pogorelskin, U Md SDS

ARA Slater, the food service vender at University of California at Davis, is a subsidiary of Automatic Retailers of America, a giant corporation with tentacles in Mexico, Canada and Puerto Rico. Students at Davis recently learned that we don't have to look so far away to see how Slater hurts workers -- right here in their local kitchens, workers are intimidated and split up (mainly along lines of sex). Result: low wages, lousy conditions, no job security; in short, the severe exploitation that faces all workers under the system of US corporate imperialism.

In late February, as part of the general policy of cutting costs and intimidating workers to maximize profits, a 63-year-old dishwasher named Cleatus Walter was fired. After four and a half years of work, Walter was earning \$2.15 an hour, which he tried to supplement by taking home a small amount of bananas and butter (well under five dollars worth). When he was caught, it gave the manager the excuse he needed to cut costs through speed-up (fewer workers doing the same work) and further divide the workers among themselves (making them think the intimidation was caused by 'a few thieves' in their own ranks who made trouble for everyone). Walter was fired.

# at davis: WORKER REHIRED

## moratorium sides with bosses

SDS members reached many people through discussions, leaflets, and petitions. We explained how this unjust firing was part of a larger system, that workers are the key force for change in that system, and that students must ally with workers to make change. We also stressed that Walter was being screwed, and only mass action by workers and students can protect individuals

from such attacks. The petition was quickly signed by over 500 students and some Slater workers.

No rallies, demonstrations or sit-ins: just a petition that required the political consciousness of allying with workers to sign it. The Slater bosses panicked. Their first line of defense took the form of a familiar face on the Davis campus, a liberal student leader named Peter Schwartz. Schwartz is best known for guiding the Moratorium activities of October and November into vague pacifism (sniping at workers as 'bought off' from time to time), holding back students' consciousness on the reasons for the war and the best strategy to fight it.

Faced with a more explicitly pro-worker movement, Schwartz sided with the bosses again, this time exposing his pacifism as simply a 'don't fight back' message. The Slater manager agreed to have this guy head a committee which would have the task of 'cooling things down' by taking the issues away from the masses and into the hearing room. In fact, on the day of the hearing, Schwartz suggested the meeting be closed! Both workers and students spoke vehemently against this. They insisted on staying and exposed the terrible conditions of work at Slater --

such as no seniority, no overtime pay, no health insurance (or benefits of any kind). When the Slater managers saw that their liberal-facade committee was not going to split our determination to win Walter's rehiring, they backed down! Walter was rehired.

Several lessons arose from this victory. First,

Slater's retreating stance on this issue was in sharp contrast to their response to a 1968 student boycott which attacked only consumer problems (prices, quality, etc.) and failed to ally with workers. Secondly, the victory was helped tremendously by ties that SDSers had previously built with campus workers. Winning this fight also increased the confidence of campus workers, SDSers, and other students in the strategy of CWSA. Finally, we learned that workers themselves are going to have to take more and more leadership in these campaigns. Slater managed to turn our victory around somewhat by (1) firing Walter's replacement and (2) imposing new rules and restrictions on the workers to 'prevent' stealing (e.g. permitting workers to use only one door in and out of the kitchen, locking all others from the inside!). Some of the workers are bitter about these things, feeling it's other workers who steal who are causing the problems. These reversals could not have been effective had there been workers in the leadership.

\*\* A footnote on 'pacifist' Schwartz: In an attempt to advance the struggle, SDS issued another leaflet when Walter's replacement was fired. It also

contained a full description of Schwartz's attempts to hold back the movement. When Schwartz saw the text, he physically attacked two leafletting SDSers and tried unsuccessfully to destroy their leaflets. Lesson: Liberal misleaders will use pacifism when it serves the bosses, but they'll also use violence when that serves the bosses. The response for the student movement should be to serve the workers and realize that that will often require violence against all sorts of enemies -- even so-called 'pacifists'.

Margie Wassermann, UC Davis SDS

### Repressive La. State

### Bans Leafletting

### Busts Rally



SDS member, Gi Shafer speaks at rally before arrest.

NEW ORLEANS (April 23) -- Administration officials of Louisiana State University at New Orleans (LSUNO) called in New Orleans police to break up an SDS rally in the University Center.

SDS, which is banned on Louisiana state campuses, had called the rally to state its position on its two year effort to secure recognition as a student organization.

Two SDS organizers, Gi Schafer and Ed Clark, were arrested by New Orleans police at the request of LSUNO Dean Edgar Burks. They were charged with a series of offenses, including interference with university functions and unlawful use of a public building. Both are presently out on \$2500 peace bonds.

Two others were also arrested. One LSUNO student was charged with simple battery and another was charged with using obscene language. Both are out on cash bonds.

SDS had called the peaceful rally to discuss with the LSUNO student body what to do in the face of the Administration's flat refusal to permit even the distribution of leaflets. The rally

never reached this point. As Schafer began addressing the 200 students who gathered in the U.C., Dean Burks ordered the crowd to disperse and threatened all present with arrest.

Schafer attempted to present SDS's position and its history of trying to fight for the needs of students and university workers (about 20 workers also came to the rally).

Police buses then appeared outside the university center, and the crowd swelled to more than 500. A handful of right-wing students attempted to shout down Schafer, but they were overwhelmed by the cheers of the mass of students present.

When Schafer promised that SDS would be at LSUNO long after Dean Burks was gone, he received the loudest applause.

A very large number of students went outside when Schafer was arrested, though some sixty or so remained inside, yelling 'Bring on the vans!' The students outside chanted 'Pigs! Pigs! Pigs!' and raised the clenched fist in solidarity as the arrested people were driven off in a police car.

Student consciousness of the utterly repressive nature of the university bounded to an all-time high following the arrests. Informal meetings were held all over campus the rest of the afternoon, and opinion ran overwhelmingly in favor of SDS. At this writing, we have unconfirmed reports of a rally in support of SDS being planned by other campus groups and at least one faculty group is reportedly planning to formally request the dismissal of Dean Burks.

Meanwhile, suits and counter-suits are flying back and forth in Federal and state courts. An interesting coincidence was apparent in the ruling of a Federal Court on the same day as the rally that SDS could not be prohibited by Administration officials from passing out leaflets on the LSUNO campus. This ruling came down more than three months after a suit was filed by SDS asking that the court restrain the Administration from interfering with the passing out of leaflets.

The LSUNO Administration got quicker service; their request for a temporary restraining order against SDS 'occupying university property' was granted the same day it was filed in a state court.

The LSUNO Administration and the LSU Board of Supervisors have sought throughout the year to intimidate and terrorize students into political apathy. The result is that while a growing number of students are becoming increasingly sympathetic to SDS, most of them are afraid to join. If passing out a leaflet can lead to immediate expulsion, this serves as a real barrier to building SDS. If holding a meeting can lead to two years in the state pen, this also serves as a real barrier to building SDS.

We in SDS, both on and off campus, have tried to show students that the only real way to counter this repression is by resisting it in large numbers. So far, the Administration has responded with only more severe repression. We intend to advance under attack. Only a massive base among thousands of students can guarantee the growth of SDS and even the survival of SDS. Fight to win!

by Ed Clark, New Orleans MDS, PLP

# - CAMBODIA -

Though proclaimed by some critics as a tactical blunder of the highest magnitude, the administration's decision to invade Cambodia and extend the war throughout Indochina is actually striking evidence of the government's desperation to hang on to Southeast Asia and save as much of it as it can for American business. Why did they do it? The picture that is now being drawn for the American public in the national media is that of a maniacal president, Nixon, the old antiCommunist, who has chosen the path of military victory in Indochina and a military settlement to that war. Counter-posed to him, we have the liberals, Goodell, McGovern, and Hatfield, whose cries for peace suggest that they want an immediate end to the whole thing, and the opportunity for the people of Indochina to determine their own future.

But Nixon, clearly, does not want a military solution to the Vietnam war. What he wants is a negotiated settlement (read: some kind of deal which will allow us to keep our fingers in the area) and he feels that invading Cambodia at this time, and hence showing our 'resolve' and 'toughness' is the best way to force that. As the New York Times stated soon after the invasion (May 17), 'Administration officials expressed hope that the allied military thrust into Cambodia would demonstrate to the enemy the wisdom of bargaining seriously.' The protests that have arisen from former administration officials, liberal senators and congressmen, etc., prove once again that the disagreements over the war, no matter how sharply worded they might be, are merely tactical splits over how to 'negotiate' a continued American presence in South east Asia (see, for example, Clark Clifford's article in Life). The ruling class knows what it wants; it just disagrees on how to get it.

## WHY CAMBODIA?

Explanations for the Cambodian invasion proceed on many levels. Clearly, our government felt it had to do something to make the Communists 'seriously negotiate' at Paris, since negotiations had hardly occurred for months. More important than this, however, was the fact that the government's military position throughout Indochina had been appreciably weakening, and some sort of action was needed as a shot of adrenalin.

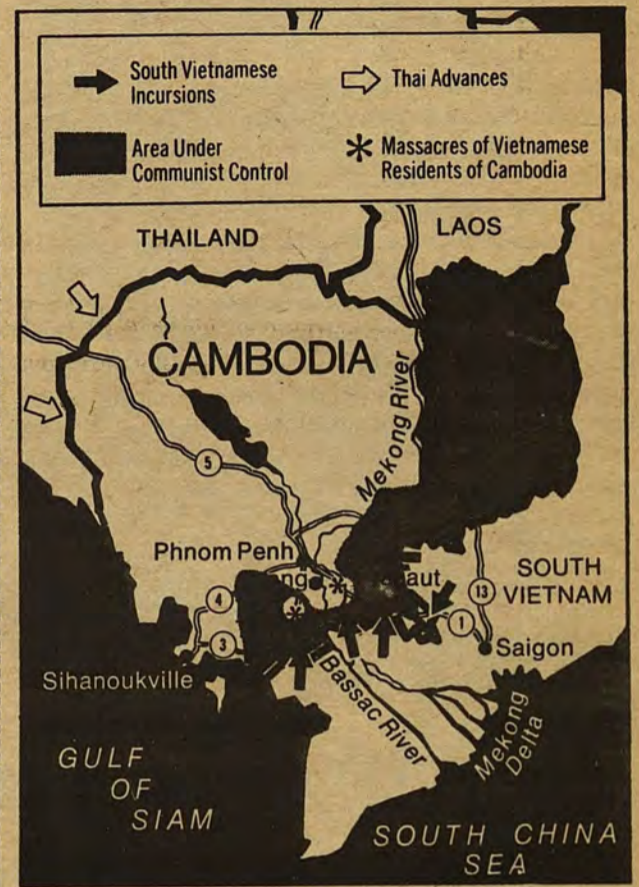
Earlier this year, the focus of concern had been Laos, not Cambodia. Pathet Lao troops (indigenous communist forces, labelled by the press 'North Vietnamese') had recaptured the strategically important Plain of Jars in February. The US responded with massive bombing raids, which as usual achieved nothing except the desolation of large parts of the area. It was clear that the Pathet Lao could secure control of the entire northern portion of Laos almost at will, and would certainly do so unless something more were done by the US. But a 'show of strength' involving the sending of large numbers of American troops into Laos would too obviously shatter the ruling class's façade of withdrawal from the area. A move into Cambodia was not only more expedient, but also more explainable.

The stage was set for a move into Cambodia by the overthrow of the Sihanook regime on March 18th. Prince Sihanook was anything but a Communist (he had supported campaigns to weck out the Communists from his own country), but he was too much of a 'neutralist' for the government's

liking. In a speech at the University of Paris several years ago, Sihanook explained his position: 'The reason that we are opposing the United States is based on this fact: since 1955 the United States has tried various means, including the most treacherous and the most dangerous, to force us to join their side as a meek satellite. This is why we have carried on fierce resistance and broken not very politely.' As important as the military aspect was the attempt by Sihanook to stave off economic incursions by the United States into his country. Indeed, the differences between Sihanook and the right wing forces, led by Lon Nol, up to the time of the coup, had developed largely over economic policies. As the London Economist wrote on March 21, 'Last year they (the right-wing group) succeeded in launching a 'New Economic Policy' opposed to Prince Sihanook's system of state control. They clashed with him in December over a proposal to nationalize the banks. They believe that the economy has been doing badly ever since Prince Sihanook rejected American aid in 1963. They will aim to secure new loans and a steady stream of foreign investment.'

The coup occurred, then, while Sihanook was out of the country. As a French journalist wrote, 'The taking of power by the Lon Nol group is the result of a long series of attempts by the Cambodian right, supported by the United States.' No sooner had the right wing taken command, though, than the situation there began to deteriorate. The new rulers had virtually no support from the people, and they immediately began asking for arms and aid from all sides. The Lon Nol gang also began a vicious and systematic attacks on Vietnamese living in Cambodia, as whole villages at a time were wiped out. With Sihanook gone and the lines clearly drawn, Communist forces began to rapidly gain support.

It was no mere coincidence that President Nixon announced the invasion of Cambodia 'upon the request' of the ruling Lon Nol government. Nixon claimed, with bizarre logic, that we were invading Cambodia to 'defend' the lives of our soldiers there. That the move was really designed to demonstrate US 'resolve' in the area and, more importantly perhaps, to secure Cambodia as another American satellite, was clear to all, and became more clear with each passing day. Coincident with the Cambodian invasion was the resumption of bombing raids on North Vietnam, on a scale not seen since 1967. Furthermore, the invasion has become clearly that of 'Vietnamizing' the Cambodian war. By keeping large numbers of South Vietnamese troops in Cambodia,



-from Newsweek

the US hopes to stave off a Communist victory while withdrawing its own troops in the near future.

In the long run, the United States is also likely to continue on a massive scale bombing raids such as the ones it is already carrying out in Laos and Vietnam. All of these actions only bring out the racist aspect of the Southeast Asian venture in the starkest light. The US's response to its inability to win the support of the people of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam has been to systematically destroy large areas of the countryside, and in the process, large numbers of people, through bombing raids. Because of racism, the government can play down the slaughtering of thousands and millions of Asians, and justify more murders by claiming that they will save American lives. The solution which it sees to its unpopular venture in Cambodia is to Vietnamize the engagement, pitting Vietnamese against Cambodian and hoping that it can use racism to keep the American people from protesting.

## SIHANOOK AND CHINA

The response of the people's forces throughout Southeast Asia has been quick and forceful. That the invasion took place at all, as we have pointed out, attests to the weakness of the United States and the strength of the Liberation forces. As Chairman Mao wrote, 'All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventures and political deception in all their forms to save themselves from extinction.'

cont. page 12



# "CINDERELLA ROCKEFELLER" • Students Reject Masquerade, DEBUTS AT ANTI-ROTC RALLY •

The Peace and Freedom Party, of which many SDSers are members, elected as their campaign for the spring semester the abolition of ROTC as Rensselaer Polytechnical Institute in Troy, New York. Our slogan: 'Spring Offensive Against the War -- Abolish ROTC'.

The Radish, the school's bi-weekly newspaper, devoted its entire new semester issue to defining imperialism as a complex of economic interests, at home and abroad, preserved ultimately by military means. Shortly afterward we came out with a pamphlet, 'The Case for Abolishing ROTC at RPI'. In it we discussed ROTC and imperialism, using examples of how the American military is used at home and abroad to put down struggles that threaten the status quo. We talked about the use of the army to put down striking workers (post office strike), ghetto rebellions, and the organized poor. We pointed out how the American military depends on ROTC to supply the necessary manpower to run the military machine, which pursues the foreign and domestic interests of American businesses.

A week after the pamphlet came out a petition was circulated and 400 signatures were collected. Dorm discussions were held. We depended mainly on discussion of the ROTC issue to build for a demonstration. A Newsreel film on ROTC at Harvard was shown.

The first rally was scheduled for March 18. About 125 people came. A RAT troupe performed and after a few short speeches the group marched to the administration building to present the petitions to President Folsom. We were barred from entering by threats of suspension under the Henderson Act. About 12 people got into the building, however, and presented the petitions to the President who said he would consider them and send them through the 'proper channels'.

*Rensselaer Polytechnical  
Institute*



With another demonstration planned for April 15, we built even more, mainly with dorm discussion groups. We had learned through mistakes of the first semester not to remain in our own little groups, and we participated in as many all-college functions that the school held. Besides building the Abolish ROTC support, we also built Peace and Freedom Party and SDS.

Another demonstration was planned for April 15. The morning of the rally we learned what President Folsom had meant by 'proper channels' when he gave his reply to our petitions -- 'ROTC will stay.'

Despite the fact that Howard Samuels - liberal politician - was to speak at a New Mobe-Moratorium Rally that same day and he would probably draw a lot of people, we held our own rally as planned. In addition, we planned to have a speaker at the New Mobe Rally. It was later proven that the most important step we took was to speak out against liberal politicians at both our own rally and the New Mobe's.

On April 15, our demonstration was held. About 150 people were present. The RAT troupe performed a skit written by three campus workers -- 'Cinderella Rockefeller -- A Hairy Tale'. A speech was written by a black foreign student who was unable to present it because his scholarship would be threatened. It was read by an SDS member. He said that 'US imperialism hasn't grown from anywhere but has its roots deeply entrenched in the economic system.' Moreover, he continued, 'war and oppression have quite a long history in human affairs. They cannot be over-

come except through struggle. A world free of exploitation and foreign domination, a world of well-being for masses of all countries, a world of peace and fraternity has to be fought for. This is the lesson that US imperialism teaches us.' Thus, he believes that 'to the ruling class of America, a world-wide drive for economic progress inevitably appears as profoundly subversive to the existing social order and of the prevailing system of international domination...' Another speaker was a local high school student who spoke on the new state law permitting junior ROTC in high schools. He ended his speech by saying that if ROTC were to come to Troy High (his school), he would be the first to say 'Abolish ROTC'.

The demonstrators then marched to the administration building, where they were refused entrance. Two women campus workers told an administrator that they had to get back to work from lunch. He opened the door a little to let them in and the demonstrators kicked it open, pushing the administrators aside. As the demonstrators forced their way into the building, Dean Evans began reading the Henderson Act. A student countered this by saying, 'The Henderson Act, I read that -- it's bullshit.'

While this action was taking place, Howard Samuels - liberal politician, millionaire and former Vice-President of Mobil Oil - was speaking to the Moratorium Rally on the other side of the campus. But his words were not convincing compared to the action at the administration building. At the closing of the Moratorium

rally, a member from PFP-SDS spoke. He pointed out the ineffectiveness of the Moratorium's efforts. With their fasts and contributions to relief funds, plus speeches, speeches and more speeches, the Moratorium has successfully ignored the causes of the war. He said that the war is not a 'tragic mistake'. The PFP-SDS speaker pointed out that the cause of our involvement in Vietnam was an attempt to preserve and protect the economic interests of American businessmen in Southeast Asia. He said that it was useless to fight the war by going through 'proper channels' or listening to liberal politicians because these very politicians who speak against the war have vested interests in Southeast Asia. Samuels, he said, was a case in point, because he contradicts his speeches in his actions. He is past Vice-President of Mobil Oil, a giant corporation with over five billion dollars in sales in 1969, and many of its profits coming from approximately 75 foreign subsidiaries such as Mobil Oil of Thailand, Mobil Oil of Indonesia, etc. What companies such as Mobil Oil do in these places is steal resources and force the people to work at slave wages -- it is these companies that the US Army is protecting in Vietnam. Samuels' association with big business is further demonstrated by the fact that he holds directorships on four other corporations, is a trustee of two colleges and co-founder of Kordite Corporation, itself a subsidiary of Mobil. And in Samuels' own words, 'The system has been good to me.' Our PFP-SDS

## Fight ROTC

speaker concluded his speech by saying that the only alternative is for the people themselves to act. The most direct course against US imperialism for students at RPI is to fight to abolish ROTC. The speaker urged the people at the Moratorium Rally to take direct action against imperialistic wars and join the people sitting in the Pittsburgh Building. With this remark, he abruptly left the podium and headed for the administration building. Within ten minutes, our numbers in the building had swelled to over 300.

The students in the building were persistent in their demand to see President Folsom en masse. Byron Evans, the President aide, talked with the crowd the full five hours, eventually threatening them with police action. Finally, it was announced that the President had agreed to meet with all the students in the Student Union at 7:30 that night. We voted to meet with him there.

Surrounded by yes-men, the President showed up fifteen minutes late to face a crowd that had grown to 400. President Folsom spoke with the students for about two and a half hours. The discussion never really developed. President Folsom was unwilling to confront the issue. We had made a mistake in agreeing to his terms just so he could give us the run-around again. And, at this point, the people were fatigued and often emotional in their attempts to present the problem.

However, a few of the questions asked by students led President Folsom to expose himself. When asked how he felt about the killing of Vietnamese, he responded by saying that many people die every day in automobile accidents, and if we were consistent in our logic, we would stop driving cars!

At the PFP-SDS meeting the next night, we decided to consolidate the gains we had made. Canvassing groups are being organized in the dorms and the pamphlet is being re-issued. Also, the student council is putting forth a campus referendum; but we plan to deal with it, putting forth the argument that most of the people involved in the issue of the war - Vietnamese and Cambodians and Laotians - are disenfranchised.

RPI SDS

## Free SDS Literature

For some free sample literature, send your address (and the addresses of anyone else who might be interested) to the SDS National Headquarters, 173a Massachusetts Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115

# WHY SMC/YSA LIE ABOUT SDS

The newspapers and the media have never been great friends of the people; in fact, they have consistently tried to discredit workers and students, black and white, who are fighting back against the few rich men who run this country. The Boston area has seen a barrage of stories, none of which are true, about the Student Mobilization Committee meeting at MIT this Sunday -- so we hope you'll read this factual account and explanation.

Sunday morning, 12 SDSers, including several members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), attended an open steering committee meeting of the SMC in order to talk to the 200 or so people there about what we felt were lessons to be learned from the recent strike and to see how they related to other people's experiences. There were three main points we wanted to raise about the anti-war movement -- that it must (1) fight racism, (2) link itself to the increasingly militant struggles of workers and (3) in doing these, fight to win (by shutting the school down until victory) concrete demands on the university administration that hurt the war and racism and the giant corporations that profit from them. We also wanted to point out that the leadership of the SMC, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, have consistently opposed building this kind of movement.

One person from MIT SDS and PLP came by the conference to drop off some literature and was asked at the door to register. He explained that he was only there for a minute to give us the literature and started into the conference room, but was grabbed by four people, thrown against the hallway wall and beaten. Those of us in the room had seen him for a second as the door was opened and it looked like he was getting roughed up, so we went out to defend him if necessary. As each of us stepped outside the door, we were each attacked by from four to eight people in waiting; the fight was only being broken up because many honest people came out and saw what was happening to us. We were not allowed to return to the conference. But inside, Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for senator, told the conference that the twelve of us had come to disrupt the conference, break it up, and attack the people there. Someone asked how he thought twelve people were such a ferocious threat to the 200 present and was told not to ask foolish questions.

In the afternoon, we returned with almost 50 SDSers with the intention of being admitted peacefully if possible in order to politically expose the YSA leadership for what had happened that morning and to present our ideas about the

anti-war movement. When we tried to get to the registration table we were attacked by an equal number of people while several campus police appeared at the scene. After about ten minutes of fighting we decided to leave and talk with people as they left the conference.

## WHY WERE S.M.C. LEADERS SO AFRAID OF S.D.S. AND P.L.P.?

In general, the leadership of the SMC plans meetings so that there is a minimum amount of political discussion and debate, because they've learned that many of the people who attend their meetings are quick to reject their leadership. For instance, the spring New England Anti-War Conference voted that no liberal politicians, big businessmen or university administrators be allowed to speak at our rallies, despite SMC/YSA leaders attempting to prevent workshops and political discussion on the floor of the plenary. This resolution (introduced by SDS) passed because the majority felt that these politicians aren't really against the war since they push for 'more negotiation, less troops' as a better tactic for the US to gain control of the manpower and natural resources of Vietnam. The politicians and their friends also put forward many of the racist justifications for the war like 'the Vietnamese aren't culturally equipped to determine their own destiny', and people thought it was very important to meet this racism head-on because it wasn't a 'separate issue' as the YSA claimed. Later the YSA/SMC leaders declared the conference illegitimate (with the help of the Boston Globe) and carried out their own plans anyway.

The YSA/SMC leaders back the 'doves' to the hilt, covering themselves with a lot of rhetoric about a 'non-exclusionary' movement. Presumably, it was in the name of non-exclusion that New York mayor Lindsay gave the keynote speech at an SMC-sponsored rally in Central Park while he was sending cops into Columbia to break the heads of students fighting the Institute for Defense Analysis and Columbia's racist expansion into Harlem. In other words, 'non-exclusion' means bend over backwards to include the liberal politicians and their wealthy backers, but exclude anyone who will put forward that these rulers are just as bad as the rest and that the anti-war movement must fight racism and ally with workers for the strength it needs to win.

Concretely, the SMC and the New Mobe steering committee tried to exclude the SDS rally at the Department of Labor on November 15th by denying us a permit -- we held it anyway with 7500 people in the first national demonstration to link

the anti-war movement to the struggle of working people, specifically the GE strikers. And this month in Washington, Mobe marshalls tried to keep people from going to a similar demonstration at the racist Labor Department by saying it was an 'SDS plan to get people's heads beaten'. This time the demonstration was 10-15,000, although the main demonstration was considerably smaller than their November demonstration.

Perhaps the shapest example of the YSA/SMC leaders' policy of 'non-exclusion' was a rally they held at Columbia University at which the school's president, Cordier, spoke. But when a black student came forward to speak about the racism of Columbia towards its own workers and students and the working people of Harlem, and how racism was a key justification for the war, he was pushed from the microphone by an SMCer until black and white students came to his side to help.

The big businessmen and politicians (liberal and conservative) appreciate what the SMC leaders are doing; so all the Boston papers and most of the radio stations had stories talking about how the 'radicals came to MIT to attack the peace conference'. The Globe quoted from SMC leaders right and left about SDS and PLP having a 'history of attacks on the peace movement as far removed from their own causes'. The cause we're removed from is the cause of 'peace' that liberal politicians advocate -- a piece of Vietnam and the peaceful exploitation of working people in Vietnam and here at home. What the Globe and the wealthy men who own it fear is the anti-war movement linking itself to the struggles of workers, who have the greatest power and need to end this rotten war. They know the YSA/SMC leaders will fight tooth and nail to prevent this; that's why people like Cleveland multi-millionaire industrialist Cyrus Eaton and the big businessmen who own the Globe contribute money to the SMC and broadcast their lies.

On June 6, a number of organizations in the New England area, including SDS, will sponsor a conference to plan actions against the war and racism, to develop some kinds of summer programs which can involve people in concrete projects to fight against the war and racism, and to build an on-going movement in the area which can carry on a sustained campaign which relies on the people and not on the politicians, businessmen and their friends, and which can really win.

New England Regional SDS

## Radicals, peace group brawl at MIT

The Boston Globe

Monday, May 25, 1970

The Boston Globe, like any "legitimate" newspaper, slants its news in favor of the corporations, individuals and groups that have interests in common with those of the Globe owners. The same paper that tries to discredit General Electric strikers and fighting welfare mothers eagerly sides with the SMC/YSA. After the fight at M.I.T. (see story above), the YSA quickly called several news conferences to parade their casualties and attempt to discredit SDS and PLP with a carefully edited version of the incident. Strangely enough, the Globe was unable to find members of SDS and PLP in the hospital who had been viciously cut with knives and other objects. More importantly, the Globe exercised its editorial judgement in a letter written to the paper by an SDS'er and stripped the letter of its political content--leaving only a skeleton version of the incident. However, no group challenging the power of the bosses' press can rely on that same press to reach the people. Groups like the YSA/SMC that do rely on--and build the credibility of--bosses' papers like the Globe do so only because their interests are indistinguishable from those of the bosses who run the paper.

### Attack Cited

**Ultra-Left  
Mentality  
Is Scored**



# WORK-IN '70



The day after students broke an injunction and protested the appearance of GE recruiters on campus, GE workers showed up at Northeastern to show their support for the students.

## LEARN FROM-STRUGGLE WITH WORKERS

Over the past year the number of workers' strikes has risen sharply. The GE and postal strikes, where workers defiantly fought the government, courts, cops, and sell-out union leadership, are only two examples of an ever-increasing rank-and-file militancy. Wages are low, inflation is high and prices are continually rising. Workers are forced to pay for the war with their taxes and their blood. But in spite of the fact that bosses are blaming the workers instead of themselves for inflation and saying that strikes are against the 'national interest', workers continue to fight back daily.

At the same time there has also been a tremendous revolt on the college campuses. With the invasion of Cambodia and the subsequent killings of protestors at Kent State, mass strikes were organized at many schools. Thousands upon thousands of students took part in the protests -- a greater number than ever before.

These struggles, those of workers and students, are not separate. The same people who profit from the war in Indochina also oppress working people in this country. More and more workers and students are realizing that their struggles are not unrelated, but are a fight against the same enemy and need support and criticism from each other to be effective.

Workers do play an important part in the fight against the war, and we can learn from their struggles. When the teamsters and postal workers defied the courts and wildcatted, for example, they showed students that you can't depend on the legal system in this country for justice; because it's the great masses of working people who really have the power to fight back and win. For example, when postal workers struck they stopped the mailing out of 9000 draft induction notices, and all but paralyzed Wall Street, where the really important decisions involving Southeast Asia are made.

And when the GE workers went out on strike, they slowed down war production by the fourth largest US 'defense' contractor. Because it is clear that workers are really hurt by the war, that they do have the power to end the war, and that they are fighting the same enemy as students are, many students are now beginning to see the need to ally with workers.

Such an alliance can be one very effective way of fighting against the war and those who profit from it. The summer SDS work-in which will take place all over the country, is part of that strategy that sees an alliance with workers as key to progressive change.

This year over 1200 students inside and outside SDS will be taking jobs in factories, warehouses, offices, and on loading docks in order to talk with working people about the war in Southeast Asia, racism, the oppression of women, the student movement, and topical political questions. The purpose of all this activity is not to organize the working class. (It is arrogant and elitist to assume that workers can't organize themselves.) Instead, through the work-in we hope to get a deeper understanding of the problems workers face, their ideas, and furthermore to build strong personal and political ties with workers. Many of us believe that these ties can form the basis for a real fighting political alliance.

For the most part, though, students are joining the work-in for a variety of reasons and with a wide range of political viewpoints. Some, opposed to the war and the many social evils that exist in this country, want to find out how workers could be won to fighting these injustices. Other students, who up until this summer had never held down a full-time job, want to broaden their outlook and share the experience of the na-

tion's thirty million industrial workers. Some students, who were planning to work this summer anyhow, are simply joining out of curiosity. And some of us are in the work-in because we believe that the working class is the main driving force for revolutionary change and we want to gain personal experience in order to win over other people to this view.

In most cases, small work-in groups of six or eight people will meet once or twice a week to discuss divisions, struggles, attitudes and conversations on the job, current political developments around the war, strikes, ghetto rebellions, Cambodia, etc. A lot of territory will be covered, but there are, of course, no prerequisites for joining. Anyone who's concerned about the war and wants to find ways to fight racism is welcome. In fact, you don't even have to have a job to join the summer work-in. Some students who are enrolled in summer school, for example, will not be getting jobs but will be participating in the discussion groups. Other students will be forming support groups to canvass the community about political issues, do research at libraries, or leaflet factories where work-ins are going on. This support work should not be underestimated. In many shops, petitions and well-researched leaflets are invaluable in raising questions, stimulating political discussions, and introducing SDS to workers as a pro-working class student organization.

(Cont. p2)

Students for a Democratic Society

173a Massachusetts Ave. (second floor)

Boston, Mass. 02115

**sds** new left notes



June 1970

LESS TALK, MORE ACTION -- FIGHT RACISM

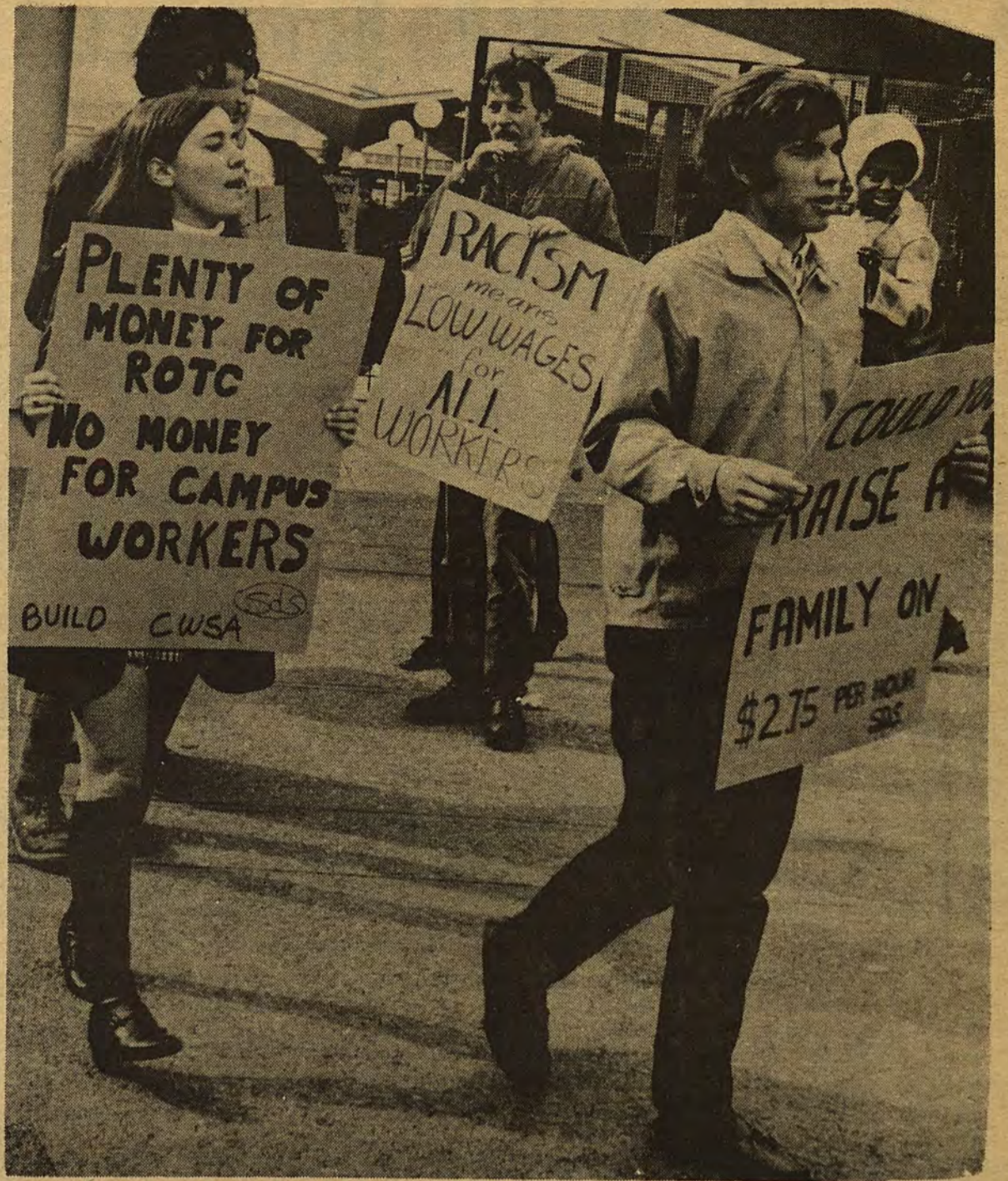
Five Cents (5¢)

THE NEED FOR BOLDNESS

Even though many students will be participating in the work-in this summer, past experience has taught us that many work-iners will be timid in struggling with their fellow workers. This timidity is a real drawback. In past work-ins, people made the mistake of taking a 'sociologist approach', or looking at the work-in as a self-cultivating experience, and not as a way of building fighting ties. Now that the war is more unpopular than ever, it is important that workers see that students are serious and not the 'bums' or 'terrorists' that the mass media make us out to be. Building these ties means more than just holding down a job. It means making friends with workers, raising political questions on and off the job, learning from workers, and extending these friendships and political discussions even after the end of the summer and we go back to school.

CAMPUS WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE

The work-in is only one way SDS is working to build a pro-working class student movement. During the school year other SDS programs include strike support action and Campus Worker-Student Alliance\*. Just because it's summer, though, doesn't mean that students should abandon the ongoing struggles that they may have been building on campus all year. During the summer, students can also get jobs on campus or keep the part-time campus jobs they already have. Summer doesn't necessarily mean that students should leave their campus jobs for industrial jobs. In fact, wherever students hold campus jobs, CWSA projects will be only that much stronger next fall. Campus workers after all are very important allies, not only because they are very often super-exploited by the very same administrations that maintain ROTC and police institutes, but because these are the workers to whom we are closest. Without them, the colleges could not function (letters left untyped, garbage uncollected, food services discontinued, etc.).



Berkeley SDS on the picket line against racist employment practices

# HOW THE WORK-IN WORKS OUT

Although students in different work-in centers will be meeting to make plans for the summer, some of the characteristics of past work-ins should be helpful in giving people an idea of what the work-in is like, as well as giving people a jumping-off point for new ideas for this year.

Work-in groups -- To make working a collective experience and to help students to overcome anti-working class attitudes that will hinder their relations on the job, most cities formed work-in groups, small groups of work-iners that generally met once a week to discuss and analyze conditions on individual jobs, and to evaluate people's relationships with fellow workers.

Strike support -- There is no sign that the current strike wave will be abating. In past years, strike support was an important part of work-in activities, giving students a chance to actually support workers' fights that jobs didn't always afford. It also gives us a chance to meet more workers, and to show them which side SDS is on on a large scale basis.

Social activities -- Work-in picnics, baseball games, etc., are a way we can form real friendships with the people we are working with, and discuss things at more leisure than a 30-minute lunch break allows.

Campus Work-in -- This is the first year this will be a major (although not the only) emphasis of the work-in. Many of the forms began during the year: papers, worker-student committees, etc., as well as many of the fights that we have begun over the course of the year, we can expect to continue into the summer. (Among other things, this is a great chance for continuity in the student movement!)

City or Community wide agitational work -- Many work-ins issued leaflets about current strikes, fare hikes, university expansion, city-wide rent strikes, etc. Sometimes this was part of an ongoing fight, other times we were getting the word out on a current issue. Often, we leafleted one another's factories to help the political discussions of the people who worked there.

Political forums -- Regularly held forums on current political topics, crises, etc., are a good way to bring students and workers together politically as well as a way to involve students and workers together politically as well as a way to involve students in the area who are not in the work-in.

Third World Work-in groups -- Last summer, in several cities, Third World students formed work-in groups affiliated with the work-in but not affiliated with SDS. (A statement from one such group is included in the pamphlet.) Such groups are a way in which black and white students can begin to work together around common political interests.

The articles that follow were selected to give you as full as possible a picture of the experiences and political issues that students encountered in summer 1969. At the end we have supplied a list of contacts, broken down by region. Be sure to write or call one of these names, so you can be sure to be in on work-in planning from the beginning.

\*The CWSA, which is an ongoing program on about thirty college campuses, is really a sort of campus work-in. Students get jobs on campuses in cafeterias, libraries, university-affiliated labs and hospitals, and on grounds and maintenance crews. The purpose of this is to build fighting ties with campus workers around political issues ranging from ROTC to racist and male chauvinist pay differentials. During the recent national student strike, two CWSA projects resulted in political strikes by campus workers at Columbia and the University of Minnesota.



PICKETING IN ST. PAUL

from the Midwest Work-In Newsletter

One of the important things raised in the work-in groups about our fight against racism on the job has been the liberalism that makes people timid in confronting racism in a way that will win white workers to being anti-racist.

An incident that occurred to one work-iner in one of the big downtown stores might serve to clarify the necessity to be bold in launching the struggle against racism.

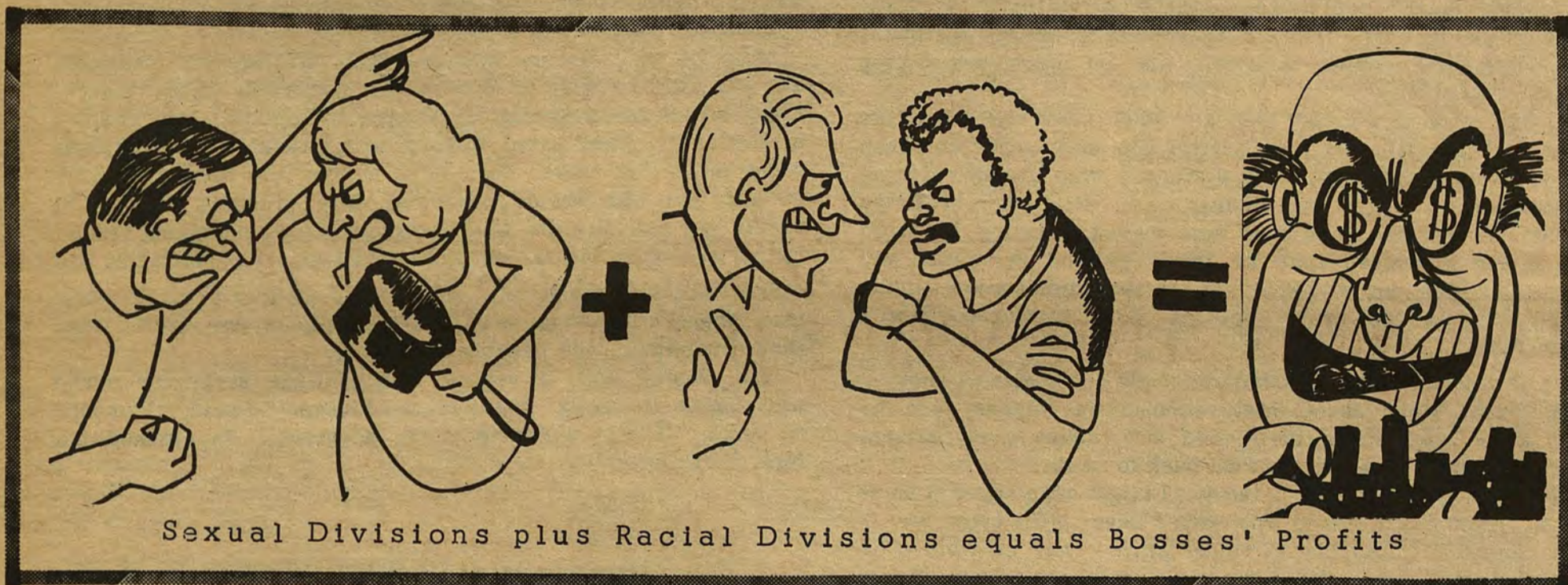
One day a white upper-class customer refused to let a black sales girl wait on her. As a result one of the white sales girls waited on the woman. Later the girls explained to the work-iner that they had been mad at the woman for being racist. The work-iner was taken completely by surprise. Up until that incident she had been afraid to get too close to the subject of racism because she had heard comments by the workers about such things as bad neighborhoods, etc., and had been sure the other sales girls were viciously racist. As a result of her inaction, several weeks had been lost in raising the understanding of the workers from one of solidarity with a single black sales girl, whom they knew and liked, to one of seeing racism (the

racism of the customer, the racism that put most black employees in the kitchen at this store, gave the black sales girls more work, and the racism that segregated the employees' cafeteria into black and white tables) as a tool of the boss to divide and better exploit all workers as he super-exploits black workers.

Another work-iner directly confronted racism in an hour-long discussion with a couple of workers. When they found out that he was from Hyde Park, one of them asked, 'Doesn't it bother you to live there?' In the discussion that followed, the worker set forth a very racist line, saying that blacks 'are better off than whites', or else 'always running around burning and looting'. The work-iner tried to keep his cool and fight this worker's racism. His arguments were that black people were really 'disadvantaged', that they were given lousy jobs, and that they were really not so different from anyone else. The only thing he didn't say was that the boss made billions off the exploitation of black workers and pushed racism to justify this and to divide all workers. In other words, instead of arguing in class terms, he simply pushed a liberal line, completely failing to emphasize that all workers must unite against the boss.

This was made particularly clear by one point. One of the workers had had a black worker of less seniority promoted to operator over him. This was an attempt of the boss to promote racism by making token concessions to the blacks at the expense of the white workers. However, instead of pointing out that the workers should unite to resist the bosses' attacks, and at the same time try to combat the super-exploitation of black workers, he merely said that most skilled trades were reserved to whites and that wasn't fair.

In his work-in group, it was decided that his major mistake was putting forward a liberal and not a class line on racism. Liberalism says 'love, understanding, ambition is what we need'. It doesn't relate in any way to the workers' lives, where to advance, or even to live, demands constant struggle, not 'love and understanding' for the bosses. Only a class understanding of racism as the bosses' tool enables white workers to achieve real class unity with their black brothers to fight the bosses more strongly. Because students really get liberal ideas shoved down their throats at school, they must make a special effort to fight them.



Sexual Divisions plus Racial Divisions equals Bosses' Profits

## Male Chauvinism Hurts

## Workers and Work-Iners

by two Rochester students

In the plant where we worked this summer, it was obvious that the attitude of the men toward the women was not a chance thing, but something fostered by the company to increase its profits.

Women were always paid less than men even though they had been working there for the same length of time. Pay raises were based on 'merit', so the company could keep back anyone they wanted on any pretext. Women worked on the duller jobs. If they ever needed help sharpening a drill or adjusting some machine, a set-up man would do it for them. Women were kept at the minimum of skill necessary to do their jobs. When one lady asked a set-up man to teach her to sharpen drills, he said he'd rather not because he was afraid of the boss. I was only there two months, but as soon as I showed any interest, everyone, including the set-up man, was eager to show me.

Whenever there was a lay-off, the women always went first. All the women, especially the older ones, knew this and worked like hell to make the

quotas and many to break them. The two older ladies who drove me home talked constantly about their rates. By producing as much as humanly possible for as long as possible, the women hoped to gain some job security. The men rarely broke production quotas and became very annoyed if anyone did. But when a woman killed a rate, they would take a 'what do you expect?' attitude, and never discuss it with the woman.

With these conditions set up by the company, it was no wonder that there were like two worlds in the factory. In one department, the company even arranged it so that men worked in rows surrounded on both sides by women. Thus, staring at women is encouraged by the physical set-up; it provides a way of alleviating the boredom and frustration of the job, in a way that is harmless to the company.

There were different reactions on the part of the men to all this. Some understood that it hurt them, but still retained an attitude of superiority. Sometimes when I got switched to some murderous job, I'd end up muttering, 'I wonder what

old bitch killed the rate on this one.' It's easier to attack the women than the bosses who push for the high rates and increased production to begin with.

The men will have to learn from experience that to win something from management, they will need to overcome their condescending attitudes toward women and regard them as militant allies against the bosses, and the women have to overcome their passivity, too. Unless they do this, the company will be able to use the women as scabs and get them to do the jobs that the men do now -- for less pay. This is already beginning to happen. Thus, it is in the interest of men to support demands for more training and better pay for women. (But when we quit work, the men did not even take the women seriously enough to discuss with them the benefits they would get from supporting the union that was trying to organize the place.) Self-critically, we could have been much sharper in fighting male chauvinism in our fellow workers and in ourselves.

# N.Y. WORK-IN: STUDENT TELLS WORKERS "I'M A COMMUNIST"

This article is reprinted from the Work-In 1968 pamphlet of S.D.S. The article was written by a member of the Progressive Labor Party in New York City.

I worked loading trucks this summer at a terminal of a large trucking company. My hours were midnight to 9:00 a.m. The pay was \$3.50 an hour.\* I was a "shaper". We called in and asked if there was work. The regular employees, the members of the Teamsters or Longshoremen, were mostly Italian Catholics in their thirties, forties and fifties, often supporting families by working two jobs. Their politics were primarily racist and anti-communist. This expressed itself in some of the workers in support for Wallace, in others in support of more "subtle" anti-communists and racists, such as Humphrey or McCarthy.

During lunch hour (4:00-5:00 a.m.) my third night on the job I made a tactical error which the Work-In Organizers Manual correctly advises against. We were in a room with about 25 workers, mostly union regulars. A young worker who also attended a Catholic community college began asking me about the Columbia strike last spring. Each man loaded about ten to fifteen tons of freight a night, by hand, so I was worn out and not very conscious of what I was doing. I loudly and aggressively defended the Columbia students. (I am in the Progressive Labor Party and SDS at City College, up the block from Columbia.) I should, especially after only three days on the job, have been quieter, tried to draw him out and to relate Columbia to his own experience. The subject quickly grew to include Vietnam. I slammed him with the facts about U.S. imperialism and aggression there. After a few minutes he jumped up and said (showing plenty of ability to get to the heart of the matter), "Listen! I just want to ask you one question—when push comes to shove, are for us or are you for the Communists?"

At this point I noticed that all other conversations in the room had stopped and that sandwiches and cards had been put down on the tables. One stevedore was absently patting the wooden handle of his loading hook. All I could hear was the hum of the air conditioner and my heart beating. I figured that having blundered this far there was no principled way for me to back out, and that the situation didn't allow for involved explanations of my politics. So I answered, "I'm a communist."

The fellow who asked stalked out of the room without another word. There were about thirty seconds of silence, then the other guys returned to their food and cards. A few minutes later the whistle blew and we went back to work.

For the next few nights I thought I might get jumped. I knew that at least one worker, who hadn't been in the room, was a "Minuteman". A number of times when I went on a break or to lunch I saw a worker pointing me out to one or two others, "That's the communist". I would walk over and say that I was the communist and were they interested in talking about it. This had a beneficial effect of showing that I wasn't ashamed or trying to hide that I was a Red. Perhaps it also made people think I wasn't scared (a complete misconception). The tension died down after a few nights. Over the next six weeks I spoke to most of the workers involved in a friendly way, sometimes about politics, sometimes not, including the one whose question

helped start it. What I did was tactically dumb. It could have led to getting beat up and/or losing the job. But I learned some positive lessons from it:

1) No foreman found out about my politics. The workers told each other, but not the foremen. They hated the boss, represented by the foremen, who made us work very hard by frequent firing and the threat of firing, especially of shapers. This hatred was greater than their anti-communism, which was relatively superficial. Communists did not exploit them eight hours a day.

2) It's possible even for a student to exist as an open communist among one of the more reactionary sections of the working class. Some thoughts on this. I worked hard, but not too hard. I wear normal clothes and have short hair. I fought against the wise-guy attitude that is inculcated in students. The workers reacted much more adversely to two bearded, beaded long-haired hippies who worked on the platform for two nights. The hippies managed to project the attitude that workers who did this every night for years to support their families were stupid; that if only you were clever this is "post-scarcity society".

I took a week off and went to Chicago. When I got back the workers wanted to know "who started the violence", the demonstrators or the police. I tried to explain that it was who was right that was important. I didn't get very far until I put it in class terms. I asked, "Would we be making \$3.50 an hour unless some guys had been willing to go on strike and use violence against scabs and cops protecting them?" Many workers responded, "You've got a point there."

Most of the workers who supported Wallace for President did not consider him or themselves fascists or "ultra-right". Many had reasons similar to student and middle-class support of McCarthy. They hated Johnson and thought the Republicans were much the same. They were against the tax hikes. Many thought the war should be either won promptly or the U.S. should get out. Racism was certainly a big underlying factor. But it's also a big factor in liberal support of McCarthy and others who smile and talk comfortably about civil rights while they support shooting down Black people in the streets when they rebel against intolerable conditions.

One World War II veteran and Wallace supporter asked me, "Was it really that bad in Chicago?" I said, "Worse". He said, "I was watching it on television. That looked like Nazi Germany."

\*A note on \$3.50 an hour. I am married and have two kids. You need a car to get to this job. It was almost impossible to live on the \$115 a week take-home I received IF I got five nights' work. The regular workers told me that after Christmas through late March there is a layoff of all but the men with the most seniority, because of the slack season for this kind of freight.

## WORK-IN

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# One Third-World Caucus:

We are a third world caucus. We are an exclusive group with joint actions with the SDS Midwest Work-In.

This action includes, at this time, strike support, forums, and social events. Our perspective in returning to campus is to build third world organizations, and to bring pro-working class struggle to the front. A separate organization, we could and should have a working alliance with SDS but not the desire to join SDS.

We also feel that these third world organizations should emphasize the special class oppression of third world workers and third world students.

Future unity is the goal -- the path to unity is achieved by a sharpening in working class struggle.

We do not believe that unity of white and third world student struggles at this time is primarily a question of form. To have third world students in the predominantly white student movement would be a false unity that would weaken the pro-working class student movement. We feel this is true because of widespread nationalism among third world people in America as a result of the bosses' temporary success in building racism. To ask third world students to overcome this nationalist feeling in order to engage in struggle for the first time would be to ask for the defeat of the bosses' major tool today, something only achieved THROUGH struggle. The unity we want to achieve at this time is unity in struggle. The best way we can involve the largest numbers of third world students in struggle is to maintain this separate national form and to raise the need to unite our struggles with predominantly white organizations with common goals. This way all students can best deal with their unique aspects of racism or nationalism. Ultimately mass pro-working class consciousness will be built, and the resulting setback of racism and nationalism in the class struggle could build a lasting organizational unity that would draw in white and nonwhite alike.

Because of the ruling class's widespread use of racism and nationalism as major tools to divide all class struggle, the third world Work-In has felt a special need to examine its relationship with the SDS Work-In. We feel that the strong division created by the situation requires special forms to defeat it.

We feel that our goals are in common with the Work-In; to build a pro-working class student movement. We feel that an important way to learn about the divisions and day-to-day struggles of workers is through taking those jobs ourselves and experiencing them with workers on the job. We see the need to discuss politics with workers on the job, relating our experiences and struggles on campus to the workers, both learning from the



Detroit's 1967

workers and having them learn from us. Through united action such as strike support, we can forge a real worker-student alliance right now, and experience on both sides the power it has. We feel that this experience will help us to build strong pro-working class struggles when we return to campus. We feel that the nonwhite response to racism - nationalism - must be opposed because it always puts color before class, which will inevitably lead to the strengthening of imperialism -- an equal enemy of the exploited and the super-exploited.

We do feel, however, that in order to struggle with nationalism and other aspects of special class oppression, we must take the form that best allows us to speak to and struggle with the largest numbers of black and third world people. We feel that the SDS Work-In form (one of a predominately white student movement) does not adequately speak to certain special problems that we experience. First of all, SDS does not organize black and third world struggles at this time. The sharpest struggles that took place last year were waged by black non-SDS students and workers. Because of this, third world students do not look to SDS at this time as the place to begin their struggles. This means that we would see no material need to join, and would be discouraged from struggling from that orientation because of nationalistic feelings. Third world students also tend to feel intimidated at meetings or in struggles involving predominately white

students. This also tends to discourage us from struggling further. Secondly, we feel that our special experience requires a different focus of study from that of the rest of the work-in. Obviously, the main division we face is not racism, but nationalism, and we should discuss that more. Also it is essential that we deal in depth with the super-exploitation and special oppression that third world workers face from the perspective of organizing around it. Because of these different emphasis, many times we will need to organize our own forums, etc. to reach other third world students in a sharper way.

We feel that what we have outlined is in fact a work-in that is national in form and class in content -- our goals are the same, and the only national aspect (form) we have is one that makes it possible for more people to be exposed to pro-working class ideas and struggle at a time when divisions are great.

We realize that there has been a great deal of confusion and many misgivings among the SDS Work-in as to our existence. People have either felt that we are 'soft on nationalism', which we have shown we are not, or that we simply don't want to struggle with white students. We feel that the mass pro-working class consciousness built by our taking this national FORM will in fact build more real unity in struggle with white students and therefore strengthen the movement in the best way possible at this time.

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## ALLY WITH WORKERS!

# AUTOMATION HITS GARMENT WORKERS IN ROCHESTER

This summer I worked in a clothing factory employing 1500 workers, many of whom were Puerto Rican, Italian, and Turkish immigrants. There I observed first hand how the introduction of new machinery is used by the boss to squeeze more profit from the workers' labor.

The place was already a sweatshop even before the new machines came. Everyone worked on piece work, meaning the worker was paid by the amount she produced, not by the hour. On the first job I had, I received \$2.80 for every 200 pieces I produced. We worked frantically, sewing as fast as possible, and still pay checks were small. The only way to take a decent week's pay was to work eight to ten hours overtime. Some women were so driven that they never got up from their machines except to eat lunch. The top pay for sewers was \$3.00 an hour and this was earned only by workers who had been on the same job for twenty years or more.

With the introduction of the new machines, conditions got even worse. Since the new machines could sew twice as fast as the old ones, the boss expected twice as much production from us. However, any job involves more than sewing. We must handle the materials and get bundles of work. We couldn't do these tasks twice as fast. In addition, the new machines were constantly breaking down, meaning often as much as an hour's wait with no pay while the machine was repaired.

In practice, production actually decreased because two jobs were often combined into one, meaning more work for some operator and no job for another. On top of the increase in the amount of work we had to perform, piece work rates were slashed. The rate on my job on the old machine was \$3.65 for every 200 pieces. The rate on the new machine was cut to \$3.12 even though it took longer to sew a pair. The women I worked with now had to produce 770 pairs a day to earn what they had previously received for producing 600 pairs. On the new job it was impossible for any of us to produce 770 pairs a day.



Some women were hurt even more. A friend of mine had her rate cut from \$4.95 to \$2.17. She had previously earned about \$100 a week. She now took home \$50 -- a drastic cut in pay, especially with prices and taxes so high. The result of the new machines: more profit for the boss, as workers were forced to produce more for less money.

The union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, showed that its allegiance is not to the workers but to the boss. The women affected by the new machines were angry. It was clear to them that the boss was increasing his profits at their expense. They wanted to fight. However, the union provided no leadership for such a struggle. Instead it tried to cool the militancy of the workers.

The union's first line was 'wait and see'. But the women wanted action now and would not accept this feeble response. The union's next line was, 'How are we supposed to know what's bothering you women if you never come to union meetings?' What a phony line! Every day women in my shop were complaining to the shop steward. Many angry women on the new machines were going to attend the next union meeting to voice their grievances. The union, knowing this, cancelled the August meeting, hoping that the workers would become demoralized and resigned to their fate by the time the September meeting rolled around.

Some workers I talked with saw clearly that the union was selling them out. Many others were confused, insisting that since they paid union dues, the union would have to fight for them. No rank-and-file caucus was organized, partly from confusion over the role of the union and partly from the fear of being blacklisted and fired.

When I asked if we could call a union meeting by ourselves, an older worker warned me that anyone who tried would be fired and blacklisted by both company and union. The formation of a rank-and-file caucus was also hindered because workers were divided by language, nationality, and race.

By the end of the summer, militance had faded into demoralization, with many women saying, 'You can't beat the boss. He'll always win, no matter what we do.' The ruling class had successfully managed to hide from these workers their true strength as a unified force.

I, too, felt discouraged and depressed that the daily suffering of these women would continue. However, in clothing shops around the country, workers are overcoming tremendous barriers and fighting against their oppression. The workers in my shop will learn from these experiences, and some day they, too, will join in this tremendous fight.

## *Big Business Goes Abroad While Staying In Worcester*

The following leaflet was distributed to textile workers in Worcester, Mass., during the 1969 summer Work-In:

Factories in Worcester like H.H. Brown, Nortons, etc., have been recruiting a lot of Spanish-speaking workers. They aren't doing this to be nice, to 'give them a chance' or anything like that -- they're doing it to keep Worcester wages low. To keep wages low, you have to have a pool of people even worse off than the ones who are sweating for you now -- and when that pool dries up, shops try to bring in workers from other poorer areas like the South and Puerto Rico to fill it up again.

Everybody knows this. But many factory workers and others that we have talked to come to the conclusion that the Latino workers are 'taking jobs away from local people' and that the way to make things better is to keep them out of the State. We think this is dead wrong. The reason for low wages, speed-up and bad job conditions is the bosses' hunger for profits, which leads them to try to play off foreign and black workers against American white workers. To blame things on the Latin Americans is to fall into the bosses'

trap -- keeping them out of Massachusetts is not any solution, any more than sending the Irish back to Ireland, the Swedish back to Sweden, the English back to England, and the Indians back to wherever they came from. The only way things will change is when all the workers in the plants organize, take the union back from the hacks that run it now, and stand up to the company for a living wage and decent working conditions.

Any ideas that split workers up, such as racist antagonisms towards the Latin Americans, hurt that fight. In the South, where racism is often used more openly, its service to the textile (and other) bosses can be seen in the super-low wage rates. Worcester factories brought in poor European immigrants for many years. Just recently, they've been recruiting Latin Americans, hoping to take the heat off themselves by pushing racism and getting their employees to fight each other. So cutting or racist remarks about Latin workers, picking fights with them, or just snub-

bing them will be a big help... to the boss! Don't be a sucker -- defeat racist ideas and practices.

### IT'S THE SAME STORY ALL OVER

What's happening in Worcester is no different from what is going on in the rest of the country. Bosses everywhere, along with their loyal employees, the politicians, are trying to use low wages in the so-called 'underdeveloped' countries to pile up incredible profits and to beat down US workers' wages. They do this either by bringing foreign workers to the US, like in Worcester, or by moving their plants overseas. In Watertown, Mass., Goodrich Rubber said it would move to Puerto Rico if its employees didn't accept a 50¢ an hour wage cut. And right in Leicester, the MKM textile plant recently closed down, throwing its employees out of work without notice, in order to exploit the cheap labor in Puerto Rico. But this trick didn't work out -- the MKM workers in Puerto Rico went on strike, and burned the plant down!

.... CONT.

WHY WE'RE IN VIETNAM

To make this plan work, US bosses need docile foreign countries, with military dictators (or equally rotten civilians) who will smash the labor unions like Park has in South Korea, and keep wages down, like the Thieu-Ky gang in Saigon does with its \$1.40 a day maximum wage law. In this way they hope to keep workers in Latin America, Africa and the Far East at starvation wages.

And so when these workers fight back, try to smash the corrupt fat-cat governments that are so kind to Rockefeller's banks, mills and oil wells, US bosses get their servants the politicians to send in the Marines.

They did it in 1965 in the Dominican Republic, when the Marines occupied the country to keep it open for American businesses to bring workers out of.

And that's what US troops are doing in Vietnam. US Business wants to keep Southeast Asia, the area with the lowest wages and the highest profits in the world, open to their investments.

They're willing to slaughter thousands of Americans and Vietnamese to protect their investment opportunities.

US workers are hurt by the war. They have to pay for it, they die in it... and for what? So that their boss has a chance to move his plant to Vietnam along with Vimytex, a multi-million dollar US textile firm that's already moved in.

RACISM AND THE WAR

The rulers are having a hard time selling this war. One way they try to put it across is by pulling out their old standby -- racism. They try to get people to see the Vietnamese as 'savages', some kind of aliens, instead of workers who are fighting the same bosses that US workers fight.

Worcester bosses hope racism will turn its white employees against the Latin immigrants, while the management has a free ride -- in the same way, the US rulers hope to persuade American workers that the Vietnamese are our enemies, so that we'll go get shot up for Rockefeller's profits. We have to see through this trick and demand that the US get out of Vietnam now.

WHY THIS LEAFLET

We are members of the SDS (Students for a continued page 8



"DON'T BUG ME, BOY!"

SDS, all bark, and the U.S. workingman, hard-hatted, beer-bellied and ape-like: a typical anti-student, anti-workingclass cartoon, brought to you courtesy of Time Magazine. (8/1/69)

"WHAT KIND OF AN EMERGENCY DO YOU HAVE IN A GOD DAMNED LAUNDRY?"

I started working on campus about the same time the NLN came out calling for building the Campus Worker-Student Alliance. The only way I could get the job that late in the summer was to tell the employment office that I was permanent help. This has been the main detriment outside of my own weaknesses to building good ties with workers on my job. I work in the laundry at the Medical Center a few blocks from the undergraduate school I attend. The Medical Center and my school have the same administration and many of the workers are in the same union: American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. The laundry is in its own building and there are about ten men and thirty women working there.

The job went pretty smoothly for the first couple of weeks, and I began to wonder what was going on, since workers start at only \$1.92/hr. As I got to know workers better I found they were pretty militant. The shop steward and one other guy that I work with all day are always talking about a strike. The talk has centered around the upcoming contract negotiations, where workers feel that the union has asked for too little (15¢/hr raise for us). These workers want more and seem willing to fight for it, wildcat if need be, although there is a tremendous amount of faith in the union. Struggle has been emerging on the job. On one Wednesday one of the men was absent and the foreman told the man I work with to go downstairs and take that man's place. The guy I work with (we'll call him Bill) refused, saying that he would work upstairs or downstairs but he didn't like to be switched around, and eventually chased the foreman out of the room. The foreman got the boss and the scene was repeated, with the boss getting madder and madder. Finally the boss threatened to fire Bill if Bill didn't go downstairs. I was pretty mad at this point myself, and told the boss that if Bill went I went. The third man with us said if we went he went. The boss was surprised at the solidarity and got even madder. He said to Bill, 'Listen, boy, you better get downstairs.' When we heard this (Bill and all the other workers are black and latin; only the boss, one woman foreman, and I are white), we started moving toward the boss. The boss was separated from us by a long table and we started to walk around it. I wasn't sure what we would do to the boss, but I was going to stick by my fellow workers. The boss realized he was in trouble and ran back to his office with the foreman at his heels. We went back to work. A few minutes later the boss called Bill into his office and apologized, and asked Bill to change jobs just for the day. Bill agreed.

About a half hour later the boss called a meeting of all the workers. At the beginning of the meeting he said he had the authority to transfer workers anyplace in the plant, and if anyone doubted it he would show us the contract. Then he said that we would have to work on Saturday since Monday was Labor Day. He said our contract said that we had to work the day before and day after holidays to be paid for the holiday. He said since the plant was normally open on Saturday (only about ten people work, however), he was declaring Saturday a regular working day. People were really angry. Many wanted to go out of town to visit relatives, the attitude was, why have a holiday if we have to work Saturday? After discussing it with many workers I decided something should be done. I talked to two workers who I knew I could trust and told them I was going to put out a leaflet the next day and discussed briefly the content.



I left the leaflets in the lunchroom just before lunch and put some in lockers the next day (Thursday). Everyone really liked the leaflet and agreed with the content. I told one more worker that I had put it out and was able to get in many good discussions about bosses and fighting the boss. Many workers said they weren't coming in on Saturday as a result of the leaflet.

On Friday the leaflet was still the main topic of conversation throughout the plant. About ten in the morning the boss called another meeting of everyone in the plant. He was so mad he was shaking. He said he would like to know who wrote the leaflet. Of course, I wouldn't tell him, since I would be fired immediately. Then he went on to say that in the thirty years working for the university this was the first time he had ever been called a liar. He then admitted that we didn't have to work Saturday to get paid for Monday, it was a mistake on his part, a misreading of the contract. My comment was that it was kind of strange for someone who has been there for thirty years. Then he said that we still had to work because in our contract there was a clause that since we worked for a hospital we could be called on for overtime work in case of emergency and he was declaring this an emergency. My comment, out loud, was: 'What kind of emergency do you have in a god damned laundry?' The boss just repeated that we had to work. The meeting then broke up.

Later on that day the foreman came up to me and told me we were working Saturday, not Monday but Saturday. I said I wasn't working Saturday. The foreman repeated that we were working Saturday not Monday. I then asked the foreman if he was telling me to work Saturday and he got scared and said, no, he was just asking me. I refused to work, whereupon he got the boss. We went through the same thing, except the boss was still mad from the comment I had made earlier at the meeting. Anyhow, it finally got through to him that I wasn't working the next day. At least one other man and quite a few women also weren't going to work, some as a result of the leaflet and others because they wouldn't have anyway.

My main error so far has been male chauvinism in not talking to the women on the job. The fact that I only come into contact with one woman while I'm working provided me with the rationalization that I had no way to reach them. I have gotten to know a couple of women and talked to them about the leaflet. I now plan, in the remaining couple of weeks of work, to get to know more, and to continue to talk with the people I met during this struggle.

# BOSSSES' SCHEME:

## Divide and Rule

On May 8, in New York City, construction workers attacked an anti-war rally at which Mayor John Lindsay was speaking. The next day every newspaper in the country carried the story, complete with photos of men in hard hats beating up long-haired students.

What the news stories failed to mention, however, was that the big construction company owners, working hand in hand with cops and sell-out unions, had conceived and engineered the whole performance. That workers were in most cases systematically bussed to demonstrations from all parts of the city and even out of state, that they were paid for their time, and that in some instances they were actually intimidated by their bosses into supporting the war.

Workers at the World Trade Center, for example, were told that they would have accidents if they didn't file into the busses which the company had thoughtfully provided. And at the demonstration itself, "workers" wearing grey suits with pins in their lapels were spotted directing the action. At least one "construction worker" who took part in the melee was identified as a cop. Black workers, who took part in a pro-war march later that afternoon, also reported that they had to "sign in" for the march.

This is not to say that many construction workers did not participate in the demonstration of their own accord. (The demonstration, after all, was as anti-Lindsay as it was pro-war, and Lindsay - and liberal politicians like him - is by no means the friend of the people. It was Lindsay who increased the subway fare 100%, jacked up the rents, threatened to bust the sanitation strike with the National Guard, and dispatched the cops to Columbia to suppress the students and workers who were fighting back against Columbia's racist expansion into Harlem.) The point is that those who did demonstrate on May 8th were not acting in their own interests. Rather, they were acting in the interests of bosses and politicians like Lindsay. Construction workers are hit harder by unemployment than any other group of industrial workers, suffering a 7.9% unemployment rate compared to 4.8% for the national work force.

Meanwhile, as the New York demonstration indicated, the bosses are stepping up their attempts to divide the people in this country who, solidly united, could fight to win. Dividing workers from students, black against white, is the strategy that can achieve the goal of the ruling class -- to continue to protect their interests here and around the world. Because of this, the bosses and their friends have cleverly maneuvered the anger of some working people against Lindsay and have directed it against the anti-war students.

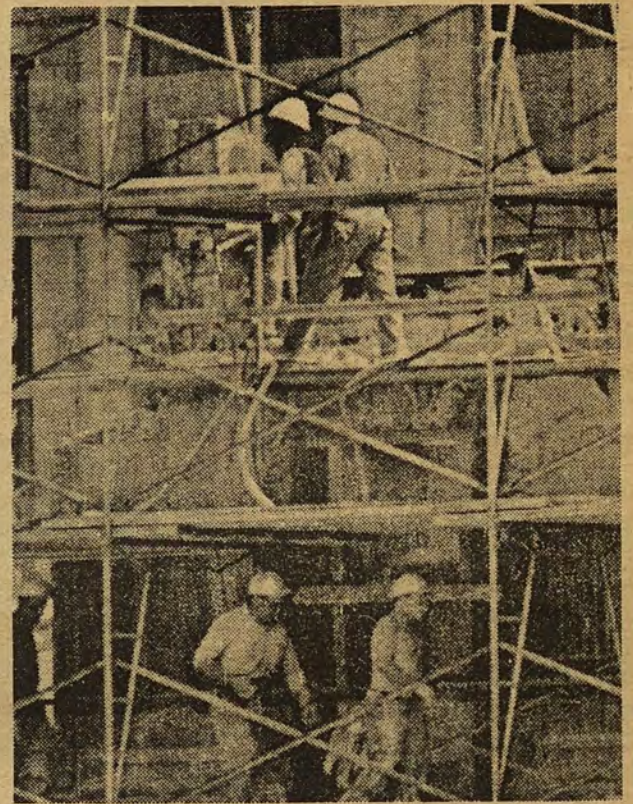
These demonstrations, sponsored by those who profit from the labor of construction workers with the cooperation of police (policemen stood by and watched attacks on young black high school students and removed their helmets to sing the Star Spangled Banner) came at a time when worker opposition to the war was intensifying:

--two UAW locals on Long Island struck against the war the week of May 2;

--according to a New York Times report (May 24, 1970) striking Teamsters in Los Angeles asked students at UCLA and other nearby schools to form picket lines at trucking centers. The bosses had taken out an injunction against the Teamsters but students, who were immune to the injunction, could picket without being arrested. In the course of the struggle the Teamsters learned that students were potential allies and police were "pigs".

--while construction workers were making indiscriminate attacks on student anti-war demonstrators in the Wall Street district, at Columbia University hundreds of buildings and grounds, secretarial, library and cafeteria workers wild-catted in support of strike demands raised by SDS: U.S. out of Southeast Asia now. DA Hogan drop charges against the Panther 21. Abolish the Southeast Asian Institute and the School of International Affairs. End all racist attacks on campus workers. Open up Columbia-owned vacant apartments to Third World workers in the community.

Hundreds of workers plus over a thousand students marched down Amsterdam Avenue shouting "Workers and Students on strike-- Power to the Workers!" Following that demonstration, over 600 students and workers marched down Broadway (joined by over 100 black and Latin students from nearby high schools) to 35th Street--the heart of the New York garment district--where an anti-imperialist rally sponsored by Progressive Labor Party was being held. All along the way, garment workers raised clenched fists in solidarity with the striking students.



Stories like these rarely make the front pages of newspapers. Workers striking against the war, students demonstrating solidarity with striking workers -- these stories are blacked out. Now that the war is more unpopular than ever, the bosses' press will push harder than ever to try to smash an anti-racist worker-student alliance.

In the face of this attempt to intimidate anti-war students and workers, and convince the student movement that all workers are reactionaries, our response should be to talk to more workers about the war and what happened in New York. On campuses where there is construction going on over the summer, we should try to meet construction workers and build the fighting ties the rulers fear!

## National Convention

SDS is having a national convention over the summer. Details about time and place will appear in the next regular edition of New Left Notes.

(cont. from p.7)

Democratic Society) at colleges and high schools in Worcester who have taken jobs in this area for the summer. We need the money for school, but also we think that workers are essential to any progress or change in this country. They are the backbone of the society: they produce all its wealth and without their labor the economy would grind to a halt.

We think students and workers have a common interest and common enemy. Both are hurt by the war and by rising taxes and prices. The same owners that exploit workers on the job also sit on the Boards of Trustees of the colleges and universities -- for example, Big Boss Jeppson of Norton Co. is a trustee of Clark University, and Stoddard of Wyman-Gordon and the TG is a trustee of Tech. So students fighting against university expansion into workers' neighborhoods, as happened at Harvard last year, run up against the same bosses that striking workers do. After they graduate students become workers of one kind or another. Many college students become teachers, who are unionizing all around the country and who need to ally with manual workers in order to stand a chance against City Hall.

On the job during the summer, and in leaflets like this one, we try to explain the ideas of the student movement to working people.

Worcester SDS

# sds

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## FIGHT RACISM!



Articles from SDS' experience in fighting racism on campus and supporting black workers' actions



# S.D.S.

## AN EVALUATION

Chicago, May 30-31 -- The National Interim Committee of SDS met to discuss the recent wave of anti-war activities, and to make plans for the summer. About 30 people from major chapters and regions agreed that many more students than ever before see the need for an ongoing struggle against the war. Hundreds of thousands of students were involved in militant actions against the war and saw the need for workers in the anti-war movement. And millions of students went out on strike. In this situation it is critically important to evaluate the role of SDS, work out ways to strengthen the anti-war movement, and intensify our campaigns against racism. The main way to do this over the summer is to build anti-war coalitions with many groups and individuals not in SDS to plan summer projects and hold massive demonstrations on August 1st demanding that the US get out of Southeast Asia now, and that racist attacks on black and other third world people be stopped -- in particular that no cops and troops be used to suppress ghetto rebellions. In this way, we could overcome two important weaknesses in SDS: our isolation from much of the anti-war movement, and our failure to launch campaigns which effectively fight racism. (A more complete discussion of our weaknesses in fighting racism is on page 7.)

SDS has grown a lot over the past few months. There are several new regional organizations, many new chapters, and some old chapters have doubled and tripled in size. But SDS is still not a mass organization, and, given the situation, it should be! We need to re-evaluate our work and work styles to make some important changes in ourselves and in SDS this summer.

One of the main problems is that many people do not see SDS as a mass organization, but rather as a group of radicals separate from most students. For example, when many students came to see the real need for a movement that is broader than just students, and leafleted and canvassed working people about the war, SDSers often did not join these projects to work with people on the writing and distributing, simply because they were not initiated by SDS. Good ideas come from evaluating concrete struggles. As seen from the militant fights against ROTC on campuses where there is no SDS, SDS has no monopoly on militant struggle, or on good ideas about how to build the movement! This does not mean SDS should adopt the liberal approach of finding the 'lowest common denominator' of agreement and ignoring disagreements. Another weakness in SDS's role in some areas was that people who had strategies and ideas that would lead to winning strikes didn't put them forward often enough, and sometimes only as an assertion of 'the SDS position', rather than as a better plan for victory. Building a mass organization means putting forward anti-racist programs in the anti-war movement more than ever, and arguing against liberal politicians harder than ever. But it also means listening and learning from others, and explaining things much more clearly. For example, SDS tried to initiate militant anti-ROTC struggles on many campuses, but in some cases people argued for such struggles only as a tactical alternative to other strike activities, without explaining why ROTC must go, and why only a long lasting fighting movement can end ROTC. New Left Notes argued for making concrete demands against university administrations, such as the abolition of ROTC, but never countered many of the typical arguments for keeping ROTC, such as academic freedom, hu-

manized officers', etc. We only argued that an anti-ROTC campaign was a better tactic. It is not surprising that many thought of SDS as action freaks, given that the press tries to make us look that way, and given that a convincing case for abolishing ROTC was often lacking. SDS cannot just criticize the bad aspects of what is going on.

Our whole approach could have been much more aimed at reaching out to more people. Before and during the strike, New Left Notes should have been sold to masses of students, and many more articles, letters, and criticisms



from people in SDS and not in SDS would have made more students see it as their paper. For example, some chapters thought it sectarian to encourage people to sell New Left Notes and memberships to SDS, as if the paper and the organization were the exclusive property of those already in SDS, as if there were certain entrance requirements. The same goes for fundraising -- there are many important tools, such as pamphlets, flyers, regional travellers, posters, buttons, etc., that could help build SDS and qualitatively improve and broaden anti-war and anti-racist struggles. But the issue of raising money for these things seldom came up with people outside (or inside) SDS. Many people are hesitant when asked to just 'give money to SDS', but will help pay for printing and distributing a particular pamphlet or flyer that they think valuable. We will benefit from being part of a national organization only if we use that organization to help us reach more people. If we see doing these things as a chore, or an obligation, we won't be very effective!

Two means of improving the situation became clear during an evaluation of the role of the National Interim Committee (NIC) in SDS, especially in the past few months: more leadership, and more communication between areas. The functioning of the NIC has improved in the past few months, but some weaknesses became apparent after the rebellion in Augusta and the murders at Jackson State. NIC members should have immediately contacted each other to dis-

cuss some way to immediately organize massive protests against those racist killings. This reflected not only a lack of communication, but more importantly a weakness in providing leadership. Similarly, many members of the NIC knew about the massive march on Washington last month a week in advance, but a real discussion about how SDS should relate to it was put off until a few days before. What the NIC should do more is collect information from all parts of the country in order to try to get a broad view of the political situation, and from that information make suggestions to the local areas which would improve our ability to fight racism, the war, etc. Members of the NIC are attempting to maintain more systematic contact with each other, and more contact with various local areas; in turn, members of local chapters should take the initiative in raising ideas with the NIC member in their area, and in contacting the national headquarters when they have ideas or questions.

But the real solution to the problem of building SDS is to get involved in more day-to-day political activities with more people. There are many students who think the US should stop negotiating and get out of Southeast Asia, and that black people's struggles should be supported by fighting racism among white students. On the basis of this agreement, SDS should build coa-

litions with groups and individuals in our areas and co-sponsor massive demonstrations on August 1st against the war, and against particular issues of racism, such as the use of cops and national guardsmen to attack ghetto rebellions when they occur. Recently there have been very few massive demonstrations against the war that attacked racism as one justification for the war, and that were not led by liberal politicians. Many people outside of SDS distrust 'dove' college administrators who maintain ROTC and war research on campus, and distrust 'dove' businessmen who support military expenditures, and the draft. These demonstrations would not be viewed as an end in themselves, but would bring together for the first time masses of students putting forward an alternative to the same old 'more talk less action', 'work within the system' while the system tries to crush the Vietnamese.

Furthermore, these coalitions could work out a wide range of summer activities for people to participate in: leafleting factories about the war, research on racist courses in the universities, research on police institutes, social science institutes, war research and counter-insurgency projects, labor relations projects, etc. etc. -- the many ways universities are the brains of the oppressors; canvassing and leafleting of communities, campaigns around housing, lousy hospitals and inferior medical care for black and brown people; strike support; support for black

cont. page 10



## NIC Report On SDS....

rebellions, demonstrations against the National Guard, etc. People in the SDS work-in can join these activities, and struggle with those not in the work-in to get industrial and campus jobs and come to discussion groups. The summer work-in is a real opportunity to meet and struggle with workers on a day-to-day basis, and to develop political friendships that will last past the summer, particularly with campus workers who could participate in and lead anti-war and anti-racist struggles on campus next fall. (For a fuller discussion of the summer work-in, see the work-in supplement.) Up to now the main way for students to speak to workers has been petitioning or campaigning for a local 'dove' government official. We should struggle with people who want to reach beyond the student movement to work on alternative projects, and make those alternatives exciting parts of building a long term, strong movement.

To build these coalitions we will have to defeat our own fears and arrogance. We'll never build a broader based movement if we're afraid to work with people outside of SDS. Clearly, it would be hypocritical to invite groups who have consistently been dishonest to join the leadership of such a coalition, though in Boston, for example, we would not invite the Young Socialist Alliance or the SMC to join a steering committee to call a coalition conference, when they have systematically excluded SDS from speakers platforms. But a number of other groups, such as black and brown student groups, women's liberation groups, ecology groups, draft resistance groups, and others, have thousands of people involved and looking for solutions to the war and racism, and could be asked to call and help lead an initial conference where all groups who wanted to could come and discuss summer programs. Such a coalition is being formed in Boston, and should be initiated elsewhere immediately. If we really have confidence in political struggle, people in the coalition will share leadership in organizing meetings, producing literature, running meetings, making decisions, etc. and the coalition will continue this fall.

Working within such a coalition will qualitatively strengthen the anti-war movement and SDS.

One final important step in broadening the base of people we're active with will be mobilizing to go to the Cleveland anti-war conference sponsored by the SMC on June 19-20. At every anti-

This ad appeared in a recent issue of Business Week. Ads like this one regularly appear in newspaper and magazine financial pages, inviting corporations to "take advantage" of cheap labor in underdeveloped countries. Here the puppet government in Puerto Rico describes the benefits of imperialist exploitation by American companies in that country.

war conference up to now where a proposal has been made to exclude liberal politicians, businessmen, and college administrators from demonstration platforms, such a proposal has gotten massive support, and usually won, though none has been followed by the SMC. Many students see that Congress and alws don't make any difference, the war goes on anyway. The same will be true in Cleveland! We will meet a lot of people from Ohio, where struggles have been particularly sharp, and from many other areas where SDS doesn't exist. There will probably be between two and four thousand people from all over the country there, eager to get the US out of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Kent State, the Post Office, the ghettos, Jackson, Georgia... We have

to ally with these people against the government that suppresses people around the world, including the liberal part of that government.

People are angry that the US invaded Cambodia, and are fed up with the misleaders that took the force out of campus strikes, and kept pushing people back into a system that so many see is brutal and rotten. We have a choice about the role we want to play -- unite with people, or remain aloof. Let's build for August 1st among the masses of students who want to build a movement that wins. Let's go to Cleveland, build coalitions, build coalition conferences, and grow stronger this summer than ever before!

# Bay Area Group Studies Israel

A new anti-imperialist committee of SDS in the San Francisco Bay Area has started weekly meetings with students from the Arab Students Association and Iranian Student Association to study the Palestine Liberation movement, the history and politics of the Middle East, and to plan joint actions against US imperialism and Zionism. SDS participated in the demonstration called by the Iranian students this fall against the Shah of Iran when he visited the US, and since then students from the three groups have found they have many goals in common. In the last few weeks we've had a program of internal education of SDS members about the Palestine Liberation movement, and we're to the point now of planning joint demonstrations. There have been several forums at the campuses of UC Berkeley, San Francisco State, San Jose State, Cal Poly in San Luis Obispo, and other campuses about the Middle East. The Arab students have sponsored Newsreel film speakers about El Fateh and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is a Marxist-Leninist party of Arab people.

People in SDS have a lot of illusions about Israel. A lot of us thought Israel was a socialist country because it had day care centers for the children and kibbutzes. And we thought the people who moved to Israel were people forced to flee from Europe to escape from the Nazis. In fact, lots of the people who moved to Israel are European and US students who go to Israel to live on the 'socialist' kibbutzes and build the Israeli state. Creation of a kibbutz means that a few

hundred Arab people are forced by the Israeli army to leave their homes to make room for these new settlers. It's just like the US cavalry fighting Indian people to make them leave their towns. Then a wagon train of militant European pioneers 'settled' the area. In American pioneer settlements women were encouraged to be militant, children were cared for communally, and there was a feeling of 'we're building something'. But these pioneers with their Manifest Destiny attitudes were racist and imperialist like the current Zionists who hold the same arrogant 'settler' attitudes about the Arab towns they destroy to create kibbutzes.

Also, most US students don't know that the countries that always stick up for each other in votes in the United Nations are the US, Israel, and South Africa. We've been taught that Jewish people have a right to be nationalist. We saw 'Diary of Anne Frank' and 'Exodus' on TV when we were little, and we as radicals identify with the Jewish people who were jailed and killed in Nazi Europe. So it's very important for our wrong impressions to be clarified with real facts concerning Zionism.

Within the last year there has been a move within the national Arab Student Association toward becoming a radical, instead of social, club. On many campuses internal political education has been started and Arab students are making contact with US radicals and sponsoring programs to inform US students about Arab countries. There's a radical caucus within Iranian Students Association

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# Students Ally With Laundry Workers

floor--and everyone there learned a lot about the servants of the bosses in the legal system. True to form, the judge expressed particular displeasure at the presence of women students on the picket line. He focused his attack on a 17-year-old female witness.



The Worker-Student Alliance is an organization of Canadian students who believe that students must ally with workers in the fight for radical social change. This article, about one of their struggles, is reprinted from The Canadian Worker, the newspaper of the Canadian Party of Labor.

St. Catherines:

Eighteen women and one man have been on strike against Garden City Laundry for \$1.70/hr. by 1970. When the Canteen of Canada strike ended, the laundry workers called in the Brock WSA for support. About 15 students bolstered the picket line on the third Thursday of the strike and helped the workers give the scabs a good run for their money as they left the plant.

The boss promised the scabs that it would not happen again and the word got around that a goon squad would be put on the WSA. The next morning all the strikers, 25 students, and 12 UAW workers stood together in a solid picket. Then the boss' goon squad finally showed up--in blue suits with shiny buttons.

The first scab truck took a run at the picket line to get through, and carried one student 15 feet on the front of the truck. A student was arrested for creating a disturbance by swearing as the pickets shouted at the scab and scab herding cops. A few minutes later the boss' son had the sides of his slick new car bashed in by the workers and students. The cops moved in and arrested another student for obstructing the car he was standing beside.

Both arrested students were back on the picket line within two hours after a brief demonstration of workers and students outside the police station with signs saying, "Cops Serve the Bosses and Protect the Scabs." They joined in the discussion of how the cops and courts work in the interests of the bosses and about their strategy of singling students to try to split them from the workers and portray them as outside agitators. The strategy clearly was not working.

That afternoon even more students came out as the scabs left the plant. A second year science student who had never been on a picket line before was arrested seven minutes after he got there. The totally unfounded charge of "Assault Police," later changed to the equally serious "Obstruct Police" left no doubt about the cops. When all the workers and students, including the three arrested showed up at 6:30 a.m. the following Monday, no scabs went in.

One thing that is clear, however, is that students cannot win the strike in the long run. Massive support from other workers is necessary to do that.

The strike and the WSA have been a great embarrassment to the "Communist" Party misleaders of the UAW local in town. They are being exposed by their inactivity. While real Communists explain the role of the cops and bosses, the "C" P hacks sit on piles of the Labour Council Review they wrote, complete with a quote from Robert Kennedy praising Cesar Chavez and pacifist hysteria about impending doom from the bomb of pollution. Not a word from them about Communism! The "C" P stifles the fight to focus the attack on the bosses' state which is necessary for waging short term and long term fights.

Many of the workers attended the trial of the first student to be convicted. The mood was an angry one--the judge warned against outbursts from the

## MORE MONEY MORE LITERATURE MORE PEOPLE

SDS gets all its money from active or sympathetic contributors. Literature sales do not cover printing and other expenses. We have no eccentric rich benefactors. We are a growing organization dedicated to winning people to joining the fight against racism and the S. E. Asian War. Help pay for printing and distributing this newspaper or a pamphlet that you like read and liked, or another you would like to see. Send contributions to SDS, 173A Mass Ave, Boston, MA 02115. We are initiating a fund-raising drive to raise over \$30,000. Talk to everyone you can, and help us grow!

### NATIONAL FUND-RAISING DRIVE

\$ 1,802.44	Current debt
\$ 4,200.00	Immediate expenses
	\$1,500 Vietnam Pamphlet
	\$1,000 This Newspaper (!)
	\$ 100 Work-In poster
	\$ 100 SDS buttons
	\$1,500 Regional Travellers
\$ 5,150.00	Needed in June for NLN, lit., etc.
\$ 4,100.00	Needed by mid-August
\$ 6,000.00	Convention Hall
\$ 5,000.00	Travel aid to N.C.
\$ 5,000.00	Ball & legal defense
<hr/>	
\$31,245.44	GRAND TOTAL

## STUDIES IN RACISM

The Black Studies Department at SF State has been under continual attack by the State College Trustees and their local puppet, S.I. Hayakawa since its inception at the end of last year's strike against racism. These attacks have varied in form but have been consistent in their racist nature.

First, puppet Hayakawa, doubling as a magician, conjured up a 'reign of terror' in the Department to build racism by saying that black students were 'intimidating and coercing' faculty and students. This 'reign of terror' has no basis in fact! Hayakawa then proceeded to fire the entire full-time faculty and the Department's teaching assistants. At present it appears that the Department is about to be disbanded.

The Trustees and Hayakawa have launched this racist attack because the faculty and the students in the Department have tried to make the classes speak to the question of racism and how to fight it. This makes the big business Trustees cringe with fear because they depend on racism to justify their extra exploitation and oppression of black working people and to also divide black and white in their struggles against the bosses and their schools. Hence the attacks on Black Studies.

Two recent assignments in my Black Studies class illustrate why Hayakawa and the Trustees have sought to destroy the Department. Both assignments were directed at the white students in the class in order that they could address themselves to the question of racism in this society and to their own racist attitudes. The assignments follow:

**ASSIGNMENT:** Take two books on Egyptian history and examine them for racist content and write a review.

### BOOK REVIEW

Gerald Sparrow, *The Sphinx Awakes*. Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1956. 217pp.

The most obvious example of racism in this book is the title itself. The title implies that Egypt has been a relatively dead place for centuries and is now just awakening into the world (read: Western world).

The book proceeds to deny the evolution of civilization in the Nile Valley:

Without going back to pre-historic or pre-dynastic times, the Egypt of about 3000 B.C. is a fascinating picture.

In one line the book dismisses the role of the black man in making Egypt a 'fascinating picture'. Closer examination or pre-historic and pre-dynastic Egypt would require revealing the truth about who really developed civilization in the

Nile Valley. Gerald Sparrow, spokesman for British imperialism in Africa, hides this with his racism by omission.

Another way Sparrow uses racism is in his accounts of changes of power in the history of Egypt. He speaks of the conflicts waged between African nations or Africans and Semitics in a negative light:

The tide of greatness ebbed and, for two centuries, Egypt was a land of chaos and fell victim to foreign invasion by a race whom the ancient Egyptians had styled the Hyksos.

Yet in speaking of the coming of Alexander the Great:

His conquest in Persia brought him to Egypt, where he was hailed as a deliverer.

This makes it appear as though Alexander was welcomed with open arms when he invaded Egypt. In fact his conquering army was resisted by the Egyptians.

Through the use of racism Sparrow seeks to establish a history of Egypt which can justify British intervention in Egypt. One is expected to believe through his account of Egyptian history that the benevolent British have a duty to aid and establish a protectorate over 'underdeveloped' Egypt, obscuring the real reason for British intervention; expansion of their empire of exploitation and oppression at the expense of the peoples of third world countries.

**ASSIGNMENT:** Make a visit to a reactionary group and report on racism within the group.

When I attended a meeting of the Teach-In committee of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) here at S.F. State recently, I had no intention of reporting on this meeting as a hotbed of racism. In fact, I was at the meeting as a representative of SDS to suggest possible speakers for the Anti-War Teach-In recently held here on campus. Events which took place at this meeting prompted me to choose this meeting as the subject for this report.

The SMC has a long history of mobilizing people around the question of opposition to the Vietnam War. In doing this the SMC leadership relies on presenting 'respectable' anti-war speakers like John Lindsay, mayor of New York City, and Kingman Brewster, president of Yale University. The SMC strategy is to 'get as many people into the streets against the War as possible' by spon-

# cambodia...

The key factor in the episode, as portrayed by the bourgeois press, has been Prince Sihanouk. Soon after the Cambodian coup, Sihanouk flew to Peking and from there expressed his intention to set up a government-in-exile. The coup and the consequent invasion by the United States have driven the Prince appreciably to the left of his previous 'neutral' politics.

Despite his press coverage, Sihanouk is in fact rather insignificant compared with the strengthening of the liberation forces that has occurred throughout Southeast Asia since the invasion. While the position of the Pathet Lao in Laos remains as strong as ever, most striking are the reports out of Cambodia which show the Khmer Rouge (the Communist forces) preparing to initiate people's war against the US and the Lon Nol government. The New York Times of May 24th reported that 'The Khmer Rouge has now set about to build a guerrilla base... A large enclave is very likely to be formed in north-eastern Cambodia.' A US diplomat was quoted as saying that 'In the long run, they have moved deeper into protracted war.' Whereas before, the Communist forces in Cambodia had not fully integrated themselves with the people, 'This could soon change.'

The portrait that the United States has painted of saving the Cambodians from being overrun by the 'North Vietnamese' is clearly ridiculous. This was shown most clearly in two reports that came almost simultaneously of American and Communist actions in Cambodia. On one day, a report was filed detailing how the Americans had totally destroyed a Cambodian village, killing most of its inhabitants and burning everything in sight. In contrast, a report the next day detailed how the Vietcong had entered the village of Saang An after killing eight soldiers and then 'distributed arms and ammunition to the villagers'. Le Monde reported more generally that 'the NLF in Cambodia is not trying to capture

## REACTION AT HOME

After the initial shock of the invasion, the Cambodian venture will continue to draw liberal opposition primarily because it will not work. No matter how much the government lies, the American people will realize that the stated American objectives in going into Cambodia are both farcical and unrealizable. The attacks were intended, as Nixon stated in his April speech, to clean out enemy enclaves in the area and to surround and capture COSVN, the NLF headquarters for conducting operations in the southern part of South Vietnam. After initial glowing reports about encircling COSVN and being about to capture it, it became clear that the US has no idea where COSVN is or even if it exists at all. Upon orders from Secretary Laird, the military officials there have sent back exaggerated reports about the amount of supplies captured in the invasion. Even if they were true, they would mean nothing to an army which depends for its strength on the support and supplies which it gets from the peasants of South Vietnam.

The Cambodian venture has accelerated the rate of desertions and refusals to fight by the soldiers of the American army. In an article aptly titled 'The carrot and the stick', Newsweek described how the Cambodian operation has further undercut the willingness of American troops to fight and die for American enterprise. 'Combat refusals,' they state, 'are a symptom of a trend... and a symptom that could grow more serious as the war drags on.' Officials have also noted with apprehension the possibility of increased draft refusals, or simply failures to show up at induction -- incidents which are also becoming increasingly prevalent.

What can we learn from the Cambodian invasion? It is clear that the government intends to maintain control of Cambodia (and all of Southeast Asia), 'withdrawal' plans or no 'withdrawal' plans. More likely than not, we will see in Cambodia the type of plan that the government hopes to institute in the entire area: withdrawal of signifi-

Thailand, and the Philippines, as well as Chinese and Cambodian mercenaries. The number of these forces, taken together with the troops from Australia and New Zealand, over the years, has been about the same as that of the North Vietnamese claimed by the Americans to be in South Vietnam. The US ruling class hopes through mercenaries, bombing, and large amounts of military aid, to continue its Southeast Asian operations, even if political necessity requires it to withdraw large numbers of American troops.

To demand 'Bring all the troops home now', as does the SMC, is clearly not enough; in fact, it offers as an 'anti-war' strategy exactly the cover that the US needs to continue what it's doing. Nixon is bringing out troops home; but he hopes, by playing on the attitudes that 'Asians are not really people', to quell dissent at home by substituting yellow bodies for white bodies on the battlefield. The SMC program hence plays into the hands of the racist ideas that the government is banking on to continue America's imperialist venture in Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, demands such as those of the SMC lead people right into the hands of the liberal politicians, who under the guise of wanting to 'end the war' merely want a more expedient way of maintaining American presence in Southeast Asia. What people must come to see, as a lesson from the Cambodian enterprise and the entire history of the conflict, is that all members of the ruling class want very badly to keep Southeast Asia open, some way, for American investment. And because they are determined to do this, they will not give up without a fight. The

course for the anti-war movement, then, is to wage concrete struggles which hurt the government's ability to carry on the war, while demanding that the US get out of Vietnam and Southeast Asia - totally - and that the US has nothing to negotiate in South Vietnam.

by Cheyney Ryan

Harvard-Radcliffe SDS



Nixon paws Cambodia on national t.v.

the capital, but to establish "freed zones" where the Khmer Rouge can build up their own armies. "They would rather arm the peasantry than establish a puppet regime."

The invasion, from all that we know, has driven all progressive forces in the area together and strengthened their resolve to kick out American imperialism. That this has been the result no doubt accounts for much of the opposition to the move by the liberal wing of the ruling class, which wants a more quiet end to the whole affair. The press stresses over and over again that the move 'has driven Hanoi closer to Peking rather than Moscow', that is, it has become clear that the NLF must not rely on negotiations to get the US out of Vietnam. A recent conference in China formed a united front of liberation forces from all over Southeast Asia which now, it has become clear, must work together to get the US out of the entire area.

cant numbers of American troops, increased bombing raids, and massive amounts of aid to shore up reactionary forces and hence save a piece of the area for the US. The government has already begun this task; in an article in the New York Times, entitled 'US reported recruiting Cambodians in Vietnam' (May 28), it states, 'American soldiers were reported today to be recruiting ethnic Cambodian residents for fighting in Cambodia... The recruitment program appears to be an aspect of an effort reported earlier to sign up some 600,000 ethnic Cambodians in South Vietnam for service in Cambodia.'

That the US has already begun 'mobilizing' native forces to do its dirty work is not surprising. For years it has used mercenary forces, trained and led by the Green Berets, to fight throughout Southeast Asia. As Noam Chomsky wrote recently in New York Review of Books, 'The US has employed extensive mercenary forces - the term is precise - from South Korea,

## Students & Workers Together at UNM

At the University of New Mexico, students and workers went on strike the same day to protest the government's policies in S.E. Asia and the racist employment practices of UNM.

The walkout of RAZA workers scared UNM so much they tried to prevent the public from knowing about it by planting false and misleading stories in the capitalist press. They even went so far as to physically detain some of the workers to prevent them from walking out. The workers got word outside, however, and with the aid of some young Chicanos they liberated themselves.

The student strike at UNM was marked by the occupation of the Student Union building. The University got a court injunction against the occupation, but students decided to get arrested rather than leave the building.

The state's response to the building occupation was to call in the National Guard. In battles between students and the National Guard, several students were bayoneted and many more were injured.

# The Strike: What Went Wrong?

When college administrators throw their support behind a student strike, something has to be wrong. It's like John Paul Getty encouraging oil workers to strike, or George Meany supporting the rank-and-file when they take things into their own hands. And yet, college presidents throughout the country supported and even encouraged the student strike that followed the US move into Cambodia in May. Presidents gave support to a strike that included as one of its demands the end of all war-related activities on campus -- activities that college presidents go to great lengths (including expulsion and jail sentences) to protect.

The national student strike - now defunct with the summer vacation and empty campuses - involved hundreds of thousands of students on hundreds of campuses. The anger against the war was tremendous, and the general willingness to fight against it provided wide-ranging opportunities to significantly cripple the war apparatus on campus. And yet, the war continues in greater force, ROTC quietly thrives on most campuses and racist college presidents relax in their offices, admiring newspaper clippings applauding their 'handling' of the strike.

Student strikers - many of whom are now scattered back to their hometowns or summer jobs - took a variety of routes. The 'New Congress' born at Princeton is busily screening peace candidates to receive the support of student campaign workers. The New Mobilization Committee is passing around anti-war petitions in the hope that we can vote our way out of Vietnam, and dozens of free universities and community activity groups have sprung up as an outgrowth of the strike. Meanwhile, back in Southeast Asia, an imperialist war continues in an attempt to make Indochina safe for US profits.

The student strike failed to sharply set back the war for several reasons. One of the main reasons is that the cause of the war - the enemy - never was clear. It was 'Nixon's invasion' of Cambodia and the 'insanity' of the Nixon administration, coupled with bloodthirsty generals. It seemed like it was one man that had to be fought -- not a system which exploits people at home and in other countries. Hence, the strategy of lining up behind various peace candidates in the hope that Nixon could be counteracted by a peace-loving legislature.

The fact that this system of deliberate oppression never was the target of the student strike was largely due to our inability to link up college administrations with that oppression. At Boston University, for example, students went on strike around the three demands, and the morning after the strike vote, a popular liberal professor suggested the creation of a 'Communiversity'.

## STUDY (continued)

soring these 'big names'. What they don't point out is that John Lindsay has framed the Panther 21, and Kingman Brewster fires black cafeteria workers and suspends students who fight against those firings. The SMC leaders invite these racists to speak!!!!

The SMC leaders at S.F. State are no different. At this meeting one SMC leader suggested Paul Chown (president of United Electrical Machinery-Local 1412) be a labor spokesman at the teach-in. When it was pointed out that union 'leader' Chown had withdrawn his support of the December Moratorium because a Black Panther was to speak, the SMC leader's response was, 'I'll take charge of seeing if he (Chown) can speak.' (Fortunately racist Chown was unavailable.)

Paul Ehrlich, author of The Population Bomb, was put forth as a 'good' speaker on the subject of ecology and the War. It was pointed out that Ehrlich advocates that 'developed countries' implement population control programs in 'underdeveloped countries' (read: racist genocide). An SMC leader then pointed out that Ehrlich was on the east coast on a speaking tour (read: spreading racism) and would be unavailable for the teach-in.

This organization was supposed to set up courses in the university free of charge for working people in the community. At the same time that this gambit was being proposed, many students were arguing for an attack on the ROTC building. The slick administration then did two things -- first it closed the school and dorms, requiring that students leave the campus in a week. This lockout resulted in a mass exodus from B.U. Second, the administration quickly agreed to the Communiversity program and agreed to a student request for free dormitory space for the summer for students and faculty members who wanted to work on the Communiversity. (As a by-product, the administration cashed in on several publicity campaigns showing its concern for the community.) Meanwhile, war recruitment continued, war research went on unhampered and the school continued its 'phase out' of army ROTC (it's been phasing out for more than three years). The administration successfully channeled much of the student energy into programs completely divorced from the war effort, while making the administration look like a concerned friend of the student.

The SMC at Boston University and other schools conveniently played into the hands of the administration. At B.U., the SMC voted against every proposal to take action against the ways the administration helps the war on campus. At the same time, the SMC tried to drum up support for a referendum petition to put the question of the war on the November ballot in the state. Not too surprisingly, the administration supported this glorified opinion poll.

Also not too surprising is the fact that the B.U. board of trustees includes such friends of the people as shipping magnate Pappas, who helped the CIA engineer the recent overthrow of the Greek government. Other trustees control interests in such corporations as United Fruit and other businesses which directly profit from the exploitation of other countries. By frantically trying to keep students from attacking these war profiteers, the SMC actually aids the oppression of third world peoples.

When the war was expanded into Cambodia - followed by a fierce student reaction - few of us in SDS initiated sharp strikes against the ways the university helps the war effort. One of the national groups which jumped on the strike bandwagon was the National Student Association, which works hand-in-pocket with the CIA.

Had the university administrations been successfully linked with the war effort, no college president could have shown his face on campus, much less patted students on the back for 'working within the system'. However, this situation probably could have been reversed had SDS taken more of an active role in setting up coalition campus groups to attack the administration and

The only speaker adopted from S.F. State was John Curtin (Professor of Social Science). The fact that he scabbed on last year's four and a half month strike against racism was shoved aside by the SMC leaders!!!

At learning that Curtin would be the only campus speaker at the Teach-In, SDS suggested that other campus organizations such as the Black Students Union (BSU), La Raza Organization, SDS, etc., be allowed to speak. The SMC leaders, fearful that someone would speak to the issue of racism in the anti-war movement, balked at this request!

'Our Third World speaker will be Cecil Williams,' announced an SMC leader. This was in keeping with the SMC policy of inviting a 'respectable' black spokesman to speak against the war. (Cecil Williams is the liberal Pastor of Glide Memorial Methodist Church.) Suggestions of a Panther or a militant welfare client speaking about the war were dismissed by the SMC leaders.

Such was the thrust of this SMC meeting. In practice the SMC avoids speaking to the issue of racism as it relates to the war, and instead relies on racists to mobilize people for their

work within those coalitions when they were established by other groups. Instead, some of us seemed to scorn other students who would waste their time carrying around referendum petitions and stand aloof from the organizations that did exist. SDS made the most gains at schools where SDSers worked with students from other groups and fought for their ideas in those coalitions.

At Boston State, for example, SDS played an active role in a coalition involving several hundred students. An important component of that coalition was the active participation of black students. Significantly, it was at Boston State that war recruiters were kicked off campus for good, and police institute and racist pay differentials were ended. SDS grew, and the administration was exposed. At the University of Minnesota and Columbia University, a worker-student alliance became a reality when campus workers joined students in demanding the end of ROTC. The difference between the Columbia strike and the strike/lockout at most campuses was startling -- with both students and workers on strike at Columbia, the school ground to a halt. At other schools, students didn't attend classes, but the day-to-day business activity went on unhampered. This alliance was not an accident, but one result of a year of cooperation and support between students and campus workers. ('When students strike, there's no school -- when workers strike, there's no war.')

However, these outstanding successes were the exceptions. At many schools on strike, blacks left the campus entirely as a result of racism and our inability to build strong relationships with them. Racism became more and more apparent on campus as the strike continued. Although most of us made mistakes in working within the student strike, those mistakes are not irreversible. We should work out summer programs which would turn a largely liberal drive to advance a few political careers into an attack on an imperialist system that those political careers would serve.

The situation in the country offers tremendous opportunities for SDS to build a movement that really fights the war by linking up the role of administrators with the war itself. We should build coalitions against the war and racism or participate in those coalitions that already exist. A terrific means of working with students and talking about pro-working class ideas is to involve students in the SDS summer work-in and work-in study groups. Most students have some type of summer job anyway, and many would jump at the chance to be involved in a discussion group talking about on-the-job experiences and problems. This can't happen if the work-in is the property of SDS and no-one else.

We should also have the perspective of talking to students now about the National Conference, which will be held in the midwest in late August (more specific details will be included in future New Left Notes). Students in and out of SDS should see the NC as an opportunity to discuss and decide on programs for the fall. In short, the more students see SDS as an organization that has something to do with them - and which offers them a chance to concretely fight the ways in which most people are oppressed - the more they will want to join SDS and develop its programs.

'anti-war' actions. It's no accident that blacks are almost non-existent at their actions.

Racism in the anti-war movement is hardly confined to the SMC. This writer and others in SDS have far from ended their racist outlook towards the anti-war movement. However, unlike the leaders of the SMC, SDSers are beginning to see the necessity to address itself to the question of racism in the anti-war movement. Blacks make up a disproportionate number of front-line troops and casualties in Vietnam. Blacks are hurt most by the taxes that pay for the War. Black GIs are leading GI rebellions against the bosses' War. Black people are leading the day-to-day struggles against the system which is the cause for the War. Whites should see that their interest in ending the war is directly related to the question of racism, and that the way to end the war is not to ally with the Paul Ehrlichs and John Lindsays, but instead to ally with those most hurt by the War: working people, especially black working people who are subject to extra exploitation and oppression because of racism.

# Letters

The following is the text of a message from the Iranian Student Association of the United States (ISAUS) to the SDS National Council meeting.

The Iranian Student Association of the United States expresses solidarity with SDS in our common struggle against the world system of Imperialism, headed by US Imperialism. ISAUS recognizes SDS as the representative of the progressive student movement in the United States because you have demonstrated through your many struggles a genuine interest and conviction in fighting against imperialism by striving to build a pro-working class student movement.

SDS is waging struggle in an imperialist country. The basic contradiction in the United States is the contradiction between the working class and the monopoly capitalist class. Only by resolving this contradiction can the power of the ruling class be defeated. The political struggle of the working class for liberation is the main and leading force for resolving this contradiction.

Even though our movements have grown out of different historical conditions, the world character of imperialism has also brought about similarities in the character of our movements. Both of our student movements have their anti-imperialist character and their mass content in common.

The struggles waged by SDS in the past years over the question of the student movement in the United States have played a decisive role in the correct political development of the movement.

The American student movement having an anti-imperialist character with mass content is part of the liberation movement of the people of this country, the movement in which the working class is the principle and leading force. Therefore, the student movement can resolve its contradiction with imperialism and develop its mass content only if it has close ties with the working class movement.

On this basis the orientation of the student movement in the United States is to build an organic tie with the working class and to serve the workers' movement in its development.

Building an organic tie with the working class, mainly the industrial workers, as a long-term strategic principle is the only axis around which the students can be organized and politically developed in a progressive direction.

This pro-working class orientation would on the one hand provide a basis for the elimination of anti-working class politics and anti-working class attitudes existing in the student movement and on the other hand would make political exposure of the system within the working class possible. Therefore, the tie between the student movement and the working class can be mainly a political tie.

By having a political tie with working class we mean a tie that is in the service of political work.

We regard the fight against racism and male chauvinism which you have taken up as a very necessary strategic struggle.

Racism not only affects super-exploitation of non-white workers, but it is also the principle obstacle to the unity of a mass working class movement. Racism and male chauvinism are also obstacles to a unified mass student movement. Therefore, such a student movement must be built through a long and hard struggle against these two major obstacles.

We are living in the era of the total collapse and downfall of world imperialism. All the progressive forces of the world are struggling toward this end. As progressive student movements, SDS and ISAUS are involved in this struggle against the system of world imperialism

To New Left Notes,

You invite comments and other opinions on what is happening in the Middle East, in the preface to the article on the Palestinian Struggle by E.D. Farjoun, in your issue of March 16. Since the mails were so slow, this article only just reached me.

Mr. Farjoun's article on close reading proves to be a more factual and sensitive treatment even from an Israeli point of view of the Palestinian struggle, which after all involves both Jews and Arabs, than many other articles in the press of the Left.

However, there are some points of which Mr. Farjoun is fully aware of which some of your readers may not know.

1. The six month strike against British colonialism in Palestine in 1936 was above all against further Jewish immigration into Palestine. Perhaps it is not surprising the Zionist left opposed this strike, which took place at a time when there were still five million Jews in European countries west of the Soviet Union, such as Poland, Rumania, Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, many of them Yiddish speaking or highly Zionist, desperate to get out. This number also included more assimilated Jews menaced by Hitlerism in Germany, and later all over Europe, including Austria, Hungary, Italy, and other countries. The strike achieved its purpose. In 1939 Britain limited immigration into Palestine to 75,000 over a period of ten years. The Jews of Europe, and the Western Soviet Union (Ukraine and White Russia) were almost all killed. No one lifted a finger to save them. If the Peel partition plan for Palestine had been carried out by a cowardly and anti-semitic British government of Neville Chamberlain there would have been a refuge.

2. The Arab organization El Ard was banned as a Nasserite group out to undermine Israel. Mr. Farjoun may know more than I on this point, but I believe this was the only Arab organization banned in those days. Perhaps Mr. Farjoun feels that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is unfairly proscribed these days.

3. The 2000 or so Jewish Port workers brought from Salonika, Greece to Haifa as port workers, at the time of the Arab strike, were the only Jews who survived from Salonika. Another 45,000 of these were beaten to death, not even gassed, by the Nazis.

As you see, passions run high on both sides, and perhaps Mr. Farjoun's recognition of two people's national rights in Palestine offers a basis for negotiation and compromise.

Daniel Lourie  
Cambridge, Mass.

In building a stronger SDS and an effective movement, we must criticize ourselves in order to overcome our mistakes. That's the basic reason I'm writing this letter.

SDS, as a whole, failed to provide good leadership and direction to the campus upsurge in the past couple of weeks. Our two major flaws were: (1) We didn't take the initiative of starting something right when the US invaded Cambodia. (2) At the Washington rally on May 6, we didn't have speakers, and instead SDS held an isolated rally of its own.

As a result, the liberals have provided the leadership and improper direction to the movement. Petitions are being circulated in support of the McGovern amendment, and thousands of students are signing up to work for 'peace' candidates. We have isolated ourselves from the students and now they actually believe that 'peace' candidates are the solution. These students don't know the real motives behind these 'peace' candidates. They don't understand that Vietnam is a bosses' war. They don't understand the class struggle. They haven't been told these and other things, because we haven't told them.

We must work harder, by canvassing and leaf-letting, to destroy the liberal myth. We must build sharper struggles against ROTC, war research, and cop institutes. By building stronger anti-imperialist, anti-racist struggles we can win students over and provide effective leadership and winning direction to the movement, and by building concrete struggles we can also broaden our base.

If we don't provide leadership and direction to the movement, then we'll see it die, again, because when people see through the liberal myth they will, again, become disillusioned -- unless there is a concrete struggle going on for them to join.

Let's quit being isolated and start communicating with people -- then, and only then, can we build an effective movement, one that will win.

Neil Richardson, Chicago SDS

## Come To Cleveland - June 19-20

SDS chapters throughout the country are being urged to attend--and encourage other students to attend--an anti-war conference called by the Student Mobilization Committee on June 19-20 in Cleveland, Ohio. The conference is expected to draw thousands of students concerned about the war and looking for a way out. If the SMC can follow its now well-established pattern, students will be urged to channel their anti-war energies into the ballot box or to line up behind another war profiteer speaking from the SMC soapbox. If an alternative means of fighting the war is not presented, the SMC will take another step toward building cynicism and political careers--not an anti-imperialist movement. Experience shows that most people will choose an anti-imperialist movement over collecting signatures for political hopefuls, if that program is presented and discussed. In Boston this spring, dozens of SDSer's attended a Mobe anti-war conference and--when we finally were able to speak--argued in favor of a motion banning liberal politicians and other imperialists from speaking at anti-war rallies. Several hundred people not in SDS voted for the motion despite pleas of the SMC for a free-speech type of rally. Although the Mobe leaders later reversed this decision by resorting to behind-the-scenes maneuverings (they literally walked out of the meeting after they lost the vote) the most important point was that hundreds of people saw the dead end that would result from supporting imperialists in the anti-war movement. This could not have happened if SDS had not attended the conference and argued against the Mobe's "Peace Now" tactics.

The Cleveland conference is an important opportunity for SDS to reach out in a more concrete way to students who want to fight the war.

DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM!

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF ALL THE  
OPPRESSED MASSES OF ALL LANDS!

# Self Defense at Rally Thwarts Cop Attack

Students from ten Springfield, Mass. area colleges and universities were tired of holding the same passive rallies and hearing the same liberal speeches. On May 6, we took to the streets in the strongest showing of anti-government sentiment that Springfield has ever seen.

Massing first on the campus of American International College (AIC), which is in the heart of the black community, the demonstrators headed down State Street to Court Square for an 'unauthorized rally'. Away from the campus isolation and in the midst of the people, the speeches began to relate to what was really coming down. The economic and imperialist aspects of the system were explained to the swelling crowd. The people were told that to win, one must struggle, and that writing to one's congressman is futile, for the system is determined to perpetuate itself through imperialism, colonialism and racism.

'Close the Induction Center,' many urged the crowd. With the city's high schools just out, the crowd of up to 1000 stormed into the streets and headed to the Federal Building. With chants of 'rich means war -- poor people pay', and 'Free Bobby -- free the Panthers', the crowd filled the streets, but upon arriving at the Federal Building found the doors bolted shut. An attempt to break in was rather unsuccessful, as the glass was bullet-proof. One black student almost had the flag down to half-mast to protest the Kent State murders, but he was knocked aside by some huge pig who decided to defend the 'colors'. About twenty people then linked arms to form a human chain around the flag pole to keep the cops out as the flag was being lowered. Unable to break through the line, the pigs then used black-jacks and billy clubs to get through to the ropes. As more pigs and paddy wagons began arriving, the crowd made a hasty retreat. As the crowd headed back to AIC through Main Street, one pig was warned by several demonstrators that the next time he swings his club, the people will defend themselves and that he was lucky to be let off this time.

The marchers were only ten minutes away from the final destination when the pigs decided to bust. Although there was no provocation, riot pigs attacked from the rear. Eleven students were dragged into the wagons and then beaten with fists and clubs once inside. At this point many people began to defend themselves and others. One student jumped two pigs that were beating on one person who had fallen. The fallen person escaped and the second student would have, too, if he hadn't been clubbed unconscious from behind. One pig was thrown to the ground and beaten and kicked so badly that he had to be hospitalized. He still remains in the hospital.

During this time, many of the marchers urged people to remain non-violent and leave the scene of attack! We feel this would have led to demoralization and to even more brutal attacks. We also feel that the spontaneous self-defense was a major step forward for the Springfield area movement, for it shows that many students are more determined than ever to fight to win!

Not to be intimidated, four days later we held another rally and march. This time a massive picket line was formed in front of Mass. Mutual Life Insurance Co., the real rulers of Springfield, Mass.

There is much work to be done in Springfield this summer in terms of work-ins, political education and defense education. This summer we must continue the fight against racism, repression and the War!



# Racism + Roxanne Dunbar = Southern Female Union

Roxanne Dunbar's Southern Female Rights Union needs a change of name -- from S.F.R.U. to H.E.R. The letters H.E.R. are not intended to indicate a person of the feminine gender, but rather to stand as an abbreviation for Hypocrisy, Elitism, and Racism.

This conclusion was reached at a Women's Liberation conference held by Dunbar's group on May 9 and 10. The SFRU is, according to its literature, 'not a membership organization. We are a staff of six who work out of an office in New Orleans, distribute female liberation literature and visit groups of women all over the South and parts of the Midwest. We are working on a program for female liberation.' This particular 'visit' from the staff was located at Mt. Beulah, a defunct black college near Jackson, Mississippi, now owned by a white church group. This group rents out its facilities to various 'radical' organizations; and it is one of very few places in the South which allows rental by integrated organizations. It would seem to be a suitable place to have a conference for women who were fighting to end the oppression and exploitation of members of their sex.

That there is a definite need for this fight, and that SDS must make a concerted effort to win liberation for all women, is an indisputable fact. So, with that thought in mind, the conference appeared as an opportunity to gain some new ideas on what needs to be done and how to go about doing it.

It was something more than a shock to discover that the 150 women at the conference were being led and instructed by a group of people who were not only men-haters, but also carriers of racism, and practitioners of elitism and hypocrisy. The capitalist press has characterized Dunbar as a national leader of women's liberation; and it seems that they should be most interested in keeping a woman with so strange a political outlook in the forefront of the movement.

In illustration of the very descriptive adjectives which this article applies to the SFRU, consider the following:

Although the invitation to the conference read 'Open to all Females', less than ten of the 150 women present were black. However, all of the kitchen workers serving the conference were black. When these women were asked how much they were being paid for the weekend, they stated that no one had told them as yet. The SFRU leadership was promptly informed of these unusual hiring methods. A list of sterling replies came from their luncheon table. To wit:

(a) these were full-time workers. (This was later proved to be a lie!); (b) SFRU paid a flat fee for the weekend to the Smiths (a white couple); (c) the Smiths paid the help out of this fee; (d) the conference had no control over how much of that money went to pay the help; and (e) don't get concerned about it -- after all, lots of radical groups rent this place, and we have to be careful.

Then, my friends, after lunch Dunbar opened the general meeting by stating, 'My consciousness as a woman comes from my observation of black oppression.' It makes you wonder if she is indeed conscious -- or simply sleepwalking.

There was a question from the floor as to why the black women from the surrounding area and the kitchen workers could not be invited to this meeting. (At this point the questioner's photograph was very rudely taken from various angles.) The answer was that inviting the blacks would be paternalistic; and it was a terribly imperialistic attitude to think that we could have any sort of united black and white organization.

However, later during the conference, Dunbar expounded on her idea of black and white unity. She is devoting her time to developing a new theory: the founding of a 'household workers' union of domestics and wives'; this would unite two women in the same house -- the housewife and the maid! (Build a worker-boss alliance!)

It became even more obvious as the conference progressed that black women had their separate but unequal place. The question of kitchen workers' wages and their presence at the meeting was brought up again; and the SFRU's sympathetic observation was that 'these people can't understand the theoretical things we're discussing -- they speak a different language, we'd just bore them.'

Shortly thereafter, there was a collection to buy soft drinks for the women present. An SDS member volunteered her car to pick up the drinks and suggested buying them from the black grocery less than a mile up the road. The SFRU considered this a poor idea and suggested a drive of 30 miles into Jackson to purchase drinks. The SDS member drove to the black grocery. But, upon buying the drinks, it became apparent why she should have avoided the store. One of the Mt. Beulah 'full-time workers' was also working at the grocery store. (The SFRU adds lying to its repertoire.)

What about E for elitism? Well, a leader of the Gainesville, Florida, lib group said that their membership was divided into 'eight groups of 20 mostly middle class white women'. Then she attacked SDS and the family, on an equal basis, as being 'elitist' and having 'a hierarchy with women on the bottom of the barrel'. This was followed by an attack by a Chicago leader, who also frothed at the mouth about the elitism of SDS. (Both women are Dunbar cohorts.)

There was a further illustration of the SFRU's elitist outlook following a karate demonstration. The karate experts were asked if the women's lib group could somehow make these expensive karate lessons available to poor women and welfare mothers who need self-protection. Dunbar said, in all apparent sincerity, that it was the middle class women who needed to learn karate; poor women already know how to fight.

By the end of the conference, it was clear that the Southern Females Rights Union has effectively made its staff available only to white middle class groups -- and it intends to remain an elite club for 'nice' young women.

Hypocrisy - Elitism - Racism: How does such a thing happen to an organization?

The Gainesville woman said, 'Our oppressors are men -- NOT capitalism.' And therein lies the problem. By using this ideology as a basis upon which to build women's liberation, the movement is immediately thwarted. Where can you go but down when you have a basic inability to see the real enemy? By attacking the male sex, and by being nearsighted concerning the importance of a class analysis, the SFRU left itself open to an ever-mounting myopia.

It is therefore left to a group with a better political analysis to see that something constructive is done in the field of women's liberation. The ruling class must be exposed as the main perpetrator of male chauvinism and female exploitation. Women need to achieve a class analysis to win liberation. Women in SDS should take proper leadership in this vital struggle, because much of the women's liberation movement -- such as the SFRU -- has made itself incapable of performing that function.

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This is the first in a series of articles that will appear in NLN on male chauvinism. We encourage people to submit articles not only dealing with the material, psychological, and cultural oppression of women; but also dealing with how best to fight male chauvinism.



Black phone operators take lead in fighting company in recent New York strike. To fight male chauvinist practices, as well as the bosses who profit from them, white people must follow the lead of, learn from, and unite with black workers; not form groups which exclude them.