

# sds new left notes

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LESS TALK, MORE ACTION

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## LIBERALS CAN'T END WAR

### Anti-War Strategy:

#### Ally with Workers

 by Ellen Klein, BU  
Ellen Doyle, Northeastern  
Fred Gordon, NIC

Recently Vietnam Moratorium leaders explicitly revealed that their program for the coming period will aim at building a base for the Democratic Party and liberal, 'within-the-system' politics. They plan to initiate a 'campaign service' for candidates claiming opposition to the Vietnam war which would 'generate thousands of volunteers for the campaigns, would provide 'top experienced consultants' to advise on campaign strategy and would organize entertainers and speakers for fundraising performances' (NYTimes, 7 Jan 70). Despite a lot of talk (now abandoned) about rousing an ever-escalating mass movement which would continue each month until the war's end, moratorium leaders' intended real thrust toward building the Democratic Party is now clear.

While we can point to the fact that this is what we said would happen (see NLN Extra: 'The Moratorium is a Cover, Not a Solution'), we must explain clearly to people why we think that the electoral strategy put forth by the Moratorium leaders is designed to kill any anti-war movement that can really effect change. What the Moratorium leaders say is that this is the 'practical' way of ending the war. The 'outside the system' actions that SDS advocates will lead nowhere. What is wrong with this?

By pushing the Democratic Party, Moratorium leaders are saying that problems like the war are not a necessary outgrowth of the system, but rather the result of the failings of particular leaders. It follows that political change can be brought about by selecting good men with good attitudes for office. This is why they have started their campaign service.

In evaluating this strategy, one of two ideas must be true: either the democratic process could serve the people -- if a few liberal modifications were made; or the Moratorium leaders, manipulating the very real desire of hundreds of thousands to oppose the war, have thrown out another net to keep people fighting ineffectively.

Has the democratic process worked when the people wanted something that big business didn't? Does the majority rule? The democratic process would have elected Ho Chi Minh president by a 90% majority in 1956, but the US government didn't allow the elections. When a majority in this country opposed a US war in Asia in 1964-5, LBJ avoided the people's opposition by having the Senate ratify military intervention in Vietnam without a declaration of war (Tonkin Bay Resolution). To prosecute that war the US rulers have broken several treaties, international laws and accords, and conjured up new ones in order to justify their aggression (e.g. SEATO).

If we look at the history of the labor movement in this country we see that the government has never hesitated to help the capitalists exploit workers by providing police and troops to harass, beat up and sometimes murder workers striking for decent wages and working conditions. Or we can look at the very racist police repression currently perpetrated on members of the Black Panther Party.



## Fight for Women's Liberation

Last June, the SDS National Convention passed the resolution 'The Fight for Women's Liberation is Basic to Defeating Imperialism'. It said that the real basis of male chauvinism is the profits made off the double exploitation of women workers. Male chauvinist ideas are created and perpetuated by the ruling class of this country to justify this extra oppression of women. More important, these ideas are used to divide men and women in their fights against the bosses, imperialism, and racism, by keeping women from doing things as 'unladylike' as fighting, and by telling men that it's unnatural to follow the often more militant leadership of women. Thus the fight against male chauvinism cannot succeed if it is seen as separate from the struggle of workers and students against imperialism. This proposal does not intend to repeat what was written and discussed last June; rather, it will try to go further, to relate some of the lessons that we have learned in building CWSA, and give some concrete suggestions of ways to fight male chauvinism.

### Male Chauvinism and the Campus Worker Student Alliance

A look at the situation of campus workers shows that universities use male chauvinism in hiring, pay, etc. Women (often black women) get the lowest paying jobs -- as food service workers, secretaries, maids. Usually there is a pay differential between these jobs and similar -- sometimes exactly the same -- jobs given to men (as food service workers, clerks, and janitors). Male chauvinism, and the extra oppression of women, is not just a bad idea. It is grounded in the basic need of the ruling class to constantly increase profits from the exploitation of workers, and its need to maintain power against the workers by any means necessary. This includes dividing working people, and all oppressed people, in many different ways -- including by sex. So women's liberation cannot be achieved by treating it as an idea, a question of life style ('become a liberated woman'), etc. It has to be attacked not only ideologically, but also at its roots -- the double oppression of women workers.

# LETTERS

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

Thank you for printing my letter criticizing Steve Fraser's article on the Labor Committee. However, one phrase I used was changed, accidentally I'm sure. I wrote that the workers must lead a revolution to smash the bosses' state and construct a new one in their own interest. The way it came out, I'm sorry to say, you have me saying the working class should organize to take control of the bosses' state and construct a new one in their own interest'.

Now the idea that the bosses' state can be taken over by the working class is a fundamental tenet of revisionism, since it implies revolution to smash the bosses' entire state apparatus is unnecessary. It would be so much easier to take control, say through elections. But we know this can't be done since the ruling class is always fighting with all their resources to maintain its dictatorship, and will not hand over state power without being defeated through armed struggle.

Fraternally,  
Herb Bleich, Queens College

Note: On December 29th, during the National Council meeting in New Haven, the Boston Globe printed this editorial and cartoon. Known as one of the nation's most liberal newspapers, the Globe has been an avid supporter of McCarthy, the Moratorium, and numerous other 'peace' and 'liberal' causes. Obviously, the businessmen who run the Globe are scared to death of the prospect of students allying with workers, and they will lie and distort to fight such an alliance.

## In Reply...

To editor of Bosses' Globe:

Your cartoon and editorial of December 29, 1969 made it clearer than ever whose side your paper (like the others) is on, despite attempts on your part to appear objective. Both the cartoon and the editorial are vicious attacks on working people and students. On the one hand, workers are made out to be satisfied, selfish oafs. And on the other, student radicals are supposed to be naive, idealistic freaks, oblivious to what workers (and other people) really need.

Most workers do not make \$10,000 to \$12,000 a year, contrary to what you would have us believe. The average industrial wage is about \$3.00 an hour, which comes to about \$6,250 a year before taxes, far below what even the government says is a 'moderate but adequate' income for a family of four -- \$10,000 a year. And 25% live on less than what the bosses' government says is poverty level. Every year for the last five years the real wage of most Americans has gone down -- meanwhile taxes, prices, rents, inflation, and profits are skyrocketing. Women work at even worse wages and working conditions than men, and the squeeze hits black and other non-white workers especially hard -- they're the last to be hired and the first to be fired. And while all this is going on the government is killing working people, American and Vietnamese, in a war aimed at obtaining even higher profits for the bosses from the cheap labor (\$1.40 a day maximum in Saigon), raw materials, and markets in Southeast Asia.

Working people are leading the fight against this oppression. 147,000 GE workers are on strike around the country against the 'national' (i.e. bosses') interest' -- a real blow to the big businessmen who profit from the war. Throughout US history workers have fought the cops, state troopers, and the National Guard when the bosses call them in to smash strikes, etc. Your editorial said

# From The Bosses' Press

## SDS and the workers

The Russian Revolution of 1917 and 1918, the books say, was made by an alliance of workers and peasants. Both had bread and butter interests. Both had bitter memories of the knout, exile to Siberia, poverty, the Cossacks and centuries-old exploitation. Like Spartacus and his gladiators, they had ample reason to rise and slaughter their oppressors.

Now in 1969 the Students for a Democratic Society, assembled in convention at New Haven, are reported to be expanding their plans for an alliance between students and the working class, with the aim of overthrowing the "imperialist bosses."

Idealistic and maybe ideological the S.D.S. is said to be, but in supposing it can make common cause with "the working class," whatever that is, it is not being practical.

Any labor union organizer could tell the S.D.S. that signing up "the workers" is not easy. American workers, who are almost everybody, are individuals and capitalists. The last thing they want is the revolution. They want more money for their efforts, naturally. But they aren't going to storm the barricades for reasons unconnected with their own immediate responsibilities and needs.

Besides, the "worker," aged 45, with a home, wife and four children and an income of \$10,000 or \$12,000 a year, is not likely to accept the political thinking of long-haired youths. This country has no peasants and its workers are not in the status of the Russians of 1917.

Alas for their zeal, the S.D.S. might as well try to make an alliance with the imperialist bosses.



"Bartender... a round of cokes for my friends... on me."

SDSers wanted to lead workers' struggles; the fact is we are following and intend to increasingly follow workers' leadership. We led a demonstration of 7500 under the banner, WARMAKER, STRIKEBREAKER, SMASH GE, SMASH RACISM, in Washington, following the lead of GE workers and on campus we have led fights against ROTC, police institutes, racist university expansion because these things are attacks on working people. One of our key programs is building an alliance with campus workers, who face the same administration/boss that we do every day. We want to bring our ideas to workers, but we think we have a lot to learn from them.

Most of us are students, but we think students have a real interest in building an alliance with working people, who have the real power to shut this country down. Many of us become workers ourselves when we are forced out, drop out, or graduate from school. Often we get positions that aren't as tough as most working people's, but in those jobs we won't be able to improve things without building an alliance with other workers. As teachers, for example, we will need to ally with working parents and their children in order to better the schools and our working conditions -- relying on the Board of Education or School Committee won't get us anywhere.

Liberal politicians and newspapers (like the Globe) pretend to oppose the war, but in reality you don't oppose US presence in Vietnam or the

rest of Southeast Asia. You call for a negotiated settlement as a road to peace -- a piece of Vietnam at the expense of working people. Your cries of pacifism deny the Vietnamese the right to kick the US government out of their country and deny US working people the right to fight back against the cops and troops bosses like your publisher W. Davis Taylor (a Harvard overseer) send to help keep the squeeze on. The 'peace' you call for is peaceful exploitation -- something working people see through most quickly, as witnessed by the growing wave of strikes and walkouts over the last several years.

It's because working people are fighting back harder than ever and because students are increasingly seeing the need to ally with them and have done so at BU (where we fought scab GE recruiters), at Harvard (where we fought against a racist pay differential), at UMass (where we fought against rotten conditions in the cafeteria), and at schools around the country -- this is why you editorialize and cartoon against workers and students. The bosses who run the Globe are afraid of that alliance. That's why you printed lies and slander about the rent control referendum campaign in Cambridge and didn't print a word about SDS's demonstration supporting GE workers in Washington. If you print this letter it'll be nothing more than a bluff.

Editor of New Left Notes  
SDS National Newspaper

# SDS

## NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

PROBABLY IN LOS ANGELES

### BUILD FOR THE N.C.

The next National Council (NC) meeting will be on the West Coast, probably in or near Los Angeles. It will tentatively start Sun. night, Feb. 1, and continue until Wed., Feb. 4. There will be an educational conference, with panels and lots of workshops on campus worker-student alliance, women's liberation, the anti-war movement, and other questions, a day of plenary to debate and vote on resolutions, performances by RATS (Radical Arts Troupes) from around the country and by the Revolutionary Jug Band.

The National Interim Committee (NIC) met after the New Haven NC to discuss building for the West Coast meeting. We think it's very important. In New Haven we started very useful discussions around individualism, culture and drugs. That has to go on. We passed resolutions on allying with campus workers and fighting against the war, on supporting GE strikers (including an as yet unspecified national action around that!), on state and junior college organizing and on male chauvinism. Discussions on these questions should continue and develop at the next NC. It's crucial to have much more thorough discussion of racism, what in fact we mean by the term, as well as how to organize to fight it! Meetings like the West Coast NC are an excellent opportunity to examine theoretical questions carefully in light of many people's experiences. It is only in this light that our ideas can really develop. The West Coast NC will help a lot in building the movement as the new school term begins.

The West Coast meeting falls close to the New Haven NC. We felt this is necessary because, since we couldn't find a central (midwest) location for this past NC (due to ruling class interference), only about 50 SDSers from the West Coast could make it. It's important that there be another NC soon, in a place where they can attend. In addition, because we went over six months without an NC, there are a good many pressing problems that need discussion. Having the NC soon is important to build the organization!

The movement is growing in California, and chapters are springing up in areas like Utah, Oregon and Washington. It's vital that chapters there play an important part in giving leadership to the national organization.

#### LET THE PEOPLE ATTEND

Many people from other areas who couldn't make it to New Haven - especially from the south and midwest - plan to get out to the West Coast. This is very important. Chapters in all areas should make careful plans for bringing people. In some cases (like, of course, the West Coast, but also other parts of the country), car and bus travel is perfectly possible. Elsewhere people will have to go by plane. It is therefore very important to help raise money to make this NC a success, in particular to help people from the South, the Midwest, and the East Coast, so they can attend. Chapters should organize fund raising parties, fund raising dinners, collect money at meetings of all sorts (pass the hat several times), to raise this money. People who can't go should give as much as they can so someone else can go! All money should be sent to the national headquarters, 173a Mass. Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115. The money should be sent either REGISTERED MAIL or by WIRE. It has a cute habit of not getting delivered otherwise.

#### SEND IN PROPOSALS NOW!

We'll try to print up and mail out all resolutions sent in VERY SOON. After mid-January, we can't guarantee anything. So write up resolutions NOW and send them in! You can always revise them at the NC. KEEP A COPY!

#### ORGANIZE TO MAKE THE N.C. A SUCCESS

The way to make the NC successful is to organize for it. Proposals should be circulated and discussed in chapters ahead of time. Tables with SDS literature and posters and sign-up sheets for transportation to the NC should be set up now. We should get people's phone numbers -- where they'll be now and where they'll be just before the transportation leaves for the NC.

Various people in each chapter should check up to make sure that people are bringing sleeping bags, money, that they know when it is and leave on time, that everyone who wants to go gets there. Posters the size of this page with information on the NC instead of this article will be available as soon as we know the exact place. Order them now! They should be put up on all campuses as soon as possible. Knowledge of the NC and what it will discuss should be gotten out to all students! Many are interested in joining SDS, but they won't if they aren't asked. And many others are interested in what SDS thinks, so let's bring them to the NC and build SDS! Most people who came to the New Haven NC who were 'new' to SDS, considered it excellent!

#### Things to Remember

At the New Haven NC, there were three and a half days of workshops, and one and a half days of plenary discussion. The NIC has tentatively decided that the major focus of the next NC will likewise be workshops, where students can discuss their experiences with each other and learn from the successes and mistakes of other chapters.

It's important that people who are writing proposals send them as soon as possible to New Left Notes, so that they can be published in the next issue before the National Council meeting. People should also bring discussion papers to the meeting, plus any good leaflets or pamphlets that they have written this year. These are especially good for talking with other people about what you've been doing and how successful you've been.

SDS members will be provided with housing at the meeting, but everyone should remember to bring a sleeping bag. At the New Haven NC, lots of people ended up sleeping on the floor.

# n.c. resolves: support g.e. strikers!

Rising costs of living and lousy working conditions have forced 147,000 General Electric workers to call a nationwide strike. In addition to fighting the GE bosses, the workers have had to face the cops, National Guard, court injunctions against picketing, sell-out leadership and Nixon's baloney about the 'national interest'.

## Thousands of American Workers Affected by Strike

Threatened by workers' resistance to inflation, the ruling class is trying desperately to break this strike. They understand that its success spells increased militancy from other key industrial workers (for example, auto, teamsters, and NYC transit workers are all up for contract renewal in the next few months). This is their test case.

The bosses claim that inflation is caused by high wages. This is a lie. Prices are high because corporations, in competition with each other, have to keep those profits rolling in. The truth is that GE's profits have been increasing at a record rate. Their need to maximize profits and to keep up immense war spending to protect the source of those profits is what causes inflation.

## G.E. and the War in Vietnam

General Electric is the nation's fourth largest corporation. It is the second largest government defense contractor. It has 115 foreign subsidiaries and one-quarter of its 400,000 workers are employed abroad.

GE, like all the big corporations in the US, has a big stake in the Vietnam war. Many of GE's foreign investments are in the Far East -- South Korea, Japan, Taiwan. They want desperately to insure the rest of Southeast Asia as a safe place for American investment. Why do the corporations place so much importance in foreign investment? \$1.40 a day legal maximum wage for Saigon workers! 25¢ an hour for South Korean workers in American-owned factories! That's why!

## Imperialism Hurts Workers in US

These low wages abroad mean super-profits for US bosses. They directly threaten the wage level for all American workers. An example: GE workers are told they can't get wages above the 'competitive level' (average \$6200 a year -- below subsistence level) or the company will move where labor is cheaper. A wildcat in their Schenectady plant in 1966 was broken by this threat. This is why the working class can be brought to fight imperialism. Not only do they pay the most for it, through taxes, inflation and the draft, but they pay to hang the noose around their own necks! It is in their real material interests to fight against the corporations' wars.

## Anti-war Movement Needs Workers- Eventually To Lead

SDS feels that the anti-war movement, while it is composed of students, intellectuals and other middle class elements, will never by itself have the power to end imperialist wars. Demonstrations, even those as massive as the Nov. 15 march on Washington, will never do it. The wars are waged to protect present and future super-profits; only the working class, at the point of production, are in the position to strike at those profits and bring the companies to their knees. That's why students, intellectuals and the anti-war movement in general must ally themselves with workers. Otherwise we will be protesting until we are blue in the face. Workers not only can be brought to see their interests in fighting the war -- they must be brought to do so. Because of what it can and will represent, we say that the present strike against General Electric is the most significant struggle against imperialism in the movement's history.

Therefore, we propose the following general strategy for supporting the GE workers on and off campus:

1. Fund-raising. Tables should be set up in cafeterias, student centers and on plazas, students should go from door to door in residence halls, collecting money to help support striking families. The money should be used to buy canned goods and given directly to rank-and-file strikers -- not to the union bureaucracy.

2. Educational Program. Leaflets, discussions and teach-ins about the strike's and GE's connection to imperialism should be instituted on all campuses. If possible, perhaps some rank-and-file striker could come on campus and discuss what is happening.

3. Boycotting GE Products. Each university's departments should be researched and any GE products that are bought should be boycotted. Tactics would vary -- picketing and/or blocking delivery, preventing already shipped goods from being unpacked until future purchases are cancelled, and so forth. Talk to Buildings and Grounds workers about GE equipment -- they'll know!

4. GE Recruiters. GE recruiters should be blocked, picketed or thrown off campuses. No recruitment for scab managerial positions should be allowed.

5. Picket Line Support at Plants. Small groups from every school within reasonable distance from a striking plant should organize to help man picket lines where needed, or just bring food and literature. This is a great tactic for students new to SDS. We always learn from conversations with the picketers.

We must explain to workers our reasons for joining them on the picket line and why we feel that an alliance between workers and students must be built if imperialism and racism are to be smashed. Without explaining our strike support in the context of fighting imperialism, our support would do little to further the anti-war movement.

6. Always clearly differentiate SDS support for rank and file workers from the support of the DuBois clubs, the New Mobe, and other such groups. They are working hand in hand with the IUE and UE leadership with the condition that they not criticize that leadership. SDS, we repeat, supports the rank-and-file workers.

7. If this resolution is passed, the National Headquarters should print up hundreds of copies to distribute to workers on our next trips to the plants, so that they can know what SDS is doing and why it is doing it.

8. When possible, students should demonstrate solidarity with militant rank-and-file strikers, by attending trials of arrested workers and by supporting them against the bosses and the bosses' courts.

- GE is the nation's second largest military contractor at \$1,260,000 a year.
- Last year GE made \$357 million net profit, while GE workers lost 30¢ an hour due to the rise of the cost of living. GE's rate of return on investment was 22% higher than the nation's manufacturers average. GE's profits showed a net increase of 11% in the third quarter of this year.
- GE makes \$25,000 a year in sales receipts off each worker, yet the average worker receives only about \$6500 of that a year.
- GE workers today make less REAL wages than they made five years ago.

Student support for GE workers has the potential for bringing new students into SDS on a pro-working class basis. It will be a qualitative step forward for both the anti-war movement and worker-student alliance politics. The Washington rally was a great success. Now it must be followed up!

**SMASH IMPERIALISM!**  
**ALLY WITH G.E. WORKERS**



BU Students Fight to Throw Off GE Recruiter

In 1940, GE was indicted by the federal government for conspiring with German arms maker and Nazi war criminal Alfred Krupp to achieve and maintain control of trade and commerce, to fix prices, eliminate competition, and impose restraints, limitations, and restrictions on trade and commerce in hard metals. Though long-term jail sentences were expected, GE was only fined a total of \$36,000.

In this country, GE has a long history of backing right-wing causes, especially those that are anti-labor and anti-communist. GE is a major supporter of the Southern States Industrial Council, a group that has fought organized labor to protect Southern wage differentials. GE was the first non-governmental employer to have a 'loyalty' program during the early days of the McCarthy period.

# Women's Liberation

## Cont.

for example). (A good example of this from U of Chicago: a sign went up in a dorm cafeteria for two male workers, \$2.24/hour. Two weeks later, that sign was replaced by one for two women: same job description, different name -- \$2.11/hour.)

These ideas are taught in all disciplines. In art and literature, women are presented mainly as sex objects. Psychology explains why that, in fact, is in the nature of things. Sociology ascribes some of the 'problems of humanity' to women doing a poor job of bringing up children. (E.g., Moynihan's racist and male chauvinist explanation that the 'problem with black people' is that they are brought up by their mothers and not their fathers!! Ideas like these have to be smashed!) And history acts like women never even existed, and certainly never did anything which might influence the course of events. In fact, in many countries around the world, and certainly in the US, women workers fought some of the bitterest class struggles in the history of the entire country. Things like this are covered up by our 'education'.

### Male Chauvinism in the Movement

Like racism, and many other ideas we have



been brought up with and taught all of our lives, male chauvinism sticks with us and doesn't disappear once we understand that it exists and must be fought. In fact, male chauvinism has weakened

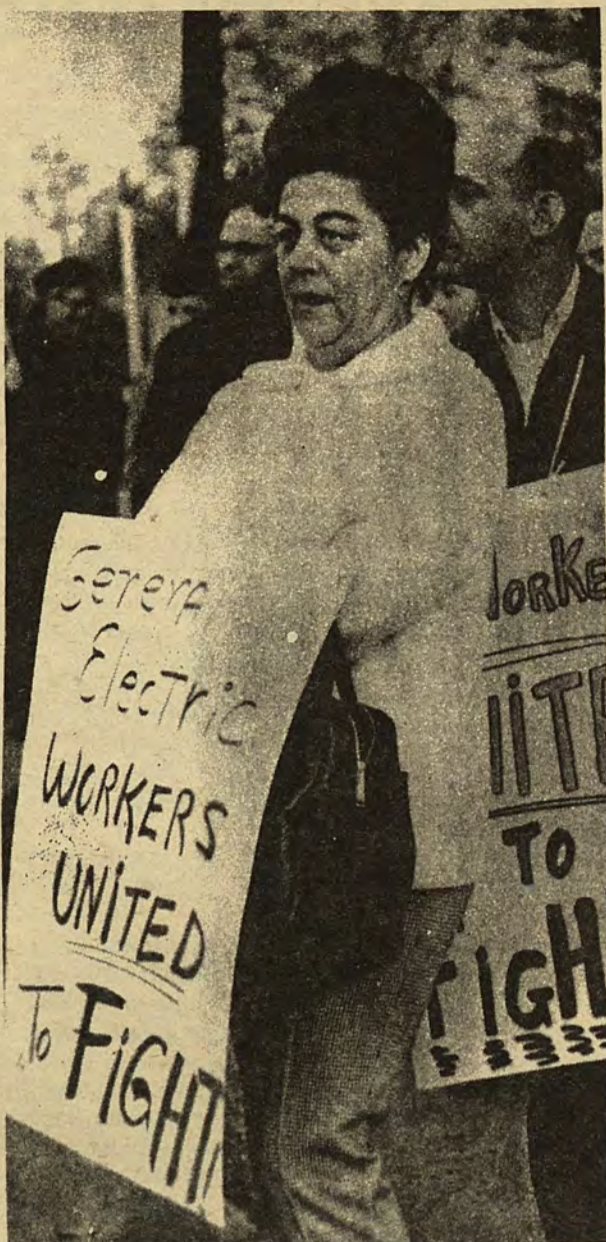
SDS. Some questions which we should think about in terms of our chapters and friends:

What is the percentage of women in the chapter? Why not more?

Do women in the chapter speak up? Do they argue about their ideas? Do they speak at rallies, demonstrations, etc.?

When there are couples: Who does the housework, cooking, etc.? Who speaks up most? Does he encourage or discourage her about struggling politically, ideologically, and physically?

Often - too often - the answers to these questions show that women are not encouraged to really get involved in fighting the ruling class, in learning and teaching ideas, etc. This does not just apply to new people in chapters, but also to people who have been involved for a while. (For instance, we know one case in which an SDSer was attacked by three Weathermen while putting up SDS posters. Three SDS women were with him, but did not help him defend himself!) When struggle with the ruling class gets sharp, there is no reason why women should not be out on the front lines fighting!! Male chauvinism robs the movement of fighters!



### Implementation

The ruling class - in this case in the form of the university - justifies this situation by saying that women are 'only secondary income earners'. That is a lie: Women work (often earning only \$60 to \$70 a week) because they have to. When they get home from work, they also have the job of taking care of their children and home. Often, a large percentage of women workers' wages goes to paying babysitters so mothers can work. This whittles the real take-home pay of many working mothers to \$30 to \$40 per week.

In addition, male chauvinist ideas are used to keep women campus workers from fighting back. The most common of these is the idea that women fighting, and particularly taking the lead in fighting, is 'unladylike'. Another is to convince men workers to look down on 'women's' jobs, and women workers. Thus the bosses can create situations in which men and women workers are divided. (For instance, at U of Chicago last year, busboys in a cafeteria wildcatted demanding free meals on the job. Women in the cafeteria resented the fact that the men were paid more than they, and the fact that the men had not consulted them about the walkout -- and they didn't walk out together. The strike was broken.) What really scares the rulers is when these ideas are overcome and the workers unite, like they did at UC hospitals in last year's wildcat strike. When that happened, the administration sent in cops, phony union officials, and everything else they had to break the strike.

In building the Campus Worker Student Alliance, we have all too often overlooked blatant cases of male chauvinist pay differentials and other practices. When we haven't overlooked them, we've been much too mild about exposing and attacking them.

### Male Chauvinism and the Content of Education

The US ruling class runs the educational system here, including colleges and universities. This means that, although they are often very subtle about it, they teach students all kinds of lies, distortions, and divisive ideas in the courses we take. Male chauvinism is part of this. Most importantly: (1) students are taught to disregard the oppression of women workers (and, of course, all workers, especially black); and (2) we are taught that women in general, including women students, are mainly for the pleas-

ure and service of men, and that they should not fight, be interested in politics, etc.

A. CWSA. SDS should take the lead in exposing and fighting male chauvinist abuses of campus workers, male chauvinist pay differentials, etc. We should closely examine the situations on our campuses, learn how male chauvinism is used, and fight it. For example, we could fight for free day care for the children of campus workers. This would be clearly in the interests of all campus workers, men and women, but would help to lift the additional burden that women workers have.

B. In Class. Instead of letting the ruling class put over its ideas unchallenged, we should be in there fighting. We should try, in class and in the papers we have to write (we have to write them anyway -- why not make them useful?), to convince other students not to accept the various ideas the ruling class is teaching them, especially male chauvinism. Also, this should not be done abstractly: we should show classmates an alternative -- fight male chauvinism, and ally with campus workers.

C. In Chapters. The question of male chauvinism should be taken up in chapters -- not just discussed in workshops every few months at NCS. This resolution and last June's resolution can be used as a basis for discussion in chapters, chapter educational meetings or workshops, special forums on the subject, etc. These discussions should also be practical, and apply the ideas to the particular campus (see A. above). In addition, chapters should figure out ways of getting more women involved in SDS activities: canvassing women's dorms, holding special meetings, etc. Women in the chapters should be encouraged to speak at rallies, etc., also.

D. SDS should make a conscious effort to struggle with independent women's liberation groups -- to show them that male chauvinism is not an accidental phenomenon, but one which has a material base and is part of the systematic oppression of the working class by the ruling class and that only by joining in struggles that strike at the heart of this oppression, such as CWSA, can women achieve true liberation.

Furthermore, SDS must adopt and implement the perspective of looking more to women for leadership in our struggles. For women, especially working women, are forced to struggle daily against their own oppression and thus tend to be experienced in struggle. We should not be fooled by seeming 'passivity' in women.

In practice, this means SDS should seek and encourage leadership from women students and workers on campus. And when we form strong practical ties with men workers and students, we should always seek to get to know their wives and girl friends, both in order to bring them into struggle and to fight male chauvinism.

Of course, these are only a few suggestions. Much more can be done. If we start taking some steps in this direction now, SDS will be a bigger, stronger force for imperialism to have to deal with in a few months!



# Fight Imperialism - Build CWSA

proposal passed at the National Council meeting

In the past year and a half, SDS has increasingly attempted to build a pro-working class student movement. We have fought against ROTC, university expansion, GE recruiters, racist hiring practices and harassment on the job, etc., in order to ally with all workers and especially campus workers. We believe that an alliance of students with workers is the only way to oppose the injustices such as the Vietnam war and racism which America's rulers inflict on the people of this country and the world. Most students hate these injustices and are increasingly coming to realize that they are not 'mistakes' committed by blundering but basically well-intentioned leaders. Rather, these injustices are the result of a system - imperialism - which uses racism and war to ensure profits for American bosses. More and more students now see through the idea that America's rulers proceed fairly, justly and democratically, and that the oppression perpetrated by these rulers can be reformed or ended by petition, appeal to their 'better judgment' or conscience, etc. These injustices cannot be fought by allying with the men who profit from them, or by students as an isolated force. Just demands can only be won by masses of students and workers allied in struggle against the ruling class.

## ALLIANCE WITH WORKERS IS THE KEY STRATEGIC QUESTION FOR THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The driving thrust of imperialism is the bosses' need to maximize profits by exploiting workers at home and abroad. One way by which the bosses ensure every last penny of profit is to divide workers to secure cheaper labor for the same job. Thus, General Electric makes extra profits off the women who receive 88¢ a day on the assembly lines in Taiwan, or off Saigonese workers who may if they are 'fortunate' be paid the legal maximum of \$1.40 a day. These bosses push racism and chauvinism among the American people to justify this special oppression of Vietnamese workers and peasants and try to mobilize American workers to attack their own living standards by fighting against the peoples of the Third World when they revolt.

In this country the bosses use the ideology that black people or women are 'inferior' to pay them less for the same work, to attack them with especially oppressive working conditions and harassment, and also to impose relatively lower wages and worse working conditions on white and male workers than they could obtain if they defeated their own racism and chauvinism and followed the militant leadership of the more oppressed. The working class in general and especially these super-exploited workers have a key strategic position. They produce the wealth and power of this society

(including the universities), and they can shut it down. In France in 1968 workers shut down that country; students were allies but could not have done that job. Imagine the force that would be exerted on the government if the present GE strike had as one of its demands: U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM NOW! NO NEGOTIATIONS!

Because these workers are most oppressed, they also fight back the most militantly, as in the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US imperialism, the black rebellions in American cities or the GE strike. These are the sharpest and most advanced struggles against American imperialism because they attack its root -- the profits (and the extra profits) which the bosses make by exploiting working people (this is true even in cases where a Vietnamese peasant fighting over the level of rent or a GE worker battling for higher wages does not see the struggle as anti-imperialistic -- but these workers can be won to see this). Since workers and especially black and third world workers have the power, are the most oppressed and are also the hardest fighters against imperialism, they are the main force for students to ally with in combatting imperialism.

## WHY DO STUDENTS NEED AN ALLIANCE WITH WORKERS?

Essentially the student movement can either ally with workers and develop as a progressive force, or remain isolated from them and die or become reactionary and directly serve the rulers. This choice is also open to the mental workers (white collar workers, teachers, welfare workers, intellectuals, etc.) whom most students become when they drop out, flunk out or graduate. For instance in the New York teachers' 'strike' of 1968, the racism of the teachers resulted in an alliance between them and the Board of Education against black workers. This reactionary alliance, however, cut the throats of the teachers. During and since the strike they have been unable to fight for better material conditions on the job, and could only do this in alliance with those same black parents and students whom they attacked. Thus, in terms of what students will do in society, and not just in terms of fighting the war and racism, they have a fundamental interest in allying with workers.

In addition, many students, especially from working class and lower-middle class backgrounds, are forced to supply cheap labor for the bosses as they go through school (for instance, at Northeastern, the co-operative education program - cooperation in producing higher profits for the bosses - results in students working three months out of every six at very low wages in the shops of the Northeastern Trustees). This material exploitation and common experience provides a further basis for masses of students to ally with work-

ers.

Finally, the colleges teach the outlook of the bosses. Students are encouraged to believe that workers have disappeared or since workers are fighting back so hard, that they are reactionary; that the oppression of black people is due to 'matriarchal family structure' rather than the bosses; that women are 'by nature' destined to be passive and confined in the home, and could never be militant; that everyone's goal in life is and should be to get ahead at the expense of others, etc. These reactionary ideas both contradict the material interests of students and mental workers, and lead in practice to very exploitative personal relations. To achieve just and healthy relations with other people, students also have an interest in defeating these ideas and allying with workers in struggle against the bosses.

## THE ROLE OF STUDENTS AND MENTAL WORKERS

Students and mental workers are not the main agency for social change, but can be very important allies to the workers by fighting GE recruiters, ROTC, supporting black rebellions, etc. Similarly, teachers can foster anti-working class ideas or as much as possible oppose them, support workers' struggles or oppose them, etc. Whether these millions of people (there are about seven million students in the US) become a pro-working class force or ally with the bosses passively or actively (as the teachers who followed Shanker did in the racist NYC walkout) is a political question of great significance. In all these struggles, the workers need to unite with the other elements of the people and isolate the main enemy -- the bosses and their lackeys. Workers as well as students need this alliance.

## ALLY WITH CAMPUS WORKERS

In the past year, the student movement has waged many pro-working class struggles (i.e. struggles which are objectively in the interest of workers). For instance, in campaigns to abolish ROTC, SDSers opposed the liberal ideology that the university is a neutral haven, too pure for such brutal secular activities as ROTC, and put forward that ROTC is bad because it serves the bosses in their attempts to suppress working people at home and abroad.

But there is a limit to how long a mass movement can sustain itself and grow by being pro-working class in the abstract and yet not building real fighting alliances with workers. This is a basic contradiction which has to be resolved if the movement is to remain progressive.

The group with whom we can now ally to implement a worker-student alliance strategy is campus workers. There are thousands of campus workers; they face the same administration/boss which students face when they combat ROTC, expansion, recruiters, etc.; they work under very oppressive conditions; and they have fought back very hard against these bosses. At North Carolina last year, masses of black workers and students fought the bosses for unionization and better conditions. Their alliance provides a path-breaking example from which all students and campus workers should learn.

Campus workers are not as crucial strategically as auto, steel, rubber and other workers in the basic industries of capitalist production. However, students cannot ally with steel workers in a mass way now. On the other hand, through a real fighting alliance with campus workers, students can tremendously increase their ties and ability to ally with other workers. For instance, at Yale, Mrs. Williams had been a welfare mother. In addition, two of the welfare mothers whose demands SDS has been supporting are former campus workers. Fighting against the racist and male chauvinist firing of Mrs. Williams and allying with campus workers tremendously strengthens SDS's capacity to get to know and ally with the mothers. Similarly, in the case of the GE strike, many relatives of campus workers in New England are on the picket line. Their knowledge that SDS seeks to ally with campus workers (their relatives) will make all the rulers' phrases about 'rowdy rich kids' out to 'destroy the university for kicks' hollow to these strikers, and deepen



their appreciation of SDS's throwing GE recruiters off campus. These workers will be much more open to forming ties with SDSers who come down to the lines. An actual fighting campus worker-student alliance provides a tremendous vehicle for developing the worker-student alliance much more broadly both now and in the future.

The campus worker-student alliance further makes possible a tremendous link-up for students between, say, fighting ROTC and the exploitation of workers which that imperialist army serves to protect. Campus worker-student alliance fully exposes the university as a racist boss -- and workers know and hate the university in a way from which students have much to learn.

Finally, real fighting ties between students and campus workers can mean the development of working class leadership for struggles against ROTC, etc., which would represent a pathbreaking achievement and defeat the student elitism ('students can do it alone!') which is one of the bad aspects of our previous pro-working-class-in-the-abstract approach.

#### FIGHTING RACISM AND MALE CHAUVINISM CRUCIAL IN BUILDING C.W.S.A.

As racism and male chauvinism are the main weapons which the rulers use to divide workers and also students at home and abroad, fighting racist and male chauvinist pay differentials, special harassment, etc., is essential in allying with workers. Unless we make fighting racism and male chauvinism the key thrust of our work, we cannot build a worker-student alliance against the bosses.

#### THE C.W.S.A. FIGHTS RACISM, MALE CHAUVINISM, AND IMPERIALISM

Many colleges employ a large percentage of non-white workers, and all use racist pay differentials or hiring practices against the workers. Fights against the racist attacks on campus workers, like the firing of Charles Bargaineer at UCLA or Mrs. Williams at Yale, or the 'painters' helper' category at Harvard or the murder (decapitation) of Charles Johnson at Columbia strike at the material basis of racism: the extra profits bosses squeeze from the especially rotten conditions black workers face. In each case, the university tried to justify actions by further building racist ideas about these black workers. Charles Bargaineer was 'lazy' (for taking his legitimate coffee break). Mrs. Williams was both an 'incompetent worker' and 'bitch' (for fighting back against the supervisor's physical attack on her). Charles Johnson was 'stupid for getting himself killed' (in an elevator the university hadn't found profitable to fix).

But we should examine these campaigns self-critically. Often we have not raised in a thorough-going way that these fights were anti-racist. We generally haven't raised the racist character of the university as boss in every fight on the side of campus workers. Where we have raised the issue of racism, we haven't done much to explain it. People think often that we are combatting the racist attitude of a particular dean or personnel director -- not that we were fighting against the way racism justifies the bosses making extra profits off black (and also white) workers. Masses of students must be won to seeing racism as a set of ideas which arises from and is used to perpetuate the keeping of non-white workers in the worst jobs at the lowest pay. As such, these racist ideas hurt all workers by dividing the working class and hindering the fight against the ruling class. If we don't take on both the ideological and material aspects of racism, we're leaving the rulers with a key weapon undamaged. We can't build mass struggles against super-exploitation without defeating racist ideas.

Like racism, male chauvinist ideas are created and perpetuated by the ruling class to justify the super-exploitation of women workers. That is, the wage differential between men and women nets the ruling class billions of dollars each year. These BILLIONS are the very root of the chauvinist ideas which especially oppress women. These ideas are also profitable to the ruling class by dividing men and women through making them believe that it isn't 'ladylike' for women to fight exploitation and even less 'ladylike' to lead the struggles against racism and imperialism.

Universities, like other bosses, use male chauvinism in hiring practices, wages, etc. Women (often black women) get the lowest paying jobs as food service workers, maids and secretaries. Usually, there is a wage differential for men and women -- even for the same jobs. At the University of Chicago one week, there was a 'help want-

ed' sign for two male workers at \$2.24/hour. Two weeks later, that sign was replaced by one for two women; same job description, different name -- at \$2.11/hour.

Secretaries (supposedly some of the 'high paid' campus workers) start at \$2.60/hour at UCLA. This is not a supplemental income which is used for 'luxuries'. Women at UCLA, and everywhere, work because they HAVE TO -- because their husbands don't make enough to support their families. Often, too, women are the sole support of families. There is one woman at UCLA who has worked as a secretary for five years and gets \$2.80/hour. She is 57 years old, a widow, and has three children to support.

We have generally overlooked the blatantly male chauvinist practices that go on day to day on campus where the issue has even been raised in a mass way. At Yale, along with racism, a vicious male chauvinist attack was made on Mrs. Williams, yet it was not raised in the CWSA campaign there. Only through attacking the male chauvinist practices on campuses in a sharp mass way, through the CWSA, can we begin to break down male chauvinist ideas in ourselves, other students, and workers. For these ideas and practices presently hold back many women workers and students and hurt the fight against imperialism.

#### BUILD A CONCRETE ALLIANCE, GET TO KNOW WORKERS

Although we've made very good progress toward developing the CWSA, we have yet to build an alliance with workers and students fighting side by side. Once we've taken the first step to get a campaign off the ground and built to an action that makes CWSA a mass issue, we have to build our friendships with the workers to the point where we plan and act together. If we don't do this, CWSA will just be all talk. Maintaining our isolation from the workers, the initial good effects of these campaigns will be reversed. Joint actions mean that workers must take the lead more and more. This may mean a less militant tactical plan in some cases, but the actions will be taken at a much higher political level.

In order to make this step towards a CWSA a reality, we'll have to get to know the workers much better. The main obstacle to doing this is us. We must defeat our timidity and anti-working class ideas and take a lot of initiative. For instance, at Radcliffe, some SDSers who work in the kitchens threw a Christmas party for the other workers there.

In making ties with workers, however, we should also defeat our own liberalism: too often we just make friends and say 'we'll support you in whatever you do'. If the anti-imperialist character of the CWSA is to be built we must struggle with workers around our politics, having faith in their ability (as well as that of students) to see the need to defeat racism, male chauvinism, and imperialism.

Building CWSA also means defeating subjectivity: on some campuses morale in SDS has become very hard to predict since it changes so quickly from day to day. After a sharp action and a sharp counter-attack at UCLA, people became demoralized. This spirit changed abruptly when 140 workers attended an administration-called meeting and took the leadership in exposing the administration's attempts to (1) 'solve' their problems with talk, (2) divide them from the students, (3) use racism to defeat them, and (4) divide the men and the women workers!!! We spend too much time thinking 'the workers won't come through' and use this lack of faith in them to justify our own weaknesses. Where we've taken a bold approach to building the CWSA we've made it a mass issue on campus and gotten to know workers.

#### GIVE LEADERSHIP TO THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Our own bad attitudes and isolation have kept us from giving more leadership to the growing numbers of people who actively oppose the war in Vietnam. In Washington on November 1st there were hundreds of thousands of potential SDSers whom we must make an effort to reach. The SDS-led demonstration at the Dept. of Labor giving anti-imperialist support to GE strikers represented a tremendous breakthrough for the anti-war movement by linking it up to the most militant struggle of US workers today. But, we haven't been doing nearly enough to fight against the war on campus. This is of major importance and our actions can and must be changed.

The Vietnamese people are waging the sharpest



Worker-student pickets cut business in half

Curtis Brothers Furniture Co. in Washington, August 1969

fight in the world against US imperialism. This fight has brought out more clearly the contradiction between imperialism and US workers (like the GE strikers whose sons are forced to fight and die while they are viciously attacked through declining real wages and deteriorating on-the-job conditions). Most students see the first part, but not the second. We should unite with them in demanding, NO NEGOTIATIONS, U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM NOW, and win them to a fuller understanding of imperialism. This means setting up anti-war committees in every chapter where we have the strength to do so and initiating agitation against the war and campaigns against ROTC, military recruiters, etc. For instance, at Fordham this fall, hundreds of students fought campus police to abolish ROTC.

In general, we have been sectarian in this regard. At Harvard, for example, we wrote a leaflet on the theme that the Cambridge Project (a computerized counterinsurgency program) serves imperialism, and made it the focus of our canvassing. The leaflet barely mentioned the war. The introductory issue of New Left Notes this fall contained an article on imperialism which only barely touched on the war. Continuing to make the same mistakes - to raise the question of imperialism without uniting with people on the war - opens the door for misleaders like McGovern, the New Mobilization or RYM -- that is, it leaves no one effectively fighting the war.

The key thing we must put forward in contrast to the New Mobe, etc., is that there should be no negotiations, because the US government has no more right to negotiate than a thief in another man's house and should get out now. Without this approach, the anti-war movement can be misled by any politician who puts forward the option of 'better negotiations' or 'faster Vietnamization' or 'more troop withdrawals'.

The war is the foremost political issue for most students. The fact that we have not reached out and united with them on this question is another example of our isolation.

#### LINK THE WAR TO OTHER ISSUES

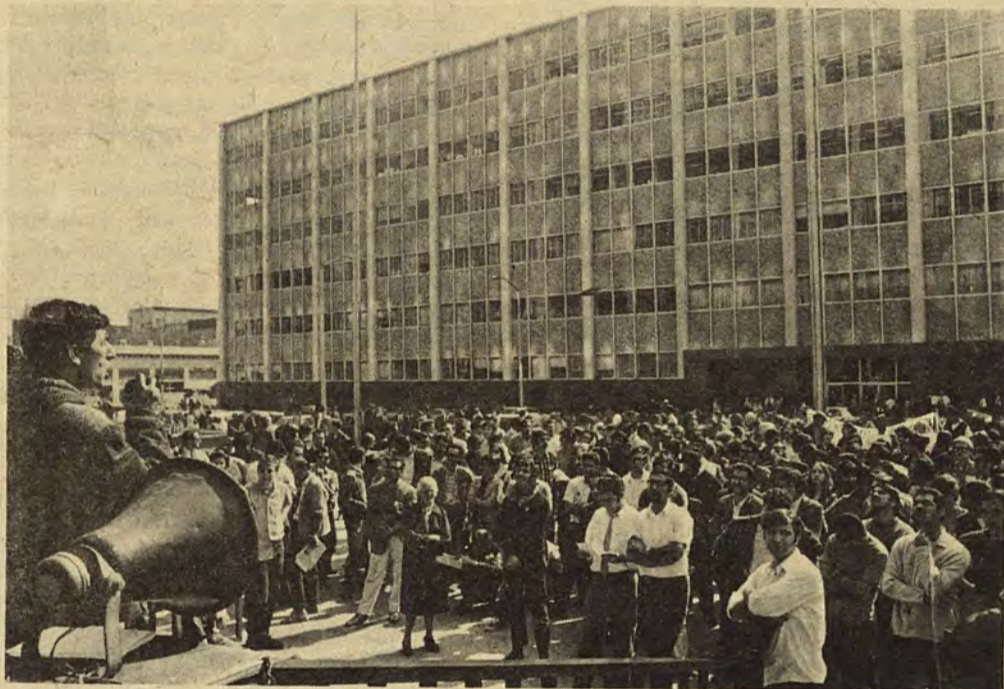
The demonstration in Washington provides us with a model for raising the issue of the war along with other issues -- in this case the GE strike. We should apply this approach on campus as SDS at Rutgers has already done, waging a struggle against ROTC and in support of campus workers. We can win people who oppose the war to see that it is a part and parcel of a whole system, US imperialism, that is based on the exploitation of working people. Linking anti-war struggles to the CWSA is a forceful and concrete way to make this point. Similarly, this link makes it much clearer that fighting the university bosses alongside of campus workers hits the very roots of imperialism and racism. Doing both should help us to deepen our ties with workers and students and launch mass struggles against the bosses!

# Win Working Class Students State-Community College Project

proposal passed at the National Council meeting

SDS is centered in the largest and most elite universities. Because of this, its appeal and base lies with middle class students. In the last couple of years, primarily because of the Progressive Labor Party, the main struggle in the movement and in SDS has been to win these students to pro-working class ideas and fighting racism. An example of the anti-working class attitudes held by students in SDS at that time was their reluctance to even agree that there was a working class. Now there is general agreement, at least in theory, that pro-working class ideas must lead in the struggle for change.

If we go along with the theory that the working class is essential in fighting imperialism, then two things become evident. First, that racism is the main contradiction in the working class. Racism is the system of economic super-exploitation of third world people; for example, the worst and lowest paying jobs, bad living conditions, and a high mortality rate of third world people. The ideology justifying these racist conditions is used to keep this system going, as we're taught that third world people are inferior, that family structure is responsible for the way third world people live, that it's 'natural' that people have racist attitudes. Ra-



cism is not innate in white working class people, they are forced to take lower wages and bad conditions too, as the racism that the ruling class pushes benefits only the ruling class. Racism is an ideology that separates white workers and students from the most militant section of the working class and student movement, and must be defeated. Second, that a strong worker-student alliance is necessary. A key aspect of this is winning, in a systematic way, more working class students to pro-working class politics and engaging them in mass struggles fighting racism and imperialism. SDS, because of anti-working class attitudes, has not clearly seen the need to expand into schools with students from working class backgrounds. If SDS does not implement the CWSA in a serious and thoroughgoing way we won't advance and will, in fact, cease to be pro-working class. Failure to implement this program in state colleges and in junior colleges will be evidence that we have failed to defeat anti-working class attitudes.

In order to be successful in building a pro-working class, anti-racist movement, it is time for the emphasis and practice to be changed from the universities to the junior colleges and state colleges; specifically, those schools with higher percentages of students with black, brown and white working class backgrounds. We also feel that the CWSA is the best way to fight racism and anti-working class attitudes. It is the best way to expose the role of schools as that of a boss by having students ally with workers in practice. Students from a working class background have a greater material basis for fighting for workers and against racism, as racism in the working class is responsible for the low wages and rotten conditions that always are present when working people are divided and hostile to each other instead of to the boss. Therefore the strategy of the CWSA, if carried out properly, will be very effective, on a long term basis, on campuses with higher percentages of students from working class backgrounds.

University students, as a rule, believe that white people in general are responsible for racism. Both these ideas are false, but they must be fought by class privileges. Ideas on racism are different among students from working class backgrounds. White working class students, as a rule, feel caught in a contradiction. They don't like the government, but fear black rebellion. We must win white working class students to support black rebellions.

## Organizing in Junior Colleges Worker-Student Alliance

In building the CWSA at Merritt College, we saw the type of divisive tactics used by the bosses to break the CWSA. Specifically, the administration at Merritt (black president Norvelle Smith) throughout the struggle allied with black nationalists to heckle speakers and 'white boy' bait at rallies. This tactic was used to build racism and defeat pro-working class politics by saying ally with color (black president Smith) rather than class (campus workers, SDS, and other students). For pointing out the role of the black president, black police science head, and black head boss in the cafeteria, the administration attacked us for being racist, and tried nationalism as a last resort to

smash the legitimate demands of campus workers and their student supporters. But we have seen that nationalism is not as strong among black workers and black working class students. The ruling class has been pushing this ideology more and more to black students from working class backgrounds. It is easier to fight this when white and black students both come from the working class. The attempts to use nationalism to divide us failed because we struggled against our own racism and brought home the common class interest of black and white students as future workers. The building of the CWSA also helped to smash the white liberal label on us because we were fighting for demands which benefitted all workers.

## Organizing in Working Class Schools is Key

This does not mean abandoning the universities. There have been many good struggles against racism fought on these campuses and will no doubt be more. But it is a reality that these universities have a smaller percentage of the student body coming from white, black and brown working class backgrounds. We realize that building a strong SDS chapter at state-community colleges is going to be a long, hard task. It is not the intention of this resolution to say it will be 'easier' to build within state-community colleges, but specific problems do exist in such schools. There are qualitative differences between them and universities. Most of the campus workers are students who produce but don't get paid for it. In many schools 50-60% of the students work full time in addition to their class loads. Most of these schools are commuter colleges and it's difficult to get people together for meetings and political work, because people live at home. There are a lot of anti-working class feelings among students with working class backgrounds, who look to school as an escape from the low wages, bad living conditions, and the certainty of military service that their parents faced.

This is a cruel joke, as 80% of the students will face these things anyway. There are also bad attitudes about allying with middle class students to fight for social change. Many working class students feel they will jeopardize what little they have by joining SDS, based on the false idea that SDSers from middle class backgrounds maintain different approaches. Trade and technical programs in state-community colleges effectively channel women into different and lower-paying occupations (like vocational nursing and dental technician jobs), while programs in skilled jobs and trades are not open to women.

Merritt SDS has found that the bad ideas taught by the ruling class are everywhere. But the perspective of most state-community college students is work. The drop out rate at most junior colleges is around 80%, and most people attending JCs come from and go back to the working class. The percentage of third world students is also much higher at JCs than at other schools. Veterans from Vietnam and other imperialistic ventures comprise a sizeable section of the student body. In short, of all college students in California, 85% of them go to junior colleges. On the other hand, most of the work in SDS is centered in the University of California university system and some state schools. Noting this, we feel that far too little emphasis has been placed on the role of working class students fighting racism in a mass struggle and that SDS is failing to reach these students with pro-working class politics.

As the student movement now stands, the vast majority of working class students have yet to be reached by pro-working class politics being waged in mass struggles. This must be changed so as to better implement the CWSA and the fight against racism. Bringing working class students into SDS and into leadership positions will greatly strengthen, stabilize, and increase our ties with working people. The time to start correcting these things is NOW!

### IMPLEMENTATION

1. SDS should set up a pilot project of building or greatly strengthening a chapter in a school with a high concentration of students from working class backgrounds, in each region. The State-Community College Project (SCCP) is to be carried on nationally but implemented on a regional basis.

A. First of all, regions should set up SCCP committees to select such a school and recruit SDSers from big schools to go to it. In selecting a school, such criteria should be considered as percentage of third world students, percentage of students from working class backgrounds, and amount of workers on campus.

B. Where there are no chapters in such schools, one should be started in the area. Where there are existing chapters, conditions should be assessed as to whether to strengthen them or start a new one.

C. The SCCP should begin immediately and a report from each region should be given at the next National Council meeting.

2. At universities, state, and community colleges where the CWSA is not one of the programs, students should still try to get part-time jobs on campus. In addition, SDSers should seek out and build ties with the many working class students in their own schools. Cafeteria and custodial jobs are best, because the majority of these workers are third world due to racism. These jobs will help us to understand the workers and their conditions better and enable us to struggle with them politically over our existing programs on campus. It is also important to get to know white workers too. This is an area which in many schools has been neglected. We cannot effectively fight racism unless we fight anti-working class attitudes, as black people are overwhelmingly workers. Friendships with campus workers should not be limited to the campus only, nor should we hold back our political viewpoints. Student workers at these jobs are more likely to be from working class backgrounds also. Whether we are working or not, these ties should be built. Racism and anti-working class attitudes cannot be fought in isolation. Build the CWSA and smash racism where it hurts the ruling class the most -- in the working class!



## Liberals (cont.)

What we see is that the democratic process is only honored when it gets big businessmen something they want, or helps them blunt the militancy of people fighting against them. The most significant way the capitalists use the Congress and electoral politics is to build the illusion that the people can end injustices in the system by fighting 'within the system'. During the militant union drives of the '30s, politicians tried to buy time for capitalism by granting co-optive reforms like Social Security. Thus many people were led to feel that they could rely on the government and the Democratic Party to serve their interests. But the New Deal was seen by the capitalists as a way of co-opting the ferocious struggles which had forced reforms, curbing the militancy of workers by bringing them back into the system, and building their faith in liberal politicians.

The same is true of the Moratorium. The past has shown that the 'democratic' process works only in the interests of the capitalists. There's no reason to trust in it now. Given the existence of a large and increasingly militant and pro-working class anti-war movement, capitalists must stem the militancy of such a movement and co-opt it. Liberal politicians can do this and at the same time advance their careers by opportunistically riding the wave of anti-war sentiment.

The Moratorium leaders do not talk about the need for struggle to get the US out of Vietnam. Instead they call groups such as SDS crazy radicals. SDS in New England led strong struggles around ROTC which affected this year a 50% drop in ROTC enrollment. The workers who are on strike against GE, the second largest war contractor in the country, are striking a tremendous blow to the warmakers, yet the Moratorium leaders fail to support them. The Moratorium leaders do not call for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, nor do they attack the US for negotiating even though the US has no right to negotiate one square inch of Vietnam.

What the leaders do not want and will not do is to expose why we're really in Vietnam. Vietnam is not a 'tragic mistake' but the logical progression of our foreign policy. US bosses have a real in-

terest in Vietnam, which is a key to US control of Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia presently offers the highest profit rate in the world (see SDS pamphlet, 'US Imperialism and Vietnam'). US industries have tens of millions of dollars already invested in Vietnam, and many more companies are moving overseas. US workers are having to pay for and fight a war which is protecting bosses' present and future profits and providing a safe place for their runaway shops. These liberal politicians do not want to expose that it is the bosses who are responsible for the war, because they are paid by the crumbs of US Imperialism. What they'd like to see is a negotiated settlement which would allow the peaceful exploitation of workers abroad to resume.

For the anti-war movement to ally with leading liberals, then, would be to make the same mistake which so hurt the labor movement thirty years ago. The labor movement's reliance on the big business-controlled government, instead of the workers' own strength and ability to fight in their own interest, allowed the bosses to curb militancy and nurture sell-out misleaders. In the same way, it would kill the anti-war movement to build liberal politicians as the solutions to a problem which capitalism has created and will continue to create (Laos, Indonesia, Venezuela).

Rather than allying with these Moratorium leaders, we must continue to clearly identify them as the enemy. We should ally with those who are hurt most by capitalism, those who have the most direct stake in fighting against the bosses. On campus, we should fight university bosses alongside campus workers. We should fight the universities' racist attacks on black workers (expansion, anti-riot courses, etc.). ROTC and pig institutes, present on many campuses, help provide bosses with the muscle needed to attack foreign workers abroad and striking workers at home. In the community we should support workers' struggles on picket lines, in high schools, etc. We should always raise our politics with students and workers and prevent people's honest anger and disaffection from being railroaded by the bosses and their political allies into pacifism and liberalism. By relying on the people and attempting to fight in their interests, we can build a movement of workers and students which really has the power to force the US out of Vietnam.



## students write from jail

The following excerpts are taken from letters written by five Boston University SDS members who served 30 day jail sentences for contempt of court. BU obtained a court injunction against any 'disruption of university activities' following two demonstrations against General Electric managers speaking at closed seminars on campus. This attempt at intimidation failed to stop a take-over of the administration building by about 75 students, in support of demands including 'No GE recruiters on campus!' Five SDS members and one member of the November Action Coalition were held on contempt of court. The liberal judge said that if they promised to be good and abide by the law and not participate in any further demonstrations, he would be very 'lenient'.

The SDS people refused to sell out to this tactic, pointing out that the courts will always work against the interests of working people. At this point, the NAC member severed his case from the others, showing his true colors. The five were given four month sentences. They have served the first month and will be on probation for the last three.

'It's terribly interesting here; the people are great -- all working class with clear conceptions of the nature of the state -- needless to say. They all know who we are and what we're doing here but find it hard to believe that they'd actually send students to jail for 30 days for demonstrating. One of the matrons told us that we should stay clear of the others because 'you never know what they've done'. I understand they would censor anything I say about the conditions of the jail so all I can say is that there's a lot that is available for censorship...

...Most of the prisoners, especially the blacks, are very receptive to our politics. I have engaged in a number of discussions around racism, crime, our society, etc. There is a guy here who is doing two years for refusing induction. He used to be a clerical worker; he never went to college. He read my textbook, Labor's Untold Story, and was very impressed by it.

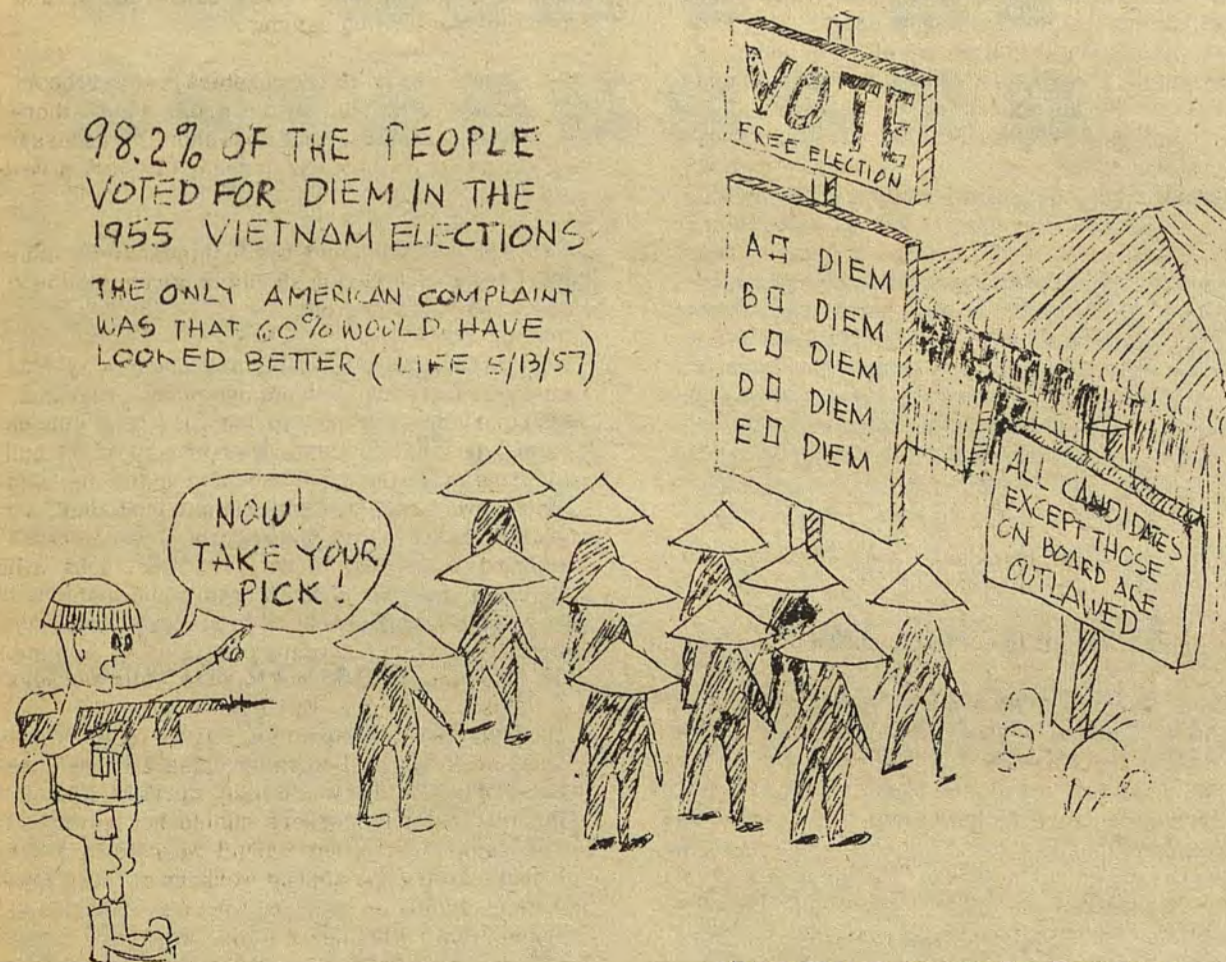
...The best part of jail is talking to the prisoners -- there are so many really good people here. The contradictions are really clear: 75% black and 100% working class prisoners -- guess who's making the law? -- the prisoners know!

...The people here have a very clear understanding of how capitalism functions. I'll leave here with an in-depth understanding of apparently unrelated things like the electronics industry in New England and the dilemma of 'non-support' that so many men and married women are caught in, etc.

## MORATORIUM SAYS DEPEND ON ELECTIONS

98.2% OF THE PEOPLE VOTED FOR DIEM IN THE 1955 VIETNAM ELECTIONS

THE ONLY AMERICAN COMPLAINT WAS THAT 60% WOULD HAVE LOOKED BETTER (LIFE 5/13/57)



From GI Newspaper 'The Last Harass'

**CWSA...**

To end our isolation this means merging our lives with those of our fellow students, most of whom live in dorms, go to classes, and spend time talking about their courses. They have many bad reasons for going as well as some good reasons. SDSers, on the other hand, usually don't go to classes for bad reasons on the excuse that other reasons are bourgeois, that we are 'too busy' doing political work, etc. Basically, this is just laziness on our part and embodies the approach of a rich kid even if we aren't. We should go to at least some of our classes, get to know other students, struggle with them about their bad reasons for going, and win them to fight the rulers.

One SDSer raised an example which indicates how harmful this approach of avoiding classes is. At one time, he got to know a working class student in one of his courses and won him to come on a demonstration. Then this SDSer became a 'full-time radical', stopped going to class, and stopped seeing this student except to approach him 'like a con-man' just before exams to get his notes. If the SDSer had gone to class once in a while, on the other hand, he would probably have won his friend to fight against the ruling class.

We should not adopt the bourgeois approach of becoming a super-student or spending our time in self-cultivation producing voluminous radical course critiques with endless footnotes. We should, however, think of ways to raise the ideology of the working class in every situation, including classes, clubs, extracurricular activities, etc., of ways to defeat bourgeois culture, including racist anthropology, reactionary literary and sociological theories, etc., in order to win more students and workers to launch mass struggle against imperialism.

It is a sign of our isolation from most students that we launch struggles against racism, imperialism, and male chauvinism without taking on clearly and directly the reactionary ideas many students hold. We must know students well enough to see the conflicting ideas or questions they have, and to raise and answer them, not just to put forward abstract analyses of super-exploitation.

**IMPLEMENTATION**

We see the condition of the Campus Worker-Student Alliance as generally positive, but a number of serious national weaknesses exist. The Students for a Democratic Society must correct these if the student movement is to progress on an anti-racist, anti-imperialist basis.

**1. SDS MUST BUILD FIGHTING ALLIANCES WITH WORKERS:**

a. While we have on many campuses started to build struggles around grievances of campus workers, we have failed to build strong ties with them and struggle with them politically to engage in joint actions. We must strengthen ties with campus workers in order to build joint worker-student actions under the leadership of campus workers to fight university bosses.

b. While agitating around CWSA issues, we have failed to explain to fellow students why an alliance with workers, especially with campus workers at this time, is crucial.

c. We must continue to stress the importance of getting and holding campus jobs.

**2. SDS MUST FIGHT RACISM:**

In our CWSA actions, our fundamental weakness has been failing to raise the issue of racist super-exploitation. Where we have raised it, we have failed to raise it sharply enough, or have not effectively explained it to the masses of students.

We must fight our own racism by building strong ties with black and Third World students and winning them to exert leadership in allying with campus workers to fight the universities' racist super-exploitation of non-whites.

We must oppose the racist attacks on the Black Panther Party which are designed to intimidate militant black workers.

**3. SDS MUST FIGHT MALE CHAUVINISM:**

SDS in all but a few exceptions has ignored the blatantly male chauvinist exploitation university bosses depend on to keep costs minimum and to divide workers. We have given lip service to defeating this super-exploitation of women and the ideology that supports it, but not taken it seriously.

We must raise the fight against male chauvinism to a mass level on every possible occasion, at the same time developing female leadership within SDS by resolutely fighting male chauvinism within the movement.

4. We must expose the nature of the colleges and universities in all their aspects. In particular since the only function of colleges and universities is to serve the ruling class by:

- a. perpetuating the ruling class's ideology (racism, male chauvinism, anti-communism, etc.)
- b. training bosses, officers and cops to oppress the working class
- c. carrying out research to strengthen this ruling class.

We must make the link between the contribution of the universities and colleges to the overall oppression of the whole working class and the material exploitation of campus workers.

**5. SDS MUST GIVE LEADERSHIP TO THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT:**

We have failed to unite with the masses of anti-war students. We have also failed in some cases to relate our campus struggles (e.g. ROTC, military recruiters, police institutes, etc.) to the struggles of campus workers and students in general. It is only in this way that we can provide strong anti-imperialist leadership to the fight for the demand: 'U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW! NO NEGOTIATIONS!'

a. Every SDS chapter should build anti-war committees to build mass struggles to abolish ROTC, stop military recruitment, and maintain steady agitation around the war (e.g. leaflets on the significance of the lottery, Song My).

b. We should build a mass understanding of the importance of an alliance with workers to fight the Viet Nam War and racism by building mass demonstrations on a regional or national basis (this spring) to support GE workers in their fight against imperialist General Electric.

c. In our discussions with campus workers, it is essential that we bring out our anti-imperialist stand and that we emphasize the relationship of workers' struggles to struggles around issues like ROTC and to the struggle of the Vietnamese; we should always strive toward building fighting alliances with workers around all of these issues.

6. In the context of these political tasks, we must end our physical isolation from fellow students by living on campus, going to classes, and fighting all contempt for fellow students.

7. We should devote ourselves to proletarianizing SDS by recognizing and acting on the major importance of building new chapters at junior and state colleges.

**U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM NOW! NO NEGOTIATIONS!**

**SMASH RACISM! DEFEAT MALE CHAUVINISM! SUPPORT G.E. WORKERS!**

**F. S. U. ADVANCES  
IN FACE OF  
REPRESSION**

by Debby Russell, Florida State U

Last March, a temporary injunction was issued outlawing any meetings of the Florida State chapter of SDS. On January 14th, the Florida State administration will go to court to make that injunction permanent. In the light of recent discussion at the National Council meeting of the importance of organizing and building SDS in the South (plus the election of a new national officer from the south), it is significant that the universities and the government are beginning to clamp down even harder than before.

**Corporations Move South -**

Why should the bosses at Florida State be so afraid of SDS? In Florida, as is the case all over the south, big corporations are moving their factories in to take advantage of the relatively cheap labor. There are very few unions in the South, and the corporations use racism constantly to divide the workers and make it harder for them to improve their conditions and their wages. Despite these conditions, however, the workers are fighting back, and the bosses know it. On campuses, both black and white students fought on the side of primarily black campus workers when the national guard was called out to break a strike at the University of North Carolina last March. At Florida State last fall, SDS supported a strike at Elberta Crate and Box Co. in Tallahassee against unsafe working conditions and low wages (\$1.60/hour is the average wage).

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The college administrators and the bosses they work for have used every weapon to try to intimidate and crush our movement. Last year, the administration denied recognition to SDS, taking away all rights of SDS to use campus facilities or hold meetings. On March 4th, 1969, 58 people were arrested when they met to hear a speech by Fred Gordon, National Education Secretary of SDS, at the University Union. Phil Sanford, a leader of the chapter, was arrested later that night when he was collecting bail money for the 58 arrested, 23 students were later charged with such offenses as collecting bail money and public profanity. Sanford was convicted of numerous charges, sentenced to 18 months in jail, and subsequently deported to his native Australia.

**Won't Be Intimidated**

This year, though our chapter has remained small, we have been working hard to reach large numbers of students through leafletting and informal meetings, talking in dorms, and talking about pro-working class ideas with them. The university is clearly aware of the dangers of a student movement allying with campus workers in its midst. Hoping for more intimidation, the administration has once again gone back to its old friends the courts to make the injunction of last Spring a permanent one. SDS members at FSU will not be intimidated by the university administration and the courts, or the big businessmen who control them both. We will continue to build ties with campus workers and fight against repression with the best weapon we have -- a strong movement that can win.



# YALE ROTC CALYPSO

by Yale Scuffle Band

Brothers and Sisters:

Some people at the New England Regional Conference suggested that we send this on in to NLN. It was written in the summer work-in on a swadger, a machine so loud that you wear earphones at it and hear yourself sing by bone conduction. The boss cannot hear you at all, which is just as well.

## THE R.O.T.C. CALYPSO

C G  
If you go to the islands or Trinidad

G C  
You'll find that things there are pretty bad

C G  
The Americans own the oil refinery

G C  
And they back up the owners with ROTC

Chorus:  
F C  
R. O. T. C.

G C  
Keepin' all the people in slavery

F C  
Whether you're black white yellow or brown,

G C  
You're gonna be glad when we shut it down

2. If you go down to Vietnam  
People kicking ass of Uncle Sam  
They've beaten the whole US Army  
And its officers trained by R.O.T.C.

chorus

3. The workers at the Newport News shipyard  
They were working too long, they were working  
too hard  
So they went out on strike, blacks in the  
vanguard  
and they had to fight scabs and the national  
guard

chorus

4. Well ROTC trains good leaders of men  
They take us into battle again and again  
So it's no surprise in the middle of attack  
When the second lieutenant gets shot in the  
back

chorus

5. Kingman Brewster says we got to keep ROTC  
for a year  
Cause our word of honor it is very dear  
People won't believe us like they really should  
If we don't train these robbers like we said  
we would

chorus

6. The ROTC man is a liberal arts graduate  
So he quotes you plato with his bayonette  
We got to civilize the Army, Mr. Reuben  
Holden\* say  
Like he used to civilize the C.I.A.

chorus

7. Now some people say it's a civil right  
To join up with ROTC and learn how to fight  
I'm not against fighting, that's not what I say  
But when I pick up a gun, I'm gonna point it  
their way

\* Reuben Holden, who answered our original call to abolish ROTC with the argument that Yale civilizes the army, is the Secretary of the University and used to recruit for the CIA. The Corporation sent him to Washington to negotiate the contract (see verse six above) but he seems to have gotten sidetracked onto the committee that recommended that colleges put a faculty committee on ROTC and the government increase payments to the students and colleges.

Any kind of calypso tune will do. They rhythm is 3-3-2. We use a steel drum somebody's uncle brought back from Jamaica, a guitar, and spoons. Wood-block might be good, or any other percussion toys you have lying around. You can probably think up lots of neat verses; two and three came from a guy in Yale SDS with no particular musical background and four came from a guy at the regional. The song needs a good verse about ghetto rebellions, and you'll also need to write verses for your local libs.

Many liberals have put forward the line that if you sing, the Blue Meanies will go away. Our experience suggests that this is not strictly true. It is true that if you sing songs with good politics, it helps organize the people to fight against Blue Meanies, as well as racism and imperialism.

We are sometimes available to help out in the New York, New England area.

Build a bass, then lay down a melody line

Then struggle like crazy.

## message from Iranian students

The National Council Meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society is now in session. The New York Chapter of the Iranian Students Association gives its warm support to your fight against U.S. Imperialism and to your alliance with the working class of the United States and with the toiling masses of the world. The Iranian students at the earliest stages of their struggle have realized that their struggle is effective only when it serves the larger struggle of the toiling masses of Iran. Our main effort in the past has been to integrate this general truth into our practice and unite with the masses of students. This is why we are engaged in an anti-imperialist, democratic and mass struggle. In the course of our effort we also realized that the struggle of our people is taking place in a world where all the exploited masses of the world are engaged in fighting against a world system of exploitation. This truth directs us to know and unite with our true allies in the world.

If we consider the main contradiction between the toiling masses of our people and Imperialism, and if we look at Imperialism as an international system of capitalism, it is natural that those forces which are the mortal enemy of this system and will finally send imperialism to its grave are in the long run the true allies of the struggle of our people. This main force in the advanced capitalist countries of the west is their working class, and in the rest of the world are workers and peasants. This analysis tells us that we should be engaged in mutual struggle with such student organizations that in practice not only in words are serving the struggle of the toiling masses of their country and the world. Another task confronting us is to know and expose such organizations as are anti-imperial-

ist in word and liberal in action. We have to point out that conservative-imperialism equals liberal-imperialism equals radical-imperialism. Their only difference is over the methods of exploitation.

It was on the basis of this analysis that we, the Iranian Students Association, joined by WSA-SDS, engaged in common actions against U.S. Imperialism and its lackey the Shah of Iran, and in support of the struggle of Vietnamese people for national liberation. Two joint demonstrations in New York, on October 18 and 21, the joint demonstration in northern California on October 21 against the Shah of Iran, and the WSA-SDS demonstration in Washington on November 15, which the Iranian Students joined, in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and in support of the GE workers' strike against their bosses are shining examples of such common action.

We hope that your National Council meeting will be successful in deepening the political line of your organization, in integrating the mass line into practice, and in building a broad student movement serving the struggle of the American working class and the toiling masses in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries against their common enemy.

Long live the struggle of the exploited masses of the world against U.S. Imperialism and its puppet regimes! Long live the featural student struggles of the world serving the struggle of the toiling masses against their oppressors! Long live the alliance of American workers and students for the overthrow of U.S. Imperialism in its heartland!



Iranian Students Association - New York Chapter

# REPORT ON NATIONAL COUNCIL

by John Pennington, National Secretary

One of the largest SDS National Council (NC) meetings ever was convened in New Haven, Dec. 27. The meeting, the first since the damaging walkout in June, showed SDS is growing despite newspaper stories about our 'death'. There are problems. But they're the problems that arise when you struggle to build a fighting, anti-imperialist anti-racist movement that allies with workers.

The ruling class did a lot to prevent it. At one big Midwestern school, we were told we could surely have the place for the NC. Then, suddenly, the deans had a change of heart. Sorry, they said. Out of the question. Why? 'Well, you'd be surprised,' one of them told us, 'what a role the Nixon administration plays in running these colleges.' That was the story at school after school. At first: 'Yes, you can have it here, no problem at all.' Then: 'Sorry, turns out it can't be done!'

But we got a place. 1000 people showed despite the rulers and a rotten snow-rain-slush storm that shut down major airports and made roads impassable. People came from San Diego, Los Angeles, Palo Alto, Providence, Tallahassee, Salt Lake City, New York, San Francisco, Chapel Hill, Boston, Iowa City, East Lansing, Chicago, Philadelphia, cities in Canada and many other places.

NCS usually have two parts. First is an education conference with panels and workshops. Then comes the actual council meeting -- usually shorter. It consists of floor debate and voting on resolutions. Votes are of course not binding on local chapters. But the meetings are an important opportunity to hash out ideas. Proposals clarify the thrust of the organization and provide a direction for the national headquarters staff and the three secretaries and other members of the National Interim Committee, which meets between NCS.

Most of the time we had workshops. Discussion focused on allying with workers -- should we, what does it mean, how is it done? With this focus, we discussed campus worker-student alliance, the war, racism, male chauvinism, culture and individualism. The outcome was a step forward. (See the main resolution passed, FIGHT IMPERIALISM, ALLY WITH CAMPUS WORKERS in this issue of NLN.)

The resolution views allying with campus workers not just as being good in itself, but as an important step in developing a much broader movement of millions of workers and students around good politics. Forging a full-scale worker-student alliance is necessary to really fight the big businessmen who run this country, to fight their oppression of workers and students, their war against the Vietnamese people, the rotten, racist, male chauvinist ideology that props their rule. Students and workers BOTH need that alliance! Students, because even those who don't drop out or go to two-year schools for the most part wind up either skilled workers or 'mental' workers, who are oppressed; because the war, which they rightly oppose, is rooted in this system; because the rotten ideas they get force-fed benefit only this system's rulers. Workers, because they produce everything and in every way get exploited, are oppressed by the thieves who own the US. This is especially true for black and women workers! Both groups need the alliance, and our experience shows it can be built.

But, like all new things, it's hard to make worker-student alliance a reality. It hasn't been done before in the U.S. The old SDS leaders - the fake-radicals who walked out at the June convention because people saw through them - bitterly opposed building this alliance. They tried to sabotage it every step. They preferred anti-worker activities. Well, the organization survived them. And it got along after they walked out. It's now stronger than ever, much more pro-working class. But that just makes the question sharper -- How do we actually begin concretely to build this alliance?

Some would say, 'Start with steel workers.' Sounds good. They're key, and the system attacks them hard. Of course, we should back their strikes, talk politics, get to know them. But with what workers can we actually, in a concrete practical

way, begin to develop that fighting movement, allied with workers against imperialism? We can't just sound good. We must do it!

Campus worker-student alliance is that beginning. We're closest to these workers. Their bosses are the same trustees who gain from ROTC, war research, anti-working class, pro-imperialist, racist courses, scab recruiters. (like GE!) and the rest. Many students are part-time campus workers themselves. Campus workers are often very much interested in political struggle at school. As the resolution argues, it's important to ally with these workers not for some abstract reason, but for the very real reason that it can be the way to begin to ally with workers on a much broader scale.

This does not - or should not - mean dropping or slighting other aspects of fighting imperialism -- around ROTC, war research and recruiters, racist courses, etc. (This is especially true around GE strike support -- which is very important politically!) This work should be expanded. Campus worker-student alliance and other political questions should be linked -- by actually joining demands in a campaign, by relating them in speeches and discussion and leaflets. An internationalist movement is what we must build! But we should see building the campus worker-student alliance as of central importance.

## INDIVIDUALISM AND CULTURE

The original draft of the campus worker-student alliance resolution began with a section on individualism and culture. This was dropped from the resolution and became a separate discussion paper during the NC. The writers felt the organization should not at this time vote on these questions, that need much more discussion.

And there was a lot of good discussion around culture and individualism. Rather than attempt to put forward my own ideas, let me present some of the questions discussed.

How complex should we relate culture - from art to attitudes - to our political work? How much, for instance, is the isolation of various chapters rooted in individualism? Is this the wrong word to use? Does its use imply some limiting of creativity? What's our estimate of psychedelic culture? Is it different from or similar to the 'get ahead quick over anybody's body' thinking commonly associated with bourgeois ideas? Is anything wrong with brief skirmishes with psychedelia? That is, whether or not hippy culture's bad, is anything wrong with an occasional puff or popped pill? How should we deal with these questions on campus? Do we have to fight selfishness to build an anti-imperialist movement? Or is this too narrow? What is bourgeois ideology? What's bourgeois about 'bourgeois art'? And, in any case, what's wrong about it?

These questions are very important for the development of the movement. I'd propose that whoever wants to write up articles (as short as possible - as soon as possible) should do so and send them to the national headquarters in Boston. We could produce a discussion booklet on these questions, possibly for the West Coast NC.

## COMBAT SECTARIANISM!

A constant theme was the need to combat sectarianism. One aspect is explaining our ideas much more fully. Thus, we've waged a number of struggles that attacked the material basis of racism and (less often) male chauvinism. This is frequently true with campus worker-student alliance struggles. We've hit the extra-sharp exploitation of non-white and women workers. But -- we've done little to explain that this IS racism and male chauvinism we're fighting, and to attack the ideas that 'justify' this specially vicious exploitation.

Another case of sectarianism has been SDS's relative inaction on the war. Most students are very concerned about fighting the war. (And they're right!) The Washington demonstration of 7500 at the Labor Department around the theme WAR-MAKER - STRIKEBREAKER - SMASH G.E.!, was an excellent beginning in reversing this sectarianism. One of the resolutions called for chapters to set up anti-war committees everywhere and be-

gin struggles against the war -- around ROTC, war recruiters and research, etc. Another resolution called for strong support for GE strikers, raising sharply the political issues around the strike, collecting food, holding demonstrations (including a still-unspecified national action). (This should definitely be spelled out at the West Coast NC in early February!)

## ORGANIZE STATE AND JUNIOR COLLEGES

In line with the pro-working class thrust of the NC, a resolution was passed calling for sharply stepping up work at state and junior colleges -- the most solidly working class schools. This has to be done very seriously at a local level. There should be much more discussion of the problems and special needs of this work, if we're going to take the approach of really doing it!

## TRANSFORMING A MOVEMENT

In general, the NC was part of the process of transforming SDS which began in a serious way on a local level several years ago. Then it was a matter of fighting deep-rooted, anti-working class leadership in order to get anything done. Now it is a question of (1) developing a real fighting alliance with workers - making the worker-student alliance a reality, and (2) figuring out what changes we have to make ourselves - in our attitudes and practice - to facilitate developing that alliance. The West Coast NC should continue these discussions, delve further into the problems and weaknesses and how to deal with them. In doing this, it should surely make use of the excellent approach adopted in New Haven of relating things to practice and stressing workshops. I should make sure to avoid an error often made. Carried away by the pro-working class character of the meeting, people sometimes 'assumed' there was no disagreement. This is mistaken -- to act on it could be very harmful. It means disregarding existing disagreements and thus preventing their clarification and, hopefully, resolution.

New Haven was an advance for SDS. But the most important advance must be made on campus. We must greatly increase our roots in the over seven million students in the U.S. The situation is better than ever to do this. For once, SDS is led by pro-, not anti-working class people. It has a clear and serious approach and program for allying with the people who built the universities and everything else -- the working class.

The National Council meeting in New Haven accepted the resignation of three national officers: Pat Forman, National Interorganizational Secretary from San Francisco State; Mike Golash, NIC member from Columbia; and Becky Reavis, NIC member from Columbia (originally U of Texas). Pat Forman made a statement which included the following: 'Since June, SDS has grown tremendously and many of its members have developed a strong and sharper commitment to building an anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement. The organization's development has been reflected in the leadership as well. Four members of the NIC... have become members of the Progressive Labor Party... The leadership of SDS should reflect its development, and certainly much new leadership has developed through recent campus struggles. To help build SDS, we feel that the NC should accept the resignation of three of its officers... and elect new officers to replace us.' (complete statement in NLN, Dec. 22, 1968)

Debby Russell from Florida State University in Tallahassee was elected National Interorganizational Secretary to replace Pat. SDS in Tallahassee has done most of its work this year supporting a strike of black workers at Elberta Crate & Box, the largest factory in Tallahassee. And all over the South black workers have increasingly been fighting back against their bosses. Also in the South black students were the first to build a massive alliance with workers on campus -- long before SDS initiated the strategy of campus worker-student alliance. Electing a national officer from the South was a clear decision to do more to build SDS there; it was a step in a pro-working class direction and a step in fighting racism.

Howard Weiner from State University of New York at Stony Brook and Laury Hammel from the University of Utah in Salt Lake City were elected to the NIC -- both are from chapters which have grown tremendously in the last year.