

Students for a Democratic Society

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sds new left notes



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Less Talk, More Action -- Fight Racism

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FIGHT RACISM



Students support Black workers in Tallahassee

BUILD NOV. 12

As Black workers have been militantly taking the lead in the fight against the bosses, there has been a real increase in the attacks on them around the country: increased police harassment in the community and the schools, and frame-ups and murders of Blacks daily in the cities. To smash Black people's militancy, the rulers of this country are trying to whip up more and more racism among whites -- teaching white working people the lie that they gain from the suffering of Blacks and lose from their rebellion. Black organizations and militant Black individuals are under sharp attack. Chris Wylie, one of the first to crack the lily-white sheet-metal trade in New York City, has been framed for armed robbery because he was organizing his fellow workers; militant workers and welfare mothers are subjected to increasing harassment; and Black Panther Party members are being framed all over the country.

encourage chapters to re-examine their programs looking for two main weaknesses: (1) not fighting racism, especially not attacking the super-exploitation of Black and other non-white campus workers (see article on page 3), and (2) being too hesitant to plan actions, especially militant ones.

Fight University Attacks on Black People

Some of the most blatant racism is manifested by universities; Black campus workers get the worst wages and the lousiest working conditions, and hiring practices are always racist. University expansion kicks working people out of their homes, and Blacks are usually the first to go and the hardest hit. ROTC and counter-insurgency are very important tools in suppressing the just rebellions of Black people. And courses indoctrinate us with racist myths like the problem with Black people is that they live in a matriarchal society -- not that they are super-exploited for immense profits by the bosses! SDS has not done enough to expose these racist practices in the past -- we must begin to make to fight against racism the major thrust of our work.

One of the best ways of beginning to do this is to fight around the concrete grievances of Black campus workers, taking those grievances to students in a mass way and really exposing the racist nature of the university. Fights around racist lay-offs, pay differentials, etc., are excellent ways of showing to masses of students the real nature of the university and fighting in the interests of Black workers. The same uni-

versities that are now pushing the Moratorium and calling for 'peace' viciously exploit and oppress their workers, especially Black and Third World workers. At Columbia, two Black workers have died as a result of university negligence during the last six months. At Cornell, militant Blacks are subject to constant racist harassment and threats of firing. And a Black woman at Merritt in California is now doing the work that five women were doing just months ago. And these aren't isolated cases...

SDS Must Fight Racism

We should be building ongoing campaigns against these and other examples of racism, campaigns that hit racism at its roots -- the super-exploitation of Black working people. On many campuses, such campaigns are being started. But almost everywhere, they have been very slow moving. Nationwide actions on Nov. 12 - as militant as we can bring off - would do a lot to change this, and put more steam into these campaigns. In addition, these actions will provide a sharp alternative to the Moratorium's policy of allying with college administration. From this point of view the Nov. 12 date - three days before the Washington march - is good. We should build the Nov. 12 actions in a big way, then bring all the people who take part in these, plus others, to Washington with us around opposition to the Moratorium/Mobilization leaders and their (college) Administration allies, and around the demand for 'No Negotiations -- US Get Out of Vietnam Now!'

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NEWS ROUNDUP

SDS Fights Urban Renewal

For the past few weeks, SDS has been involved in the struggle of four Brighton families against eviction by the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA). The families' homes were the last left standing in a working class neighborhood now completely razed to make way for high-rent apartments.

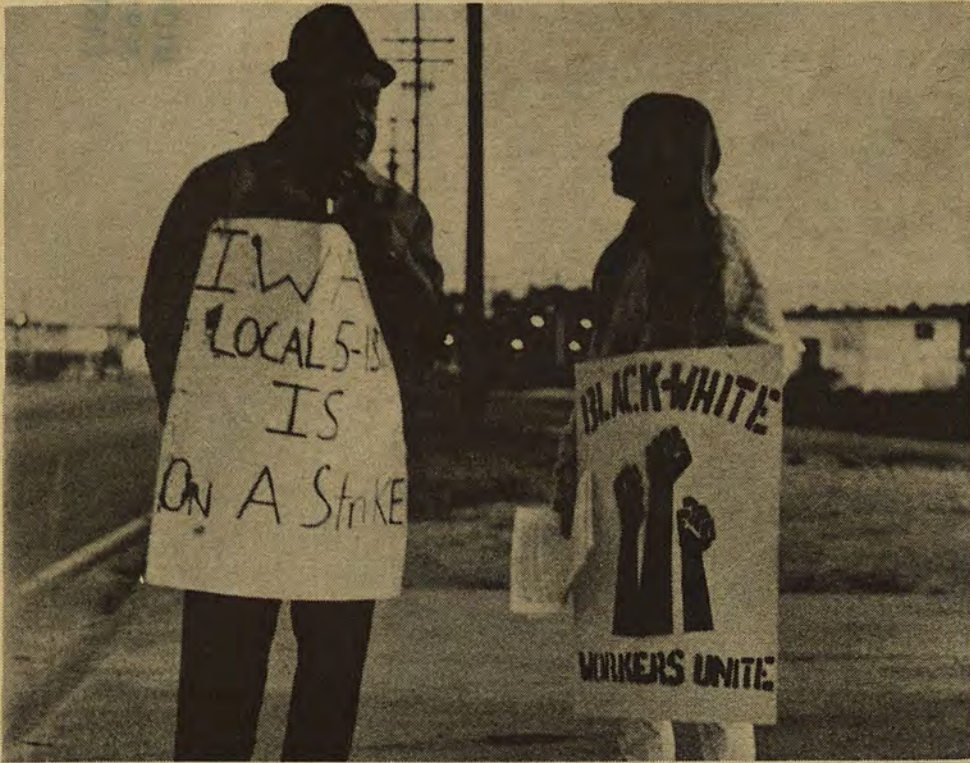
For nine years, the residents fought the BRA's deed seizures, bulldozers, and police. In 1965, when the families refused to sell to Harvard, the BRA condemned the land, seized the deeds, under law of public domain, and began eviction proceedings. The neighborhood resisted this attack, fighting for two weeks in the streets with baseball bats and guns.

We demonstrated with the tenants in front of Mayor White's home and won students to joining a picket line in front of the families' homes. On the day of the final eviction, 125 of us started a chanting picket line early in the morning. About 150 workers, including Harvard employees and striking Boston Gas Co. employees, gathered across the street. When a phalanx of 50 policemen started marching toward us, we massed in front of the doors of the houses chanting 'No evictions, stay and fight!' and 'The

BRA serves the rich'. The police charged with lowered nightsticks, arresting fourteen and dispersing the rest of us.

The BRA could not afford to lose this battle since another day's delay in construction would have meant the loss of \$5.4 million in financing for the project. But while the tenants were finally evicted, we did make ties with them and learned much more clearly the strength of an alliance of working people and students -- the charges pressed against us (unlawful assembly, a possible year in jail) and the news coverage which claimed that rents ranging from \$145 to \$285 a month made this projected development 'low income' showed us that such an alliance makes the BRA and Boston City government tremble!

Harvard--A demonstration of 100 students was held October 31 to oppose repression following the strike last year against ROTC and expansion, which kicks working people, especially Black people, out of their homes. A faculty member has been fired, one graduate student is threatened with a year in jail, and most recently Harvard is threatening to prosecute one of the students thrown out of school last year for trespassing -- coming on campus.



Students Support Tallahassee Strike

On September 3, at Tallahassee's largest factory, Elberta Crate & Box Co., the workers of the International Wood Workers Association Local 5-181 walked out. Working conditions and wages are intolerable -- \$1.60/hour average wage, no benefits, top speed on all machines, and no safety controls.

SDS organized 250 students plus several campus workers to march

from Florida State U to the factory where scabs were trying to get through the picket line. They chanted 'on strike, shut it down', had a rally of 350 where workers spoke and later along with the workers blocked the entrance to the plant. Three students were arrested for this action and a worker was injured by a scab car that rushed the line.



New York

New York City -- On September 27, 400-500 people demonstrated at the UN to get the US Out of Vietnam NOW! No Deals! After a rally at the UN, demonstrators marched up 59th Street to Columbus Circle where there was another rally. Speakers included members of SDS, Iranian students, and welfare mothers.

New York City--One hundred people picketed in front of the Waldorf Astoria against the Shah of Iran on October 18. Led by the Iranian students, demonstrators chanted 'Imperialists out of Iran', and 'Down with the Shah'. A march to the Time-Life Building to find the Shah was attacked by the police! In the process of defending themselves, four students were arrested (three Iranian students and one SDSer). Four cops were sent to the hospital!



Stony Brook

Stony Brook, N.Y. -- On Oct. 31, 200 students confronted university bosses demanding an end to cafeteria layoffs, an end to parking fees for campus workers, and an end to harassment of women employees. After a rally where complaint letters from workers were read, the group marched into the commissary, and then into the Kelly-Gruzen Cafeteria, where they fired questions at the bosses about their racist pay scales, speedup, and harassment. The bosses' lies were exposed by the students and workers who worked for them, and the bosses' attempts to weasel out were met by on the job accounts of the real situation. (A fuller account in the next issue.)

Stony Brook, N.Y. -- On Oct. 15, 300 welfare mothers and students (led by SDS) picketed and had a rally protesting the New York State welfare cuts, and demanding a better clothing allowance.

San Francisco

San Francisco -- On September 17, SDS held a mass rally and march to demonstrate support for the striking Canadian nickel workers and to begin to develop and internationalist movement in this country. The rally was held in front of the Fairmont Hotel, where the International Industrialist Conference (IIC), a quadriennial strategy planning session of international businessmen, was meeting. Speakers from the Iranian student association expressed solidarity with the continuing anti-imperialist struggle being waged in the Bay Area.

..... Chapters should make sure that they phone in what they do on Nov. 12 for the next issue of NLN.

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Build Militant Alliance With Campus Workers!

by John Pennington

The SDS National Interim Committee (NIC) met Oct. 26-27 at Columbia U., discussing campus worker-student alliance strategy, the SDS Nov. 12 anti-racism actions, and the Moratorium demonstrations Nov. 15 in Washington and San Francisco. We decided to delay New Left Notes in order to report the meeting. We thought it was both excellent and very important, especially the discussion around the campus worker - student alliance (CWSA). This article mainly talks about CWSA. The Nov. 12 and Nov. 15 demonstrations are discussed more fully elsewhere.

General Situation: Rough, but OK

SDS has been hurt, of course, by the actions the 'Revolutionary' Youth Movement splinter groups have indulged in since their minority walk-out of the SDS Chicago convention. The 'Weatherman' ('R'YM I) group (led by Mark Rudd) has made a big splash with their attacks on the people -- from a Detroit beach to Boston's English High. Since they claim to be SDS, these anti-people actions have hurt SDS and radicalism in general. The main way we've been able to distinguish ourselves from them is by our practice. (It's interesting that 'Weatherman' has concentrated a lot of its attacks on campus workers!) 'R'YM II, another 'R'YM splinter, led by Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian, has done very little. They've concentrated on allying with and carrying out the liberal politics of the Communist Party -- as at the Oakland United Front Against Fascism Conference. (See pamphlet 'Warning: 'R'YM may be Hazardous to... the People!') Meanwhile, the rulers of this country are making an all-out bid to control the anti-war movement through the Moratorium. Everywhere, big businessmen, politicians, and university administrators are calling for 'peace'. As always, they want to get the movement off the street, into a pacifist groove that disguises their role in creating Vietnam and the many other wars this system is perpetrating around the globe. Their 'peace' means a negotiated settlement involving US control of Vietnam and increasing US troops all over Asia, preparing for the possibility of war with China. Not to mention the rest of the world.

So we have a tremendous responsibility to expose these phonies, from the 'R'YM to Sen. McGovern. More important, we must continue building a movement with the ideas and practice that can lead to really changing this society. Students can't do it alone. Even if we shut down every college, that wouldn't get the US out of Vietnam. But if steel or transportation workers, for example, struck against the war, the businessmen who run things would tremble! This same class, the very rich, run universities and use them precisely to help them make money! To defeat them, students must ally with working people against our common enemy, the businessmen and their government.

CWSA — the key

A lot of people have discussed worker-student alliance for some time in SDS, but few have formed lasting friendships with workers, not to mention fighting side by side! The SDS summer work-in, three years old, was a good step. Hundreds have gotten factory jobs over the summer, facing the same boss, the same lousy pay and rotten conditions. And we've built mass campus struggles on a pro-working class basis on many campuses. But the best possibilities for building an ongoing alliance is right on campus, with those workers who face the administration as a real enemy every day.

The NIC evaluated the progress in building CWSA to date. Overall we see the situation as good -- but there's much to be done! Many SDSers have jobs on campus and know workers and stu-



Cornell SDS builds CWSA

dent employees who know we're in SDS and are interested in CWSA. At most campuses leaflets have been issued on CWSA and conditions at the school. At some schools petition campaigns have been started; rallies and demonstrations have been held. Actual working relations with campus workers have been developed at a few schools. This is all a step in the direction of initiating this new strategy. But the NIC felt that self-congratulation is clearly premature. We should self-critically evaluate the weaknesses that have hindered the work.

Some feel that CWSA is a good idea, but not the most important -- that we should do it a little along with all the other things we do: fighting ROTC, police institutes, etc. The CWSA is viewed as a sort of winter work-in. The NIC disagreed. To put it bluntly, all sorts of anti-working class ideas are being put forward by 'R'YM and others. At the same time, imperialists in liberal dress pose the Moratorium as the solution. The former says: oppose workers, they are the enemy. The latter says: ally with nice guys among the rulers, and their deans and Senators, these are your friends. In this situation, the growth of a really pro-working class movement requires forming a fighting alliance with workers. This means building the CWSA!

We should NOT 'drop' other campaigns. But it's very important that many chapters take the CWSA by the horns (so to speak) and develop the same sort of militant fights around the abuses perpetrated on campus workers that we have previously built around other issues!

This does NOT mean that CWSA itself should be devoid of anti-racist, anti-imperialist content. On the contrary, we should pick for sharpest attack examples of the RACIST oppression of campus workers. And we should link the abuse of campus workers with the government (which serves the rich, just as the universities do) on the Vietnamese. Campus workers are attacked by the same system as the Vietnamese! Thus building struggles around examples of the universities' attacks on campus workers is a very concrete way of getting these ideas out and FIGHTING that system! And exposing the university as a brutal boss will help give anti-ROTC or other struggles a much more clearly anti-racist, pro-working class thrust!

CWSAs Not Organizing Workers!

A weakness is that many have seen CWSA as students organizing workers. Thus at some campuses the demands we've raised have aimed at providing a long-range trade-union-like program, which only sustained struggle by the workers could win. Our goal can't be to organize

the workers. First, we can't do it; and second, they can do it themselves. In building the campus worker-student ALLIANCE we should begin by raising the SHARPEST EXAMPLES of oppression, win over many students, go on the offensive against the administration/boss. Seeing many students fighting on their side helps workers' organizing far more than our presenting elaborate sets of demands we can't win. This can forge a good basis for more and more trust.

Take conditions seriously

One reason we've tended to raise general points about conditions instead of singling out sharp examples as the focus for our demands is that we don't really take workers' problems seriously. At one school a worker had a heart attack due to speed-up. At another, a worker slipped on a greasy floor and was almost hurt. At another a Black worker is being harassed for militancy. (He's already been demoted.) And at another school cops are harassing the gardeners, keeping them from talking to SDSers -- not to mention each other! In each case we could have made an issue of what was happening, but haven't yet! Of course, we shouldn't just jump off, without consulting the workers. But we haven't tried, in many cases, to find out what the workers would think of our taking action; and we haven't had the perspective, therefore, of showing them it's a good idea to fight back if they disagree. If an SDSer were being harassed so he wouldn't talk to other students, we'd stay up all night arguing the importance of his or her fighting back if the person disagreed. And we'd flood the campus with leaflets the next day, at the least. And we'd really move if a faculty member were fired, especially if it were a racist firing. Do we have the same attitude toward racist oppression of WORKERS? If an SDSer were killed at a demonstration, we'd act fast. We should act as fast - and as militantly - when someone dies due to the university/boss's negligence and rotten working conditions. AND IT HAPPENS ALL THE TIME!

Too often we have said we can't ally with workers until they're 'doing something'. Most of the time the workers are doing stuff we don't know about. We won't know about these things until we talk to them and create a basis for trust. We should begin the fight with what we can learn from talking to workers we work with or any workers on campus -- especially Black workers. We don't need a 'perfect issue'. If people slip on the kitchen floor in the cafeteria and break their bones, is this so insignificant? Demand rubber mats. Discuss the leaflet and the demonstration with cafeteria workers.

(continued on p. 4)

COURTS EXPOSED IN S.F. TRIALS

by Pat Forman, Interorganizational Secretary

The strike at SF State last year saw thousands of students militantly fighting racism within the university. During the strike, every trick was used, from liberalism and co-optation to threats of failing grades and suspension, and the cops and courts were used to harass and intimidate. Over 700 people were arrested on felony or misdemeanor charges over the four and a half months of the strike. 435 of these were on one day when a rally was 'mass arrested'. Trials have been going on for the past six months; the last of the 'mass bust' trial is this week. At this point the score stands at about 55 found not guilty, 150-175 guilty of one to three misdemeanors, and about 200-250 pled guilty without a trial (and took a

deal). Sentences have ranged from 30 days suspended to one year in jail for the same charges, with probations of six months to three years. Third World students, SDSers, and PLers have been singled out for the heaviest sentences.

Much debate has taken place among the strikers as to how to relate to the courts. Some defendants, including members of the Joe Hill Caucus and Third World Liberation Front central committee people, have put forward the position that the courts are 'the man's turf' and that we should 'get off by any means necessary'. Concretely this meant hiding, denying, or lying about your politics and actions to save your own neck. This resulted in the isolation of known 'radicals' and of Third World students who couldn't hide.

SDSers, PLers and numerous other defendants put forward the position that, like the university, the courts are definitely 'the man's turf' and just like the university they are racist and anti-working class and like the university had to be attacked and exposed. We proposed that our defense should be a defense of the strike's politics, and an attack on the bogus concept of 'justice and fair trials'. Three strike leaders - Harry Dillion, John Levin, and Bridges Randall (all in PL) - were recently found guilty of three misdemeanors and given six months. All three defended themselves, attacking the class nature of the courts. They put forward the need to fight racism, defended the mass militance of the strikers, and exposed the class allegiance of the judge. Several hundred students and

community people attended the trial and saw unmistakably whose interests the courts served. The mass of repression used to try to scare us out of the movement has not and will not work. We will not deny or hide our politics. While the trial goes on, students are back on the campus building a movement to continue the attack against the racist and anti-working class nature of SF State.

Bail is desperately needed for those on bail. Please send money to: Pat Forman, 159 Wool St., San Francisco.

Nov. 12 cont.

Where we're not actively allying with Black campus workers, we should have similar actions around other anti-racist demands. We should take actions demanding the abolition of ROTC, cop institutes, expansion, counter-insurgency, etc. We might stop a particularly racist course or throw a blatantly racist recruiter off campus. The main thing is to take a bold approach and really raise in a sharp way the question of racism in struggle against the administration.

On November 12 we should also demand No Negotiations, US Get Out of Vietnam NOW! The fight against racism is a necessary part of the fight against imperialism, and big business uses racism to justify the war in Vietnam and divide us from the Vietnamese just like they use racism to justify the super-exploitation of Blacks here in the US. And this war hits Blacks hardest (something notably absent from Moratorium literature). They're 40% of US manpower in Vietnam while only 11% of US population. And 18% of the Blacks in Vietnam are killed, as opposed to 11% of whites. Blacks and whites are hurt by this war war, but racism serves to divide us and keep us from fighting against it together.

Build Nov. 12

November 12th should be a boost to the ongoing fight against racism and help give that fight a national thrust. We should take a bold approach to building actions on that day, and we should make a special effort to canvass Black students and win them to join and lead these actions (see news section on Dartmouth). On almost every campus we could have at least a rally around some aspect of the university's racism, and at many places we will be able to act sharply against these practices. Racism has become a dirty word on many campuses as liberals have spoken of 'equality' and tried to pretend it doesn't exist. We must raise the question sharply -- the racist treatment of workers on our own campuses will be hard to refute. These actions will pull the rug from under all the fake-radicals and deans, politicians, etc., who are leading the Moratorium -- especially college administrations (see article on page 5). If we seized a building saying they should recompense the widow of the Black worker they killed, they'd be hard-pressed to convince anyone they're siding with the oppressed, in Vietnam or anywhere else. And, most importantly, the fight must go beyond that one day to build a movement that continues to hit racism at its roots.

DEFEAT UNIVERSITIES' RACIST ATTACKS
ON CAMPUS WORKERS

STOP POLICE INSTITUTES FIGHT RACISM

NO NEGOTIATIONS, US OUT OF VIETNAM NOW

CWSA

(continued from p. 3)

Perhaps one might speak. A good approach in general is to ask ourselves: 'What would we do about this or that condition if it happened to US??'

Just one more example. A supervisor at one school continually and unsuccessfully propositions girls he bosses in the cafeteria. He fired and then rehired one girl who refused him particularly angrily. We could launch a campaign to get rid of that supervisor! What would our reaction have been if a dean did that to a girl in SDS?

Mass issue.

The priority, then, is to initiate mass struggles around these abuses. If we develop honest friendships with workers, being frank about our politics, these ties will be strengthened by such struggles. Workers will judge our sincerity by WHAT WE DO! By the same token, many students are interested in CWSA. But people expect something to be done, which is pretty reasonable.

The NIC felt these campaigns should be waged as attacks on the university administrators, seizing every opportunity to expose their policies and their lies. If most students knew the truth about campus workers' conditions, they would be willing to fight. If we take the fight to the administrators' offices, they will be forced to respond in some way. Some have already issued various 'statements', lying in one way or another: campus workers are really well off; they're too stupid to live decently; when they get killed on the job, it's their own fault (that comes from Columbia), etc. Some lies sound liberal, some don't pretend. All should be exposed as an attempt to cover up - just the way they've always done with Vietnam - for the fact that these administrators cover for those who profit from this misery. We should seize the initiative. Never let one of their lies go unanswered! At Columbia a good start was made. They confronted the personnel director and printed up a leaflet on his phony 'response'.

The CWSA is a good way to build new chapters. It could start with a petition campaign and leafletting, followed, perhaps, by a rally, that might culminate in a visit to the personnel director; the campaign could build from there. Where chapters are stronger, we should be able to develop a militant struggle more quickly. The main point is -- our approach must be bold! Explain how the universities lie about 'their own' workers just as they lie about ROTC, the war, police institutes, just as we are taught vast quantities of lies in our classrooms. Expose the universities, with all their lip service to equality, as having racist pay differentials and hiring prac-

tices. The universities are bosses, and they are run by businessmen to help maintain oppressive (profitable) conditions -- from Vietnam to their dining rooms!

Fight racism

The 'LESS TALK, MORE ACTION -- FIGHT RACISM!' proposal passed at the June convention put forward fighting the racist oppression of Black and Latin campus workers as a very concrete way of fighting racism. We should expose and attack racist hiring practices, pay differentials, harassment and firing of Black and Latin workers. And we should try hard to involve Black and Latin students in these struggles. Often they will take the lead -- as they have in CWSA campaigns in the south, the most militant fights in the history of the student movement. Many non-white students don't trust SDSers for a good reason -- we've been very weak on fighting racism.

At the convention we decided on nationally coordinated actions Nov. 12 against racism -- to give the fight a nationwide thrust. The NIC felt we should try (a) to make these actions part of ongoing anti-racist struggles and (b) wherever possible to single out racist attacks on campus workers. In many places, militant struggles should start sooner than the 12th; by then the struggle could be on a higher level. At others, the Nov. 12th actions might be the beginning of the struggle. Taking these actions on a national scale will help clear up what SDS stands for, will help clarify the differences between SDS and the government-liberals and their 'radical' allies who are leading the Moratorium, as well as the anti-worker 'R'YM. The university administrators all over the country who are 'shutting down' the schools for the Moratorium are the same ones who screw campus workers, keep ROTC, bring cop institutes on campus, arrange for war research, military recruiters, expand the schools into working class (especially Black) neighborhoods and all the rest. We should build Nov. 12 nationally as a serious part of our ongoing fight against racism, for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, no negotiations, and to ally with campus workers.

The NIC also felt we should organize many people to go to Washington with SDS on Nov. 15. A large SDS contingent should put forward our politics and programs, attacking the university-bosses the Moratorium is allied with, while attacking the misleaders.

Overall, then, the situation presents excellent possibilities for building SDS in a good way. How much we actually do that building depends on us. We should be bold and turn every attack on the people and ourselves around against the administrators.

CHICAGO EXPOSES RACIST ADMINISTRATION

by Tim Rowton, Chicago

This year the main problem confronting University of Chicago SDS was how to build a campus worker-student alliance. Initially we were planning to build around the demand that a Black woman hospital worker, a leader in last year's University hospital strike, get her back pay. The hospital worker, however, lacked confidence in the student movement and asked that the demand be dropped, fearing she would be fired.

It was then proposed that the primary program of SDS be a demand for free food for cafeteria workers. Many SDSers felt that this would just be 'making up an issue' and that we should just wait for some event to occur on campus such as a strike or a worker getting killed, as at Columbia. Last year the free meals issue was raised in a wildcat strike of eight busboys and a few months ago dietary workers brought it up at a union meeting, but it is true that there has been no action around this issue since then. Thus SDSers felt that workers would not get involved in this sort of a struggle and that it would be patronizing for SDS to raise it for them. Instead people felt that SDS should concentrate on the demand for a free day care center for university employees, students, and faculty. Though hardly any workers were involved in the day care center struggle after about two years of agitation around it, it was felt that the demand was important and glamorous enough so that many students would fight for it.

After much discussion people realized that in order to win a demand such as a free day care center, it was first necessary to build up a real functioning alliance between workers and students on campus. To do this SDS had to concentrate on a demand that showed students how specific workers on campus were being fiercely

exploited by the University. Not only are cafeteria workers getting shitty wages - from \$2.00 to \$2.30 per hour - but the university denies them free meals on the job, a standard practice at most restaurants. This demand is also anti-racist and anti-chauvinist since most of these workers are Black and/or women. But it is not enough that students fight abstractly for an anti-racist, anti-chauvinist and pro-working class demand; real ties must be built between campus workers and students during any struggle. Members of SDS have part-time jobs in the cafeteria, so cafeteria workers and students are in contact with each other daily. The workers have been eager to talk to us and have even circulated our petition demanding free meals among their fellow workers.

It has been the practice of SDS to play a supportive role to workers who are actively struggling around certain demands. But our experience has shown that students can raise pro-working class demands that campus workers are not actively fighting for. This will not be patronizing if SDS points out to students the past history of workers' struggles on campus and shows that the demand cannot be won without workers actively fighting for it. Instead of building the liberal, missionary 'help the poor working people' attitude in students, SDS should point out to students that workers built the university pay for the university, run the university and have more power than students to win specific demands from the university administration.

The demand for free meals has attracted widespread support. We have circulated a petition among workers and students that has already got 800 signatures after about a week. Many students with strong anti-SDS feelings have signed the petition. Also, Black students who previously were very hostile to SDS have been

One of the key tasks for SDS is base-building. If we are really trying to build a movement that will bring about change, then we must win people to our ideas and involve them in struggle. This means developing real friendships with people -- getting to know them, taking their problems seriously, and especially struggling with them politically. This approach is crucial -- especially for chapters and individuals who are isolated. If we don't go out and talk to people and get to know people outside our chapter, then we'll never build SDS into a real mass organization -- we'll just be talking to ourselves. This is a political question that determines whether or not SDS will continue to grow -- or die. This section on Base-Building, then, will be a regular feature of NLN to help develop this approach and share people's experiences in building support for SDS.

especially enthusiastic in their support of the demand. The university administration has been unable to come up with any complex, theoretical justification for not giving cafeteria workers free meals. A recent leaflet by the university administration contains such gems as: 'It is not true that University wages are low for food service workers' (i.e. Black and woman workers); and 'The apparent purpose of the untrue statements in the leaflets being circulated is to make employees feel exploited (!) and to get them to take unwise action'. We plan to reprint the administration leaflet in its entirety and put a rebuttal on the other side of it. Next Friday we will have a rally with a speech and a skit and a march to the office of the director of personnel to demand that he explain the university policy on free meals. We are confident that with the united effort of workers and students this demand can be won.

BECOME A CHAPTER CONTACT
If you would like to help us get lit. to the people in your school or chapter, CHECK "Chapter Contact" in subscription form on page seven, lower left.

PRINCETON RAISES RENTS

by Keith and Paula Cohen

Last spring Princeton University decided it could cut into the fixed fellowship income of graduate students by raising the rents of its housing by 15%. The administration was banking on the past apathy of most graduate students even toward issues that affect them directly. The hunch was wrong, though. Here were students who had to support families on incomes of between \$2400 and \$3000 a year. Those whose wives couldn't work because of children or because of visa difficulty were forced to take out maximum loans. So, when the university announced this unprecedented rent increase, there was strong sentiment against it.

The so-called leaders of a committee that served one of the two housing projects accepted the university decree without a murmur. They tried to lessen the impact of the increase by dividing it unevenly between couples without children, who could better afford it, and couples with children. This, needless to say, had won the full support of the administration. When an open meeting of all tenants was finally held (weeks after the university's dictum had been 'accepted'), three of us who live in the project and who are members of Princeton SDS joined in the cries of resentment over a plan that would completely divide the community. We pointed out that in an effort to cover over their passivity before university authority, the committee members had devised a way of creating enmity between two distinct groups of tenants

and thereby hindered any form of unity. And unity, we argued, was the key factor -- not for each individual couple's interests so much as for the benefit of the poorer students, some of whom were already on the New Jersey Food-Stamp Plan ('poverty' level) and could hardly afford the present rent, let alone an increase. We all had to rally behind these students and prevent division in the community either through the phony split increase or through other more liberal programs, such as loan promises, which the university could use to isolate the poor students and continue to maintain its landlord autocracy. We in SDS took the stand that no rent increase should be accepted or tolerated by the students and circulated a petition to that effect.

The petition, weakened by a compromise clause decrying the percentage of the increase instead of the increase itself, was nonetheless successful, being signed by over 95% of the tenants. It caused a stir in the Dean's offices and was quickly met with a barrage of conciliatory letters offering 'further deliberations' and 'special committees'.

At subsequent meetings of the tenants, new grievances were heard and greater resentment was voiced, particularly as aroused by the patronizing letters from the Dean. Perhaps the most insidious of the arguments used by the Dean's Housing Committee was that the construction unions had been winning such large increases in wages for workers that the university was no longer able to subsidize its housing. This gross perversion of who was taking whom was not only an attempt to tell students that it was the greedy, never-satisfied workers who were responsible for the rent increase but, even more

In order for SDS to grow it is vital that a good literature program be developed. Pamphlets and flyers will serve to strengthen our ideas and present these ideas to those new to the movement in a clear way. As our struggles sharpen and issues are raised in a mass way, good pamphlets will be an excellent means of presenting SDS. This is extremely important in isolated areas where SDSers have less contact with other chapters. Build a good literature program! Build SDS! Help us to produce more literature by sending your ideas and criticisms to Students for a Democratic Society, 173a Massachusetts Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115.

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THE NEWS

(continued)

Boston

Boston--On October 4th, approximately 600 to 700 people of the Boston-Cambridge area marched to the Federal Building, in Boston's Government Center, under the banner of 'No Negotiations' -- US Get Out of Vietnam Now', 'Fight University Attacks on the People', and 'Ally with Campus Workers Against University Bosses'.

Speakers at the Federal Building rally were Jay Sargeant of Boston State SDS, who spoke of American Imperialism and Imperialist Wars, Cindy Kline of the Cambridge

Peace and Freedom Party, who spoke about the Rent Control Campaign in Cambridge, and John Pennington, National Secretary of SDS, who spoke of the necessity to build a campus Worker-Student Alliance in universities throughout the country as a first step in building a pro-working class student movement.

The Radical Arts Troupe also performed a satirical skit against the ways the university deans and administrations help US imperialists oppress workers at home and abroad.

Boston March



M.I.T.

MIT--Students held a demonstration October 30 against a GE recruiter. And on October 24, MIT SDS held a rally of 60-70 students to raise the lousy wages and working conditions of workers on campus, and to threaten opposition to the return of racist supervisor Schula who had an 'accident' several months ago and broke his leg.

Dartmouth

Dartmouth -- SDSers discovered that an associate of Berkeley's Professor Jensen - by the name of Shockley - was coming to Dartmouth College to speak. These two collaborate in a 'theoretical proof that black people are genetically inferior'. A leaflet was put out exposing these racists and calling for Shockley to be shouted down. When Black students found out about the content of his planned speech from the leaflets and talking to SDSers, 40 decided to greet Shockley together. After he was introduced, the Black students, joined by several SDSers present, gave him a standing ovation that lasted for an hour. The professor got tired of waiting and left.

U Mass.

U, Mass, Amherst--Fifteen students set up a picket line when a recruiter from GE came on campus on October 30. GE is on strike nationwide, involving over 140,000 workers.



San Francisco SDS Supports Iranian Students

San Francisco -- On Tuesday, October 21, Northern California Regional of SDS joined with the Iranian Student Association (ISA) in a demonstration against the Shah of Iran -- a fascist dictator who was visiting 'friends' in this country for increased financial support of his attempts to suppress the people's movements in Iran. Over 500 people attended a rally and heard speeches by members of the ISA, Arab students and Pat Forman, SDS Inter-organizational Secretary. The three speakers continuously attacked US imperialism in Iran, Vietnam, and all over the world.



Chicago hits war, imperialism

Almost 500 people turned out in Chicago on October 4th for an SDS march around the slogan 'US Get Out of Vietnam NOW! No Deals!' Preceding the march there was a rally in Grant Park, where an SDS speaker pointed out that US imperialism is an implacable foe and that the main reason the government is negotiating is not to get out of Vietnam, but to stay there without having to fight -- after losing on the battlefield the administration is trying to win at the negotiating table.

After the skit the march began. The enthusiasm and solidarity were terrific. People had to defy the intimidating presence of scores of cops and plainclothesmen. Marchers walked along in a disciplined way,

chanting slogans all along the route to the Federal Building.

At the Federal Building another speaker pointed out that the march must be the kick-off for a continuing, building movement; after the speech, we went back to the park for workshops which were concerned with building this movement.

The march was a little smaller than most of us had hoped, yet we all felt it was a good march. Lots of new people joined SDS. New chapters were started in several schools, and small chapters grew by building the march. The demonstration was an effective presentation of SDS ideas about the war to thousands of students and workers.

The NIC voted to extend fraternal greetings to the Iranian Students Association last August; since then, SDS has co-sponsored two demonstrations with the Iranian Students Association against the Shah and US imperialism.

New Jersey

New Brunswick, N. J.--On October 15, 150 people demonstrated against the speed-up of janitors at Rutgers University. The janitors are being cut down at the New Brunswick campus so that some can be transferred to the new campus in Newark -- this means much more work for all the janitors. SDS plans to have another demonstration against this speed-up on November 12.

Columbia

Columbia University -- About 50 students confronted the racist boss of Columbia's buildings and grounds department Friday, October 17, demanding compensation for the widow of a Black worker murdered by Columbia. The worker was decapitated because Columbia refused to fix a window on the elevator shaft. Boss Monroe said that SDS knew nothing about the situation, that the window to the elevator shaft had been broken the day of the accident and there was nothing Columbia could have done. This was a blatant lie -- the fact is that the window was broken four days earlier, and everyone knew it. When various people present said that they thought Mrs. Johnson, the widow, should get a pension of \$10,000 a year, Boss Monroe replied snottily, 'Why don't you include an escalator clause for the cost of living?' The confrontation really exposed Columbia and had a tremendous effect on the students present; it was a big step in building a campus worker-student alliance.

March on November 15

On Oct. 15, the opportunist Joe Hill Caucus of San Francisco State joined with the liberal leaders of the Moratorium and took symbolic action against the war--they planted tombstones all across the campus. The Joe Hill leaders have consistently allied with liberal politicians, even though they mouth radical slogans. While Joe Hill was setting up its tombstones, SDS passed out a leaflet saying, "DON'T MOURN--ORGANIZE!!"

One of the subjects discussed in the National Interim Committee (NIC) meeting last weekend was the Moratorium and the March on Washington. The NIC concluded that it is very important for SDS to go to Washington on the 15th to raise anti-imperialist politics for two key reasons.

The first is that there will be hundreds of thousands of people at this demonstration, all against the war and fighting to get the US out of Vietnam. This is extremely good, and we should really try to unite with these people. To avoid the march simply because most of the people there don't agree with us about negotiations or the Moratorium leadership would be an arrogant approach. November 15th offers a fantastic opportunity to unite with masses of people against the war and struggle with them around our politics -- a tremendous chance to build SDS and the anti-imperialist movement!

But it would also be a serious mistake to not attack the liberal politicians and businessmen who are really behind the Moratorium. And this is the second reason why we should go to Washington. It is precisely because there are so many people against the war that the rulers are pushing the Moratorium. Politicians like Kennedy, McGovern, Harris, et al are trying to divert and mislead the anti-war movement; we have a real responsibility to expose them for what they are - liberal imperialists - and for what they are trying to do -- keep the US in Vietnam. These hacks must not be allowed to take over the movement!

The NIC felt, then, that we should try to bring as many people as possible around anti-imperialist politics (US Get Out Now--No Negotiations!) and attacking the leadership of the Moratorium. We will march under our own slogans and try to reach as many people as possible with leaflets, NLN, and talking. To this end there will be a conference the Sunday after the March, probably at American University -- for further information about the conference, call 301/945-2809. Listed below are contacts from different parts of the country who will be able to provide information about transportation, etc.

Ed Galloway 227 S. Fulton St. Baltimore, Md.	Pat Forman 159 Wool St. San Francisco, Cal.	Jared Israel 100 Antrim St. Cambridge, Mass.
Mike Golash 421 W. 118 St. New York, N.Y.	John Pennington 125 Green St. Cambridge, Mass.	Leslie Lincoln 606 Jasmine Corona del Mar, Cal.
Becky Reavis c/o Chester Wilson 703 W. 11 St. #5 Austin, Texas 78701	Alan Spector 173a Massachusetts Ave. Boston, Mass. 02115	Gordon de Marco c/o Pat Forman (see above)
David Rosoff 101 N. Quarry St. Apt. C Ithaca, N.Y. 14850	Fred Gordon 200 Columbia St. Cambridge, Mass.	Sandy Meyer 709 W. Cornelia Chicago, Ill.
		Jim Prickett 806 1/2 N. Rampart Blvd. Los Angeles, Cal.

LAST MINUTE NEWS! By telephone the N.I.C. unanimously felt that the clearest way of putting forward our ideas is to have an independent action on Nov. 15 as well as joining the "Peace" march. SDS will hold a mass militant demonstration in support of the 143,000 General Electric workers on strike around the country. G.E. workers are fighting the same big businessmen who run the government and profit from the war in Vietnam. We should ally with them against our common enemy. (The leaflet available from the N.H. will say this.) **SUPPORT THE G.E. WORKERS! NO DEALS IN VIETNAM, U.S. GET OUT NOW!**

There follows a draft of a leaflet mandated by the NIC; criticisms and suggestions should be sent to the National Headquarters immediately. Copies will be available soon at 1/2 ¢/copy for orders under 1000 and 1/4 ¢/copy for orders above 1000.

Millions of people are opposed to the war in Vietnam at this point. Many of them plan to show that opposition by marching on Washington on November 15. We think that this is terrific. But we feel that the leadership of the Moratorium - the ones who are really calling the shots, like McGovern, Harris, and factory-owner Jerome Grossman, who founded the whole thing - are attempting to manipulate this dissatisfaction and lead it down a dead end. Liberal leaders like McGovern, Kennedy, Muskie, et al, all of whom support negotiations, are attempting to smash the anti-war movement, to lead it into pacifism and phony solutions. SDS is going to Washington on the 15th to attack these phonies and their deals, and to build a movement that can really fight to get the US Out of Vietnam Now! No Negotiations!

There are two ways that opponents of America's involvement in Vietnam can view the war: either it is a 'national tragedy', or it is an in-

evitable result of a foreign policy geared to oppressing people all over the world. The bigwigs behind the Moratorium mouth the first, and their fig leaf, the Student Mobilization Committee, calls Vietnam 'Richard Nixon's war' -- as if Nixon were the sole one to blame and things would be different without him around.

Not only is this 'national tragedy' argument dead wrong, but it is also used as a cover for what the US is really doing in Vietnam. American business depends on keeping Southeast Asia and all other underdeveloped countries 'free' as a source of cheap labor (in Saigon, for example, there is a maximum wage law of \$1.40/day!) and raw materials. For big business, maintaining American presence in Vietnam is vital, not only in terms of investment there, but in terms of controlling all of Southeast Asia and discouraging other revolutionary movements.

Our involvement in Vietnam, then, is no mistake. And negotiations are simply a tactic to the same end -- continued domination of Vietnam. By painting it as a horrendous blunder, liberal politicians and businessmen hope to divert the war's opponents into meaningless struggles and not fighting.

The politicians, like the businessmen they serve, recognize the growing resentment against the war and are fighting for their lives to try to keep it 'moderate and respectable'. They fear a movement that fights imperialism, that builds concrete struggles against ROTC, racist expansion, and that allies with campus workers. The administrators who are now wholeheartedly supporting the Moratorium are the same administrators who called the cops to smash anti-ROTC campaigns all across the country. They viciously exploit and oppress campus workers, especially Black workers: two were killed at Columbia in the last six months, while now the men who run Columbia say they're for 'peace!' These rulers do not want to change the system -- they simply want to cover up the fact that they benefit from it. The Moratorium is their bid to do so.

Rather than allying with businessmen, liberal politicians, and university administrators, we think that a movement must be built that fights against them on the side of working people. It is workers who are forced to die in and pay for a war fought in the interests of the rich. Workers have both the power and the need to make change in this country. As future teachers, social workers, and clerical workers, we must have a perspective of allying with workers if we are to win anything. This alliance can most easily begin on campus where campus workers face low wages and lousy working conditions from the same enemy who oppresses students: university bosses. SDS demonstrations all over the country on Nov. 12th will step up the attack on imperialism. We will take action that will build struggles on campus against racism, especially against the special oppression of Black campus workers. At this point, when big business is pushing liberalism to smash the movement, it is crucial that we take concrete actions against university administrators.

One way to build this ongoing struggles is to attack the liberal vagueries and smokescreens of the Moratorium and the Mobilization. To do this we must go to Washington and raise anti-imperialistic politics -- DEMAND US Out of Vietnam NOW! No Negotiations! Stop University Attacks on the People! Fight Racism! Ally with Campus Workers! Go to the Moratorium with SDS -- Come to the SDS conference in Washington on Sunday, Nov. 16!



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A CRITIQUE OF CWSA

While we agree that SDS must build a pro-working class student movement, we have a number of doubts about the campus worker-student alliance program discussed in the July 30 NLN. We feel it crucial that all chapters critically evaluate the CWSA, especially since the placement (page 1) and emphasis given to the article implies that the CWSA will be SDS's major fall organizing perspective.

We understand the argument for this perspective as follows:

The summer work-in, with students getting industrial jobs, taught SDSers a lot about capitalism and workers', but this temporary experience 'has NOT led to a real alliance'. An effective alliance will be more likely to happen with campus workers -- 'the workers who are closest to us, with whom we can get jobs as students, with whom we can work most easily over a period of years... if we work ON THE JOB alongside these workers, face the same exploitation and harassment they face, take part in the daily struggles against the administration-boss, get to know their situation deeply and thoroughly.'

Although campus jobs are not strategic in the economy and do not provide as good a learning

experience as factory jobs, the CWSA will be 'a step towards developing that alliance with other sections of workers'.

In addition, 'the knowledge that students will actively support them encourages workers to fight' and breaks down workers' anti-SDS prejudices.

This approach also involves 'SDS developing roots among the more working class students' by living in the dorms and organizing part-time student workers: 'Paid miserable wages, these students HAVE to work to get through school, and the deans pressure them to scab when non-student workers strike... But if student workers were organized and fought for equalization and raising of wages, the situation would be quite different. Both groups together could shut the school down cold, winning better conditions for all.'

'The class composition of SDS itself would change as many of these students joined.'

In addition, struggles around campus workers' issues could teach other parts of the student body 'that their university is a business operation like any other'.

The CWSA also 'adds a new dimension to fighting racism', by attacking the super-exploitation of Black and Latin campus workers and

the racist attitudes of white students and campus workers. As white workers, we could talk to fellow white workers about how racism hurts all workers. And these ties would strengthen fights against ROTC and university expansion.

In general, this approach is seen as 'far more serious' and 'less sectarian' than what we've done before, and therefore 'it is especially good for a new SDS chapter to begin this way.'

Our criticisms begin with questions about many of the article's factual assertions and implications.

What students take campus jobs? Is it those who 'HAVE to work' -- i.e., the 'more working class' students? Not generally. At least, at a relatively elite campus like ours, the few white students who really have to work their way through school (as opposed to middle class kids who want to be more 'independent', supplement their allowances, etc.) usually take higher-paying jobs off campus. Taking campus jobs would hardly increase our contact with the 'more working class' students.

Who lives in the dorms? Is it the working class students? No -- at least not at universities like ours. Generally, it is the younger, middle class kids whose parents prefer them to live in the dorms -- and the dorms are quite expensive. Moreover, only about 20% of UCI students live in the dorms. The percentage is considerably smaller at many larger state universities and colleges where the housing shortage is chronic -- not to mention junior colleges that have no dorms at all.

Besides, given the premises of CWSA, why not advise that we live in communities off campus where the campus workers (and other workers) live?

Just how un-strategic are campus workers? -- especially given the prevailing WSA analysis of the unstrategic character of the campus as an arena of struggle. And in this context, how do industrial workers view campus workers? It is apparent that other sectors of the working class often see campus workers as having soft, privileged jobs. It is therefore unclear whether even a successful CWSA would provide 'a step towards developing that alliance with other sections of workers'. And what is the CONCRETE MECHANISM by which that bridge to other workers will be constructed?

How strategically placed are campus workers WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY? Aren't the faculty at least as strategic in relation to the school's products -- skilled labor power, research, etc.? The analogy with recent hospital struggles is evident: Just as doctors in municipal hospitals must break down the myth of professionalism, organize, and ally with workers and patients, so must 'professors' in diploma mills ally with workers and students to most effectively shut the place down.

How meaningful is an alliance with UNORGANIZED campus workers? The CWSA article implies that most full-time campus workers are organized, but this is hardly the case everywhere, especially at state institutions. All we can do here, as students OR AS PART-TIME WORKERS, is to point out the benefits of unionization and tell the workers how to contact a union. They must organize themselves.

The major benefits to be gained from getting campus jobs -- being close to the lives and struggles of campus workers, talking to the white workers about racism, etc. -- are inevitably based on the PRESUMPTION THAT FULL-TIME WORKERS WILL VIEW THE PART-TIME STUDENT-WORKERS AS FELLOW WORKERS. But it is our contention that this is not the case. On our campus, many low-paid workers resent the part-time student workers, who they think get better hourly wages (this is actually seldom true), who take jobs away from the full-timers, and who, the regular workers say, are often 'long-hair hippies who are always high', just 'doing their thing' for a short while, not caring about the full-timers and having no use for labor solidarity.

Basically, student workers are viewed as STUDENTS, not as WORKERS. On campuses like ours at least, we think this is usually a correct

A FOUL WIND IN CHICAGO

by Sandy Meyer, NIC

The 'weather' in Chicago has been overblown lately. Between October 8th and 11th, the Weatherman faction of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), the group that walked out of SDS at the June convention, held their 'National Action' to 'Bring the War Home'. Built for all over the country under slogans like 'The Days of Rage' and 'The Time is Right for Fighting in the Streets', this demonstration -- like their earlier ones in Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Boston (see NLN, Vol. 5, #4, Sept. 20) -- was a planned attack on the people -- cab drivers' windows were smashed and several people, including a Black doorman, were beaten up (for the simple reason that they were on the street).

However, there were only 300 people involved in this 'national' action. Not surprising -- it is pretty difficult to bring too many people to a demonstration around the politics of the Weathermen. Supposedly anti-imperialist, their analysis is really anti-people -- they see working people in the US as benefiting from the oppression of people in the Third World. Since the people, then, are the oppressors and will never fight against something that gives them a privileged position, you must 'fight the people' in order to win them over (see Bill Ayers' article in the scab New Left Notes, 12 Sept. 69). In fact, during the entire three days of the Chicago action, no mention was ever made of the war in Vietnam and how big business profits from it in particular and from the exploitation and oppression of masses of people at home and abroad. No longer is the small (0.5%) group of big businessmen who own the country the main enemy, the ones we should fight -- instead, we should run 'wild in the streets' attacking the people most hurt by the system and with whom SDS is trying to

But the most important lessons we can learn from their national action is the class nature of the news media and the government. On the first night 'in the streets' the police waited a full half-hour before even trying to stop the small crowd. By the following morning it became obvious what the government's strategy was. All the papers had bold headlines of 'SDS's' rampage complete with pages of pictures of smashed windows, etc.

Though the size and intensity of the action

was far smaller than the actions at the Democratic Convention in 1968, the press made it seem as if a major war had been fought. It was a two-pronged attack on the movement. First, make it clear that Weatherman is SDS; then whip up enough fear in working people and students that this is what SDS is all about. In short, discredit, isolate, and smash a growing anti-imperialist movement. The press was relentless. By the second night only a handful showed up at Weatherman's rally and stayed briefly until it rained. Yet the radio stations carried ten minute reports on the order of 'Where is SDS at this moment?'. You would have thought you were in an occupied city. The final act of the play was yet to unfold. SDS held a press conference denouncing Weatherman (for attacking the people) and said that SDS was trying to build a pro-working class student movement. We talked about our program and how we felt that Weatherman and the press totally distorted the concept of militancy. Yet what was printed was that we opposed Weatherman's 'violence'. We made it clear that we thought violence and militancy were important when used by masses of people fighting against their oppressors. Of course, the press applauded us as the pacifists, not the 'militant faction'.

Furthermore, the trump card was now being played. By the end of the three days the media's emphasis shifted to how the 'reckless Left' was now finished and that the 'responsible Left' would be heard at the Moratorium! (No, they didn't miss a trick.) Build the liberal imperialists like McCarthy, make the people think that once again the radical white knights of the government were really leading the struggle against imperialism and racism. So October 8-11 was not only an attack on SDS and the whole student movement, but it also set the stage for the ruling class to slide in their liberal worms to mislead the movement into 'reasonable' (read pro-imperialist) alternatives. (See SDS flyer, 'The Moratorium is a Cover, Not a Solution'.)

Build SDS --

Sell NLN!

CONFRONTATIONS (COMING) IN CAROLINA

Dining room dialecticians, convention floor theoreticians and ideologues of the library carrel from every point on the national spectrum should be watching the north central region of North Carolina this fall with a great deal of interest.

The state, which saw the first armed resistance to modern American racism led by Robert Williams of Monroe, the first sit-in demonstrations opposing racial discrimination in Greensboro and the first massive armed resistance to a campus invasion at North Carolina A & T, will likely witness some equally instructive developments in the area of on-campus worker-student alliances.

Duke

Duke University is the largest single employer in Durham, a city of over 100,000. The men who run the private university also run the business of the state of North Carolina and much of the Southeast. Major interests represented on the board of trustees include textiles, tobacco, furniture, and the ruling (Methodist) church. Included, incidentally, are Ford Motor Company's top union buster and a U.S. Senator. Financially, the University is most intimately connected with Duke Power Company, the largest utility in both Carolinas.

Were Duke forced to pay its workers a decent living wage and begin outlawing racism, the Durham business and governmental community would be forced to do the same. Were Duke to recognize the right of workers to bargain collectively, those workers in factories owned by the trustees might begin demanding the same rights. As a quick perusal of the list of NLRB convictions for brutal unfair labor practices in these same factories might indicate, the Duke trustees have no intention of letting that happen. In April 1968, following the assassination of Martin Luther King, 250 students and professors occupied the University President's house and over one-third of the student body and ten per cent of the faculty then brought the University to a halt for over a week by boycotting classes and camping out on the main quadrangle -- all in support of union recognition and higher wages for the striking non-academic workers.

Recognizing this threat for what it was, the major trustees flew into Durham from around the state and nation to negotiate directly with workers and students. A financial settlement was offered along with de facto recognition. The workers accepted, went back and asked the students to do the same. A phrase in the financial settlement to which most paid little attention read 'should funds be available'. July 30, 1969 was the date agreed upon for the final minimal hourly raise, from \$1.60 to \$1.80. When the July 30 deadline came without full coverage, the University blithely announced that it didn't have the money, and so would not honor its agreement. Further, they stated that they had no intention of making up the difference from July 30 when the money finally did become available. The Duke workers are already distressed, as will be, no doubt, the liberal students who participated in the peaceful April 1968 vigil.

North Carolina

The position of the University of North Carolina as it relates to the city of Chapel Hill and the state of North Carolina is similar. The much smaller city of Chapel Hill completely revolves around the University. Liberal faculty members and administrators were able to elect the first Negro mayor of a predominantly white Southern city since Reconstruction. It is bitterly ironic that the man they elected was at the time employed as the head union buster for Duke's non-academic workers. He has since been hired to teach at UNC, completing the co-optation.

Just as those who sit on Duke's board run

by Mark Pinsky of the protean/RADISH

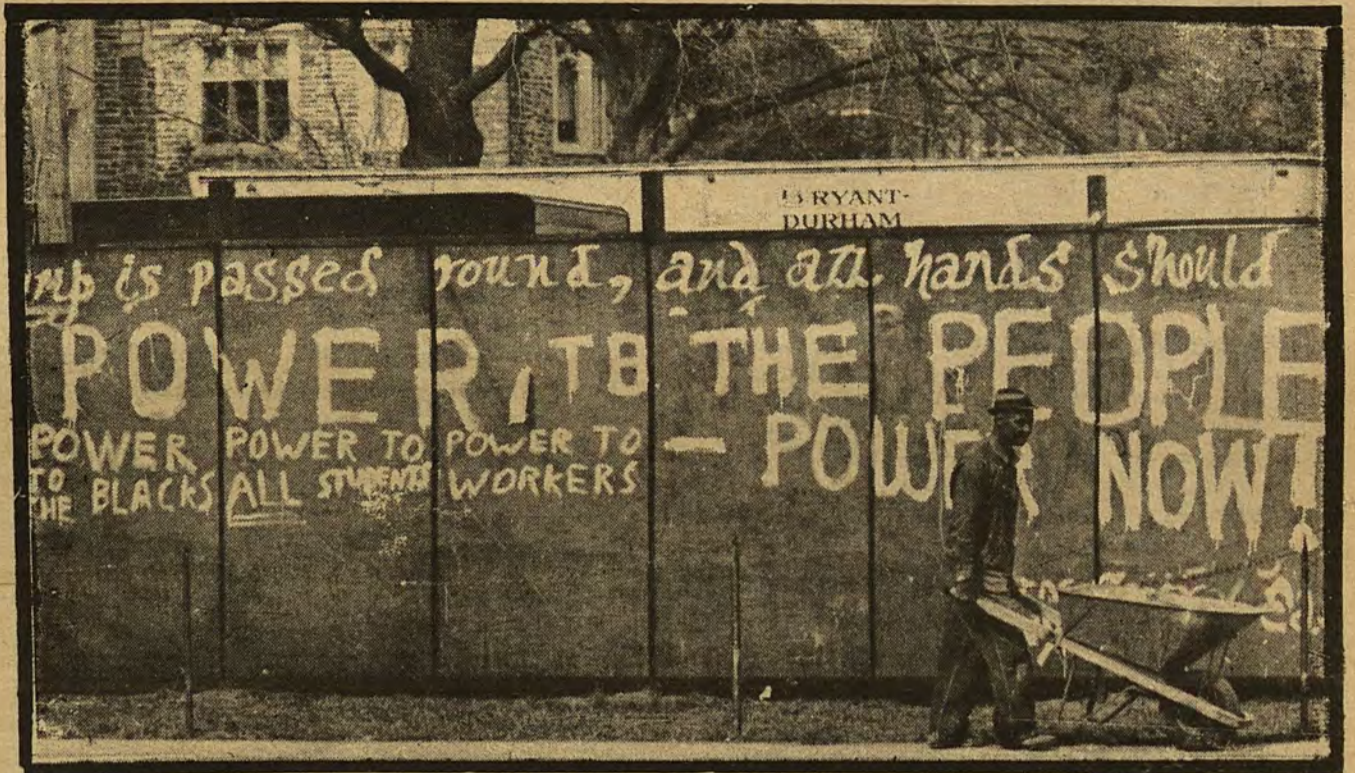


photo by bill boyarsky

business of the state, those who sit on the board of the Consolidated University of North Carolina control the government. All members are appointed by the Governor. And as all of UNC's non-academic workers are state employees, any minimal gains (financial or organizational) must be transferable to all other state employees.

The workers' struggle at UNC came in the form of a cafeteria workers' strike last February. The conditions under which they were suffering were so shocking that even the most conservative students were outraged: brazenly racist supervisors, arbitrary withholding of pay, refusal to clock overtime work, and so on. Only one dining hall on the vast campus was able to remain open after the walkout and student boycott, and that required many student scabs. Students and faculty set up a picket line outside, beginning each morning at 6:00 outside, and groups of students went in periodically to slow things down inside. About this time, Black students at Duke nine miles away seized the administration building and A & T in Greensboro was about to explode.

Radicals and liberals on the UNC campus were united around not introducing any other demands into the struggle. This made it impossible for a time for the administration to talk about anything but the 'clean' issue of labor versus management -- and there was passive sympathy among a distinct majority of students and faculty on the campus. The Chancellor of the Chapel Hill campus publicly begged the governor to refrain from bringing in the national guard or state police. However, when fist fights broke out between students (Black and white) and scabs, 150 riot equipped state troopers were brought on campus and national guard units were sent to the nearby Durham armory. This exposed the Chancellor to any who thought he was taking the workers' side. And the leading liberals and moderates jumped to blame the more militant Black and white students -- rather than the administration and the state.

When labor department investigators from the state and federal government made a preliminary study under the guns of the troopers, they found the state in such an obviously criminal position that they offered a complete settlement on the spot and pleaded with the workers' attorneys not to file suit against the state in federal court. At that point, the Governor looked even worse than the Chancellor, and the moderate-liberal students went home in June feeling all warm inside. But over the summer, the University has sold the food service concession to a private firm. SAGA foods (refusing to reveal the details of the contract), which has assumed from the

state all financial responsibility. As yet, SAGA has not made good back pay obligations and has begun laying off full-time workers with substantial seniority and money owed them, replacing them with part-time student workers. The workers almost walked out on SAGA this summer but decided to wait until the students return in the fall. The liberals are likely to be a bit chagrined.

A critical factor, at least in the coming struggle at Duke, and certainly for the national movement, is the possibility of participation of white, non-academic workers. Here, white skin privilege is a live and visible issue. Eighty per cent of the non-academic workers are Black. Most are not permitted a forty hour work week, and many are laid off during the summer months. The whites, conversely, have at least forty hour weeks, supervisory positions and are carried on the payroll throughout the summer. Recently, they have become more and more aware of their economic exploitation, though not yet as it is a function of the traditional racism of the South. Staff people from ACT, one of the dozen or so white working class projects going on in the nation, have come to the campus from downtown Durham and are hoping that the Black workers do not move before the whites are ready to go out with them. This, they maintain, is a real and viable possibility if they can have until winter. In the massive Duke Medical Center, nurses' discontent over working conditions (two supervisors have already been fired) has reached the point where favorable contacts are being made between them and the Black orderlies, ward clerks and nurses' aids.

* * *

He wrote that each revolutionary struggle writes its own blueprint -- usually as it goes along. Radicals from Duke and UNC will soon be returning to their campuses after one of the most successful statewide summer work-ins in the country. Others will be returning with the experiences of work at Forts Bragg and Jackson, Camp Lejeune and Cherry Point. Still more have been working in their own home communities. All have no doubt followed the painful summer on the national scene with a vaguely surrealistic feeling. For while there are national members of SDS, WSA, RYM 1, RYM 2, ISC, YSA, die-hard SSOC, and many independents, they know from experience that in the South revolutionaries must all hang together or surely be hung separately. The whole movement will be watching.

Mr. Pinsky asks NLN to mention that subscriptions to the protean/RADISH, 'North Carolina's radical independent weekly', are available at \$7.00/year at Box 202, Chapel Hill, N.C.

The Week Of June 16

by Steve Fraser, Philadelphia Labor Committee

A few short years ago the mighty Rooseveltian political edifice stood in unshakeable command of government and economy. Radical malcontents barely survived on the fringes of politics -- as more or less despised clowns and lunatics.

A lot's changed. On June 16th, 6% of NYC's voting age new left anarchists, equivalent to SDS graduates, living on the edge of insanity, voted to secede from the union. 11%, residents of the nation's leading cesspool, hoping to make New York a three-team town once again, opted for their favorite sports columnist to run a city near collapse. Another one-third of a once proud, monolithic Democratic machine, in a fit of neurotic nostalgia for a past period of economic stability, social sanity and the Brooklyn Dodgers, selected a gruelbrained Bob Wagner (who'd have trouble as Mayor of a cemetery) as the 'people's choice'. While brainless Bob blamed New York on fellow lib Lindsay, Herman Badillo claimed it was all an emotional problem, recommended mass psychiatric care and took his slice of the liberal electorate, shifting ultra-liberal real estate speculator Scheuer in the process. By the 17th, the liberal edifice lay in tatters. A collection of embittered clawing clowns walked off with the shreds of the two major parties, while 'backlash' Marchi and 'violence in the streets' Proccacino caucused with the radical-conservative machine, emerging as the legitimate heirs of a shattered liberalism.

On the 18th, the extreme left-wing of the liberal constellation convened in Chicago. By the 20th, as if on cue from its more respectable elders in New York, it split in half. Despite a common commitment to the liberal cause celebre (the Second Crusade Against Racism) a copyright dispute over the Red Book and related theological matters merely mystified reflected hardening divisions in the real world. The ethnics retreated to the Northside, while the paler proles wrapped up proceedings in the imperial flag of Poland at the Coliseum. We're all to meet again at opposite ends of the next picket line.

That same infamous week, while liberal politicians practiced escallotio on one another, a group of men with a somewhat less limited outlook sat down together in Copenhagen to discuss the immanent collapse of world capitalism. This confab of central bankers, called to bemoan the most recent threat to world monetary stability - the run to the Deutschmark - issued expected platitudes about the long-run soundness of capitalist finance, simultaneous with plunging stock prices and soaring interest rates. Such rituals now occur with quarterly regularity. Aside from ephemeral paper gold proposals, an austerity policy was the only real course agreed upon by these financial ruling circles to avert the newest threatened monetary explosion.

Austerity is the secret of the week of June 16th. It is an economic policy absolutely incompatible with the maintenance of liberal consensus political hegemony. Austerity is wage-cutting, union busting and tax increases combined with drastic cutbacks in all essential public services -- the Lindsay Plan. Liberalism is a system of rulership based on delivering substantial, if limited, material co-optative concessions to at least several layers of the population simultaneously. The two simply do not mix.

The June 16th primary registered the social and moral crisis energized by this economic decay. Under pressure of rising taxation and reduced services, the cry of 'Every man for himself' has been loud across the country. Welfare recipients campaign, in effect, for cuts in school budgets for their own children. In numerous, if little press-reported instances, Puerto Rican and Black community groups have been at one another's throats over the pettiest issues of funding. Meanwhile, white wage-earners try to get 'welfare chislers' off their backs insisting that City Hall - their enemy - line up with them in massive repression of the ghettos.

The basic problems of the U.S. economy as an economy are inflation, underemployment, low wage rates, shortages of housing, hospitals, schools, etc. All of these problems together have only one solution. We have sufficient wealth be-

ing poured down the sinkholes of war and aerospace production, real estate, industrial and government stock and bond speculation, bureaucracy and other criminal practices to create enough new productive jobs to begin meeting all of the outstanding material and related needs of the working and unemployed population. To accomplish this means appropriating banking and corporate incomes presently invested in waste.

The common crisis of liberals and radicals lies right there. Liberals can offer only a palliative distribution of the new income available within the terms of the capitalist system; they can offer nothing the instant that remedies demand an assault on the essential privileges of capitalist finance. Radicals, free of constraints imposed by ties to business and finance, need not shy away from such an attack. Nevertheless, the programs submitted by SDS anarchists (even at the most 'revolutionary' fringes), PL, etc. are nothing more than a more radical version of Mailer's recipe -- more power (an illusion) to local popular groupings. Shades of Port Huron.

Leading tendencies in SDS were no more able to stay together than the warring clowns in the liberal camp. Viewpoints adopted were similarly parochial. Goods are scarce. Grab what you can for you and your own, no matter who you knife to get it. Admit blacks. Refuse whites. Hire blacks. Fire whites. Only PL's trade-union attachments protect it from the more extreme scabbing phases of anarchist politics, although the party's Promethean efforts to take all sides in essentially intra-class disputes is more sad than amusing. Parochialism stamps both camps. It's a tight situation. Time for revolutionaries to declare which side they're on. Blacks or whites? Employed or unemployed? Tax-payer or welfare recipient? Only fascist demagoguery stands a chance of holding that kind of mess together.

The dissolution of the two-party system, now being acted out in NYC, already considerably advanced in Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, demands an immediate, appropriate response from left-radicals and socialists.

The Philadelphia Labor Committee launched a councilmanic campaign, a month and a half ago, running from a district that combines black and white working class areas of the city.

Recent Philadelphia government policy has combined uninterrupted tax increases with cutbacks in all essential services joined to a 'divide and conquer' method of governing. A seething mass of angry competing interest groups now best describes Philadelphia politics. In May white tax-payers outvoted blacks, defeating a \$90 million school bond issue. Most recently, the Philadelphia building trades unions vowed to take on the whole ruling class (PL, too, if it chooses to join the fray) plus the unemployed in an effort to stop the 'Philadelphia Plan' - otherwise known among 'revolutionaries' as preferential hiring.

While workers feast on one another, to the Mayor's delight, his regime has managed a 50% wage-tax increase, a 25% increase in debt-service and a threat to shut the schools next April.

The platform of the Alliance (our newly formed political party) includes the obvious, 100,000 low-rent housing units, 33 new schools, thousands of well-paying, productive jobs rebuilding a city turned junkpile, \$100 minimum wage with escalator clause, Adequate health, welfare, and transportation budgets, Repeal of the Wage Tax.

Is it possible to have an economic plank in a Philadelphia election campaign that makes those proposals feasible? Absolutely. There is an accessible and massive source of funds (up to \$400 million worth) available to the Philadelphia budget without taxing working people a nickel more and without taking away a penny from useful investments or other expenditures: real estate income. A second major source of funds is the hundreds of millions now being poured out annually in debt-service to bankers through bondings of the city government and various public authorities. Punitive tax rates on several forms of extortionate consumer credit income would add hundreds of millions to tax revenues. Rhetoric about power, local control and self-determination to the contrary, the candidate/movement who does not propose to attack such sources of revenues is

During the racist Shanker-led teachers' walkout in New York City, the New York/Philadelphia Labor Committee was consistently warned not to use the name SDS in its support of Shanker. After all warnings were ignored, and finally after Shanker went on TV and thanked 'SDS' for its support, the Ann Arbor National Council voted 150-1 to forbid the Labor Committee to use the name SDS.

refusing to offer the oppressed in this city a nickel's worth of improvements in matters such as housing, medical facilities, education, mass transit, expanded jobs, etc.

Specimens offered by the major parties have turned out to be insufferable mental invalids. Our campaign has served, first of all, to expose their bottomless political bankruptcy, their shameless political senility. They have yet to appear in public.

There's also a poisonous independent Democrat in the race (the Urban Action Party), Thomas Gilhool, who sports connections to the OEO, various counter-insurgency community organizing 'militants' and the liberal fraction ruling financiers -- especially social registrant Richardson Dilworth, President of the Board of Education and various banks. He is of course an heroic anti-racist-tribune of the people and unfortunately enjoys substantial support among sophomoric moralizers on the left. His politics are predictably puerile. Nevertheless he's dangerous. He's a spoiler whose real purpose is to split off fractions from the old machine and connect them to semi-independent movements among race-guilt ridden college youth and foundation-funded local control heroes in the black community. Success for him means a new political coalition combining tax and investment policies in the interests of ruling financiers with a showy display of rhetoric aimed at the most oppressed. That's the required political amalgam for a serious attack on the wage levels and job rights of the organized employed. Naturally, at various debates, rallies, etc., we've attacked him unmercifully. Therefore:

Last April, four members of the Labor Committee were arrested in a 'bomb-plot' frame. We were merely engaged in organizing a movement of high school and college youth along with working people fighting for housing, education and job opportunities financed at the expense of leading corporate and financial institutions. For such innocent activity we were jailed. The city's wise men imagined that would finish us. Our Council campaign, however, presented annoying evidence to the contrary. Filing nearly triple the number of signatures required for a ballot spot proved simply too much for the demi-wits in City Hall.

On October 3 they did it again. Our candidate turned out to be a cop. People familiar with Bolshevik and other left histories should not be too astonished. He testified in court that despite the presence of literally dozens of witnesses, he never agreed to run, that he never signed his name to various official documents, etc. We were promptly disqualified and now face criminal fraud charges.

Who's responsible? The Ruling Class, of course. But now we must name them. Gilhool unofficially brought the charges. The city's independent, liberal newspaper printed them. A close Gilhool adviser, Black Revolutionary Jim Williams, last April accused the Labor Committee of handing out molotov cocktail pamphlets in the ghetto. He was fronting for Dilworth and assorted real estate speculators who we had the audacity to attack. Like Gilhool, he was applauded by Crow Jim leftists suffering from brain leprosy. The conspiracy also includes the Mayor, and an election official of his who deliberately perjured himself at the disqualification hearing.

This is the most unexampled display of hypocrisy, cynicism, spinelessness, venality, double-dealing pass the buck political paralysis since Caligula abdicated in favor of his horse. These gentlemen have problems. What they seem absolutely unable to comprehend is that the Labor Committee is 'racist', 'counter-revolutionary', and other niceties they should find most pleasant. Alas they failed to pick up droppings from numerous left publications. Instead they persist in fearing that the kind of programmatic alternatives offered by the Labor Committee threaten to result in a mass, city-wide fighting movement, uniting students, trade-unionists and ghetto oppressed -- a movement powerful enough to replace them. Indeed, they actually imagined they saw such horror emerging from the Labor Committee campaign. Is not such paranoia laughable?

SDS Conference in South

by Becky Reavis NIC

view. Seen in this light, it becomes questionable whether the CWSA can best be built by SDSers from the position of part-time student workers. Was it from that position that last year's struggles at Duke and UNC were built? The CWSA article implies that it was not, that students supported the struggle of workers as student, not as fellow workers.

Despite protestations to the contrary, we think the CWSA proposal is an impatient attempt to find a short cut to a solid working-class based anti-capitalist movement in this country. It attempts to thrust student radicals into an impossible dual role. Neither fish nor fowl, neither worker nor student, conducting a year-round work-in and having little time left to organize students, the hapless SDS part-time worker would seldom succeed in organizing in either area.

The CWSA proponents should keep in mind the crucial point made by the SDS WORK-IN 1968 pamphlet and by WSAers time and time again -- 'the main emphasis of Work-In activity was not to organize the working class...' Students are not to try to organize workers; students CANNOT organize workers. Students can support workers' struggles and ALLY with workers who are organizing; but we can do this better from the position of a large, strong, independent student organization than from the position of a small group of part-time student workers.

There is a broader point to be made: What does 'pro-working class' mean? We thought this had become clearer last year. Some of the best struggles in which SDS was involved - e.g. San Francisco and Harvard - did not begin with DIRECT alliances between students and workers. Yet they were undoubtedly 'pro-working class'. Why? Because they were objectively and massively anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist. That is why SDS is pro-working class. As the WORK-IN pamphlet states, 'some of us already saw the working class as the main driving force for revolutionary change...' We are not 'pro-working class' in the same way that a priest is pro-god. Were we Chairman Mao, in a different society at a different stage of development, we would see a different class - the peasantry - as the main force needed to win the anti-imperialist revolution, and we would be 'pro-peasant' accordingly.

Finally, the logic of the CWSA leads back to the position that for a radical to be a student is bad, is 'unserious'. This remains, of course, a legitimate question, but the CWSA tries to avoid the question -- tries to have its cake and eat it too.

We think it is dangerously impractical to say that there would be no conflict of resources between conducting a year-round work-in and building a mass student movement -- especially for a new chapter. Besides, will campus workers - or other groups - ally with us because we have come to be near them? No. They will ally with us AS STUDENTS when they see that we are capable of building a politically serious ORGANIZATION that can conduct strong actions. Otherwise we are of no use to them.

While we are at school, this is our job, as it was set forth at the June convention: To organize students, to build a mass anti-imperialist, anti-racist student movement, to try to raise the political consciousness and serious commitment of that movement. Doing this job can mean many possible activities -- from conducting study groups to shutting the place down. In certain places, with certain conditions and resources, it may mean getting some people into campus jobs and using those positions to help build a campus worker-student alliance. It must always mean fighting sectarianism. But the CWSA proposal is not the only or the best way to do this, and must not be elevated into a general organizational perspective for SDS this fall.

by Robert Crane
Ann C. Doyle
Leslie Lincoln, NIC
Tony Fernandez
David Heskett
DiAnne Miller
B. Wingfield

In Tallahassee, Florida, the weekend of October 18, about 60 people came to a Southern conference of SDS. Most of the people who attended were from Tallahassee, but there were representatives from Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. One of the most exciting things about the conference was that we all participated in the support the Tallahassee chapter is giving to the Elberta Crate & Box workers there who are on strike (see article in this issue of NLN).

The conference passed a resolution drafted by Ed Clark and Pam Geraci from New Orleans about the attempt of the 'Revolutionary' Youth Movement to split SDS. An excerpt follows:

It is the view of this Southern Regional Conference that all groups and individuals who desire to return to SDS should be welcomed back into the organization... But there remains one lesson of the split that must be accepted: only the fullest and freest development of internal political and ideological struggle will preserve and expand SDS... We are convinced that we will overcome the present crisis and go on to build SDS in the South in a massive way.

There was a lot of discussion about whether or not the conference should recommend to all chapters that they affiliate with the national SDS headquarters in Boston. People generally felt that Boston was the legitimate national headquarters, but some also felt that the majority of people in their chapters were not familiar enough with the situation to commit themselves yet. Some felt that the split was a good thing and had changed SDS into a good organization, and that everyone who didn't agree and support Boston was no good, and shouldn't be in SDS. This po-

Princeton cont.

importantly, the university's way of discouraging unity between two natural allies, workers and students.

We in SDS tried to push for a rent strike, and some were enthusiastic for the idea. The administration's liberal machinery, however, co-opted the struggle too quickly and gave in to a 5% increase, which the majority of tenants felt was the best we could hope for. This was coupled, however, with the university's unexpected last attempt to divide the community: new tenants would be charged a 10% increase. This dishonest and deceptive move was seen through by everyone, yet because support was still not great enough for a rent strike, it was left up to the tenants as a whole to decide what would be done. In an overwhelming show of solidarity, nearly everyone in both projects rejected the 5-10% split and demanded that there be no differential of any kind. At the expense of a 6 1/2% increase across the boards, we learned that the administration cannot be trusted for a single second to act in the interests of the students -- present or future.

One significant result of the rent struggle was the election of two of three residing SDS members to the coming year's project committee. The third of our number, the most outspoken and demonstrative, ran with us on a slate of five. As it turned out, there were no opposing nominations, since it was generally assumed that we who had led the rent fight could be depended on to fight in the future. Several residents, however, who obviously valued their future jobs and their relationship with faculty pals over the interests of their fellow students, conducted a last-minute red-baiting campaign against the most militant of us, by requesting that voters write in the name of someone they put up. They went door to door handing people a leaflet that said the SDSer was too aggressive and lacked respect for university authority. They also distorted specific

sition was argued for by the Spartacist League in public, although they privately said SDS was being taken over by PL who planned to kick out anyone who didn't agree with them. Most people felt, however, that the split was bad and had hurt SDS, but that a statement of non-affiliation was appropriate for the time being -- this statement was also passed.

After a very short discussion a proposal from Austin, Texas, on building a campus worker-student alliance was passed; and a resolution on women's liberation was tabled. Most shared the criticism afterward that the conference hadn't spent enough time discussing specifically what various chapters were doing -- and how theoretical disagreements related to this. The conference decided to meet again over Thanksgiving -- probably in New Orleans.

G.E. ON STRIKE

On October 27th, 147,000 employees of General Electric will go on strike all across the country. The average hourly wage of a GE worker is \$3.25. According to government statistics, it takes about \$10,000 a year to support a family of four. \$3.25 an hour is about \$6500 a year -- and many make even less.

The unions are demanding 35¢ an hour increase the first year, 30¢ the second, and 25¢ the third year in a three-year contract. GE has offered an increase of 20¢ an hour the first year, and refuses to consider further increases in the following years.

SDS chapters with General Electric plants in their area should organize students to support the strike in whatever way possible.

events in order to give the idea that SDS people, as we had all three announced ourselves at the time of nomination, would take advantage of power gained through people's struggles. Many people responded to this vicious smear by ignoring them and instead calling us up to tell us what was happening. But either through ballot-box corruption or through honest confusion on the part of some tenants, the write-in candidate placed above all three of the SDS members and shifted the one who had been most under attack down to sixth position. The reaction of many to this red-baiting campaign was a greater interest in SDS projects and ideas, so that in many ways the smear was turned into its opposite.

The two of us who are now on the committee - one of us is the chairman - plan to continue this struggle throughout the year and into the spring, at which time it is virtually certain that another (at least) 5% rent increase will be foisted on us by the university. We realize that our seats on this committee are worthless if they create the illusion that the interests of the administration and of the students are reconcilable. They are valuable only insofar as they put us in a position to take more of a hand in future struggles. We have learned that left leadership is crucial in all fights against the administration. For this reason, it was essential that we be living among the students, a practice shied away from by many other SDSers. Moreover, we learned that SDS support of struggles such as this one not only increases the chances of winning the demands but also, more importantly, proves to the people - in this case a large reserve of uncommitted graduate student families - that SDS members will fight honestly in their interests. This struggle provided us with unprecedented opportunities to talk to people about SDS, to show them how false a picture the administration draws of radicals. We feel that by taking an active lead in fighting for fellow residents, our base can be significantly widened.

... And This Little Piggy Went To College...

by Irva Hertz and Henry Peterson, Sacramento

'Assault squad (three men) armed with submachine guns approach bldg. from the south. As they approach all firing cease. Squad enter building through front broken out windows or doors...

'Next two men enter and move to left and to right center of ground floor. Fire 30 rounds each up through second story floor, and reload.

'By now all shutters should be blown off upper floor windows. The entire building should be flooded with tear gas. The entire upper floor should be covered with intense fire. This should have the necessary effect.'

The above is an excerpt from a Berkeley Police Department plan to attack the Black Panther Party office in Oakland. The original came into the hands of a Berkeley underground newspaper.

The cops and racism

The discovery of such a plan should not come as a surprise, in view of similar raids in the past year on Panther offices all over the country, e.g. San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit, Denver, San Diego, Washington, Salt Lake City, Indianapolis, etc. In fact, the repression on the Panthers is only part of the general repression of Black and Brown working people. Whenever Third World people fight back against the rulers who provide inadequate houses, miserable wages, poor education, and expensive low-quality food, they are attacked by the police and the National Guard.

Everyone knows about the dozens of Black casualties in the summer ghetto rebellions of '64-'65-'66. Less publicized are the murderous attacks of the police on the Black student movement (Orangeburg, 1968; Duke and Greensboro, 1969). But the racism of the police force also shows in their day-to-day activities in the ghetto, where they subject the population to constant harassment: frisking, asking for IDs, making arrests on phony charges, brutalizing, and sometimes killing people. A recent survey in Denver, Colorado, showed that 68% of the Black population, 59% of the Latin population, and 46% of the white population had witnessed police 'abuse'.

The cops and the working class

But repression by the police, on behalf of those in power, is by no means limited to Third World people. All working class people find their interests in contradiction with those that the cops defend. Cops have been instrumental in strike-breaking ever since capitalism began. There are thousands of examples of this, some of the most famous being the national railroad strike in 1877, the Chicago strike for an 8-hour day (1886), the Pullman strike (1894), the Great Steel Strike of 1919, the Flint sit-down (1937), Allis-Chalmers in Milwaukee, 1941. In fact, the Pennsylvania State Police was formed in 1905 for the specific purpose of breaking strikes.

In the Standard Oil strike in Richmond (January 1969) the police stood by while company goons beat strikers with lead pipes and chains. But as soon as the strikers fought back, they were arrested. Other recent examples are the cops' attack on the Delano grape strike, the Lone Star Steel workers in Texas, the Newport News shipbuilders' strike, and so on. In Newport News, Va., in July 1967, 150 cops and 50 state troopers viciously attacked the Black and white shipbuilders with police dogs and drawn guns. Twenty-six workers were arrested, and dozens more severely injured. This was sparked off by a police car knocking down two pickets, while driving scabs into the yards.

Though repression has nowhere come down as hard as it has on Third World workers, it has become increasingly violent on the student movement, as the latter becomes more militant, and as pro-working class politics grow stronger nationwide. From the march on the Pentagon, to the Columbia rebellion, to the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago, to the San Francisco State and Harvard strikes, at each step the ruling class has escalated its attack on us. Hence the shooting for the first time of a white middle class student in the Berkeley People's Park crisis last spring.

The role of the police

Some call it 'over-reaction' when police act in the manner described above. But does the problem really lie in the sadism of this or that police chief or mayor? We don't think so. Most of the wealth in the country is owned and controlled by 0.5% of the population, and this small elite, the ruling class, thereby controls the state apparatus of legislature, courts, and police. The very function of this apparatus is to protect the interests of those rulers. A quick look at labor history or at the movement press shows that whenever workers or students, Black, Brown, Yellow or white, threaten the ruling class control, force is used in an attempt to crush them, or to pressure their movement into a harmless direction. Such is the primary role of the police. And when they are not attacking the movement, they are attacking the people. Let's look at their daily work: do the police perform any function in the interest of the people?

After all, cops sometimes give you directions, and sometimes they find your stolen bike. More generally, they are supposed to direct traffic and prevent crime. Let's examine these functions more closely. Take traffic control: consider the situation where a Highway Patrolman stops a car because its tail-light does not work. Now if the light is out, it probably means that the car is old and that the owner can't afford to fix it. In other words, the owner is almost certainly a worker, or a student. Likewise, most accidents are due to poorly manufactured, dangerous cars. But who gets busted, the owner of GM or the driver of the car? What all this boils down to is that even traffic control has an anti-working class content in this society.

What about crime control?

The way laws are enforced depends on the offender and on the victim. When Kennedy kills his secretary in a car accident, he gets a suspended sentence for 'leaving the scene of an accident'. A worker (especially if he was Black) would have been sent to jail for manslaughter. Sirhan was busted in no time, but the Mafia has been around safely for several decades. Drug peddlers are allowed to expand their business, but political activists are arrested on phony charges. And of course criminals like Rockefeller, LBJ, J. Edgar Hoover, Hayakawa, Lindsay, and their kind are not only free, but they use the police force in their criminal endeavors. In the meantime, the majority of prisoners are working class people. In short, cops only prevent one kind of crime: crimes against the rulers; they are silent about, or they perpetrate, crimes against the people.

Police Science

Why are police science departments increasing in number? In fact, what is their purpose? Judging by the course titles, and by the courses required for majors, the departments are a training ground where future policemen learn the basic elements of their profession, the day-to-day skills of enforcing law and order. These include such areas as: Criminal Law, Investigation, Justice, and Identification; Police Procedures, Organization, and Management, Traffic and Conservation Law; and of course Gunnery. (One course in the Sacramento State College Police Science department makes particularly

clear what class the police serve: it is called 'Industrial Security', and it teaches among other things how to prevent the workers in a factory from 'stealing' the products they just manufactured. Naturally the course says nothing about the millions and millions of dollars that the corporation owners steal every day from their workers' labor.) More and more cops graduate from these departments, which are therefore increasingly important to the ruling class. This means that an attack on them, especially a victorious one, can be as much of a blow to the power structure as the disbanding of ROTC on a campus.

A small number of courses focus on the 'ethics and philosophy' of the police force. Along with the courses on 'police-community relations', they are designed to inject some liberal ideas into the prospective pigs. The reason for this is the growing hatred for the police among more and more people in the country. To try to improve their image, the pigs (the stick) wear a 'human' mask (the carrot). However, since policemen in this society have to attack union pickets, beat up demonstrators, and shoot down Black rebels, all the 'ethics and philosophy' they learn can only be geared at excusing, rationalizing, or justifying these actions. But for the Black and Brown ghettos, police-community relations are still going to be handled with bullets and night-sticks. For example, on December 2, 1967, Jose Coca, a youth from the Mission District in San Francisco, was beaten into the ground by officer Juan Morales, the Mission Station's 'Community Relations' man!

Conclusion:

a pig is a pig is a pig

No amount of education, or liberalism, or good intentions, can change the nature of a cop. Because of their function in capitalist society, because they are absolutely necessary for the ruling class to stay in power, no reform of the police can change their role in doing the dirty work of the rulers. If a well-intentioned cop disobeyed orders he simply wouldn't last as a cop. Whether police departments are centralized or decentralized, whether cops are white, Black, Brown, or any other color, the pigs will be pigs. If a Police Officer quotes Shakespeare, the Bible, or JFK while he is arresting you, he is still a pig. Knowing the fine points of the law, or being trained in community awareness won't help either. The only good pig is an ex-pig.

The schools can't serve the people

Along with ROTC, war research, counter-insurgency courses, business administration departments, etc., Police Science departments are another example of the role of the schools in the U.S. Being funded and controlled by big business and/or the government, the schools serve the needs of the ruling class. They do it by teaching liberal ideas to millions of students ('the system is fine except for a few problems here and there which can be solved through the normal channels'). They do it by training specialists (urban removal experts, engineers, computer programmers) to run the bosses' imperialist machine. They do it by advancing the technology for the bosses' factory and army. And they do it by training cops. We have to attack the repressive function of the schools step by step, starting with the most blatant examples of it. In other words, the demand to abolish Pig Science departments is not made to 'purify' the University or College, which is a totally rotten institution. It is made to attack the University and the police force.

Fight Police Science -

Pigs Off Campus

Smash Racism