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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

July 24, 1969

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From the Cuban People To All of Humanity

From the Second Declaration of Havana:



**AMERICANOS
EN SOLIDARIDAD CON
CUBA
CONTRA EL
IMPERIALISMO YANQUI**

The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution. We know that in Latin America and throughout the world the revolution will be victorious. But it is not for revolutionaries to sit in the doorway of their homes to watch the corpse of imperialism carried by. The role of Job is not becoming to a revolutionary. Each year by which the liberation of Latin America is hastened will mean millions of children saved from death, millions of minds saved for learning, infinitudes of sorrow spared the peoples. Even though the U.S. imperialists are preparing a tragedy for Latin America, they will not succeed in crushing the people's struggle. They will evoke universal hatred against themselves. It will be the last act of their rapacious, neanderthal system.

No Latin American nation is weak. It forms part of a family of 200 million brothers who suffer the same miseries, harbor the same sentiments, face the same enemy. All dream alike of a happier fate and count on the solidarity of all honest men and women in the whole world.

Great and heroic as was the independence struggle of Latin America, the Latin Americans of today are summoned to a greater epic, even more decisive for humanity. The earlier struggle was to free themselves from Spanish colonial rule, from a decadent Spain invaded by the armies of Napoleon. Today it falls to them to carry on a struggle for liberation against the most powerful imperialist

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THE U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE

by Mark Rudd, National Secretary

While the presentation of speeches at the United Front Against Fascism conference proceeded more or less exactly according to plan—that is, with fairly uniform speeches on such topics as "Women vs. Fascism", "Students and

Education vs. Fascism", "Workers vs. Fascism", "Doctors vs. Fascism", "Religion vs. Fascism", all singularly characterized by the lack of "ideological quibbling", as Chairman Seale termed it in his opening speech—outside raged, as usual at movement gatherings, traditional movement chaos and

struggle. While the unity involved in the conference seemed to be mostly going in one direction—out from the podium, the struggle involved nearly all the most active elements in the conference—including all SDS members present—in questions concerning what fascism is, strategy in fighting it, the struggle against revisionism, the importance of attacking white supremacy in building a working-class movement, the fight against male supremacy by women in the movement, SDS National Office elitism and manipulation, and continuing the struggle against PL.

MEETING WITH THE PANTHERS

Before the start of the conference, the three national secretaries and four NIC members attending the conference (the fifth, Noel Ignatin, arrived later) met with Chairman Bobby Seale and other party leaders to learn directly from the Panthers their plans for the conference and also to put forward a

critical position on the community control of the pigs petition. Chairman Seale informed us that the main purpose of the conference was to educate the people about the existence of fascism in the United States and to begin a united program against fascism based on the community control petition. Since there was still not unity around the basic point, and therefore no unity of will, it was necessary, according to Chairman, to limit audience participation to only certain panels, specifically the one on workers and fascism and a "mass workshop" on the petition. Absolutely no disruption would be allowed, since the attack on fascism was so important.

The national officers raised the question of formally proposing the fall National Action as a program of the United Front. Chairman Seale replied by saying that the community control petition would not be put to a vote on Sunday night, the last session. Rather,

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U. F. A. F. (CONTINUED)

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it would be presented, and people would be asked to sign up for the Committees to Combat Fascism. This would not be the final program of the United Front: another conference will be called by the Panthers in about four months to evaluate the Front and to add to its programs. As to the National Action, the Panthers had no objection to publicizing it, but it would not be added to the program.

We presented our criticisms of the petition by outlining basically the same position adopted by the NIC in the statement reprinted in this issue of NLN. We stressed two points: 1) that our task is to build the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement by attacking white supremacy and that this can best be done by raising demands and agitating around self-determination for the internally colonized black and brown peoples—a concept embodied in the demands for community control of decentralized police in the black and brown communities. Raising "white community" control evades the issue of domestic colonization and thereby evades the thrust of the black liberation struggle itself. 2) "White community" is a concept which serves the ruling class by stressing "white interest" over class interest, that is, the interest of workers as members of the oppressor nation, rather than their interest as members of the oppressed class. This position already exists in certain suburbs and small towns where white working-class people use racist police forces to "protect" them from blacks (and where the local bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie control the police, workers with false racist consciousness often approve of their use against black and brown people). Taken together, our objections can be summarized in our belief that the addition of "white community" control not only does not raise the question of white supremacy, and support for self-determination of suppressed and colonized peoples, but may even reinforce racism and white skin privilege. Used by white revolutionaries, the petition would be opportunistic: that, in fact, is how it is intended by a host of revisionists, all the way from the CP to the International Socialist Clubs (ISC).

The leaders of the Panther Party we spoke with replied in two ways—first, by emphasizing the fact that they had to adopt legal tactics to go along with their armed tactics because many people did not understand the futility of legal forms of struggle, and secondly,

that many white workers come under attack from fascist pigs and thus need to fight and control them. Both points of course are undeniable, and in answer to the second we proposed a series of attacks on the pigs which would raise the issue of state power and especially would put whites out front in the actual struggle against white supremacy as blacks are. (This also appears in the statement adopted by the NIC.)

THE SDS CAUCUSES: DEBATE OVER THE PETITION

Before and during the conference, several SDS meetings were held to provide a place for debate around the issues not dealt with in the speeches. At the first meeting, a report was made concerning the meeting with the Panther leadership, and discussion was held on the National Action and on the position SDS should take toward the community control petition.

The debate around the petition occurred at all three SDS caucus meetings, which were attended by up to 250 people, as well as at the NIC meeting following the conference. Opposed to the position presented by the national officers was that of the ISC and others from the Bay Area who held, first of all, that "no white skin privilege exists", that whites have to be organized only around their oppression, and that no sacrifices will have to be made for black self-determination. Apparently, they also believe that there is no material basis for racism (or for national chauvinism for that matter), since one ISC member said, "You fight the class struggle first, then racism." If anything is true it is the opposite: no attack on racism means no class struggle. That has been the history of the opportunist left in this country, which through "great power" national arrogance and chauvinism has never understood the crucial nature of the struggle for self-determination of the victims of the imperialist nation.

According to the opponents of the NIC position, the demand for white community control of the pigs speaks to the oppression of white workers, though not so well as many other issues, especially the issue of taxes. Apparently any "material" demand, such as lower taxes, raises consciousness to a higher level than a demand that deals directly with state power, such as disarming the bourgeoisie's police. The reason, as every good mechanical Marxist knows, is that "exploitation of surplus value is

core of the central contradiction in capitalism".

MALE SUPREMACY

The issue of male supremacy and women's liberation which is burning throughout the movement proved to be one of the sorest points, upsetting Chairman Seale's plans for unity.

The women's panel was scheduled for the first night's session; following it was to be a speech by the CP theorist, Herbert Aptheker. When it became clear that the evening's proceedings were behind schedule, the Panthers switched Aptheker for the women's panel. During Aptheker's long, boring, completely revisionist (if anyone bothered to listen) 45-minute prepared speech, a number of women stood up in a spontaneous protest over the increasingly shortening period that women would have to speak. The Panthers' security force had probably been given orders to allow no disruptions, and they dealt accordingly with the women, including, in some cases, by forcing them to sit down.

The panel finally went on, lasting only slightly over one hour, and fine presentations concerning women in the struggle were presented by Roberta Anderson and Honey, from the Black Panther Party, Hilda Ignatin, from the Young Lords Organization, Marlene Dixon, expelled from the University of Chicago faculty, and a comrade from SCLC, among others. Roberta Anderson stressed the fact that a sharp internal struggle is taking place within the BPP against male supremacy, but that Panther women are clear on the absolute necessity for women to take leadership roles to prepare for the repressive days ahead.

A women's meeting held the following day discussed the incident of the previous night. Women were basically divided into three groups: the first included those who wanted to demand one hour to explain their position on the question of male supremacy within the Black Panthers and who would disrupt the conference if the Panthers would not grant them the time; the second was those who felt that the

NIC Statement

Meeting in open session on the morning of July 21 following the UFAF conference, eight members of the NIC, Mark Rudd, Jeff Jones, Bill Ayers, Mike Klonsky, Bob Avakian, Noel Ignatin, Howie Machtinger, and Phoebe Hirsch (who as first alternate to the NIC has replaced Barbara Reilly, who has resigned), passed the following statement:

SDS participation in the UFAF conference was based on our complete support of the black liberation struggle and of the leadership of that struggle, especially the Black Panther Party. At a time when the black and brown peoples and the Panthers and other organizations are facing increasingly brutal fascist attacks by the ruling class and their agents, the police, all revolutionaries must defend those who are leading the anti-imperialist struggle. Strategically this defense, this attack on fascism is accomplished by continuing to build the anti-imperialist movement; our part of the task is to involve the white working class in the struggle against imperialism. This can only be done by winning whites to support and fight on the side of black and brown people within this country, and on the side of all oppressed and colonized peoples abroad.

In order to build the anti-imperialist movement, SDS has committed itself to the strategy of building a revolutionary youth movement among white youth of the mother country. The key to the development of revolutionary internationalist consciousness, we feel, is the attack on white supremacy, the defeat of the ideology of racism, and of the practice of accepting privileges for being white. Without this attack on white supremacy, there can be no true working-class solidarity, but only the continuance of chauvinism and racism.

The one concrete program presented at the United Front conference was that of petition campaigns for community control of decentralized police forces in the black, brown, and white communities. These campaigns are an attack on fascist pig forces which function to protect the state and the class behind the state, and in addition the petition also raises the issue of self-determination for black and brown colonized peoples (including the right to political separation) through autonomous control of community institutions, very similar to autonomous black study programs. This demand raised in the black and brown nations and explained and agitated around in the white mother country can be key to fighting both fascism and white supremacy.

The demand for community control for white communities, however, has the effect of deflecting the issue from that of fascist repression against black and brown people and from the struggle for self-determination in the colonized nations to a kind of parity among communities which are not, because of white supremacy, equal. It also disregards the reality that whites, because of the

Rhetoricians Beware!

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

We would like to offer some (hopefully) constructive criticism regarding the style of some of the articles in New Left Notes. What we are saying is that you people who write articles have to come out of your ultra-intellectual bag and start talking to the people in a language that everyone can understand. Compare the style of Eldridge Cleaver's article to that in the articles by Cathy Wilkerson, Klonsky et al., and Noel Ignatin's "Principles of Unity". Eldridge's article talks Marxism and Women's Liberation in a clear, concise, simple style that everyone can understand. The other articles make complex and obscure points using such long words and complex terminology and sentence structure that you have to be a well-educated Marxist scholar to get anything out of them. We are college students who have read up on Marx, Lenin, and Mao, and we have had lots of trouble deciphering these articles. Neither of us are yet through deciphering the "Weatherman" proposal. You want to relate to the people; you better start talking their language. And don't talk about "educating" them "up" to your language level, because it is only bourgeois intellectual arrogance to assume that your college-educated language is better than that of all the people. The Black

Panther can express and teach Marxism without resorting to complicated language; surely you can too. As Mao says, "When in addition to reading some Marxist books, our intellectuals have gained some understanding through close contact with the masses of workers and peasants, and through their own practical work, we will all be speaking the same language...." (Quotations, Page 312)

Referring to Eldridge's article again, we hope that every man and every woman who doesn't see women's liberation as a primary issue will read the article carefully, will study it, and will pick up the full message. Male chauvinism must be ended, and that includes the male-chauvinist attitude that women's liberation is a secondary issue to be dealt with in our spare time. We want liberation and we want it NOW and we intend to get it by any means necessary, and we will not let male chauvinists posing as "revolutionaries" stand in our way any more than we will let any other counter-revolutionaries stand in our way.

All Power to the People,
Sister Power to Sisters,

Nina D. Boal
Lenore Hitchler

New Left Notes

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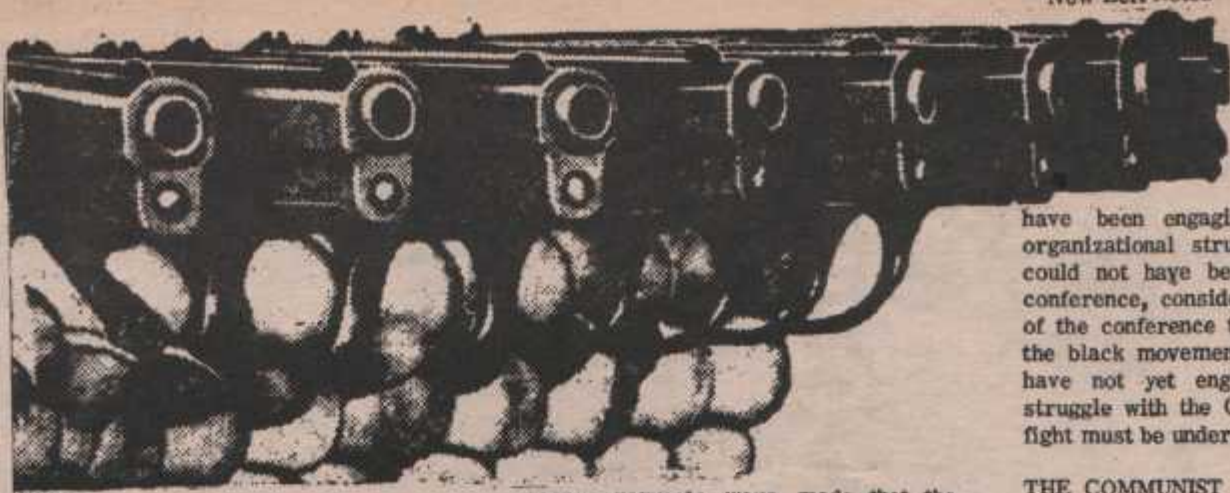
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Panthers had behaved in a male supremacist manner, but that the conference should not be disrupted, but instead an informational leaflet should be circulated; the third group consisted largely of SDS women from Chicago and elsewhere who recognized that there were male supremacist elements at the conference but that the conference specifically should not be put under attack. As one woman in this group, from the Chicago region, explained: "What should be done is that struggles must go on with the Panthers, and all men in and outside of the movement, around women's liberation, every day, but that a move to disrupt the conference by white women would be objectively racist, given the original defense purpose of the conference."

The issue came to the entire SDS caucus when the women's caucus of the Berkeley Radical Student Union (RSU) decided to leaflet the SDS caucus instead of the entire conference, saying essentially that the Panthers had been male supremacist by relegating the women's caucus to the last place. They also criticized the group of women who had strongly opposed disrupting the conference for themselves disrupting the women's caucus. In all no resolution of the question was attained, though the issue had to some extent been laid bare without severely disrupting the conference.



PLP

Before the start of the conference, the Panthers announced that no members of Progressive Labor Party or the Worker Student Alliance would be allowed into the conference. The first evening, SDS members, acting with the approval of the three national secretaries, helped the Panthers identify PL-WSA members, who were ejected from the auditorium. The next day, in Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, both the Panthers and SDS members and officers forcibly circled PL members trying to leaflet against the conference and against the Black Panther Party from the Park. In all

cases, requests were made that the scabs leave; when they did not, the necessary force was then used. The struggle escalated the next morning (Sunday), when a number of PL members leafletting in the Park before the morning session of the conference were asked to leave, did not, and then were dealt with in a strong fashion. Ten PLers wound up in the hospital.

At the SDS caucus meeting Sunday afternoon, the Radical Student Union severely criticized the national leadership on our handling of PL on the following grounds: 1) that the decision was made arbitrarily by the NO, without regard for the needs of the SDS chapters in the Bay Area; 2) that PL was not disruptive to the conference by their presence either in the meetings or in the park, where the open sessions were held and our rough handling of PL was more a gang-like vendetta than political; and 3) that as long as the CP revisionists had the podium, SDS could not in good faith attack only PL.

The national officers answered the charges by stating that the decision to expel PL from the organization had been made at the convention, that that decision had to be enforced, especially when chapters and regions around the country are now looking to the national organization for leadership on this question. As far as the special problems of the Bay Area, it was proposed that the error in regard to handling PL was not too much struggle, but perhaps not enough struggle, confrontation, and polarization. On the second question, that of PL's disruptiveness, we pointed out that PL's line, when propagated in the midst of a black community or in a mass meeting of elements intent on uniting against fascism, discredits all white revolutionaries because of its racist, chauvinist line on the black struggle. This in effect did disrupt our relationship to the black liberation movement. The third point was the most serious, the one where the SDS position on PL was most open to criticism, or, rather, heavy baiting from PL. While we were so busy with the purist opportunists in the back of the auditorium, the revisionist opportunists were up front, taking over the speaker's platform. Despite the fact that we did attack the CP revisionists in the speeches made by those national officers who spoke, in some cases that attack could have been stronger. The same is true in the educational packet we put out. On the whole, however, we

have been engaging in a long-term organizational struggle with PL which could not have been set aside at this conference, considering the importance of the conference to our relationship to the black movement. Unfortunately, we have not yet engaged in the intense struggle with the CP revisionists; that fight must be undertaken.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Many have charged that the Black Panther Party is controlled by the Communist Party; this Chairman Seale specifically denied in his closing speech. To the extent that the Black Panther Party has turned to the CP for alliance and material aid, it represents more the failure of the revolutionary left to provide the support necessary for the Panthers to survive than "weaknesses" within the Panthers. Revisionism, with its sell-out of the entire class struggle against imperialism, which amounts in practice to support for U.S. imperialism, must not only be attacked in word (which we did not do enough at the conference), but also in deed, and that means at this stage concretely aiding the black and other Third World struggles. What pure sectarians, denouncing revisionist lawyers, have lifted a finger to free Huey using "revolutionary" tactics? Or have stood with the Panther 21 or Erika Huggins through long months in jail? The only way we can fight revisionism is to engage in revolutionary practice, not only by having the "correct line", but by building the "fighting force" everyone talks about so much.

The adoption of a legal form of struggle by the Panthers is not a victory for the revisionists; it is a mixing of tactics, a step backward so as to take two forward. But the sole use of legal forms of struggle by the white left, a movement never characterized by "adventurism" but, at least during this stage of the struggle, much more given to timidity, dogmatism, and outright opportunism, means death—both from revisionism and from the imperialist enemy.

Tactically, repression or no repression, we must escalate the struggle. That is the way to fight revisionism, whether it be external, in the form of the CP, or internal, in the form of timidity. Politically, we must keep up the struggle against white supremacy by not falling into the racist, chauvinist trap of the revisionists who never want to deal with the question of racism and privilege. If we can forge a revolutionary movement that can ally with the blacks concretely, not just in name, then the Panthers and other revolutionary Third World organizations won't have to go to the CP for aid. "NOW IS THE TIME OF THE FURNACES, AND ONLY LIGHT SHOULD BE SEEN." — Jose Marti

On UFAF Conference

Ideology of racism and the desire to hold onto their "privileges", are often the oppressors of black people. "Community control" cannot be put forward as contentless—for the whites, it should only mean control by a class-conscious working class. But this is not in the petition. The petition evades the issue of white supremacy, choosing somehow to side-step it. "White" community control does not challenge the conception of "whiteness", of being part of the oppressor nation, and is no substitute for the concept of working-class control. This flaw in the petition not only undermines the fight against white supremacy, but might even reinforce the racism that would use police forces to "protect" whites from blacks, in the same way that racism now serves the imperialist ruling class.

We support completely the demand for community control of decentralized police in the black and brown communities, and will help by building support for that demand in white neighborhoods. At the same time we cannot support the demand for "white community" control, and we therefore urge local and regional SDS organizations to work within the National Committees to Combat Fascism to change the wording of the petition. This will also be done on a national level.

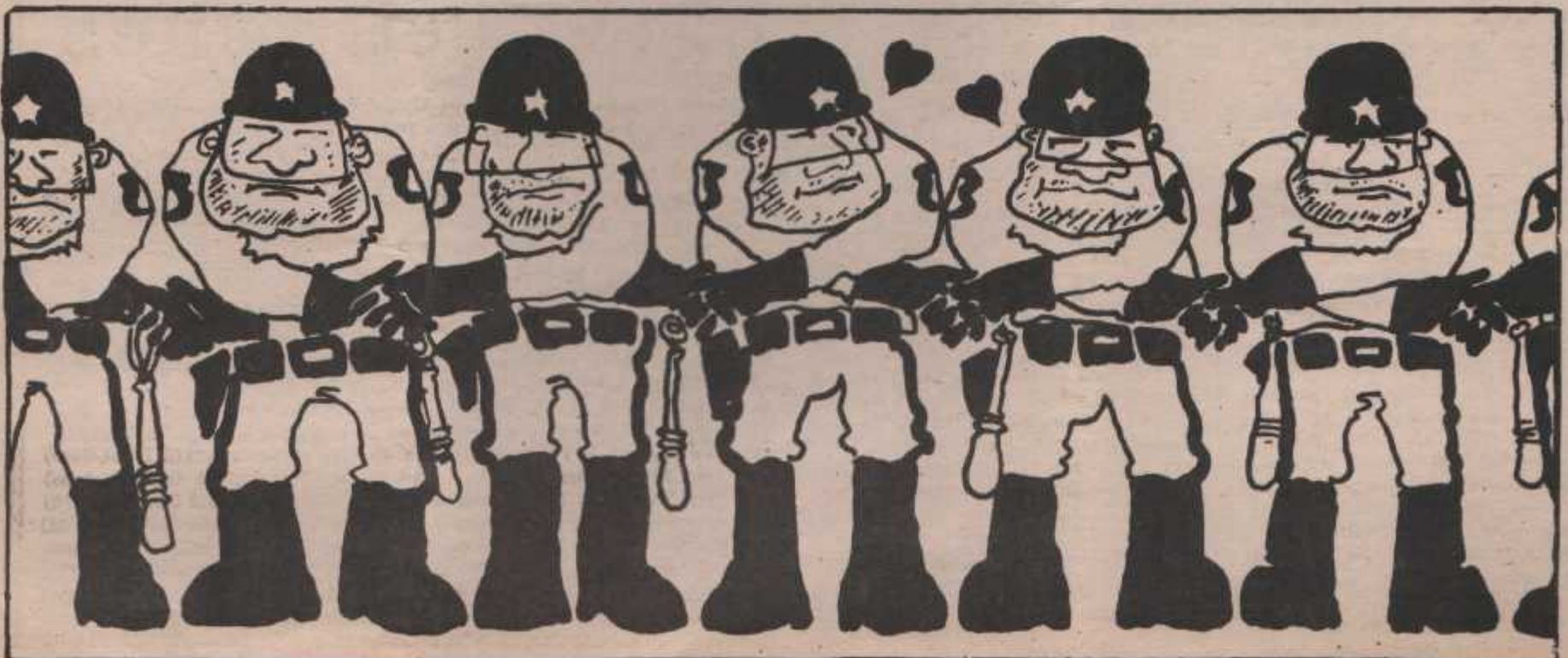
We also urge that SDS chapters undertake campaigns around pig repression and have added to the petition demands such as the following:

—demands for disarming the police, for ending pig brutality, for pigs out of working-class neighborhoods and out of the schools and for an end to the use of pigs against strikes and other struggles of the people;

—demands that pig institutes in colleges and community colleges be shut down;

—attacks on demagogic politicians (both "liberal" and "conservative") who encourage racism while they provoke and plan out police repression.

SDS chapters will also have to deal locally with problems we would face with any petition campaign. While we do not raise principled opposition to all forms of legal struggle, we should understand that at this time smashing the illusion of reform through voting and other capitalist channels is a priority in the building of a revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. The level of struggle is being raised and should continue to be raised among white youth. This is a necessity in building the "fighting force" which will eventually defeat imperialism. If the petition is used in local work, it should not be a substitute for other forms of struggle, such as throwing pigs out of the schools and building anti-pig resistance and armed self-defense contingents; the petitions should instead be a part of these other struggles.





MORE CUBA

(continued from Page 1)

metropolis of the world, against the most important power of the world imperialist system, to perform an even greater service for humanity than did our ancestors.

But this struggle, more than the earlier one, will be carried on by the masses, by the people. In this struggle the people will play a far more important role than they did then. Men, leaders, are and will be less important in this struggle than in the earlier one.

This epic we have before us will be written by the hungry masses of Indians, of landless campesinos, of exploited workers, by the progressive masses, by the honest and brilliant intellectuals of whom there are so many in these suffering lands of our Latin America. It is a struggle of masses and of ideas, an epic borne forward by our peoples, abused and scorned by imperialism, ignored until today, who are now beginning to make imperialism lose sleep. Imperialism considered us an impotent, submissive herd, but already it is beginning to be

afraid of that herd. It is a gigantic herd of 200 million Latin Americans, in which U.S. monopoly capital already sees its grave diggers.

It reckoned little if at all with that laboring humanity, inhumanly exploited, pauperized, driven by the overseer and the whip. Since the dawn of independence the fate of indians, gauchos, mestizos, zambos, quadroons, propertyless whites, has been the same—all that human mass that took form in the "homeland" it never enjoyed. It was they who died by the millions, who were slaughtered, who won independence from the metropolis for the bourgeoisie. It is they who were robbed of their lands, who remained on the lowest rung of social benefits, who continued to die of hunger, of curable diseases, of neglect, because the things that could have saved them never reached them: bread, a hospital bed, medicine,

a helping hand.

But the hour of their redemption has come, the hour they themselves have chosen. The signal sounds from one end of the continent to the other. Now the anonymous mass, the America of color, sombre, taciturn, which everywhere on the continent sings with the same grief and reproach, this mass is beginning to make its own history, to write it in blood, to suffer and to die. Because now, across the fields and mountains of Latin America, along the slopes of the mountains, through the plains and jungles, in solitude or in city traffic, on the shores of the great rivers and oceans, it is beginning to shake the world, full of reason, fists hot with desire to die for what belongs to it, to win the rights it has been cheated of for almost five hundred years by everyone. Yes, now history must reckon with the poor of America, the exploited and despised of Latin America who have resolved to begin to write their own history forever. They can be seen any day on the roads, on foot, on endless marches of hundreds of miles to reach the olympian rulers to ask for their rights. They can be seen here or there every day armed with stones, sticks, machetes, occupying the land fastening on to the soil that is theirs, defending it with their lives. They can be seen carrying banners, flags, placards, unfurling them in the winds over the mountains and along the plains. And this wave of trembling anger, of justice demanded, of trampled rights, this wave engulfing the lands of Latin America will never recede again. This wave will grow with each passing day. Because this wave is formed by the absolute majority, those whose labor is the basis of accumulated wealth, those who create values, who turn the wheels of history and now are waking from their long stupefying slumber.

Because that humanity has said "Enough!" and has begun to move. Marching with giant strides it will not be stopped until it wins true independence for which so many have already died in vain. Now at least those who die will die as the Cubans died at the Bay of Pigs, for their only true, inalienable independence.

Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!

—Second Declaration of Havana adopted by the people of Cuba February 4th, 1962



FIGHT

FASCISM:

Students for a Democratic Society



SDS

1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill.

The next four pages of New Left Notes were presented as an SDS educational packet at the United Front Against Fascism Conference in Oakland.

BRING THE WAR HOME

by Mark Rudd, National Secretary

Increasingly, movements of the oppressed peoples of the world for national liberation — especially the struggles of the Vietnamese and of the black and brown nations within the United States — have been countered with more and more violent repression by the U.S. ruling class. This repression constitutes one part of what can only be described as all-out attacks on the oppressed peoples — sometimes reaching genocidal proportions, as in Vietnam and many black communities in the U.S. The burn-and-destroy tactics of the U.S. armed forces in Vietnam can only be compared to the fascist German genocide committed against the Jews and others during the Nazi era in Europe.

As the attacks on the imperialist system grow to more threatening proportions, the use of violence and terror by the ruling class grows. It is not, however, the case that new "right" or "conservative" elements seize power from the old, "liberal", "democratic", "normal" rulers: the terror merely represents a switch in tactics by our old acquaintances, the imperialist bourgeoisie.

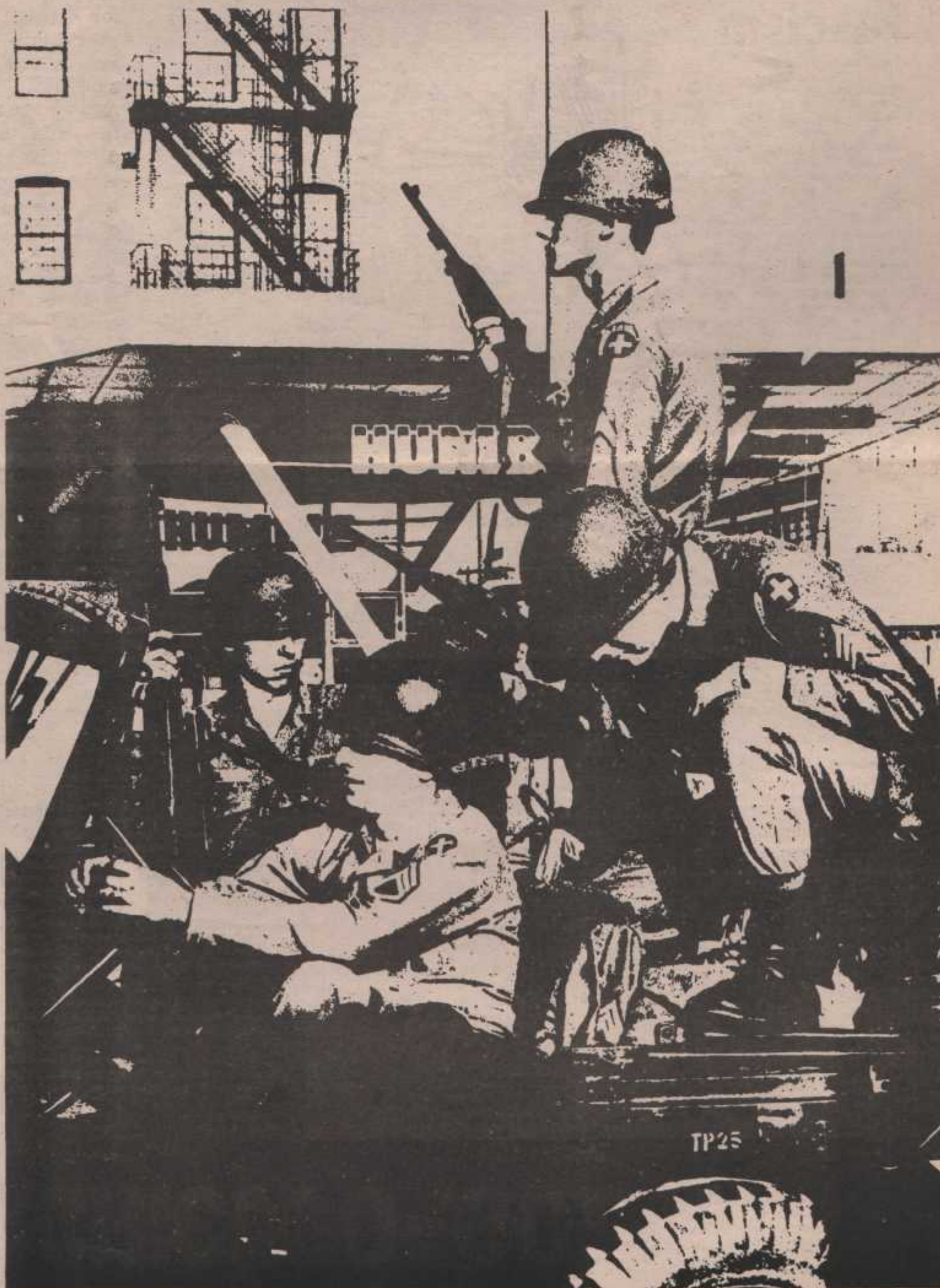
"The development of fascism assume(s) different forms in different countries... This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes particularly acute, from endeavoring to extend its basis and without altering its class nature, combining open terrorist dictatorship with a crude plan of parliamentarism." (Dimitroff, the United Front Against Fascism) In this country the state apparatus for fascism already exists. Economic, military, and political power are already concentrated into the hands of a small, unified ruling class. To the extent that there are differences within this class, they are worked out in committee rooms in the Pentagon, not in the halls of Congress or on convention floors.

Certain appearances of bourgeois democracy remain: elections, Congress, jury trials, but these are a smokescreen, a swindle.

THE CARROT AND THE STICK; THE HANGMAN AND THE PRIEST

The bourgeois ruling class always has at its disposal two types of seemingly contradictory tactics: first is the tactic of deception, co-optation, and even reform. Schools and the media teach out-and-out lies about democracy, the American way, opportunity, and a thousand other myths which both reinforce confidence in and allegiance to the imperialist system, and also promote the specific mechanisms of control, such as the teaching of racist history which only divides workers further. Another part of the first tactic is the granting, up to a point, of certain reforms, such as social welfare, to make it look as if the system is capable of self-repair or even evolution ("peaceful progress").

The other tactic is the "hard" one, the stick which is used when the carrot fails to get Vietnamese, or blacks, or white mother-country workers to pull the imperialist cart. Beatings, burnings, rape, murder have always been used against black people (starting on the coasts of Africa) to force their enslavement. When AID money fails to create the "progress" (to hold back national liberation movements) the U.S.





Fascism

(continued from Page 1)

desires in Latin America, in go the Green Berets. When striking workers refuse to obey court orders (the law), troops or police have, throughout American history, been used against them. The violence of the ruling class is as American ("normal") as cherry pie or lying newspapers or "social security" you can't live on.

Imperialism is a system not just because it invades mother country and colonies. Also, because it integrates the use of the two tactics simultaneously. Thus, every bourgeois society needs both teachers and cops. It also needs priests and hangmen. If one falls, they use the other.

So it is the same with broad tactics of the imperialist class against those who fight for freedom and for the destruction of that class. Nelson Rockefeller, "liberal" governor of New York, proposes minimum wages and also puts Martin Sostre, a black freedom fighter, behind bars for four years. Liberal Robert Kennedy shakes hands with residents of the black communities, sponsors "rehabilitation" programs, and also helps send troops to invade and blockade socialist Cuba and later votes for appropriations to send troops to Vietnam, Chicago, and Watts. Even Hitler, while he killed millions, created the Volkswagen, the "People's Car".

To believe that different parts of the bourgeoisie, more liberal vs. more reactionary elements, represent the two tactics is tantamount to committing historical suicide. For while a "revolutionary" organization is out drumming up working-class support for Lyndon B. Johnson, the liberal peace candidate, against the right-wing, reactionary Barry Goldwater, Johnson is secretly planning the escalation of the war in Vietnam, more repression against black and brown people, and wage freezes and surtaxes for all workers. The choice of which tactic the ruling class will follow is not up to the whim of individuals or even whole parts of that class, no matter how slick and "liberal" the Eastern capitalists are. The use of fascist terror, of violent repression, occurs as a historical necessity, the necessity of a class protecting itself from destruction.

There will be debate, as between McCarthy and Humphrey, as to which tactic to follow at a given time (withdrawal from Vietnam with continued economic and political control vs. continued fascist military aggression), but revolutionaries should not enter into this debate; they should know that even the "progressive" bourgeoisie will turn on revolutionary peoples and the working class generally when the attack on imperialism grows strong enough. Ultimately, it is not the McCarthys who determine U.S. imperialist policy in Vietnam or in the black nation, but rather the oppressed peoples of the world, the people of Vietnam and of the black nation, who will be waging anti-imperialist war, and thus force the imperialists to lash back with armed force. With his back to the wall, the aggressor has only one last response—frenzied murder, jailings, bombings. The "soft" tactic must fail, so the "hard" tactic will be used. Better

public relations by Kennedy-McCarthy cannot feed the starving people of the world. Thus, force is their only weapon.

There are two more characteristics to note about American fascism. One is that the fascist, terrorist tactics are no less legal than the soft, deceptive, reformist ones. Neither were Hitler's emergency laws illegal. Fascism, especially in America, inevitably takes a legal cover: currently the linking of the two concepts in the ruling class's battle cry, "law and order". Law always serves the interests of the class in power.

Besides fascism being legal, it can also be directed. It does not have to be "indiscriminate". For example, the black colony can come under attack, as has happened all over the country, while the white neighborhoods are not necessarily affected. It may be, however, that terror will come down in broad, indiscriminate forms in those places where the movement in the mother country has developed into a serious threat, as in Berkeley. This has happened in Vietnam and has contributed to the development of resistance among masses of non-peasant, non-proletarian Vietnamese. Fascism in America recently has been isolated to specific revolutionary and potentially revolutionary targets; this is especially true of terror used against the black and brown nations, which only rarely has spilled over into the white population.

This does not mean that the apparatus for fascism does not exist in the white mother country. Quite the opposite: counter-insurgency experience gained against the blacks has already sharpened the ability of the repressive forces of the state to deal with rebellion among students, youth, and workers in the mother country. But terror tactics have been used relatively sparingly, as at Columbia University in 1968, San Francisco State and Berkeley in '68 and '69, Richmond Oil Strike and other militant strikes; in almost all cases bourgeois civil liberties were reinstated after the rebellion. This is not at all the case in the black communities, where the police act as occupation troops both within and without the law, and where white racist courts hold black prisoners for impossible ransom on no legal grounds. The New York Panther 21 are each being held on \$100,000 bail.)

The development of a unified ruling class, with a unified machinery, means, among other things, that local pig forces have more political power in practice than the local mayor; a nation-wide pig apparatus co-ordinates counter-insurgency and intelligence efforts as well as repressive actions against the people; this is where military, political, and economic power come together in their one matted fist. The apparatus for genocide exists; it is activated at will; it can be operated alongside elections or without elections, against black and brown people alone, or against all the people, discriminately or indiscriminately.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The fact that fascism does not yet exist within the white mother country does not in any way mitigate the job of all revolutionaries, white and black. Rather, it puts a special task on the white revolutionaries—to educate the

white working class to understand that the black people within the United States, and the Third World peoples outside, are in the forefront of the struggle for the liberation of the entire working class, for the destruction of the imperialist class and its corrupt system; and it is they who face fascist genocide every day. This means we must build a mass anti-imperialist movement around many things—around the fascism aimed at the blacks and Vietnamese which exposes the weaknesses of the imperialist system; around the oppression of white mother-country youth and workers directly caused by the crisis in U.S. imperialism, on issues of the draft, the oppression of women, decaying imperialist schools, the surtax and increasing taxes, the decline in real wages, speed-up, unemployment, greater police control over youth, the ideological and cultural breakdown itself. It means explaining the discontent and hatred people feel toward the "opportunities" and institutions, and the lives which are open to them in America, in terms that bring people into the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle.

Fighting fascism does not in any way mean a cut-back in the political line, say, to fighting for civil liberties against fascist encroachments, or a cut-back in the tactics and militancy of the struggle. It does not mean sacrificing numbers for revolutionary consciousness. To do either would be opportunist and ineffectual in both the short and long runs. Since fascist terror is not spread out evenly or even indiscriminately at this stage, organizing around fascism means winning people to a full anti-imperialist position and raising the level of struggle in order to build a revolutionary fighting force capable of defeating fascism and imperialism; it means creating an understanding of the international nature of the proletarian revolution and of the

socialist society to be built on the ruins of this horror.

Developing this internationalist consciousness will not be easy. There are no shortcuts, especially when a rich imperialist system has been able to provide "crumbs off the imperialist table", "white skin privileges", relative advantages of whites—the mother country over the colonized people that help maintain both in slavery. These privileges provide the material basis for racism and national chauvinism, and to say they are in the long run phony privileges is not to deny their reality; rather, job security, higher pay, access to better education, false attitudes of superiority have for the history of American labor (and the entire American people) been the stuff on which racist and pro-imperialist allegiance to the system is based. This is not to say that this false consciousness based on privilege will continue forever, that the working class is "bought off". Rather, it indicates how hard a job mother-country revolutionaries have—to build the working-class, anti-imperialist movement, and that the phenomenon we will have to relate to will be the erosion of privilege and the increased oppression of the people due to the attack on imperialism by the colonized nations. It will also mean we will have to hit out at attitudes and practices of white supremacy, male supremacy, and national chauvinism before a self-conscious anti-imperialist movement can be built. It means a long hard struggle, but one which the people of the world will eventually win.

Ultimately, there are two ways to fight repression. One is to give up, to do just what the bourgeoisie wants, to stop fighting. The other is to fight harder, re-raising the original anti-imperialist issues, gaining a larger and larger mass working-class base, running risks, suffering casualties, trying to defend yourself. A revolutionary, like anyone else, will not live forever. At this stage, he will win or die fighting for the people of the world. A revisionist, on the other hand, is a person who believes he can live forever, who wants a painless, riskless way to the revolution. (Most revisionists have already lived too long anyway.)

At this point, our task is to build on as sound a basis as we can. It is to raise and re-raise issues of the war, imperialism, racism, and the fascist attacks. We must raise the blacks and the Vietnamese as the vanguards of the revolution. It is to unite all so-called revolutionary organizations around defense of the victims of the fascist attacks, and to fight no less because we are of the white oppressor nation. Ours is to fight just as hard as those in the lead, those like Huey Newton who have taken the barrel end of the ruling class's bag of tricks. Ours is to show the example of whites from the mother country militantly fighting imperialism, militantly allying with the blacks and the other Third World people, deepening the fight against imperialism already under way in the belly of the monster. Ours is to bring the war home!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.



War

by Terry Robbins

"Historically, all revolutions are on the verge of extinction. To conduct a last desperate, the revolutionary forces deluded for a time by of outward strength, weakness, falling to the fact that the enemy while they themselves victory."

Chairman

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It means explaining the intent and hatred people feel toward the "opportunities" and "privileges" and the lives which are taken from them in America, in terms of bringing people into the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle.

Fighting fascism does not in any way mean a cut-back in the political line, or a retreat from fighting for civil liberties, or a retreat from fighting fascist encroachments, or a retreat in the tactics and militancy of the struggle. It does not mean reducing numbers for revolutionary consciousness. To do either would be defeatist and ineffectual in both the short and long runs. Since fascist rule is not spread out evenly or even randomly at this stage, fighting around fascism means organizing people to a full anti-imperialist struggle and raising the level of the struggle in order to build a revolutionary fighting force capable of fighting fascism and imperialism; and creating an understanding of the international nature of the proletarian revolution and of the

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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.



War at Kent State

by Terry Robbins

"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionary forces are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inward weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is near extinction while they themselves are approaching victory."

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Kent State University is a large school in Northeast Ohio, with 26,000 students. Last fall, the SDS chapter led a successful struggle against the racist Oakland Pig Department—stopping its attempt to recruit on campus. This spring, when we moved again, we were more together and ready for action. And so was the administration.

The struggle began on April 8, when SDS held a rally and marched through classrooms to the administration building in support of four demands: abolition of ROTC, the Northeast Ohio Crime Lab, the Kent State Law Enforcement School, and the Project Themis-State Department grant for the Liquid Crystals Institute. The demands were presented to "stop this university's ability to serve imperialism and racism, to challenge fundamentally some of the ways Kent State serves the ruling class."

The rally brought out about 400 people and about 200 went on the march. A fight ensued at the administration building between SDS and some pigs who were blocking the way. Kids' reaction to the fight was generally favorable. The administration's was not.

Waiting for dark, the university did four things: 1) They suspended SDS's charter as a recognized campus organization; 2) They suspended seven

people: Ric Erickson, Howie Emmer, George Gibeau, Colin Nieberger, Jeff Powell, Rebel Flanagan, and Curt Resnick; 3) they pressed charges against five of the seven: Ric, Howie, George, Colin, and Jeff on assault and battery; and 4) they sought and received a court injunction keeping the same five people off the campus until May 1.

The seven people suspended were singled out by the administration as "SDS leaders". Before two weeks were out, they would all be in and out of jail four times, each time on an escalated charge. The organizational ban against SDS meant that we could not use university facilities for any reason.

Violating the organizational ban as much as possible, we held several rallies and dorm raps in the next few days. We stressed the political nature of the administration's actions, reaffirmed our four demands and our determination to fight, and added a fifth demand: open and collective hearings for all those suspended.

Like it had done for the other four demands, the university ignored our demand for open and collective hearings and set Wednesday, April 16, as the trial date for Colin Nieberger. We resolved to open it up.

Revolution Begun

A rally scheduled for just before the hearing drew about 2000 people. After the rally we marched—about 700 strong—to the Music and Speech building where Colin's trial was to take place. We found all the doors chained shut, pigs at every door, and a contingent of angry right-wing jocks, blocking our entrance to the main door. We fought the jocks to a near standoff, and had them pleading that if only we'd go away, they'd go away too. Instead we went to another entrance, where the chains were already broken, and surged in.

We found the doors to the third floor chained shut, and protected from the inside by several pigs. Chanting "Open it up, or shut it down", about 150 SDS people broke through the doors and the pigs, and rushed to the hearing room.

The hearings, of course, were cancelled the minute we got there. We had been fighting continuously for almost an hour and decided to split.

But the university had something else in mind. As we were leaving the building we were stopped, by state patrolmen, city pigs, university pigs, and plainclothesmen. We were then detained for 4 1/2 hours while the university figured out what to do with us.

Crowds began gathering outside. Before it was all over, over 90 of our people escaped, but 58 were arrested, charged with "trespassing", and arraigned at \$1,000 bail each.

Among those arrested were the seven students who had been suspended out of our first action.

Two days later (April 18), they were all charged with inciting to riot.

The swift and heavy repression that came down during the struggle was, at first, unexpected. During the Oakland Pig confrontation in the fall, the administration had appealed to liberal sympathies by calling for an "open" campus, allowing every "organization" the right to freedom of speech and recruiting. When we occupied a building they used no force, and very few threats. And in the end, they caved in completely, granting amnesty to all who had participated in the action.

But during the struggle in the spring, the administration's velvet glove was removed to reveal a mailed fist. From the organizational ban to the arrests every weekend, from the encouragement of right-wing students to the open use of pigs, the administration revealed at all points its willingness to use fascist tactics where liberal ones had previously failed.

Two central questions concerned us during the struggle. The first was the question of how to deal with the heavy repression, and the second was how to maintain a political focus on our original demands.

The answer to the two was the same: quickly we understood that if we were ever to surmount the repressive tactics of the administration, we had to keep fighting. Not to act meant only to demonstrate to the people that we were

WHY SDS EXPECT

by Carl Davidson (reprinted from THE GUARDIAN)

For all its sound and fury and attendant confusion, the historic significance of the 1969 SDS national convention should not be lost, in the ranks of the radical movement.

For the first time since 1866, a predominantly white radical organization split over the issue of white supremacy and support for the black liberation struggle. The only similar occurrence in U.S. radical history was the split in the 1866 convention of the Southern loyalists after the Civil War, where whites from the Deep South supported the demands of freed slaves for full political rights, opposed by radical whites from border states.

The rest of U.S. radical history has been, in the main, the story of insurgent white workers and revolutionaries copping out and scabbing on the liberation struggle of black people.

When all is said and done, this was the main issue at the SDS convention, and the main culprit, in the eyes of most of SDS, was the Progressive Labor party.

Recognition of split

The expulsion of PL and its supporters from national SDS was, in one sense, simply the official recognition of a de facto split that has existed in several SDS chapters for the past six months. On the local level, most SDS members and chapters have recognized and supported the leading role and revolutionary significance of the struggles of black students on the campuses and of black working-class youth.

This has not been the case with PL and most persons it has organized into "worker-student alliance" caucuses.

On the campuses, PL now opposes most black student struggles, including demands for increased black admissions

and black studies programs. An article in the August issue of PL magazine went as far as stating, "...although masses of black students are obviously willing to fight racism and imperialism, the basic character of the black student movement is reactionary."

Preferential hiring

One resolution put forward by the PL-WSA group at the convention particularly enraged many SDSers. While PL opposed open admissions, the resolution called for preferential hiring of black and brown nonacademic campus employees. Persons attacking the resolution renamed it the "out of the classroom, into the kitchen" proposal, since, in effect, it called for more black maids and janitors to clean up after white students while opposing struggles of the children of those workers against racist admissions policies.

Many people also thought it incredible that PL could call for preferential hiring in job categories where black and brown workers were already "preferentially" hired, while, in effect, opposing the access of black and brown workers into predominantly white sectors of the working class requiring a college degree. The fact that most PL-WSA members couldn't see anything wrong with this was convincing evidence of their affliction with the "white blindspot" of white supremacy and white supremacy.

Opposition to Panthers

In addition to refusing to support in practice the struggles of the black student movement, PL has led an unprincipled attack on the Black Panther party and the Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

For example, an article in the issue of PL magazine said at the SDS convention stated, "The goal of both groups [the

Panthers and the League] is the same: a piece of the profit pie for a small number of black 'leaders'... Despite continuing reference to Mao Tse-tung, the Panthers increasingly put forward a line that sounds more and more like Martin Luther King or John Kennedy."

This statement is complemented by one in the February issue of PL: "Despite the frequent waving of 'The Quotations of Mao Tse-tung' (the red book), it is quite apparent that the Panthers have no class outlook and believe they are out to fight a war against white people in general."

PL also commented on the Panthers' breakfast for children program: "We feel this program doesn't deal with the problems of the black community. And we feel it isn't a forward step but a backward one."

The Black Panther party and many SDS members across the country saw remarks like these not as comradely criticism, but as vicious attacks and slanders that served only the interests of imperialism.

PL's venom was directed not only at the struggle of the black liberation movement in the U.S.; the August issue of PL also slandered the Cubans and the Vietnamese: "Because there is not a real Marxist-Leninist party and leaders in Cuba, Castro & Co. are busy screwing up revolutions in Cuba and all over Latin America."

Attack on NLF

The same issue contains this gem: "NLF-type liberation programs will take radicals right to the graveyard." PL has attacked the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as being part of a "Washington-Moscow-Hanoi Axis" designed to attack China, of "selling out" to imperialism, specifically naming Ho Chi Minh a "traitor."

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The answer to the two was the same: quickly we understood that if we were ever to surmount the repressive tactics of the administration, we had to keep fighting. Not to act meant only to demonstrate to the people that we were



weak and afraid, and the administration reaction would surely have been even heavier. Similarly, we realized that raising the issue of political repression and focusing our struggle around that alone would tie us up in all sorts of civil libertarian, obscuring, and student-privilege knots. Our only choice was to continue to raise our original demands, and intensify the fight even more.

The results of the struggle bear this out. We were hurt by the administration unmasked use of force and repression. Seven of our leaders were in and out of jail constantly, prohibited from going on the campus, and almost crippled from political activity for the duration of the struggle. The mass arrest threw a scare onto the campus for a time that made it tremendously difficult to even talk to people.

On the other hand, SDS made several key advances that outweigh the risks and the losses we took. We made it clear

to everyone on the campus that rather than being a bunch of spoiled students, we were serious and tough. We made it clear that, rather than being a question of bourgeois civil liberties, political repression was merely an extension of the people's oppression. We mobilized thousands of people, organized hundreds, and clearly raised the political consciousness of almost the entire campus. And out of this struggle, we increased tremendously the possibility of winning over many more people in the future.

Fidel Castro proved to the Cuban people that Batista's army wasn't bulletproof. Huey P. Newton demonstrated to black people in this country that the pig could be challenged and stopped. In all of our struggles, it is absolutely clear that we must demonstrate that the spirit of the people is always stronger than the pigs' technology. And the people will surely win.

SDS EXPELLED PL

from THE

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PL has also attacked the NLF for fighting a new democratic revolution and

calling for a new democratic state. According to PL, the NLF should skip this stage and fight directly for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

PL uses China as an example. From the August PL magazine: "The Chinese revolution proved you could skip stages, that socialism could triumph in a country without a significant industrial base." Mao Tse-tung had a somewhat different view of the Chinese revolution:

"If the capitalist road of bourgeois dictatorship is out of the question, then is it possible to take the socialist road of proletarian dictatorship? No, that is not possible either."

"Without a doubt, the present [Chinese] revolution is the first step, which will develop into the second step, that of socialism, at a later date... Having determined on their policy [collaborators with the Japanese]

they have lost no time in hiring some 'metaphysicsmongers' plus a few Trotskyists who, brandishing their pens like lances, are tilting in all directions and creating bedlam. Hence the whole bag of tricks for deceiving those who do not know what is going on in the world around them... The 'theory of a single revolution' is simply a theory of no revolution at all, and that is the heart of the matter." ("On New Democracy.")

NLF responds

PL has been attacked many times for its position on Vietnam. An NLF representative in Sweden, Le Phuong, wrote in a letter published in the April 5, 1969 Guardian: "They [PL] defame the political program of the NLF and slander it. Far from supporting the political program of the NLF, they defame it flagrantly. While progressive people throughout the world support the NLF and its political program, these people wrongly criticize the political program. While the U.S. imperialists slander our front, they slander our front too. That is

aiming at deceiving public opinion, including American public opinion. That is aiming at harming the antiwar movement in the U.S."

During the SDS convention panel on imperialism, Bob Avakian from the Bay Area Revolutionary Union nailed PL for "self-righteously and arrogantly considering themselves wiser than Chairman Mao and more revolutionary than the NLF." He noted that at the same time that PL was branding Ho Chi Minh a "traitor" and the NLF "sellouts," the Chinese had something different to say:

"We are deeply convinced that under the leadership of their great leader Ho Chi Minh and persevering in protracted people's war, the 31 million Vietnamese people will surely drive out all the U.S. aggressors from Vietnam..." (Lin Piao, Peking Review, Feb. 21, 1969.)

"On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, we, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist party of China and the government of the People's Republic of China, extend the warmest greetings to the people of South Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation who are standing at the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism." (Mao Tse-tung, Peking Review, Dec. 27, 1968.)

SDS arrived at the conclusion that it could no longer have a double standard, making major political demands (such as support for the NLF) outside its ranks which were not only not supported, but attacked by persons within its ranks. The existence of that contradiction within has hamstringed the organization for almost a year. While the battle remains to be fought out on local campuses across the country, the organization should now be able to move forward in the fight against imperialism.

BRING THE WAR HOME!

It has been almost a year since the Democratic Convention, when thousands of young people tore up the pig city for five days. The action last year was a response to the fascist oppression of black and brown people in the United States, and the fascist-genocidal war being waged against the people of Vietnam.

This fall, people are coming back to Chicago—for a national action against the war and imperialism, in support of Third World liberation struggles everywhere. We are coming back to Chicago, and we are going to bring those we left behind last year.

People will come because they hate the war, and because they know what's happening in this country. Everyone from working people in the factories to young people in school opposes the war. Now it is time to name and struggle against the real enemy that caused the war in the first place: not just a foreign policy, but a system: a worldwide system of imperialism that was erected on the dead bodies of black slaves, with the riches that it owns produced by the sweat and blood of working people all over the world.

Last summer, there were 10,000 of us in Chicago. The press made it look like a massacre. All you could see on TV were shots of the horror of pig brutality. This was the line that the rich people were trying to run down to us—"If you mess with us we'll let you have it." But those who were there have told a different story.

Last summer's action was a victory for the people in a thousand ways. We were together and our power was felt. The actions showed the Vietnamese people that there were thousands of young people in this country facing the same enemy that they face. It showed that white people would not sit by passively while black and brown communities were being invaded by occupation troops. And it showed the entire world that there were people in this country who were willing to fight back.

There was also a reason on the part of the colonized people. More than 200 GIs drafted out of the black colony and stationed at Fort Hood since returning from Vietnam, refused to be sent to Chicago to attack their class brothers and sisters in Lincoln Park. This is an example of the kind of international solidarity and support necessary to the movement to defeat imperialism and fascism.

Today, it is clear not only that the war against the people of Vietnam continues and escalates, but as well it is clear that fascist repression is being used increasingly against the people struggling in this country for their liberation. In particular, the black liberation struggle—the black and brown people in general—have been beaten, jailed, murdered, and starved to death in an attempt by the U.S. ruling class to maintain its fascist stranglehold on black and brown communities throughout the country. The jailing of Huey P. Newton, Ahmed Evans, and Fred Hampton; the exile of Eldridge Cleaver; the indictment against Bobby Seale, the murder of Bobby Hutton—and countless others—make it absolutely clear that the ruling class is intent on beating black and brown people into submission by destroying black leadership and the black movement altogether.

But these fascist tactics are not really a sign of the ruling class's strength, although their power is felt daily in every black and brown community. Rather, they are a sign of weakness. In the past two years, the black liberation struggle has begun to speak to masses of people, to challenge power—in short to threaten the riches and security of the ruling class's fortress. Fascism and repression are a response not to the fact that the ruling class is winning but to the fact that it fears it will lose, and it demonstrates not the total power of the state, but its fundamental weakness and corruptness in being unable to serve—or even cool out—anyone but the capitalist class. Rather than signifying the death of the movement, they are the dying gasps of the imperialist monster itself.

This has been most clearly demonstrated by the struggle in Vietnam. For over five years, the U.S. imperialists have tried to smash the Vietnamese people's struggle for national liberation and self-determination. Now, having almost totally lost the war, the imperialists have resorted to the most vicious, fascist-genocidal attacks on the urban centers of South Vietnam. "Destroying the cities in order to save them" is but one example of the ruling class's final attempt to control Vietnam.

But that attempt will fail. It will fail because the will of the people is stronger than the pigs' technology. And what we must understand is that when the movement in this country comes under attack, our response, like that of the Vietnamese, must be to fight back. Under the leadership of the Vietnamese and black liberation struggles, we have built our movement by taking the issues to masses of people and initiating struggles against the state. Now that repression is coming down harder and harder, we must intensify our work and our struggles, and make it clear to the people that we will not be turned around.

It is for this reason, and because of the urgent need to escalate support for Third World liberation struggles and build another front against imperialism—the urgent need to bring the war home—that SDS is calling for a national action in Chicago on October 11.

We are demanding that all U.S. occupation troops get out of Vietnam, black and brown communities, all foreign countries, and the schools.

We are demanding the release of all political prisoners who have been victimized by the growing fascist attacks on the movement and the people in general.

We are expressing total support for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

We are demanding independence for Puerto Rico and an end to the surtax, and expressing our support for the Conspiracy 8, as well as for GIs' rights and GIs' rebellions. We are asking all GIs to respond with demonstrations on their bases, as well as joining our action. We are asking working people to stop work, to express solidarity with working people all over the world who are getting screwed by the same boss, and join us in Chicago. And we are calling on all young people—high school, community college, college, unemployed or working—to come to Chicago and join in the struggle against imperialism, racism, and fascist oppression.

The October 11 action will be just one step in an ongoing attack. Off of that action we must build a programmatic attack that reaches everywhere, an attack that makes the slogan "Get Out of Vietnam" a reality and builds a mass-based revolutionary movement in this country.

On November 8, regional demonstrations will be held throughout the country as a follow-up to October 11, to make it clear that we will not be tricked by phony bombing halts or troop withdrawals or any games played by politicians. We will not be turned around.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



CHICAGO-OCT.11

November 8th Movement

At the National Convention we passed a resolution calling for the November 8th Movement, along with the National Action. Since the Convention, in NLN and most of our propaganda regarding the National Action, we haven't mentioned the November 8th Movement. We have been criticized for this by some of the West Coast brothers and sisters who see the November 8th Movement as particularly important.

There were two main reasons for holding off on mentioning November 8th. One was that the full conception of what the Movement should be like has not yet been worked out, either by us or by the authors of the resolution. The second reason, the more important one, is that we feel that in terms of the National Movement, the success of the October 11th action is crucial. By beginning to talk about November 8th at the same time as October 11th we would have detracted from the impact of the first propaganda.

October 11th will put forward our politics in the strongest way possible. It will be focused nationally. It will be the end of our summer organizing and will also start off the fall semester with a national militant street action that will set the political tone for the fall. The success of the November 8th Movement depends on the success of October 11th.

Reprinted below is the text of the November 8th resolution passed by the National Convention:

The current struggle of the Vietnamese people for self-determination is the vanguard struggle against U.S. Imperialism. Recent events in Vietnam and Paris indicate that the National Liberation Front is now opening a major political offensive to isolate the U.S. Imperialists and their puppets in Saigon from the masses of people in South Vietnam and throughout the world. SDS, as part of the international movement against U.S. Imperialism, has the historic task of making it politically impossible for the U.S. ruling class to be able to carry out its oppressions in Vietnam and throughout the Third World. In order to carry out this task it will be necessary to build a united front against Imperialism involving millions of people throughout the country. During the past years SDS has basically failed to build such a united front, at least partially because of a basic error in our approach to the millions of people who now favor immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. We tended to dismiss such people as not being "fully anti-imperialist," while failing to see that by calling for

U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam one is being objectively anti-imperialist. Clearly, we must correct our past errors and launch our own POLITICAL OFFENSIVE in the United States, in order to isolate the imperialist warmakers from the masses of the people who have to pay the price of Imperialism in terms of lives and money. During this summer we must take the issue of the war to the people on the job and on the streets to expand the base of active anti-war feelings into the non-student population. Starting now, we should openly declare that if the U.S. Government has not begun the withdrawal of all troops by the fall, then we will launch a week of major anti-war actions throughout the country. This week should include a wide range of activities to suit the local conditions, including anti-ROTC fights, but the important focus should be on an escalation in terms of numbers and commitment of the participants. Strong, broad-based anti-war committees should be built on a local basis for the purpose of carrying the struggle on past that one week.

Implementation

1. The national officers of SDS should hold a press conference immediately after the convention to declare that if the U.S. does not accept the generous 10-point peace plan of the National Liberation Front, then we will take the issue of the war back into the streets this fall.
2. We should set the date of November 8 as the day to commence one week of massive anti-war actions. November 8 should be built as a deadline throughout the summer, a deadline set by the people. Literature about November 8 should be produced on a massive scale both locally and nationally starting NOW. This literature should be distributed in the factories and the communities as part of our summer program. SDS should initiate November 8th Committees in all our local areas. These committees should be open to all who call for a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam NOW!
3. We should build the November 8th movement around broad based slogans and demands such as: Get Out of Vietnam Now, Bring the Troops Home Now, Vietnam for the Vietnamese, Our Fight Is at Home, Troops Out of the Ghettos and Campuses, End U.S. Imperialism, Tax the War Corporations—Not the People, Stop the War Tax.

—Joe Hill Caucus of SDS at San Francisco State



ROUND-UP

COLUMBUS, OHIO: The long hot summer has begun in Columbus, Ohio, where more than 40 fires have been set in three nights, and where 1250 National Guardsmen have been called in to halt the rebellion. The local pig forces have chosen this time to come down hard on SDS people in Columbus, three of whom have been jailed with a total of \$25,000 bail on charges of inciting to riot. In three different places around the city SDS organizers found holes drilled in the radiators of their cars, and there are reports that there are John Doe warrants out for other members of the Columbus project. Bail money is desperately needed; make checks payable to Corky Benedict, 1726 Euclid Heights Boulevard, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS: About 25 PL-WSA members broke up a meeting of SDS members who support the split made at the National Convention last month. The July 17 meeting was called to plan strategy for the fall, and the several PL-WSA people who came were informed that the meeting was a closed faction meeting. About one hour after they were escorted out of the meeting, they returned with a larger group which forced their way in, provoked a number of scuffles, and prevented the meeting from continuing. John Pennington, a leader of the PL group, announced that his faction would continue actions such as this and a previous unsuccessful attempt to break up a New York regional meeting until they attained the strength to seize the national office in Chicago.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Washington's largest slum pays out more in taxes each year than the government spends to improve it. While the government was pumping \$43 million into the Shaw Cardoza area, the black ghetto was paying more than \$50 million in taxes. Eighty thousand people live in this slum, and the median family income is only \$5600. The \$50 million taken from the people in taxes represents 38% of the total earned personal income for the area, and of the money spent by the government in the area, more than one-fifth went for urban renewal to kick people out of their homes, for firemen who protect the property of racist store-owners, and for police who put the people down if they try to do anything to improve their lives.

FT. DIX, NEW JERSEY: A highly reliable source in the New Jersey State Government has told staff members of the Ft. Dix Coffee House that the government is preparing for mass arrests of civilians and GIs. According to

the source, the charges will be that the coffee house is "the major source of heroin" in the Ft. Dix area. This latest move by the government follows more than a dozen phony arrests of coffee house staffers since the house opened on April 25, and is a clear response to a growing movement that has already produced a regular newspaper and a stockade revolt on the New Jersey base.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: While President Nixon was extending a royal welcome to Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, fifty members of the Ethiopian Student Association in North America stormed the Ethiopian Embassy to oppose the Selassie dictatorship. The students kicked down the door, ripped open screens, threw rocks at windows, and occupied parts of the Embassy long enough to destroy Haile Selassie's photograph and other paraphernalia. Fourteen students were arrested and several injured in the action, which demanded an end to U.S. imperialist involvement in Ethiopia.



Ethiopian students demonstrating in Washington (LNS)

DOW ON STRIKE: "328 VS. BILLIONS OF \$\$\$"

by Frank Carbone

In the last few months, ideological struggle within SDS has sharpened as we have begun to move toward the development of a clear ideology and class analysis of American society. But ideological struggle divorced from practice is bound to produce mistaken ideas and lead instead to wild speculation and even fantasy. In the past our student-based and campus actions restricted our ideological development and isolated us from the masses of people. Today many people see the necessity for us to reach out to working class youth, but our actual contact with the working class has been limited. Only with experience will we be able to advance ideologically and build a revolutionary working-class movement in the United States. The strike at Dow has been one such experience.

Since May 7, Local 23 of the International Chemical Workers Union has been on strike against Dow Chemical in Pittsburgh, California, a small town north of Berkeley. As the sign on the union hall door (quoted in the title) indicates, Local 23 is small, with only 328 members. But the workers have had a little help from their friends in Local 598 at the Dow plant at Torrance, in Southern California, who joined the strike on May 20, when 92 out of 100 union workers there decided to honor the informational pickets sent down by Local 23.

The primary aspect of the strike and the key demand of Local 23 has been class solidarity. Although the initial contract offered by Dow contained items on wages, pensions, and shifts of personnel, the Pittsburgh workers' main concern was on the change in wording of the "no strike" clause from the old contract. In Article 18 of the proposed contract, Dow sought to have Local 23 "agree that there shall be no strikes, walkouts, or interruption of work" for the three-year period covered by the contract. Specifically the bosses wanted to make sure that the Pittsburgh local did not go out "because of any disputes or disagreements between parties, corporations, unions, or associations which are not parties of this agreement." What this amounts to is a ban on sympathy strikes. The company is trying to prevent just the

kind of support that Local 23 is receiving from the Torrance workers who, by honoring Local 23's picket line, closed down the Torrance plant and caused Dow to lose its napalm contract. The agreement between the two locals promised reciprocal support when Local 598's contract expires in November.

The potential strength of such concrete solidarity is recognized by both the workers and the bosses. The move by Dow to head off possible support strikes is not an isolated incident, but part of strategy by the imperialists to block the usual roads of protest against the increasingly worsening wages and job conditions. During the strike, for example, students were requested to check out a bill pending before the California State Senate that would bind any welfare recipient who was on strike to cross the picket line or lose his welfare benefits. This law would have affected some 100 workers during the Dow strike, leaving them with only \$25 per week strike fund benefits, often for a family of six.

Faced with the mutual support pact of the Torrance and Pittsburgh workers the bosses tried to divide the two locals. Despite the company's claim that 60 college students, lab employees, and management personnel were maintaining full production at Pittsburgh, any fool could see that Dow was hurting. Dow even sent empty trucks in and out of the gates to give the impression that it was doing business as usual, but the attempt to simulate normalcy was proven a sham when inferior products were returned to the plant and equipment began to break down due to the ineptitude of the scabs. When Dow sent letters to each of the Torrance workers threatening to fire them if they didn't return to work the next day, and filed suit for \$10,000 damages plus \$5,000 for each additional day that the sympathy strikes continued, the Torrance workers held firm, voting overwhelmingly to continue their walkout. This strong relationship between the Pittsburgh and Torrance workers indicates an important political development: rather than each local going for itself in the face of hard times, the workers instead have done just the opposite, proclaiming their solidarity against the company. The



WHAT DO THEY MEAN... EXCESS PROFITS?
PROFITS ARE NEVER EXCESSIVE!"

attitude of the Pittsburgh workers toward the students revealed this same development.

WORKERS AND STUDENTS

Because of the nearly total absence of press coverage, few people in the Bay area knew about the strike for a long time, and it was not until 10 weeks after the strike had begun that students from the Radical Student Union in Berkeley and from Stanford SDS joined the picket lines.

On the first day that two or three students went to Pittsburgh, they openly introduced themselves as SDS members from Stanford. Although the reaction of one guy on the line ("Right on, burn it down!") was atypical, the initial

reaction of the workers was surprisingly friendly, especially since the average age of Local 23's workers is around 50. Even the hesitancy of some of the older workers can be explained by the facts that Pittsburgh is a small town, isolated from the rest of the Bay Area, and that college students had been imported as scabs to help break the strike. After rapping with the strikers in the union hall and on the picket line for two weeks, almost all of the workers, young and old, had rejected the ruling-class propaganda about "dissenting students" and accepted us—long hair, beards, Red Books, and all.

At Torrance too the workers were glad to get student support. A couple of SDS people had flown down to Torrance during the second week of our involvement and were present when Dow asked the union leadership to hold a joint press conference to "denounce SDS for interfering in our labor dispute". Alex Agurre, President of Local 23, told the company to fuck off, that the union knew who its friends were. Though by no means the most militant sector of the local, the Executive Board was responsive to the rank and file, many of whom would have strongly objected to any condemnation of the students by the union leadership.

The students won the backing of the Pittsburgh workers not by running down to them words about the dictatorship of the proletariat or the struggle for socialism, but by consistently making an appearance on the picket lines, and attempting to learn as well as teach. Whenever the pigs or bosses came over to hassle us, we stood our ground and argued with them rather than acting reserved or intimidated. This won the respect of the workers and scared the shit out of Dow, as rumors spread that hordes of students were coming up from Berkeley, San Francisco State, and Stanford.

IMPERIALISM AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

The importance of supporting strikes like the one at Dow is clear at this time. The imperialist conference in San Francisco in September presents SDS with a perfect opportunity to talk to



more dow

workers about imperialism in a concrete way. 500 heads of the largest corporations in the country will be meeting to, among other things, "find alternatives to free collective bargaining and strikes". The Pittsburgh workers, for example, had no problems in relating to the threat presented by the conference, and to the formulation that we as students and they as workers have a common enemy. A booklet put out by the RSU, "The Uses of U.C. Berkeley", concretized this conception with its chart of the various holdings of the members of the Board of Trustees.

In addition support for strikes like the one at Dow presents the possibility of material actions (as opposed to symbolic demonstrations) that can force the imperialists to halt their war of aggression against the Vietnamese. Our approach should be to build working-class support and participation in the fall anti-imperialist demonstrations, and, most importantly, to raise the question of work stoppages in factories in support of the NLF.

One of the first questions we asked the workers was about black, brown, and female workers in the union. We were told that there were no women, only 8 or 10 blacks, and 30 Chicanos in the union (although later we heard there were 70 Chicanos at the plant).

Schlitz on Strike

The crisis of inflation caused by the increasing cost of the war in Vietnam and the maintenance of the American empire was a basic cause of the strike of 4500 Milwaukee Brewery workers. The ruling class has spent so much on the war that inflation has jumped out of control, and while the inflation could be stopped by reducing federal spending, the government finds this impossible. The money being spent in Vietnam, for example, has to be spent, since a loss there would precipitate a general loss of Third World markets, sources of raw material, bases for profitable investment, and so on. So instead the ruling class tries to limit inflation by raising interest rates and by trying to keep wages down.

The demands of the striking brewery workers for a 50¢-an-hour annual wage increase, for a cost-of-living escalator clause, and for control over the pension funds were not unusual demands. One of our jobs in this period of collapsing imperialism is to help the people understand the nature of imperialism and how they can contribute to its defeat.

In the case of the brewery strike, it was the owners who best understood the overall situation. Realizing that inflation will continue, they refused to talk about the cost-of-living clause, and the union never pressed the issue. Realizing that the situation can only get worse, they attempted to break the union by making it responsible for all wildcats that might occur.

It was Schlitz, the largest and most powerful Milwaukee brewing company, that took the lead in attacking the workers. Twice Schlitz brought out scab beer through the picket lines, and twice the workers resisted, provoking pig violence and a few arrests. After these confrontations one of the workers said, "I'm going to write my son in Vietnam tonight, he's got to come home. He's got to come home because we need him here." A few of the men talked about how they could now understand why black people and students fight the police. There was also a clearer understanding of who owns Milwaukee: "If you call or I call the cops they might come and they might not," another striker said. "But when Uihlein (the family that owns Schlitz and most of Milwaukee) calls them, they come two and a half hours early."

On June 21, when the union called for mass picketing at Schlitz, the company again brought out more beer, and brought on a hundred pigs. When the pigs attacked the workers 22 were arrested, and many workers began to articulate an understanding of the connection between big business and the state, and of how state force is used

A couple of days later, one of the strikers told us that the reason there were so few black workers at the plant was that the difficult written tests given by the company to all prospective employees screen out all but the "elite". Given the nature of the California educational system's tracking, the test effectively bars employment to blacks on all but the lowest levels of janitorial and yard work. The white and Indian workers who told us this expressed strong displeasure not only over the poor jobs that blacks are tracked into, but also over the fact that those two job categories were included under management, thus preventing the blacks from joining the union. "If they were in the union," I was told, "they would be promoted like anyone else, on the basis of their ability to do the job." Although the workers seemed to understand that the blacks were getting screwed by the company and by being denied a union, they had difficulty in understanding how they could fight the company's racism.

AND THE STRIKE GOES ON

The vote at Torrance, along with the presence of the students, finally caused the company to lose its cool. Company mediator Fred Peacock called Agurre, and the union leaders worked out a settlement for the members to approve. The wording of Article 18—

the no-strike clause—had been changed from the old contract, but the membership were assured that it wouldn't prevent them from going out in support of Torrance come the fall. Many of the rank and file felt that if Dow wanted a change, it must be to the company's benefit, but the contract was approved by a two-to-one vote, with the unwritten understanding that the suits against Local 598 would be dropped, and the striking workers reinstated.

The day of the signing Dow pulled a couple of fast ones. Much of the wording of the contract had been changed from what Local 23 had voted to accept. The bosses claimed it was all an "honest mistake", but nobody believed them, especially when they discovered that three-fourths of the workers had been called back to work before the contract was signed. The bosses then agreed to change the contract, even giving in and allowing the old wording of Article 18 to remain and granting larger wage increases than before.

But Dow still copped out on their agreement to reinstate the Torrance workers by laying off two workers and assigning many to yard work (one of the lowest job classifications) rather than removing the scabs who had taken their jobs. The workers at Pittsburgh were furious and resumed their strike, calling on students for support. For the first time the workers are openly

critical of the international for its lack of financial support and publicity. In addition, the Pittsburgh workers have upped the ante since the company's betrayal. A good number of trucks and some scab cars have developed tire problems since the resumption of the walkout, and a stray rock broke the window of the guard shack, where company creeps had been photographing the picketers.

Since the UFAF conference, brothers and sisters from around the country have gone up to Pittsburgh. The Wednesday after the conference, a mass mobilization was called, and films on the San Francisco State strike and on the Richmond Oil strike are scheduled to be shown July 24 at the union hall. The union badly needs financial aid; the seven weeks of funds guaranteed by the international were used up three weeks ago, and they haven't come through with additional funds. At the same time, because of the low \$25 weekly strike benefits, many workers have fallen behind in their mortgage payments and Dow has had the Bank of America hassle the workers for their payments and threaten foreclosure. Donations are needed. Checks should be made out to Local 23, and should be sent to Local 23, Tenth and Cumberland, Pittsburgh, California.

to put down the struggles of the people. But this militancy, lacking other than union channels for its expression, dissipated in the succeeding days.

Our group, the Milwaukee collective, was hardly on its feet when Schlitz called in the pigs, but we decided to "reiate" to the strike anyway, in order to understand where the men on the line were at politically, and in order to help the strikers win against Uihlein and the city pigs. On the picket lines, we talked to the men both about their situation and also about our understanding of imperialism. People from Madison SDS came down for two days to help us on the picket lines and in the distribution of leaflets. The leaflets we put out discussed briefly the police attack and the workers' demands, and concentrated on the role of the Uihleins and of Schlitz in the local power structure and in United States imperialism. To a greater extent than in personal conversations on the picket lines, the leaflet expressed our understanding of the key role of U.S. imperialism, drawing connections between the struggles of people at home and abroad (although this point could have been made still more strongly).

There were three problems with our work on the picket lines: we never made it clear who we were as a group, we never made it clear why we supported the strike, and we never adequately dealt with racism. We should have joined the picket lines as the Milwaukee Collective, and have been able to rap out our views on racism, imperialism, class struggle, and the need for revolution. We should have pushed the connection between the use of the pigs against workers and the use of the pigs against blacks, students, and Vietnamese, and we should have related the money demands of the strikers to their economic causes (inflation and the loss of the empire), using this to talk about imperialism, wars of national liberation, and the need to develop a revolutionary working class movement. Some people in the collective felt that we should also have consciously drawn out the most politically-aware strikers, and worked extensively with them, pushing them to assume the role of organizers within Schlitz to continue and build the struggle during and after the strike.

Our talk of racism was confronted by the brewers' claims that 300 blacks and Latins had been hired since the Milwaukee rebellions of 1967, and were continuing to be hired in large numbers. Because we never investigated hiring practices, wage scales, job categories, opportunities for advancement, and Uihlein's slum holdings, we were unable to break down this smokescreen liberalism, and to dispel the myth that Schlitz was "really" not racist.



BERKELEY

On the 180th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, Peoples Park supporters returned to the remains of the park site, to the reinforced chainlink fence, to the floodlights and the six Burns Rent-a-Pigs. Close to 1500 demonstrators managed to rip over 30 holes in the fence and withstand for three hours repeated tear-gas barrages and club-swinging forays into the crowd by local police.

Though there were some arrests and injuries (38 arrests and approximately 25 injured, none seriously), the assault represented a partial victory. The pigs too suffered injuries and two pig cars damaged, but more important was the fact that they were caught unprepared.

The resurgence of the Park movement followed a six-week decline in positive political direction. The positive aspects of the Park struggle, namely its attack on private property, the realization of non-alienated labor, the breakdown of pacifism and the building of revolutionary political culture had been lost. The movement turned inward, in part reflecting the provincialism that has traditionally characterized struggles at elite universities like Berkeley, but also as a reaction to the severe repression. For many, the repression was visible proof that "hippies" and "niggers" were the same and that cultural alienation was comparable to material economic oppression.

Thus, rather than reach out to serve the people, the Peoples Park movement saw its primary need as serving itself. A Peoples Pad was conceived, a kind of Youth Hostel to house the influx of people into Berkeley in the summer. Vacant buildings were obtained in the West Berkeley community (predominantly black working-class) without the prior consultation of that community, with which students had no strong ties. The Third World strike (winter quarter) had not been successful in gaining meaningful community support, and historically the Berkeley movement had fought struggles unrelated to the needs of the working-class people of Berkeley. After

the initial intrusion, people tried to bring the community into the activities of the Peoples Pad (Liberation Schools, playgrounds for kids, etc.), but this never materialized.

The Pad's failure reinforced the inability of the Park movement to focus again on the issue of the Park. People seized upon the idea of emulating Bastille Day, mobilizing people with the minimum of effort: passing out leaflets which said only "Bastille Day July 14—the fence", and gathering the necessary technical equipment (wirecutters).

By noon on the 14th, 300 to 400 people had assembled. As people began to rip holes in the fence and shake the fence, pigs attempted to clear area around the fence and hold it. The pigs were outnumbered, and the demonstrators eventually encircled the fence. When demonstrators attempted to take care of a pig car, they were met with a barrage of tear gas.

The next three hours were punctuated by sounds of exploding tear-gas canisters and rock and bottle counter-assaults by demonstrators, who now numbered close to 1500. The mood remained tense till midnight. As 200 California State Highway Patrolmen were brought in, the free clinic was gassed by the pigs and people gathered anxiously along Telegraph Avenue. The next day was quiet, but it was clear that by going back to the fence in a mass militant manner the movement had reaffirmed its strength. Just as the People's Park struggle had demonstrated the strength of the Berkeley movement at a time when many activists had become skeptical, so did the Bastille Day action.

The pacification and fear which had characterized the Memorial Day march and remained strong over the next six weeks are now broken, but the Berkeley movement ultimately can only be successful if it reaches out to working class and Third World people. The maintenance and affirmation of the movement at this time, however, especially in light of the repression, is not necessarily contradictory to that end.



photo/san francisco good times

ANNOUNCEMENTS

MASS PAPER IN PREPARATION

In the last issue of New Left Notes, we announced that SDS would be producing a new mass distribution newspaper for local organizers to use in their mass propaganda work. The paper, as yet unnamed, will be coming out within the next 10 days, but we still have received little response. New York, San Francisco, Kansas City, Washington, Akron, Detroit—how many papers can you use? Do you have any last-minute articles or topics to suggest? Send it all in to Joe Tashiro at the national office.

NIC MEETING AUGUST 1-3

There will be a meeting of the National Interim Committee August 1 to 3 in Chicago. The meeting will discuss the National Action, educational materials, organizational problems, regional strategies, follow-up to UFAF, and the Venceremos Brigade. Anyone who plans to come to the meeting should call the national office for the exact location and should try to be here by 6:00 Friday night.

NATIONAL ACTION PROPAGANDA

A basic brochure on the National Action, to be used in mass work, has been prepared by the NO and is available in bulk. For less than five copies the pamphlet is free; for more than five, the cost is a penny per. With the 50% chapter discount, you can get 1,000 copies of the action brochure for \$5, which you should, because this is definitely the best thing the NO has come out with yet.