

# sds new left notes



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Volume 4, #16

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

April 24, 1969

# FREE

# HUEY



# ON MAY DAY!

by Mike Klonsky  
SDS National Secretary

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party, is once again taking his case to the people. On May 1, Federal Judge Alphonso J. Zirpoll will sit in judgment over Huey and the movement for black liberation in this country. Huey and the Panthers have called for massive demonstrations throughout the world to let the power structure know that the

people demand that Huey be set free immediately.

Judge Zirpoll is asking that the state show cause why Huey P. Newton should not be released on bail. Huey is presently serving a 2-15-year sentence for shooting an Oakland pig to death in self-defense after he was ambushed and shot more than a year ago. While the verdict is being appealed, there is a chance that bail could be set and Huey could be back on the streets.

How Judge Zirpoll rules will probably

be determined by how much support is shown Huey by the masses of people. It is clear that the ruling class will keep him locked up for as long as they are able to, knowing that he represents the spirit and will of all oppressed people to rise up and take power. We have got to make the price of Huey's imprisonment too expensive for them to pay.

Because May Day is the international workers' holiday, no finer time could be picked to hold demonstrations and rallies, since Huey has time and time again articulated the needs of all working people and has fought against the exploitation and oppression of all people.

Demonstrations presently being planned include a massive rally in San Francisco at the Federal Court House, 450 S. Golden Gate Ave. It is expected that more than 20,000 will attend this 10 a.m. rally even though it is being called on a weekday.

Another is being called in Chicago at noon at the Federal Building, 219 S. Dearborn. Speakers at the Chicago rally will include Mike Klonsky, SDS National Secretary; Cha Cha Jimenez, head of the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican liberation organization; Fred Hampton,

Chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, and representatives from several other black, white and Latin organizations in the city.

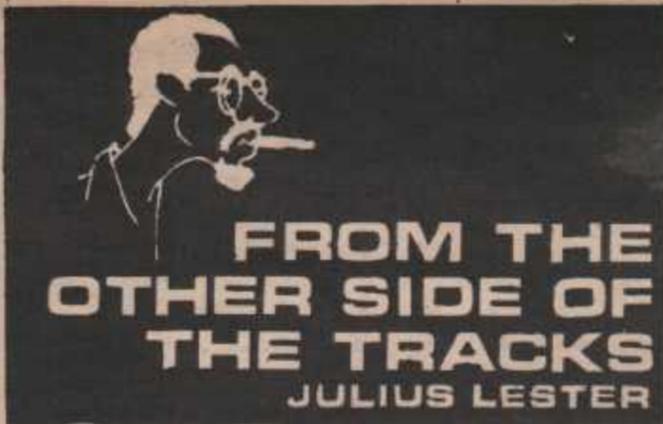
New York, the scene of perhaps the heaviest anti-Panther repression in recent months, is also scheduling a demonstration.

The SDS National Office has sent messages to German SDS and other European movement organizations to ask them to join us in May Day demonstrations, demanding that Huey and all black political prisoners be set free.

Demonstrations should be seen as a chance to implement the Panther resolution passed at the Austin NC. The whole question of following black leadership must be brought out as well as the necessity to attack white supremacy. When we demand that black political prisoners be freed, it presents us with an opportunity to attack the racism of many of our people. Support for black liberation is the only basis for revolutionary class unity, and we must see Huey P. Newton as a leader of the whole people's movement and not just the Panthers.

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
FREE HUEY!**

NEW LEFT NOTES, Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612, RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED, Second-class postage rate paid in Chicago, Illinois



# Lester attacks Panther resolution as racist

Relationships between black and white radicals have always broken down when whites have felt that they knew better than blacks what was best for blacks.

William Lloyd Garrison refused to speak to Frederick Douglass when the latter insisted upon his right to speak as a black abolitionist, not as a Garrisonian. The Communist party was never able to resolve its differences with blacks, who wanted to combine Marxism-Leninism with black nationalism; the usual result was the expulsion or resignation of these blacks from the party. William Monroe Trotter refused to join the NAACP when it was formed because he feared that it would be dominated by whites. W.E.B. DuBois was in constant conflict with the whites in the NAACP, and DuBois only survived because he made the NAACP journal, the Crisis, into his own magazine, a force independent of the NAACP.

## Black Power Concept

With the articulation of Black power, and its tenets of the unassailable right of blacks to define for themselves, we hoped that a new day had arrived. Whites would attempt to organize whites, remaining aware of what was happening within the black movement, supporting that movement and joining in actions whenever the black movement desired such.

If white radicals were able to abide by this, it would serve to build trust between black and white radicals and bury that history of white supremacist attitudes eventually overriding white radical pretensions, with the subsequent betrayal of blacks.

The recent SDS statement on the Black Panther party shows that history has repeated itself. The intent of the SDS statement was to show support for the Black Panther party, an aim with which no one has any disagreement. SDS's intent, however, is subverted when the contents of the statement (see page 8) are examined.

What should have been a statement of support is, in effect, a statement in which SDS thrusts itself into the internal affairs of the black movement. It should have been a statement telling the government that SDS stands united with the Panthers against the government's current attempts to destroy them. Instead, it states categorically who the black vanguard is, what the correct ideology is, what the correct military strategy is, and what the correct program is.

## "Vanguard Force"

To say the least, the SDS resolution is unfortunate. That the Black Panther party should have the support and aid of SDS is indisputable. And it is indisputable that SDS has an obligation and responsibility to have relations and even make formal alliances with any black organization willing to enter into such arrangements. But it is not within the province of SDS's responsibilities or rights to assert that any black organization represents "the vanguard force" in "the black liberation movement." That right belongs to the black community and the black community alone. To have so asserted puts SDS in the position of trying directly to guide the black movement and tell that movement what is in its own best interests. This is an insult.

SDS goes further and calls the Black Panther party 10-point program "an essentially correct program for the black community." Whether or not that program is "essentially correct" is not at issue here. What is at issue is SDS's ability to know what is correct or incorrect for the black community. And being an organization of whites, SDS is not in any position to define or analyze for blacks. If SDS is going to attempt to do so, then it must discuss why the Panther program is correct and why the programs of the Republic of New Africa, the

Black Muslims, SNCC, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other groups are incorrect. SDS does not do so.

More than halfway through its statement, SDS begins to use the phrase, "and other black revolutionary groups," which does not rectify the statement's initial mistakes. The inclusion of "and other black revolutionary groups" sounds more like an afterthought than anything SDS takes seriously.

SDS goes even further, saying that revolutionary nationalism is correct and cultural nationalism is incorrect. On what basis does SDS presume to know anything about nationalism? The correct and incorrect aspects and uses of nationalism is the most difficult of problems for nationalists; and no one in SDS can ever be a nationalist. If SDS were going to enter into this ideological debate, as it did, then it has a responsibility to define and discuss cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism before reaching its conclusions. SDS simply states its conclusions, which are nothing more than a parroting of the Panther position.

Categorically to state that cultural nationalism is "reactionary" is to falsify irresponsibly the history of the black movement. It is cultural nationalism that has laid the foundation for revolutionary nationalism. It is cultural nationalism that has, more than any other ideology, brought a common consciousness to blacks.

To oppose cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism to each other is to ignore totally the transition from cultural nationalism to revolutionary nationalism which some blacks have made and many are in the process of making. It is unjust to condemn the black youth who yesterday was "Negro" and has just awakened to himself (his blackness). To condemn him for his cultural nationalism will only make him defensive and retard his growth to revolutionary nationalism.

## Factionalism

The job is to criticize cultural nationalism in such a way as to aid the growth to revolutionary nationalism. To condemn cultural nationalism outright is to divide the movement and create conditions for warring factions. Perhaps this factionalism is inevitable, as at least appears in California between Ron Karenga's US organization and the Panthers. That factionalism, however, is not so in evidence in other parts of the country and it can be avoided. Also, it is necessary to distinguish between cultural nationalism and the establishment's attempts to exploit cultural nationalism.

One of the most difficult of ideological battles is going to be moving cultural nationalists to a position of revolutionary nationalism. That battle cannot be won by the outright condemnation of cultural nationalism at this stage. For SDS to inject itself into this ideological struggle is arrogant beyond all imagining, for it is not a struggle in which SDS has to involve itself. No white organization has the right to condemn cultural nationalism, because no white person can be a cultural nationalist. No white organization has the right to support revolutionary nationalism, because no white can be a revolutionary nationalist. SDS, however, has arrogated unto itself these rights.

When SDS characterizes cultural nationalism as "porkchop nationalism," it is guilty of a racism which blacks have had to endure for much too long. SDS should have enough respect for blacks to use its own language, and not to appropriate the language of another people. One of the hardest and most bitter struggles blacks have waged has been against cultural imperialism. Now it seems that a fight must also be waged against SDS, a group from which one would have expected a little more understanding and sensitivity.

Whatever the intent of the SDS statement, its effect can only be damaging. Those blacks who are not Panthers, which is most, will of course be offended and insulted. Those blacks who have disagreements with the Panthers will view the statement as interference by SDS in a matter which is none of its concern.

Surely, SDS has not answered all the questions necessary for a revolutionary ideology, program and strategy in the white community that it can presume to answer those questions for blacks.

## White Chauvinism

Because SDS involves itself so directly in the black movement, it exemplifies the very white chauvinism which it, in its statement, claims to be fighting. How can SDS presume to know anything about nationalism? How can SDS presume to know what is the "essentially correct program for the black community"? How can SDS presume to know who is "the vanguard" in the black community? How can SDS presume to know what is the correct military strategy for the black community? SDS presumes to know all of these things, as whites have always presumed to know all of these things for black people.

Last December SDS said that "nationalism is 'the main ideological weapon of the ruling class' within the black liberation movement..." Now SDS repudiates its "inability to distinguish between revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism" and calls its previous position "at best nonrevolutionary." At best, it was racist, as the present statement is racist.

It would have been helpful to us all if SDS had shown us how it reached the first conclusion, reversed it, and reached the second conclusion. An organization which calls itself revolutionary has the responsibility to make us aware of its thought processes and not just present conclusions. SDS, however, presents us with two contradictory conclusions within four months, both wrong, both racist and both put forward with the confidence of Chairman Mao.

Given the content of the statement, it is not surprising that it is a compendium of hackneyed language. It sounded as if it had come straight from the pages of the Black Panther party newspaper, rather than from the organization which gave us one of the great documents of contemporary history, the Port Huron Statement. The language of this statement is one continual left cliché, incomprehensible to anyone who is not part of the left. All the stock phrases of left rhetoric are there, sounding as if they mean something. In actuality, they mean little,

because too many of us hide behind rhetoric—as opposed to learning—to be able to express concepts in a language that helps to clarify and enlighten.

Given the present state of the movement, clarity and enlightenment are of the highest priority. SDS, in this instance, has provided neither.

SDS should have accorded the black movement and the black community a modicum of respect by not making this statement public, whatever its private opinions may be. By the open attacks which the Black Panther party has been making on cultural nationalism, it should be apparent that there is an intense ideological struggle taking place within the black movement. That struggle can only be resolved by blacks. SDS's intrusion into it is not only unwelcome, it is disruptive and damaging—both to SDS and to the black movement. Blacks know, however, that whites-only act in terms of what is good for them and it seems that SDS, despite appearances, is more white than revolutionary.

## Relationship to Blacks

What is at issue here is the correct relationship a white radical organization should have to the black radical movement. By presuming to know what program, ideology, military strategy, and what particular organization best serve the interests of the black community, SDS has served to set us back. Those blacks who are suspicious of working with whites will have their suspicions confirmed by this statement. Those blacks who maintain that whites cannot be revolutionary will have this statement to offer as proof.

The ultimate irony comes in the fact that SDS could have exemplified its solidarity with the Panthers without involving itself in the particulars of the black movement. This statement is as arrogant and presumptuous as the Progressive Labor party statement of last year criticizing the government of North Vietnam for entering into peace negotiations.

The North Vietnamese can afford to laugh at such presumption. The black radical movement is not in an equivalent position.

The SDS statement damages any claims SDS may have had of being radical or becoming revolutionary. White radical organizations of the past failed in their attempts to work with blacks because they thought they had the right to involve themselves in questions of ideology and tactics which were the concern of blacks alone. Some of us thought SDS might be different. It is only regrettable that we didn't find out sooner that it wasn't.

## New Left Notes

New Left Notes is published weekly (except June and July, when publication is bi-weekly) by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874). Second-class postage is paid at Chicago. Subscriptions are \$5 included with the SDS membership fee or cost \$10 for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of writers; unsigned articles are the responsibility of editor David Millstone. New Left Notes is affiliated with UPS and Liberation News Service.

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Chicago: 162 North Clinton, Chicago, Illinois 60606 (312-641-0932)  
Michigan: Post Office Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107 (201-371-9761)  
New England: 125 Green, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 (617-864-3126)  
New Jersey: Box 376-C, Newark, New Jersey 07101 (no telephone)  
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# SSOC: the Man gets what he pays for



by Michael Klonsky  
SDS National Secretary

A resolution was passed at the Austin NC breaking the fraternal relations SDS previously held with SSOC. Since the NC, I have done some traveling in the South and we in the National Office have heard various reactions to the resolution. I would like to deal with some of these reactions and try and make clear to people why I supported the resolution and think that SDS took a principled position towards SSOC and a correct one strategically in terms of building a revolution in America.

## Foundation Money

The first point dealt with in the NC resolution, "Build SDS in the South," was money. SSOC, since its inception, has been funded by CIA conduits, the Field Foundation, the Aaron L. Norman Fund and the Taconic Foundation. At this point in history, the movement in general and SDS in particular must be very clear about our position regarding taking money from the Man. We must carefully evaluate just how the CIA, Kennedy, Rockefeller, Ford and others have skillfully plotted to destroy the movements for peoples' liberation around the world with their two-pronged attack of money and guns.

Depending on foundation funding violates a key rule of building revolutionary mass organizations: we must be self-reliant, able to sustain ourselves. If we are serious about serving and finding our strength in the people, then we must not only educate and lead actions, we must go to the people for the resources—including money—which are necessary for survival. Dependency on foundation resources is incorrect; if our programs and activities are serving the people, then they will support us—by joining us and providing the tools for struggle. If we depend on foundations, we are led to complacency, waste, and made dependent on money that can be withdrawn at a critical moment.

## "Respectable Dissent"

Second, we must understand that the man does not invest his money stupidly. Their job is to control through any means necessary any potentially revolutionary force, to limit the areas of "respectable dissent" as they put it. At a minimum they use their money to influence us subtly—to try to play on those tendencies within every group to modify program and action. At a maximum they hope that over a period of time they can permanently contain the direction of organizations. No group can afford to leave itself open on this count to the sources of its money.

## Infiltration

Third, we all know that the level of infiltration of the movement is increasing rapidly, everywhere. We cannot afford to give the man—the FBI, grand juries, counterinsurgency researchers, or foundations—any more access to the information they need about our organizations (its source of funds, size of staff, content of program, or whatever). It is naive at best to assume that all that the foundations know about organizations that they support is written in some jive fundraising prospectus. And it is jive to think that we can take the money for a while, and then when they find out the "real truth" about how bad we are, make a sudden shift and build an independent fundraising base. It is absolutely wrong to think that we and the liberal sector of the bourgeoisie have similar intermediate goals, so we can make a tactical agreement now and split later. Those who do have goals similar to the liberal bourgeoisie are not revolutionaries, no matter what

their rhetoric may say.

All of this doesn't even take into account something which I will deal with later, which is the fact that the membership has no idea where SSOC money comes from. The reaction I got after telling people how SSOC is funded was one of complete surprise. Even many of the people on the SSOC staff had no idea of SSOC's budget or what foundations gave money. They still don't know for sure because none of them have even seen the books. Sounds very much like the NSA scandal. It seems like the guy in charge of fund-raising simply has himself a good thing going. SSOC members ought to demand an account of finances at the next SSOC staff meeting.

Some SSOC members had a different reaction to the question of money. "So what," they said. "If the CIA wants to let us use their money to push our revolutionary politics, that's their stupidity." Let's examine those politics and see why the man pays for them and who's stupid and who's smart.

## Southern Nationalism

For years, SSOC had an analysis of the South which I believe is ahistorical and racist. SSOC staff people maintained that the South is a colony, oppressed by "Northern capitalism" and that the struggle of the people in the South should be for "self-determination." This analysis led to the conclusion that only Southerners could or should organize in the South, and was responsible for the SSOC symbol of the Confederate flag with a black and white hand shaking in front of it.

At the NC, Student-Worker Alliance people attacked "Southern exceptionalism" saying that there is no reason for any organizing to take on any kind of exceptional characteristics and have maintained that the South was just like anyplace else in terms of the "basic contradiction being between proletariat and capitalist."

While I disagree with SSOC's notion of the South as a colony, I do believe that the nature of the struggle in the South is going to take on special characteristics. This is due primarily to the historic role of the black liberation movement in the South and to the fact that the historical basis for a separate black nation lies in the South.

## White Southerners

When SSOC staff people talk about Southerners, they usually mean white Southerners. When SSOC staff people

talk about workers, they mean white workers. An example of this kind of thinking was the SSOC "Southern History" conference held recently in Atlanta. Of all the speakers invited to teach people about Southern history, none were black, none invited to speak about black history. When they speak of "Southern consciousness" (see *The Great Speckled Bird* 2:1, March 17, 1969, page 12 by Steve Wise), they mean the consciousness that comes from the cultural development of the white Southerner. The black Southerner fought on the "yankee" side in the Civil War.

## White Culture

When I was in Georgia, the front page of the newspaper told of a black high school student, a member of the band, who was kicked out of school because he refused to play "Dixie." Another was arrested for burning the confederate flag which hung atop a racist frat house at the university. To black people, Dixie and that flag mean slavery and murder. The revolutionary history of the South began with the black slave revolts and continues to the present day. Our own student movement began in the South, in Greensboro, S.C., led by black students. If we try and organize white people as white people, or believe that there is such a thing as revolutionary white culture or white history we will find that no basis for revolutionary class unity exists. The only basis for this unity comes from our view of the black liberation struggle as a struggle in the interests of the whole working class and one which whites must be won to support.

## "Black Thing"

If we view the black struggle for self-determination as "a black thing" and see the need to organize whites around "their thing," we will never accomplish our primary task, which is waging an attack on white supremacy.

While many SSOC people should be given credit for understanding the necessity to reach working-class people when most people in SDS were into a "new left" bag, talking about the "new working class" as the revolutionary vanguard and Marcuse as a theoretical leader, we also must understand that unless white supremacy is challenged every step of the way, an organized white working class could easily turn on black people as it has done periodically throughout history, instead of allying with them as class brothers.

Examples of this can be taken from our own history books. Early Marxists in America all neglected to see the slaves as members of the working class struggle (let alone as the vanguard). Though they paid lip service to abolition of racism (as does SSOC) their racist practice served to prevent class unity. In 1846, one of them, Hermann Kriege, declared:

"That we could not improve the lot of our 'black brothers' by abolition under the conditions prevailing in modern society, but make infinitely worse the lot of our 'white brothers.'" It is this same kind of white chauvinism which leads to talk of a "Southern colony" based upon white Southerners (or would they allow blacks to integrate once "Northern capitalism" was defeated?)

## Black Colony

If there is any oppressed colony in the South, and I believe there is, then it is obviously a black colony, since black labor built it and died under its weight. While nationalism on the part of oppressed nations is revolutionary at a time when the primary aspect of the class contradiction is between those oppressed nations and U.S. imperialism, it (nationalism) is always reactionary within the (white) mother country. White national chauvinism is one of the primary obstacles facing the working class today.

Actually, I believe that Southern nationalism has been used as a cop-out. It has been used in an attempt to keep revolutionary politics from being injected from "outside" by Northern yankees at the same time SSOC kept those politics from sneaking in from within, bureaucratically.

If your line is "Southern nationalism," then you can try and opportunistically build a student-worker alliance around the concept that "we are all Southerners" and raise the demand for "self-determination" instead of "Socialism." This might make things easier because you wouldn't have to deal with the basic contradiction of racism. Both SSOC with its reactionary "Southern nationalism" and WSA with its claim that "all nationalism is reactionary" will have to come to grips with the fact that our primary task is attacking white supremacy. Though seemingly contradictory, both lines are racist.

## Student Power

Another line that the Man will gladly pay to keep dominant in the South is "student power." Every chapter of SSOC which I visited was stocked full of SSOC literature calling for "student power." Again SDS should not be too smug about this. Most of that literature is old SDS literature and that shows that you reap what you sow. However, because SDS has been carrying out the principle of taking its politics to the people and learning from the people, the principle of "student power" has been discredited throughout most of the organization.

Despite pro-working-class rhetoric, student power has been used throughout the South, due to a lack of faith in the masses of workers who built the schools with their own sweat and blood and who certainly would object to "student power."

For a good critique of "student power" in practice people should read the "Columbia" pamphlet by Mark Rudd (p. 8-10) where he attacks the old SDS interpretation of the dictum that "people have to be organized around the issues that affect their lives." He writes:

"We see the goal of the student movement not as the creation of an eventual power base, involving all students around all their concerns,



From the SSOC paper the Phoenix

# War at Kent State

by Terry Robbins and Lisa Meisel  
Ohio Regional Staff

"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.

## Intense Struggle

The war is on at Kent State University. Two weeks of intense struggle have seen SDS lead two major actions, rallies, marches, and raised the political consciousness of thousands on the campus while the pig-thug administration has responded with swift and heavy repression. To date, seven people have been charged with inciting to riot (felony), four with malicious destruction of property (felony), and over fifty more arrested on various other charges and suspended from school. Bail for those arrested has already exceeded \$120,000.

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. Kilde's reaction to the fight was generally favorable. The administration's was not.

## SDS Banned

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.

## Rallies and Raps

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. Most were friendly, but a sizable right wing fraternity contingent was also there, heckling. Jim Mellen of REP—an "outside agitator" in town for the week—addressed the crowd and responded to the hecklers by saying: "I know that there are some pigs out there who still think we should occupy Vietnam. And there are some pigs out there who still think they can go into the ghettos and push people around. Well, what we're telling you is that you can't do it anymore! We are no longer asking you to come and help us make a revolution. We're telling you that the revolution has begun, and the only choice you have to make is which side you're on. And we're also telling you that if you get in the way of that revolution, it's going to run right over you!"

About ten minutes later it did.

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; for about half an hour SDS 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



Kent SDS students are led away after being arrested for assault and battery after struggle with campus police.



The stories on pages 4-7 represent only a fraction of the action going on around the country. Chapters are reminded to send NLN photographs, articles, and analyses of what's happening in their area.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Students at three universities in Washington are now engaged in struggles against their schools' ties to the military. Students at Georgetown University held a short sit-in this week, demanding that ROTC be thrown off their campus.

At American University, about 60 people occupied the president's office for a short time with 3 basic demands: an end to all ties with the Center for Research in Social Systems, which does counter-insurgency work; immediate abolition of the Center for continuing education, which helps train local police forces; and the establishment of an autonomous working-class studies department. As the demonstrators were filing out of the building, they were attacked by a group of jocks, who have now claimed credit for non-violently ending the sit-in.

About 50 students have barricaded themselves into the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies on the George Washington University campus in an attack against the school's numerous counter-insurgency research projects. They are demanding an end to the Institute (which does work for the CIA), the Human Resources Research Office (90% of whose contracts are with the Army), the Naval Logistics Research Laboratory, and ROTC and military recruiting. They have also raised a demand for unlimited admissions for blacks (the overwhelming majority of schoolchildren in the city of Washington are black).

NEW YORK CITY: Students at Queens College have been moving for the last two weeks against political suppression on the campus after 3 people were suspended for leading an assault against G.E. recruiters. 39 students were arrested on charges of criminal trespass for sitting in against the suspensions and against the firing of a radical teacher. In court, the District Attorney accused the 39 of being part of a national movement against the universities. There has been a strike going on against the school since Monday, when it was up to 75% effective.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: Students at Niles West High School have called a strike with 150-200 on the picket line every morning. Issues include firing of a "sympathetic teacher" and suppression of a student underground newspaper.

HOUSTON, TEXAS: 500 students rallied this week at the University of Houston reaffirming their support of the black students' demands and calling for amnesty for the Houston 14—those indicted last week for previous actions on the campus.

TUCSON, ARIZONA: A protest march of 200 people broke the stillness of the University of Arizona last week. Led by the Black Student Union and SDS, the marchers were demanding that City Hall drop all charges against black people brought during the recent police occupation of a racially mixed section of town in Tucson, the end of police harassment, and the withdrawal of police from the area.

The police occupation began several weeks ago after a firebombing in a racially mixed apartment complex. During the occupation, blacks were subjected to trumped-up arrests, racist name-calling, and other police harassment. In response the campus Black Student Union called a meeting to make the white community aware of what was going on. About 400 white people attended, and SDS spokesmen called for the march on city hall. Tucson's mayor was found outside the Student Union Building at the beginning of the march. His car was immediately seized (with him inside) and held captive for 20 minutes. He then agreed to schedule a hearing on the students' demands later this month. The local SDS chapter plans to continue an education-action program.

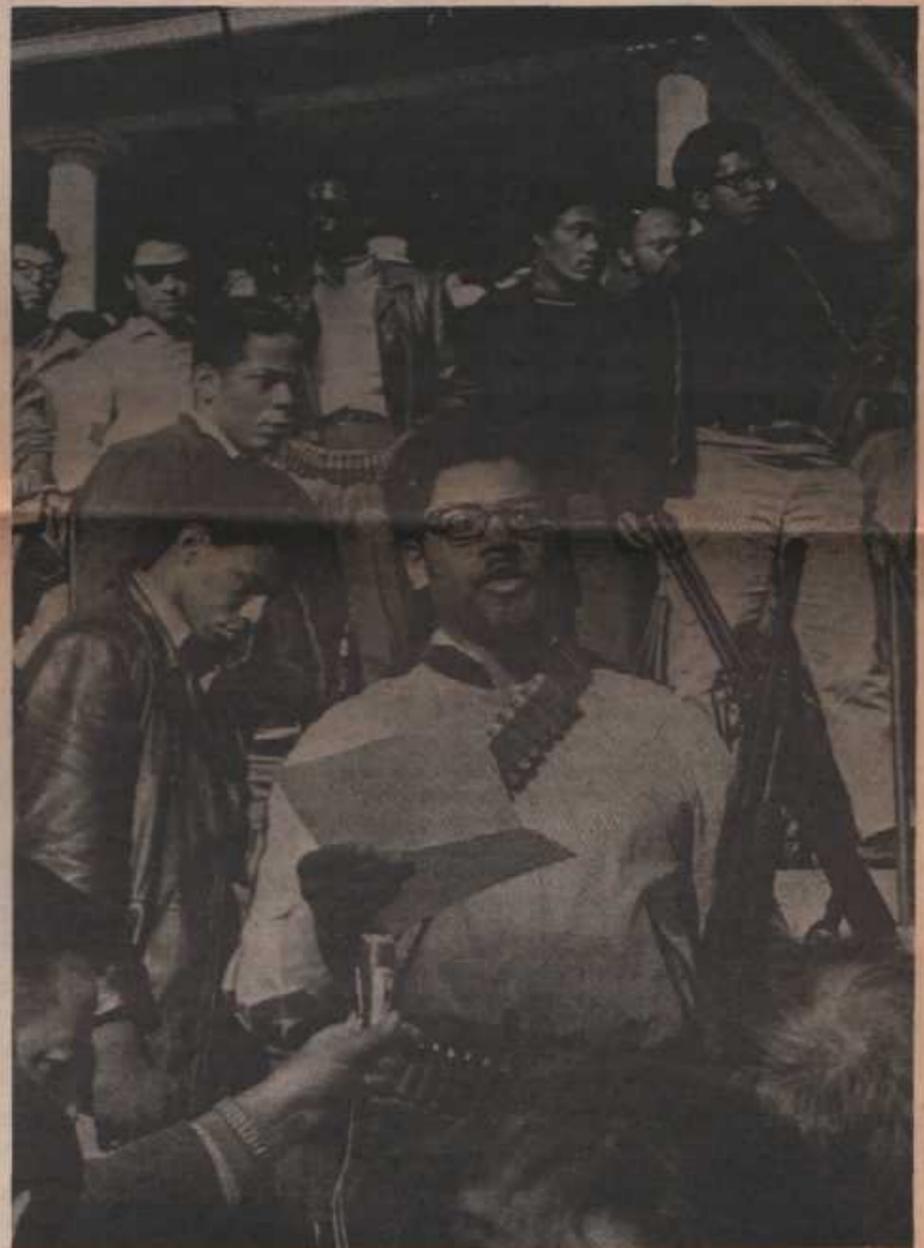
DES MOINES, IOWA: The Black Panther Party of Des Moines was subjected to another round of pig power structure attacks last week as they held a community rally to explain the Free Breakfast for School Children program they are conducting in the community. At the conclusion of the rally, as the Panthers were packing up to leave the site, the pigs busted them for "inciting to riot" and other charges; other sisters and brothers were beaten. In almost every city where the Panther Party has begun the Breakfast for Children program, they have been met with increased arrests and harassment, making clear that one conspiracy exists for sure: a nationwide pig conspiracy to destroy the Black Panther Party and other black organizations trying to serve the people.

## Cornell blacks arm, win demands

Over 150 members of the Cornell Afro-American Society seized the student union last week in response to the university's discipline against five blacks for previous demonstrations. After 33 hours the university administration capitulated to the demands, and the blacks, who were heavily armed for self-defense, left the building. The Cornell faculty voted to reject the agreement reached which ended the occupation, but, under heavy pressure from students on campus, changed its vote on Wednesday, April 23, and accepted it.

For the last year, black students at Cornell have been fighting for a black studies department and have carried out several harassing actions against the university to back up their demand. The trustees finally accepted the black studies program, but at the same time decided to discipline six "leaders" of the black students' actions. The six refused to appear before the judicial board; instead, the Afro-American society appeared as a whole and charged that the board was not a jury of their peers and was not qualified to deal with political cases. Last Thursday the six students received reprimands in absentia, and on Saturday morning the AAS moved into the student union and moved out the visitors and workmen in the building. The AAS worked closely with SDS, which organized a continuous security force of several hundred students to guard the student union from attacks by the police or right-wing students. Several rallies of over 1,000 showed the growing student support for the blacks' demands.

On Sunday the administration reached a 7-point agreement with the black students and promised withdrawal of the reprimands, amnesty for the sit-in, university help in getting legal aid if anyone pressed civil charges, and revision of the disciplinary procedures. After the faculty repudiated the agreement, SDS held a mass meeting of 7,000 people who decided to stay where they were (in the gymnasium) until the black students' demands were met. 3,000 people stayed on Tuesday night, and the university president, who had originally declared a state of martial law on the campus and had banned all further political action, declared the occupation illegal. The next afternoon the faculty gave in to the demands. In response to calls for a boycott of classes made by right-wingers and SDS, the administration has called off classes for the rest of the week and is still trying to cool off the campus.



Top photo: Eric Evans announces the signing of an amnesty agreement with Cornell administration after sit-in.

Bottom: armed Cornell blacks march across campus.

# Insurrection at Stanford

by Fred Cohen, Gini Linsley, and David Pugh, Stanford SDS

After the successful strike at S.F. State, many people began to think that radicals should leave the elite schools and concentrate on organizing in community and city colleges. Our experience at Stanford is showing not only that we can successfully organize an elite student body, but that we have at the same time gained an important strategic lever in the fight against imperialism. (Stanford and the Stanford Research Institute do \$60 million of work per year for DoD and play a major role in coordinating the economic ventures of America's largest corporations.) Ironically, the corporate liberals who run Stanford, like former trustee David Packard, see the university as a bastion of imperialism, while the dynamic of the Stanford environment is negating their purpose. The conflict between the professed values of liberal humanism, which are readily internalized by the students, and the electronic warfare research being done on campus, creates a volatile situation which was not anticipated by Mr. Packard and his class brothers. Anti-war sentiment is the natural outgrowth of this type of liberal education. When the economic and military role of the university is exposed, this sentiment can be translated into a movement which challenges the university and thus presents a potentially significant threat to American foreign policy.

## Bring SRI Home

This year at Stanford, SDS initiated a campaign of education and action focusing on the university's function within the system of U.S. imperialism. In early October the chapter adopted a set of demands calling for the immediate withdrawal of the university and the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) from S.E. Asia. The radical nature of the demands generated interest but not active support. The lack of widespread knowledge of what goes on at Stanford was our central problem. Low-level confrontation at strategic locations where war research is conducted focused attention on the issues and created a receptive situation for dorm organizing. Our style, which avoided rhetoric and did not substitute militancy for politics, enabled us to begin to build support.

On Jan. 14 we took our first real militant action, a direct confrontation

*I sit in  
you sit in  
he sits in  
we sit in  
you sit in  
they kill*



with the trustees. Fifty of us attempted to get them to speak to our demands, and when they refused we chased them off the campus. The immediate response of most students was to react against the tactic, while at the same time reaffirming support for the demands. Judicial hearings, which resulted in the suspension of 26 students and the expulsion of three (although all sentences were suspended with the option to renew), were highlighted by the paternalistic attempt of the trustees and the administration to convince us of their commitment to rational dialogue. Holding them to their word, SDS called for an open meeting of the trustees to discuss our demands. This exposed the contradiction in their own liberal ideology, and they were forced to appear. At a meeting attended by 1500 students, the trustees' dialogue proved to be less than rational; and to quote Dean of Students Joel Smith, "SDS was back in business."

## Demands

Meanwhile one faction of SDS formed a new organization called the SRI Coalition, which played a central role in consolidating the support generated by the open meeting. On April 3 SDS co-sponsored a community meeting at which 700 people demanded that all CBW, counter-insurgency, war-related, and classified research be discontinued at both Stanford and SRI. Anticipating the desire of the trustees to minimize disruption on campus by selling SRI, we also demanded that SRI be both retained and controlled by the university.

## Occupation

A trustee meeting was scheduled for April 8, at which we predicted they would try to co-opt the growing movement by placing a moratorium on CBW research while not dealing with the other issues. They responded according to our schedule, but our response was far from what they expected. At an April 9 meeting of over 1,000 people we voted by a two to one margin to occupy the Applied Electronics Laboratory (AEL), the local center for research in electronic warfare techniques.

The central problem facing us in the sit-in was how to maintain a coalition of radicals and self-proclaimed liberals without compromising our politics. However, we found that at the large daily meetings of the sit-in all attempts

by liberals to gain leadership failed. Due to the radical nature of the demands, the liberals were unable to provide any direction which seemed to lead toward the realization of the goals. The clearest example of a liberal failure was the student body president's bid for leadership which was permeated with pious morality, but which offered no political suggestion other than to leave the building. Only the radicals were able to present proposals which were meaningful in terms of the goals. The effect was not a compromise of radical politics but rather a rapid process of radicalization of liberals.

## Small Groups

The most important vehicle in this process was the utilization of small group discussions. During the first few days of the sit-in some of us were vehemently attacked as manipulators and violence-mongers. The dynamic of the small groups, along with a decentralized decision-making process, helped to dispel the fears of our morally committed but politically inexperienced comrades. As these fears diminished, the possibility of relevant political discussion grew. With demands as radical as ours, all realistic political discussion was bound to move in a radical direction. Our demands directly challenge the vested interests of the Stanford trustees, who run corporations like Lockheed, General Dynamics, Union Oil, Tenneco, Cal Standard, etc. At an elite university this means that many of the demonstrators were forced into actual confrontation with their own class background. During the nine-day occupation of AEL, students who previously seemed destined to run the large corporations began to seriously question the assumptions of their prior ideologies, including the value of corporate capitalism itself.

## Stopped Research

This week-long radicalization process can probably occur only at an elite university which is largely dependent on private endowments. The administration fear of an outraged group of alumni was a deterrent to the use of police force. However, the existence of classified documents in AEL brought pressure from both the Defense Department and the FBI to remove us. President Pitzer came up with a solution which got us out of the building, but the nature of our withdrawal creates a situation favorable both to future actions and the achievement of our demands. One function of the sit-in was to stop the research at AEL, and Pitzer is effectively continuing that aspect of our task by closing the building for a week. We therefore can use this week to regain our physical strength and to devote more time to organizing support for the demands while avoiding the possibility of being co-opted into a liberal university reform movement. Our strategic position could not be much better.

Throughout the demonstration Pitzer has publicly stated that police would only be used in response to federal pressure. Our response has been to show that this substantiates our claim that the university is an important part of the defense establishment. Thus, if the police are called, it will serve to strengthen support for our demands rather than shifting the issue to police on campus.

By leaving the building we have also put pressure on the liberal faculty to come through on their assertions that they supported our goals but could not act under coercion. In the absence of a "coercive" tactic and with the presence of two faculty decision-making meetings in the next week, they are in a less than enviable position. If they fail to vote in accordance with their stated morality, not only will they lose all credibility but they may also be responsible for sparking a massive campus action. If they fulfill their part of the bargain, they are in effect creating a united front against the trustees.

Our optimism with regard to the

future of the movement at Stanford appears to be well founded. Our complicity statement was signed by over 1400 people, and we have received statements in support of both our goals and tactics from eight fraternities, almost every dormitory, and numerous groups in the Palo Alto community. At a meeting on Friday, April 18 (after we had left the building), attended by over 3000 students, support of the particular demands ranged from 70-90%. The sit-in tactic was overwhelmingly approved, and almost 1700 stated that if the demands were not met they would participate in direct action. Is it really futile to organize in an elite school?

## Elite Schools

We are not saying that all our attention should be focused on the elite schools. But we are saying that it is wrong to summarily dismiss the possibility of organizing effectively at all types of universities. The nature of the school will determine the political style and the issues raised by organizers. In the past the national movement has annually shifted its focus from one social group to another as the key agent of radical social change: new working class, old working class, poor people, black people, and young people. Only if SDS is willing to experiment by attempting to work with diverse groups will we ever be able to build both the broadest possible base and locate with any degree of certainty the most likely constituencies for a left-wing revolutionary movement.



NEW YORK CITY: At Queensborough to fire a radical professor has met with faculty and led to two sit-ins. Last administration building, were immediately with suspensions and arrest, and decided students again began a sit-in, and 50 contempt of court citations. 20 students trespass and contempt of court, and 3 continues. There seems to be strong and from some labor unions in the city.

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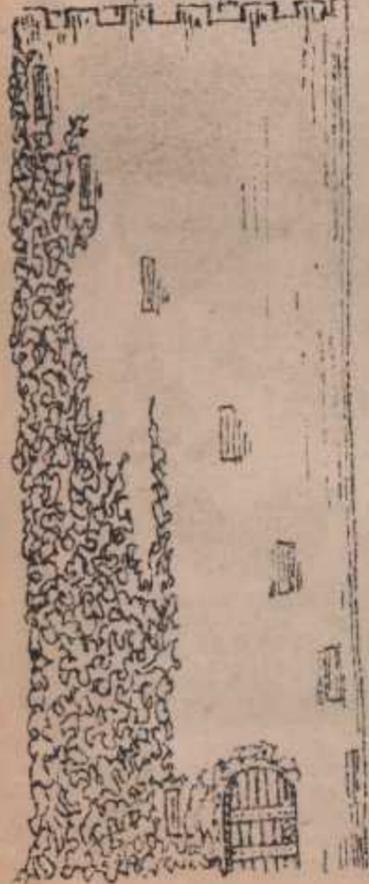
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THE  
IVORY  
TOWER

Pictures from DECLASSIFIED, Stanford sit-in bulletin

# at Stanford

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Wilbur H. Somerton, professor of petroleum engineering at the University of California at Berkeley, said he refused to testify "because my work depends on good relations with the petroleum industry. My interest is serving the petroleum industry," he continued. "I view my obligation to the community as to supply it with well-trained petroleum engineers. We train the industry's engineers, and they help us."

Chief Deputy Attorney Charles A. O'Brien has been unable to find one university professor so far who would testify against the oil companies. "We were candidly told that some experts did not want to jeopardize their consulting fees from oil companies," he said.

"There isn't any doubt about it," said the chairman of the department of petroleum engineering at USC, Dr. Lyman Handy. "We train people mainly for the oil companies, but that doesn't mean we have sold out to them."

NEW YORK CITY: Over 500 people held a rally Thursday at Brooklyn College and moved into a mass march around campus, chanting "open it up or shut it down." They then took over the lobby of the administration building and used it for a three-hour teach-in. The action centered around 18 demands made by black and Puerto Rican students, including open admissions for black and Puerto Rican youth, a black studies department, a cultural center, and an end to chemical and biological warfare research on campus. SDS at Brooklyn has voted to support the blacks' and Latins' demands down the line, and is now working together with them in building the struggle.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY: About 100 students threw the Marine recruiter out of Princeton last Monday and then came back on Wednesday to shut down the campus's Institute for Defense Analyses research complex by blocking the entrances to the building. More is planned in the next week against ROTC and the military.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN: More than 60 persons demonstrated at the Miss Ann Arbor beauty pageant, protesting the contest's selection of "ideal women" and the "phony set of standards epitomizing many of the roles this society assigns to its women." The action was the first around women's liberation in Ann Arbor.

People outside the building leafleted and picketed with signs such as "I dreamt I was liberated from my Maidenform mentality" and "Women's dream—liberation; women's reality—oppression." People inside disrupted the proceedings until they were ejected by ushers from the Ann Arbor Jaycees. Following the actions, a teach-in on women's liberation attracted more than 200 persons.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA (By Bob Berschinski): Southern University in New Orleans is an all-black, state-run university built ten years ago in a marshy area near Lake Ponchartrain. The land has never been filled in, and when it rains SUNO is a swamp. The original plans called for one new building per year. After 10 years, SUNO has 4 buildings, only one of which is designed for classrooms. Over 2,000 students are crammed into space designed for 500. Some departments have only one professor for up to 500 students, others are headed by an instructor.

Southern is less than five blocks away from LSUNO, a predominantly white campus of the same age. LSUNO has a brand new student center, library, and science building. It is now building 3 new dorms in the middle of its landscaped campus. The contrast is apparent to any observer.

Last week a group of black students at SUNO overpowered three campus cops, lowered the American flag, and replaced it with the flag of black liberation. The black student group then read a list of demands to a cheering crowd of about 300 students. The demands called for an immediate building program, a black liberation course (to be taught by local SNCC staff), the replacement of Dean Emmet Bashfull, and a larger student voice in curriculum in order to make the university more relevant to the surrounding community.

The Dean unsuccessfully tried to address the students and was then locked in his office with six cops. After the rally the students decided to flush him out, and they seized the administration building and inserted a fire hose through a panel of the Dean's office door. When the hose was turned on six wet pigs and one wet dean evacuated the building.

After the arrival of more than 200 pigs on campus, and several confrontations, the university canceled classes for the rest of the day. The students responded by calling a strike for the rest of the week, allowing the university time to implement their demands. The strike was 100% effective Thursday and Friday. Monday morning the SUNO administration gave in to all the demands except the removal of the Dean. Strike leaders called for two more days of strike in order to help the local AFT picket the Orleans Parish School Board. The AFT local is striking in order to force the board to grant teachers the right to elect an exclusive bargaining agent.

The strike was about 50% effective on Monday and Tuesday. Classes at SUNO resumed Wednesday as the administration and strike leaders negotiated over the demands.



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# Kent State

(continued from Page 4)

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. We spoke to them through bullhorns, talking up the demands, why we had busted up the hearings, and how the lackies of the ruling class had us locked up in the building. Before it was all over, over ninety of our people escaped, but fifty-eight were arrested, charged with "trespassing" and arraigned at \$1000 bail each.

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

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

## After the Action

Since the action and the busts, several things have happened:

—A liberal, civil-libertarian coalition has grown up to alternately defend SDS's "rights" and viciously red-bait us;

—The Ohio regional conference, 150 people from twelve chapters across the state, scheduled to meet last weekend at Oberlin, met instead at Kent. Kids from chapters all over the state spent the weekend rapping in dorms, and held a rally on the campus Sunday night;

—On Monday, April 21, one person was arrested and two others sought for malicious destruction of property (felony): \$5000 bail. Ric, Howie, George, Jeff and Colin were found guilty of contempt of court, sentenced to 10 days in jail and fined \$200 each (it is on appeal). And bail for the seven charged with inciting to riot was set at \$4000 each.

The situation at this point in the struggle is very mixed. On the one hand, the repression has clearly hurt us: over sixty of our people have been banned from the campus, at least eleven

face heavy charges, with total bail exceeding \$120,000, and the administration has succeeded at least to some extent in scaring a lot of people and obfuscating our original demands, and allowing the civil liberties whiz kids to spring up.

On the other hand, SDS has made several key advances. We have fought, and fought hard, making it clear that we are serious and tough. We have constantly stressed the primacy of the four demands, maintaining that political repression is only an extension of the people's oppression, never getting hung up in the civil libertarian or pro-student privilege defenses of our action. We have demonstrated tactical flexibility, using confrontation, rallies, dorm raps, etc.—all geared to increasing the possibility or reality of struggle in a given tactical situation. And we have clearly raised the political consciousness of almost the entire campus, winning over many new people, and making it possible to win over many more in the future.

But, most important of all, through struggle, we have made it absolutely clear that the war being waged in Vietnam, in Guatemala, in the black colony in America, will be fought as well at Kent State University.

(One final note: we haven't even started paying court costs or lawyer's fees yet. Contributions are urgently needed, and can be sent to: Kent SDS Legal Defense Fund, c/o Candy Erickson, 2170 N. Depeyster, Kent, Ohio.

## PRINTING

The New England Free Press will conduct an offset printing institute this summer. It begins June 15 or thereabouts and will run 2-3 months. The Institute rises out of recognition of the critical need for movement people to know how to print. It will be conducted by Tim Morearty, a long-time movement printer. Preference will be given to areas and/or organizations where there are few presses and where the need is greatest, taking into account the local situation. Preference will also be given to full-time radicals. At present there is no charge planned. Open to men and women. For information write Summer Institute, c/o Tim Morearty, New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118.

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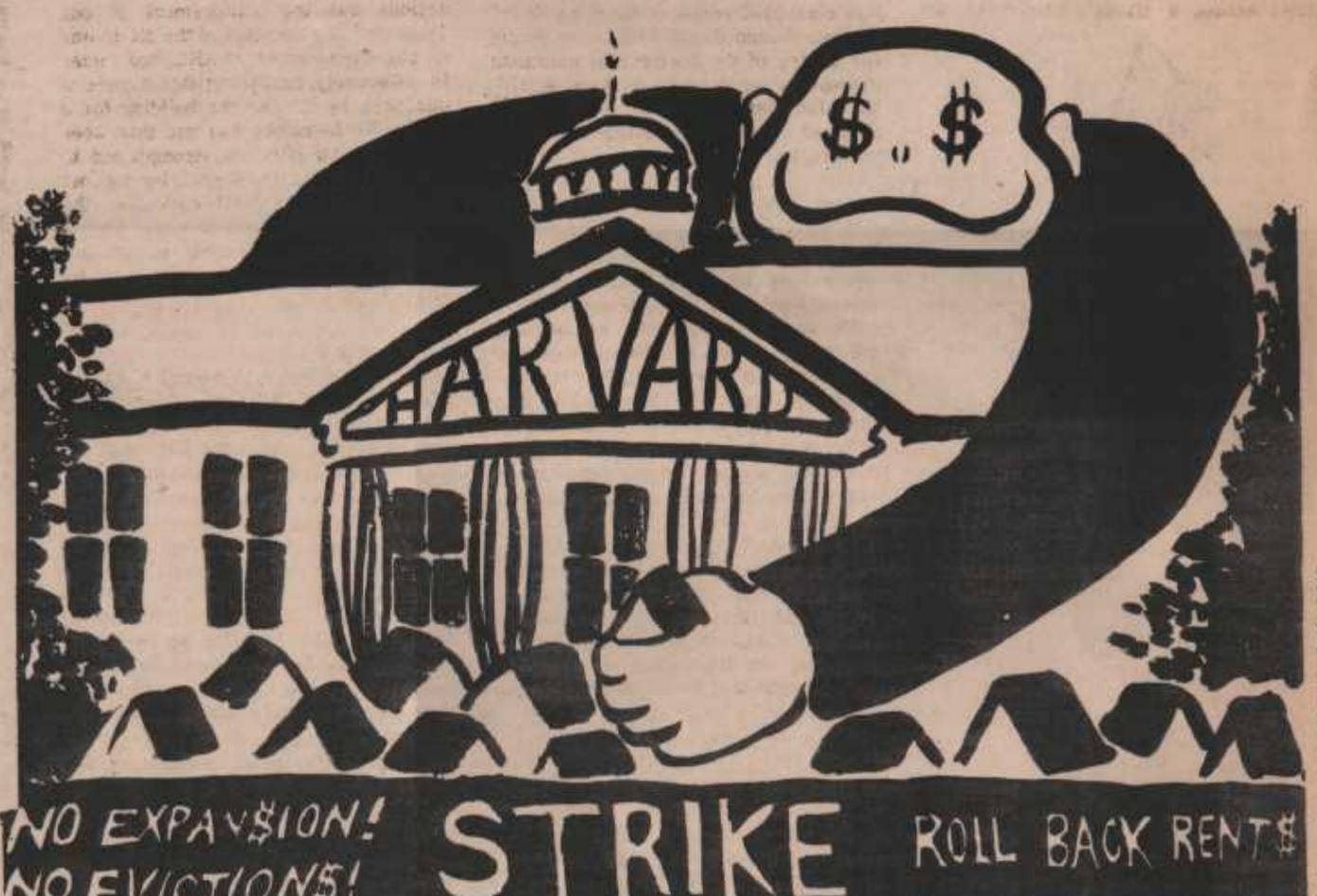
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said the chairman of the department of geology. "We train people mainly for the oil industry. We have sold out to them."



Strike poster from Harvard via LNS

An estimated twelve hundred people were to meet Thursday night, April 24, at Harvard to vote on further action in the struggle against expansion, racism, and ROTC. Last Tuesday the faculty voted to accept one of the eight demands—the demand for a black studies program in which students will recommend which faculty should receive tenure. On the remaining seven demands, there has been nothing but double-talk from the faculty and nothing at all from the Corporation which is the seat of power. Strike action has fallen off, as students have seen that the tactic is having no effect.

# Standard Oil

(continued from Page 12)

of the students, otherwise we couldn't expect them to continue their support. So this was when we decided to hold a press conference, and I as an individual—at that time the local union had taken no formal position, had not taken a vote on the position—formally and publicly announced my intentions concerning the mutual aid pact and the cooperation of students and workers and what I would do to try and further that idea among the labor movement.

NLN: What was the reaction of the membership after that?

JJ: Well initially, immediately after the press conference became public, things were a little bit heated. People asked me: "What the hell were you doing? Did you have approval of the membership, you weren't speaking for the local!" and things like that. That didn't really bother me too much because I expected that. The main thing was to do just that, was to bring this controversy to the surface, so that people would have to think about it, would have to make a decision on it.

The day after the press conference, I had a meeting with the local union leadership. We spent about 3 or 4 hours in a heated discussion over this. But they voted unanimously to support the position that I had taken in the

conference. Then it was a matter of calling a meeting of the membership and going through the same process of laying out the issues and discussing them. We had two membership meetings, each one of them lasted for about three hours, and it was a completely free and open discussion of all the issues concerning the students and everything surrounding that question: police brutality, the 15 demands, and just what were the objects, what were they trying to accomplish, why are they fighting, what is it they disagree with? After this free and open discussion we had a subsequent meeting where we had another hour of discussion. After that we voted by a 2-1 majority to support the recommendations that had come out of the executive committee to support the students and go ahead with this mutual aid pact.

## Throw Him Out

NLN: During those discussions did you have any representatives of the TWLF or the students come and speak to the membership?

JJ: There were students, I believe, present in one of the meetings, and one of them spoke. We had representatives primarily from the teachers (the AFT), we felt they were very familiar with the students' problems. The spokesman from the AFT did a real fine job on getting across the relationship between the teachers and students and getting across the true story of just what was involved in the 15 demands of the students.

And we had invited, or some of the members (a dissident faction that were unalterably opposed to the students), they wanted to invite representatives of the opposition. Some of them even wanted to invite Hayakawa. To me this is like going out and inviting a representative of management to a union meeting. To come in and pose someone who is unalterably opposed to the local union and bring them in and give them a chance to speak to the local membership—you just don't do things like that. Someone comes in like that to your local union, you throw him out. (NLN: Right on!) So, because this was a controversial issue, we said "OK", if you can get some of them to come to the meeting, go ahead! None of them showed up.

## Attitudes Change

NLN: Did you notice a change in the feelings of the members as the discussions wore on and with the experience of the mutual aid of students on the picket line....

JJ: Well, certainly at the beginning of the strike, outside of a few people who had come into contact with the student movement before, most of our people are just average run-of-the-mill workers, subjected to all the influences the average worker is—they read the newspaper and they get the same bad impressions and so forth that the general public gets of the student question. And certainly in our own fight and in the problems we had with police brutality and newspaper coverage and so forth, this opened up a lot of minds.

There was a tremendous change of attitude. Where prior to the strike most of our people, if you talked to them, started telling them about police brutality, they would have said, "that's a lot of malarkey, they don't do things like that." But they saw it first hand, you know, and then of course they continued to read the newspapers during the strike and a lot of these people participated in events covered by the newspapers and could see the distortions and the downright lies that were in the impressions that were conveyed to the general public in the media concerning the criminal oil workers. So when people come into contact with these things it has to have an effect. They begin to look around and say "These students have got some legitimate problems—maybe the media is giving them the same kind of coverage they're giving us. And maybe these charges of police brutality and so forth do have some

substance to them." So there was a continual breaking down of this hardened attitude during the strike.

NLN: How about the reaction from other unions and organized labor groups when you first announced the mutual aid pact?

JJ: Well, the reaction was mixed. People in the labor movement, for example, the secretary-treasurer of the Central Labor Council, looked at this as something that had a lot of potential possibilities politically. He thought that it was a real step forward that the union had taken with the students. And maybe there were a few others, but then on the other hand, the biggest majority of them, their reaction was: "What the hell is that damn Jacobs doing and what the hell are these people doing?" And they tended to be very critical. This continues to the present time. It's a matter of breaking down, just like we had to break down these hard attitudes in our own membership. This is a process that is going to have to go on in breaking down and in getting across to these people just what the heck the problems are and what the potentials are politically and otherwise.

So, I think one significant thing that has happened in the labor movement right in this area is that they really have sat up and taken notice of this thing, and I think many of them recognize the political potential that could develop with such alliances with minority groups and so forth. I think that while they may be reluctant and fearful in a lot of cases of getting in bad with the establishment if you want to put it that way, that they're beginning to realize that they cannot any longer turn their back on these situations.

The student movement, the same as in the minority movements, are sources of power—political power that joined together could really accomplish something. So I think this is one of the things that has been achieved. They're sitting up and taking notice, where before they turned their backs on it. They didn't want to say to the black community: "Join with us politically,

with it and get some of their own problems corrected. So the whole thing posed not only a threat to the immediate situation there in the plant—in effectively shutting down the plant—but the long-range political overtones with the threat of these Third World people going through the city of Richmond and explaining to these minority groups just what the heck Standard was doing—you know, the plight of the oil workers and how that related to their problems. If we had got a political movement going there's no telling what might have happened.

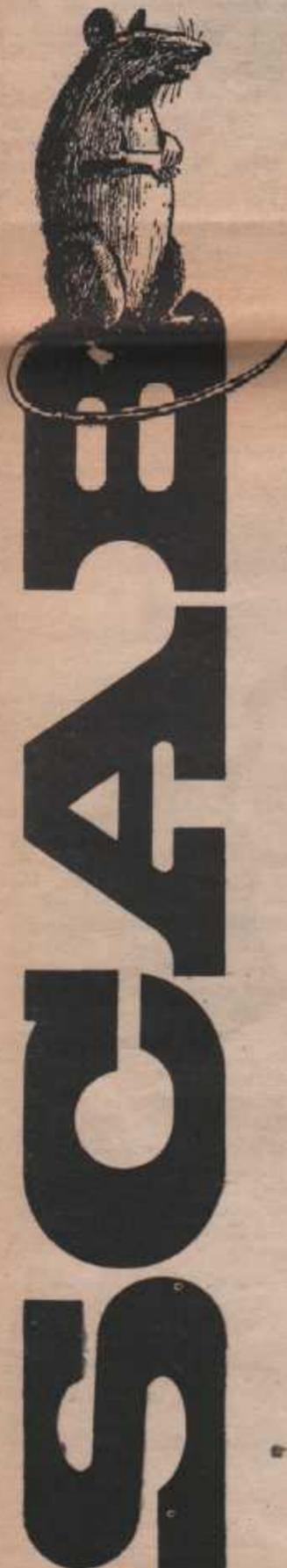
NLN: Did the oil workers for the most part feel that the support from the students was a real honest support—that the students saw the fight of the oil workers as the same fight they were fighting and were not just gimmicks to get support for the strikes at State and Berkeley?

## Honest Alliance

JJ: I think that they saw it as honest support. You can't deny that in the beginning we didn't even ask them for support. And in fact the students and the Third World people probably made the first move by coming to the picket lines and asking if we wanted their help. Of course, if you take the Third World Liberation Front, they didn't take any concrete action until we did, but immediately after that press conference they responded. And I think that the thinking of our people was that we were fighting a common enemy and had the same kind of problems and so forth, so it was something that they related to

and they wanted to support in the common interest.

I think if anybody is to be criticized for having the ulterior motive for support for their own problems, it would be the oil workers and not the students, because we were in a real serious situation and we really had a battle with the membership in bringing them around to the problem and getting them to go along with the students and to support the students in return. You don't see so much of that in the student



let's tear down these barriers, wipe out this mistrust, and get together 'cause we've got common problems. You may be discriminated against to a higher degree than us, but we're all discriminated against. We're all the exploited, suppressed members of the society in which we live." Where before they were fearful of getting in bad with the establishment, they're beginning to realize that that's the course they're going to have to take. Somewhere along the line they'll have to make a change in their position.

## Students' Effect

NLN: Just a question about the concreteness of the support of the students. There were six mobilizations, and on those days Standard was pretty effectively shut down, and it was especially helpful because you had the injunction quota (the number of pickets at each gate) limiting you. Is it true that the large number of students and activists who came from around the Bay Area really had an important effect in forcing Standard Oil to negotiate a contract with at least the workers at the Standard plant.

JJ: Definitely! And I think the threat of student support not only on the picket line but in a boycott action and so forth against the Standard Oil Company had a tremendous effect. The student participation on the picket line did result in a closing down of the plant.

I think that the long-range political effects and the threat of a general uprising in the city of Richmond really became a possibility when they saw these large numbers of students, including Third World people, showing up on the picket line, because they're smart enough to know that the Third World people came out of communities just like this and that these people might see that this is an opportunity to get

movement. You see a general attitude on the part of students that they have things in common with the workers, although they to a great extent had written off the possibility of ever developing any real relationship with the workers. I think that they saw this as an opportunity to develop this.

NLN: Right. We saw this as one of the most important things. That's why we wanted people all over the country to know about the experience and try and develop similar relationships.

JJ: I think that the relationship and what we've done here at Richmond and at San Francisco with the students and the Third World people and the workers here, however small-scale that it might have been, was the greatest achievement of the strikes on the campuses and the oil workers' strike. And I think that it can provide the basis and the guidelines for the future. It's going to take a lot of work in the labor movement and among minority groups and so forth to extend this, but I think it certainly pointed out the necessity of working people, minority groups and student groups and so forth who have things in common to get together in long-range political programs. It's become damned apparent that labor with its apathy and the way it has run away from the real tradition—from the fighting traditions that were there in the beginning—isn't at this point exercising the political influence in this country, and isn't involved in a strong, forward-moving, progressive political movement. It's also apparent that the students and the minority groups themselves aren't going to win a battle against the whole damn establishment. But with a combination of those forces the chances of success you know in a progressive political movement combining all these forces becomes not too far-fetched and has real possibilities.

# About Privilege

by Clayton Van Lydegraf

We live as constituent parts of a social system which has been mass-producing all kinds of filth and garbage for generations. Rigorous cleansing is banned, for that would upset all the most profitable action.

It is not surprising that even as we discover that revolution is the only basic solution, we also find that we are still carriers of the festerous and lingering stench which permeates everything connected with imperialism and slavemaking.

A few quick showers do not wash away contamination ground in by years spent as willing or unwilling flunkies to rulers of a monster system. The movement is beginning to understand this. It is organizing programs to fight against white supremacy and to support black liberation. It is rejecting the false claim that anti-imperialist struggle and anti-colonial war are "reactionary nationalism."

Nevertheless, it is not easy to break clean away from the old patterns. There is still a clinging to the idea that white responsibility can be strictly limited to the psychological and cultural level so far as ordinary people are concerned. There is a direct denial that white workers share in any way in the evil luxuriance deriving from the ownership and usage of slaves, past or present.

In New Left Notes of March 20, 1969, almost half of one proposal is used to promote this idea (May Day proposal, page 10). This was not accepted at the recent Austin meeting of SDS, but it remains as an important body of opinion which needs to be answered. Another example of the same kind is found in a series in the Guardian of April 5, (part of a series, Equality for Working Women, page 14).

## Material Basis

From the "May Day" piece: "... There is of course a material basis for the white-skin privilege and national chauvinism; for instance, white workers are given access to jobs black and brown workers don't have and on the whole make more. But they don't make it off the wealth that black and brown workers produce, they just get a somewhat larger share of the wealth THEY produce" (emphasis in original).

From "Equality for Working Women": "...The practice of male supremacy provides few material gains for the male working class... that is, the white male worker does not get any higher pay because women and blacks get less. In fact, he has to fight harder for what he does get, since management can threaten to hire lower paid women and blacks." Later the contrary is stated: "...women reduce the costs of providing care to the work force through their unpaid jobs as housewives. They also lessen workers' frustration and alienation."

The logic of the above argumentation is to "freely" exonerate white workers, males in particular, clearly serving one or both of two possible aims. One would be to exonerate students and women and others by simple extension of coverage. The second would be to make it easier for white male workers to shed their white and male supremacy and chauvinism by convincing them they are not really giving up anything—these are really "insignificant" privileges. Well—the hell they are.

But aside from that—the result is to mystify the problem. The target becomes that which is in male white workers' heads (and such junk is really there) but now divorced from their actual situation. A collective head-shrinking process becomes the indicated prescription rather than more intense ideological and practical class struggle.

In fact, white workers (the male first, but also the female and the young to an important degree) possess immediate selfish advantage automatically accorded to white persons. This advantage exists as an indispensable prop of the super-exploitation and colonial oppression practiced by imperialism

at home and abroad; all economic activity of the U.S. rests upon this foundation and proceeds both directly and indirectly at the expense of oppressed peoples.

Some white workers actively oppose this, but most tolerate it and many support the system, or it could not continue. Marx wrote: "Wage labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers."

These facts are clear as daylight to blacks and to most of the world. Only among whites in imperialist nations (and puppets elsewhere) is there muddled talk about "privilege" which comes from heaven, but not at the expense of the oppressed.

This mechanical finding that the worker is exploited and therefore he does not and cannot share in the exploitation of another is not new. It is a survival of a distortion of Marx' scientific discovery of the source of surplus value, and hence of profit.

According to this popular fable, the worker produces something like a pie. He gets only a piece of it in wages, so he cannot buy it all back—therefore there are crises. The boss gets a big cut—for nothing—and that is exploitation. The worker should keep it all.

Now "May Day" and so forth hold that the white (male) workers have their own pie, the blacks have theirs also, and so long as the white worker eats less than the entire pie which he has

defeated the system long ago. Failure to see this contradiction and opposition is partly due to romantic ideas about political struggle arising spontaneously from economic exploitation, but it is also due to our being subject to establishment-channeled thought control.

The present scabby condition and impotence of the official labor movement in the U.S. is primarily due to white and national chauvinism based upon the ability of the imperialists and their purchased helpers to manipulate white workers and unions by playing upon craft and sectional immediate selfish gains in disregard of others and contrary to the fundamental class interests of the workers.

This contradiction exists and must be fought out—not falsified by presenting the worker as either a pure fighting man free from any taint of opportunism or to the contrary as nothing but a complete and utterly hopeless sell-out.

In order to get at the real situation, we must view the pie not as the product of one worker, or one part of the class, but as the entire national product. This is what Marx did in Value, Price and Profit when he replied to John Weston's arguments about an Iron Law of Wages using Weston's own example of a bowl of soup. Since that argument, while related, is addressed to another problem and monopoly and modern imperialism now exist, some things have to be kept in mind.

One is that, contrary to the old socialists, the workers cannot consume

the power of the white worker. Imperialism is not "in any way in the interest of the white worker."

By not distinguishing fundamental class interest from selfish advantage, the entire relationship is falsified, leaving the white worker not at all innocent, but either anti-social or the prize boob of all time. All this follows from the blindness expressed in the phrase, "...Without even considering the super-profits..." But this is what it is all about.

Super-profits from abroad are integrated into the total national pie owned by capital and from which all wages are paid. The biggest corporations take the maximum profits from super-exploitation; skin color is not posted in the books, all appears as pure gold. The U.S. white workers employed in these monster-sized sub-empires are the most organized and their wages and conditions are relatively the best. Not ideal or necessarily even good, relatively the best.

## Surplus Value

It is self-serving and artificial to invent a separate stock of pure-bred white male surplus value from which alone white males derive their wages and conditions and privilege, without having their class purity put in question by their sharing crumbs of imperialist loot originating in the special preserves of super-exploitation, especially the colonial.

Monopoly extracts much of this super and maximum profit by selling things above their value and buying below value. This is one of its universal practices. Every Cadillac contains not only the sweat of the auto workers, it has ingredients like 20 years subtracted from a Chilean worker's life and runs on Arabian blood, called black gold. It is supremely arrogant to ascribe General Motors' maximum profits solely or mainly to surplus value created by U.S. workers; maybe half of that bill originates thousands of miles away!

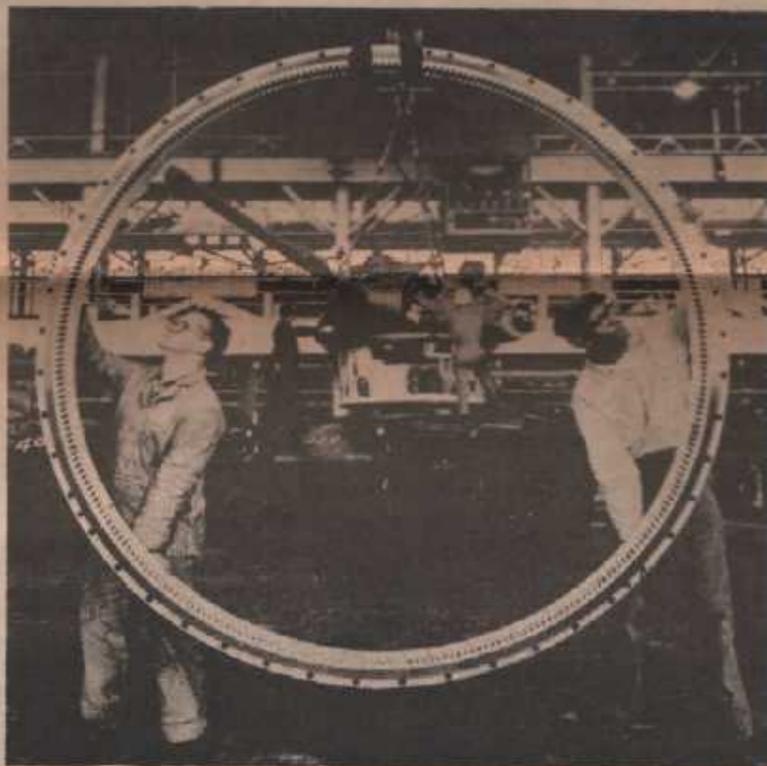
Consequently, if white and black workers, male and female, old and young, here were to unite merely to improve their own shares, and failed to fight to do away with imperialist oppression of colored people abroad—this would not be a victory, it would be a crime.

It is difficult for white persons to understand this as it really is, for it clearly calls for some sacrifice of selfish habits, not merely for pure thoughts. Consequently, it helps to start with the point that the world is becoming less and less safe for imperialism and all its helpers and mercenaries.

Serious revolutionaries, and there are beginning to be serious ones who are white, have to scrub away at the old system stink. The exploiters and oppressors have been using our minds as an outhouse for ages. We need to analyze this and work out the contradictions to know what we have to do. Mao Tse-tung stated it this way:

"...dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly.... Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb 'running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worm-eaten' means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms.... In fear neither criticism nor self-criticism... and... 'say all you know and say it without reserve'" (page 259, Quotations, "Little Red Book").

Other references on the above subject: V. I. Lenin, Imperialism, pp. 106-107 and section 5 of the preface to the French and German edition. (Int. Pub. 1939); "Left Wing" Communism, section 6, page 34 to end of part (Int. 1940); and the article on Karl Marx, from vol XI selected works, pp. 38-39, (Int. 1943) and WEB DuBois, "The World and Africa" (Int. 1967). The present writer has a longer piece on the subject in pamphlet form, "The Movement and The Workers."



Assembly line in Michigan

produced, he is surely innocent of filching bites from the black worker's pie. But if the white worker started with apples and the black one with huckleberries, the thing would become quite clear.

And, in fact, it is quite clear when the black man or woman cleans the airport latrine and the white man flies the airliner. That pilot has bloody pie on his face—whether he wants to think about it or not. But all this is slurred over by a polished image and tokenism. It is necessary to dig into the contradictions of political economy more deeply to understand why that which seems to be mutually exclusive can be united in the same "simple" case of exploitation.

In reality, the worker owns no share at all of this "pie" which he has produced. What he gets is wages which are advanced as part of capital. He has nothing to do with ownership of the product. The worker sells labor power, that is he sells himself an hour or a day at a time. If his union bosses and his ownership bosses con him into petty deals at the expense of competing black and female labor power as to the terms of the sale, this is no less a fact just because it is contrary to his own fundamental class and long-run interests.

Without this play on the divisions by selfish advantage, we should have

the entire pie under any circumstances. It contains slices to replace the capital expended on wages, and a big chunk is taken by the bosses, but there are things like "dead" unproductive expenses of both production and circulation, government, provision for those unable to work, research, education, expansion of production, and so on. Many of these will continue under all forms and stages of collective society.

But the main point is that not only white and black, male and female, old and young, pick apples and bake pie, but colonized workers, here and abroad, built the oven and supplied flour, sugar, pie tin, etc.

If the white share is a tenth and the black worker gets about half what the white does, then you have to get a microscope to see the portion of the Brazilian peasant and worker, or the Arabian, although their involuntary contributions are the most costly in misery and blood.

The "May Day" article passes this by: "Without even considering the super-profits made from foreign investments and the exploitation of colonized labor—the truth is that WHITE WORKERS (my emphasis, cvl) make only a miserable fraction of the wealth they produce. The imperialist, racist exploitation of colonized labor in fact drives wages down and weakens

# Toward an understanding of dialectical materialism

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE "SCHOOLS" RESOLUTION (First in a two-part series)

by David Burak  
Ithaca-Cornell SDS

The resolution entitled "The Schools Must Serve the People," written by Les Coleman and others, is recognized as subject to debate by virtually all who have thought about it. The fact that the vote at the Austin NC was so evenly divided (95-92), with many abstentions, emphasizes the importance of further elaboration and criticism in NLN during the coming weeks. This article will try to substantiate an argument which is in fundamental opposition to the bulk of the 10-point program put forth.

The resolution correctly recognizes (in the 2nd paragraph among other places) that "the function of the educational system cannot really be changed and the system made to serve the people, until the whole power of the capitalist class is challenged and destroyed." This valid theoretical observation is then followed, a sentence later, by a basically false tactical-strategical declaration—i.e., "our struggle to win these demands is only part of the whole class struggle unfolding in this country and throughout the world and must contribute to the fight to end the monster and the state power which maintains all its aspects of class and colonial domination."

In examining this last sentence let us first note the nationalistic error which pervades much of the thinking of the American left, the error of differentiating, either explicitly, or, as in the case of the "Schools" resolution, implicitly, between "the whole class struggle unfolding in this country and throughout the world." To make this differentiation, even implicitly, is a demonstration of the failure to understand dialectical materialism and of the lack of an international proletarian consciousness. To make this criticism is not to engage in semantics or nit-picking, for it is crucial to combat any tendency which might be used, consciously or unconsciously, to misdirect our present struggle—by failing to perceive the unity of the Third World struggles against imperialism and the development of an internal revolutionary movement which can destroy the monster bourgeois state and all its vestiges.

## Raising Consciousness

Whatever one's response to the last paragraph may be, let us move into a consideration of this article's conception of what the most correct struggles should be in this particular historical period. To begin, one must emphasize the fact that, as Lenin notes, imperialism is "the highest stage of capitalism." This highest stage, as Marx, Lenin, and Engels all agree, makes it possible for the bourgeoisie to divert many workers from revolutionary struggle (see Lenin, *The Teachings of Karl Marx*, p. 39) and tends to lead to "a bourgeois proletariat side by side with the bourgeoisie" (*ibid.*, p. 40). This is possible mainly because the imperialist super-profits from the vicious exploitation of black, brown and yellow people in the Third World allows the ruling class to buy off significant segments of its internal working class, and to encourage opportunism amongst the proletariat through this means (Lenin, *Imperialism*, p. 102).

Therefore, revolutionary communists should understand that the most important struggle in this particular historical period should involve the raising of anti-imperialist, anti-racist consciousness while trying to cut off segments of the imperialists' super-profits. This latter aspect is important in that it can significantly hurt the imperialists' ability to buy off and lie to segments of the working class within the US. Recognizing that it is objective material conditions which are most necessary to make a revolution possible, and not simply individuals or an organization with correct ideas, Marxist-Leninists should seek to develop a set of tactics which most effectively encourage and aid the

vanguard struggles against imperialism—these are the struggles for the right of self-determination presently being waged by the black, brown and yellow peoples, who comprise the vast majority of the international proletariat. It is only when significant numbers of these struggles are in progress that objective conditions within this country will be conducive to a successful revolution. This can best be understood by recalling Marx's declaration that only after Ireland achieved independence from England could the proletariat within Britain successfully seize state power (Lenin, *The Teachings of Karl Marx*, p. 50).

Turning directly to the "Schools" resolution, we find that points 1-4, 6, 9, and parts of the Panthers' 10-pt. program fail to understand this tactical consideration. Let us examine each of them. Pt. 1 demands an end to the tracking system in the schools. Implicit in this demand is the notion that if the tracking system were eliminated, the devastating effect of the racist, anti-working class teachers would be mitigated, if not totally counteracted. This is clearly false, as it is primarily the racist and imperialist textbooks which are the most counterrevolutionary and vicious elements in the school system. Thus, it is their power which must be attacked and destroyed. And it must be stressed that until this power is destroyed no constructive structure or content-related reforms can have a lasting progressive effect, unless they deal directly with the redistribution of power (as the "community control"—self-determination—struggles do in the black colony).

The educational system in America is the most effective brain-washing machinery developed by any ruling class in history, and SDS people should not permit themselves to think for one second that that machinery's ability to inculcate bourgeois values into people of every class will be diminished in any meaningful way by ending the tracking system. The most likely effect of that demand would be an "improvement in the quality" of brainwashing which black and working class kids are presently receiving, so that they can become more oppressing than oppressed.

Defenders of the demand to end the tracking system may argue that if demand #5—for socialist courses—is realized, then an end to the tracking system takes on much more meaning. To deal with that argument, one must re-emphasize the importance with which the ruling class regards its brainwashing machinery. This high regard is profoundly misunderstood if one feels that major changes in the content of

the education in a system set up by the ruling class can be brought about in a way which will provide a significant threat to the power of that class. Furthermore, tactically speaking, were we to begin to struggle for those types of courses now, we would be ignoring a dialectical dynamic which requires revolutionaries to destroy before rebuilding.

We cannot build a socialist educational system inside a structure which is controlled by imperialists. Efforts to do so are very vulnerable to takeovers by revisionists more interested in deals with the bourgeois administrators—to protect our "socialist" gains—rather than in the intensification of the struggle to destroy imperialism. This struggle must be waged in spite of the great sacrifices which it will, of necessity, entail.

None of the above should be construed as suggesting that if we are teachers in primary or secondary schools we should not continually provide revolutionary perspectives on the materials we teach. Quite the contrary is true. However, it should always be understood that until the bourgeois state is smashed, teachers willing and able to provide the revolutionary perspective will be a tiny minority amidst a veritable sea of racist counter-revolutionaries.

## Teacher Crucial

On a similar note, criticisms of the "socialist education" approach of demand #3 in the Schools proposal (and demand #9, which is in the same vein) should not be construed as being in opposition to attempts by student REVOLUTIONARIES to set up credit-granting courses which will be useful in building a revolutionary-communist movement. But it is crucial to stress that the decision of WHO TEACHES these courses has to be in the hands of the revolutionaries. Also, it must be stressed that struggles for revolutionary courses should not become the prime emphasis of any chapter's activities. For example, although there may be a struggle at Cornell over the SDS-forwarded demand that the University fund a student-administered course on Cuba and China (tentatively to be taught by Edward Boorstin and William Hinton), this struggle will not be allowed, in tactical terms, to take priority over anti-imperialist struggles directed against Chase Manhattan recruiters or ROTC.

At this juncture, it might be asked, relative to grades 1-12 of the "education" system, if there are any correct reform demands—i.e., for reforms which lead to the creation of objective conditions more conducive to the building of a fighting revolutionary

movement. The answer is yes, and this writer believes that the most correct demand is for the end of compulsory education. This demand, which can be won, is among the most meaningful steps toward achieving the self-determination of Third World people in America's internal colonies.

The demand is also much more organically related to the development of a revolutionary youth movement, in that it addresses itself much more to the felt (and correct) needs of the youth in schools, who want, more than just about anything else, to get the fuck out, because they know that they are being brainwashed, lied to, and oppressed as hell in the schools. SDS should understand that addressing itself to an end to "the regimentation—the school behavior rules, the dress codes, the cut system"—is to address itself to the manifestations of the basic form of regimentation—i.e., the fact that bourgeois law compels the youth to be in the schools. If the law did not do this, the vast majority of youth would not go to school, and alternative educational structures controlled by revolutionaries could become immensely effective.

The Panthers are developing "liberation schools" (see, for example, *The Black Panther*, 3/23/69, p. 6) and it is clear that the effect of such schools could be greatly enhanced if the youth did not have to suffer the lies and oppression of the bourgeois education for eight hours a day before going to the liberation schools. (At this point it is necessary to note that the liberation school experience at Columbia does not apply to grades 1-12, and especially to colonized peoples in these grades.)

Also, the demand to end compulsory education does not conflict with the demand for community control, but rather, pushes it in a more revolutionary direction. That is, if the community controlled schools provide REAL education, then the youth will attend, as they recognize the need for REAL education. On the other side of the coin, if the community-controlled schools fall into the hands of the black bourgeoisie, then the vast majority of youth will not attend, being more capable than most adults raised in this country of recognizing liars as liars, whatever their color.

KANSAS AND MISSOURI  
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For further information contact:  
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White students march at Cornell in support of blacks' demands.

Photo from Cornell Journal

# SSOC

(continued from Page 3)

radical and otherwise...but rather, building a radical force which raises issues for other constituencies—young people, workers, others—which will eventually be picked up to create a broader, more solid revolutionary movement."

This view of the youth movement as a critical force, raising issues in the interest of the whole working class, has also been the basis of SDS's "Revolutionary Youth Movement" position passed at the December NC, based on the knowledge that the working class is the primary agent of revolutionary change.

Again, the position that only Southerners can organize in the South guarantees that this "alien ideology" of Socialism is kept out of Southern schools. All revolutionaries should be encouraged to organize in the South and all liberal "student-power" politicians should be thrown into the Mississippi with the Confederate flag and a Stephen Foster song book in each pocket.

## Anti-Communism

Another response to the NC resolution has been the cry of "PL manipulation" since the presenter of the resolution was a PL member.

In the April issue of KUDZU, A SSOC - controlled underground newspaper in Mississippi, Editor Dave Dogget goes through page after page of red-baiting anti-Communism, even going so far as to accuse SSOC staff member Lynn Wells of being in the WSA caucus after she criticized herself and SSOC. This kind of anti-Communism always seems to follow foundation money around the world.

Aside from PL-baiting, SSOC anti-Communism hit me everywhere I traveled around the South. Sometimes it took subtle forms (attacking SDS as being "super-revolutionary" or "authoritarian" while at other times

it was blatant attacks on Communists "who have taken over SDS." Many of the SSOC staffers who have agreed with SDS's position are now being attacked for bringing factionalism into the South or trying to build a caucus and take power (an old Communist tradition).

Again of course, SDS and the movement as a whole have long been plagued by anti-Communism. Randu Furst, in his GUARDIAN article on the NC (April 5) calls the resolution a PL-introduced resolution even though most of the signers were not in PL, and many, in fact, in disagreement with WSA politics.

## Structure

In the March 1969 issue of The Fuse, (a SSOC-controlled Alabama underground newspaper), on the back page, an Alabama SSOC staffer writes:

"The Alabama office of the Southern Student Organizing Committee is here to serve you, if you are doing anything to help people gain control over their own lives. We have access to films, speakers, literature, and sundry equipment to aid you in your local organizing....Ala. SSOC has taken over publication of The Fuse from AACD. The same people are doing the work but the money is coming from a different bank account. AACD is broke and SSOC still has a few dollars."

This is an example of the SSOC approach to local chapters, heavy on the money, light on the politics. SSOC sees itself as a "staff organization." The staff is hired or fired by the executive committee which in turn is chosen by the staff. What about the membership? you may ask. Well that's just tough shit because SSOC doesn't see any need to serve the people in any real way. SSOC's structure is elitist in form and content the way that CIA-funded organizations always are. This guarantees that the "leadership" doesn't have to be responsible to the people. Like the CIA, Allinsky, Ford and all the other fat cats trying to control the movement, SSOC's motto is "Use us." What that means in reality is "you do the work, we'll supply the politics (read "literature, films,

speakers, etc.").

If you ask certain SSOC staffers about the fact that leadership is not accessible to the membership or that the organization takes no official political positions, they will tell you something like "we're trying to build a community," and "factionalism will just divide us." That's the trouble with us yankees (read "revolutionaries"). We're always trying to divide things into two sides.

So, once again, it seems as though the Man isn't stupid after all. He usually gets what he pays for. After all, that's how he got rich in the first place. He doesn't even care if the people he uses think that they are using him.

Let's see what he is getting for his money: Student power, liberalism, anti-Communism, oppressor-nation nationalism, SDS-baiting and a closed organizational structure to perpetuate all of these.

SDS people should not approach this problem from an organizational-chauvinist position. We must see ourselves as revolutionaries first and

SDS members second. Many of these problems, so blatant within SSOC, exist to a lesser degree within SDS or have their roots in SDS. However, we must see the necessity to break fraternal relations with SSOC for exactly these reasons. Liberalism, anti-Communism, and white supremacy, like any other diseases, must be attacked hardest by those most susceptible to them.

We must no longer guarantee "territorial integrity" to this organization. (SDS had given SSOC "territorial rights" in the South years ago, agreeing not to organize there.) Does this mean that SDS is trying to take SSOC over or control the movement in the South or hand down a line to Southerners? No. What it does mean is that SDS is part of an international struggle against imperialism and racism, trying to build a revolution in the heart of the beast, of which the South is a part. We call upon everyone in the South to take part in that struggle and make SDS an organization which fights for the needs of all the people.

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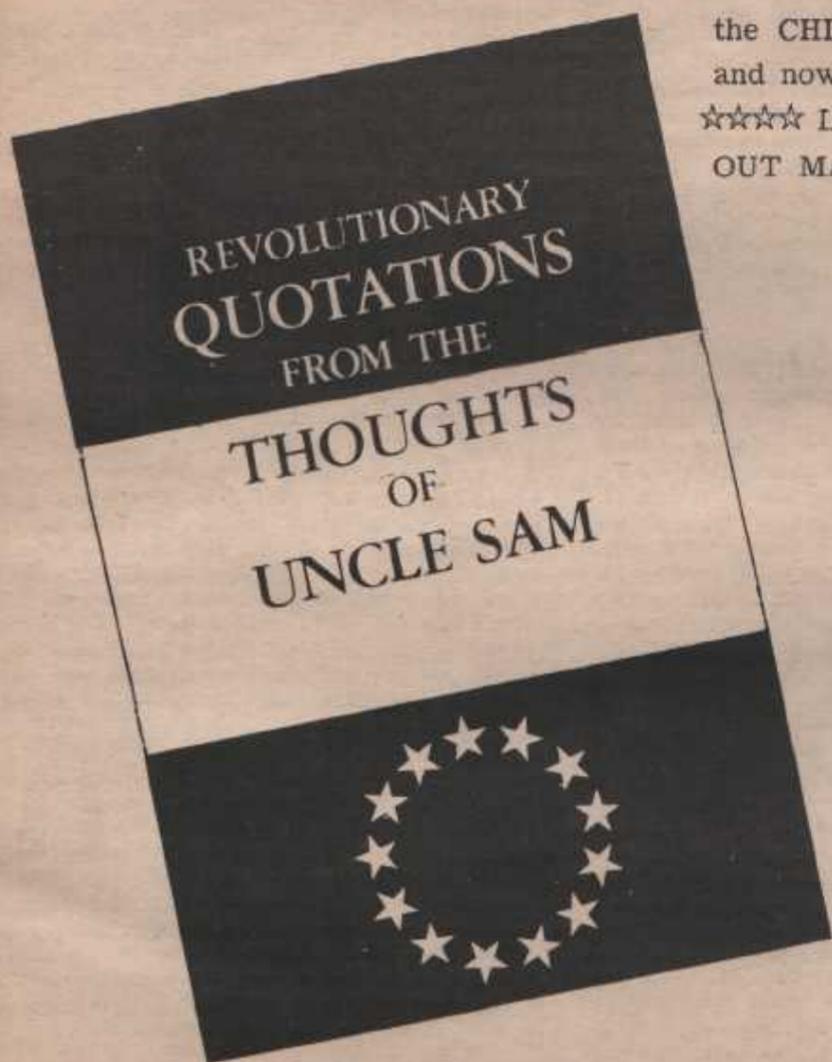
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# BOYCOTT STANDARD OIL!

The following is an interview conducted by Jeff Jones, SDS NIC member, with Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of Local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union. As part of a nation-wide walk-out against the oil industry, the local struck the Standard Oil refinery in Richmond, Calif., demanding a wage hike and increased retirement and medical benefits. Hundreds of students supported the strike by manning the picket lines, fighting company goon squads, and building community support, and at the same time talked to the workers about their own struggles against imperialism and racism at San Francisco State, Berkeley, and Oakland. Several times they helped force the company to cut back plant operation and close up the plant gates. Jake Jacobs proposed a "mutual aid pact" between the oil workers and the striking students, and after long debate the local voted 2 to 1 to back both the student and AFT strikes at S. F. State.

The strike nationally has been settled, but there is still no agreement at the Chevron Chemical plant in Richmond (Chevron is a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil and has the only union shop in the Richmond refinery complex). Under pressure from the company and the international union, the workers at Chevron were forced to go back to work without a contract. The local called for a national boycott against all Standard Oil products, but the International union threatened to dissolve the local and forced it to change its call (officially at least) to a boycott of Chevron products only. SDS, however, in keeping with the resolution supporting the oil workers passed at the Austin NC, is continuing to push for a national boycott of Standard, and chapters are urged to lead actions against the company (see NLN, April 10). At San Jose State, for example, the Standard Oil recruiters were thrown off the campus and prevented from holding any interviews. Actions against Standard should be seen as concrete support of a continuing labor struggle in Richmond led by a local which has openly expressed its support for the students fighting racism at S. F. State.

NLN: We understand that the International Confederation of Petroleum Workers has refused to sanction the boycott of Standard Oil products. Could you tell us a little about why this has happened and what effect this has had on the plans of the local?

JJ: As to why it happened, that's a pretty deep subject. It goes back to the role that was played by the international throughout the strike. Basically the reasons given by the International for calling it off were because of possible legal ramifications. However, this position of the International union is in direct conflict with advice of our own local legal advisors. The effect that it had on the striking Chevron Chemical workers was one more or less of demoralization because they were depending on the boycott of the entire Standard Oil establishment in the final analysis to win a victory and save the union shop.

Throughout the strike action it was fully realized by the local leadership, and this thinking was conveyed to the International, that Chevron Chemical would be the last battleground. And that it would be necessary to throw every force at our disposal into the fight, including the boycott of the entire Standard Oil Company of California. And it was the measured opinion of the local union leadership, as well as the strikers, that unless we were able to do that we would probably suffer a defeat. The effect that it has had right now is that it has left the people who went back to work at Chevron Chemical without a contract, and we have decided to fight the company with whatever tools we have at our disposal.

There will be a boycott; however the local union's participation will be limited to a boycott of Chevron Chemical products, which we know probably isn't going to be too effective and probably isn't going to make too much effect on the decision of the company concerning the union shop. In the final analysis, we know that their whole strategy has been to isolate the Chevron chemical unit apart from the Standard Oil situation in order to avoid a boycott of the entire Standard Oil Company of California. This says to us that they are willing to take a boycott of Chevron Chemical products. In other words, they're willing to expend the finances and take the loss that might occur there in order to defeat the union. So, right at this point as I said, the people are kind of in a state of flux, slightly demoralized....

NLN: Did any members of the union lose their jobs as a result of the action?

JJ: Yes, there were four people who were discharged for alleged unlawful conduct on the picket line (at the Chevron plant—ed.). Of course, this was one of the leadership's considerations in their desire to continue the strike and initiate the boycott, because we felt that it was important that the union stand up behind the people that fought during the strike. That was one thing we were able to accomplish in the Standard Oil unit. Four or five people had been fired over there and we were able to get them returned to work. So that's an important factor right now, we are taking care of those people, maintaining their strike benefits with \$50 a week.

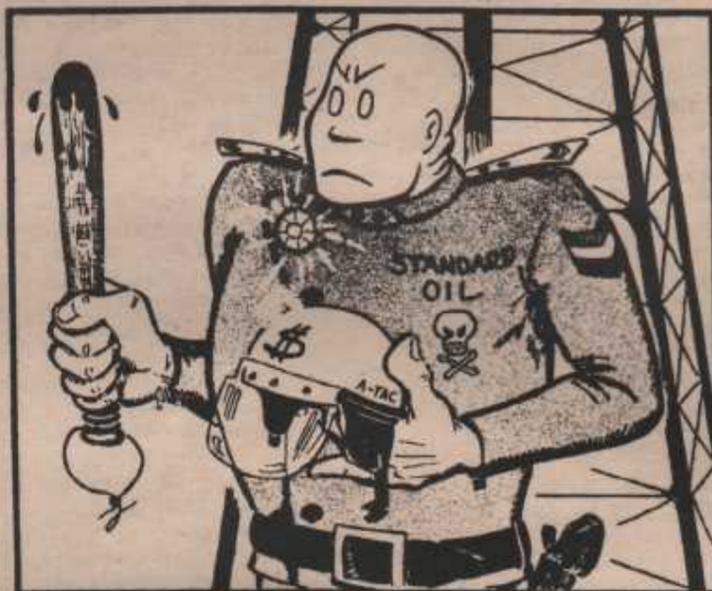
NLN: So you get help from the International on that?

JJ: The strike benefits from the International amount to about \$15 a week and at this point we're making up the difference. Our overall program over there right now depends upon if we can solidify the people and get them behind a concrete program and carry the fight on. The overall objective of the thing, naturally, is to turn the company back on its demands for an end to the union shop. The leadership's attitude is that we will work without a contract indefinitely, and use whatever methods we can find to fight against the company: the Chevron Chemical boycott; possibly in-plant action; stopping work meetings; anything we can do to harass the company. We don't have a contract, we could walk out at any time.

NLN: Do you think there would be a possibility of sufficient pressure put on the company by community, student, and other labor support to win the union shop back?

JJ: The local is in kind of an awkward position concerning the continuation of the boycott of Standard Oil Company. It's hard to say to other groups, "Will you continue a boycott of the Standard Oil Chemical Company, and continue action against them in our behalf, even though we can't participate in it?", so at this point we make it clear that everyone knows that our hands are tied, we cannot participate in such an action. But we do feel that any actions, public education programs and boycott activities that can get initiated by other groups against the Standard Oil Company of California would certainly be helpful.

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In other words, everything we get going against them is going to help.

NLN: We'd like to go back to the beginning of the strike. When it first began did you have any idea that the relationship would develop between the TWLF and the striking students and the strike?

JJ: To begin with, I personally had had ideas along these lines for quite some time. The strike here, when we went on strike January 6, wasn't the first time that we've had a relationship with the students. We had come in contact with them before in other strike actions where they assisted us, and we'd develop some kind of relationship, though it didn't go nearly as deep as it is now.

For quite a period of time, we have thought about alliances of this sort, not only with students, but with other minority groups, oppressed groups who have things in common, but at this point are practicing a degree of separatism and mistrust of each other and so forth, so when the strike began here it wasn't really a new idea. But the strike certainly presented an opportunity to get something going.

Of course we had the problem with our membership and even our leadership; it was a very controversial issue, but the strike and the necessity of outside support certainly was a critical factor in making our people receptive to the point where they would take an honest look at the students' problems. So for the first few weeks of the strike we were, you might say, unofficially, we didn't request the student support, but certainly unofficially we let them know that we would appreciate their support, and felt that we needed it.

As they began to come out on the picket line and support us, then we had an association between strikers and students that made our people more receptive to opening up minds to the idea. And then it finally reached a point where I became convinced that, well, we can't go on asking other people for their support and taking a position of "We accept your support and we welcome your support, but we don't want to do anything in return. We don't want to take any official position because of fear of reprisals from the establishment." You just can't, it isn't right, you just don't do those sort of things.

It meant that somewhere along the line we were going to have to take an official position in support