

sds new left notes

Vol. 4, no. 23

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE June 25, 1969


inside

Inside this four-page issue of New Left Notes is the 16-page pre-convention issue containing proposed resolutions. We were unable to send out this issue last week because of the time pressure the convention caused. The resolutions which were passed will be printed in the next issue of NLN. (See Page 4 for the resolution on the fall national action.)

NATIONAL CONVENTION EXPELS RACIST PL, AND ELECTS NEW OFFICERS



Bernardine Fisher expels PL out of the organization; on her immediate left is Mark Rudd, the new National Secretary.

THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH PL WAS EXPELLED, ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. We support the struggles of the black and Latin colonies within the U.S. for national liberation, and we recognize those nations' rights to self-determination (including the right to political secession, if they desire it).
2. We support the struggle for national liberation of the people of South Vietnam, led by the National Liberation Front and the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government. We also support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, led by President Ho Chi Minh, as well as the Democratic Republic of China, the People's Republics of Korea and Albania, and the Republic of Cuba, all waging fierce struggles against U.S. imperialism. We support the right of all peoples to pick up the gun to free themselves from the brutal rule of U.S. imperialism.

The Progressive Labor Party has attacked every revolutionary nationalist struggle of the black and Latin peoples in the U.S. as being racist and reactionary. For example, they have attacked open admission, black studies, community control of police and schools, the Black Panther Party and their "breakfast for children" program, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

The Progressive Labor Party has attacked Ho Chi Minh, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the revolutionary government of Cuba—all leaders of the people's struggles for freedom against U.S. imperialism.

The Progressive Labor Party, because of its positions and practices, is objectively racist, anti-communist, and reactionary. PLP has also in principle and practice refused to join the struggle against male supremacy. It has no place in SDS, an organization of revolutionary youth.

For these reasons, which have manifested themselves in practice all over the country, as well as at this convention, and because the groups we look to around the world for leadership in the fight against U.S. imperialism, including the Black Panther Party and the Brown Berets, urge us to do so, SDS feels it is now necessary to rid ourselves of the burden of allowing the politics of the Progressive Labor Party to exist within our organization. Progressive Labor Party members and all people who do not accept the above two principles are no longer members of SDS.

We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong. (Mao, Red Book, Page 86)

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VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE

by Mark Rudd, National Secretary; Jeff Jones, Inter-organizational Secretary; Bill Ayers, Education Secretary

The revolutionary youth movement, the black liberation struggle, the working class, and the whole international struggle against imperialism won a victory and took a step forward at the June 1969 SDS convention.

This convention expelled from the organization all members of the Progressive Labor Party and all others who share their betrayal of the struggle of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and their active opposition to the struggle for self-determination of the black people within the United States.

This action is a direct outcome and consequence of the great advances over the last year and a half made on all fronts against imperialism, especially by the struggle in Vietnam and the black liberation movement, and on the part of SDS in the strength and clarity of its alignment with these struggles. It is an outcome of the great advances made in practice by the youth movement in fighting imperialism directly, at San Francisco State, Kent State, Berkeley, etc., and the increasingly obvious detrimental and reactionary role played by the PLP through its active opposition to revolutionary nationalist struggles.

This contradiction in practice, between active support for liberation struggles and active opposition, has existed for a long time within our organization, but has sharpened in the last year. What became clear in the course of this convention is that we cannot demand of people outside the organization a choice which we are unwilling to enforce within it. The decision of the convention to exclude the PLP was the resolution of that contradiction; and it makes explicit the principles upon which SDS must be built.

Within the world today, the most important revolutionary struggle is between the national liberation movements of the colonized nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and U.S. imperialism. These are primarily revolutionary nationalist struggles. Revolutionary nationalism, on the part of an oppressed colonized people, far from being the reactionary ideology that PLP claims it is, is an intrinsic part of revolutionary internationalism. To accept and defend revolutionary nationalism, far from being harmful to working class revolution, is a necessary component of it if one desires to actually be revolutionary in relation to reality.

The Progressive Labor Party has claimed that its line is "pro-working class," and that it has fought strenuously against "anti-working class" ideas within SDS. In fact, taking a line that is opposed to revolutionary nationalism is harmful to the international proletariat—is objectively "anti-working class"—and, as such, is harmful to the working class in America. The white working class must be won to an anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement if it is ever to participate in a revolution to end its own exploitation, emiseration, and enslavement by this imperialist monster. Further, SDS's strategy for reaching the working class is through the revolutionary youth movement—by building a fighting force of working class youth committed to the struggles for national liberation and self-determination, to the international proletariat as a whole.

Thus the political difference is not one "within the left" or "within the movement"; it is a principled difference on what the movement is about, where and what class war is, and who the sides of it are. If the PLP opposes revolutionary nationalism on the part of colonized peoples; opposes the self-determination of the black people within the U.S.; opposes the National

the newly won Black Studies Department was "bourgeois" and co-optive, and denounced the leadership of the struggle as "nationalist." The next rally called by PLP was boycotted by all black and brown students and all community organizations.

---And, while SDS as a whole has been trying to organize an internationalist, anti-imperialist working class youth movement, PL has labeled Ho Chi Minh a "traitor," has accused the NLF of "making deals" with the imperialists, has denounced Cuba as "revisionist," and has called the Black Panther Party "racist in reverse."

The expulsion of the Progressive Labor Party was decided on at a meeting resulting from a walkout led by Bernardine Dohrn and Mike Klonsky from the original meeting room. The walkout occurred Friday night, the first day of the actual convention, after a presentation by members of the Black Panther Party denouncing the racism of the all-white "self-proclaimed vanguard," the PLP. In addition, a spokesman for the Brown Berets had read a letter jointly approved by the national leadership of the Black Panther Party, the Brown Berets, the Young Lords Organization, and other black and Latin organizations, as well as the Young Patriots, a community organization of white youth, which stated in part: "We demand that by the conclusion of the National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society, the Progressive Labor Party change its position on the right to self-determination and stand in concert with the oppressed peoples of the world and begin to follow a true Marxist-Leninist ideology," and further, "SDS will be judged by the company they keep and the efficiency and effectiveness with which they deal with bourgeois factions in their organization."

This meeting was at first far from unanimous. The ISC and other opportunists argued that there was no principled split, that to have walked out was manipulative, and that to expel the PLP would be even more democratic. Bernardine Dohrn, Mark Rudd, the Seattle regional caucus, and others argued for expulsion on the grounds that there was no basis for PLP even existing within our organization, or for their legitimacy within the people's movement at all. Various other people argued for the forming of a more active caucus within the same organization as PLP, or even for leaving SDS to them and forming a new organization. However, in the course of a day's debate, the vast majority of people were won to the necessity to expel PLP and actively write them out of the revolutionary movement, as they had already written themselves out through their opposition to black self-determination and revolutionary nationalism.

The academic argument that the split was not "politically" spelled out before the walkout was rejected, as the walkout itself was understood as political. It was the conclusion of over a year of clarifying political

differences—especially at Ann Arbor, Austin, again at this convention, and in many sections of the organization on the local level. Further, the legalistic argument that we should take a vote among the entire convention body was rejected, as it meant counter-revolutionaries having the right to "vote" on their own counter-revolutionary nature. Our task was not to vote: People saw clearly that our political position required action, that action alone would clarify the irreconcilable and antagonistic character of the differences in a way that no words could possibly have done.

The 1969 SDS convention must be considered a critical turning point in the development of SDS as a mass revolutionary organization. Over the past year we have made many advances, while we have still failed substantially in providing real material support to the black liberation struggle and the Vietnamese war of liberation. We have failed to keep the war the key issue—and immediate withdrawal the key demand—in our movement. We have failed to defend the Black Panther Party in a strenuous, militant, and consistent way. We have failed to take the issues of the black and Vietnamese struggles to the masses of working class youth—challenging white supremacy, male supremacy, and anti-communism, and building a mass based fighting force of revolutionary youth.

These tasks remain before us. Having expelled the PLP on the basis of their theory and practice of betraying revolutionary youth movement struggles in support of the People's War in Vietnam and the black liberation movement.

The national action in the fall gives us this opportunity. It must be the culmination of our summer work in the cities, bringing out thousands of newly won working class youth. It will bring the war home and carry it to the American people. It will unify our movement and draw a clear line between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary practice. It will strengthen all of our local organizing by sharpening and focusing our day to day work.

Work on the action is beginning immediately. Hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature must be produced, fund raising must be undertaken, and chapters must begin to lay the groundwork for the action. Hundreds of people will go to the Black Panther Party-called United Front Against Fascism Conference in California in July, and this action will be proposed and discussed at that conference, along with other activities of support for the black liberation struggle.

All chapters should contact the National Office for information, and also send us your comments and criticisms of the actions at the national convention. Support and co-ordination will be important in the coming period. Let us hear from you.

All Power to the People! Long live the victory of People's War!



Black Panther Party spokesman addresses the National Convention.

BLACK PANTHER STATEMENT

(Read to the National Convention on the third day)

After long study and investigation of Students for a Democratic Society and the Progressive Labor Party in particular, we have come to the conclusion that the Progressive Labor Party has deviated from Marxist-Leninist ideology on the National Question and the right of self-determination of all oppressed people.

We demand that by the conclusion of the National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society that the Progressive Labor Party change its position on the right to self-determination and stand in concert with the oppressed peoples of the world and begin to follow a true Marxist-Leninist ideology.

There is still the question of the positions taken by the Progressive Labor Party on Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara, and the vanguard position of the Black Panther Party. These questions will be dealt with at a future time; but the issue of self-determination is too great a policy to be overlooked at this time.

If the Progressive Labor Party continues its egocentric policies and revisionist behavior, they will be considered as counter-revolutionary traitors and will be dealt with as such.

Students for a Democratic Society will be judged by the company they keep and the efficiency and effectiveness with which they deal with bourgeois factions in their organization.

Black Panther Party
Brown Berets
Young Lords Organization

Press Statement

June 24, 1969

KNOW YOUR ENEMIES

At the meeting held by the PLP and Worker-Student Alliance members expelled from SDS, a slate of so-called "National Officers" was elected. These so-called "national officers" include as the three National Secretaries John Pennington, national secretary from the Boston-Cambridge area, Pat Forman from

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—While black students were waging a militant struggle around admissions and self-determination at City College in N.Y., Third World members of PLP infiltrated the occupied South Campus to organize against the demands;

—While black students were demanding more control of the SEEK program at Queens College, PLP denounced the demands. The SDS office was attacked by black students as a result of PLP's actions. A month later blacks were chased off the campus by white racists—and only a few white persons fought with the blacks.

—While black students at Columbia University were struggling around black control of black admissions, PLP refused to support their demands, and acted on university expansion, claiming it was the only way to fight racism.

—In Chicago on election day, PLP put out a leaflet denouncing the election day strike leaders as "adventurist".

—At a Black Panther rally on the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois in Chicago, a PLP member read a program he had already agreed with the Panthers not to read, and was physically ejected from the podium.

—At San Francisco State, after supporting the demands and the struggle led by BSU/TWLF, PLP changed its line in the last weeks of the strike, saying that special admission of black and brown students and

ideology," and further, "SDS will be judged by the company they keep and the efficiency and effectiveness with which they deal with bourgeois factions in their organization."

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"National Secretary" John Pennington is the individual who refused to testify last spring at the Boston trial of Motherfucker Ben Morea. Ben was on trial for felonious assault on a group of Marines who had attacked him and some other brothers and sisters outside the Arlington Church near the Boston Commons last summer. In the attack one of the Marines was stabbed in the stomach.

Not only did Pennington refuse to testify at Ben's trial (on the grounds that Ben would not allow him to make a political statement about the Worker Student Alliance), but he also spread vicious lies around the country that Ben had in fact started the attack himself, going after a Marine who was on crutches.

Pennington's PIG work was unsuccessful and Morea was acquitted by the trial jury.

We must fight these phonies and expose them every time they appear and attempt to represent our organization. The PLP and WSA must stand before the people on their own politics and principles and not attempt to use the name of our organization as a cover for their own weak, counter-revolutionary politics.

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The 1969 SDS Convention has been one of the most important in our history. Two decisions were made that have serious implications for SDS and the entire world-wide anti-imperialist movement.

First, we have expelled members of Progressive Labor Party from our ranks. We have taken this action because of Progressive Labor Party's objectively racist and counter-revolutionary positions and actions. Progressive Labor Party has attacked all nationalism, calling it reactionary. This has led Progressive Labor Party to attack struggles for black community control of police, black studies programs, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Black Panther Party and their breakfast for children program, as well as actively organizing against open admissions for black and brown people in City College in New York, Queens College, Brooklyn College, and other schools. They have said that they support black liberation; in fact, they support black liberation struggles everywhere except where they exist.

Progressive Labor Party has further attacked the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Cuba, and other leading forces in the people's fight against U.S. imperialism. They have served the interests of imperialism by attacking the heroic leaders of the struggle for world revolution.

We in SDS have for some time understood that there is need for a world-wide socialist revolution against U.S. imperialism. We have understood that that revolution is already being waged in Vietnam, in Cuba, in Bolivia, in Angola, and in dozens of other Third World countries. That revolution is being led in the U.S. by black and Latin peoples fighting for their liberation and self-determination. Behind the growth of the Black Panther Party, black and brown student unions, La Raza, Alianza, and numerous other organizations of the black and Latin people, as well as the development of struggles all the way from free medical clinics to uprisings in the community is this one essential fact: the oppressed and colonized peoples of this country are engaging in a struggle for their liberation, and they will surely win!

The struggle of the peoples of the world for their freedom is in the interests of the people of the whole world, including all working people within the U.S. We have fought for years to build active struggles in solidarity with those of the black and Third World peoples. This is the meaning behind the struggles at Columbia, San Francisco State, and a thousand other colleges and high schools. We have done this

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The struggle of the peoples of the world for their freedom is in the interests of the people of the whole world, including all working people within the U.S. We have fought for years to build active struggles in solidarity with those of the black and Third World peoples. This is the meaning behind the struggles at Columbia, San Francisco State, and a thousand other colleges and high schools. We have done this not out of guilt, but out of the sure knowledge that the battles of the oppressed peoples of the world are the key to toppling this racist, imperialist system. Most of our organizing work has been to win people to this position and to force them to choose sides in the world revolution. But how could we demand of people outside the organization what we could not demand of people inside? Our only solution to this contradiction was to expel those who sabotaged and attacked the real struggles of the people of the world—our struggles—so that the movement could continue to grow and win.

Secondly, the SDS Convention is taking the lead in raising the level of militancy and seriousness of the movement to stop the Vietnam war. The people of this country will not be fooled by Nixon's talk of "de-escalation" in Vietnam. He is using his so-called peace gestures to cover up the increasing brutality, genocide, and repression against the blacks, the revolutionary youth movement, and all opposition to imperialism within the U.S.

SDS will respond by increasing its work with working class young people, in the army, in communities, and in work places throughout the country. We will be everywhere. We will build a revolutionary youth movement capable of actively engaging in the war against the imperialists. We will escalate our attacks until imperialism is defeated in Vietnam.

This fall, in Chicago, at the time the Conspiracy trials begin, we will lead massive demonstrations against the war, in support of the Black Panther Party, and in solidarity with all political prisoners, including Huey P. Newton and the eight under attack for last summer's righteous demonstrations. Throughout the fall, we will continue actions to stop the war and increase our attack on imperialism.

The SDS Convention also elected national officers for the coming year. The three national secretaries are: Jeff Jones, 22, Inter-organizational Secretary; Mark Rudd, National Secretary; and Bill Ayers, 24, Educational Secretary.

The National Interim Committee members are: Howie Machtinger, Chicago; Linda Evans, Detroit; Bob Avakian, San Francisco; Corky Benedict, Cleveland; Barbara Riley, New York; Noel Ignatin, Chicago; Mike Klonsky, Chicago; and Bernardine Dohrn, Chicago.



Members of the heroic SDS security force.

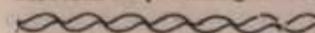
New Left Notes

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TAKE THE WAR TO THE PEOPLE

(This resolution, passed by the National Convention, was submitted by Mike Klonsky, NIC member; Marilyn Katz, Chicago; Marv Treiger, Bay Area RU, and others.)

The rebirth of the American revolutionary movement has been closely linked with the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people fighting against US imperialism for national liberation. This struggle has been like a beacon to all the oppressed peoples of the world, showing them that the power of the people is invincible in the end. The Vietnamese fight has served to heighten the consciousness and level of struggle here within the heart of the monster. The youth movement can trace its heightened development directly to the early resistance to the war on the part of youth, who were the first to recognize the contradictions and gain the understanding that the war in Vietnam served no one but the rich.

We must understand the dialectical relationship that exists between the struggle in Vietnam and the class struggle in the US. Each blow we strike against US monopoly capitalism is of multiple benefit not only to the Vietnamese but to all other oppressed people as well. Just as the Vietnamese have been kicking ass despite seemingly insurmountable odds, we too have been advancing our struggle to win the masses of the American people to the fight against imperialism. Our task now is to convert mass sentiment against the war into mass action capable of ending the war.

The proletariat is the key force in the fight against imperialism and is the class that is hit hardest by the developing crisis in the system. It is working people who pay for the wars of oppression with their lives and their labor. The crisis in imperialism has meant triple taxes, cutbacks in safety, speed-up, falling wages, and death on the front lines to working people. Black and brown workers have been hit the hardest and black people have led in the resistance movement against the war. The rebellions in Detroit, Watts, etc. have been the vanguard actions against US imperialism in Vietnam by bringing the war home. Two divisions of troops were sent to Detroit instead of to Vietnam to put down urban insurrections.

The imperialist system is increasingly

vulnerable. Inflation is running wild and the international monetary system is approaching crisis. This situation, as well as the mass work of the anti-war movement, has already won a majority of working people to opposition to the war. However, we are at a point now, primarily due to the tremendous victories of the Vietnamese and the over-extension of manpower and resources of the imperialists, where the demand "Get out of Vietnam Now!" takes on a new aspect. The Vietnamese taking the war to the people of the world by way of their heroic action have won the support of the masses of people throughout the world. Our rebuilding of a militant class-conscious movement against the war, here in the mother country, can be the straw that breaks the camel's back and makes "GET OUT OF VIETNAM" a reality.

In practice, this means a revival of the mass movement against the war, elevated to a higher level of militancy which will be powerful because of the working class base and leadership. Some people might think that by winning large numbers of working people to our mass actions, the level of militancy of those actions will drop. In actuality, increased numbers of working people will raise the level of our militancy. To understand this, you only have to watch the response on the part of workers when their wildcat strike is attacked by the pigs.

Our youth movement is one of the important roads to the working class. It is young workers that are the ones who must fight their class brothers in Vietnam. They are also hit hardest by layoffs. Young workers are also generally easier to break away from national chauvinism. Through the young workers, we can extend the movement against imperialism into the working class as a whole.

Our movement is presently facing a new level of attack on the part of the reactionary forces. Repression has escalated, particularly against the black liberation struggle. Responses to this repression on the part of our movement have varied and sometimes have meant mistakes, playing right into the hands of the oppressor.

Reactionary attacks have led some people to forget about our primary task of winning the masses to the struggle. They have turned inward and withdrawn from mass struggle.

There has been a tendency to forget about militant actions and the need to build a fighting movement.

We should see an increase in actions against the war and imperialism as a revolutionary response to repression. By taking the issues to the people, we do exactly what the repression is aimed at stopping us from doing. Repression attempts to isolate the revolutionary elements from the people and turn them inward towards themselves. As we take our movement to the people, the level of tactics will be elevated. A fall action could be coordinated, for example around the trial in Chicago of the Conspiracy 8, making it clear to the people that we will not be scared off by repression and fascist attacks.

The Vietnamese, through the formation of the new revolutionary government, have shown us what internationalism means. They have a program of support for the struggles of oppressed peoples in Africa, Asia, Latin America and black people in the US. Our response must be to win the masses of Americans to support of the struggles of the oppressed nations for self-determination. This is the primary way in which we can break the chains that tie them to capitalism.

Up until now, lack of international solidarity on the part of US white workers has meant that they were objectively scabbing on the rest of the world proletariat.

One of the ways in which we build this solidarity is by attacking white supremacy. We should see that white supremacy and national chauvinism are key factors in the war in Vietnam and that the war is a white supremacist war. By attacks on white supremacy, we can also connect the war in Vietnam to the war in the black colony in the minds of the people.

Therefore, we must develop a program for the summer and fall which:

- (1) builds a broad based attack against imperialism;
- (2) drives that movement into the proletariat and fights for proletarian leadership within the anti-imperialist movement;
- (3) raises the level of militancy of this movement as a response to repression;
- (4) makes the demand "IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM" an

operative rather than simply an agitational demand.

PROGRAM:

(1) SDS should call for a mass action against the war for Sept. 26-28 in Chicago. This should be a broad based action that attempts to involve the most people possible in militant struggle. The demands should include:

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. OCCUPATION TROOPS FROM VIETNAM, THE BLACK AND BROWN COMMUNITIES AND THE SCHOOLS, AND ALL FOREIGN COUNTRIES

SUPPORT FOR BLACK LIBERATION

FREE HUEY NEWTON AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

NO MORE SURTAX

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO

SOLIDARITY WITH CONSPIRACY 8

SUPPORT FOR GIs' RIGHTS AND GI REBELLIONS

(2) The NO should produce literature which explains the implications of the crisis in world imperialism and encourage working people how they are being screwed by imperialism in Vietnam and throughout the world, including here at home.

(3) We should build a program over the summer that builds toward this action by taking the issues to the masses of working people. This can be done through a program of work in factories and in working class communities by taking our anti-imperialist politics with us. We should attempt to build revolutionary collectives wherever we work that can study revolutionary theory, apply it to practice and do criticism and self-criticism while developing a program in a collective way. This is also an important step to building a party of the proletariat, which is necessary if victory against imperialism is to be achieved.

We should build toward work stoppages and strikes and mobilizations of workers who are won to the fight.

(4) We should call on soldiers in the army to hold demonstrations during this period. We must work to develop programs within the Army that raise anti-imperialist consciousness and aid any such existing programs. We should avoid the mistake of economism in GI organizing, which limits organizing to GI rights issues. We must attack the notion that anti-imperialism and support for black liberation cannot be raised in the military because of the severe repression. We should support the fight for basic rights of GIs and fight to inject anti-imperialist consciousness into those struggles. In the past year, there have been tremendous struggles fought within the military which have been mostly black-led and which have struck at the heart of imperialism.

One of the best examples of proletarian internationalism was the revolt of the black GIs at Fort Hood during the Democratic Convention who refused to march on their class brothers in the streets of Chicago.

(5) A student strike should be called for the week of the demonstrations, making it clear that students will not sit by with their noses stuck in textbooks while imperialism is plundering the peoples of the world. Through mass struggle and militant action we can turn the imperialists on their ear. Mao says that "all reactionaries attempt to stamp out revolution by mass murder, and they think that the more people they massacre, the weaker the revolution will become. But contrary to this wishful thinking of reaction, the facts are that the more people the reactionaries massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution becomes, the nearer the reactionaries are to their doom. This is an irresistible law."

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AT F4 F105 DROPPED EXPLOSIVE STEEL PELLET AND INCENDIARY BOMBS

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AND LIVES STOP APPEAL YOU TAKE IMMEDIATE

MEASURES PREVENT US WAR AVTS DEMAND US GOVERNMENT STOP ENCROACHMENTS

ON DRVN SECURITY SOVEREIGNTY STOP SINCERE THANKS

VIETMY

1608 14 15 20 14 16-19 A4 F4 F105.

BRING THE WAR HOME!

OCCUPATION TROOPS OUT OF VIETNAM, LATIN AMERICA, ALL OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BLACK AND BROWN COMMUNITIES, AND THE SCHOOLS.

CHICAGO, OCT 11
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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Students for a Democratic Society



new left notes
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Vol. 4, no. 24 ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE July 8, 1969

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by Jeff Jones, Inter-organizational Secretary

In the last issue of New Left Notes we printed the resolution that was passed calling for the National Action in Chicago around the time of the Conspiracy trials (early October). The success of this action is absolutely crucial, and we have to look very carefully at what we mean by success.

The Vietnamese are successfully resisting and defeating the U.S. imperialists, driving them to all kinds of phony moves, from a 25,000 troop withdrawal to the negotiation table in Paris. They have done this with little substantial support from the left in America. Only the liberation struggles of the black and brown people have seriously cut away at the military power of the U.S., forcing them to always leave some ready troops here, like at Fort Hood and Fort Bragg. For our part we have tended to stay away from large anti-war actions on the grounds that they were anti-war and not anti-imperialist. We did this at a time when we didn't even have an anti-capitalist and internationalist understanding of what imperialism was. We came to Chicago at the last minute last summer, and did no work at all either turning people out for, or helping to lead with good politics, what turned out to be the most important political

event of the last half of last year.

We must move swiftly and effectively to rectify our mistakes. The Vietnamese and the black and brown struggles for liberation here need the support of a militant fighting anti-imperialist youth movement.

The fall National Action is only a part of our program and strategy, but a crucial part. Since the passage of the RYM proposal at Ann Arbor last December, we have begun to expand the base of our organization into working class high schools, community colleges, neighborhoods, and shops. We have also come to see more clearly the leading role of proletarian organizations like the Black Panther Party, DRUM, the Young Lords Organization, the TWLF, the Young Patriots, and the Brown Berets. The war is opposed by a majority of Americans, and the vast majority of Americans are oppressed and exploited by imperialism. It's on the basis of this that we must build the action.

The action is scheduled for the fall, after the new school semester begins around the country. It is early in the fall, which is good, because it means that within a week or two of the beginning of the fall semester we will be taking students off the campuses and back to Chicago around demands that are anti-imperialist, for liberation and

self-determination, and that speak about the class nature of the society. This action will set the political tone for the campuses this fall.

If this action is going to accomplish these goals, it must be much more than a student-oriented action. This action must be considered a part of all summer organizing that is going on. In the communities, on the streets and in the shops, we must constantly be raising the issues of imperialism and racism, and organizing people to come to the national action will be an important tool for all working-class organizers.

In Chicago, where the action will have its maximum effect, we have already begun to implement this in practice. On Friday, July 4, we co-sponsored a rally with the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Organization, and the Young Patriots. The main focus of the rally was the demand to Free All Political Prisoners, one of the main demands of the National Action. Organizers in Chicago had spent the week leafletting and talking to young working-class people from the North Side, talking to them about the Panthers, the Vietnamese, and Communism, and trying to get them to come to the rally. The rally itself was very chaotic, with a pig-organized attack on the Panthers by a North Side gang, but we spoke about the politics of the national action, and talked about our support for the Panthers and for liberation and self-determination. Many of the people we had met during the week came. We will be continuing this type of organizing through the summer. Talking to people, getting them to come to rallies, meetings, film showings, parties, building toward the National Action, which of course is not an end in itself, but only a stepping-stone to continue our organizing in the fall.

Bill Ayers spent part of the last week in Boston. Boston is the region where Progressive Labor and the WSA is strong, and Bill spent most of his time working with the people there who support the expulsion of PL. There was

also time spent talking about the National Action, and we again encountered the old-fashioned, regional exceptionalist notions about how national actions don't relate to the local people, about how they take people away from their on-going work, etc. We must be very thorough in our study of this argument, as in many cases over the years, it has been one of the main reasons for our failure to support the Vietnamese at these national actions. None can deny that the Pentagon, Oakland Stop the Draft Week, and Chicago contributed significantly to the building of a mass imperialist movement. With clear anti-imperialist politics, an action this fall will guarantee that no organizers can make any mistakes of not being out front with our support for the Vietnamese, our position on international revolution, and our position on black and brown liberation and the necessity of organizing white working people into a revolutionary movement that will not scab on the oppressed and colonized peoples of the world.

Besides the national office staff we are putting together a staff for the national action. We are scheduling our time so that immediately after the United Front Against Fascism Conference in Oakland we will be working as much as possible toward building the action. We will also be putting out wall posters, pamphlets, bumper stickers, buttons, shotgun pamphlets, radio tapes, and maybe a newsreel film. As soon as materials are available we will begin to inform everyone through NLN. We should all begin to make a practice of always having something like the mass paper, copies of the Movement, leaflets, pamphlets, etc., with us to give to people we meet in our neighborhoods, where we work, at the beaches and parks. No one takes vacations this summer. Organize everywhere.

It is of paramount importance that regional meetings be held all around the

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PROPOSED S.D.S. UNITY PRINCIPLES

Though the Unity Principles were never passed by the Convention, the Convention mandated New Left Notes to print them complete with proposed amendments.

UNITY PRINCIPLES OF THE RYM

1. OPPOSE WHITE SUPREMACY, FULL SUPPORT TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM, FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE BLACK AND CHICANO NATIONS, INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO.

The principal contradiction in the world today is that between U.S. imperialism and the nations it oppresses. The sharpest blows against U.S. imperialism are being dealt by the nationally oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and within the U.S. We recognize and support the struggle of the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the NLF, as the spearhead of all the anti-imperialist struggles in the world today, and support the just struggles of the Palestinian, Congolese, Columbian, and all other peoples fighting for national liberation.

The central point in our program is the distinction between the U.S. oppressor nation and the nations it oppresses. As revolutionaries within the oppressor nation, we unhesitatingly assume our responsibility to carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end by linking our fight with the international struggles of the oppressed peoples by consistently opposing white supremacy (repudiating the white-skin privilege), and by giving concrete support to the struggles of the Black, Latin, and other oppressed peoples within the U.S. for democratic rights, including the demand for community control by Black and Third World communities, open admissions for Black and Third World students, an end to the special oppression of non-white women, equality in skilled jobs and the professions, and full equality in every sphere of life.

Flowing from our opposition to white supremacy, we demand the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations, which means the right to establish an independent state. Within the U.S. we recognize this right with regard to the Black and Chicano nations, and call for the independence of Puerto Rico. Furthermore, we recognize the responsibility of the U.S. oppressor nation to make reparations in land and other forms to the Indians, Asian-Americans, Eskimos, Polynesians, and all other oppressed peoples in the U.S.

As revolutionaries in the oppressor nation, we recognize our responsibility, in the name of proletarian internationalism, to support and learn from the proletarian forces within the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples.

2. OPPOSE MALE SUPREMACY, SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION.

The proletariat cannot achieve complete freedom without achieving complete freedom for women. The struggle for women's liberation is a powerful force against U.S. imperialism. We are dedicated to fighting male supremacy, to destroying the physical and spiritual oppression of women by men, and to the achievement of full equality for women in every sphere of life.

We will fight for the equality of women in job status, wages, and education, by launching campaigns to open up "male jobs," for equal pay for equal work, and for open admissions for women in technical schools and all educational institutions.

We support the struggle of women for control over their bodies, and demand the removal of all legal and financial restrictions on abortion, and the provision of free birth control for those women who desire it.

We struggle against the subjugation of women in the family, and demand the provision of day care centers, public and free laundries, food centers, and other facilities necessary to free women from their status as household drudges.

We oppose male chauvinism, and will fight for the placing of women in leading positions in all people's organizations, and will take the specific measures to guarantee that women can serve in leadership. We encourage the formation of "women's militias" to ensure the fulfillment of the program of total equality for women.

We demand complete legal equality for women, and oppose existing marriage and divorce laws, prostitution laws, welfare laws, and all other legal re-inforcements of the subjugation of women.

We affirm our solidarity with and draw inspiration from the courageous

historical struggle of Black and Third World women against the triple yoke of capitalist white male oppression, the front line in the fight for the rights of all women. (The fight for the equality of all women must recognize the primacy of the struggle to end oppression of Black and Third World women and base the demands for equality upon the rejection of white skin privileges.)

3. SUPPORT FOR ARMED STRUGGLE

Recognizing that U.S. imperialism is the most voracious beast that ever stalked the earth, that it is engaged in crimes of blood against humankind, and that it can only be destroyed by the people of the world picking up the sword and fighting it, we affirm the right and duty of all revolutionary peoples and classes to wage armed struggles for liberation, we commit ourselves to give concrete aid to these struggles wherever they arise, and we undertake to educate the U.S. people and prepare them and ourselves to wage a determined struggle with arms in hand to destroy U.S. imperialism in its lair.

4. EXCLUDE ANTI-COMMUNISM

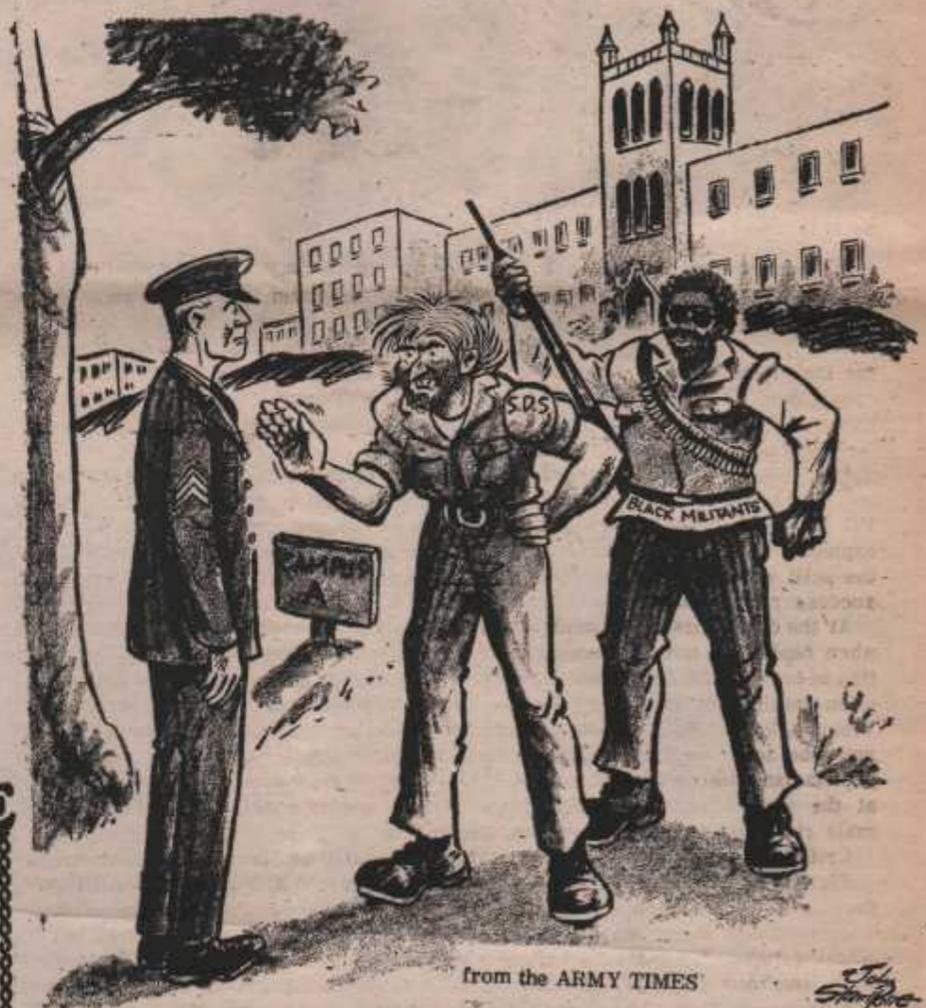
Recognizing that anti-communism is a main weapon of the ruling class to weaken the ranks of the people, we absolutely reject it, exclude it from our movement, and defend the right of people to organize themselves into disciplined collectives, and defend the right of people to organize themselves to make the revolution based on Marxist-Leninist principles, and to advocate and fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

5. FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

Recognizing that only through socialism, the public ownership and control of the means of producing wealth, can the people be freed from misery, we declare ourselves a socialist movement, and undertake to conduct propaganda among the people to win them to the need to establish socialism. Further, since socialism can only come through the leading role of the proletariat, and since

(continued on Page 4)

"Beat It—We're Recruiting Our Own Army"



from the ARMY TIMES

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

Applications for the VENCEREMOS BRIGADE are now available from the NO and from the National Executive Committee of the Venceremos Brigade. Everyone interested in applying should write now for an application to the NO or to the Brigade. No bulk mailings of applications will be sent out; regional offices and chapters will not get applications to hand out. The address of the Brigade is: BRIGADE, Post Office Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025.

The Venceremos Brigade will be a group of Americans who will actively and materially support the Cuban Revolution by working in the 1970 zafra. In the next year the Cubans expect to harvest an unprecedented ten million tons of sugar, and representatives of the radical movement in this country—black and Third World people, white working class youth, students, dropouts, returned GIs—will join with the Cubans in cutting cane. Everyone should apply. People should not think that only someone else gets to go on trips.

Since the principal activity of Brigade members will be hard physical labor, people with health problems should not apply. People will live in dormitory tents in the fields. The Cubans do not have the resources to provide special facilities for couples, so the living quarters for all men and women will be separate.

Applicants should understand that the Cuban style of life is very different from ours. Historically drugs have been used to oppress the Cuban people. Today the Revolutionary Government has very strict laws against the use of marijuana and drugs. Applicants must be prepared to respect these laws.

The deadline for applications is September 20, 1969. Regional representatives will contact applicants some time after the Brigade receives an application. The Brigade will notify those chosen to join it, as well as alternates and all other applicants, of the final decision by October 31, 1969. Three hundred people will participate in the Brigade. They will stay in Cuba approximately two months. One hundred and fifty will leave for Cuba in November 1969, and one hundred and fifty in January 1970.

Everyone should apply. Apply as soon as possible.

New Left Notes

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Southern California: Box-85396, Los Angeles 90072 (no telephone)
Washington DC: 1829 Corcoran NW, Washington DC 20009 (202-332-7183)

Education Secretary's Report

THE BOSTON STRANGLER: A PAPER TIGER



by Bill Ayers

In Boston, the only place in the country where Progressive Labor Party had successfully maintained a stranglehold on the movement, the second stage of the struggle against PL began in earnest last week at a New England Regional Assembly. What began at the Chicago convention was dealt with again locally, and the prospects for the future became clearer. Because Boston is PL's headquarters, it is the only area where there is any illusion about PL's strength nationally; because this illusion exists, we can see in sharp relief the kinds of problems people will face in less exaggerated forms elsewhere.

Last week's Regional Assembly marked one of the first times in Boston history that PL was taken on politically in an aggressive and coherent way. And, although PL and WSA brought more numbers to the conference, those who supported their expulsion from SDS went away feeling the real possibility of building SDS off of the split with a positive, revolutionary program. People for the first time measured success not by how many bodies they got out, but by how they moved politically.

At the conference it was made clear in two early speeches that we live in a period when capitalism has developed into its highest stage—worldwide imperialism—and that because of this development the class struggle has become a worldwide struggle often manifesting itself in people's wars. Because these wars, like the one in Vietnam, are leading the class struggle, a critical part of our revolutionary strategy must be active support for these liberation struggles. If we are to win people to a proletarian internationalist outlook, then we must fight to support these struggles at the same time that we challenge existing consciousness: national arrogance, male chauvinism, anti-communism, and racism.

Criticisms and attacks on PL at the conference centered on four main areas:

First, PL in practice reinforces national arrogance and racism. For instance, their position has been actively to oppose struggles for open admissions for blacks and browns on the grounds that it will give people the illusion of escaping from the working class. ("Us fancy Harvard kids don't have any illusions.") At the same time, they have demanded preferential hiring for blacks and browns as non-academic employees in their program to "fight racism." In practice, this means that PL demands more blacks in the basement (where they already are, largely), but opposes more blacks in the classrooms (where they aren't). This position reinforces, instead of smashes, racism.

Second, PL has accused the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam of being "revisionist." This position is based historically on the fact that the NLF uses Soviet guns to kill imperialist soldiers. Instead of making a demand that the revisionist Soviet Union give more aid to the heroic Vietnamese freedom fighters, national arrogance leads PL to condemn the front line fighters for using "unclean" weapons. In the same statement that attacks the NLF, PL condemns North Korea

for not stopping South Korean troops from helping the U.S. war effort. (How many U.S. troops has PL stopped?) This is another "principled" position which only a "Marxist-Leninist Party" that has its base at Harvard and Yale could have the arrogance to take.

Third, PL claims to support the people of Vietnam at the same time that it condemns the people's leadership, the NLF. Not only is this an incredibly stupid position—given the reality of the strong and able leadership that the NLF has provided—but it feeds anti-communism by correlating exactly with the State Department position that the people have the right to self-determination but are being tricked and led astray by communist leadership.

And fourth, people attacked PL's position on women's struggles. PL insists that male chauvinism is merely a bad idea that must be fought and will be defeated in the process of the revolution. There is no understanding of the real material oppression women face, and the fact that men have a privilege in relation to women. Because they fail to understand this, they fail to fully support women's just struggles, and fail to confront men with the necessity of supporting women's liberation and the abolition of male privilege.

PL's response to a sharp political attack on these issues was to argue primarily about the need for a mass, directionless organization, the "unconstitutionality" of the expulsion, civil liberties, and how manipulative the national leadership is. They soft-pedaled their politics and attempted to win people to an unprincipled unity within the "student" movement. Miles Rappaport of Harvard-Radcliffe SDS replied to their cry for "unity": "It is arrogant for PL to ask for unity now, after it has actively ripped apart our movement all year." (At the height of the Harvard struggle last year, PL said that not only would Harvard's racism be "smashed," but non-WSA SDS people would be "smashed" as well.)

PL was defensive and running scared. While they blurred all differences in content, they attempted to sharpen the differences in form. PL speakers began by telling in great detail the kind of "N.O. manipulation" that had gone on in Chicago. They tried to claim that they were reasonable and principled, and it was the "manipulators" and "disruptors" who were out to wreck the organization. When PL failed to pull people into a debate on form, they resorted to heckling speakers, especially C. Van Lydegraf, who is an ex-PL national committee member, and Dave Gilbert of the NY Regional Staff. As one PL person said after the meeting, "We let them do the same thing they did at Harvard." (i.e., talk politics)

The struggle at the Boston Regional Assembly further confirmed the important reasons for expelling PL:

(1) The expulsion was not based alone on PL's political theory and practice; the act was itself political. We had reached a point in SDS where any more attempts to educate people to the differences with PL would have been irrelevant and redundant—unless we took action. Like many other situations, action was the education we all needed. And, what it did was to force people to examine the seriousness of the differences with PL, and to move on them.

(2) These differences are not merely "contradictions among the people," or comradely differences among those in the movement. In fact, PL in theory and practice has taken a line that has objectively hurt the efforts of the most advanced anti-imperialist struggles. This line is not an occasional accident or wrong idea: it is a solidified, developed position that undercuts the people's struggles. As such, it must be defeated. Any softening of that conclusion means that we can compromise with PL because they call themselves "communists," when we would never compromise with Democrats whose position objectively did the same thing. When the existence or non-existence of the movement is at stake, drastic action is required.

(3) The national expulsion forced—and will continue to force—people to take PL on politically. In this case, it forced people to deal with PL or give up Boston. It was clear at the conference that the expulsion required a response; people were no longer able to maintain the same kind of defensive, conciliatory relationship that they had with PL before (although many began by wanting to). And, because of this, because people did take on and defeat PL, they started to see the possibility of building SDS without the burden of continual internal struggles which were supposed to be "educational." People also saw that at times a little spine is as educational as a lot of brains.

The expulsion of PL from the ranks of SDS at last month's National Convention was one of the first primitive steps toward building SDS into a revolutionary mass movement. It was only the first attempt to take the initiative in the fight against reactionary tendencies in the movement, and only one further way of giving concrete support to the leading forces in our fight against U.S. imperialism. This beginning must be consolidated and built upon. The struggle that began at the Convention must be fought out and carried through at a number of local areas over the next few months.

To win this struggle is of great significance to the movement. It is no longer a question of debates at NCs; it has become a question of whether we choose to be part of an international, anti-imperialist movement, or to become isolated in localized faction fights: whether we want SDS to become a coherent revolutionary youth movement, or a mushy, directionless debating society.

At the conclusion of the Boston Regional Assembly, people felt more together and began to plan local and national programs. They want Boston to be part of the solution, instead of part of the problem.

FLASH: P.L. INVASION THWARTED

At Queens College, Berkeley, and many other places, in struggles against the ruling class, Progressive Labor has worked to defuse and constrict actions with their definite non-struggle views on tactics. They have come down against examining files and building barricades because they think that such actions would be construed as destruction of private property and hence would alienate people.

In an unprecedented pig move 75 PL and WSA people attacked the New York SDS regional assembly at New York University's Eisner-Lubin Auditorium Monday night. While 150 SDS people were meeting the group ran through the lobby ripping up furniture and charged the doorway leading to the Auditorium. In their attempt to gain access to the meeting they smashed a plate-glass wall with furniture parts and ash cans.

The meeting continued inside in a disciplined fashion. A small security force kept the outsiders from entering and disrupting it. Fire hoses were used to

keep them in the lobby. Several of our people were hurt, not only by flying glass but by direct blows and clubbings with chair and table legs. Five people were taken to a hospital emergency room.

In practice PL has consistently cooled people from militant actions which threaten the ruling class. It is clear that this action was designed 1) to create a situation in which the cops would be called in and people would be busted, 2) to make it impossible for the SDS chapter at NYU to gain access to University facilities in the future, and 3) to purposely injure people. Cops did come and clear the lobby; that no one was busted at that time was due to the discipline of the SDS people, in the meeting and on the security force.

Now that SDS has acted against PL's counter-revolutionary politics by kicking them out of the organization, we can expect them to become even more vicious and unprincipled. Attacking a meeting in this fashion is pig work. We should learn from the example of our brothers and sisters in New York and exercise discipline in these situations. Our politics will win the struggle.

NATIONAL ACTION

(continued from Page 1)

country and that national action committees be set up to begin to coordinate organizing. We must fight not to let PL and the WSA tie up these meetings to the extent that no work gets done at them. In some instances at local levels, these National Action Committees might form the nucleus of a study-group, karate class, collective. In every case, the NO should be notified so that one of the National Officers or someone from the National Action staff can come, give a report on how things have been developing nationally and in Chicago, and get new ideas and have discussions on the politics of the action. All final political decisions will be made at open meetings of the NIC which will be advertised in NLN. Every region must be prepared to send representation to these NIC meetings.

Information and ideas we need right away have to do with things like the date for the action. We proposed September 27 as the date for the main action at the last NIC meeting and it was approved, but now it seems that that is the first weekend for all schools on the quarter system. If this is true, then the date should be put off for a week. We must make a decision by the time of the United Front Against Fascism Conference, so call and write to the NO as to what date would be the best.

We have held discussions with the Panthers in Chicago and at their National Headquarters in Berkeley, and with the Young Lords in Chicago. We will be contacting all proletarian revolutionary organizations, attempting to get them on the planning committees and in leadership of the action. We have informed members of the National Mobilization Committee that we are calling this action, and we have told them what the politics are. Many members of the MOB are anxious to support this action and understand its importance.

We must break out of the narrow group of people we have been speaking to in the past. This means moving into working class neighborhoods as well as cutting down on the rhetoric and talking with people where we have been before. The vast majority of Americans oppose the war, and we must turn that passive opposition into active opposition. Summer projects have moved into

working class neighborhoods and will begin organizing people around coming to Chicago for the fall action. Nevertheless a very large number of us are not engaged in summer projects. This does not mean there is nothing to do. Every SDS member should feel the responsibility for taking a bunch of leaflets, buttons, posters, etc. that will be turned out for the action and distributing them at movie theatres, swimming pools, work places, and wherever people congregate.

Chicago is a focus for summer agitation. It is a focus for the issues we have fought all year.

A large measure of responsibility for propaganda and education around the demonstration will rest with chapters, regions, and summer projects. We must not wait for all the materials to come out of the NO, but must begin to turn out propaganda now around the demonstration and the issue of the war, political repression, and the general occupation of the Third World, black, brown, and working class communities, and campuses across the country.

One final piece of information has to do with what other national actions are being planned by other organizations. The SWP-YSA forces have been trying to get the MOB to call for a one-slogan, peaceful demonstration in Washington D.C. on November 15. This is a classical anti-communist move, putting up their demonstration as a peaceful alternative to the bloodthirsty SDS action in Chicago, that only confuses the people with all this talk about imperialism. Fight this anti-communist opportunism every chance you get. Secondly, a group of student body presidents, with sneaky, CIA-breath Allard Lowenstein somewhere in the middle, is planning to call for a national strike or moratorium on October 15. The plan is for a one day strike in October, and if that doesn't stop the war there will be a two day strike in November, three days in December, continuing until there are no more days in the month, and we suppose, no more war. These student body leaders also see themselves as the basis for a non-violent, progressive alternative to SDS on the campuses. Enough said.

**BUILD THE NATIONAL ACTION.
BRING THE WAR HOME. ALL POWER
TO THE PEOPLE.**

UNITY PRINCIPLES

(continued from Page 2)

the proletariat can only play its leading role when it comes to see its struggles as an integral part of the world-wide struggles of the oppressed, we pledge ourselves to the forging of that internationalist understanding.

"UNITY PRINCIPLES"

amendment to Unity Principles submitted by ISC

The defining element of our organization is a commitment to the international struggle for revolutionary democracy under all circumstances, and in particular for a revolution in which the working class itself exercises the power to overthrow the capitalist order and suppress the exploiters, to establish a system of planned production for the satisfaction of human needs, and to take every measure to ensure that the leadership of the revolutionary movement never substitutes itself for the direct role of the people. We believe in the necessity of advanced leadership to raise each struggle to the highest level of consciousness and militancy. But the true role of a vanguard is to inspire the masses to demand to rule. Only the masses themselves can remake history. Socialism is, above all, democracy—full and unequivocal democratic power for the producers of social wealth, including the power to develop, choose, and replace their own leadership.

amendment to Unity Principles submitted by John Jacobs

1. To omit phrase "for democratic rights" in Part 1, Paragraph 2, Line 7.
2. To add this paragraph to Point 5, after existing paragraph.

*Further, in addition to the principles of Self-Determination and Socialism, we must understand and relate to the basic character of the American Revolution; the Socialist Revolution is not simply a matter of the working class of the oppressor nation smashing the state and seizing control of the means of production in order to reorganize society only in its own interests. Imperialism means an internationalizing of class oppression; the socialist revolution must have the specific content of serving the needs and interests of the oppressed people of the whole world. This means that conscious full support for the international struggle against imperialism is the key element of socialist consciousness. To not uphold this as the basis for the American Revolution is necessarily to uphold white supremacist privilege and to separate oneself from the international revolutionary movement.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER TO ERICA HUGGINS

by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party

I'd like to send a very special word to sister Erica Huggins, the wife of our slain, murdered Deputy Minister of Information, John Huggins, who was murdered along with our Deputy Minister of Defense, Brother Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter. He's Bunchy to me.

Sister Erica is now incarcerated in Connecticut. The pigs have plotted with this bald-headed renegade, that boot-licking, black capitalist, cultural nationalist reactionary, Ron Karenga, and his stooges, to take the lives of these two dearly beloved hard working brothers.

And now, the pigs have compounded this by taking this woman, this black woman, this sister, after inflicting this horrible pain upon her by murdering the father of her newborn child. Taking her away from her child and placing her behind bars on some trumped-up charges.

I know Erica, and I know that she's a very strong sister. But I know that she is now being subjected to a form of torture that is horrible. I know that she is strong and that she will endure, and sister Erica, be strong, sister.

We must not rest until this sister is liberated, and if she is not out at this moment, then she should be out just as rapidly as it is possible for us to get her out. And an example to all of us, let it be a lesson and an example to all of the sisters, particularly to all of the brothers, that we must understand that our women are suffering strongly and enthusiastically as we are participating in the struggle. And I'm aware that it has been a problem in all organizations in Babylon to structure our struggle in such a way that our sisters, our women are liberated and made equal in our struggle, and in regard to sister Erica, I know that the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, has spoken out many times that the male chauvinism that is rampant in Babylon in general, and also is rampant in our own ranks.

The incarceration and the suffering of sister Erica should be a stinging rebuke to all manifestations of male chauvinism within our ranks. That we must purge our ranks and our hearts, and our minds, and our understanding of any chauvinism, chauvinistic behavior or disrespectful behavior toward women. That we must too recognize that a woman can be just as revolutionary as a man and that she has equal stature, that, along with men, and that we cannot prejudice her in any manner, that we cannot relegate her to an inferior position. That we have to recognize our women as our equals and that revolutionary standards of principles demand that we go to great lengths to see to it that disciplinary action is taken on all levels against those who manifest male chauvinist behavior.

Because the liberation of women is one of the most important issues facing the world today, great efforts have been made in various parts of the world to do something about this; but I know from my own experience that the smoldering and the burning of the flame descend for liberation of women in Babylon is the issue that is going to explode, and if we're not careful it's going to destroy our ranks, destroy our organization, because women want to be liberated just as all oppressed people want to be liberated.

So if we want to go around and call ourselves a vanguard organization, then we've got to be the vanguard in all our behavior, and to be the vanguard also in the area of women's liberation and set an example in that area, and all of us to start being respectful and not condescending and patronizing, but to really understand and look upon this question, recognize, that women are our other half, they're not our weaker half, they're not our stronger half, but they are our other half and that we sell ourselves out, we sell our children out, and we sell our women out when we treat them in any other manner.

We have to be very careful about that, and sister Erica Huggins is a shining example of a revolutionary woman who's been meted out the same kind of injustice from the pig power structure that a revolutionary man receives. So they didn't put her in a powder puffed cell. They did not make life easy for her. But the pigs recognized a revolutionary woman to be just as much a threat as a revolutionary man.

And so we recognize that we also have a duty to stop inflicting injustices of misuse of women. We have to be very careful about that, and we all know the problem. But I'm saying that it's mandatory, the Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton has said that it is mandatory that all manifestations of male chauvinism be excluded from our ranks and that sisters have a duty and the right to do whatever they want to do in order to see to it that they are not relegated to an inferior position, and that they're not treated as though they are not equal members of the Party and equal in all regards. And that they're not subjected to male practices.

And sister Erica Huggins is a good example of a revolutionary woman who has sacrificed everything, including her husband. So sister Erica — Right On. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

MASS PAPER

By the end of July SDS will be producing a mass distribution newspaper to aid local organizers in their mass propaganda work. The new paper, which will be published monthly, will help organizers in bringing SDS politics and actions to people who have not had access to our politics in the past. The paper will include articles on the Black Panthers and UFAF, violence and self-defense, tracking in the schools; on the NLF and the new Provisional Revolutionary Government; and on topics relevant to young people in general, such as open admissions, pigs and courts, the revolt in the army, music, films, unemployment, etc. Over the next few months the paper will function as a primary agitational tool for building the September national action in Chicago, and will include articles on the politics of and demands of the action.

The existence of the new paper will not only enable us to begin the mass propaganda work we have failed to do in the past, but will also allow New Left Notes, as an internal organ, to be considerably tightened up in terms of content and function. At the NIC following the Convention there was much discussion about NLN and about the new mass paper. By covering news and taking our politics to the people in the mass paper, it will be possible for NLN to concentrate on its important informational, theoretical, and organizational functions. We currently plan to change the publishing schedule for NLN so that it will be published three times a month, while the mass paper will come out every fourth week.

The first issue of the mass paper will be out by the end of this month. Organizing collectives should discuss the paper and its use, and should send in ideas and articles. WE NEED TO PUT TOGETHER A DISTRIBUTION NETWORK IMMEDIATELY: all organizers should contact us at once with their name, address, phone, project, and an idea of how the paper can be most useful in their work, as well as how many copies they'll be able to distribute during the first month. Information on the cost of producing the paper, and hence on the bulk cost to projects and selling price, is not yet available, but we send it to those people who write us about distribution. Please send all mail regarding the mass paper to Marty Kenner at the national office.

Revolutionary Youth Movement II

by Mike Klonsky, Noel Ignatin, Marilyn Katz, Sue Eanet, and Les Coleman, all from Chicago SDS

We are offering these theses as background for the Revolutionary Youth Movement II resolution for two reasons. First, it is necessary that we all begin to discuss and clarify the fundamental principles of the whole anti-imperialist struggle. And it is necessary that we try and specify what principles are operative in the strategies and programs we see presented for the youth movement. These theses, for example, seem to the writers of the resolution to be the principles on which it is based. That is the first reason: principles out front. The second reason for presenting them, as background, is that we didn't feel this convention should pass such a perspective without having discussed it beforehand in the organization as a whole. Uneven education is the real basis of undemocratic organization and it would be nothing but opportunism to try and push through a perspective that has not been adequately discussed in the organization.

MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

1. Present-day U.S. capitalism, like capitalism in general, is based on the exploitation of labor, that is, the appropriation by the capitalist of the total product of labor, including that surplus beyond what is necessary to replace the money he has laid out for wages (the purchase of labor power).

2. The U.S. is in the imperialist stage of capitalism, the highest and last stage. The replacement of free competition by monopoly, the central feature of imperialism, has long been a fact of life in the U.S. In addition, the other distinguishing features of imperialism—the merger of bank and industrial capital to form an oligarchy of finance capital, the rise in the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities, the formation of international combines which parcel out the world among themselves, and the completion of the territorial division among the great imperialist powers (under the new conditions of the existence of genuine socialist countries led by Marxist-Leninist parties, fighting National Liberation movements, and the emergence of revisionism in the Soviet Union.)

3. The development of U.S. capitalism to its highest stages has meant a change in the structure of the economy of the U.S., in which we note several features: (a) the increase in the number of capitalists and their hangers-on who depend for their income on the plunder of the colonial and dependent countries; (b) the decrease in the numbers of small capitalists together with the creation of the new middle sectors based on monopoly and the superstructure, for example, franchise-holders and jobbers and various employees of the state whose main function is to serve and protect the empire; (c) the increase in the numbers of the proletariat together with the relative growth within it of those whose sectors engaged in non-productive labor; (d) the creation, on the basis of super-profits from the colonial and semi-colonial world, of an aristocracy of labor and upon it a labor bureaucracy, which forms the basis of opportunism (collaboration with capital disguised as labor policy) within the working class movement; and (e) the driving down of the position of the masses of workers in relation to the bourgeoisie.

4. The present ruling class in the U.S. is the bourgeoisie, and the state is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Within the bourgeois class, the monopoly strata have emerged as the dominant and controlling voice. Taking advantage of their strength, they have increased the direct involvement of the state in the accumulation of capital, giving rise to state-monopoly capitalism.

5. In the U.S. as a whole there are only two classes capable of exercising state power: the bourgeoisie, headed by the big monopolies; and the proletariat, headed by the workers in manufacturing, extractive industries, construction, transportation, communications, and agriculture. This is so because only these two classes have a direct relation to the means of creating wealth which enables them, as a class-conscious force, to create society in their image. This is not to say that middle sectors do not play an important social and political role, but always as representing the interests of one or the other class on each side of them. Hence, the strategic goal of the U.S. proletariat can only be to destroy the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and replace it by the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the precondition for building socialism.

6. No ruling class in history has ever retired peacefully from the scene. Furthermore, no revolution has ever succeeded without the existence, for a long or short period, of some form of dual power, whether that be territorial, as in the case of the liberated zones of China and Cuba, or right under the nose of the existing power, as in the case of the Russian Soviets. In the U.S. the victory of the proletariat will not take

place without a violent civil war and the existence of some form of dual power.

7. Because of the increasing difficulty of U.S. imperialism in imposing its policies on the people of the world, the already eroded democratic form of the bourgeois dictatorship is presently being formed into the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The drive toward fascism stems from the most imperialist, reactionary, and powerful sectors of finance capital, and the leading role in the fascist drive is being played by the official organs of the bourgeois state.

8. The expansion of U.S. imperialism into areas of the world where capitalism developed later than in the west has brought indescribable miseries to the peoples of those areas, who have been transformed into subject, dependent nations. Within the juridical borders of the U.S. we have seen the formation in the deep south of the Afro-American nation, and the conquest and direct colonial rule of Puerto Rico.

9. Workers of the world are brothers. At the present time, the principal contradiction in the world is that between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed nations. It is the struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples, including the non-white peoples in the U.S., who are dealing the heaviest blows to U.S. imperialism. There is no doubt that all of the oppressed peoples will master the concepts of building a national alliance against U.S. imperialism, will learn to wage people's war, and will win their national liberation.

10. In the epoch of imperialism, recognition of the distinction between oppressor and oppressed nations is the central feature in a revolutionary program. The ability of the working class of the U.S. to carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end and win its own freedom depends on its recognition that the U.S. is one thing and the nations oppressed by it, including the Afro-American nation, are another, and its ability to link up its struggles with those of the oppressed peoples. In order to establish these links, white U.S. workers must adopt as their own the slogan of the right to self-determination for the nations oppressed by U.S. imperialism, which means the right to secession and the formation of an independent national state. It must be underlined that the slogan of the right of secession for the oppressed nations is a slogan directed at the working class of the oppressor nation mother country, and does not in any way suggest to the oppressed nations whether or not they should exercise that right, nor does the slogan carry with it any directions for the strategy of the oppressed nations. Winning the masses of white workers to the right of self-determination for the Afro-American nation in the deep South and all oppressed nations requires a consistent struggle to repudiate the white-skin privilege which has served as the chief rationale for white chauvinism, and a consistent struggle for the democratic rights of the Afro-American people, including support for such demands as community control.

11. Because the dominance of the big monopolies has brought them into conflict with other strata of society besides the proletariat, it becomes possible for the proletariat to rally around itself masses of non-proletarians in a united front against the imperialists. Such a united front, which depends for its achievement on the independent, class-conscious actions of the proletariat, winning over or neutralizing large numbers in the middle sectors and isolating the most reactionary, dangerous, and powerful elements of finance capital. The key principles of the united front against U.S. imperialism, for which all revolutionaries must fight, are four: (a) the leading role of the proletariat within the united front; (b) the willingness to unite all who can be united against the monopolies; (c) the central role of the fight against white supremacy in the building of a united front; and (d) the fight against anti-communism. It must be emphasized that the united

front against imperialism can only be a tactical orientation of the proletariat, not a strategy, since strategy means a plan for the basic realignment of class forces, which in the U.S. as a whole can only mean the undivided power of the proletariat, acting in the interests of the overwhelming masses of the world's people.

12. In order for the U.S. proletariat to play its historic role, it must be led by a party of revolutionaries, organized on the basis of democratic centralism, guided by the science of the proletariat, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao. The party must be able to apply these teachings to the specific conditions of the U.S., in order to import class consciousness into the spontaneous struggles of the proletariat.

13. The struggle to impart class consciousness to the proletariat necessarily involves a struggle against all forms of opportunism (bourgeois ideology within the working class movement) and especially in specific sub-category, revisionism (bourgeois ideology within the socialist movement). It is impossible to wage a struggle against opportunism without recognizing its connection with imperialism through the creation of an aristocracy of labor which receives bribes from the plunder of the colonial and dependent nations.

Revolutionary Youth Movement - II

Six months have passed since we came together around the idea of transforming SDS into a revolutionary youth movement. The practice which has taken place within our movement has now made it possible to reevaluate the RYM and reestablish the principles of unity for our movement. The tremendous growth of SDS, the regression that has come down on the whole movement and the heightening contradictions throughout the whole society have made our job much more serious. There are problems both of general strategic direction and of particular practice that we must try to answer, and which the mass of our membership must be able to answer if we are to succeed. The purpose of this paper is to lay out the principles of unity for the RYM, and raise clearly the strategic principles of the whole anti-imperialist movement in which the RYM must develop. This paper also lays out some ideas for a programmatic approach to raising the level of struggle in this coming period following from our principles of struggle.

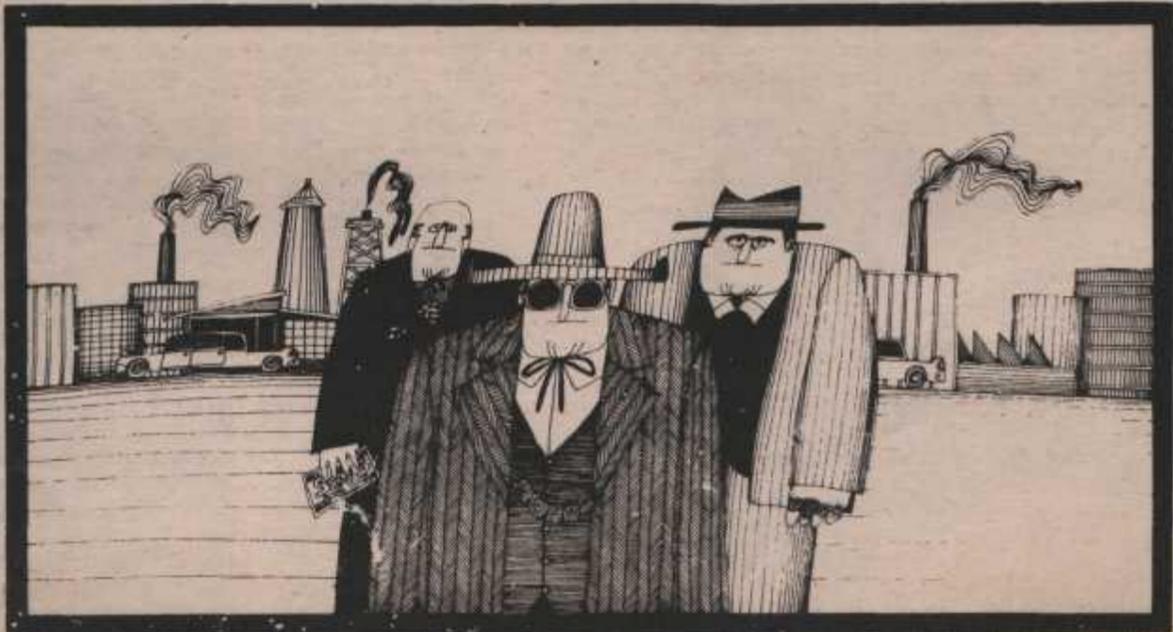
How is it possible that there can be a Revolutionary Youth Movement such as is coming into existence today?

All societies, at all times, face the contradiction between the new and the old, between what is growing and what is dying out. The youth movement in America is, in the first place, an expression of this contradiction. The young tend to be the most open, innovative, and self-sacrificing. They are invariably the first to rebel. Mao says that while the future belongs to all of us, in the last analysis it belongs to youth.

Our society is dying out. Not only here but on a world scale, in a historic sense. Imperialism, the monopoly phase of capitalism, is nearing its closing hours. Our epoch is the epoch of the final collapse of imperialism and the final worldwide victory of socialism. Imperialism, fully moribund, manifests its decay everywhere. It pollutes all that is fresh, alive, vital, and growing. The young in general, but particularly among the oppressed classes and strata, are among the hardest hit by decaying imperialism. Hardest hit and most willing to fight back—that is the youth movement.

The ruling class would like to portray youthful rebellion as simply a generational or biological

(continued on Page 8)



TOWARD A REVOLUT

by Cathy Wilkerson



The inability of the Weatherman proposal to include an organic analysis of male supremacy stems from weaknesses in the basic analysis. Nowhere does the paper confront head on how we specifically determine who in the mother country (although it deals with the colonies) are our friends and enemies, or how we might affect which side they come down on. The section on class analysis says there is an upper and lower strata of the working class and a middle strata, none of whom own or control any of the means of production, and who are differentiated on the basis of differing amounts of "privileges (i.e. benefits)" which they acquire partly as a result of the imperialist pillage of the colonies labor and natural resources. This gives us some beginning way of judging the material basis for the existence of "racism and loyalty to the system." But it certainly does not help us solve the immediate task of determining the cutting-edge element of consciousness which will determine which loyalty in fact will develop and prevail in sectors of working class youth, and how we can specifically affect that development.

If the primary manifestation of the contradiction of Imperialism in the colonies is the struggle for self-determination, what is it in the mother country? That contradiction is reflected most acutely in the declining real state of the white proletariat and the relatively improving condition of the mother country proletariat in relation to the rapidly declining status of colonized people. This tension is manifested in the emerging tendencies of working people to ally more or less overtly either with the ruling class or with Third World struggles.

One aspect of the contradiction leads people in reactionary directions: that which sees the status of whites improving relative to the status of colonized people. Whites become more aware of their differential benefits (in Watts not only have real wages fallen since 1947, but absolute wages as well) at the same time as they realize that these benefits are less and less secure. The spectre of blacks as the enemy and cause of the insecurity—the ruling class explanation of the problem—seems persuasive. Black entrance into a neighborhood lowers real estate values; black demands for preferential hiring threaten currently white jobs. Particularly older working people have had the noose of mortgages and time payments drawn tight around their necks (the average American pays 17% of his monthly income on interest on loans!), and are especially likely to ally with the ruling class in order to maintain their relative privilege. They understand the precariousness of their situation and believe that anything which tends to equalize their position with blacks (at their own expense) will be the extra strain which springs the trap door under them and completely destroys them. These working people are caught in a trap, and not seeing any way to eliminate the whole trap, they are led to seek ways to stay alive within that trap by playing the Man's game and maintaining the Man's ideology.

The other aspect of this contradiction is the absolute decline in the status and material condition of the mother country proletariat as the crisis of imperialism becomes more acute and the strain is placed on the working class. Social services are less and less able to provide for the minimum needs of the people. Schools are more crowded, less responsive to the communities' needs, and more overt in their functions of discipline, channeling, and in general beating the life out of kids, and so on with courts, pigs, health care, transportation, welfare, etc.

Secondly, unemployment, job insecurity, and bad working conditions all increase—as well as real wages decline—as the crisis of imperialism deepens. The similarity between some of the problems faced by both whites and colonized people becomes more evident, although these problems usually affect colonized people much more acutely. The identity of whites as part of the international proletariat, exploited and oppressed by imperialism despite their privileges, becomes a meaningful description of reality.

These contradicting phenomena lead to contradictory kinds of consciousness. The cutting-edge element of

this consciousness is class and imperialist oppressed and colonized people can be won over and for self-determination of allying with imperialism because the notion of ultimately bolls do armed protection of material benefits.

There are two aspects of protection: First, imperialist power individuals whose at first ally with village chiefs were the war came to a Americans unable to could just as well a political detrimen the racist ideology of "protect" their colonies they protect war m

In fact, white workers only proletariat wh from the ruling class the growing phenomenon which are formed of attacking or retaining Imperial's army in will become an increasingly receive greater and ruling class as well.

The importance from the role which the mother country of the mother country colonized people in some material benefits in a tightening trap with and receiving their battle to maintain those whites who declining status, and who are exploited that they are not just oppression, but also internationalist socialist goals.

Young people revolutionary perspective most affected by contradictions. We have few material to protection by the is a shuck because nonetheless increased. We can point to to concretize that. on these forms of specific aspects of to win allegiance to.

A close look at clarify these things these contradictions additional way than way than men.

Where the noose tight around the neck primarily with the as provider, wife, more forces than They feel more instability so as to keep they feel the threat more acutely. Second passive and defensive they are more the struggles as define class through the On the other hand



A REVOLUTIONARY W

by Cathy Wilkerson

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These contradicting phenomena lead to contradictory kinds of consciousness. The cutting-edge element of

this consciousness is allegiance: allegiance to the ruling class and imperialist ideology or allegiance with the oppressed and colonized people of the world and the struggles for self-determination. The bulk of colonized people can be won over to a struggle against imperialism and for self-determination precisely because the option of allying with imperialism is not even open to them, because the notion of real allegiance to that ruling class ultimately boils down to the possibility of receiving armed protection from that ruling class, as well as material benefits.

There are two aspects to this lack of access to armed protection: First, as in Vietnam, Cuba, etc., the imperialist power has physically been unable to protect individuals whose small material benefits led them to at first ally with the oppressors. Saigon-appointed village chiefs were among the first casualties when the war came to a particular village. Not only were the Americans unable to provide adequate protection, they could just as well "off" the chief themselves if he was a political detriment. This second aspect comes from the racist ideology of the imperialists, where Americans "protect" their colonized allies only in the sense that they protect war machinery.

In fact, white workers of the mother country are the only proletariat who have access to armed protection from the ruling class of imperialism. We can point to the growing phenomena of white working class groups which are formed and armed for the specific purpose of attacking or retaliating against black groups. From Imperial's army in Newark, to the KKK, these groups will become an increasingly critical force, and will receive greater and greater armed protection from the ruling class as well as official sanction.

The importance of the concept of privilege comes from the role which privilege plays as the tension within the mother country proletariat increases. The situation of the mother country proletariat differs from that of colonized people in that those working people who have some material benefits, and who are therefore caught in a tightening trap, have the option of actively allying with and receiving protection from the ruling class in their battle to maintain their status. At the same time, those whites who are most conscious of their real declining status, and therefore choose to ally with others who are exploited by imperialism, will be conscious that they are not just fighting against their particular oppression, but also for a completely reorganized internationalist society with revolutionary values and goals.

Young people can be most easily won to a revolutionary perspective precisely because they are most affected by the progressive aspects of contradictions. We can say to working class youth who have few material benefits that the privilege of access to protection by the ruling class that is held out to them is a snuck because that same ruling class will nonetheless increasingly exploit and oppress them. We can point to the schools, courts, pigs, jobs to concretize that. We can build struggles which focus on these forms of oppression and exploitation, and the specific aspects of these forms of oppression which try to win allegiance to the oppressor.

A close look at the condition of women will help clarify these things because women are affected by these contradictions not in a different way from or additional way than men, but in a sharper more extreme way than men.

Where the noose is getting tighter it is especially tight around the necks of women. Most women identify primarily with the home and the family. In their roles as provider, wife, and mother they are pushed by even more forces than men to ally with the oppressors. They feel more immediately the need to maintain stability so as to keep stomachs full, children clothed; they feel the threat to the stability of their position even more acutely. Secondly, having been taught to feel passive and defenseless especially in physical ways, they are more threatened by the spectre of black struggles as defined by the mass media, the ruling class through the PTA, women's magazines, etc.

On the other hand, it is women's jobs that are

disappearing fastest. Textile mills, for instance, were originally concentrated in New England, exploiting the labor of European immigrant women. Then as working people in New England gained minimum protection from slavish working conditions, the mills moved to the South where women were in plentiful supply as unorganized unprotected cheap labor. Now these mills are being moved to colonies to use the labor of colonized women. The move of small parts assembly plants to Third World nations is another example. As unemployment, job instability, and working conditions worsen, the deteriorate fastest for women.

Also, women's family roles as wives and mother force them to rely much more than men on social services, such as schools, hospitals, transportation welfare etc. As these public services are less and less able to meet the material needs of the people, women are most affected. They are the most conscious of the real increase in their oppression. As the family is defined more and more on bourgeois values, and serve more and more a pig function in relation to kids, young girls are the hardest hit.

In these ways, the forces which push working class people toward allegiance with the ruling class are less strong on young women than on men, and yet those forces which point out the necessity of allying with Third World struggles are clearer and more compelling.

It must therefore be clear the "women's issues" cannot be considered or dealt with separately from an understanding and strategy of the way the major contradictions affect the whole proletariat of the mother country. Attacks on male supremacy must be a major focus of all our work. When we talk to young working people in the shops, in the schools, or on the street it is one of the first notions we raise, and we begin very quickly to stress the importance of changing the practice of male supremacy into more communist forms of relationships. Because male supremacy is one of the major ways, along with racism, that the ruling class wins allegiance, we must break down the practice in order to destroy the material basis for the allegiance.

Further, male supremacy as an ideology is one of the most important ways that the Man defines individuals and societies in such a way that it makes it difficult to understand how socialism and communism could work, let alone how the forces of people struggling to win these ends could ever be successful. It demoralizes the people, and is a critical force in promoting bourgeois individualism through false separation of men from women, preventing collective practice. All of this discourages the people from allying with the struggles of the international proletariat and encourages them to be cynical and thus to ally with the ruling class to try to maintain as much stability and access as possible.

Within the movement it is crucial that men and women both begin to fight against the vestiges of bourgeois ideology within themselves, to break down existing forms of social relationships. Only by developing forms in which we can express love in non-exploitative and non-competitive ways will men and women develop their full human and revolutionary potential for struggle.

Men who claim to be fighting imperialism in any form must fight against their own supremacist practices and notions. Not to do so undercuts their own legitimacy as revolutionaries. We have just expelled PL and WSA from our organization because we could not tolerate within our organization people who in practice worked against that struggle to which we are trying to win people. In regional and local struggles we must begin to take the same attitude toward those who comply with male supremacy.

PROGRAM

This basic analysis of the function and manifestations of male supremacy leads us in certain strategic directions. First we must concentrate much more heavily on winning more women to the fight against imperialism. Second, we must initiate an attack on male supremacy as an essential part of our attack on those forces which push mother country working people to



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ally with the ruling class.

We have failed badly in the first task in the last year because of our mistaken notion that there were somehow analogous or equivalent "issues" around which to organize women to those laid out in the entirely male oriented RYM paper. We now understand that we cannot organize separately around "women's issues"—unless it is a tactic (e.g. equal wages for black and brown women) within a larger strategy for liberation. Men and especially women must focus the work on winning women to all of our struggles. By explaining the material basis of male supremacy and the way the ideology is used to promote allegiance to the ruling class, women will be able to understand more clearly the nature and cause of their oppression, and will be won to fighting. We must go into training schools for women, e.g. nursing, beauty, and secretarial. In the schools we must focus on the especially high rate of drop-outs among women. We can expose the way young women are tracked into the most oppressive jobs, trained to function as a reserve labor force, prepared for exploitative family roles. We will attack the ideology of consumerism as the false front of the unreal myth of upward mobility.

As we win more and more women into the fight against imperialism through an understanding of their real position in society, we must form women's caucuses within each struggle. We must see these caucuses as fighting groups to push the theoretical understanding of male supremacy. They can also devise ways for ensuring individual and collective improvements in practice among the progressive forces.

Clearly these two fronts of struggle must be waged simultaneously. In high schools, for instance, we must organize girls to fight along with men against the tracking system in general, as well as the way it affects girls in particular. Girls will also struggle against pigs, and against the war. At the same time we can form women's militias of high school girls which directly attack male supremacy and the broader set of bourgeois values upon which it rests. We have seen that one of the greatest oppressions of young working class women is the restriction and surveillance of parents. "The family" is constantly trying to define their identity as submissive, mate-able, and skilled in the family tasks. Most girls have repressive restrictions on how late they can stay out, and must report where they are at all times. Further, if the parents disapprove of the guy they are going out with they will impose even more restrictions and harass the girl continually at home. Militias can band girls together to fight collectively for collective freedom; they can, for example, confront the parents of each girl from the basis of power. These militias can also serve an educational and agitational role in the community as a whole. These girls could easily relate to friends who were working in plants or service industries and bring these young women into the struggle against imperialism.

Thus, women are not in particular demanding equality with men under the current conditions, but are demanding a whole new set of values—socialist values—by which people relate to each other in all forms of individual and collective relationships. It is true that while we fight these battles for socialist practices, we can't be clear as to the exact content of the demand. These struggles must be seen as the beginning of a long, protracted struggle for socialism, and we will only gradually be able to perceive the positive content of the demands.

But, it is also clear that there are real dangers and problems with struggles which focus only on the principle of equality within the mother country. White women workers who voted for Wallace could easily wage a national chauvinist struggle for equal wages with men, without understanding the relationship between their oppression and the oppression of Third World people, and therefore without understanding the relationship between their struggle and the struggles for national self-determination. Further, unless women are brought into a movement that is in practice fighting male supremacy, they will be prevented by their oppressive obligations from playing a large or important role in struggles.





more RYM II

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phenomenon. In fact, it stems from the particularities of American imperialist development. The youth movement has developed in proportion to the increasingly pronounced decay of this system. The fifties witnessed the temporary "stabilization" of U.S. rule. The American century lasted about 10 years. From a relatively isolated imperialist power, World War II has enabled the U.S. monopolists to dominate most of the world. But by 1960 the consequences of that insane scheme were becoming apparent. The short lived empire began to crumble. Young people were victimized on every hand.

The draft forced the military burden of fighting and dying in an unjust war on to the young. The increasing exclusiveness and discrimination within Trade Unions affected young workers, particularly black and brown workers. Automation contributed to the general capitalist trend toward greater unemployment which affected job seekers with little experience severely. The decay of bourgeois ideology made the schools into jails—either of force or boredom--which taught through repetition and answered through irrelevance. The decay of bourgeois culture, inevitable in a climate of imperialist war and injustice, precipitated a cultural rebellion among those who were only just establishing their life style. The domestic militarization, particularly of the schools, made rebellion against all forms of bourgeois authoritarianism, from the principal on down, a matter of pride to the most advanced among the youth. The upsurge of national liberation struggles at home and abroad provided heroic examples of other possibilities. Cuba, Vietnam, and African struggles as well as the revolutionary spirit of the Chinese provided inspiration and models. Finally, the sharpness of the contrast with those who came to adulthood in the fifties and whose outlook reflected that earlier phase—all this contributed to making the youth movement central to the U.S. revolutionary movement.

It is in so far as SDS has spoken to this condition of youth that our organization has grown and been able to play its part in the struggle to defeat U.S. Imperialism and build world socialism.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IS NOT A STAGE, OR A TEMPORARY REBELLION. IT WILL FIGHT THROUGH TO THE END.

We must define our main task. We must develop a youth movement which can attack the main enemy of all oppressed people, U.S. Imperialism, and seed an anti-imperialist movement among the masses of people, especially among the proletariat, without whom imperialism cannot be defeated. Out of this movement, revolutionary cadre must develop which will aid the development of a vanguard party necessary to lead the struggle for socialism.

The youth movement today—composed of black, brown, and white youth from different class backgrounds—is not something that has the task only of "lighting the match" and then flickering out. This youth movement must build and last if the struggle is to be successful. Youth must be in the front ranks of all phases of the struggle, just as now they are in the leading role in raising the fight against the main enemy—U.S. imperialism—throughout the whole society.

While imperialism oppresses all young people, the contradictions arise in a class and colonial way. They hit hardest on working class youth and especially black and brown youth. The basis for unity within the youth movement must be a fight in the interest of the most oppressed sectors of the people. This must especially be the basis of unity for SDS. The raising of class conscious struggles is the only basis there is for linking up with working class youth who must make up the backbone of any effective youth movement. It is on this basis that we can reach out to young people in working

class high schools, in the army, on the streets, and on the job.

WHAT ARE THE MAIN FORCES OF OUR STRUGGLE, WHAT ARE THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTIONS?

The plan of the RYM, for SDS as a fighting force against imperialism, attacking the schools and other imperialist institutions, raising the demand that these institutions serve the people, fighting white supremacy and expanding to include more and more working class youth is well under way. But now, at a crucial phase, we are being faced with questions of strategy and correct position that could tear us apart internally or send us overall in a wrong direction—a counter-revolutionary direction. At the basis of these questions are fundamental conceptions of the strategy of the whole anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for socialism. We must have an analysis of the main forces and the principal contradictions in our struggle.

The basic perspective of the anti-imperialist movement is this: the principal contradiction in the world today is between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed nations, including the black nation. This shapes the class struggle both in these nations and within the U.S. itself. Many of the main forces in this country which could be brought to oppose the imperialist now side with the imperialist against the oppressed nation. Therefore a pre-condition of any mass struggle against imperialism is winning the people to the support of the right to self-determination of oppressed nations. The struggle must unite people from all classes and sectors of classes that can be united on this basis against the imperialists.

The leading force in this movement, however, must eventually be the proletariat if the struggle is to be successful and lead to socialism. It is the class which has the power to defeat the imperialists, to carry the fight through to the establishment of socialism and to guard against the resurgence of capitalism. It is the only class which in ending its own exploitation must end the exploitation of all classes. In order for the proletariat to lead, there must be a party that represents the interests of the proletariat and has a mass base among the proletariat—a Marxist-Leninist party. Finally, since it is only the armed might of the state which in the last resort maintains the avaricious power of the imperialists, there must be armed struggle on the part of the people if they are to have victory.

THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF STRUGGLE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

There are five main ways in which the youth movement relates to the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole. These are its principles of unity and its strategy for action.

1) The youth movement must build itself into a unified fighting force against the imperialists. Given the particular oppression of youth under imperialism, it's possible and correct to unite youth from all classes into the struggles against imperialism. With the escalation of correct anti-imperialist struggles, the RYM must bring more and more working class youth into its ranks.

In order for this fighting force to grow from an agitational movement to a movement capable of destroying imperialism: it is essential that the youth movement develop an international ideology which holds as its essential principles the fight against anti-communism, the fight against white supremacy and male supremacy, and the fight for the key role of the proletariat.

2) The revolutionary youth movement can be one of the main ways of bringing the anti-imperialist movement to the proletariat as a whole. Especially today when the white sectors of the proletariat are dominated by the bourgeois ideologies of white national chauvinism, male chauvinism, anti-communism, the anti-imperialist movement must greatly intensify its efforts to win the proletariat. Roads to the working class for the youth movement are through class-conscious actions against

imperialist institutions and wars; mobilizing workers and working class youth to anti-imperialist struggles in the schools, shops, communities, and military; and making the anti-imperialist movement understandable to the mass of the people by joining in their struggles against bosses, oppressive community institutions, city government, taxes, the pigs, etc. as a revolutionary force.

WHEN THE GREAT MASS OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE LEADING FORCE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT, IMPERIALISM IS DOOMED.

The youth movement to date has been guilty of two errors in relation to the proletariat. The attempt to hold the struggles of the youth movement to the present level of most working class struggles through a student-worker alliance is tailism. It denies the leading role of youth today in raising the struggles against imperialism clearly and militantly. This position does not understand the basic principle that the mass of the proletariat must link up with the revolutionary struggles of Asia, Africa, Latin-America, and the Afro-American people if it is ever to win its freedom. It shies away from confrontation, for the most part, and does not speak to the ways in which young people feel the crisis in imperialism.

On the other hand, the denial of the leading role that the proletariat must eventually play and the outlook that those who are in motion now must be the main force leads to adventurism. This leads us to ignore the main force in the struggle in our organizing efforts and in our ideology.

Both of these common errors come from a lack of faith in the people. Much of the last six months has seen the RYM vacillating between the twin errors: tailism and adventurism. Sometimes we talk only about the international aspects of the struggle, the Vietnamese, etc. and say nothing about the class nature of the struggles in this country. Sometimes we are so busy organizing youth to confront the system that we lose sight of articulating clear class issues and doing mass work among the working class. On the other hand, sometimes we relate well to the struggles of the working people—in fights against the tracking system, tuition, in strikes, fights against the schools by the community, fights against police repression—but fail to identify imperialism as the main enemy and movements of national liberation as our allies.

Vacillation is inevitable, but if our understanding of the function of the RYM is correct, we will steer a course which avoids both tailism and adventurism.

3) A key aspect of the youth in foment is its struggles against white supremacy. Struggles against the white supremacist practices of the schools this year have fundamentally challenged the basis of this decadent, oppressive society. We must carry this fight into all aspects of our work.

This fight is key because the main tactics of the bourgeoisie in maintaining the effective allegiance of the masses of white people to capitalism are relative material privileges for some, and a false ideology which holds that people of color are inferior.

Inseparable from the battle against white supremacy is the battle against white national chauvinism (the U.S. form of oppressor nation chauvinism) which denies the right of national liberation and state power to the oppressed nations of the world. It has been the justification for the imperialist plunder of the world. It took the mass of the "peace movement" five years to support the victory of the NLF and DRV in Viet Nam when victory means the right to self-determination, the military gains necessary to defend their land from all imperialist powers. The mass of whites in the movement now, and throughout the history of the movement, have denied (in fact, if not in words) the right of self-determination of the black people, which must be defined finally as the right to secession.

It is an important task of the youth movement to wage internal struggle against these so-called revolutionaries who counterpose the struggle for socialism to the struggle for self-determination of oppressed people. They are neither revolutionaries, nor are they struggling for socialism. Some of these attack movements of national liberation—such as the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese—for not making the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat the basis of unity of the liberation struggle. They do not recognize the right to self-determination of the Black people, saying that they are only super-exploited workers, that all nationalism is reactionary. All these are guilty of white national chauvinism which amounts to putting the interests of the white ruling class ahead of the interests of the working class and the oppressed peoples of all countries.

Others raise the slogan of national liberation, but deny the possibility of liberation before the establishment of socialism in the mother country, or equate the national liberation struggle with the fight for socialism in the whole country. These do not understand the basic principle that it is the task of socialists in the mother country to defend the right and possibility of separation and secession while it is the task of socialists in the colony to fight for socialism. In the white movement we must raise the slogan of self-determination, and chauvinistically equate it with the fight for socialism in the whole country. This does not deny that, because of the dual role of black workers in the mother country (both colonized and exploited as an internal work force), these black workers can play the leading role in the fight for socialism. It is only to say that the fight for the right of self-determination of the black people is a pre-condition to any kind of

socialism in this country.

4) Further division and control of the proletariat has been effected through the ideology and practice of male supremacy. Male supremacy has arisen out of the relation of women to the means of production in society: that of unpaid necessary social labor in the maintenance and reproduction of the labor force as a reserve army of labor used to keep down wages in general. Thus women are all degraded as sexual objects and are super-exploited: paid lower wages and denied access to the skills and trades for men.

The youth movement must fight against the male supremacist structure of this decadent society and the manifestations of this in the superstructure. We must raise and join women's struggles throughout the working class and pay particular attention to the fight against male supremacy within our own ranks. Our task is to enlist women into the struggle against imperialism and the fight for the right to self-determination of all oppressed nations.

The youth movement will not only be in the leading ranks of the armed struggle, but it can now begin to prepare the people for the necessity of armed struggle, supporting armed self-defense on the part of all oppressed people, explaining the nature of the state, and supporting peoples war.

5) The youth movement can play a role in the development of a party by fighting anti-communism, developing communist ideology, and taking communist ideology to the mass of the people.

PROGRAM OF THE RYM

1. Anti-imperialist program in the schools

The function of the schools under capitalism is the preparation of an ideological army for imperialism. This preparation is accomplished through 1) courses designed to perpetuate anti-communist, white national chauvinist, and anti-working class ideology; 2) a "tracking" system based on maintaining class and colonial division within society which exemplifies and reinforces this ideology; 3) a grading system which promotes individual competition and the myth of "getting ahead"; and 4) a rigid system of discipline to penalize and smash any challenge or deviation from this bourgeois line.

Our objective is to turn the school into its opposite. We will attempt to turn out of the schools an army of youth to fight against imperialism. To do this we challenge the function of universities in training, research, and recruiting for corporations and for the military. We challenge racist admissions and curriculums with the slogan Open Them Up Or Close Them Down. We attack the track system in the high schools and community colleges and all other forms of maintaining class and colonial structure like flunkouts, tuition increases etc. We demand that the schools serve the community, that the schools be made relevant to the needs of the community.

A major ideological trend within the movement that we have to combat is "student power" which demands participation of the students in making and enforcing the rules or operation of the schools. We already have the power to change the school because we can shut it down if it doesn't change. We are not interested in establishing meaningless committees or diverting ourselves from the main object of our struggle.

Our program:

A. 1. End to tracking

2. No flunkouts or disciplinary expulsions
3. Open admissions for all black and brown students
4. The teaching of the true history and social conditions of this decadent, imperialist society
5. A real understanding of communism and of movements of national liberation
6. End to male supremacy in the teaching of classes, the content of courses, and the "tracking" of women into secondary roles and employment
7. A guarantee of decent employment for youth who are not given the chance of higher education.

B. 1. We support employees in their struggles to extract a better life in return for their work in the schools.

2. We join in the struggles to make the schools provide day care centers, low income housing, cultural youth centers, etc. for the surrounding community.

3. We will attack the existence of military training and research programs, police institutes, etc. in the schools and stop their functioning by any means necessary.

4. We will attack the imperialist functions of the university for its programs of university expansion etc.

C. We will give special support for black and brown student demands, because their demands challenge the key feature in imperialist institutions today: the oppression of black and brown peoples and the attempt to win white people to the support of that oppression through the offering of white-skin privileges. We support the 10 point program of the Black Panther Party on the campuses.

D. Just as we must attack the schools for their imperialist oppression and exploitation, so we must recruit youth from the schools to join with non-student struggles against other institutions. In building a strong

anti-imperialist, anti-war movement; and a movement that can respond to the specific repressive attacks against the people and the movement.

2. Roads to the Working Class

We will never be able to destroy U.S. imperialism unless the proletariat—white, brown, and black—is brought solidly into the anti-imperialist movement.

A) In order to bring the anti-imperialist movement to the working class we must understand clearly that imperialism is not in the interests of the mass of the working class, because it leads again and again to crisis with its unemployment, inflation, high taxes, bad working conditions, and the day to day exploitation of the wage worker.

B) We must recruit more and more working class youth into the struggle by continuing and intensifying our organization within working class high schools and junior colleges.

C) We must go into shops, plants, hospitals, farm work, etc. not only for summer "work in" programs, but more and more of us should be making long-term commitments to live and work among the proletariat.

D) We must link up students involved in anti-imperialist struggles against the schools with community groups fighting against the immediate institutions of oppression: hospitals, churches, urban renewal programs, pigs, etc. The anti-imperialist youth movement must serve the people. That means it must enter into the struggles of the people and help them to win. Especially, SDS should work closely with non-student youth groups in their fights against the police and courts. Many of us will leave school to live and work among these youth groups, developing the principles of the anti-imperialist youth movement.

E) Serving the people means giving material support to the many militant strikes and wildcats. In doing this we must attack the employer—the corporation or company—on an anti-imperialist basis whenever possible. The boycott against Standard Oil during the Richmond strike is a good example: give support on the picket line and in the boycott, but raise the anti-imperialist aspect of the struggle against Standard Oil.

The priority of the youth movement does not mean that we refuse support for most strikes and wildcats because they are not "conscious" enough for our liking. This is an elitist and uncommunist attitude that falls away when we realize the ultimate importance of the proletariat in the anti-imperialist struggles. Neither does this priority give the excuse for paying more attention to faction fighting over slogans of support than to aiding the strike.

Just as the main way in which white workers are confronted with the anti-imperialist struggle is through the struggles for self-determination of Afro-American workers, so the stand of the strike or wildcat on issues of white supremacy should be the key in determining our attitude toward the strike. If the strike is clearly a racist strike—like the New York teachers strike against the demands of black people—then we should oppose it.

F) We must take our movement to the youth in the military by going into the armed services and contributing our support to the anti-imperialist movement which already exists among the GIs.

3) Relationship of the Revolutionary Youth Movement to the Struggles of Black and Brown People

The struggle for self-determination of Afro-American and Puerto Rican people is the principal anti-imperialist struggle we can relate to. We must support and follow their leadership in their actions against the imperialists; and at all times fight white supremacy through demands for black and Latin equality, and national self-determination whether the black and brown people on our campuses, in shops, and in the community are

in motion or not.

Some people argue that 1) black and brown people will become "middle class" if they get into the schools, and 2) that community control fights are bad because they give people the illusion that "real power" could be won while the imperialists hold state-power. Only the height of white chauvinism could think the first when one sees the militancy and political content of so many black student struggles today and through the history of the sixties. And only academic Trotskyists could refuse to join a progressive fight of the people because it could be co-opted. State power is the only non-cooptable demand.

We will try to win the mass of people to support of the black and brown people's right to arm in self-defense against the military occupation of their communities.

We must mobilize to defend the black and brown movements which are now under so heavy an attack by the power structure. And we must take that defense to the mass of the working people in whatever way we can.

4) The Fight Against Male Supremacy

The structure of male supremacy in this society—in employment, social, and political institutions—and the ideology of male chauvinism is one of the chief barriers to unity in the fight against imperialism. In order to bring an end to the unjust treatment of women now and in the socialist society, and to unite all in our fighting force, we must wage a vigorous attack on male supremacy both inside and outside the movement. In particular we must carry the fight against male supremacy to working women, encouraging them and joining in the fight to meet their needs, such as day care centers, equal employment, humane abortion laws, and access to higher education. Within the movement, the fight must be waged by purging the movement of male chauvinist attitudes, and encouraging the leadership of women. As with other oppressed peoples, women must form their own independent groupings and caucuses within revolutionary organizations in order to ensure that the struggle is carried through.

5) Repression: The Heightening of the Contradictions

To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing. That the bourgeoisie finds it necessary to attack the movement shows their weakness. If imperialism was not a decaying society their ideology would be sufficient to hold the masses passive. However the war, high taxes, unemployment, etc. clearly show the failures of capitalism to meet the peoples' needs.

To pull back from our work with the masses would be exactly the result desired by the bourgeoisie. They have escalated their attack on the movement, and the only way to beat that attack is to carry through a strategy for winning the war against the bourgeoisie, and ultimately defeating imperialism.

Therefore our essential program to fight repression is to carry through the program of the Revolutionary Youth Movement to reach out to the masses, particularly the proletariat, and to serve the needs of the people.

In addition, we must use all the means available to us as a means to prevent the leading elements of the movement such as the BPP and individual leaders from being imprisoned or killed.

While courts are still available to us as a means of defense, we should use them to the fullest extent, using the opportunity each time we appear in court to make clear the political nature of the police, courts, and attacks on individuals.

In addition we must be prepared to defend ourselves by whatever means necessary when the courts can't serve even the minimal protection they now provide. We must become skilled in the use of weapons and be

(continued on Page 10)



even more RYM!

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prepared to use them to defend ourselves if attacked. We must also prepare ourselves by securing our offices and homes to prevent them from confiscating important files and materials.

As the armed might of the state comes down on the people and the movement as it has done recently in Greensboro, Berkeley, and hundreds of other places in the black and brown communities, we must respond by preparing the people for armed self-defense and eventually for armed struggle.

Armed attacks by the state must be used by the movement to explain to the people the necessity of arming for self-defense and the nature of the state. We must take every opportunity to explain that the state cannot be challenged except through revolutionary violence. This is its nature.

We must also fight against laws which are passed to disarm the people. While right wing groups are arming under the protection of fascist city pigs, it is increasingly difficult for the mass of people to obtain arms. The disarming of the people is the first stage of fascism.

The most important response to repression must be the extension of our ongoing programs in the schools, shops, and communities. The movement is being attacked now because it is taking up the issues of the people against imperialism. Our only protection is to continue our programs among the people, adding to them where possible programs of defense against repression. No sector of the population is in a state of armed struggle, and we will only win the people to the necessity of armed struggle through increasing and intensifying our political work.

8) Step Up the Movement to Defend Struggles for National Liberation

It is part of our function as a revolutionary youth

movement to help build mass struggle against imperialist attacks on movements of national liberation and on communist countries. We must attempt to build this movement among all classes and sectors, especially among the working class.

We call for mass militant actions around the country linking the fight against imperialist aggression in Viet Nam with the fight against imperialist repression of black and Puerto Rican liberation struggles, and the movement within this country. Such an action could take place in September in Chicago around the trial of Bobby Seale, and the other seven indicted for last year's anti-war action. Other actions would include local demonstrations, student strikes, and work stoppages. We must build for these actions through mass work in working class communities, in shops, and in schools. We must attempt to build city-wide collectives of people working in all three areas around this program. These collectives can be a great leap forward in building a

city-wide anti-imperialist movement.

7) Develop Revolutionary Ideology and Organization in Our Work

We must take seriously the job of helping to build the communist party. There is no such communist party which exists today, no party which both represents the interests of the proletariat and has any mass base among the proletariat. There are things which we can do to help prepare for it.

We must study revolutionary principles of organization as Lenin, Mao, and others have written about them, develop collective methods of work and decision-making, and fight anti-communism along with elitism, manipulation, and individualism.

Finally the principles of Marxism-Leninism must be talked about openly in all our mass work and anti-communism taken on at every step.



FOLLETT'S ON STRIKE

by Jim Pinney and Harriet Stulman

"Follett is a racist!" "No more scabs inside our factory!" These shouts have been yelled at scabs every morning from 6 a.m. on for the last two weeks by workers on strike against Follett's, a Chicago campus textbook firm. 130 workers out of a total of 133 in production are striking to force Follett's to recognize their union and bargain with them in good faith. And every morning the Follett family is out in front like plantation bosses welcoming their scabs by name and urging people to cross the picket line.

The backbone of the strike is black women who are the mainstay of the firm's production and clerical forces. There are only five white workers in production; 70% are black women. In practice, Follett's has always used white supremacy and male supremacy to keep its labor force at the lowest possible wages and in conflict among themselves. Most black women, including some who have worked as long as 20 years there, are making between \$1.60 and \$1.80 an hour in production. The lack of a job classification system and uniform pay scales allows Follett's to regularly pay women less than men and black people less than white people for the same work. The wage differences often go as high as 50¢ an hour for people working right alongside each other. Often black workers will be training whites who are already making more than they are.

The struggle at Follett's has been going on for 3 1/2 years. Follett's was ordered to recognize and bargain with the Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Employees International Union as the workers' bargaining representative last November. But Follett's has always bargained in bad faith; the workers had no recourse but to go out on strike. Even now, three weeks after the strike began, the company has sent in negotiators who are powerless to make decisions.

The strikers are demanding higher wages, wage equalization, and union rights. They want a minimum starting pay of \$1.90 and a 25¢ an hour across-the-board increase retroactive to November 1968. They also want a job classification and wage equalization system. The workers are demanding that whoever works in the same job—black or white, male or female, young or old—be paid the same wages. This

demand cuts directly at the supremacist policies of the Folletts, for it would go a long way toward making differential wages impossible. The third demand is for union protection, that is, for an agency shop in which all new employees would have to either join the union or at least pay union dues. Present employees would be given a choice to join the union or not. The company offered to accept this deal when the union was demanding a union shop, but they have since backed out.

Folletts has tried both with scabs and with pigs to break the strike. The scabs are mostly white, male, students, children of suburban friends of the owners. The company has not hired enough of them to replace all the workers (though even if they did, Teamster trucks still are not crossing the line, so it would do little good). July and August are Follett's crucial production months. They clean up used textbooks, send them off to their campus outlets, and sell them at up to 400% markups in September. They also fill the bulk of their new textbook sales orders now. If the scabs are able to keep Follett's production schedule at its normal summer pace, Follett's may find a way to ship them. The strike will be prolonged and may be lost by this. The scabs also keep pressure on the workers and hurt morale. The police have been very much in evidence since June 30 when they busted nine strikers for picketing "too close" to the building. This was changed to disorderly conduct charges when no such law could be found to apply to factories.

The Chicago Labor Defense Committee and Chicago Regional SDS have been relating to the strike in two ways. First, we go down to the lines in the morning to deal with the scabs. We have persuaded a few (mainly black students) to find other jobs, but the kids from the suburbs apparently are not to be persuaded by words. Still, we have forced the company to turn to Manpower (a day labor agency) for scabs, a sign of some desperation.

We have also been setting up informational pickets at the Follett's outlets in this area with a leaflet explaining the conditions and the issues, and asking people not to buy until the strike is settled. In some places, we have cut very significantly into the company's business.

Some of us have been discussing with the workers the possibility of expanding the boycott activity to other cities.

By doing this, we could increase the pressure on the company and also bring some valuable lessons to the student movement. Support of the strike would raise three central issues which the student movement must deal with as it expands into the working class. First, students would have to relate to workers' struggles in a class conscious way. Those who bought at the store would be scabbing as much as the students who now work at the warehouse, and this could be brought home to them. Students are being exploited because of the near monopoly over textbook distribution and high used and new textbook costs. Students have the choice of fighting against the workers' struggle for higher wages (the company may use it as an excuse to raise book costs) or refusing to side with the bosses and siding with the workers. Second, students could be educated about male supremacy, its material basis, its role in dividing the working class, and the importance of the fight for women's equality. It is clear that the struggles of black women are in the forefront of the struggles of revolutionary women for liberation, and we must support them. Although there are problems with supporting strikes based on wage demands made by highly skilled white workers, in this strike the fight against white supremacy and male supremacy has taken on the form of desperately needed wage increases and should be supported. And third, the strike raises the issues of the need for fighting white supremacy. Although there are only a small number of whites in production at Follett's, they have joined with the black workers in demanding equal pay for equal work for blacks and whites. The student scabs could become part of an international working class movement only by the rejection of the skin privilege that allows them to scab.

Follett retail stores are located in Chicago (six stores), Champaign, and Elgin, Illinois; Benton Harbor, Ann Arbor, and Dearborn, Michigan; West Lafayette, Hammond, Indianapolis, and Westville, Indiana; Oxford and Athens, Ohio; Minneapolis and Saint Paul, Minnesota; Whittier and Mission Viejo, California, and Pullman, Washington. People interested in boycott activity who are located in any of these areas should contact the Labor Defense Committee, 248-8169 or 227-2999, or the SDS Regional Office, 641-0932. People should not begin boycott activity until they have contacted Chicago people

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

by Clayton Van Lydegraf

The Black Panther Party has called for a "United Front Against Fascism"...

Every man, woman or child dehumanized by the "culture" of imperialism has to be anti-fascist. Probably 90% of the people in the U.S. including many employed in institutions which serve imperialism would call themselves anti-fascist.

But not enough people oppose fascism in action, where it counts. Police terror and assassination in the Black communities with double violence and brutal sentences in the courts for leaders of the Black Panther Party are fascism in action. B52 bombers and napalm in Vietnam are fascism in action. So are raids on student activists.

The address of fascist headquarters is not Berlin, Rome, or Tokyo. It is imperialism, U.S.A. It is White Supremacy, New York, Seattle, Chicago, Los Angeles, Birmingham, Miami. It stalks with U.S. and U.N. mercenary pigs in the Congo; it rides pig jets against Arabs in the Middle East. Portuguese fascism in Angola and apartheid in South Africa depend upon U.S. patronage. At home, northern and southern pigs occupy ghettos and parks with equal ferocity.

The system has been trying to colonize the world with fire, bombs, guns and knives for enforcement and with bribes of whisky, rice, money and favors for traitors like the generals in Saigon and the scabby labor elite and other uncle tom performers at home.

The only cure for this national and global plague is the death of U.S. imperialism. Black revolutionaries and young people are beginning to learn in the same school. All together, more people in more places are uniting to defeat fascism and end imperialism.

Black liberation fighters are being joined by Brown and Red and young mother country white people to tend to the urgent business of resisting by any means necessary. The rest of the people who also hate fascism could nevertheless be forced or sucked into becoming camp followers or labor battalions for the pig troops unless they decide right off to support the brothers and sisters who are already fighting to create the peoples army which will defeat the pig army.

Harass the pigs; give them no rest. Empty the jails and force the courts to free our people. Let the fascists and the pigs and hanging judges know that they are the ones whom the people will punish. Defend the drafted G.I.'s who know already how to turn their servitude as mercenaries against the fascist brass and the fascist bosses of the brass.

Defend our fighters in every legal way but support them unconditionally. Make life miserable for enemies of the peoples--every fascist act must cost the system double and triple.

To defend our right to live free from fascist terror, we have to take up the fight against imperialism as our own battle. Mother country whites must also fight to liberate all U.S. occupied territory abroad and at home--we cannot spare ourselves in defending the victims of oppression--No one can be free in a country which enslaves others.

At the National Council meeting we voted to support and attend the United Front Against Fascism conference called by the Panthers in Oakland July 18-21. We are also encouraging all members of SDS to attend the conference. All National Officers, including members of the NIC, are required to attend.

All SDS people going to the conference should call the NO and let us know you are going to be there. We will attempt to have one or two separate sessions of SDS people to discuss the politics of the conference, to formulate strategy, and especially to talk about how we are going to move coming out of the conference, including the National Action.

REGISTRATION FORM

OFFICIAL **REGISTRATION FORM**

B.P.P. AND I.L.S.

READ THOROUGHLY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA

OAKLAND, CALIF. JULY 18TH, 19TH, 20TH, 21ST
FRI. SAT. SUN. MON.

✦ DONATION REGISTRATION FEES TO ATTEND CONFERENCE

- ADVANCE REGISTRATION POSTMARK MIDNIGHT SAT. JULY 12TH.....\$4.00 DOLLARS
- REGISTRATION FEE AFTER 12 A.M., SAT., JULY 12TH _____ \$6.00 DOLLARS

✦ UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTIFIED OF CHANGE

- CHECK IN CENTER IS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 3106 SHATTUCK AVENUE, BERKELEY, CALIF. 94705 PH. (415) 845 0103, 845 0104
- CHECK IN TIME STARTS JULY 17TH, THURSDAY, 9:00A.M. THROUGH FRIDAY, 5:00P.M. CONFERENCE STARTS FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 18TH AT 7:00 P.M. SHARP.
- WE SUGGEST TO ALL PEOPLE, REPRESENTATIVES AND PARTIES OF ORGANIZATIONS TO TRY AND ARRIVE EARLY AS POSSIBLE, STARTING THURSDAY MORNING JULY 17TH 9:00A.M. SO ALL PEOPLE CAN BE PROPERLY ASSISTED IN GETTING HOUSING, AND OTHER NECESSARY INFORMATION THAT MANY THOUSANDS WILL NEED TO KNOW FOR THE DURATION OF THE CONFERENCE.

RETAIN THIS SECTION

REMEMBER REGISTRATION NO. **BIOI**
CUT HERE RETAIN THIS PART

CUT ALONG HERE MAIL THIS SECTION OF REGISTRATION WITH \$4.00 DOLLAR MONEY ORDER TO B.P.P. U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE HEDQS, 3106 SHATTUCK AVE. BERKELEY, CALIF., 94705

PLEASE CHECK ALL RELEVANT SQUARES

- Enclosed is registration donation fee plus a donation \$ _____
- I am coming to the conference for a UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA
- HOUSING → I will NOT need housing arrangements.
 I WILL need housing arrangements.
- Other members of my organization will also attend. How many? _____
- Enclosed is my advance \$4.00 Dollar registration donation fee.
- I enclose \$ _____ to help with the cost of the conference for a UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM.
- Please send registration blanks, for other people in my organization. Send publicity materials etc. so that I may aid the conference by duplicating and distributing leaflets, posters, bumper stickers etc.

NAME		CONFERENCE REGISTRATION NO.	
STREET ADDRESS		BIOI	ZIP CODE.
HOME PHONE		CITY	STATE
ORGANIZATION		NON ORGANIZATION	
PHONE	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE

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TO

B.P.P. U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE Hdqtrs
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF. 94705

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

OAKLAND CALIFORNIA
JULY 18, 19, 20,



FASCISM THE POWER OF FINANCE CAPITAL ITSELF

THIS CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IS CALLED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE FREEDOM OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR ALL PROLETARIAN TYPE ORGANIZATIONS, THE FREEDOM AND POLITICAL WORK OF ALL STUDENTS, FARMERS, WORKERS, AND THE LUMPEN MUST BE DEVELOPED INTO A NATIONAL FORCE, A FRONT WHICH ANSWERS THE BASIC DESIRES AND NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE IN FASCIST, CAPITALISTIC, RACIST AMERICA. PRIMARY OBJECTIVE WILL BE COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE TO END FASCISM.

IN OAKLAND CALIFORNIA, JULY 18, 19, 20 & 21st REPRESENTATIVES FROM AROUND THE COUNTIES OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE, SOME 5,000 OR MORE REPRESENTATIVES WILL DEVELOP A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM. HEADQUARTERS BLACK PANTHER PARTY OFFICE, 3106 SHATTUCK AVE., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, 845-0103 OR 845-0104.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

(SEE PAGE II FOR REGISTRATION FORM)