

Chicago, Illinois

1608 West Madison

Students for a Democratic Society

NEW LEFT NOTES SDS

January 8, 1969

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

Vol. 3, Number 40

INCLUDES:

- NC Resolutions
- NIC Meeting
- Newsreel Movie Power
- Mexican Students
- On Strike

Mexican students on hunger strike



At least 100 Mexican students, arrested in massive demonstrations during the summer and fall in Mexico City, have gone on a hunger strike at Lecumberri Prison. The strike was called as a response to the arrests of thousands who demonstrated their support for the students on Dec. 13.

The Dec. 13 demonstration started at the University of Mexico campus south of Mexico City and was intended to end at El Casco de Santo Tomas after completing an eight-mile route through heavily populated districts of the city.

Early on Dec. 12, thousands of granaderos (heavily-armed riot police) closed off the avenues leading to the university. The National Struggle Council (formerly the National Strike Council) led the march of 25,000 students. As they began to move out from the campus the infamous General Hernandez Toledo, who directed the Oct. 2 massacre at Tlatelolco, advanced his troops toward the march.

The students dispersed and broke into groups of 1,000 to 1,500 and began to stage spontaneous demonstrations along the entire length of the Avenida Insurgentes. About 3,000 students were arrested.

Striking prisoners in Lecumberri Prison have called for support actions on the part of students throughout the world.

LIBERTAD DE EXPRESION



See related story, page 7

NC passes youth movement proposal

By David Millstone

Despite heavy factionalism and heavy ideological verbiage, the December educational conference and National Council meeting marked SDS's move to a class analysis of society. Speakers during the five days of workshops and plenaries outlined the necessity of building a class-conscious revolutionary movement in the United States, though they disagreed sharply on the methods for building that movement.

The heaviest debate centered on a proposal, "Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement," submitted by SDS National Secretary Mike Klonsky. The proposal calls for SDS to expand its base from that of merely a student movement, by reaching out to young people, especially working-class youth. Specific implementation calls for organizing in community and junior colleges, high schools and trade schools, inside the Army, in the shops, and in the streets among unemployed young people. A program was also laid out for building a more class-conscious movement on campus by attacking the university as an instrument of class and racial oppression. The resolution passed, and is printed in this issue of NLN.

The NC defeated two proposals for actions in Washington, D.C., around Nixon's inauguration, and passed resolutions on racism, women's liberation, and the military occupation at Wilmington, Delaware.

Biggest Yet

More than 1200 persons attended the meetings, held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The three-day educational conference opened with a

panel on the strike at San Francisco State College, followed that night by a panel discussing racism. Speakers from SF State continually stressed that their strike was based on the politics of the worker-student alliance, as put forward by the SLAP proposal at the last few NCs.

Saturday morning, a panel composed of Allen Gilbert, Bernardine Dohrn, Mark Rudd, Jared Israel, and Howie Machtinger, discussed imperialism and the campus movement. Workshops that afternoon discussed the ideas brought up by the panel; that night, the conference heard Edward Boorstein, who worked as an economic adviser to Che in Cuba in the early 1960's, discuss Cuba and U.S. imperialism in Latin America. The following day was taken up with a panel (Fred Gordon, Steve Halliwell, Mike Klonsky, Jeff Gordon) and workshops discussing directions for the movement.

Good, Bad, Heavy

When it was good, it was very very good. When it was bad, it was awful. The level of serious political debate was, at times, excellent: people would speak concretely about their experiences, relating them directly to a proposal and to Lenin, Marx, and Mao at once. In workshops especially, people from around the country discussed what they had been doing, organizing on and off campus, and their thoughts about new directions for SDS.

One frequent point of contention was the primary contradiction facing capitalism today. Progressive Labor and its many supporters at the NC insisted that this primary contradiction was between the ruling class and the working class, between the bosses and the workers. Others argued that the

primary contradiction was between US imperialism and the colonized nations of the world. This contradiction was a class struggle, granted, but the struggle was not best understood in terms of ruling class vs. working class. For instance, as Mike Klonsky argued, the struggle of black people in the United States was the most militant struggle going on in this country now; to view that struggle simply as the most exploited and oppressed segment of the working class fighting against the ruling class is to miss the point, Klonsky argued. Most importantly, we must recognize that racism is not simply a device used by the ruling class to split white from black workers. White workers do oppress black workers, by restrictions on entering the skilled trades, for example. It is more correct to think in terms of a black colony in America, involved in a national liberation struggle.

Similar semantic differences covered up ideological differences on the

discussion of the women's liberation resolution. The makers of the resolution insisted that "male supremacy" was more accurate a description than "male chauvinism", since men concretely do oppress women. Opponents of the resolution argued that male chauvinism was an attitude used by the bosses to split men from women workers, to gain extra profit by super-exploitation of women workers.

Inauguration Action Fails

Two proposals were presented for actions in Washington, D.C. at Nixon's inauguration; both were defeated. The first called for setting up movement centers around Washington for the two days preceding the inauguration, while the Mobilization is holding educational conferences. A second proposal called for demonstrations specifically at the International Police Institute and the South Vietnamese embassy. SDS people

(continued on Page 2)

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612

RETURN REQUESTED
Second-class postage
rate paid in Chicago,
Illinois

NC

(continued from Page 1)

coming to Washington could participate in the Mobilization's counter-inaugural parade Sunday; most persons, however, would probably boycott the Mobe's activities and concentrate on some action Monday. The actions would argue that the negotiations are a fraud, that Nixon will be as unable to solve the problems facing American capitalism as any other member of the ruling class, that we actively supported the NLF.

Mark Rudd, one of the makers of the proposal, argued that we shouldn't leave demonstrations in Washington to the Mobilization; it is important to make a strong, militant presence felt, he declared. Other speakers said that an SDS demonstration would be an important act of support and solidarity with the Vietnamese.

Opposition to the proposal centered around two points: that the Mobilization

Committee should be smashed and SDS should have nothing to do with it, even to the extent of calling for a demonstration at the same time as the Mobilization leadership. Second, a black caucus statement argued against the motion; you white people are coming to a black city for a demonstration without consulting the black residents of that city beforehand, the statement argued. You'll be going home, but the repression brought about by your actions will effect the black community. Speakers argued that for us to continue with plans for the Washington demonstrations would be racist. After both proposals were defeated, though, the black caucus statement was also voted down as a position of the body at large.

The Work-In Pamphlet

As its final major piece of business, the NC mandated the National Office to print the Work-In pamphlet with a prefatory note stating that the politics

expressed in the pamphlet were those of one significant tendency within SDS. Defeated was a motion by Fred Gordon and John Pennington, which called for: printing 15,000 copies of the Work-In pamphlet immediately; an end to alleged political suppression in New Left Notes of worker-student alliance politics; printing of a pamphlet by Fred Gordon, the first draft of which was mimeographed and distributed at the NC; and printing articles critical of Cuba in NLN. On one hand, people argued that the Work-In pamphlet was an important piece of literature and would be valuable for internal education; others found the politics of the pamphlet reformist and economist. After Gordon's motion was defeated, backers of his motion demanded, and got, a roll call vote, which reaffirmed its defeat.

Miscellaneous Other Stuff

The NC approved giving the membership list on an exchange basis to the Radical Education Project and

to Leviathan, a new magazine. The NO will use REP's list for fund-raising.

The NC approved, almost unanimously, a resolution stating "That, in view of the dissolution of the 'N.Y. SDS Labor Committee' by the New York Regional Assembly, the National Council prohibit the Labor Committee from calling itself SDS." The Labor Committee had passed out literature in New York supporting the racist teachers' strike, although the position of the NY Regional was clearly in opposition to the strike. Members of the Labor Committee argued, though, that they would refuse to recognize their exclusion and would continue to call themselves SDS. Tim McCarthy, chairing the meeting, said "You all know that there's only one way that you'll stop the Labor Committee. If you're really concerned, you'll do it."

The NC also refused to recognize as a new chapter the Radical Caucus of Ann Arbor SDS, which had walked out of the existing chapter several months ago and then sought recognition on its own.

Jeff writes us: 'Jail is a bummer'

A former national officer of SDS, Jeff Segal is now serving a four-year prison term for draft resistance. He is also one of the Oakland Seven, whose trial for conspiracy and Stop the Draft Week begins Jan. 13. This letter, written Dec. 22, was sent to the NC but arrived too late.)

Dear comrades,

I would have enjoyed being with you but, unfortunately, other commitments continue to be overly demanding, and I must remain where I am. Greetings from the bottom of the swamp!

Since I wrote you all at the time of the last National Convention, a number of things have happened—almost a month in Cook County Jail in Chicago, four and a half months in a prison camp in Springfield, Missouri, and almost two months in the Alameda County Jail awaiting trial on a conspiracy charge. This case involves seven of us (referred to as the Oakland Seven) who took part in the Stop the Draft Week that took place at the Oakland Induction Center in October 1967. We have been charged with conspiracy to disturb the peace and conspiracy to obstruct police officers in the performance of their duty. We are scheduled to go on trial on January 13. The case is a rather significant one both locally and nationally because of its potential impact on the movement's ability to use legitimate means to reach people. The situation in a number of ways is more important than the "Spock" case, since it deals with an attempt to get at "organizers" of a demonstration and punish them for the existence of the demonstration. To allow the State to do this would be to run the risk of either having to give up militant demonstrations or having larger and larger numbers of people involved in court action similar to mine. All of this leads up to the need for as much active, vocal support as possible. We have some of the best legal help available and a large number of people in the Bay Area supporting the case.

Committee to Inquire

There also is going to be a "committee of inquiry" on the case which will begin January 13. The committee will conduct a public examination of the domestic aspects of imperialism, focusing on the Oakland Seven and the anti-draft agitation. It will be an attempt to trace the manifestations of imperialism to their sources, develop an overall view of the nature of the present police state, how and why it works, what can be done about it, et cetera. What's needed are public activities in support of the defendants, a possibility being for you to set up local committees of inquiry at the same time as the one out here and with the same focus to bring the case out as much as possible into the public eye, and, of course, money. Either of which would be most gratefully acknowledged by the Oakland Seven

Defense Committee. The importance of a victory in this case comes not only from the desire to keep comrades from doing some time in jail, but also from the need to show that the movement represented by SDS can protect itself. To quote Franklin (in somewhat similar circumstances): "If we do not hang together, then most assuredly, gentlemen, we shall hang separately."

Well, enough of the Oakland Seven, and on to a few words to let you know what your former long-haired parliamentarian has been up to in the dungeons of Mordor. Having now lived through more than half a year of confinement, in both penitentiaries and county jails, I have had a chance to deal with a peculiar aspect of American society which most of the people that we should be working with have had some contact with, and one in which more and more of us will be caught up in the days to come. A great deal of things—events, experiences, trips—have happened to me over this past stage of my stretch which I hope to eventually share with you all when I finally get sprung, things which get very complex and some which have yet to be digested. So for now just a brief taste of this weird Odyssey.

Bad Scene

The foremost thing that comes to mind is that jail is a bummer! I have seen a couple of articles in papers written by dudes who have done time saying that doing time isn't really too bad, that the food is better than college food, etc., which have really pissed a bunch of us off. For people to say that is irresponsible; both penitentiary and jail time is a very bad scene which, I believe, should be avoided if at all possible. This doesn't mean not doing things that could mean jail time, but it means trying to do them without getting caught. It also means that when we go to jail it is because of a commitment to build a revolutionary movement, and not just to make our "personal sacrifice" for the cause and then continue a straight middle-class life. This kind of understanding has been an important tool in the struggle to turn the jail sentence into something more than dead time. What, then, has the time so far been, if not dead time?

Personally, because of the controlled nature of the environment, it has given me a chance to get a much better understanding of what I'm about, how I fit into my physical and social life-flux, what capabilities and limits I have, etc. This has produced both a much firmer commitment to and a better understanding of the building of a movement to make a revolutionary society. Far from being mellowed by this experience, I have become more intent upon doing what must be done to liberate ourselves and our brothers and sisters. What the time has done is to sear away the fatty elements of bourgeois sentimentality and leave me



tougher and more able to deal with some of the difficult tasks we have before us.

Time to Think

Politically, the time has forced me to clarify my own thinking about both strategy and analysis as well as tactics—to think of longer and longer periods of time (building of long-term strategy which I'll write some of later) instead of just day-to-day and month-to-month happenings. It has led to a completion of an ideology. Oh, forgot, for SDS ideology is a bad head trip. Not so! If we understand what ideology is. Ideology, simply, is the development of a set of concepts that provides us with an organized way of viewing the world and our part in the world. A complete ideology gives us the ability to handle most experiences and events; and a reasonable one conforms to objective reality. The difference between ideology and dogma is that ideology is a tool to be used for the understanding of things (a tool which can and should be modified with the change of living conditions) and dogma are strictures taken on faith in which things are crammed to fit. I think we must develop an ideology—this means hard intellectual work without being afraid to use complex concepts and intellectual tools. The other side of this process has been the necessity to break down our crazy jargon and politics so that street people can understand what we're about. I have found this to be very important—because there have been lots of people I have been in contact with who are becoming part of our movement as the result of our ability to rap with them in the language they understand. I purposely haven't dealt with contents of ideology to avoid being embroiled in the temporary politics of the NC, but will write later.

Also, there has been the learning of how to work (a) inside an overt

police state, and (b) with a non-student population we should be in to. Prison is a clear analogy of a police state, with all of a police state's major characteristics, and the experience has been helpful in teaching me how to work in the future American reality. Little else can be or should be said in public.

Potential Brothers

There are in the joints I've been in a lot of fine groovy people who have been my fellow criminals. It has meant the building of a deep inside understanding that a large amount of what the society classifies as criminal behavior comes out of the same basic impulses that have made us what we are. A lot of the guys are people who have rebelled against Plastic Capitalist America, but who did not have access to the channels of "dissent" that we did. We have a lot of potential brothers and sisters in the half-million behind bars and the tens of millions on the street. Our job is to reach them and to turn them on to the ways to struggle that does not just take back a little of what has been stolen from the people, but destroys the system that makes the exploitation and replaces it with a liberated society.

Sorry if I might have run off at the mouth, but there is little enough contact with all of you, and the chances I receive take on a very important place in my life. I have heard from a lot of you through cards and letters, and the feeling of still being able to be of some use has been greatly morale boosting. NCs being what NCs always are, I hope this letter has at least given you all a couple of minutes' relief from its endemic insanity.

To build a new is to destroy an old,
To struggle and create is the law
of nature and the spirit of life.

Jeff alias Buzzy Segal, POW

Toward a revolutionary youth movement

(an N.C. resolution)

(NOTE: This is a revised edition of the resolution appearing on page 3 of New Left Notes of December 23, by Mike Klonsky.)

"...How should we judge whether a youth is revolutionary?...If today he integrates himself with the masses... then today he is a revolutionary? If tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns around to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary."

Mao Tse-Tung

At this point in history, SDS is faced with its most crucial ideological decision, that of determining its direction with regards to the working class. At this time there must be a realization on the part of many in our movement that students alone cannot and will not be able to bring about the downfall of capitalism, the system which is at the root of man's oppression. Many of us are going to have to go

movement, first we must come to see how youth are oppressed.

Oppression of Youth

Youth around the world have the potential to become a critical force. A youth movement raises the issues about a society in which it will be forced to live. It takes issues to the working class. They do this because, in America, there exists an enormous contradiction around the integration of youth into the system. The period of pre-employment has been greatly extended due to the affluence of this highly-industrialized society and the lack of jobs.

Institutions like the schools, the military, the courts and the police all act to oppress youth in specific ways, as does the work place. The propaganda and socialization processes focused at youth act to channel young people into desired areas of the labor market as well as to socialize them to accept without rebellion the miserable quality of life in America both on and off the job.

The ruling class recognizes the critical potential of young people. This

capitalist institutions via propaganda and sharp actions. Exemplary actions of the youth movement lead to higher consciousness and struggle among other people.

3) Because we can organize—as a student movement—around those contradictions which affect youth specifically, we can organize young working people into our class-conscious anti-capitalist movement. These young workers will (a) strengthen the anti-capitalist movement among the work-force, (b) provide an organic link between the student movement and the movement of working people, and (c) add to the effect that we will have as a critical force on older working people today.

4) The expansion of the base of the youth movement to include young working people changes the character of our movement importantly: because it fights the tendency of our student movement to define itself in terms of "student interest" rather than class interest.

Because we see a revolutionary youth movement as an important part of building a full revolutionary working

1. BUILD CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT.

a. SDS organizers should direct the focus of their energies to organizing on campuses of working-class colleges, community schools, trade schools and technical schools as well as high schools and junior colleges.

b. Attacks should also focus on the UNIVERSITY AS AN ARM OF THE CORPORATIONS that exploit and oppress workers. Corporations that exploit workers should be fought on campus. (Aside from producing napalm, Dow Chemical Co. has plants in 27 countries of the Third World and is among the largest international corporations.)

c. SDS should move towards the building of alliances with non-academic employees on the campus based on struggle against the common enemy, the university. SDS should view the university as a corporation that directly oppresses the working class.



through important changes, personally. As students, we have been indoctrinated with many racist and anti-working-class notions that in turn have produced racism and class-chauvinism in SDS and were responsible largely for the student-power focus which our movement has had for many years. Student power at this stage of our movement has to be seen as economism: that is, organizing people around a narrow definition of self-interest as opposed to class-interest. We are moving beyond this now, but that movement must be planned carefully and understood by all.

The fact that we saw ourselves as students as well as radicals, and accepted that classification of ourselves and many of the false privileges that went along with it (2-S deferment, promise of the "good life" upon graduation, etc.) was primarily responsible for the reactionary tendencies in SDS.

Main Task

The main task now is to begin moving beyond the limitations of struggle placed upon a student movement. We must realize our potential to reach out to new constituencies both on and off campus and build SDS into a youth movement that is revolutionary.

The notion that we must remain simply "an anti-imperialist student organization" is no longer viable. The nature of our struggle is such that it necessitates an organization that is made up of youth and not just students, and that these youth become class conscious. This means that our struggles must be integrated into the struggles of working people.

One thing should be clear. This perspective doesn't see youth as a class or say that youth will make the revolution by itself. Neither does it say that youth are necessarily more oppressed than older people, simply that they are oppressed in different ways. There are contradictions that touch youth specifically. To understand why there is a need for a youth

is why they developed so many organizational forms to contain them. Many young people have rejected the integration process that the schools are supposed to serve and have broken with and begun to struggle against the "establishment". This phenomenon has taken many forms, ranging from youth dropping out as a response to a dying capitalist culture, to young workers being forced out by industry that no longer has any room for the untrained, unskilled, and unorganized. Both the drop-out and the forced-out youth face the repressive nature of America's police, courts, and military, which act to physically and materially oppress them. The response from various strata of youth has been rebellion, from the buildings at Columbia to the movement in the streets of Chicago to Haight-Ashbury to the Watts uprising.

Revolutionary Youth

We must also understand what role a youth movement would have in the context of building a revolution. An organized class conscious youth movement would serve basically four functions in building revolutionary struggle:

1) An organized revolutionary youth movement is itself a powerful force for revolutionary struggle. In other words, our struggle is the class struggle, as is the Vietnamese and the black liberation struggle. To call youth or even the student movement a section of the bourgeoisie which must simply support any struggle fought by working people is economism. The struggle of youth is as much a part of the class struggle as a union strike. We ally with workers by waging struggle against a common enemy, not by subjugating our movement patronizingly to every trade union battle. We also ally with the liberation struggle of those fighting against imperialism, recognizing that this is the true expression of the working class at its most conscious level.

2) Youth is a critical force which—through struggle—can expose war, racism, the exploitation of labor and the oppression of youth. We do this by putting forth our class analysis of

class movement we must shape our own strategy self-consciously now with a view to that youth movement. This means that, in addition to expanding our base to include more young working people, we must insure the class consciousness of our movement now, and we must attack the class nature of the schools we are organizing against.

RACISM

Building a class-conscious youth movement means fighting racism. SDS must see this fight as a primary task. Racism is a central contradiction in American society, since racism is an inherent part of capitalism and a primary tool used to exploit all working people. In order to fight racism, we must recognize that there is a struggle being fought right now for black liberation in America with which we must ally. This fight for black liberation is at once an anti-colonial struggle against racism and the racist imperialist power structure, as well as being part of the class struggle because black workers are among the most oppressed. It is through racism and its development into colonial oppression that black people are maintained as the most oppressed sector of the working class. Racism (white supremacy) ties white people to the state by splitting them from the most aggressive class struggle.

We must also fight racism within our own movement and among youth in general and make our loyalty to the black liberation struggle more solid. While recognizing that "black capitalism" is not a solution to the problem of racism, we must be careful not to dismiss the anti-colonial nature of the black liberation struggle by simply calling it bourgeois nationalism.

IMPLEMENTATION

The implementation part of this proposal should not be seen as a national program of action but rather as some suggested actions as well as some necessary actions to be taken if such a youth movement is to be built.

d. SDS should move to "destudentize" other students by attacking the false privileges of the university—e.g. the 2-S deferment should be attacked on that basis.

e. Some of us should move into factories and shops as well as into working-class communities, to better understand the material oppression of industrial workers, as well as to eradicate prejudices against workers.

f. We should move into the liberation struggle now being fought inside the armed forces and take an active part. Up until now, we have paid only lip service to that struggle of mostly working-class youth.

g. Youth should be made to see their own struggle and the struggle of the Vietnamese against imperialism as the same struggle. The war must continue to be an important focus for SDS organizing.

h. We must join the fight against the class and racist nature of the public school system.

i. Drop-out and forced-out youth both should be encouraged to join our movement.

2. ATTACK ON INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

We must view the university as a racist and imperialist institution which acts to oppress the working class and is the brain center of repression against the liberation struggles at home and around the world. Programs should be developed which aggressively attack it as such and attempt to stop it from functioning in that manner. Targets should include:

a. Police institutes on the campus.

b. The real estate establishment. (The University of Chicago is among the largest slumlords in the city.)

c. Centers for counter-insurgency (both

(continued on Page 6)

Fight racism; Build a worker student alliance; Smash imperialism

(This is the text of the racism resolution passed by the NC. It was submitted by Elena Dillon, Bob Broadhead, Sue Hano, all of San Francisco State College SDS, and John Levin, SFSC SDS and PLP.)

The Material Basis of Racism

The material basis of racism is capitalism's driving need to maximize profits. It is estimated that an extra \$22 billion a year is made off the wage differential between black and white workers. (Black workers make an average of \$3,000 less per year than white workers.) Low wages for black workers and black unemployment are used to keep down wages for all workers; rent and food prices are higher in black and Third World ghettos.

Black workers are a major section of the industrial work force, e.g., in steel, auto, longshore, and railroad. The super-exploitation of that section of the working class serves to divide the working class, and to prevent them from uniting against the bosses. Therefore, because racism is based on class exploitation, it is in the material interest of the entire working class and the majority of students to defeat it.

The Superstructure of Racism

The ruling class also has created a whole series of racist myths and prejudices in order to justify and continue the super-exploitation of Third World people at home and abroad. These lies tell us that "there is something inherently inferior in Third World people that leads them to their being slaves." These lies are used to mask the necessity of capitalism to enslave the great majority of the people in the world.

Defeat Racism on A Class Basis

To primarily attack the superstructure of racism leads to a psychological and moralistic attitude. By not rallying people to attack the material super-exploitation and oppression which generates racism, this liberal political approach only serves to perpetuate racism.

To unite black and white people against the racist practices of the class enemy is the only way to defeat racism. This must be concretely applied to specific struggles, as in the recent series of wildcat strikes of black and white workers led by black caucuses (e.g., REA, steel) and as at Columbia and San Francisco State. The superstructure of racism is very

powerful and has a life of its own, and its manifestations must also be fought.

Fight Racism in The University

Over the last few years SDS has led struggles to expose the imperialist and class nature of the university and the need to build a worker-student alliance. We must at this point begin to consciously point out and struggle against one of the main aspects of bourgeois education, one of its most sacred tenets—the promotion of racism. For instance it is good business for Dudley Swim, an illustrious member of the California Board of Trustees of the State College System and Director of the Del Monte Corporation, to fight to keep education under the control of the ruling class—otherwise he and his cronies would be hard put to find Mexican laborers to work in their fields for \$1.25 an hour, or apologists and enforcers of that system.

In the last two years Third World students have begun to wage the sharpest struggles to occur so far in the student movement against the racist nature of higher education. In the South, four black students have already been murdered by the cops (Orangeburg, N.C., T.S.U.). The lack of reaction to this on Northern campuses displayed a good deal of racism in the student movement. This racism is beginning to be defeated. Columbia and S.F. State mark the entry of Northern campuses into this struggle. We should be clear that the force which the ruling class is willing to employ to crush these struggles illustrates that they have no intention of giving in on this question peacefully. Dudley Swim and his friends have too many billions that depend on the preservation of racism.

If we are serious about allying with Third World students as well as workers in fighting racism, we should have no illusions about the nature of this fight. It will lead us into even sharper struggles against the class enemy than we have previously experienced.

Racism in The Movement

If we are to take part in or lead any struggles against the racist nature of the university, we must first of all conduct a struggle around racist attitudes in the movement.

1) Racism and the building of the worker-student alliance. The vast majority of the non-white people in this country are part of the working class—the most exploited section of the working class. Non-white workers are in the vanguard of struggles

against the bosses and the sell-out union leadership. We should be clear that the contempt of many students for the working class in general is in particular an attack on Third World workers as well. To refuse or fight against building an alliance with the working class around anti-racist politics is nothing but capitulation to imperialism.

2) The attitude that "racism is amorphous—white students can't relate to it". This argument denies the super-exploitation and oppression of Third World people and Third World students in particular. It shows no understanding of the basic way in which racism is used by the ruling class. Those who objected to organizing white students around fighting racism are the same people who are so quick to attack the white working class for not supporting the struggles of black workers. Most students eventually become part of the working class as teachers and social workers whose primary job is to develop and perpetuate racist and anti-working-class ideology. Not struggling around the question of racism means perpetuating racism.

There was very sharp struggle around these questions during the first weeks of the strike at S.F. State. People who put forth the position that white students can't relate to racism (leaders of the Experimental College and the anti-working-class forces within SDS) argued that we should add "white" demands to the 15 Third World Liberation Front demands. These people did not see that the anti-racist struggles were in the class interest of students and workers. The "white" demands they came out with reflected the lack of class outlook. They were very narrow student-power-type demands, i.e., campus autonomy, free speech, student control of courses, etc., which didn't attack the class nature of the university.

"Students Are Niggers" Racist Idea

3) The non-class "cultural oppression" which leads to the racist formulation that "students are niggers too". How many white students have been shot down by the cops? How many white students face the problem of ghetto existence? Non-white people are super-exploited. They get the lowest wages, worst jobs, worst working and living conditions, and are part of the most oppressed class, the working class. Students also are oppressed (i.e., were fed racist, anti-working-class lies in the classroom, taught to be social workers who regulate poverty and oppression instead of helping people, etc.), but this oppression is not nearly as sharp as the oppression of non-white students and workers. Students also have some privileges (for instance, 2-S deferments).

There is an even more racist lie in the "student as nigger" formulation. Instead of seeing Third World people as the heart of the work force, and therefore in a position of tremendous strength, it sees them as powerless and alienated—like students. This is an insult to both black people and students. It is the same as the liberal-conservative lie, "they're all on welfare." It leads to advocating that students and black people "drop out" (impossible for working-class families) rather than struggle against their oppression.

4) Reverse chauvinism. Some people say that it is racist to criticize anything put forward by a black person, or at least by someone who claims to be a black militant. This patronizing attitude comes from not understanding that the class aspect of imperialist oppression is primary. It furthers nationalism, an ideology that the ruling class relies on to split the movement.

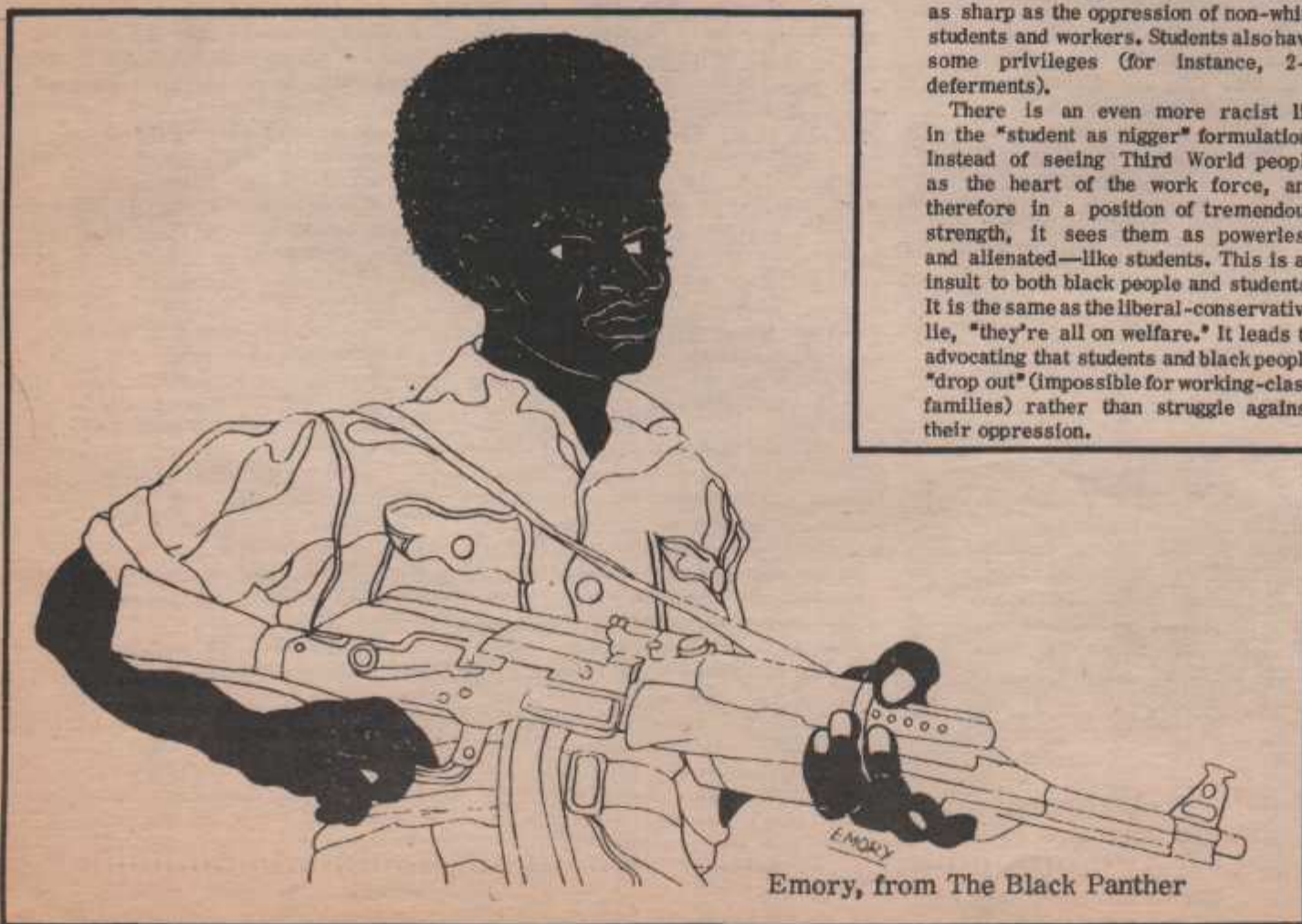
Revolutionary Violence

5) The role of revolutionary violence. One of the main tactics of the administration at State was to have their liberal front men express their undying support for demands of Third World students, but at the same time condemn their "violence". At State during one afternoon of clearing scabs out of classrooms a typewriter was thrown through a window. A picture of the broken window and typewriter resting in the bushes was reprinted in at least 20 West Coast newspapers as an example of the violence of "roving bands of non-white militants." This was part of an effort by the ruling class to deny the mass character of the revolutionary violence used by the students, and to equate it with "senseless" terrorist attacks by individuals. This attack on Third World students must be met head on by exposing the class nature of violence. The necessity of working people and particularly black people to use violence is a result of the violent and systematic oppression which the ruling class perpetuates every day. Revolutionary violence against the class enemy and its lackeys (college administrators) is the only way that class in the long run is going to be smashed. The role of white radicals is not to excuse or rationalize the sharpness with which the Third World students are willing to fight the administration but to build support for it, draw courage from it and participate in it.

After three years of struggle against the racist policies of the administration most students saw quite clearly that the perpetrator of violence was not Third World students or white radicals who supported them, but the administration and the racist policies which they insisted on perpetuating. Within the movement we must have a clear and serious attitude towards the increasing sharpness of the struggle against the state. The adage that there are some that talk and some that act proved itself very true at SF State. One SDS member who had castigated his brothers and sisters during the summer for not being willing to engage in isolated terrorist activity, started screaming in the middle of a rock assault on a building where scab classes were being held that students shouldn't break windows, and then added that we should save our rocks and throw them at the cops. However, when the cops came our military strategist was nowhere to be seen, leaving black and white students to fight the cops. We need no more diagrams by "new left" journalists about how to blow up armored cars. What we do need is a lifelong commitment in practice to fight the ruling class by whatever means necessary.

Anti-Communism

At State red-baiting attacks have been directed against Third World students and other radical groups, particularly SDS and PLP. The newspapers kept referring to TWLF as "a far left militant organization." At least two local liberal columnists ran articles announcing that Third World students were known to carry the red book around with them at all times. Reagan got on TV to denounce "outside agitators" (external cadre). Hayakawa offered to discuss the demands with Third World students if they would repudiate the support of SDS and other radical organizations. Third World students told Hayakawa to shove his offer up his ass. The red-baiting of the strike was used in the same way



Emory, from The Black Panther

Wilmington Delaware: Corporate racism and repression

Delaware is the home of the DuPont Corporation. Wilmington, Delaware is the home of the National Guard. Wilmington, Delaware has been occupied by National Guard troops since the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April. What is the relationship between the racist oppression in Wilmington Delaware and the capitalist power of the DuPont Corporation?

Delaware is accustomed to the use of concentrated power in its affairs. The largest employer in the county is DuPont Company (30,000) employees, mostly white collar. Other major employers: Hercules and Atlas (both DuPont spin-offs); Chrysler and GM. DuPont is the largest concentration of family fortune (7.5 billion) in the country; the company netted 313 million dollars last year. They have traditionally controlled the state Republican party, and have just come back into public power with their candidate for governor and former employee after four years. Wilmington's liberal sub-structure is almost entirely controlled by DuPont money (churches, social agencies, political parties, etc.). It reflects the DuPont corporate interests and moves only so far as DuPont allows. As a model of capitalist exploitation and corporate racism, DuPont may be unparalleled.

Occupation

On April 5, 1968, following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., 4,000 National Guardsmen were sent into the black ghetto of Wilmington on the order of Governor Charles Terry. Nine months later, the National Guard is still patrolling the streets of Wilmington. And they are on the alert in Dover, the state capital, and have been called to the campus of the College of Delaware. Since April, there have been approximately 137 political arrests in an attempt to destroy the political organization within the black community; more than 40 men and women are currently in jail unable to meet excessive bond. The primary target of the attack has been an organization called the Wilmington Youth Emergency Council (WEYAC), which in the past was the recipient of both private and public efforts at co-optation. Police have been assisted and prodded in their efforts by the McClellan Committee, which focused on WEYAC following its attack on the Blackstone Rangers of Chicago. Like the Rangers, WEYAC had its origin in black "gangs" and had received OEO funds.

The National Guard itself, however, is not the issue in Wilmington. The real question is the same as elsewhere—struggle against a racist, capitalist system of oppression.

Response to the Guard has been practically non-existent. NO legal challenge in the courts to the authority under which they remain has been made. Nor has legal defense or affirmative action to prevent the political attack on the black community been forthcoming. Media coverage has been sparse—except for a few stories in national publications none of which appeared before September after the Guard had been there for six months.

Repression Here Too

Perhaps more important, no discussion of the Wilmington situation and its significance has taken place in either the publications or organizations of the "underground" or the "left". Growing discussion of "repression" has generally been confined to "spectacular" white student events such as Chicago.

But the National Guard is on duty full time in Wilmington, Delaware. They must be removed, not only for their effect on the black community in Wilmington, but because of the dangerous precedent such corporate police-state actions represent for all revolutionary efforts—students' and workers', as well as blacks'.

An effort to stimulate and co-ordinate national action about Wilmington is being carried out by People Against Racism

(PAR) and the Communications Network, as well as groups in the black movement. Both organizations have sent staff members into Wilmington and are planning action against DuPont elsewhere.

A National Committee Against Repression in Wilmington is being formed. A national action is being considered for Dover, the state capital, on January 21, the day the new Governor is to be inaugurated. Additional information is available from the PAR national office, 212 McKerchey Building, 2631 Woodward, Detroit, Michigan. Phone: 313-962-7210.

RESOLVED

That the Students for a Democratic Society NC oppose the actions of the Government of the State of Delaware and the DuPont Company for its racist, repressive actions in Wilmington, Delaware;

That the National Guard be immediately withdrawn from Wilmington, Delaware and that local and state police harassment end;

That amnesty be granted to all black political prisoners, that is, all black prisoners, upon their immediate release;

That full reparations be made for damage done to the black community of Wilmington, Delaware;

That chapters take appropriate local actions against DuPont for their involvement in and control of the Wilmington situation; and

That Wilmington be made an issue of national importance, and that the SDS NIC consider protesting the use of police-state tactics by support of action in Delaware at the time of the inauguration of Governor-elect Peterson.

Submitted by Valerie Snook
People Against Racism

Black caucus statement fails

1. Many of those going to Washington, both in and out of SDS, will be totally unprepared for the confrontation. Most are ignorant of self-defense and how to react in a confrontation situation.

2. There has been no sizable preparation of the community as to why people are going to Washington.

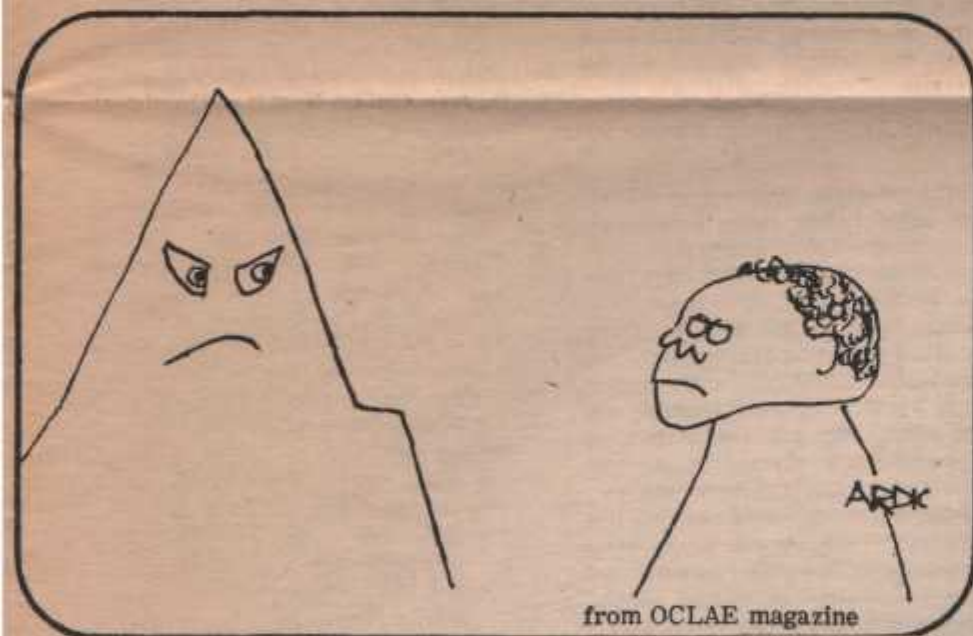
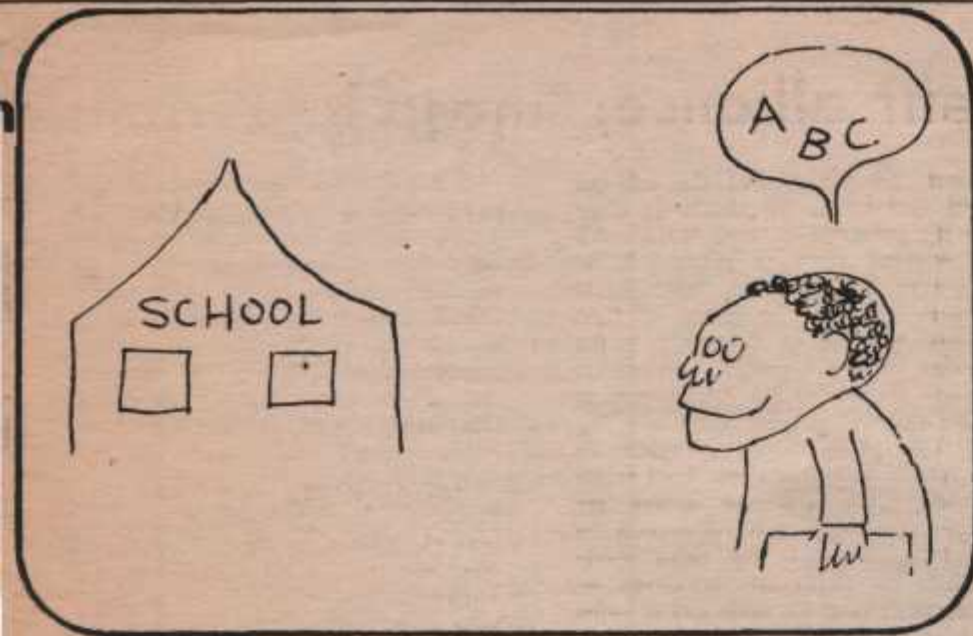
3. Any action that is going to affect the Black community should first be discussed with the Black community. (Washington is predominantly Black.) Black people have not been consulted and the repressions are going to be felt by the Black community.

4. By going to Washington, the Black revolutionary work being done there will be severely endangered. You will be going down and leaving—the Black community and the Black revolutionaries will still be there to bear the brunt of the reaction to this confrontation.

This is not mere speculation. In Newark in 1968, a disturbance in the Puerto Rican ghetto was the signal for police attacks upon the Black community.

5. If you go down, and do indeed cause such reprisals in the Black community, any dreams you have of a Black-White alliance, on any basis, will be deader than shit. Furthermore, when you get back to your school, Black people on and off campus are going to be ready to deal with you in any way we deem necessary.

Statement of the Blacks
attending the NC



from OCLAE magazine

as racism. It was directed at dividing the people so that they would be less able to fight the administration. The ruling class pushes the idea that the communists are using the "not unfounded grievances of the people" (Vietnamese or Third World people in the US) while "we" (the white ruling class) know what is really best for the people—the imperialist system. The ruling class fears communist participation in these struggles because communists put forward proletarian internationalism, which is the only answer to the imperialist's attempt to divide and rule on a nationalist basis.

Defeat Nationalism

Nationalism has replaced pacifism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the Black Liberation Movement. Nationalism is used to divert Third World people from struggle on a class basis and from making alliances with white workers and students. Because of the special super-exploitation of black people, their struggle is now national in form and working-class in content. Thus, at SF State there was a separate TWLF. Usually a nationalist feeling is the initial conscious impetus towards struggle among black people. But the material basis of this struggle is class oppression. Consciousness of this oppression must become the

predominant ideology for these struggles to win.

As support grew for the strike on campus among working people in the ghetto, one Third World political hack after another began to appear on campus. This included advocate of redevelopment in the ghetto supervisor Terry Francois, who one week after declaring his support of the demands of the Third World students, voted in favor of a special budget request by the police department to finance their SF State operation. The newspapers were quick to promote these forces as leaders of the struggle, reasoning that if there had to be a school of ethnic studies it would be better to have it under the control of "responsible" (pro - ruling - class) members of the Third World community. The Ford and Carnegie as well as other capitalist foundations are begging non-white students to take their money to finance special admissions and ethnic studies programs. The intent is clear—they are quite willing to give up a little bit of the racist form if they can be assured of continued promotion of the same old racist content.

Defeat Racism in order to Defeat Nationalism

Racism is the material basis of nationalism. The racism that Third
(continued on Page 6)

NIC Passes Cuba Week

Jan. 1, 1969—Ann Arbor, Mich. Present—Klonsky, Dohrn, Gordon, Spiegel, Marshall, Jones, Halle, James. Absent—Oglesby, Spector, Mann.

The NIC passed the Solidarity with Cuba Week resolution, which did not reach the NC floor because of lack of time. Discussion centered around education about Cuba, socialism, and communism, and how to combat anti-communism in the organization. Some discussed the difference between internal and external education, feeling that internal education should be more critical of Cuba. There was general agreement that education around a topic such as Cuba should be analytical as well as supportive of their revolution.

A telegram of solidarity with the Revolution was sent to the Central Committee of the Cuban Party.

The Military Package paper handed out at the NC was presented to the NIC by Tom Hurwitz, Columbia. The NIC mandated that the paper be printed in NLN. The authors asked for discussion, not action, by the NIC. It was agreed that if the program is to be implemented it would have to come from the chapter level up. Discussion of the paper focused on GIs, high schools, and national liberation struggles. An offensive against ROTC on campuses and all military recruiting could be a prime issue.

An evaluative discussion of the internal education portion of the NC raised the problem of trying to carry on education in workshops. It was felt that the workshops, as organized at this NC, had not been conducive to good interchange, and should be more efficiently run next time. Many folks felt that the panels had a tendency to be used for factional debate rather than for resource material.

It was agreed that in terms of internal education around proposals passed, the NO should seek position papers on the Youth Movement, Racism, and Women's Liberation resolutions.

NAC elections—Three chapters in the Chicago area (Circle Campus, U of Chicago, and George Williams) elect one representative each, plus Clark Kissinger; and Kit Bakke (print shop), Elaine Lipschutz (office manager), and Mary Wozniak, from the National Office, were approved by the NIC.

REAC elections—The purpose of the REAC was discussed. The NIC had previously decided that the REAC should be composed of persons involved in actual work that a pamphlet covers.

In order to provide a formal process for literature production, the following was proposed and unanimously passed: That a proposed pamphlet get circulated to people decided upon by the three national secretaries, and that five copies be sent to each NIC member for distribution. That a time limit of two weeks be set for responses to the pamphlet. The final edited copy of the literature should be sent to the NIC for approval/disapproval; if many NIC

members have objections to the pamphlet, it will be held until the next NIC meeting (which is every month) for decision as to printing.

In case of emergency, such as during the election campaign program, a pamphlet can be printed with the unanimous agreement of all three national secretaries.

Security regarding transcripts of meetings—written as well as taped—was discussed. People should be reminded that notes and tapes can easily be used by the man.

The Niagara Regional Office offered to help San Francisco State out by printing more of the SF State Strike pamphlets. The NO will help distribute them.

Possible sites for the next NC were discussed. The NO was mandated to look into the situation and report at the next NIC.

The next NIC will be Feb. 7-9, somewhere in the Midwest.

Washington D.C. folks brought up the inauguration. They feel responsible for maintaining movement centers, since some regions have already voted to attend the inauguration. Folks planning to go should write the Washington



regional office.

It was decided to place high-school organizing high on the agenda for the next NIC.

Socialist Hero awards were given to Mark Rudd for raising more than \$3,000 for the National Office in three months; and to Tim McCarthy for not losing his sense of humor when almost everyone else did.

racism

(continued from Page 5)

World people encounter from white workers and students makes nationalism that much more believable. White students and workers should never use opposing nationalism as an excuse for not primarily and fiercely fighting racism.

Specific Proposals

1) **Special Admissions.** Struggles around admissions of Third World students are breaking out on campuses around the country. This is a setback for the ruling class and a step forward for the student movement. These struggles unite Third World and white students. They unite the student movement with Third World workers. And they have raised the movement to a higher level of mass militancy. The ruling class wants to co-opt these struggles by claiming that admitting more Third World students will end racism. Further, when they are forced to admit more Third World students they will try to use this to train more people to help oppress the Third World section of the working class, the people who pay for the university to begin with. This strategy is already backfiring as Third World students lead some of the sharpest campus struggles throughout the country and often immediately move to link their struggles to the Third World working class.

SDS, as well as radicals among the Third World students, must play a major role in these struggles if they are not to be co-opted. We have to point out that more college admissions cannot be a strategy to end racism, but is a tactic to sharpen the attack on capitalism. We have to fight around the class content of our education. For example, courses should be taught on working-class history, the real story of U.S. Imperialism. These should include demands for courses on the history of the non-white section of the working class in particular—the super-exploitation of non-white workers in erecting the bloody edifice of U.S. Imperialism. We have to attack one of the major "sociological" functions of the university: to provide trained personnel for a variety of ghetto cooling-off projects, including schooling, policing, and (lack of) housing. We have to fight against racist institutions on campus such as ROTC.

2) **Urban Removal.** Many universities (Columbia, Chicago) are trying to expand their campuses into the surrounding ghettos. This means the eviction of Third World working-class families. Black, brown and white students should ally with the working-class communities to stop these evictions against their common enemy the administration.

3) **Support Strikes.** Part of the overall strategy for a worker-student alliance is to fight racism by supporting the on-the-job struggles of the Third World

youth

(continued from Page 3)

domestic and foreign) including research and planning centers and sociology and education schools which teach people racism so that they can help defeat the struggles of the blacks.

d. Racism in the classroom, especially in high schools where students are forced by law to sit and listen to racist and class prejudiced distortions of history.

e. A fight should be waged for the admission of black students and brown students to help wage the fight against racism on the campus. Blacks are carrying on the most militant fights both on and off the campus, and more black admissions means a more militant campus movement. We must also expose the racist and class nature of admissions systems and the high school track system and demand that the schools be opened up to the community so that they too can struggle to stop its oppression.

workers, including campus workers. This means interjecting anti-racist ideology into the struggles of all workers.

4) **Support of ghetto rebellions.** This means winning students to seeing the need to support the sharp struggles of black and other non-white workers, as opposed to the band-aid running and helpful tactical hints to the black masses put forward in new-left publications. We must build this support around seeing the right to use "whatever means necessary" to fight the daily violent oppression used by the ruling class against the people. It is good to build for substantial mass actions at City Hall, National Guard armories, etc., in the event of ghetto rebellions. Mass action, as opposed to individual terrorism, is important. We are trying to build support on a class basis among the people for these rebellions, pointing out that black and white workers and students will have to take part in armed struggle to defeat imperialism.

5) **High Schools.** The alliance with high-school students was an important element at SF State: The H.S. students supported the strike and raised their own demands. Anti-racism is vital in building the student movement.

6) **Take the initiative in education on racism.** It is the responsibility of white radicals, not black students, to fight racist attitudes among white students. One thing we used successfully during the strike was classroom education—going into classes and speaking on questions of racism in the university and other questions relating to the strike. We should also be clear that racism is a principled question, and that it will destroy the movement unless it is fought and defeated.

7) **The movement must involve working people or it will be isolated and doomed.** Campus struggles must be related and tied to working-class struggles. Active support should be given to local strikes; students should keep in close touch with rank-and-file union caucuses and individuals previously contacted; community support and involvement should be sought for SDS activities. Only when the student movement is united with the masses of working people in this country will we be on the way to crushing the imperialist system.

New Left Notes

New Left Notes is published weekly (except June and July, when publication is bi-weekly) by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874). Second-class postage is paid at Chicago. Subscriptions are \$1 per year for SDS members and \$10 per year for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of the writers. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of editor David Millstone. New Left Notes is affiliated with UPS and Liberation News Service.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Mike Klonsky, National Secretary; Fred Gordon, Internal Education Secretary; Bernardine Dohrn, Inter-Organizational Secretary

National Office: 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874)
 Chicago: 162 North Clinton, Chicago, Illinois 60606 (312-641-0138)
 Michigan: Post Office Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107 (no telephone)
 New England: 125 Green, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 (617-864-3126)
 New Jersey: Box 376-C, Newark, New Jersey 07101 (no telephone)
 New York City: 131 Prince, New York, New York 10003 (212-674-8310)
 Niagara: 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850 (607-273-0535)
 Philadelphia: 262 South 45th, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104 (215-382-8084)
 Southern California: Box 85396, Los Angeles, California 90072 (213-667-2345)
 Texas - Oklahoma: Box 1941, Dallas, Texas 75221 (214-824-1837)
 Washington, DC: 3 Thomas Circle NW, Washington DC 20005 (202-332-1387)



San Francisco
Express Times

15 Lafayette St., San Francisco 94103

BEST IN
THE WEST

Single Subscriptions \$6/yr; \$3/6 mo.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

For bulk orders, contact Jerry Bukzin, 543 Madison Ave. NYC 10022

Mexico: a fight for freedom reviewed

by Allen Young
LIBERATION News Service

"Mexico 1968: A Study of Domination and Repression," published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, NY 10025, 50 pp., \$1.00 plus 25¢ postage.

"Mexico '68: The Students Speak," published by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), P.O. Box 2303, New York, NY 10001, 30 pp., \$1.00.

Imperialism is like a mugging on a dark city street. First they grab you so you can't move—they find out what you have, and they take anything that's worthwhile. Then, if there's any danger you'll cry out or complain, they'll beat the shit out of you.

Columbia tourist agency

by Marty Kenner

The Columbia Three—Marty Kenner, Dyino and Joel Solkoff—who face felony charges for alleged verbal rioting as a result of last spring's Columbia uprising, have started a tourist agency. This agency will run tours of the repressive institutions in New York. As a starter this Monday, January 13, the agency will begin a guided tour of the New York Criminal Courts.

On January 13, our lawyers are arguing in Supreme Court to have our indictments thrown out because all youth—anyone under 35—were excluded from the Jury which indicted us. We plan to have four guides explain in detail how the courts act to oppress youth and the poor. Mark Rudd, Jerry Rubin, Black Panther lawyer Gerald Lefcourt, and Free Gussie will be among those acting as guides.

As a special bonus, the Peoples' Theatre will perform outside the court at noon. We also plan surprise actions in support of the Oakland 7, whose trial begins on January 13. Future tours will include: DA's Office, Legal Aid, high schools, military recruiting centers, and mental institutions.

The criminal nature of United States relationships with one of its many victims—Mexico—is amply documented in two pamphlets recently published in New York by North American radicals.

Both pamphlets put forth a central theme: that Mexico's well-fostered image of peace and progress is a facade. Behind, brutal repression enforces a growing gap between the very rich and the very poor.

The USLA pamphlet relies primarily on the writings of Mexican students and Mexican intellectuals to show the direction of the Mexican student movement. This movement took on new, militant tones last July, after government riot police, called granaderos, violently broke up a street skirmish between two rival high schools. Within a few weeks, students were occupying several secondary schools and universities. Repeated street battles between the granaderos and the students culminated in the Oct. 2 massacre at the Tlatelolco housing project, where hundreds were killed and wounded and thousands arrested.

While the student "strike" has dissipated, and many of the jailed students were released during the Christmas season in an obvious cool-it measure, the movement represents an important first step in the growth of political consciousness in Mexico. It means that Mexican officialdom, which defines itself as the heir of the 1910 Revolution, can no longer make this absurd claim with impunity. New forces will emerge to insist on the realization of the goals of that heroic struggle.

The USLA pamphlet, however, which is primarily written by Mexicans, indicates one of the key faults of the anti-imperialist movements in Latin America—their inability to define the workings of imperialism in real and specific terms.

The NACLA pamphlet is successful not only in describing the repression, but also in linking it directly to the "domination" policies of the U.S. government and U.S. business.

A series of articles shows the nexus: the Mexican emphasis on industrial development and private enterprise and the U.S. domination of both industry and commerce.

Analysis of the Mexican economy in the pamphlet concentrates on how U.S.

influence has directed the economy away from the needs of the nation's population at large and toward the profit needs of local big businessmen and U.S. corporations.

"The influx of foreign investment and 'loans' only accelerates the dash toward bankruptcy and increasingly deprives the Mexican economy and society of national control. Increasing exports places Mexico in the forefront of U.S. expansion. Four hundred thousand new jobs are created every year in Mexico, but the capital for creating employment is flowing upward and outward, leaving the worker in misery. The need for a revolution that seizes the wealth and pushes the surplus downward is not just a rhetorical phrase; it is a practical imperative, for national survival."

Charts and data on U.S. corporations show imperialism in action. While the Mexicans make much of the "restrictions" placed on foreign capital through so-called Mexicanization, the case of E.I. du Pont de Nemours' Mexican operation shows how an American company, with only 49% control, obtained Mexican "partners" to hold the other 51% and ended up with increased secure profitable interests.

The NACLA pamphlet contains lists of U.S. corporations active in Mexico, information on wealthy Mexicans, and data on individual Americans who have played a role in the domination of Mexico. In their introduction to the pamphlet, the NACLA staff point to their work as "a stimulus and guide for direct action."

These booklets are not dull tracts

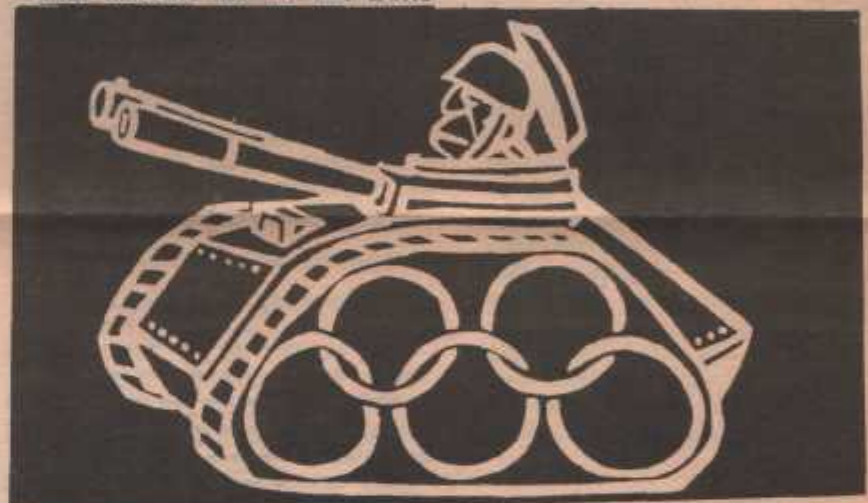
by any means. Both the USLA and the NACLA pamphlets contain photographs, documents, posters, drawings, cartoons, and other illustrative material.

Despite the wealth of information, however, there are only fleeting references to the overall strategic problems of the Mexican movement. While the students did make attempts to broaden their struggle to include workers and peasants, these attempts were largely unsuccessful.

The difficulties they encountered may contain lessons valuable to U.S. organizers. Revolutionaries in advanced capitalist countries are debating the role of students in the struggle against monopoly capitalism. What about the role of students in underdeveloped countries? How does the (premature?) development of a militant student movement relate to the various theories of guerrilla warfare for Latin America as reflected in the works of Fidel, Che, and Debray?

In any case, these pamphlets are documents of the beginnings of struggle, documents dedicated to free men. As Victor Rizo Galan, well-known Mexican author, wrote from his jail cell to his "student comrades":

"We political prisoners face our fate with dignity and with pride, because it is the fate of the immense majority of the Mexican people. We don't feel sorry for ourselves and we ask for nothing. There are men who lack liberty within these walls, and there are men who lack liberty outside of them, because the only free men are those who fight—the combatants."



Newsreel: "Seize movie power!"

Movies are an extremely effective tool for organizers. As time goes on, largely due to the efforts of Newsreel, more and more good radical films are becoming available.

Dig it: films shouldn't be used as part of a movie-orgy-mind-fuck-night-of-revolutionary-images-and-sounds. Wow, outta sight. Did you dig that flick: Dynamite. No, man. Wrong. Movies must be carefully chosen. Just like the words, the direction of any given rap. The films will provide the context, the touchstones from which you can leap (sharply) into the struggle. Films like Newsreel can

suggest actions ("Columbia" "Mill-in" "Haight") hip kids, two new styles (Mother Fuckers, Panthers) analyz. ("Berkeley/139X", "The Battle of Chicago"), agitate ("Pig", "Now", "Police Weapons", "Golpeandonen Selva") and just offer information more immediate than a speaker on liberation struggles around the world (Vietnam, Cuba, Colombia, Bolivia, Portuguese Guinea etc.). But the films shouldn't stand alone. They need organizers alongside them. Newsreels aren't over when the lights come on. They are just starting.

So if some thought is given to which films you are going to show and what points can be drawn from them and related to local situations, some really productive discussion can ensue.

Use of Films

What is most difficult is simply being familiar with what films exist and how they can be used in combination. You might not especially dig a given film but if you show two or three together you can make some good points. For instance: "April 27" shows cops beating people who are trying to have a peaceful demonstration; "Haight" shows kids fighting cops in order to stake out a claim to some turf; the Panther film shows blacks who have armed themselves to defend their racial, territorial, and human integrity. Show all three films and you can have a great rap about the

nature of "freedom" under capitalism, the nature of the state, the ways to respond to various forms of oppression, the need for organized opposition, the necessity to be armed etc. When possible we like to have Newsreel people talk with our films—not about film-making, but about politics.

Another thing is using the films more than once. Split up your people so that while some are discussing the films at your school, some others are taking the films to a nearby high school or someplace where you can get at a different constituency. Avoid letting liberal professors show the films to their classes. It reinforces the authority of the teacher, the liberal claim to be a melting pot of ideas, and these assholes always castrate the films in the controlled discussions which follow.

What can happen in classes, however, is to come in with a projector and films and seize class time for some relevant education. The same thing can happen in any room, any where, in any school.

Godard once said that if he were younger he'd be using a gun instead of a camera. But Jean-Luc's bourgeois cop-outs aside, consider the importance of education-agitation-propaganda in building a revolutionary movement. Then consider the power of movies. Then use them. Not only in auditoriums and classrooms, but on the walls of hangouts, in fraternity

basements, in liberated buildings, in outside mobs, everywhere.

Movies ain't gonna make the Revolution—but in the Electric McLuhan Videoland where the images of reality (Oswald, DaNang, Chicago, The Moon) fuck over our heads so much that even the real thing starts to seem like a movie—agit-prop films are an important part of the struggle.

Money as Always

A word about finance. Film is undoubtedly the most expensive medium, and in spite of all the begging, hustling, stealing and what have you that Newsreel engages in, our costs are still incredible—especially for buying additional prints of films which are being used a lot. So a certain amount of investigation of the campus financial structure can frequently discover a way to top some organizational budget so that you can pay us rent for the films. That way you can raise money at the showing and use it for your chapter.

A final word on finances—don't sweat it. Newsreel expects to remain broke forever. We are a serious part of the movement—our function is to provide films and use them effectively. If you can use them—contact us. We'll worry about money later. Contact the center closest to you.

New York: 127 E. 15th St. (212-673-8225)
Chicago: 162 N. Clinton (312-641-0932)
San Fran: 450 Alabama (415-431-2404)



Advance of women's struggle

(This is the text of the women's liberation resolution passed by the NC.)

Women form the oldest and largest continually-oppressed group in the family of humankind, their subjugation dating from the downfall of primitive communal society and the rise of private property.

The inability of the "most advanced, technologically developed" etc. capitalist society to provide equality to half its citizens not only exposes the thorough hypocrisy of all that society's words about "justice" and "equality". It also shows that the struggle for equality of women is a revolutionary task—that is, one which cannot be completed under the present system of private property and the exploitation of the majority of people by a social class which is defined by its ownership of the means of producing wealth.

Male supremacy in the movement mirrors male supremacy in capitalist society. The fact that male supremacy persists in the movement today raises the issue that, although no people's liberation can happen without a socialist revolution in this country, a socialist revolution could take place which maintains the secondary position of women in society. Therefore the liberation of women must become a conscious part of our struggle for people's liberation.

Women are not oppressed as a class, but they are oppressed as women within each class. We emphasize that oppression of women through male supremacy, like racism which oppresses black people, is not merely a quantitative increase in the class exploitation which women experience, but also a qualitatively different kind of oppression which they experience as women in addition to the exploitation of all working people.

(The process by which men are used as tools of the ruling class in the oppression of women is more accurately described by the term male supremacy than the term male chauvinism. Male chauvinism depicts only the mental attitude of male superiority whereas the term male supremacy conveys that men occupy dominant positions over women in society and perpetuate that dominance, as well as incorporating the first idea.)

Material Basis

Before discussing the material basis of the oppression of women, we must emphasize here that not only is the oppression of women most severe in the working class, but that black working class women are the most oppressed group in the society. Black women are a uniquely oppressed group because as blacks, as workers, and as women they experience the most compounded forms of oppression capitalism/imperialism has devised.

The material basis of woman's oppression can be listed under three

main headings:

1) Women are a reserve army of labor to bring down wages; for instance a) they have been used in the past to take the place of male workers needed by the military in wartime, and b) at times women are used against collectively organized groups of workers since their condition forces them to work for lower pay.

2) Women fulfill the function of saving enormous costs for the bourgeoisie in that they perform free services (housekeeping) providing the necessities of life for the working class man at the lowest possible costs.

3) Another objective function of the oppression of women in capitalist society is to help obscure the class nature of that society. The nature of women's material condition places them in a relationship which acts as a lightning rod for man's justified frustration, anger, and shame at their inability to control their natural and social environment. This means for example that the potentially revolutionary violence of exploited and oppressed people against the original forces of their exploitation and oppression are transformed and diverted into oppressive violence toward those who have even less power than they do (e.g., women).

Again the analogy with racism is relevant: White workers carry out the racist oppression of black workers in the shops. While racism may serve to perpetuate the relative privilege of white workers, this is in no way to say that white workers ultimately profit by dominating black workers, or that men ultimately profit by dominating women, but rather to say that women (or black workers) suffer their immediate oppression at the hands of men (or white workers) who maintain a dominant position for themselves, and as supremacists, try to perpetuate that position of dominance.

Superstructure in General-- Ideology in Particular

The aspects of the oppression of women in a capitalist society are of a dialectical nature as are those of the oppressed classes in general, and the exploited class in particular.

This means that in the process of this exploitation and oppression, women themselves have come to act by necessity according to the function a class society has given them, hence believe in that function, and, in turn, through the total internalization of the necessity and value of that function, women themselves actively contributed to the perpetuation of their material exploitation. Thus they have helped to maintain that entire ideologizing which has "justified" these conditions.

It is incorrect to see this aspect of maintaining these conditions as "their fault" as it is incorrect to see it as the men's fault when they accept their

own lack of control in all institutions they work in and thereby support and further the interests of the ruling class. This perversion of consciousness has to be viewed as a direct result of and integral aspect of the totality of people's victimization.

If we realize that the process of ideologizing, by altering and perverting consciousness itself, becomes a material force of its own—which not only helps to maintain class relationships and particular oppressions, but in turn alters and contributes in shaping other forms of exploitation and oppression—then we clearly have to evolve a strategy which takes into full account the consequences and implications of both: the material basis of our lives as well as the internalization of these conditions by ideologizing the totality of our social experiences.

For clarification, we return to the much loved and by now endearingly familiar terminology of this convention. Of course the basic - fundamental - primary contradiction is that between the working class and the bourgeoisie. At the same time the sharpest or most immediate contradictions may be what the convention likes to call "secondary". But whatever historical legitimacy that phrase may convey, it obscures the fact that a so-called secondary contradiction may in fact be the sharpest contradiction at a given time because people experience them most acutely in their lives. We emphasize that the sharpest contradiction can form the basis for the most immediate struggle against oppression which in turn leads to greater, more effective participation in the total struggle. Hence we do not believe that the struggle for women's liberation is a concretization of the struggle for the liberation of all people from oppression. It doesn't stand apart from the fight against capitalism in our society, but rather is an integral part of that fight.

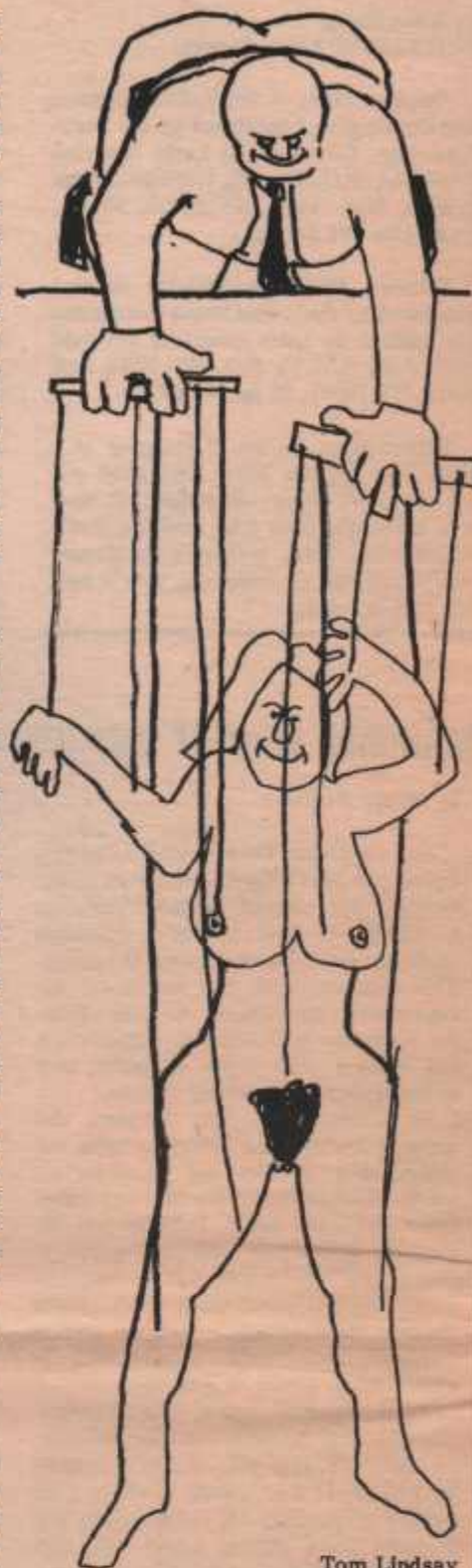
Proposal

In order for women to become full political people in SDS and in order for the oppression of women to be taken on as a struggle by SDS, male supremacy must be eliminated within the organization itself. SDS people must battle two beliefs. First, women in SDS must battle the belief that struggling for their own liberation is not important. Second, SDS must battle the belief that the fight for equality of women is solely the business of women, and that only women have the right and responsibility to oppose male domination.

Whatever forms within SDS are decided upon to organize this campaign, they should be such that the chapter as a whole has charge and responsibility, with women taking the main responsibility to organize women for their liberation, and men taking the main responsibility to attack male supremacy and to win the support of other men.

We propose that SDS take up the fight for women's rights on campus by raising several specific demands which will expose the way women are specially oppressed within the university set-up and rally students to fight against that oppression.

1) We should launch a campaign to bring the wages of women employees of the university up to the level of men. This must definitely not be subordinated in a general struggle to raise wages of all employees, nor should it be postponed on the ground that it would divert attention from the just demands of all employees, male and female. The central question is oppression—the general oppression of all employees and the special harsh oppression of women employees. In some cases, tackling the especially low level of women's wages may prove to be the key to solidifying all the employees and winning improvements for all. In general it would be better to raise the two questions side by side with equal emphasis; but in no case should SDS



Tom Lindsay
(HIPS/LNS)

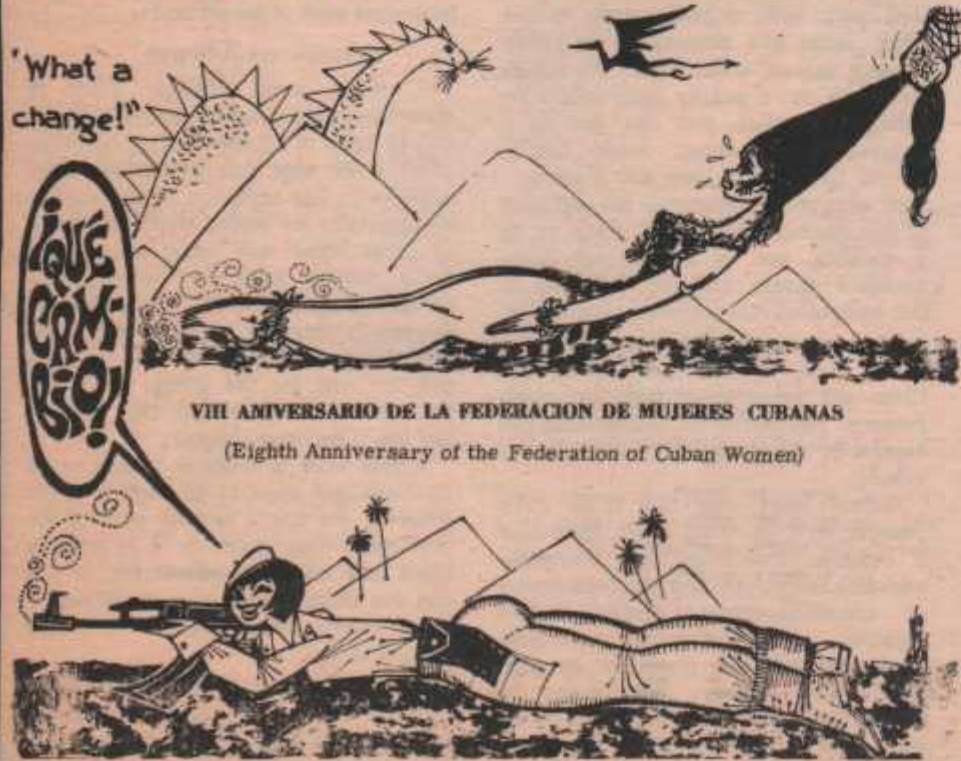
challenge the low wages and bad conditions generally without especially challenging the especially low wages and bad conditions for women.

2) It is necessary to begin the struggle for women's equality in educational institutions where working-class women are trained and socialized. Within the context of work in the high schools, state schools, teachers' colleges, junior colleges, and trade schools, emphasis should be placed on beauty schools, secretarial, nursing, and other job training schools for women.

3) We should relate the struggle for women's rights in the schools to the struggle of women generally, and especially working-class women, against the institutions that repress them, for example juvenile court, girls' homes, women's detention centers and prisons, family court, welfare, labor battles such as Levi Strauss, and others.

4) Launch fights around curriculum and organize in classrooms to expose how the schools reinforce the male supremacist definition of "woman's role". Challenge the counseling practice of steering women into auxiliary occupations. Demand the teaching of the history of woman's struggles for liberation. This should be carried out in the context of on-going programs which challenge course content and direction.

The campaign for specific demands should be accompanied by research, internal education, and propaganda by SDS explaining why women are still subjugated by men, why they cannot achieve equality under the present system, and why all men and women should fight for women's liberation.



VIII ANIVERSARIO DE LA FEDERACION DE MUJERES CUBANAS

(Eighth Anniversary of the Federation of Cuban Women)