

# sds new left notes



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Vol. 4, no. 18

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE May 13, 1969



Dave Slavin, Tim McCarthy, and Mike Klonsky getting out of jail.

# Urgent RAIDS Urgent

Pigface Mitchell and the Justice Department gang are planning to begin a nationwide series of raids and arrests of as many as 500 people at over 50 cities and campuses within the next 10 days. The Man is moving to spread terror and to isolate the movement from the people, using the lie that "disorders" are the work of a handful of militants rather than the consequences of decaying Imperialism and the inability of the state to meet the just needs of the people.

SDS has been informed by sources within the administration that Attorney General Mitchell has the backing of Congress to institute a series of arrests directed at local leadership on phony charges ranging from sedition to narcotics. The average sentences they are shooting for will range around two years, with the minimum goal of six months—the immediate objective being the removal of these activists from schools and cities through the summer and especially through the fall. These arrests will be carried out by local law enforcement agencies; the charges will be city and state charges in the main, but the orchestration comes from Washington. The Mitchell raids must be seen as

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The National Office of SDS was raided early Monday morning, May 12, by Chicago pigs and firemen who broke through the front door and brutally attacked staff people and SDS members. Five brothers were dragged off to jail as they tried to protect the National Office from destruction.

Arrested were Michael Klonsky, National Secretary; Tim McCarthy, NO staff; Ed Jennings, UICC Chapter; Les Coleman; and Dave Slavin, New York regional staff. They were charged with absurd charges, ranging from "battery on an officer" to "interfering with a fireman" and "inciting mob action." Bail was set at \$12,000.

The raid is seen as part of a nationwide sweep against the movement being engineered by Attorney General Mitchell and his Justice Department hoodlums. Within the next two weeks similar attacks on the people are planned.

Despite the brutality and arrests on the NO 5, the office security was maintained by the handful of people remaining in the NO and the pigs were robbed of their chance to destroy the office.

Members of SDS, the Young Lords and young people from all areas of Chicago filled the courtroom as bail was set. A rally was held outside with singing ("NO MORE PIGS IN OUR COMMUNITY—OFF THE PIGS") and speeches demanding the release of all political prisoners, especially the Panther 21, and condemning the brutal murder of Manuel Ramos of the YLO.

A rally was planned for Tuesday in response to the brutal murder and the attack upon the movement. Security on the NO has been tightened up and lawyers are filing an injunction against the police and firemen breaking into the office.

The use of firemen in the attack was a surprise, although firemen have long been used as strikebreakers and enemies of the black liberation struggle.

The press picked up the story of the attack and tried to turn it into its opposite, accusing SDS of calling the pigs themselves for the publicity. It is clear that until the power to control the institutions in this society is in the hands of the people, the people will never have justice or freedom.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

DEATH TO THE PIG!

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# Dare to Struggle... Dare to Win.

by David Simpson, Georgia SSOC, SDS  
Jim Skillman, Georgia State SDS  
Lyn Wells, SSOC Program Sec, SDS

The article "Movement South" (Bird, Volume II, Number 7) was more destructive to the movement than many of the attempts at repression by the forces that the movement opposes.

It distorts the truth at a time when it is of central importance that the facts of the situation be presented honestly to movement people.

It plays upon the establishment-induced fear of "outsiders" and substitutes the demography of anti-communism for substantive criticism.

It raises false issues and resorts to clever little asides at a time when the movement in the South is most in need of a clear statement of the questions which must be resolved if those of us who are in the South are to play a constructive role in building a revolution in this country.

It would take too much space to correct all of the factual errors, to reply to every false issue and unprincipled attack made in "Movement South." Instead we will try to set down our opinions on questions of crucial importance to the immediate future of the movement in the South.

## International Struggle

We have come to recognize that our struggle is not a local one confined to a certain state, region, or country. Just as the existence of a free university is impossible without a free society, so the people of the South will not be free until people everywhere are free. Certainly the specific circumstances of local situations must be taken into account, but we realize that, ultimately, a local struggle is but a part of the struggle of working people all over the world.

It is not hard for those of us who live in the South to understand the super-exploitation of the working people and resources of our region. But the development of a long-term strategy for organizing in the South is as important to working people all over the country as it is for us. It is precisely the unorganized condition of Southern workers that enables companies to depress the wages of working people nationally and for factories to flee the North for our cheap labor.

If we consider ourselves revolutionaries, seeking to build a new society, then our first loyalty must be to whatever serves the people; to whatever helps to build the revolution; not to structures or organizations, whether it be SSOC or SDS. Such a perspective encourages us to share experiences and enables us to learn from others. Our brothers and sisters are those people who are struggling against the oppression and exploitation of capitalism, whether they be in Camp Hill, Alabama, Vietnam, or San Francisco State.

We live in the midst of the most advanced imperialist nation in the world. All around us, people of oppressed nations are struggling not only for their independence but for the creation of societies in which people's labor and resources are not stolen for the profit of a few. This is a great threat to America's ruling class, and it understands the implications of this struggle, at home and abroad. One of its primary ideological weapons against support for those struggles here is ANTI-COMMUNISM.

Anti-communism takes many forms and has many symptoms. Many of them are very subtle and work within our own movement at home.

From the time people began struggling against oppression in this country, those in power have used a fear of "outside agitators" or "conspirators" to scare people from our movement. Giving little credit to the people (who know their own problems well) those in power tell us that it requires someone from the "outside" to "stir up trouble." Many times this propaganda is swallowed, temporarily drawing people away from the real issues.

All major movements advocating radical change have experienced these tactics. From the bolshevik-baiting of the Georgia Populist leader, Tom Watson; to the "outside agitator" charges constantly faced by union organizers; to the red-baiting "outside control" accusations directed by Ralph McGill against the native Southern Conference on Human Welfare; to the defeat in the fifties of a working class-based movement for socialism in this country by McCarthyism—by its trials, jailings of movement leaders under the Smith Act, and finally the execution of two innocent people, framed on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage."

But it was not the power structure alone that helped defeat these movements with anti-communist slurs. Much of the red-baiting was done from within our own ranks by "friends of the movement."

Today, we hear a lot about the PL (Progressive Labor Party). It has become easy in our movement to attach PL's name to a criticism or political position in order to dismiss its validity. In the place of principled argument (argument on political merits), come

First, it has led to isolation from the national movement (the actual fraternal ties of SSOC to SDS were never functional), causing our politics to develop in a vacuum.

Rather than exchanging ideas and criticisms with radicals all over the country, we have allowed our politics to develop primarily as a reaction against the liberal argument that Southern white people were responsible for America's problems, especially racism.

In some instances the existence of SSOC has encouraged the mistaken notion that the basic problems we face in the South are not shared by the rest of the nation, that we need a more moderate approach to reach Southerners, or that those problems could be solved in the South, with little regard to what happens in the rest of the country.

In local situations, activist students have been faced with a choice between forming an SDS or a SSOC chapter. SSOC is frequently chosen because SDS is "too radical" and "turns people off." By joining SSOC it is simple to avoid political discussion and debate. By

Southerners are not very likely to view the Civil War as one they "lost."

And this leads to more than rhetorical mistakes. SSOC has for many years used the confederate flag as part of its organizational symbol. The fact that black and white clasped hands are superimposed over that flag does not negate the fact that the confederate flag remains the symbol of 400 years of murder and oppression for many black people.

A clearer example of what the "Southern Consciousness" perspective has led to was the recent Radical Southern History conference. Although this was our first attempt to reveal the true history of struggle in the South, there were no speakers who talked specifically about the contributions of black Southerners to the struggle for change or about the particular experience of blacks as a colonized people.

Although presently there is a tactical division of labor in the movement (whites must organize whites; blacks among blacks) it will be impossible to carry out our long-term strategy of eventual unity among working people if we do not attack white supremacy and see the struggle of black people as in the interests of all working people (not just as a "black thing").

## False Unity

SSOC's political growth has been stifled by the lack of internal political debate. Our fragile unity has been based upon the willful avoidance of hard political realities, which has resulted in a directionless Southern movement.

Political development has been discouraged by labeling active debate over political questions as "factionalism" and the taking of political positions as "sectarianism."

Theory should develop out of practice and analysis and vice-versa. We already have a wealth of practice out of which we can begin to reach some definite conclusions about this society and what will be necessary to change it. Testing the theories we develop from our own experience and the historical experience of others will produce many tentative theories which can be tested in turn by practical experience.

By falsely separating theory and practice in the past, we have made decisions about action on the basis of expediency, rather than on a long-range plan of direction.

A good example of this expediency is SSOC's work around the draft. SSOC didn't make a clear statement about the war or the draft, or even discuss how these issues fit into our long-range organizational strategy, for fear of "turning off" new people. A real political debate on the question might have resulted in SSOC organizing against the draft on the basis that it channeled black and other working class youth to fight on the front lines in Vietnam. Instead, lacking theoretical foundations, SSOC established draft counseling centers which benefitted white middle-class students who already

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descriptions made to discredit through fear (such as the use of tags like "centralist," "socialist," "dogmatic"). If we do disagree with PL (and the authors do disagree with them on many questions) or any group on the Left, we must present those criticisms by principled rebuttal; otherwise we leave our movement open to being split by fear of "who said it."

Unfortunately, the SDS resolution on the South has frequently been met in SSOC by reactions of fear and suspicion, instead of criticism and political discussion. Time after time, the resolution has been portrayed as a plot by PL or the National Office in Chicago to dictate policy to southerners. It must be pointed out that the resolution was presented by Southern SDS chapters in Tuscaloosa, Alabama; Tallahassee, Florida; and New Orleans, Louisiana, and was passed almost unanimously on the floor of the National Council meeting.

When a Bird article begins with "the SDS steam-roller rumbled down," it ignores the realities of the local movement in Georgia. There are four SDS chapters in Georgia, including one of the most solid movement groups in the entire South (Georgia State SDS). Yet it's implied that somehow it will be necessary for people to come down, from Chicago to build SDS in the South, that there aren't people here who are in political agreement with SDS.

It is possible to avert the growth of this sort of internal fear by real education about socialism among the people and in the movement. But we must also lead the struggle to deal with questions on their merit. We should welcome any developments (of caucuses or any other forms) which lead to the presentation of clear political ideas or criticisms for debate, resolution and practice.

While SSOC has generally been a progressive force in the building of a movement among young white people in the sixties, its existence has encouraged a number of tendencies which are fundamentally detrimental to building the movement in the South.

joining SDS, a chapter is more likely to discuss positions SDS has already taken on black liberation, imperialism, the youth movement, or women's liberation. Building a group on unclear foundations inhibits future radical political development.

One of the primary justifications for SSOC's existence has been "Southern Consciousness," the argument that a separate organization is needed to reach Southern white students and working people (see Steve Wise's article, Bird, "Southern Consciousness," March 17).

At best this idea has led to a vacillation about one of our central tasks—combatting white supremacy and laying the basis for eventual black-white unity; in many cases it has resulted in programs and politics which are objectively racist in practice.

All too often we speak of Southerners and Southern culture when we mean white Southerners and white Southern culture. We have said, for instance, that the South has a different historic experience because we "lost a war" and went through the experience of being a conquered region. Black

## New Left Notes

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DO YOU REMEMBER

# graduation day

by Bernardine Dohrn and John Jacobs

The most sanctimonious rituals of education are graduations. During these ceremonies, young people are promised glories and "rewarded" for good performance at work study get ahead kill. Graduations are the confirmation of student elitism and privilege. They are also the occasion where the chief pigs of this country pronounce "major policy" positions. We declare that the enemies of the people have no sanctuary on campuses and schools in America, and we propose that our present struggles continue into and against graduation exercises all across the country.

The political focus of these actions should deal with the important national issues which we must put before people, without being over-extended and complicated. In most cases, demands which have arisen out of local struggles will have primary emphasis. However, it is very important that not only "local" demands are raised, or demands that only pertain to the connections of practice of the universities.

In particular, the brutal repression of the struggles of black people for self-determination should be raised. Because of their position in the front lines of class struggle, black people are the first to be attacked, jailed and silenced. We cannot permit the Man to divert attention and energy from the real issues to a fear and terror of the "enemy within"—black people, revolutionary youth, and exploited working people. Our response to attempts to crush the movement must be more and more visible challenges which recruit people to fight for liberation and to reject privileges by joining the struggle.

Thus, we suggest that the following two demands be taken up on a national scale, as demands made against the government, and the ruling class as a whole, and the university rulers as representatives of their class.

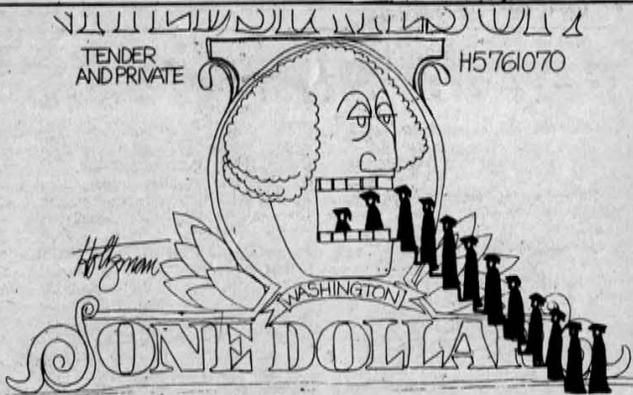
1. All invasion and occupation troops (including pigs) must be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally from Vietnam, from black communities in the U.S., and from the schools. We demand an end to all forms of the military in the schools (research, ROTC, recruiting) as the first step in destroying all forms of imperialism.

2. Free Huey P. Newton; free the Panther 21; free all political prisoners. The line put forth around these demands should emphasize that political repression is not above, but only a small aspect of, the repression of the people as a whole; not only through the repressive military and police in Vietnam or the cities, but every day through all of the class relationships which make up this society. It should deal with the repression against the Black Panther Party not as "political suppression" or as a question of a particular organization alone, but as a move against the mass struggle for self-determination of black people in America. Further, we must explain clearly the anti-war struggles on campuses as moves not directed against the schools in particular but rather against the imperialist war in Vietnam and the imperialist class which is waging it.

We should not expect that we can pull off a totally concerted and co-ordinated "national action" around graduations. In the high schools, where it would be most significant, we do not have the organization and it would be difficult to execute even if we did. In many schools graduations are not held or attended; and in the big schools where they are held, we should recognize that it will still be one of the more difficult kind of things we could try, because of the depth of "student consciousness" remaining within our movement. Politically, however, the difficulty of attacking "studentism" rather than just one aspect of the university is a major advantage of this program, since our movement suffers so much from the divided loyalty of its participants: by attacking graduation exercises, we place squarely before

people the question of loyalty to the school, the ruling class, and their own narrow interest, or to the people of the world.

This spring has shown another leap in the extent and militancy of actions and consciousness in high schools, communities and colleges. We must set the conditions for thousands more kids to leave the schools this spring with a clear sense of the issues and the movement—which will carry into our summer work and next year—by closing out the year with an attack on graduation exercises that reasserts the seriousness and scale of those issues and the movement.



# NIC NOTES

Special to New Left Notes

The NIC meeting here in Chicago last weekend discussed a wide range of general theoretical issues, dealt with some immediate organizational decisions and discussed the nature of and general response to the assaults being launched on the movement (see article on the Mitchell raids of urgent importance for everyone in the movement elsewhere in this issue of NLN).

## SUPPORT CHICAGO 8

In addition to the major discussion of the Mitchell raids and the possibility of Smith Act indictments, etc., the NIC reaffirmed support of the Chicago 8 facing federal anti-riot conspiracy charges here. The SDS principle of active support for all those in the movement attacked by the state was reasserted. The issues we raise as the basis for our support of the 8—who represent a wide diversity of political positions—are first, support of the struggle for black and brown self-determination; second, the fight against imperialism and especially the war in Vietnam; and third, exposure of the class nature of justice in this country.

The NIC also discussed the widespread use of injunctions on the campus now. Many students are reacting to injunctions as an overwhelming weapon because they mean immediate convictions for contempt of court and immediate sentencing and serving of time. (At Dartmouth last week, 40 people were sentenced to 30 days and \$100 each within two days after an action, and all are now in jail with appeals denied.) However, if we know about the use of injunctions historically against working people's struggles in the shops and understand that mass action and support are the key weapon against injunctions, we can better fight them and can link the movement in yet another way to those struggles of working people. More is to be written on this in NLN.

In addition chapters absolutely must deal with defense seriously through increasing security, recognizing the enormous increase in the number of agents and provocateurs—which also means guarding against false splits and false factionalism which the Man is encouraging like mad. It means setting up legal defense apparatuses that are responsible to political groupings throughout a city that can wage an offensive attack and take the struggle to the people throughout the city in a mass way.

## ACTIONS

Recognizing the new levels of struggle reached on campuses this year and particularly this spring, the NIC decided that graduations may be a good focus for chapters in continuing their spring offensive. Issues and demands which have been raised throughout the course of the year can be reiterated as well as attacks on the illegitimacy of "student privilege." Binding these actions together nationally should be demands to free all political prisoners with special emphasis on the Panther 21 and

Huey P. Newton, and withdrawal of all occupation troops from the ghettos of this country, from Vietnam, and from the schools. (See related article in this issue of NLN.)

The NIC also mandated investigation of the possibilities for a fall national action against the war in Vietnam.

## THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

General theoretical discussions were broad. Some of the important questions raised included: the class nature of this society, how we build and test that analysis in practice, and how it relates to the building of a revolutionary vanguard party. The need for understanding the specific class nature of the country—and therefore which classes and sectors of classes can be allied in the struggle against U.S. imperialism—was the context for discussion of the strategy and analysis of the revolutionary youth movement. That discussion also included looking at some of the resolutions from the Austin NC—The Schools Must Serve the People and the "Mayday" resolution.

Other questions were the nature and necessity of armed self-defense, the class basis of armed struggle, and its relationship to political organization. The discussion tried to identify the nature of and criteria for understanding the class basis and practice of adventurism and opportunism on this question.

The third arena of discussion was about the nature of the black and brown struggle for self-determination—especially regarding what it means to follow black leadership in practice and how our understanding can lead us to the best and hardest fight possible against white supremacy. It was made clear that people should make available the fruits of discussion of theory and practice and criticism and self-criticism to aid in solving the critical problems we face.

All of these theoretical discussions made it clear that the unity of theory and practice is the key to building organization and developing correct strategy. It was emphasized that within the process of our work various differences must be worked out together—in unity as we fight the class enemy through ideological struggle, criticism, and self-criticism, and through renewed unity in the day-to-day fight.

## SO-CALLED SDS WORKER

The NIC voted to condemn the organization of something known as the "SDS Mid-west Regional Summer Work In" being organized by the local WSA group in Chicago. This program was censured for the following reasons:

1. It was planned, advertised, and a conference held about it without going through the chapters in the SDS region and without even notifying many of the chapters throughout the midwest. Yet it was billed as an SDS project of the midwest region.
2. At a planning conference for the project organizers of the conference attempted (unsuccessfully) to exclude SDS members who were opposed to WSA policies.
3. The work-in project which is being

billed as a regional SDS one has a racist line which includes attacks on DRUM and the Black Panther Party which would be disastrous for building class unity with the black liberation struggle in the factories as well as in the community. The WSA position was repudiated at the Austin NC.

## JUNE CONVENTION

The June Convention scheduled for the 9th-15th was discussed. The general format for the education conference to be held the first three days is: a series of presentations, large plenary discussions, workshops on various topics, and time for regional caucuses to meet with each other and discuss political questions and the details of their practice. It was emphasized that the educational period of the convention should stress very heavily concrete evaluation and criticism of our work throughout the year. An education committee to help arrange the conference was selected: Terry Robbins, Ohio; Jim Mellen, Michigan; Bob Kirkman, New York; Anne Goodman, Klonsky, REP agreed to prepare an educational packet on the problems facing the Revolutionary Youth Movement.

## NEW LITERATURE

The NIC mandated the rewriting of the current introduction to SDS and emphasized the immediate necessity for those doing high school work to submit articles for pamphlets to be produced as soon as possible in the NO.

A special issue of New Left Notes was mandated for special distribution this month. It can be used for mass education. IN ORDER TO PRINT ENOUGH COPIES, ALL CHAPTERS ARE ASKED TO RAISE AT LEAST \$25 AND SEND IT TO THE NO AT ONCE! This could be one of the most useful pieces of literature we have, and it will not be printed unless our own people take the responsibility to finance it. Also about money: the NO has not received money from the pledges made at the Austin NC, and chapters should put their money where their mouths are.

## FINALLY AVAILABLE!!!

**RADICAL AMERICA** special number on AMERICAN WORKING CLASS AND CULTURE. Contents include Mark Nalson, Laura Foner, Ruth Meyerowitz, Will Brumbach and John Evanson on "The -Literature on the American Workers", an extensive bibliography and commentary (includes sections on youth culture, education, racism and workers, etc.); George Rawick on "Working Class Self-Activity from Taylorization to the Wildcats"; Dick Howard on "Gorz, Mallet, and French Theories of the 'New' Working Class"; and Paul Faler on "The Working Class and the Community" (analysis of E. P. Thompson, Herbert Gutman, Stephen Thernstrom, etc.) 50¢ per copy; 30¢ per copy for 5 or more. \$2/yr for national members (others \$3/yr) 1237 Spaight St., Madison, Wis. 53703.

# Latin Brother Murdered

by Eileen Klehr

Manuel Ramos, Puerto Rican, 21 years old, father of two, member of the Young Lords—a revolutionary Latin American organization—was murdered on May 4 by an off-duty Chicago pig. The same pig critically wounded one and arrested four other Young Lords, who were later charged with aggravated assault.

On Monday night, May 5, the Young Lords, by blanket leafleting and word of mouth, called for a march in memory of Manuel Ramos. It began with a rally on the corner of Armitage and Halsted, in the heart of the Lincoln Park (Near North Side) Latin community notable for its endless fields of rubble—reminiscent of wartime Berlin—the result of “progressive” urban renewal.

## Revolutionary Spirit

The rally was co-sponsored by the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots (an organization of young Southern whites from the Uptown area). Speakers included Panther Section Leader Bob Lee, Bob Lucas of the Black Liberation Alliance, and Cha-Cha Jimenez, chairman of the Young Lords. The rally crowd initially numbered about 500. There was a general feeling among the participants that the crowd itself embodied the very revolutionary youth movement that the pigs thought they could smash by the murders of Manuel Ramos, Bobby Hutton, and other revolutionaries.

After the speakers, a Young Lord took the microphone and outlined the plans for the rest of the night: people would leave the rally and form a parade of marchers and cars along a route through the predominantly Latin area of the Northwest Side to the funeral home where Manuel's wake was being held. From the wake, people who wanted to could form a car caravan and drive to the pig station at 35th and Lowe on the Near South Side, where the four Young Lords who had been with Manuel that night were taken after their

arrests. Leaflets had been printed explaining the purpose of the march, to be distributed to community people along the way.

The march began on the sidewalk, led by a huge red banner proclaiming “Manuel Ramos Vive en la Corazon de todos Revolutionarios — Manuel Ramos Lives in the Hearts of All Revolutionaries.” Young Lords acted as marshals. After the first block the march moved out into the street—the group had grown enormously. The response of the Puerto Rican community to the marchers and leaflets was favorable—the Young Lords are well-known and supported by the community in the anti-urban renewal campaign and the fight for the liberation of the brown colony.

The spirit of the march was excitement. For the first time Chicago was seeing a march led by black, brown, and white people—all united and demanding an end to the brutal repression of the people by the racist pig power structure.

As the parade reached the funeral home, the marchers were greeted by Manuel's father, who expressed his appreciation and asked people to form a line and proceed one by one into the chapel, where Manuel lay with an honor guard of two Young Lords. 3,000 people paid their last respects to Manuel that night—to most clearly describe the scene could only be to call it a military funeral of the People's Army.

## Funeral Procession

People began getting into cars as soon as they emerged from the chapel. A “funeral” procession of about 75 cars formed and headed south, led by the same banner that had led the march. The Lords had hooked up a sound system to a car, and as the cars drove through various areas, Manuel's murder and the destination and nature of the procession was explained to the people on the streets. The pigs, who had previously been conspicuous in their absence, emerged and remained close

at hand for the entire trip. They had been afraid to be too visible on the parade route, but they emerged and drove alongside the caravan all the way to the pig station. But no pig had the nerve to pull a car over, or stop any of the 75 cars as they ignored the red lights. The presence of the pigs, however, did not interfere with the overwhelming reactions of the people on the sidewalk. Spectators, mostly black, lined the curbs, fists raised. A few people even flagged cars down and jumped in to go along.

The pig station at 35th and Lowe is located in Bridgeport, a basically white island surrounded by black and brown ghettos. Bridgeport is also the home (one block from the police station) of Mayor Daley. Its residents are working people—unfortunately, working for the most part in city patronage jobs. By the time the first cars had arrived, the citizens of Bridgeport, including many young men, had gathered on the corner to watch the show.

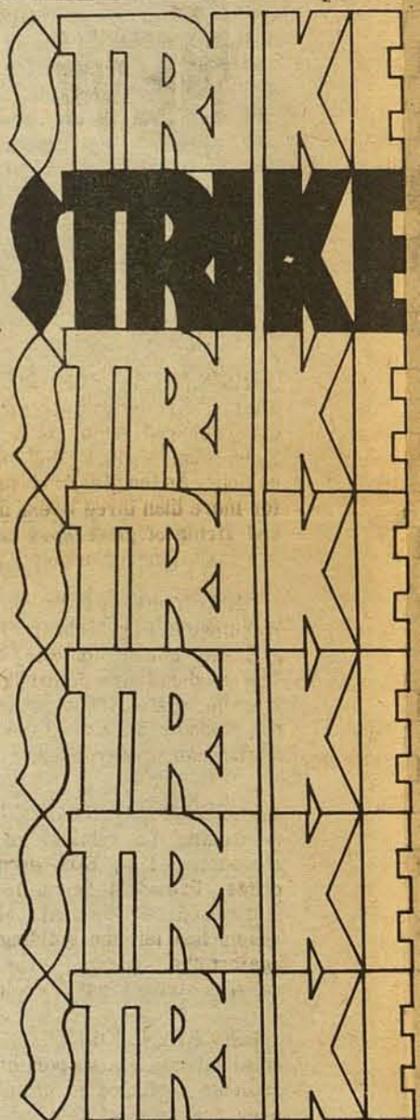
## At the Station

The district commander came out to speak to the group of demonstrators that was gathering in front of his station. The streets around the station were infested with pigs—down the block Big Pig Daley's house was blocked off and surrounded by about 100 helmeted guards. In front of the station, the crowd began a “conversation” with the commander. Some shouting started and the commander got a loudspeaker and announced that “There's going to be a little law and order here or I'm going to break this thing up.” The crowd responded with laughter and oinks. The pig then announced that he would speak to the chosen representatives of the group. The Young Lords kept the crowd from responding in a reactionary manner: it was clearly no time for a fight, particularly since people who had gone over to speak with the community spectators had gotten no notion of support—in fact had been received with general hostility. One representative each from the Young Lords, the Panthers, and the Young Patriots was chosen, and these three met briefly with the pig commander. Afterwards Cha-Cha announced to the rest of the group that the people's demands had been made clear to the pigs, and that people should leave in a cool manner and go home. This was accomplished with little difficulty.

The death of Manuel Ramos will be felt in Chicago for a long time. The march on May 5 was a march of mourning over the loss of a brother; and yet was also a march of solidarity to show our strength. In this way, the march gave to its participants an initial understanding of the role of revolutionaries—to change things into their opposites—in this case, death into birth and repression into revolution.



Young Lords flank car carrying the body of Ma



March 25, 1969

TO MY PEOPLE, THE POOR, THE YOUTH, THE OPPRESSED:

We have tried so hard to pretend that we can make it in a system of Capitalism, where one tries to have more wealth than the other. Our Youth goes around trying to outdo each other, giving themselves names as hustlers, pimps or just lovers. They try to outdress each other, but when one looks in their pockets not a penny is to be found.

We are like the “Salmon” swimming around in the Ocean of Darkness, searching for food (happiness), nibbling at the capitalist baits and when finally hooked and pulled in, we find that our tuna is no good, that we are not accepted as first class tuna. Sometimes they do not even call us tuna (human beings).

But like “Charlie the Tuna” we are so proud. Oh, so proud. We hear about demonstrators and protestors and we mock them. What is worse, we criticize them. The deaths of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, Albizu Campos; the tortures which Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, and Fred Avilez are receiving are not important to us. We never feel the pain until we have been baited and hooked. We act like doubting Thomases. We have to see it with our own eyes. But we're really a bunch of Sauls, because it's there. We're just blind.

I just wonder how long it will take us to wake up. How long will it take us to see? Will we forget our martyrs and let them die and suffer in vain?

It's about time we stop being pretentious and wake up to reality. Some of us do not stay “high” or drunk every day because we are leading a happy life. Let's face our problems like men and women. We are not nice; we are making history. Let our descendants remember us as warriors and not cowards; as men and not mice; as revolutionaries and not bootlickers.

Sometimes we have people that owe us money, and they pay us a little bit of it first and somehow they forget to pay us the rest. And what's funny is we also forget that they still owe us money.

We are going to have to learn to be like the elephant who never forgets, because they do not owe us money. They owe us something more precious: our human rights, our freedom. They are going to have to stop calling us niggers, spics, hillbillies, and chinks. But that is not all. No, that's not all. They are going to have to start sharing that wealth that they have collected off the sweat of our backs. And giving a few of us homes, education, employment, etc. is not going to stop us from our struggle. They have to give the pie to all of us to share equally, because poor people have had enough. We are tired of being kicked around like a football, and we are beginning to get our sight back. They will not use us any longer. This Salmon will no longer allow himself to be baited or hooked.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
LATIN POWER TO LATIN PEOPLE  
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION  
Cha-Cha Jimenez



Bust at City College

# Round-up



by of Manuel Ramos

## NEW YORK CITY

**CITY COLLEGE:** A court injunction forced black and Puerto Rican students to vacate the south campus which had been occupied for more than two weeks. Negotiations, which had been going on for ten days, broke down, and a faculty group threatened to strike until negotiations resumed. On Wednesday, May 2, second day of classes, fights broke out between black and white students. Gallagher shut the school down again and it reopened with 200 pigs patrolling the campus.

**QUEENS COLLEGE:** Black students tore apart several administrative offices after their demands concerning the SEEK program, a special program for disadvantaged youth, were not met. When fights threatened to break out between right wing students and blacks, president McMurray called 500 pigs on the campus. As the pigs arrived white students occupying the social science building for more than three weeks demanding an end to political suspensions of students and firing of professors decided to split. McMurray then shut the campus for two days. Further action is planned for the coming weeks.

**NEW YORK CITY:** Two hundred black and Latin students at George Washington High School disrupted classes, smashed windows, and tore down a large mural depicting black slaves kneeling before George Washington. The students are demanding more black and Latin teachers and an end to the tracking system. The action began when school principal Frank Sacks refused the students the use of the school auditorium for a rally. The students used the auditorium anyway. Sacks called in the police to end the action.

**QUEENSBORO COMMUNITY COLLEGE:** After a three-week peaceful sit-in demanding the rehiring of a teacher fired for political reasons, Queensboro students, led by SDS, escalated by seizing and barricading an administrative office. President Schmeller, self-styled follower of Hayakawa, immediately summoned 200 tactical police force troops, but by the time they arrived the rebels had left the building. Meanwhile Schmeller continued injunctive actions against the students, but was censured by the faculty for his hard line. Students called a strike for this week.

**BROOKLYN COLLEGE:** Slow but steady pressure against Brooklyn College administrators in support of 18 demands put forth by the black and Puerto Rican students continued to grow. On Friday, May 2, the white support coalition took over the dean of faculty's office for two hours. Following that, the students marched to the office of the chairman of the political science department, noted campus racist. At the same time mysterious fires broke out in the library and in several other buildings. Pig Tech president shut the school down Friday afternoon, bringing the total number of shut down schools in NYC to 4. That weekend an injunction was taken out against 20 students and 100 John and Jane Does. The injunction prohibited rallies, meetings, marches, and most other political activities. Monday morning 300 white students attended a rally in support of the black and Puerto Rican demands. Two days later fire bombs exploded in three campus buildings. When Tech called on pigs to protect the firemen, a rock throwing battle broke out between students and cops. After the cops left, windows in the library and the administration building were smashed.

**MANHATTAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE:** Black and Third World students seized a building demanding a black and Third World studies institute and more black and Third World faculty admissions. One third of the school was shut down for two days as SDS organized support for the insurgents' demands. Black and Third World students claimed victory and left the building when the college administration set up a tripartite committee to implement the demands.

**BRONX COMMUNITY COLLEGE:** In a carefully planned pre-dawn attack black students, together with a handful of whites, seized and barricaded the main campus buildings. The students demanded black and Puerto Rican studies institutes, increased hiring and admissions of blacks and Latins and disaffiliation with Einstein Hospital, the local butcher house. Students abandoned the building after 24 hours, but further action is planned and an SDS chapter is being organized.

**PRATT:** Following a march by black students and SDS, students last week tore up the school cafeteria. On Monday, May 5, black students chained all campus gates. Eight students were busted and the school reopened. The following day both SDS and the blacks held rallies, picket lines, and teach-ins. The students' demands are an end to Pratt expansion, a black studies institute, and open admissions for all black and Puerto Rican students.

**OHIO STATE IN COLUMBUS:** Over 400 people attended a rally on May 1 in support of Huey P. Newton and 34 Columbus black students, indicted on charges totaling 300 years for seizing the Administration Building last year. The rally was addressed by Ken Anderson of the Columbus Black Panther Party and Howie Emmer of Kent State SDS. More rallies and actions around racism are planned this week.

**KENT STATE:** Five more people have been arrested on felony charges stemming from the two weeks struggle against ROTC, the Kent State Law Enforcement School, the Northeast Ohio Crime Lab, and a Defense Department grant to the Liquid Crystals Institute. Four were charged with "participating in a riot" and one with malicious destruction of property. At least five more warrants are out, adding to the 13 people already busted on felony (seven on inciting to riot) and over 50 busted on trespassing. SDS has held several on-campus teaching rallies and meetings in open defiance of the organizational ban against its use of any University facilities. The struggle is far from over. Money is urgently needed for legal defense. Send to: Kent SDS Legal Defense Fund, c/o Erickson, 217 N. Depeyster, Kent, Ohio 44240.

**MARIETTA COLLEGE, MARIETTA, OHIO:** Eight hundred people attended a rally against army recruiters on campus last week. The rally was unsuccessfully attacked by about 100 jocks chanting "kill, kill, kill." A marine recruiter will be on campus next week.

**CHICAGO PROVIDENCE-ST. MEL HIGH SCHOOL:** Fifty black students held a sit-in at a faculty meeting. Police were called to clear the building. Three of the students were arrested for supposedly assaulting a pig and a faculty member.



Pigs in Madison

**MADISON, WISCONSIN:** For three consecutive nights and days, University of Wisconsin students and community people fought police in the Mifflin Street area of Madison. The actions began when the police broke up a block party in the neighborhood. Block parties for community solidarity have been a tradition in Madison. The Mifflin Street area is a low income student ghetto. In fierce fighting students erected burning barricades and fought with bricks and bottles. The pigs responded with tear gas and night sticks. Twenty pigs were hospitalized and many pig cars were offed. The community has raised demands for rent control, better housing, community self defense, and amnesty for 127 people arrested. City Alderman and SDS member Paul Soglin is presenting the community's case.

**DES MOINES, IOWA:** The nationwide repression of the Black Panther Party continues. The Des Moines Panther headquarters was bombed on April 26. Though there were no serious injuries, four brothers who were in the office were busted for disturbing the peace and resisting arrest. In addition a warrant has been issued for Charles Knox, Deputy Minister of Education. The charge is assault and battery.

**NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA:** National Guard overkill was used to break up an occupation by black students of the administration building of Southern University. Governor McKeithen of Louisiana said he would "use whatever force is required to take control of the campus."

**HARVARD, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS:** A fire was set in the Harvard Naval ROTC Building. It is believed the fire was directly related to an unsigned letter received by ROTC head Colonel Pell. The author of the letter was "incensed" by the presence of ROTC on the Harvard campus.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SDS organizer Cathy Wilkerson was arrested at home and charged with illegal entry and destruction of property. The charges stem from her participation in a sit-in at George Washington University's Sino-Soviet Institute. Four staff members of the Washington Free Press were also arrested. Their trial is set for June 24.

**DARTMOUTH, HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE:** As part of an anti-ROTC campaign 60 students seized Dartmouth's administration building, evicted two deans, and nailed the doors shut. Twelve hours later 200 state troopers from New Hampshire and Vermont broke in and arrested 56.

**CORNELL, ITHACA, NEW YORK:** Three hundred and fifty Cornell students led by SDS participated in a drill for the presidential ROTC review. The students marched around, tore down a huge bombing map of Vietnam, climbed over a storm fence, seized and painted a battleship cannon, and painted a red star on a white starred Army truck. As a result 10 people including NIC member Chip Marshall and organizers Joe Kelly, Jeff Dowd, and Bill Siever were arrested and charged with criminal trespass. The others arrested were Cornell freshmen.

# MITCHELL RAIDS

(continued from Page 1)

only one part in a national assault on the movement. This assault has always been primarily focused on the black liberation struggle. The mass jailings of members of the Black Panther Party, the sentencing to death of brother Fred Ahmad Evans in Cleveland, the murder of Manuel Ramos from the Young Lords Organization in Chicago, the continued restriction of H. Rap Brown to New York City are simply a few items on

a long agenda of genocidal attacks on the masses of black and brown people in this country who are organizing a life and death fight for their liberation. Moves against the Black Panther Party over the last week indicate a new level of attack against the black and brown liberation forces. A major effort to totally outlaw the Panther Party is now under way. First, two federal grand juries—one in San Francisco and one

in New York—have been convened to investigate the Black Panther Party. Subpoenas have been issued to members of the Party and to others as well as to informers. Testimony will begin this week. The grand juries are looking for convictions under two laws: the interstate riot act and most significantly also under the Smith Act.

Clearly related to the establishment of these grand juries is the Panther 21 frame up case in New York City. The state of New York has moved to put the case to trial on June 10; usually criminal cases do not come to trial for six to nine months in New York, often not for one to two years. This move to rush the case to trial, to deny all defense motions which have been filed so far—to reduce bail, which totals two and a half million dollars, join the defendants who are being held in seven separate jails, etc.—is clear. The state has said in open court it considers this the most important case in New York in 50 years—since the Palmer raids in effect. A quick conviction they feel will give credibility to the grand jury indictments, discourage militant struggle and organization through the summer and assist greatly in arousing mass hysteria. The state itself has been preparing the case for about 13 months.

That means that the Panther 21 case must be taken to the people throughout the country—support for that case must be national right away. NLN will run full details for chapters to study and

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

Mao, 1942

use; contact the New York office for sample leaflets and other materials, etc. Propaganda and action focusing on the Panther 21 case is a priority now.

The Smith Act is designed to make the existence of Marxist-Leninist parties illegal, to prevent the teaching or advocating of revolutionary ideas, to make soliciting membership, use of the mails, etc. by a revolutionary organization illegal. All members or associates can be caught in the web once a conviction against the party has been secured.

The development of vanguard organization with revolutionary constituencies among black, brown and white working people is clearly in the process of developing in the country at a time when the state is more and more clearly not able to meet the needs of the people. This part of the legal attack most explicitly is directed toward smashing that development.

The state must explain why it cannot meet the needs of its people. This cannot be done. Therefore the state is compelled to move in any way necessary to destroy any people's organization that is attempting to meet those needs. It must whip up the type of hysteria

CHANGE!  
CHANGE OF !!  
CHANGE OF ADDRESS !!!  
CHANGE OF ADDRESS NOTICE !!!!

and terror necessary to carry out these new attacks. It must enflame anti-communism within the context of encouraging race war by the white population against the black and brown.

We must in practice take the struggle to the people to build the movement in a massive way. Our response to these attacks must be solidarity in practice with the black and brown struggles. We must explain over and over that these attacks are the results of people's organization against imperialism and for self-determination. We must expose the class nature of justice in this country. All this must be done through language and actions that are clear.

### Elementary Security Procedures

1. ALL LOCAL POLITICAL ARRESTS MUST BE VIEWED AND EVALUATED IN A NATIONAL CONTEXT. In order to respond nationally to these Mitchell raids, the National Office must hear immediately from chapters the full details of arrests, investigations, and harassments—this applies to attacks on ALL movement people in their area. Several serious mistakes have been made in recent weeks because local groups did not report events in their area which turned out to have major significance. We must remember we are a national movement.

2. Security considerations, which should be in effect normally, MUST BE particularly emphasized to all movement people now.

Address books, files, and financial records should not be accessible to the pig—they should be secured and duplicated. The principle is that you or your home or your office should have nothing that doesn't belong in the pig's hands. This includes personal letters, etc.

A communication system should be established if it does not now exist so that movement people check in with each other regularly and people are not picked off without others' knowledge.

3. "Loose lips sink ships" is only a humorous way of saying a crucially important principle which must be emphasized over and over and over. NO ONE SHOULD TELL ANYTHING TO SOMEONE ELSE IF THEY DO NOT NEED TO KNOW IT. Otherwise it places an unfair and heavy burden on people that is unnecessary. This applies to personal information too.

4. Propaganda action teams which we should be building anyway through the cities which can respond quickly and effectively and take the struggle to the people are an absolute necessity now. Within that program it should be the specifically designated responsibility of a group of people to coordinate quick responses—from propaganda, to ball, to actions, to lawyers, etc. Within this effort political education classes for all sectors of the movement in an area should be conducted around the principles of political defense and specific situations.

5. Chapters should design ways to keep in touch with members over the summer so that people are not picked off in isolation. This communication, if done correctly, will also aid in building strong organization early in the fall.

# constitutional

Preamble: Change to read:

Students for a Democratic Society is an organization of revolutionary youth. We stand together with the struggles of oppressed peoples throughout the world. We support the just demands of the Black, Asian, and Latin peoples for self-determination. We are part of the international movement against imperialist exploitation and aggression. We oppose the capitalist system and its inevitable by-products, racism and imperialism. We believe that racism must be fought at every turn, for American capitalism, ever since it was founded on the slave trade, has used racism to oppress people of color at home and around the world and to prevent working people within this country from uniting in struggle against their real enemies, American capitalism, in its unending search for bigger profits, has bled the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—and the working people of this country—of their lives, labor, and natural resources. But the people of the world are rising up in just struggles against imperialism and are defeating the forces of exploitation and oppression.

SDS, as an organization of youth, recognizes and will fight back against the special ways in which imperialism oppresses young people—we are forced to fight and die in its wars; we are trained by its schools for meaningless or non-existent jobs and divided by channeling; we are taught racist, lying distortions of our history. For our own liberation and for the liberation of people around the world, we have come together in solidarity with the world revolutionary movement.

Article VIII, Section 1: Change "eight other officers" to "twenty (20) other officers."

- Robert Kirkman, NYU SDS
- Susan Eanet, Chicago
- Arthur Hochberg, Chicago
- Pat Driscoll, University of Washington SDS
- Bruce Goldberg, Boulder SDS
- Brian McQuerry, Boulder SDS

# amendments

## Struggle

(continued from Page 2)

enjoyed a privileged 2-S status, and which helped channel more working class youth (especially blacks) into the army.

### Theory and Practice

Hopefully, we can push aside false factionalism (major division without political basis) and the cries for false unity which inhibit real and healthy debate. From our own experiences, and the theory which we develop from them, we must begin to deal seriously with the problem of how to build a revolution of working people to take power in America.

Through their labor, working people produce the wealth of this nation. Although they have built the schools and factories, worked the mines, shoveled the garbage, a class of rich people have stolen the fruits of their labor and returned only a handful of crumbs. Working people must use their power to gain control over what is rightfully theirs: the material and technological benefits of society.

The left movement in America is now most active on campuses. We believe that it is essential to begin building a movement of young people who recognize the need for revolution by the working class. Youth alone cannot bring about a revolution, but youth can be reached and play a crucial catalytic role in the struggle (as in France).

This perspective necessitates several concrete directional changes for our own movement.

First, although we recognize the campus as a place where radicals should struggle, our fight must not be for increased "house slave" privileges for students ("Student Power"). Instead, we must struggle to expose the class and racist nature of the university.

In addition, our organizing efforts should be directed toward those institutions in which class contradictions are clear: e.g., the army, working-class

community colleges and high schools, and in places where young working people work.

We must build organizations with a mass base among young people, rather than top-down staff groupings like SSOCC. We must make the political direction of our new youth movement clear, by taking positions and acting on key questions, by constantly analyzing our actions and theories, and by undertaking mass political education and struggle around our demands.

We believe that we should constantly build locally while developing an international perspective. We must see as our struggles the meatcutters' strike in Atlanta, the Chicano welfare mothers protests in Chicago, the struggle of the Vietnamese—and we must see the relationship among all those struggling against oppression.

Finally, as radicals, we understand the strategic importance of developing the proper strategy for organizing in the South. We see a real need to begin exploring exactly how the super-exploitation of working people and the region's resources fits into our strategy. We must begin defining how we relate to the struggle to organize trade unions in the South. We must investigate how we bring about eventual unity among white and black workers. We must be where working people are, formulating demands which speak to the real needs of people, from our continuing radical analysis of the situation here, in the country and the world.

Mostly, we must get to work. As revolutionaries in the South, we must build a movement firmly rooted among working people; a self-sufficient movement both in defense and support; a movement that is not afraid to face internal political debate; a movement that recognizes its common cause with the struggles of oppressed people ground the world.

OLD ADDRESS

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City and State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_

NEW ADDRESS Date Effective \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City and State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_

# Youth

(continued from Page 8)

primitive extent to which it is being played primarily by the blacks, as well as the youth. Many of the industrial labor struggles today are an extension of the black community's struggle for self-determination into the factories. To answer the question of the U.S. working class requires an analysis and an argument. To continue irrationally to insist on the vanguard role of factory workers in our changed circumstances is mere assertion of orthodoxy, and not an argument.

For our part, SDS has committed itself to the development of a Revolutionary Youth Movement. In the present transitional period, we intend to organize among youth, penetrate the working class as much as possible with revolutionary ideas, and develop our analysis concerning who will be the vanguard of the working class. The revolutionary youth movement proposal was conceived of as a transitional strategy for the development of a specifically working class movement. It recommends the transcendence of SDS from a radical students organization to a class conscious movement of the youth of the entire working class. It is distinguished from the Worker-Student Alliance by its recognition of revolutionary youth as a part of the working class.

## Position of Youth

In this context, before turning to the nature of capitalist crisis in our time, it is necessary to discuss the class position of youth and especially students. The overwhelming majority of American youth (say 18-24) are students, soldiers and unemployed. Also, the overwhelming majority come from working class backgrounds—no matter how comfortable, mystified, or bourgeois an ideology they may have. The overwhelming majority, further, are destined for jobs and positions within society which are securely within the working class—no matter how conscious they are of the privileges their specific future positions offer. I would argue, however, that what gives specific class content to the struggles of youth—in the schools and in the army specifically—is the proletarianization of the roles youth play in those institutions.

In the army, coerced though he may be to join and intangible though his product may be, the soldier provides a very necessary labor for capitalism—no different than any other service labor. In the schools, the training of labor which cannot be done by individual capitalists, is done by that agent of monopoly capital—the state. The student, by studying, creates value within himself in the form of skilled labor power, and in so doing performs an exploited and alienated labor. The nature of the specific labor of the student gives his struggles to control or change the conditions of that labor a class content. The struggles of students to break out of their alienated labor and destroy the class institutions in which they exist are part of the class struggle.

Some argue that students are intellectuals in the classic sense that Lenin and Mao conceived of revolutionary intellectuals imbuing the masses with the idea of socialism. It must be understood that Lenin and Mao were writing about societies more than 80% illiterate. Students then participated in more mass communications and were able to carry ideas from one sector to another. The student today is in a totally different role. All of society is literate and heavily saturated with mass communications. The student is merely a worker in training and is as mystified as the general population. Besides, anyone who has any experience in our organization knows that it is not an intellectual movement and does not pretend to be.

Others argue that when students support working class struggles they are working class, and when they do not, they are not. This garbles the entire

analysis. The class content of the students' struggle is determined by their objective class position. This does not mean there is never any false consciousness. Clearly, the demand for student power is analogous to the skilled workers' struggle to protect privileges—say to constrict access to the skill in keeping out blacks. This kind of struggle for protection of privilege must be opposed. But neither the student seeking student power nor the skilled worker seeking exclusion is thereby outside the working class—he is struggling for a particular, rather than class, interest based on a false consciousness. To overcome this false consciousness it is necessary to continue to raise issues concerning the most oppressed sectors of the working class—especially the Vietnamese and the blacks—and to emphasize that their struggle is the same one.

## Crisis of Capitalism

II) The Nature of the Current Crisis in Capitalism. The classical Marxist concept of capitalist crisis was based upon a system of competitive capitalism, in which a large number of small capitalists were competing with one another on the basis of price. The basic contradiction of capitalism—that between the price of labor and its productivity—manifested itself at the level of the whole economy as a total production of goods produced by labor greater than the demand for the goods based on the wages paid to labor. This contradiction could be forestalled as a crisis by investment in production of machines which produce goods, but this only led to a greater productivity of labor and thereby a greater crisis. Periodically, this crisis led to a depression in which the weaker firms were either bought out or failed altogether and production was consolidated into fewer hands. Marxists argued that this would lead to successively more severe crises leading to the eventual breakdown of capitalism. In this model, the struggle of workers over their wages and working conditions was central to the crisis. Demands for higher wages related directly to the capitalists' competitive position. The crisis in capitalism, then, manifested itself at the point of production.

Two things developed out of competitive capitalism: the system of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The concentration of production into fewer and fewer hands means that competition in terms of price has nearly been eliminated. Monstrous firms, then, have no longer the problem of cutting costs in order to remain competitive. On the contrary, cutting costs while maintaining price means merely the expansion of profit margins, resulting in huge amounts of surplus capital requiring absorption in new investment outlets. In addition, wage demands by workers can be passed on to consumers by monopolies as price increases. The result is that a general increase in the money wages of the whole working class means only a general price increase and no increase in real wages. In this situation, the specific crisis of monopoly capitalism manifests itself not at the point of production but in

ever increasing amounts of surplus capital requiring investment outlets. The manner and form of the absorption of this capital surplus is what gives character to the crisis of our society.

Vast investments in the production of military hardware and research, combined with imperialism's need to create a world-wide repressive military network, have resulted in the development of a military-industrial complex within the ruling class which continues to waste resources and forge a militarized, authoritarian regimen.

Vast investments in the system of higher education provide military research, produce a highly skilled labor force, and defer the entrance of surplus labor into the labor force. The draft, the tracking system and other instruments of channelling force the young people into these institutions, where they suffer severe alienation. The youth rebellion stems from these conditions.

The increasingly high ratio of capital to labor means that less unskilled labor is required and a large section of the working class, mainly black, is perpetually unemployed. The containment of this surplus labor in ghettos is a result.

Since investments in social services and welfare do not produce the return or the accelerator effect on the economy of military hardware investments, many social institutions are starving for funds. The school systems, welfare systems, distribution systems, medical care, transportation systems, etc. of the large cities are nearing collapse, and severe social strains result. Rebellion among the masses of urban dwellers is only barely repressed.

The driving thrust of imperialism to control and develop suitable investment opportunities means a steadily deteriorating quality of existence for the workers of the whole world—and the struggles against that thrust do not occur mainly at the point of production. The struggle of Third World peoples for liberation is primarily a nationalist struggle—and it occurs primarily as a military struggle. The struggle of blacks for liberation in this country is also a nationalist struggle, and is led primarily not by blacks who are industrial workers, but by the street

people, unstable workers that Panthers refer to as "field niggers." For the youth of the mother country, the class struggle manifests itself around issues like the draft, the ruling class uses of the university, police and other agents of the ruling class for social control. Throughout society, institutions designed to stabilize and serve capitalism are breaking down, and struggle ensues.

If the breakdown of the U.S. capitalist system is not necessarily going to come as a huge depression but as a gradual deterioration of the social structure, then our revolutionary movement must be prepared for the eventuality, not just of a general strike, but of a gradual raising of the level of struggle around various issues resulting in a general protracted civil war.

Dogmatic applications of Marxism to the U.S. make two important errors: 1) They attribute to the struggle of industrial labor a centrality to the class struggle, or worse, they say that only industrial labor struggles are the class struggle. Since industrial labor is only a segment of the broader working class and since it is not yet playing a vanguard role in the class struggle, a proper perspective on labor struggles requires that they be seen as only one front on which we are fighting. What we need is an analysis and an argument concerning what sectors of the total working class can develop consciousness and lead the rest. 2) Dogmatic applications of Marxism to the U.S. also fail to attribute to the struggles of youth a significant class content. When youth support the struggle of the Vietnamese and the blacks and simultaneously fight the class nature of the schools, they are waging class war. When they do not wage these struggles, they impede the class struggle. Any argument that students can struggle only on the basis of their immediate needs for an improved education—with the implication that when the struggle moves beyond anti-imperialism to the construction of socialism itself, the students will have no further progressive role to play and must yield to the industrial workers—is based on a faulty class analysis and a faulty understanding of capitalist crisis in our time.



Photo from the Guardian

## National convention

The SDS national convention will be June 9-15... we'll announce the place later.

It is absolutely necessary that chapters send in delegates lists before the convention... each chapter gets one delegate for every five national members, plus each national member gets one vote. Delegates get five votes. What to do:

—Elect delegates at your chapter meeting.  
—Send us the names of delegates, and the names of all your chapter's national members.

This information is necessary to set up credentials committee for the national convention, so don't forget or the ax will fall!!

Folks with resolutions for the convention should get them in to New Left Notes soon, so we can publish them and the membership can study them before the convention.

An educational packet for the convention will be published if we can raise the money to do so.... SEND BREAD.  
We're broke.

# More on Youth Movement

by Jim Mellen

At the Austin NC, it became clear that important differences existed among the people who had supported the "Revolutionary Youth Movement" proposal in Ann Arbor. For my part, I could not support the "May Day" resolution nor the "Schools Must Serve the People" resolution. Further, an amendment that I opposed was made to the "Summer Program" proposal. It is difficult to tell how important these differences will be in the future or whether they will work themselves out in practice, but at this point it is clear that they are based on differing theoretical conceptions of U.S. society. Rather than go over the specific arguments on the proposals, I would like to discuss those theoretical conceptions.

The points of difference fall into two broad groups: I) those concerning a class analysis of American society, and II) those concerning the specific nature of the crisis in capitalism in this period of history. I will deal with these two groups by laying out some of my own analysis as well as by discussing some questions that are raised in my mind about the subject. I hope this will provoke further discussion in New Left Notes.

## Class Analysis

I) Class Analysis of American Society. Marx's prophecy of the development of capitalist society into two classes, a large working class and a small ruling bourgeoisie, has nearly come true. Stated another way, the complete socialization of production and the concentration of production into the private ownership of a tiny number of people is very nearly complete in the USA. If class membership is determined by relationship to the means of production, in a Marxist fashion, then the vast majority of the people of this country, who own no means of production, and are forced to sell their labor power to someone who does, are members of the working class. This is not to ignore the vast differences among working people in terms of wages, working conditions and relative control over the work process. It is not to ignore the central fact of privilege which divides the masses of the working class and promotes false consciousness of particular interest as opposed to general class interest. It is, rather, to point out that the socialization of the ownership and control of the means of production is in the objective class interests of the overwhelming majority of the people at this time—which is a radically different situation than has ever existed previously.

The bourgeoisie, for its part, is divided into the large corporate (liberal) monopoly bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie, the latter of which is in our time very small and declining. If the bourgeoisie is defined as those who own and control means of production and who live by the exploitation of the labor of others, then the petit bourgeoisie is that group which employs and lives off small numbers of laborers. Throughout the development of capitalism, this petit bourgeoisie has seen its interests as opposed to the large bourgeoisie, whose developing monopolism threatens to wipe out the petit bourgeoisie as a class. The petit bourgeois consciousness has been an anti-monopolist consciousness. In this country, this group is almost entirely defeated. Monopoly capitalism dominates almost all lines of production and the petit bourgeoisie are staging a small but futile resistance. When Wallace says that "pointy headed intellectuals in Washington think they can tell us how to live," and that he would "throw their briefcases into the Potomac," he is expressing the anti-monopolist sentiment that exists. But it is clear that he cannot win without winning over a vast segment of the working class, which will, of course, require a great deal of duplicity.

In the formal structure of U.S.

Government, drawn up two centuries ago, the petit bourgeoisie appear to have power disproportionate to their numbers or economic strength, especially at the local and Congressional levels. If one followed day-to-day politics in U.S. newspapers, he might be convinced that the petit bourgeoisie were indeed powerful. A sophisticated view of U.S. politics, however, would indicate that the important decisions are not made at these levels, but are made at the top by agents of monopoly power.

In speaking of students, middle level management, highly skilled labor and professionals, many radicals would like to create a residual middle category and call it the petit bourgeoisie. First, this is a non-Marxist classification—not being based on relationship to the means of production. Second, the ideology which characterizes these groups is certainly not petit bourgeois anti-monopolist consciousness, but (to the extent that it is not proletarian ideology) it is ruling class, monopolist (what has come to be called corporate liberal) ideology.

Many radicals would also like to use the terms "middle class" to describe these groups. It is important to understand that the term "middle class" has little meaning in Marxist analysis. Marx himself was occasionally translated into English as saying that the petit bourgeois and professionals were middle class (a better translation would be intermediate classes), but in the bulk of his analysis he very carefully delineated objective class position based upon relationship to the means of production. In this country, the vast majority of the people generally referred to as "middle class" are objectively of the working class, and the socialization of the ownership and control of the means of production is objectively in their class interests.

There is one further reason for discarding the term "middle class." It tends to reinforce the notion put forward by liberal social scientists that this country has reached a period of calm based on an end of class antagonisms. Since there is one big happy class which anyone, from skilled worker to corporation executive, can be a member of, then there is no real reason to struggle. There are, of course, petty differences and small problems, but nothing really to be excited about, certainly nothing to be violent about. Things can be worked out over coffee, downtown. This notion must be smashed. One way to begin to smash it is to be clear about what class interests different people have. It does not help clarify objective interests when we use liberal terminology which describes an invented class.

Aside from the working class, the petit bourgeoisie and the monopoly bourgeoisie in the U.S., there are a small number of intermediate people, namely, self-employed professionals who live mainly off their own labor and not off labor that they hire. The class position and resulting ideology of these people is admittedly confused, but today they are a very small group. In addition, it must be understood that increasing numbers of professionals are not self-employed, but work for wages in law firms, clinics, and other large institutions. (Correspondingly, it should be recognized that many petit bourgeois merchants and others have mitigated their class position through franchise and other arrangements which leave them as mere agents of monopoly capital.)

## Black Vanguard

After pointing to the objective class position of most Americans, it is important to speak to the question of privilege. The central fact of privilege within the American class structure is nowhere more clearly seen than in the oppression of the black nation within the borders of the U.S. The fact of systematic preferential treatment of white workers over black and the resulting better conditions of white

workers lay a material basis for a feeling that black workers threaten white privilege—and the resulting racist ideology which is fostered by that feeling of threat. This is the most important way in which the U.S. working class is divided and weakened. Two things result: 1) The participation by white workers in the oppression of the black nation gives an anti-colonial aspect—in addition to the working-class aspect—to the struggle for black liberation. Fighting white supremacy is our first task. These two conditions, in addition to the high level of consciousness and militancy of the black colony, mean that at our point in history the black liberation struggle is the vanguard of the working class movement.

One of the reasons for the confusion in class analysis which many radicals experience is the failure to distinguish between objective class position and prospects for the development of consciousness. That many (a majority) of our people are objectively of the working class does not necessarily mean that they will immediately become conscious of their class interests. The privileges that some workers have achieved are impediments to the development of working class consciousness and class solidarity. But these privileges in no way change objective class interests. Privileged workers under capitalism can never acquire wages equal to their productivity and can never gain enough control over their lives and the productive forces to be able to avoid alienated labor as long as capitalism exists.

The factors which determine the development of class consciousness and of the need for revolutionary socialism are the subject of a separate analysis. Marx and, especially, Lenin argued that the vanguard in the development of class consciousness would be the industrial workers in the large consolidated and rationalized manufacturing industries. This was for various reasons. Mainly, the need for cooperation and organization in the productive process of such plants—which was uncommon in capitalist society of that day—meant that these workers had a greater organizational ability and consciousness of the need for cooperation. (One thing must be clear. Marx and Lenin never argued that these workers would be in the

vanguard because they were the most oppressed. They were certainly not the most oppressed and, further, the most oppressed are not always the most conscious of their oppression and of the revolutionary alternatives.) Marx and Lenin were proven correct by the Russian workers in the factories in Petrograd and Moscow who led the Russian Revolution.

Today, almost everyone in society works in a productive process involving a sophisticated division of labor. Further, the industrial workers in the U.S. have undergone a peculiar experience of relative success in organizing for and achieving higher wages and near failure in the development of the consciousness of a political role for the working class. The process by which the CIO was built and then emasculated and turned into an imperialist front should be the subject of great study by the left. What is clear is that a deal of sorts was struck between the labor bosses and the ruling class that 1) no communists would be allowed in union leadership, 2) CIO unions would assist imperialism in every way possible, including the fostering of anti-communist ideology, and 3) organized workers in U.S. factories would (for awhile, anyway) be allowed certain gains in real wages (crumbs from the imperialist table, as Lenin put it) which would hopefully lay the material basis for support of the system. The effect of this bribery is a subject of great debate, but it is clear that class consciousness among U.S. workers is lower than almost anywhere in the world.

## Need for Theory

We need a theory which will help us understand which segments of the working class can develop class consciousness and lead the rest. It is not enough merely to say that some segments of the working class are necessary to the construction of socialism—as surely the industrial workers are—but some reason must be offered as to why that segment is likely to break out of the mystification and particularism in which it is now bogged down.

What can be clearly seen in U.S. society today is that a vanguard role in developing working class consciousness (at least to the very

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