

sds new left notes



Vol. 5 No. 10 LESS TALK, MORE ACTION -- FIGHT RACISM February 5, 1970

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and more

National Council
Resolves
Advance the Struggle,
Fight Racism
see page 2

SDS CHARGE: GE's profits have never been higher.

THE FACTS: From 1965 until 1968, GE earnings went from \$355.1 million to \$357.1 million, an increase of only \$2 million in the past three years. That's an increase of .0056, a little more than one-half percent. (In the same period, profits for All Manufacturing Corporations increased by 16.7%.)

In those same three years, GE sales increased 32.3%, from \$6.21 to \$8.38 billion, an increase of more than two billion. Yet the margin of profit on the GE sales dollar decreased from 5.7% (1965) to 4.3% (1968), a decrease of 24.6%.

GE ON SDS SEE P. 11

SDS CHARGE: The (GE) workers are fighting hard against the tremendous exploitation they face. GE makes \$25,000 in sales receipts off each worker, and yet, on the average, workers are paid only \$6,500 of that a year. The U. S. government says that a family of four needs \$10,000 to live "moderately."

THE FACTS: Don't fight the numbers; they're reasonably accurate. The trouble is that they're unrelated to each other. Obviously SDS hopes that their listeners will infer that the difference between \$25,000 and \$6,500 is profit. Then they pull in the \$10,000 figure as "proof" of the exploitation. Let's take the numbers apart and see what they mean, starting with the \$25,000.... GE's sales dollars per employee are actually about \$21,000, but that fact tells us nothing about the profitability of those sales. In fact, of the 20 largest U. S. corporations, GE is next to the lowest -- #19 -- in sales per employee. Figures for the 20 corporations range from about \$15,000 to well above \$90,000,...

NEWS ROUND-UP

GE Strike

Settled?

The "Triple E" (IUE-UE-GE) settlement appears to have ended the 100 day strike by 150,000 GE workers. Union officials in at least one plant "ran out of funds" a week before workers voted, cutting off benefits. Many strikers had wanted to stay out till April. At least two plants have rejected the contract. The 40 month contract gives maximum increases of 22¢/hr/yr, 1.5¢/hr better than the Oct. 27th GE offer, a net loss if cost of living increases 7%/yr. But workers and students learned together: workers came on campus to support SDS-led struggles, and students talked politics with workers, and raised money and food — the beginning of an alliance between radical students and rank and file industrial workers.



Los Angeles Demonstration

L. A. National Council

Over 500 people, most of them new to SDS, attended a very fruitful and exciting National Council (NC) meeting in Los Angeles from Jan. 30 to Feb. 2. Among the attenders were representatives of the Iranian Student Association and a number of students from Canada. The main discussion and sharpest debate of the conference centered around the campus worker-student alliance and how to fight racism. Special workshops were held on ecology, the Mideast, the war, junior college organizing, radical arts troupes, and others. The NC overwhelmingly passed two resolutions. The first, 'Fight Imperialism, Build CWSA', calls for making an alliance between campus workers and students the major thrust of our work; the second, 'Advance the Struggle, Fight Racism', calls for more direct attacks on the racist practices of the university, and building much closer ties with black and third world students.

It was in this spirit that the NC ended in a militant demonstration of about 500 people in support of the San Fernando Valley State black students sentenced to jail on Jan. 29. Both black and white students were involved in a building occupation last November over the racist harassment of black athletes. But it was the black students who were hit by the sentences: three of them got 1-25 years! This kind of attack is not surprising -- it is part of a general pattern of assaults on black people, the result of the rulers' fear of the militancy of black working people who have led over 1000 massive rebellions in cities across the country. These assaults range from daily and constant harassment and beatings in the ghettos to the systematic oppression of black people on the job (last hired, first fired, lowest pay, lousiest working conditions, etc.) to the vicious recent murderings of Black Panther Party members. It is absolutely essen-

tial that SDS fight these racist attacks, in all forms. The NC felt this crucial demonstration gave a practical thrust to the discussion of fighting racism held in the conference itself. Demonstrators marched through downtown L.A., chanting 'Smash Racism, Free the San Fernando State Students', 'Workers Yes, Bosses No, Racist Rulers Gotta Go'. It ended with a rally in front of the LA Hall of Justice, at which three black students, two of them from San Fernando Valley State, and three SDS national officers spoke.

The demonstration, and the whole NC, was a terrific step forward for SDS. The most important thing now is to take the ideas behind the demonstration and discussed at the conference back to the campus and really up the ante on the fight against racism and building an alliance on campus between workers and students. A more complete report on the NC will be in the next issue of NLN.

Workers Lead Harvard Rally

More than 700 people recently pushed their way through a snow-laden night, ignoring the book-jams of reading period to attend a history-making rally in Harvard's Sanders Theatre. The group gave an enthusiastic reception to campus workers, faculty, and students who denounced the repression which has been Harvard's consistent reply to allegations of racism. Sixteen SDS members have been thrown out of school; other whites and members of the Organization for Black Unity (OBU) have been placed on 'suspended suspension'.

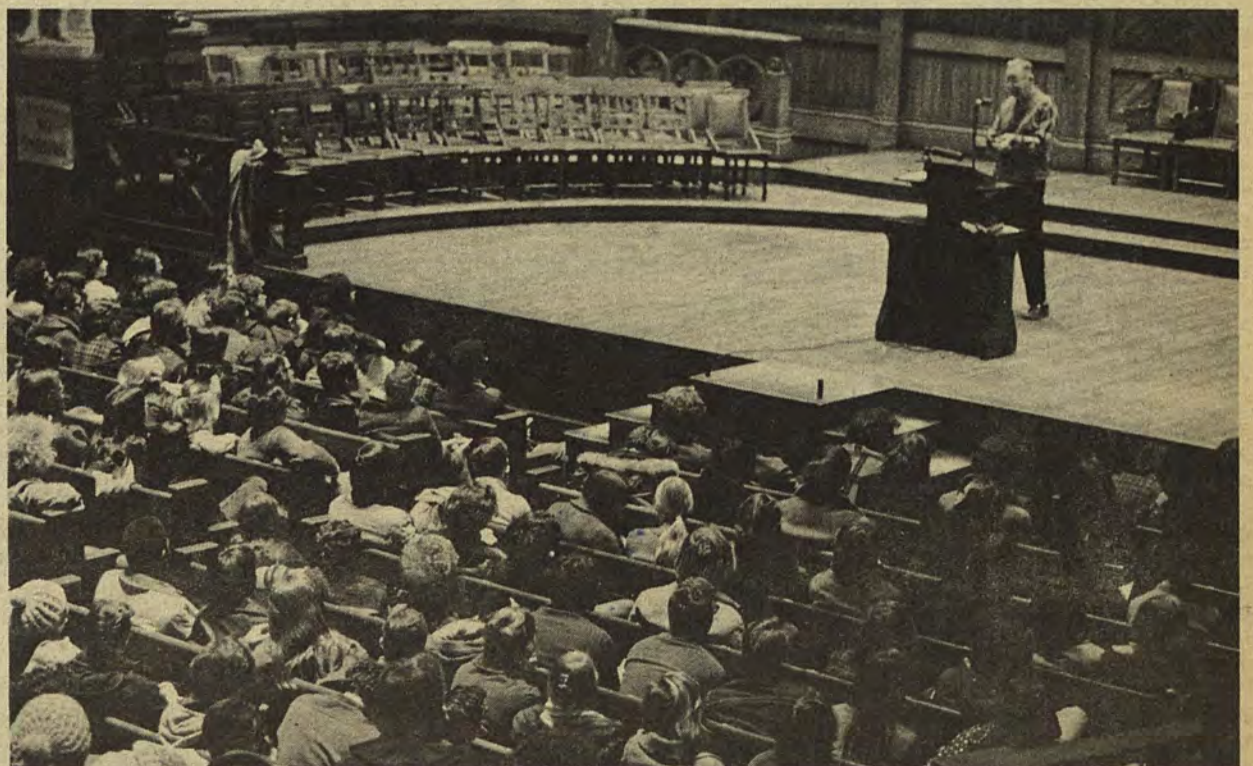
The large attendance was a result of widespread political awareness which has lately characterized the student body as a whole. There is increasing agreement that the 'Rights and Responsibilities' framed by the Administration after last spring's strike are nothing but a gloss for the suppression of students and faculty who want to ally with workers, and not with bosses. A musical skit performed by the Radical Arts Troupe in every Harvard and Radcliffe dining hall helped to highlight the insidious nature of Harvard's approach to 'campus problems'.

One demand which SDS has been raising is promotion of all workers hired as 'helpers' in the painting department to journeyman status, with a corresponding end to the large pay differential. One white journeyman painter, a seventeen-year veteran of the campus work force, called the 'helper' program 'a case of racism, pure and simple... they hired black painters and classified them as 'helpers'. But that didn't look too good, so they hired some whites as 'helpers' too.' A black journeyman elaborated further. He knew a white worker who was denied a job on the ground that the painting department was not doing any hiring, at the very time when it was hiring helpers -- black helpers.

But racism at Harvard is apparently not restricted to certain select departments. A black student mentioned that 'veritas is latin for racism'. And the wife of one worker had also encountered Harvard's arrogant abuse of black working people. As a licensed secretary with certificate in hand from an accredited school, she applied for a job here a few years ago. Shunted from one interview to another, she was finally offered a job -- as a maid! She spoke passionately of the need for organizing workers and students, both women and men, into a fighting alliance that can help us all.

When the rally dispersed, spirit was very high. Students had heard the charges of racism explained first-hand by the people who have direct experience with it; white and black workers who see it being used to drive down their living standards. And workers had seen first-hand what has not been seen in this country for a long time: masses of intellectuals, willing and anxious to look to militant workers as leaders and companions in the struggle for a decent and democratic society.

Dale Fink, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS



Painter Speaks At Harvard Rally

From The Bosses' Press

These two contradictory articles appeared in the same issue of the Boston Globe. NLN will have a further discussion in the near future of the Biafran situation

Oil fueled Biafran war, just as gold split Congo

By Darius S. Jhabvala
Globe U.N. Bureau

UNITED NATIONS — The control and exploitation of the giant oil reserves in Nigeria have been pinpointed as the key factors in Biafra's 30-month war for secession.

"Nigeria has just gone through an oil war, not a civil war or a secession war. Remember Katanga?"

A leading spokesman of the African bloc said Friday in an off-the-record conversation with correspondents here.

To prove his point he high lighted some of the remarkable similarities between the causes and results of events in the Congo during the early Sixties and those in Nigeria since May 1967.

The Congo had its province of Katanga, rich in copper, gold uranium and commercial diamonds. It had Moise Tshombe who exploited tribal sentiments of the Balubas, the Bakongos the Lulus and the Balundas to murder each other and fight the authority of the central government in Leopoldville.

Tshombe's bid for secession was financed by the multimillion dollar operations of the Belgium-based union miniere. European would-be profiteers provided the polemics and the weapons amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. Tshombe provided the lives of the Congolese.

Their package was shamelessly marketed to the outside world through Markpress, the Geneva based public relations firm. It used all the techniques to draw sympathy for Tshombe — genocide in Katanga, starvation of Tshombe's people, the rights of groups to secede from a union.

In Nigeria, the southeast oil-rich province, dubbed Biafra, was the target for secession. The drive was led by Gen Odomegwu Ojukwu, a personality as charismatic as Tshombe. He too played on the fears and sentiments of the Ibo against the Yorbas, the Hausas and the Filanis. His backers were the oil-hungry countries of Europe and their flunkies in Africa.

Biafra's campaign manager was also Markpress.

Its ads screamed out the old Katangese cliches against the government of Gen Yakubu Gowon.

What Katanga was to the Congo, the southeast province of Biafra was to Nigeria. Those who would control the oil reserves would control Nigeria and there could be no control over Nigeria without control of its oil.

Even though there has been a diversification of sources of thermal energy since the last part of the last decade, Nigerian oil is highly prized by Europe.

For one, it is of high-grade quality and relatively free of sulphur. For another it is cheaper.

The political and economic implications of dealing with Nigeria are more important to the West. It has been one of the most stable nations in Africa and traditional friend of the West.

Thus, the potential recipients of Nigerian oil felt fairly secure that supplies would not be cut off at the drop of a coup or of a change in relations as happens so often with the Arab countries.

Furthermore, Western

Europe, the prime user of Mideast and African oil, has been concerned by the closing down of the Suez Canal. As a result, deliveries of Arabian oil have to be made around the Cape of Good Hope to reach European destinations.

Investment in Nigerian oil fields was, therefore, the most logical step for Europeans.....

From the start of the fighting, Britain, having learned the lessons of Katanga, threw in its lot with the federal regime. For Britain not to have done so would have meant a loss of at least 25 percent of current oil needs of the nation.

France, on the other hand, gambled on Ojukwu. Had Biafra seceded, France would have supplanted British and American investments.

How much French and British money went into the war efforts is not known. But one conservative estimate is that it amounted to more than \$100 million. Officials point out that had it not been for French assistance to Ojukwu the secession movement would have ended long since.

A Student Revolt In Mexico

Durango, Mexico

The Mexican government sent troop reinforcements into Durango late yesterday to cope with a sitdown of about 1000 students on railroad tracks leading to the town's most important iron ore mine.

The students, most of them girls, are demanding a public accounting of state tax revenue derived from the operations of the mine.

The students contend that the mineral wealth of the state is being extracted without a just return to the community and have demanded that a steel-making factory be built in Durango to alleviate unemployment.

The students, who first swarmed onto the tracks Monday in the hundreds, were reinforced by other students from Sinaloa. They overturned 16 freight cars of iron ore on access tracks.

United Press

Tribal rivalry, religion at root of secession

By Alphonso Castagn

The tormenting fratricidal civil war in Nigeria has finally come to an end. The 30-month struggle has taken at least two million lives — victims of a colonial legacy, of power politics at home and abroad, of rancorous tribal rivalries and of rapid political and economic change. The scars will remain deep and the underlying problems of tribal competition and political instability will not be resolved in the next decade.

What happened in Nigeria? After receiving her independence in 1960, she seemed to have everything going for her: the prestige of being Africa's most populous state (estimated at 55 million), tremendous economic potential and a capable intellectual and political elite. In America, Nigeria was viewed as a showpiece of Western democracy. In addition, Nigeria was the most pro-West of African countries and seemed the most determined to bring about economic development.

But Western scholars and journalists — as well as policy-makers — either ignored or minimized the realities of the problems besetting the nation. By 1963 the federal and democratic system had already begun to degenerate into tribal conflict, corruption, and vigorous, often violent, political rivalries. The nation then seemed to founder through the split between the Muslim Hausas

of northern Nigeria (which has 60 percent of the population) and the Ibos of the East (who number about 8 million), with the Yoruba (about 12 million) of the West in between.

By January 1966, the rising political chaos led to a military coup d'etat engineered by Ibo officers. The assassination by Ibos of some of the most prominent Hausa political leaders was interpreted by the Northerners as an Ibo attempt to dominate the country. These followed large scale massacres of the Ibos residing in the North (estimates were as high as 40,000 killed). The leader of the Ibo-dominated military regime Gen Ironsi, and other officers were assassinated by northern controlled military government under Gen Gowon was established in July, 1966. Widespread Ibo fear led to Ibo secession in May, 1967 and under Gen Ojukwu a new state, Biafra, was created. The Yoruba tribe and most minority tribes sided with the North. The long military campaign began in July, 1967.

Since the Ibos are one of the most resourceful and best educated people in Africa and since they originally controlled an area which was rich in oil, many believed that the Ibos could maintain their independence. The Ibos also believed that because they were dominantly Christian and the northern Hausas were dominantly Muslim they would gain sympathy and assistance of

the West. All these assumptions proved wrong in spite of the fantastic staying power of the Ibo.

This oversimplification of the conflict was matched by Western misconceptions of the causes of starvation. These causes were identified in some quarters as resulting from some contrived Nigerian plot of genocide. But there was no such policy. Starvations resulted from the military campaigns, from inadequate administration and from inept occupation, but not from any Federal design. Millions of Biafran and other Nigerian people became propaganda fodder, innocent victims of the desperate struggle for survival and of international politics. It was always presumptuous on the part of some Americans to indict the Federal government: as if Americans felt more grievously than Nigerians the human tragedies of the Nigerian nation.

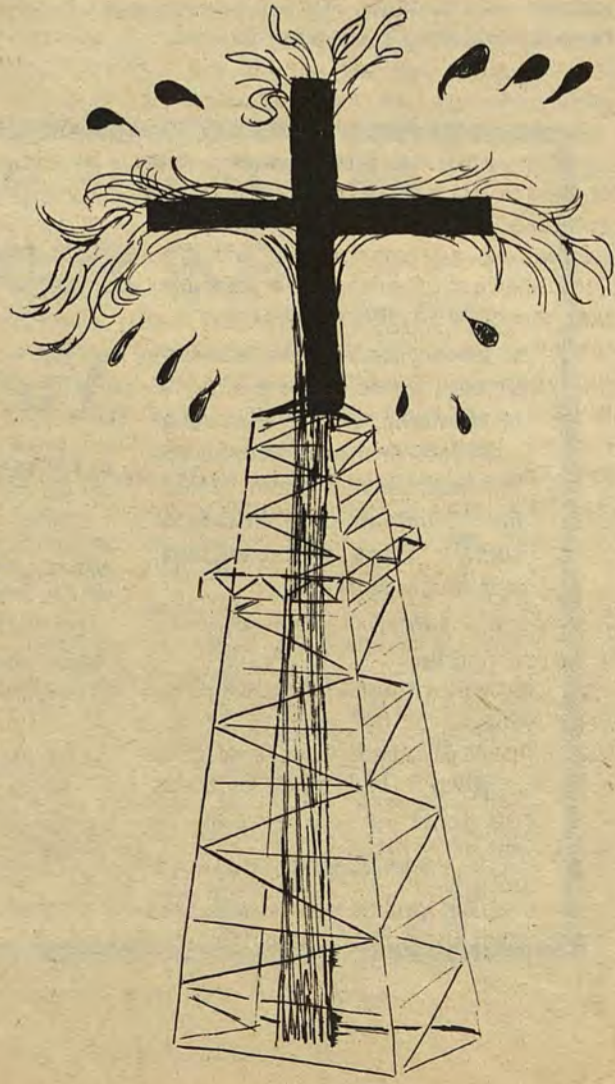
In the midst of all these complex aspects of Nigerian history, American foreign policy comes out naive. Her "neutrality" and "misguided" humanitarianism and pro-Biafran sympathies are seen in Nigeria as elements which have prolonged the conflict and hence increased the casualties. At least this was the sense of Nigerian indignation I found everywhere I lectured in Nigeria in 1968 and 1969. It is too early to assess the implications of this for future Nigerian-American relations but it is surely doubtful

that we can return to the high state of amicability that prevailed in the early 1960's.

What of Nigeria's immediate future? It will take some time to halt the starvation rate but serious attempts will be made to do so by the Nigerian government — with or without outside aid. The government will pursue a conciliatory attitude towards the Ibos. Gen Gowon knows that the future of the state depends upon the government's ability to allay Ibo anxieties and to bring the Ibos back into the critical administrative, economic and educational posts they once occupied. But this is a profoundly difficult task,

given the tenacity of animosities. Another job facing the military regime is the transferral of power to civilian authorities. The fact that this was successfully accomplished recently in Ghana suggests that it can be done in Nigeria. Lastly, Nigeria will have to create a new political order which accommodates the needs of all its tribes — not only the three which have dominated Nigerian politics.....

(The author director of the African Studies Center of Boston University taught at the University of Ghana in 1968-69 and lectured widely in Nigeria.)



Campus Worker-Student Alliance: The Main Thrust?

Building SDS

Alan Spector, Education Secretary

In the course of trying to build a mass student movement to oppose the war, racism, male chauvinism and the exploitation of working people, we have learned a lot from our successes and our errors. We have been and are steadily growing, and the movement is stronger now than ever before. It is stronger not merely because more people are somewhat opposed to various aspects of the system, but also because more and more people (including ourselves) are really developing and deepening a conscious analysis, a real political understanding of - rather than just a gut reaction against - the forces responsible for much of the war, oppression, and misery in the world today. This understanding is key to the concept of 'basebuilding', a word which is not commonly used by many in SDS.

The extent to which we have successfully enlarged our politically conscious base correlates to the extent which we have successfully put our analysis and our politics 'up front'. In other words, where we have seriously and honestly put our ideas forward in a straightforward way without relying on gimmicks or tricks, we have grown; where we have abandoned day-to-day basebuilding in favor of 'get rich quick' schemes such as playing on people's emotions in an apolitical way without discussing the imperialist system just in order to 'get them moving any way we can', we have invariably lost strength or, worse yet, helped build a base around bad politics.

As we have attempted to deepen our understanding of the system and share it with those not yet convinced of certain aspects of it, it has become very clear that people, ourselves as well as others, learn primarily through their own experience. In order to enlarge our political base we must do more, for example, than just hand somebody a leaflet which argues that racism exists today primarily because it serves the interests of some very rich and powerful people and corporations to have it exist. We have to do more than just explain to someone verbally how the colleges and universities are servants of these wealthy interests and are responsible for perpetuating rotten ideas and practices and that we have to oppose the use of the university by those interests.

Learning through Action

Many people, ourselves included, will learn more about the system as we begin to fight against some of the ways it hurts people. For example, at San Francisco State last school year, many SDSers argued that racism was no accident or anything inherent in men, but that it was being promoted by those wealthy interests who benefit from it, and that the school was a servant of those interests rather than a 'neutral' ivory tower of pure knowledge which had no particular biases concerning world problems. Many others on the campus believed that racism was the fault of all whites and/or that the school was basically neutral, that the school might be unfair to blacks, but that it is not intentionally racist, and if we could make the proper authorities aware of the problem, make them more sensitive to the problem, then they would try to end the abuses. Like other similar debates concerning, for example, whether the US government is involved in Vietnam because of their own stupidity or because they consciously want to serve certain interests, or, for example, whether US culture is so rotten because it serves certain interests to be rotten or because the country is run by a bunch of insensitive old dullards, the debate on racism was carried on for a while without any gigantically huge shift in opinion at first. But when a struggle was actually launched against the school's racism, a lot of things became clearer. Students had explicitly pointed out examples of the school's racism, and yet the school had done nothing to correct them. So the students took militant action to force the school to change some of its policies. But even then rather than trying to overcome its racist practices, the school instead broadened its attack and relied on threats, injunctions, cops, hundreds of arrests and beatings, on school disciplinary actions and on vicious and often explicitly racist lies and slander. By that point, the argument that the school was making 'mistakes' and was not consciously protecting racism lost a lot of credibility with a lot of people. It was clear that the school was not blind, irrational, or stupid in its racism but rather than it must have had a real interest in that racism if it was willing to go to such extremes to protect it. The concrete struggle, the interaction between the students on the one hand and the school, its racism and the system in general on the other hand, did more to

clarify people's understanding than more abstract education, without that direct experience, ever could.

In general, if we believe that the imperialist system is an integrated whole and that the same big corporations and their owners who benefit from male chauvinist practices and ideas also benefit from racism, foreign imperialism and the exploitation of workers in general, and if we believe that virtually everyone's life is affected by the system and that most people, including most students are hurt by that system in many ways, then we ought to be able to show people how their own experiences verify what we say about the system. Furthermore, we will learn much from the experiences and ideas of others.

Continue to Expose System

We should continue to expose and fight against attacks by the system against the people. However, the system does many rotten things and we haven't the resources to handle all of them individually. Therefore we should pick the ones most significant or harmful or pressing at that particular point which we could wage an effective struggle against. Waging an effective struggle also implies that it be around an issue which many people are concerned about and can be mobilized against. In addition, we should pick those kinds of struggles which would most clearly expose certain aspects of the system in a sharp, unambiguous way. Struggles around ROTC, military and CIA recruiting, etc., are often excellent because besides trying to impede those institutions, they provide a clear context to expose who the school serves and put forward a strong anti-imperialist analysis. Furthermore, and very important, many students are opposed to the war; anti-military campaigns have tremendous potential for becoming mass struggles involving many students. Recruiters from companies on strike are similarly good targets. Many students can see the need to ally with workers against the boss and understand that 'neutrality' in a strike is impossible; besides concretely aiding the strike it might be a way of exposing the school. Campaigns against abuses against campus workers can sometimes be very good also. Besides allying with the real interests of working people and supporting their legitimate fight against the university, it can be

cont. p.11

AFTER THE WAR: A BONANZA

FOR SOUTH VIETNAM U.S. BUSINESS

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Once peace comes, war-torn Vietnam could become a model of economic progress in Asia.

Pitfalls are there, but so are the makings of a boom, including a mountain of American assets, a corps of technicians, and much more.

U.S. authorities now are making surveys to plan for the postwar economy in Vietnam, many of which are aimed at finding out what kind of export trade the country can develop.

During the first postwar decade, the Lilienthal study foresees a need by the economy for 2.5 billion dollars in foreign aid. Manufacturing over an eight-year period will need 759 million in new investment.

The over-all conclusion in Saigon and Washington is this: Peace will not automatically bring prosperity to South Vietnam—but the groundwork is being laid.

Viet Finds Golden Egg

By KEYES BEECH
Chicago Daily News

SAIGON—The U.S. Aid Mission is sitting on the biggest economic success story in South Vietnam.

It is the chicken and egg explosion. In two years chicken raising has grown from a backyard "chicken

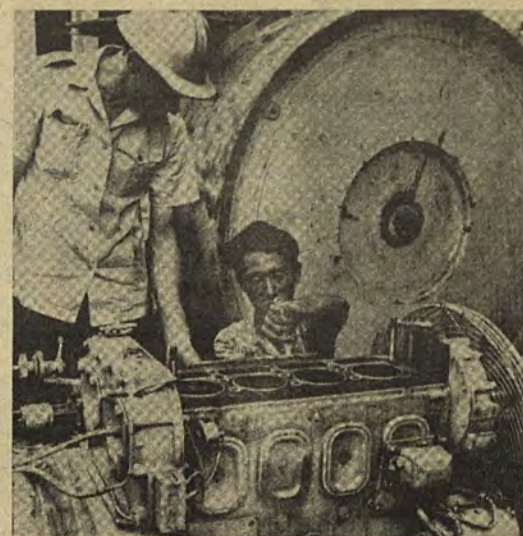
feed" operation to an \$80 million a year industry that provides 450,000 jobs.

The fastest growing industry in the country, it is expected to provide a cash flow of \$350 million by 1972.

"This is no giveaway program," he continued. "It's

private enterprise at work. And for every dollar you put into the program you get a yield of \$3000."

To get the program off the ground, the United States brought in 80,000 baby chicks and 93,500 adult laying hens. In no time at all South Vietnam was up to here in chickens.



When Americans depart, they will leave behind at least 150,000 Vietnamese with new work skills. 5

Labor troubles eating up profits? Move to exotic South Vietnam!

- 1 Workers' movements
- 2 Student movements
- 3 Peasant movements
- 4 US kicked out of Vietnam
- 5 How kind!
- 6 At \$1.40/day maximum wage
- 7 God Bless America . . .

AIRFIELDS, ROADS, PORTS—
A RUNNING START INTO A HEALTHY

EMPIRE

NEWS cont.



GE WORKERS SUPPORT STUDENTS NORTHEASTERN

On Tuesday, Jan. 27, 250 students at Northeastern University in Boston defied a court injunction, faced off with police, and picketed recruiters from General Electric Company. The next day, there was a women's rally at which women on strike at GE spoke, and on Thursday a massive demonstration of about 1500 people occurred against a speech by S. I. Hayakawa and was brutally attacked by the police, 31 being arrested, scores injured and a good number of cops put out of commission.

Northeastern is the largest private university in the country, with about 36,000 students. Most of the students have to work part of the year to put themselves through school, and so NU has a 'co-op' program in which students go to school and work in rotating shifts every three months. Many of the students who go to work on co-op work for the businesses owned by the trustees of the university. Northeastern provides a cheap labor pool, and the co-op program controls these student workers since whatever they do on the job gets back to the school and is used against them. (For instance, one girl who worked in a hospital and began fighting for better conditions was reported to the co-op director and kicked

out of the nursing school.)

The administration of Northeastern was determined that a movement should not develop there. When a United Strike Support Coalition was formed (a coalition between SMC, Cienfuegos SDS, and NU SDS) to protest the appearance on campus of recruiters from GE, the administration took out an injunction outlawing even peaceful picketing, and the administration hired 35 Boston cops to defend it. Despite the injunction and despite a short time to organize it, 250 students came out to the picket line. There was very wide support on campus for the GE strike, and almost all students on campus were outraged by the injunction. Except for some shoving with the police, the demonstration came off without a fight. Workers from GE, whom the administration had kicked off campus for leafletting the previous week, joined the line and most were favorably impressed. (One woman worker said: Workers didn't understand before why students were butting into a strike that wasn't any of their business. But now we understand that the students are sincere. I'm going right back there and tell the workers what this is all about, that the students are really terrific.)

BU

On Friday, January 15th, Boston University's SDS chapter held an anti-GE rally at the student center. A union organizer from GE attended and thanked students for their support during the strike. Immediately after his talk the group of about 100 students marched to the third floor of the student union where the first of sixteen closed hearings was about to begin. The group demanded the trials be opened. When this demand was denied, students forced their way into the hearing room.

These trials were conducted by a special judiciary committee whose members were appointed by Boston University president Christ-Janer. They were set up in response to a sit-in (Dec. 8 and 9) which held the BU administration building for 28 hours. The sit-in's aim was to pressure the BU administration into accepting the demands: No GE scab recruiters on campus during the GE strike, No police on campus to put down student demonstrations and prevent rallies, and An end to the December 16 conference, 'Big business in the ghetto'. The administration tried to create the impression that these trials were an objective effort to determine the exact role each defendant played in the sit-in. They were in fact nothing but a slick cover-up trying to intimidate and repress a growing student movement that seeks to ally with workers against the big businessmen who own and control this university. Proof of the arbitrary nature of these hearings is evidenced by the fact that the Dean of Student Affairs told one defendant's parents one month before the trials that their daughter would definitely be expelled from BU.

Students chanted 'No crime, no punishment!', insisting that whether technically illegal or not, sitting-in in support of GE strikers is no crime and should not be punished. In view of their beliefs the student defendants prepared to defend the sit-in politically rather than play with legal technicalities. To counter the threat of exposure, Prof. Ryckman, chairman of the judicial board, ordered the students out of the hearing room and said the trials would be suspended until they could be held secretly. Students shot back, 'Open the trials! What have you got to hide?' The committee and the Dean of Student Affairs sat mute, their indefensible position being absolutely exposed to all present. After five minutes of revealing silence, the committee walked out, defeated by the persistence of the students.

NO CRIME! NO PUNISHMENT!
NO G.E. RECRUITERS OR COPS ON CAMPUS!

UCLA

Last November 9, twenty-eight students and workers, many of them SDS members, were arrested in a sit-in in the office of the ASUCLA director demanding he re-hire a fired black cafeteria worker (see NLN, Dec. 10, 1969). Subsequently, 16 of the arrested have been found guilty of a misdemeanor, false imprisonment. The remaining are being charged with two felony counts in connection with the sit-in. On Thursday, January 8, SDS and Asian Radical Movement (ARM) called for a boycott at the ASUCLA cafeteria facilities in support of a petition, drawn up by 125 workers, listing the demands and asking no SDS members be fined. Many leaflets were passed out to the student body and to campus workers several days in advance. On the day of the boycott, picket lines

The women's action the next day had some problems: When some men students objected, and were heckled, when the main lounge of the student center was taken over for the rally, they were physically attacked. A Weatherwoman's boasting of how she poured half a cup of coke down the neck of a guy in ROTC uniform and then threw the rest in his face, built a 'men are the enemy' thrust to the politics.

The next night S. I. Hayakawa, President of S. F. State College, spoke. Hayakawa was called in last year to crush the 134-day strike there against the racist practices of the university; as a result, he's now being pushed as a national figure and possibly a candidate for the Senate.

1200 people got in to hear Hayakawa's speech, while around 1400 were out in the quad. About 100 tac squad riot police were called in to supplement the regular force, and when some provocateurs threw rocks through windows, they let go on the crowd, brutally beating everyone in sight, chasing students down the street, dragging people to the side for special workovers, smashing cameras to destroy evidence, banging skulls against the side of paddy wagons. The campus was outraged - everyone without exception - and many came back that night, picking off cops with rocks and smashing police vehicles.

Now the Student Government is pushing 'blame the provocateurs', police brutality, and 'student power' (the election of the administration by students and faculty). No one but the NU SDS has even raised the question of why the police attacked. If the student movement were what Hayakawa called it - spoiled rich brats who think they can do whatever they please - it would not have been attacked so brutally. Probably it would have been given a Ford Foundation grant. It is because it has begun to fight racism, imperialism and exploitation, increasingly by reaching out and allying with workers, that the administration wants to beat the hell out of it and scare people away.

Fred Gordon, NU SDS, NIC

were set up at all entrances to the cafeteria, and free food was given to those who supported the effort. Literally hundreds of students and campus workers refused to cross that picket line, even after all food supplies had been exhausted. Roger Taus, an SDS member and ex-cafeteria worker who was fired for his part in the sit-in, stated that the boycott was at least 50% effective. Furthermore the effect on both students and workers was great. Most students were actually forced for the first time into a personal and real confrontation with the inhuman oppressive conditions of the workers. They also came to realize that students must try to align themselves with the struggles of the working people. The definite relationship between poverty, racism, class bigotry, etc., and the every-day workings of the capitalistic system was brought to the attention of the UCLA students. The most important aspect, though, was the fact that the workers in the cafeteria saw that large numbers of students were willing to back them up. The workers are now firmer than ever in their position for demanding better working conditions and higher wages.

The following day the boycott effort received front page headline publicity in the Daily Bruin (the student paper). The potential for a campus-wide effort is mounting and the administration knows it. Recently the management of AS-UCLA has offered a token pay raise of eight cents an hour. Substantial gains are definitely being achieved. For the first time the workers are presently being offered employment insurance and a medical plan for on-the-job accidents, and a retirement plan also is in the offing. The struggle is still being waged, with a worker-management meeting soon to be held.

Don Landrum, UCLA SDS

New Left Notes? So What?

Rick Sklader, Minneapolis
Terry Barrett, S.F. State
Claudio Buchwalk, Harvard-Radcliffe

(This article is the product of a workshop on New Left Notes which was held at the New Haven National Council meeting in late December.)

New Left Notes has helped build SDS. It has changed much for the better since the old leadership of the organization walked out of the June 1969 convention. Under that Revolutionary Youth Movement leadership NLN has little meaning for most students: it was ingrown, abstract, and arrogant. Now it is a pro-working class newspaper that really tries to reach students with the ideas of the people in SDS.

The strengths and weaknesses of NLN have reflected the strengths and weaknesses of SDS. For instance, the large circulation of NLN (largest of newspapers of the left) points out SDS's growth. On the other hand, the isolation of SDS members from their fellow students has been visible in the content of the paper. Because of the importance of NLN, we see it as a crucial responsibility to improve it through constructive criticism and better work.

Many More Questions

NLN should put forward SDS's pro-working class outlook on many questions, not just deal with SDS-led struggles. It has not done enough in this direction. This stems from our isolation and lack of concern for questions that are on most students' minds and from limits in our perspective. For example:

1. Vietnam. This war is the major struggle against US imperialism in the world and consequently concerns students: it has a profound influence on their lives and is one of the major reasons why students are open to pro-working class politics. Up to now, only very few articles have dealt with current developments or past history of the war, or with the war's relationship to other questions. Likewise, in chapter work we have not raised the war enough.

2. Other current events, especially the black liberation movement and other working class struggles. The fierce recent attacks on the Black Panther Party and their significance has been almost ignored in NLN. So have things like elections, government programs, the Woodstock festival, developments in the construction industry, etc.

3. Culture and ideology. We should write more: reviews of rock music, good and bad movies and books (Black Rage, Easy Rider, etc.), TV shows (Star Trek, the Johnny Carson Show), commercials, modern art; criticism of courses and textbooks (particularly introductory courses which are so similar from school to school); RAT plays; discussions of individualism, drugs, cynicism, sports, etc. Culture is not a-political. In the hands of the ruling class it is a potent weapon against the people. How powerfully, for example, do the movies push the ideology that women are mysterious passive creatures who are incompetent outside the home? How powerfully do artists like the Beatles push self-cultivation and anti-communism? It is also important to discuss how culture can be used to help people in their struggles against oppression (for example, the Yale SDS jug band, RAT, poster art, etc.).

4. International struggles (e.g. Ireland, strike waves in Europe, the Mid-East, third world liberation struggles). That we have not seen discussion of these struggles as very important is a sign of the narrowness of our perspective and of our American nationalism. The movement fights all over the world!

5. Debates within the movement on questions like ecology and the population 'bomb', other movement newspapers, revolution, communism, nationalism, the role of unions, etc.

6. Basic SDS positions. Our neglect of the question of women's liberation cannot be overstated. We have glossed over both the material and cultural aspects of women's oppression, and failed to analyze and discuss the various forms the women's liberation movement is taking. More analysis is needed of racism, imperialism, liberalism, the role of the schools, anti-communism, etc.

Learn from Experience

We learn most from the analysis of our and others' experiences. This is why chapters write articles on their various struggles. Up to now we have been weak in pointing out:

- concrete facts of what a fight is about;
- how a struggle was built, i.e. what steps were taken; what were the dynamics of SDS agitation and basebuilding, administration reactions, and response from students and workers;
- the outcome of the struggle -- what was won, what was not won, what was turned around, how much was political understanding raised inside and outside of SDS;
- the positive and negative aspects of our work: what was the most important lesson?

We tend to avoid analyzing our successes and our failures. This shows that we do not care enough about other chapters (especially new and isolated ones) to share our experiences with them in a truly useful way.

Another weakness of NLN and some SDS chapters has been neglect of struggles other than those waged around the exploitation of campus workers. The reader of NLN should not get the impression that an individual or a chapter not involved in building a campus worker-student alliance does not belong in SDS.

Boxes, Heads and Humor

In order to reach people best, the form of NLN has to be improved. This means a livelier and easier to follow layout, more art work, and better photographs. Humor can help communicate our ideas: better cartoons and more RAT plays. Diversity of style also helps. It is a form of arrogance to expect people to wade through dull, heavy, jargon prose. Our ideas and the struggles we wage are tremendously vital. Our writing should also be vital. We should make more use of ideas like the news round-up, a monthly box which explains some of the terms we use most often, etc.

In NLN as everywhere else we should wage a resolute struggle to smash sectarian phrasemongering and sloganeering in order to better build a mass-anti-imperialist-anti-racist-anti-male-chauvinist-pro-working-class-student-movement. (Build the MAIARAMCPWCSM!)

Because of SDS's growth the national headquarters has been overworked. This accounts for articles written at the last minute by the NH staff, monotonous headings, not-so-good cartoons thought up at the last minute, etc. Another serious problem has been that sometimes no explanations are sent to the authors of unpublished articles.

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sds pamphlets

Now Available :

- The Campus Worker Student Alliance (15¢)
- Fight Racism! (15¢ see illustration at right)
- Reserve Liberal Training Corps -- Berkeley Radical Arts Troupe Play (5¢)
- Statement on the Split in SDS -- John Pennington, National Secretary (5¢)
- SDS Constitution (1¢)
- Membership Cards -- New Style (free)

Buttons:

- SDS (15¢)
- ALLY WITH CAMPUS WORKERS -- Fight University Bosses (25¢)
- SMASH RACISM -- Fight University Attacks on Black People (25¢)
- NO NEGOTIATIONS -- US out of Vietnam Now (25¢)

SDS reaches many people through New Left Notes and pamphlets, and like New Left Notes, pamphlets depend on people who read them for publication and distribution. Producing a pamphlet is a long process. A general plan is worked out, articles are solicited, edited, discussed, and rewritten; illustrations and copy are laid out and pasted up, and the pamphlet goes to press -- with a \$500 prepayment. The following pamphlets are ready except for final changes:

- The Vietnam War
- Male Chauvinism
- The Revolutionary Youth Movement
- Welfare and the Working Class

They will cost \$2000. We have plans for another on why students should ally with the working class, and people want others on Ecology, The Army and the Draft, Youth Culture and politics, Labor History, Student Movements Abroad, and more. People need information, theoretical discussions, and accounts of

FIGHT RACISM!



Articles from SDS' experience in fighting racism on campus and supporting black workers' actions

sds

15 cents

struggles. That means we have to raise money in a more methodical way, with regular pledge systems, regular parties for SDS, and regular massive sales of SDS literature. Take initiative! Write articles, suggestions, and criticisms; raise money to print what's written; and sell what's printed. Send pledges to chapter or regional fund-raisers, or with pamphlet orders to SDS LIT 173a Mass. Ave. Boston, MA 02115 (prepayment required plus 15% for postage on all orders, bulk orders available at 2/3 prepaid).

BASE-BUILDING*California*

Glen Pritzker and Leslie Fabre

During the past several years SDS has led and participated in many struggles on college campuses which have revealed capitalism for the exploitative system that it is. These fights have ranged from kicking ROTC off campus at Harvard to the strike against racism at San Francisco State. With all the emphasis being put on these large, well-publicized actions, however, some of the smaller struggles are forgotten or dismissed as insignificant to the development of SDS and the student movement as a whole. One of these 'smaller struggles' which is taking place throughout the country is the attempt to build new SDS chapters on college campuses. It is important for the growth of the movement and SDS that we not overlook this 'smaller struggle'.

Since mid-September the two of us have been attempting to build an SDS chapter at Sonoma State College. This task has been a demanding one and has required that we be continually examining our basic attitudes towards politics and people. Many of the problems that have come up have

centered around questions which SDS has been struggling with over the last few years. Probably our key problem is base-building. Because of some of our own attitudes, we sometimes take base-building too lightly. This manifests itself in arrogance, laziness, sectarianism, and other bad attitudes towards people. Not infrequently we are willing to substitute gimmicky 'exemplary actions' for building strong ties with students based on pro-working class politics. This boils down to tricking people into joining SDS rather than struggling with people around the questions of who really controls this society and who has the power to bring about social change. At Sonoma State this is evidenced in our laziness in defeating the opportunist anti-working class politics of two 'Revolutionary' Youth Movement ('R'YM) members in our chapter. Rather than exposing their politics and struggling against them, we have been content to tolerate them (and work around them), which caused nothing but confusion among our new members as we attempted to put forth a pro-working class program (the Campus Work-

Sonoma State SDS

er-Student Alliance). This is liberalism pure and simple and must be criticized and defeated if we are ever going to build a pro-working class student movement.

Another major problem we face in base-building is a high degree of sectarianism. Instead of explaining our points clearly and listening to new members for criticisms and suggestions we dominate the meeting by sloganeering and monopolizing the conversation. This not only confuses issues but also turns off many honest people to SDS who have better things to do than listen to a 'super-commie' give them the 'correct line'. This is not to say that all of the confusion is our fault, but a lot of it can be avoided by talking a little less and listening a little more. After all we don't always have the right answers about what is to be done.

Our own individual problems are only one side of the situation, however. There are objective factors both in terms of the people we are working with and the program we are putting forward which bring up serious difficulties in strengthening-

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New Orleans

Ed Clark, New Orleans MDS

the Administration constantly hinted that they would begin enforcing the Louisiana State University Board of Supervisors resolution banning SDS from all state colleges.

Within a few days, the situation changed abruptly. Last week SDS member Ed Tynan was formally charged by Dean of Student Affairs Edgar E. Burks with 'passing out unapproved leaflets published by an unrecognized organization' and 'insubordination for failure to obey the request of a university official to cease passing out the leaflets'. The leaflet, an edition of SDS's Thorn, denounced the police attacks on the Black Panther Party and linked those attacks with the LSUNO Administration's racist attempts to divide black and white students and black and white workers.

On January 12th, Gi Schafer, a member of the chapter who had resigned from LSUNO in mid-December, was arrested by New Orleans police at the order of Dean Burks. The arrest came after Schafer had refused to stop passing out the Thorn. Before the police arrived, several hundred students gathered at the University Center, and a spontaneous confrontation developed between Burks and other administration officials and Schafer, other SDS members and the students. When Schafer attacked the Administration's racist, exploitative and oppressive behavior, the students roared their approval.

That night, the chapter meeting (held during 'dead week') drew twice the usual attendance.

Today (Jan. 14th, the day before exams begin), between 75 and 100 students jammed into the offices of Dean Burks, pig-in-chief. Burks was attempting to hold a 'disciplinary hearing' on SDS member Tynan who was earlier charged with handing out SDS literature.

When it became clear the hearing would be closed to everyone but the defendant and his attorney, the defendant refused to participate and walked out. SDS members then argued that everyone should force a public hearing by any means necessary, but most of the students were divided on that proposal.

Then SDSer Schafer noticed a member of the New Orleans red squad standing down the hall with a university official. Schafer pointed this out to the students, whereupon the Administration official charged up to Schafer and ordered him off campus under threat of being arrested

again. Schafer led many of the students, still numbering 30 or 40, into the official's office. Schafer and other students again attacked the Administration. Finally, the official threw up his hands and withdrew his 'get off campus or be arrested' order to Schafer.

That was pretty much it for the day. Defendant Tynan plans a Federal Court appeal for his unrevealed but certain conviction and expulsion by Burks' disciplinary committee. But the future looks more interesting.

Other SDS members also have disciplinary hearings in process; one member is charged with 'eight counts' of handing out the Thorn. People are beginning to think in terms of demanding complete abolition of all the 'student conduct' rules, disciplinary committees, etc., primarily because they've seen that all of those rules and procedures are only used to intimidate students into obedience and servility. Cafeteria workers have also begun to meet secretly to lay the groundwork for beginning a real struggle (they make about \$1.35 an hour and each worker has to sign a notarized statement promising not to strike before being hired, to name two of their many grievances).

It is almost certainly too soon to say for sure, but a movement seems to be coming of age down here. And even on the plantation campuses of the deep South, a fighting alliance of workers and students does not seem the distant thing it once did.



Students visit Dean...

The results of patient, basebuilding work often seem to develop with amazing suddenness. The SDS chapter at Louisiana State University at New Orleans (LSUNO) is a case in point.

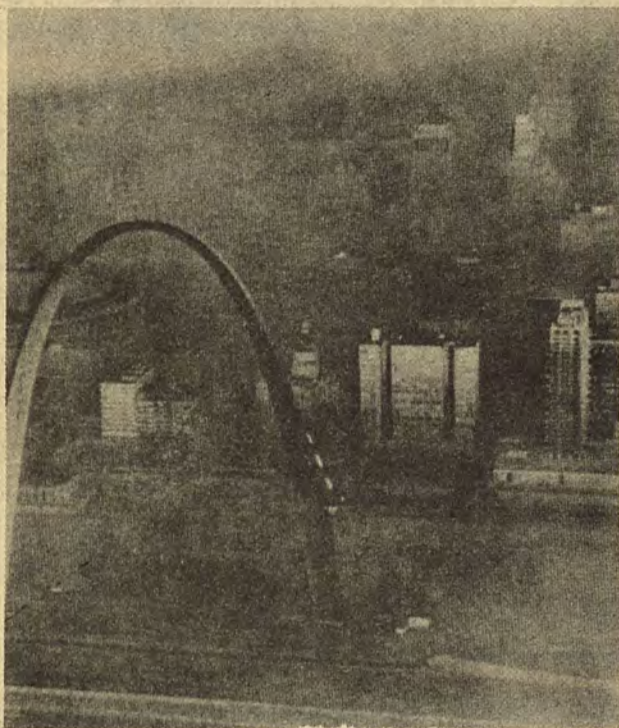
For most of the first four months of school, an SDS chapter composed of five or six students with a couple of off-campus people (from the at-large Movement for a Democratic Society) concentrated on regular leaflets to the predominantly working class student body. Early leaflets put forward SDS's position on the war (No Negotiations! U.S. Get Out Now!) and attacked the local Moratorium-Mobilization coalition. More recently, SDS leaflets (which all appear under the name Thorn and are numbered like a regular publication) have concentrated on conditions of cafeteria workers, defense of the Black Panther Party, and Administration attempts to intimidate SDS members from passing out anything.

But there seemed to be little concrete progress. Most students accepted Thorns and even began to ask for them; but the chapter grew extremely slowly (on the average of one new member per month). Some campus workers were also friendly in a guarded way, but nothing in the way of real ties existed. It looked like it would be a long time before any kind of militant action would become appropriate. Meanwhile,



...and his smile disappears

Big Business Pollutes Air for Extra Profits



fouled air over downtown St. Louis

The few big businessmen who run this country (.5% of the population who control 80% of the wealth) have one concern: making profits off the labor of the vast majority of the people. This means making profits even if a few workers are killed, plants and animals hurt, and the natural environment destroyed in the process. In every major city and many smaller ones, air pollution is at a very dangerous level and getting worse. Seventy percent of all air pollution is carbon monoxide (CO) and sulfur dioxide (SO₂). Ninety-two percent of the carbon monoxide comes from automobiles, while over 95% of the SO₂ comes from big industry. In the last few years, automobile manufacturers have been forced to put fairly effective smog devices on their new cars (just as with seat belts). Public demand forced the government to require smog devices. These government requirements in effect made it possible for the cost (and more) of the new devices to be passed on to the consumer. In most cases, the profits of the manufacturer were increased by these safety measures because car prices have risen over their cost. The public meanwhile wrings its hands and is encouraged to feel guilty for driving its cars and polluting the atmosphere. This guilt would seem to suggest that there exists some alternative to the automobile. In fact, it is only the wealthy who do have to some extent an alternative - air travel - and, significantly, that is partly subsidized by the government. The general public has to drive cars but is misled into thinking it must assume equal blame for the pollution problem.

As with CO, big industry will only take measures to stop polluting the air with dangerous SO₂ if it can be guaranteed profitable. SCIENCE magazine reports that in this country, 20 million tons of SO₂ are discharged into the air each year. SO₂ is highly toxic to plant life and although it has not been proven directly harmful to human health, one-third of it converts to sulphuric acid, which is harmful. Severe air pollution claims the lives of ten to twenty New Yorkers each day; the level of SO₂ reaches between 0.2 and 0.4 parts per million according to a report of the American Public Health Association. 'For the first time, we are satisfied that we have some definite relation between SO₂ in the air and excess deaths -- almost like the relation between smoking and cancer deaths,' reports Dr. Leonard Greenburg of the APHA.

Pollution Transcends Class Lines?

The idea is often advanced that air pollution affects everyone and 'transcends class lines';

therefore, everyone ought to be against it and should cooperate to solve the problem. This is to suggest that the ruling class and the workers are equally hurt by pollution and are therefore equally interested in its solution. This is obviously not the case. In many factories, workers breathe toxins on the job, while the bosses work in air conditioned offices. In nearly every industrial town, because of economic circumstances, the workers are forced to live near the factories where the air is most poisonous while the bosses who pollute the air live in suburbs away from the smog. The boss is nevertheless caught in the contradiction of being affected by air pollution even though much less than his workers, and at the same time being unable to solve the pollution problem because this would undoubtedly cut into his profits.

Liberals See Problem -

Confuse Cause

In recent years, the pollution problem has become so noticeably bad and its effects on humans and other animals and plant life so thoroughly documented, that the public has demanded that industry make the reforms necessary to alleviate this situation. Many basically honest and genuinely concerned liberal groups have taken the leadership in the struggle against air pollution. While the description and dimensions of the air pollution problem are correctly analyzed by these groups, the solution and particularly the means they advocate for effecting these solutions betray a lack of understanding of the class nature of our society. They advocate relying on the voluntary cooperation of big business and legislative reforms by politicians, both of which lead to an effective co-optation of the people's struggle because they are enlisting the aid and support of the very parties who create the problem and who foster its perpetuation. Many liberal politicians and businessmen who have vested interests in preventing unprofitable recovery of air pollutants endorse these kinds of solutions because they keep the people working within the system and because they can easily manipulate the outcome -- more profits for big business.

The liberal solutions for air pollution contain two erroneous assumptions: (1) that 'man' is responsible for the pollution problem, and (2) that pollution is the number one problem facing society today. First of all, blaming 'man' for pollution ignores the basic fact that this is a class society where a small number of businessmen control the society and make money from the labor of the vast majority. The rulers of this country make huge profits by exploiting the earth's natural resources. This is rationalized by the myth that

it is okay to destroy forests, pollute air, strip the earth of minerals, etc., because it is necessary to the economy of the nation -- that it is in the 'national interest' for businessmen to make their profits by any means necessary, that it is the only way to create jobs for the people, that it is a necessary result of 'progress' -- because man and nature are at irreconcilable odds. We know, in fact, that man's needs can be met without the wanton destruction of his environment and it is in his interest, in the interest of his very survival, that he learn to cooperate with nature. The reason this cooperation with nature is an ideal and not a fact is because it's not as profitable for big business, as is the exploitation of nature presently carried on by the ruling class. People must fight to overcome their own alienation from their environment. They must learn to cooperate with it for the benefit of all men and must struggle against its destruction for the benefit of a few.

By viewing pollution as our primary problem, the liberal exposes his ignorance of the basic cause of most of our social problems -- capitalism. It is analogous to having a loco steer tearing up and spreading manure all over your backyard. You don't solve the problem by cleaning up the mess but by getting rid of the steer. Air pollution can't be solved by merely cleaning it up but by fighting the bosses who run this country and are responsible for messing it up. Some people are concerned about whether we will be around to solve other social problems if air pollution isn't stopped now. This again ignores who really runs America. Big business will clean up the air when the bosses themselves begin to be threatened in such a way that no longer allows for their escape, and when masses of people unite and demand an immediate end to all forms of exploitation, including air pollution.

By putting the fight against pollution first, the liberals divert the primary struggle from that of working people all over the world being exploited by US imperialists, into one of men versus nature. Their approach suggests that people should not fight exploitation but should fight for better technology to control pollution. It has been reported by scientists that technology can stop air pollution by big industry now, even though it might not be as profitable as big business would like. Big business is holding out for some future technological solution which will be more profitable. American Public Health Association President Lester Breslow warns against 'blind faith in technology as a solution to pollution'. He said, 'It is dangerous to allow industry to continue producing pollutants while searching for tech-



Salt Lake City demonstration



nological solutions.' The problem is not technological but rather in whose interest big industry is being run.

Two other reasons why the liberal establishment has jumped on the anti-pollution bandwagon are: (1) If liberals and President Nixon, didn't start talking about the problem of pollution, it would become even more clear whose interests big business and the government serve. (2) Publicity on the pollution problem distracts from anti-war sentiment which is important because more and more people are recognizing that the Vietnam War is an extension of US imperialism.

Liberal leaders, many of whom were leaders of the Moratorium, are trying to do the same thing with the problem of pollution as they were attempting to do with the problem of the Vietnam War. The Moratorium leaders didn't have as their objective an end to the exploitation of the Vietnamese people. They wanted to end the war and continue control of Vietnam through other means, i.e. Vietnamization, a coalition government controlled by the US.

The pollution problem is no different; the liberal leaders don't want to wipe out pollution of the environment, but instead want to reduce pollution to a level that satisfies the people's protest and big businessmen's pocketbooks. This has in fact happened in places where anti-pollution struggles have been fought and were co-opted, e.g. Lewiston, Idaho, where its dirty paper mill still pollutes the air. There have been no demands made by liberal groups in Salt Lake City that pollution stop, only that it be reduced to the federal minimum level. This would help the situation but wouldn't stop pollution. In many cases, where federal standards have been adopted, no means have been established to enforce them and industry has kept doing 'business as usual'. Nor have these liberal groups raised the question of the pollution problem within the factories, where the air is often highly toxic. In fact, their demands are often only related to scenic problems -- or there are no demands at all, just appeals for public clean-up projects.

Salt Lake City...

Hazardous to Your Health!

In Salt Lake City the contradiction between who profits from pollution and who gets hurt from pollution is very clear. The biggest corporation in the Salt Lake Valley is Kennecott

Copper Corporation (KCC). The workers at Kennecott stayed out on strike for nine months two years ago, only to be sold out by the union leadership and have the strike broken because Kennecott imported copper from Chile allowing them to make money at strike-inflated prices. KCC is a strike-breaker! Kennecott is the main contributor of SO₂ pollution in Salt Lake Valley. KCC emits an average of 600 tons a day of SO₂ and tremendous amounts of arsenic. In September 1969, KCC put 700 pounds per day of arsenic into the air. All this, and KCC has only one man working on pollution control. KCC is a smog maker!

In Salt Lake City, the class lines are particularly clear. Income determines how high on the eastern and northern mountains surrounding the valley people can live. The big bosses of KCC live on the hillsides above the smog or in wooded areas twenty miles or more from the copper smelter, where pollution is light. On the other hand, the men who make the money for KCC bigwigs, the workers, live right next to the smelter where the pollution is the worst. These workers also must work in the smelter where many wear gas masks, and many more should but can't because it wouldn't be profitable to KCC.

A public hearing was held at the State Capitol where over 1000 people massed to complain about the bad air. At one point, the general manager of KCC got up and lied about the amount of SO₂ KCC emits and then said KCC wouldn't stop polluting the air. People began hissing, booing, and coughing, and the Governor had to come to the general manager's rescue. Governor Rempton had to protect one of the men who put him in office, so he told the people to respect his right to speak even though KCC doesn't respect anyone's right to breathe and make decent wages. It was clear to most people whose interests Rempton serves. Later, a rank and file union leader stood up and told how KCC lied about how much SO₂ they emitted; that according to KCC's own figures they emitted more than twice that amount. He then told how unbearable the conditions were in the smelter and KCC didn't care about its workers, only about making money. The next day the local of the United Steelworkers Union put out a press release about the unbearable conditions at the KCC smelter and the need for public support.

A struggle was raised around the problem of

pollution and the University of Utah SDS made many mistakes. Instead of leading the struggle, we first tailed a liberal organization until we finally realized that we had to take independent action. Our reasoning at the beginning was that air pollution was too easily co-opted and transcended class lines. We didn't fully integrate ourselves with people and know their concerns and in doing so overlooked the chance to involve hundreds of people in a fight for their own benefit against big business.

From this mistake it became clear that SDS should take the leadership so that liberals aren't able to mislead the people in this important issue. If SDS had discussed this nationally and had taken the leadership in this struggle, thousands of students could have been drawn in and many important ties with workers could have been established. Utah SDS let a basically liberal group raise the issue, organize a demonstration, and mislead, to some extent, the air pollution struggle. We did, however, march in the demonstration and passed out leaflets with a radical analysis to hundreds of people.

SDS chapters across the country should now do two things:

1. Initiate pollution struggles, and
2. Send people into existing liberal groups organized around this problem, to point out that it isn't 'man' who is to blame, but is in fact big business trying to make bigger profits.

Utah SDS now plans to research KCC research building on our campus, while exposing the alleged neutrality of the university -- show it as a boss, and hopefully gain support of campus workers in the struggle. By making the connection of KCC research on our campus to the very visible results in the air - and in turn exposing the University as a boss - we hope to strengthen existing ties developed by CWSA on our campus.

This article just begins much needed discussion on the problem of environmental destruction and how ex-Moratorium leaders are trying to push a cover, not a solution. Although pollution shouldn't be the primary fight, the fight should begin. It's still unclear how a fight against air pollution could be waged, and what demands should be raised, but with further discussion and study it will become more apparent.

Vicki Hammel
 Laury Hammel Jill Jones
 Kathy Collard University of Utah SDS

THE SECRET LINK BETWEEN NIXON AND THE NEW MOBE KIDS

BY WARREN ROGERS *Look Washington Bureau Chief*

IT STARTED WITH SANITATION. A quarter-million or more anti-war demonstrators were coming to Washington. The capital is used to crowds, and it is growing used to unruly ones, but somebody had to do more than just talk about toilets for all those people. In Mayor Walter Washington's office, at the Justice and Defense Departments, in the White House, everybody was bracing for "the march." It was decided, almost left-handedly, to let the younger set, the lower-level assistants at the White House, tackle the non-controversial problems of sanitation.

From that utterly mundane beginning, Tranquility Base—a name lightheartedly borrowed from the first lunar landing—was born. . . .

Tranquility Base was perhaps the most important factor in keeping violence below the expected minimum.

. . . No decisions were made without the President's knowledge and approval.

Richard Blumenthal, who works for Presidential Counselor Daniel P. Moynihan, was tapped to work out the sanitation problems with New Mobilization leaders

. . . . he knows Sam Brown, leader and organizer of the Moratorium Committee, one of some 50 anti-war groups brought together in the New Mobe. They had met at Harvard,

Blumenthal renewed the acquaintance by telephone and, during the conversation, brought up the subject of sanitation. Brown, as busy with his worrying and planning as anybody in the Federal and municipal governments, handed off the problem to one of his assistants, and the contact that was to grow into an anti-violence liaison among the under-thirties had been made. The negotiations, nurtured by growing confidence and trust, proceeded from sanitation to parade permits to joint communications.

"Very early, we began talking about the need for a rumor center."

And so things just happened — with Blumenthal and Chester Finn, another young White House staffer, working side by side at Tranquility, mainly with Anthony Podesta and John O'Sullivan of New Mobe.

About six blocks from the Capitol, in the Municipal Building, Room 5029 became headquarters. It was about 100 feet down the hall from Mayor Washington's command center, itself a communications beehive that included direct lines to the White House and the Justice Department and resembled something out of *Dr. Strangelove*. Like mayors in other riot-hit cities, Mayor Washington has found that he needs such a headquarters to handle civil convulsions.

A base set, capable of handling up to 14 walkie-talkie radios in the field, was installed. Six telephones were put in, along with direct lines to three Mobe posts at the semi-abandoned Willard Hotel, downtown at Vermont Avenue and L Streets, and at the stage erected at the Washington Monument. Thus the Mayor and Mobe leaders could be in touch with one another on an instantaneous basis.

Near the White House, a police officer smiled at a Mobe marshal and remarked, "You're pretty good. Why don't you let me sign you up on the force?" The youngster replied, "OK, if you'll get in there and join the march."



MIT SIT-IN

On January 15 and 16, 300 students at one time or another were involved in an occupation of the MIT Corporation office. The action was sparked by the expulsion of one student and the disciplining of others on charges arising from a demonstration against a GE recruiter.

We made the following demands of the MIT administration:

- No GE recruiters on campus until the end of the strike.
- An end to harassment and speedup of campus workers by supervisors (e.g. Sal Ciulla, who fired, or harassed into quitting, over 30 workers last year).
- An end to the following war research projects: MIT, ABM, MIRV, CAM, the helicopter project, and the International Communism Project.
- MIT pay \$150,000 to the Black Panther Party.
- Rescind all punishments.
- Abolish the Discipline Committee.

In addition, we pledged support for the five Organization for Black Unity (OBU) demands, including 20% black and third world workers on Harvard construction projects.

When we came back from Christmas vacation, we discovered that the Faculty Committee on Discipline had expelled Undergraduate Association President Mike Albert for political activity. Rosa Luxemburg SDS (a group formed after the split in SDS last June and claiming no national affiliation) was planning to hold a rally on Friday, January 9. Albert is a member of RL-SDS. MIT SDS decided to support the action. An error that we made at this stage was timidity in political struggle with RL-SDS people over the political points in a possible joint leaflet. The RL meeting set up a committee to write a leaflet, and our people wrote an independent leaflet.

The result was that their leaflet explained very poorly the reasons Albert was expelled. Its 'political' program was 'stop the shit'. Our leaflet discussed the GE strike and explained our belief that the only way to fight repression is to build an understanding of the political issues. A struggle against repression which only raises demands about discipline can be co-opted because the administration can always set up 'fairer' or 'more representative' committees without losing the power of punishment.

Over 500 people came to the rally. After a few short speeches, we all went to the Discipline Committee hearing of RL member George Katsiaticas who was up on charges stemming from the November Actions.

The 'trial' was a farce. It was good that people were not cowed by the Discipline Committee, but not as many political points were made as could have been. In general, George and other RL members involved in his defense brought out the absurdity of the committee proceedings rather than the serious political basis for the charges.

Seeing the large numbers of people at the rally and the trial, we decided to take a joint action with RL-SDS. We thought it would be a good idea to hold a mass meeting early the next week at which we could raise political demands and suggest an action, possibly a non-obstructive sit-in. We went to an RL meeting Monday night and argued for the mass meeting and for expanding

the demands from 'no discipline' to include political demands such as 'No GE recruiters on campus until the end of the strike'.

We lost this argument because people thought that most students would be bored by political discussions and that it would be better for the 'radicals' to decide on tactics and then call on people to join the action. We think this attitude is wrong. It's based on a fear of people and political discussion and a sectarian attitude in thinking of themselves as the 'vanguard' whom people should follow. Through timidity, we made the mistake of not calling a mass meeting independently so that more people could be able to decide on the action and discuss the politics of repression. Thus we let the tactical leadership fall into the hands of RL, which decided to have a militant action on Thursday, at noon. The demands would be only against discipline.

There was a rally Thursday morning attended by 300 people, who then moved to the corridor in front of the Corporation offices. Four people with ski masks carrying a battering ram suddenly appeared from out of the crowd and battered open a little-used rear door to the offices, while the people up front were arguing with the administration lackeys at the main door. People were confused at first, and only about half the people present entered the offices. At a meeting of the people inside the offices that afternoon, it was decided to adopt political demands. One of the

cont. p. 15

SPECTOR (Cont.)

used as a vehicle to raise pro-working class ideas and to attack racism and male chauvinism. Black and other non-white workers, and especially women, are the worst treated. Many people attach especially high significance to struggles around the problems of campus workers and believe that they should be SDS's major thrust -- primary over the others. The major reason for attaching extra significance to these struggles is the importance people attach to the building of an actual, concrete permanent alliance between a particular group of students (SDS on a certain campus) and a particular group of workers (the employees on that campus).

CWSA — Main Thrust?

Of course, having a concrete alliance would be, in one sense, a step beyond carrying out actions which are pro-working class but which won't immediately produce a concrete alliance. (Fighting ROTC can be pro-working class, for example, if we deal with it in an anti-imperialist way, rather than a 'purify the university' way.) And having a concrete alliance between students and workers is what we will eventually need to successfully fight imperialism. But we haven't even reached the majority of the seven million college students yet with an anti-imperialist analysis, and concentrating on trying to build a concrete alliance between ourselves and campus workers may have the effect of limiting our work among other students. What we have to deal with is that campus worker-student alliance (CWSA) struggles often do not have the mass appeal which other types of campaigns have, especially those against the war. This is not to say that CWSA struggles are bad, or even unimportant. But to make them the main thrust is to say that they are more important than other types of struggles and that those other struggles, while important, must be dealt with primarily in terms of building CWSA. I disagree. It's not enough to say, 'We'll deal with the war too,' when on many campuses thousands of students have actively

opposed the war. Many who see CWSA as the main focus discuss how important and how terrific a concrete alliance between students and workers would be. But our main focus should be organizing students. CWSA struggles are often very difficult to handle, very complicated and tricky, and at some schools just not the best thing to make the main focus. The importance of waging a particular type of struggle is only one criterion; the realistic possibility of carrying it out successfully and in a mass way at that particular time is another important criterion that should not be played down in our enthusiasm over building a concrete alliance.

This ties in somewhat to the debate on culture, drugs, and 'individualism' now going on within SDS. If we are to reach out to huge numbers of students we have to be sensitive to the internal forces which they experience, and one of the key ones is personal alienation. Most students are generally subjected to an education full of lies and irrelevancies. College, living alone, away from home and in a much more highly depersonalized situation often produces a very intense sense of alienation. For many students (though clearly not all), this sense of alienation is their first consciousness of conflict between themselves and the system, and they develop modes of rebellion which may not be the most effective, but which can be a step into other more effective forms of social rebellion. This is certainly not to say that everyone should go through a 'bohemian' stage; people come to oppose the system in many different ways, and there are many types of experiences which can help people begin to develop an understanding of the system. While we understand that certain types of rebellion are not necessarily the most effective, we have to be careful not to be insensitive to and not to ignore their good aspects as well.

In general we should take real initiative in building on campus. We can't wage struggles around everything rotten or we will dissipate our energies ineffectively. But we ought not to narrow our scope either. Certain types of actions

don't take weeks of leaflets, petitions, dorm canvassing and other types of effort which are very important when mounting a major, long-term campaign like abolishing ROTC or a police institute. For example, if you find out that some government official connected with US foreign policy, an ambassador to Bolivia or Greece or a defense department official or something like that, is coming to speak on campus, SDS or an anti-war subcommittee of the chapter might issue a leaflet calling for picketing to protest against the guy. Or if a particularly male chauvinist or racist sociologist or government official is coming to speak, SDS or one of its subcommittees might issue a leaflet discussing the relevant issues and maybe call for picketing and suggest certain types of questions to ask the speaker which might help expose him or her. These actions don't take a huge amount of preparation, can help SDSers meet more students and raise political ideas with them, and often can help build morale and provide a boost to other SDS projects which might be going on at the same time. The important thing is to be creative and continue to reach students politically in many different ways, without becoming so diverse that we fail to knit together and systematically consolidate all our struggles into a whole program of exposing and attacking the imperialist system.

In general, the situation is very good. SDS and the movement are growing rapidly, spreading to areas where it never existed before, and is taking firm root in areas where it previously existed only marginally or in name only. We must continue to reach out to people in an honest way and rely on their experiences to expose the nature of the imperialist system. We have to rely on the membership of SDS, and others as well, to constantly come up with ideas to improve our literature, New Left Notes, and all our work in general. If we remain politically principled and tactically flexible, and if we rely on the people to enrich and strengthen the movement's work in both areas, and if we fight cynicism and really take the initiative in attacking imperialism, SDS and the movement can't help but grow in a serious, positive and massive way.

G.E. — On the Run

Background

As you may know, SDS and other campus radical groups apparently have picked General Electric as their target for this year. As a large, successful industrial firm and a leading defense contractor, GE is linked with the "Establishment" that the radicals hope to destroy. But most large companies, of course, share a similar image. The key ingredient that resulted in GE's selection to receive this year's SDS attention, it appears, was the strike, and the timing was propitious for SDS. Coming as it did right at the peak of the recruiting season, the strike gave SDS the opportunity they had been looking for, a chance to promote their avowed desire to cement an alliance with "workers." With the strike as "evidence" of GE's alleged "exploitation" of its employees, SDS had a tailor-made opening to woo labor's support for SDS's aims by appearing to take up the cudgels for working people. SDS admittedly considers labor support crucial to their long-term success.

With the stage thus set, the anti-GE campaign of SDS took the form dictated by its national strategy. Besides picketing GE campus interviewers and demonstrating against selected placement offices, SDS members have even occasionally joined UE-IUE picket lines at GE plants. Generally, they have been resented and rejected by the unions for trying, in the words of one union official, "to exploit the cause of the strikers for the advancement of their own political and ideological aims."

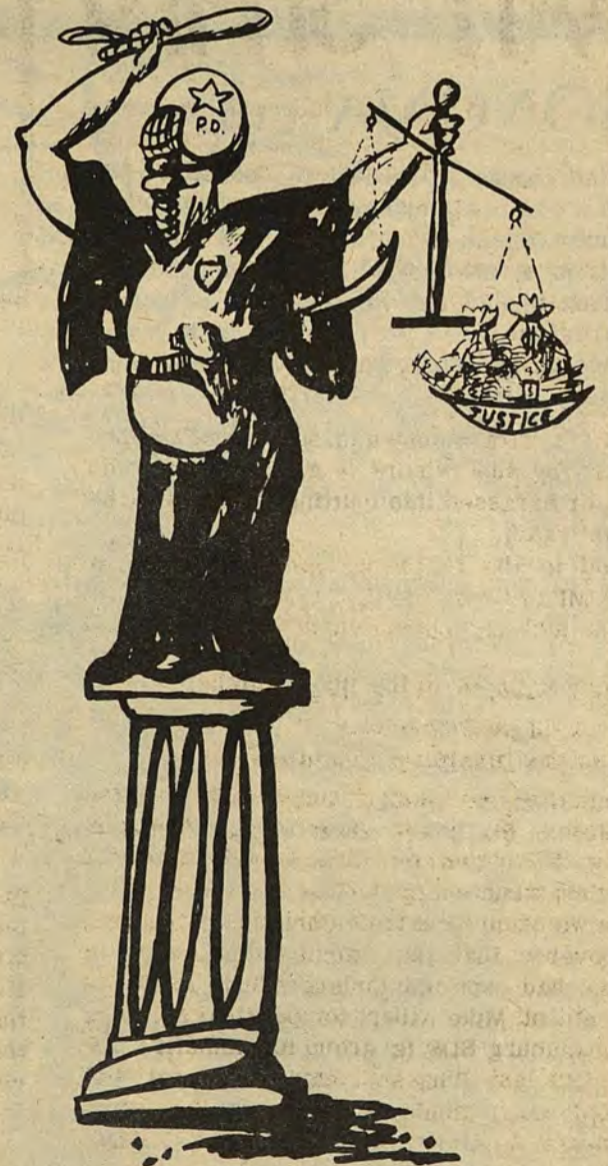
At colleges, their theme, "Throw GE Off Campus," has been amended to include another, "Support GE Workers." The leaflets that appear on campuses prior to visits by General Electric recruiters are intended to look both local and spontaneous. They are neither. We have now accumulated enough leaflets from campuses around the country to be convinced that the charges come from a common source, since they are almost always the same, with very little fact or logic and lots of emotion.

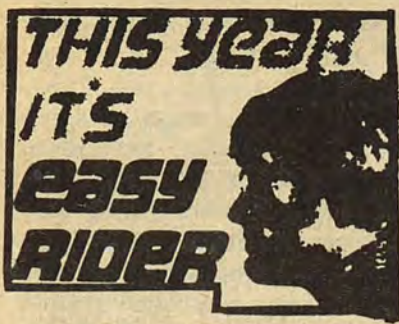
Should you "debate" with SDS?

The SDS and other radical groups would like to goad us into a "debate" with them. They profess a desire to "confront" General Electric people, but we have nothing to gain from such confrontation. The result would be only to dignify their accusations, and we would find ourselves in the untenable position of trying to rebut sudden, spurious, and even irrational thrusts from people who aren't really after the facts, anyway, and at a time and place of their choosing. So we urge you to continue to refrain from subjecting yourselves to the risk -- or at least the unpleasantness -- of face-to-face meetings with the campus radicals. Attempting to give responsible answers to irresponsible questions is a no-win situation.

Management Manpower Development
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GENERAL ELECTRIC





'A man went looking for America...and couldn't find it anywhere.'

These are evocative words that conjure up the splendid futility of a Don Quixote jousting his windmills. Audiences seem always to be deeply involved by a quest, whether it is for sweet Dulcinea, the World Series pennant, or the moon. 'Easy Rider' is a 'quest for America'; Wyatt and Billy, long-haired, and motorcycle riding, journey to the Marti Gras in New Orleans and run into a segment of America that is supposedly murderously hostile to their style of life.

'Easy Rider' is a magnificent exploration of personal relationships and agonies. The dialogue, the road photography, the New Orleans drug scene, the Odysseus atmosphere of the film combine to beautifully express the way Billy and Wyatt see themselves. Hippy versus redneck, radical versus reactionary -- these conflicts shape the action for the characters. (Radical in this movie, as is often the case, has nothing to do with a political consciousness.) The way these conflicts are set up, however, perpetuates an ideology that says long-hairs or students are inherently at odds with the working people. It seems to be saying that the main thing wrong with America is that poor Southern whites are racist, reactionary and violent, that they won't understand why it is important for people to be able to live like Billy and Wyatt. And the very rich are at least somewhat cool because they're into the drug scene -- a character with a chauffeur and limousine buys some drugs from Billy and Wyatt and makes their journey possible.

The easy riders invite a man they meet in a small Southern town to come to New Orleans with them. Around the campfire that night he explains that the local bigots harass the trio because they feel threatened by Billy and Wyatt. That is, such

hippie vs. redneck?

Stereotypes

Collide!

by Sue Adams, UC San Diego

the old way, but are instead prophets of doom.

Perhaps this is what Wyatt was realizing the last night around the campfire when he said, 'Billy, we blew it.' The sparseness of the dialogue gives an air of profundity to this and other observations, which might have been difficult to match by detailed analysis within the context of the movie. Maybe the writers and director just knew that that had to be said, but weren't really sure why.

And so Wyatt and Billy are massacred in a Bonnie and Clyde type ending that leaves the audience in something of a state of shock. The easy riders become martyrs, but not for any particular cause, not for any movement. They are not 'outside' society in any significant way. Their life style, because it is unconnected to any political analysis, seems a new way of adapting to basic contradictions which are no longer bearable, instead of a way to change them. They were not consciously intending to challenge the existing order in those Southern towns -- Billy says he never thought of himself as the freak the townspeople see him as. Having them die the way they did seems unnecessary and meaningless. The only social comment that is made by their deaths is, I think, that people in this country -- on all sides -- are becoming increasingly and perhaps permanently paranoid.

Easy Rider stops short of indicating that hippy vs. redneck is only a symptom of more basic contradictions. Peter Fonda, who produced, wrote, and starred in the movie, has said on the Tonight show that he thinks it is more important to find and ask the right questions than to find and create answers. His movie is this kind of questioning -- an absorption in a 'quest' that is so all-inclusive that it matters little if it is a quest for something.

people talk a lot about constitutionality and rights, but when they are confronted with a man who is really free, says the new friend, they are afraid. This sort of analysis stops short after exploring the lack of existential awareness or anguish in the reactionary townspeople. It ignores the fact that objective conditions determine that these townspeople are in a situation easily leading to reactionary attitudes. That is, a certain class, the ruling class, profits not only from their lack of freedom, but from their fear of freedom. A worker has a low-paying and alienating job, but it is his only security. If all of a sudden the government says to this worker that there must be certain quotas of black people employed here, and we're cutting back on federal spending to curb inflation, there's no longer enough jobs to go around, so you must laid off -- the tradition of racism in this country becomes a useful tool in diverting anger from the government to the black workers. Hippies may not threaten jobs, but they threaten life styles. If working people took off on a cross-country journey anytime, or wanted to 'drop out', or thumbed their noses at all authority, they'd lose their jobs. They cannot be 'carefree' like Billy and Wyatt, but their antagonism is toward the easy riders, not their bosses, for whom they continue to work hard.

More and more this change in life styles is being adopted into the 'establishment'. It is being made a way people can escape from the reality of their relationships and the implications of the things they defend, or at least do not attack their country for doing. Billy and Wyatt's freedom that is supposedly threatening the small town Southerners is illusory, a pacifier. For if the opportunity to grow long hair and ride motorcycles across the country defines freedom for us, the easy riders are not representatives of a new way of living being slaughtered by remnants of

SONOMA cont.

ing the chapter. Probably the primary problem among our new members is establishing a sense of commitment. Oftentimes a new member will come to a meeting with an honest, theoretical interest in SDS and its program; however, it is a rare case when we have been able to get this person to make a commitment to doing any work himself (writing leaflets, talking to campus workers, etc.). This, of course, makes it difficult to get a program off the ground. However, it is only one side of the problem. Lack of commitment among new members is as much our fault as theirs. True, many new members are self-centered and individualistic. But it is equally true that we often don't take the time to explain our program to new members so that they will want to become involved. Or worse yet we sometimes don't really have any program at all and are content to use SDS meetings as forums for debating the merits of Stalin vs. Trotsky or deciding whether Ho Chi Minh was a revisionist. These are certainly important questions but they are no substitute for a sound pro-working class program which will lead to continued mass actions.

It is for this reason that the CWSA is so important to the development of a new SDS chapter. While fights against ROTC, pig institutes, etc., are certainly sound programs, they finally can only be viewed as secondary in the light of allying directly with campus workers. If we honestly believe that the working class is the primary agent for social change then we must build strong ties with workers and fight alongside them. And as students we must begin building these ties right where we are - on our own campuses - by talking with campus workers and ally-

ing with them around their demands (higher wages, better working conditions, more jobs). The development of a CWSA will do more to strengthen an SDS chapter than a hundred panel discussions or any number of student power actions. Furthermore, the CWSA is critical if we are to defeat the right-wing opportunism of the 'R'YM forces who praise the working class in theory while they kick them in the teeth in practice. Our only response to this can be to build invincible ties with workers which cannot be broken by the force of the state or by those phonies who would call themselves revolutionaries.

At Sonoma State, however, we have had certain difficulties in putting forward the CWSA as a mass program for SDS, and it is crucially important that we understand and overcome these problems. One problem is the anti-working class feeling among many students. By and large these students see workers as stupid, bought off, and reactionary. This causes students to be reluctant to talk to campus workers because they think it is a waste of time. After all, they argue, what have those workers ever done for us? The problem here is essentially one of tying up theory and practice. Most students don't want to talk to campus workers because they don't understand the objective position that workers are in in this society (i.e. the most exploited sector and the critical class for social change). On the other hand we will never be able to overcome this anti-working class bias unless we can get students to talk to campus workers so that they see that workers are not so 'well off' after all. At Sonoma this problem has yet to be solved. In other words, you can't develop the practice without at least a minimal theoretical understanding and yet the theory is meaningless without the practice.

The only way we have been able to begin solving this problem is by bringing new members with us while we talk to campus workers. In this way the new member is not under pressure to talk to someone he sees no reason to talk to, but he is there while you are talking to the worker and may learn something from the conversation. After you finish talking with the worker, time should be taken to discuss the conversation with the new member, special attention given to his opinions and suggestions. Perhaps after a few of these conversations he may be more willing to talk with some of the campus workers himself. One should always remember that this situation can be viewed as opportunism both by the campus workers and the new member if it is not handled honestly with our politics always clearly explained. Finally, anti-working class feelings among students will only be overcome when we put ourselves in a position where we are actually fighting alongside campus workers. However, a certain amount of theoretical understanding about workers is essential to the development of the CWSA, and discussions and study groups around the question of allying with campus workers should be encouraged in the chapter.

This article has undoubtedly seemed confused at times. It is the product of the confusion which we have faced in trying to build a new SDS chapter. This confusion springs both from our own confusion and the objective confusion around us. None of this uncertainty, however, should stop us in our struggle to build a strong pro-working class student movement, for it is only in practice that some of our questions can be answered. It is not only desirable but absolutely necessary that new SDS chapters be built on campuses throughout the country, and it is equally important that the CWSA be an integral part of the programs of these chapters.

FIGHTING GE...

...at UNH

On December 9 and 10, the U of New Hampshire administration scheduled six GE managers to recruit students in the placement center in Huddleston Hall. The UNH bosses saw fit to carry on with their schedule, even though the UNH SDS chapter and others leafleted, held rallies, talked to students, and demanded that the recruiting not take place during the GE strike.

The night before the recruiters came, SDS sponsored an open meeting to decide what type of action should be taken. Two major alternative actions were seen to exist: (1) a purely educative, unobstructive demonstration where the managers would be allowed to recruit unharassed, or (2) an action that would physically stop recruiting (i.e. picket lines, obstruction of doorways and stairs, etc.). After lengthy discussion, a clear majority voted to physically stop the recruiter because most of us felt that it would be most effective to expose university 'neutrality' through direct confrontation. Also, it was really important to actively support the GE strikers by stopping the management scabs. The people at the meeting now assumed the name 'The Coalition to Stop GE', which was composed of members of SDS, Female Liberation Front, and many unaffiliated people.

Students Block GE Recruiters

On Tuesday, Dec. 9, at 8 a.m., about 40 demonstrators arrived at Huddleston Hall. Thirty formed a picket line in front of the two main entrances, while ten people went inside the hall itself and blocked the stairs leading up to the recruiting rooms. Shortly after, the GE recruiters arrived escorted by two deans and the lame-duck president of the student body (the president-elect came to support the demonstration). They at-

tempted to break through the picket line. A few minor scuffles broke out in which one GE recruiter lost a boot. Eventually, they broke through the outside picket line only to meet the ten demonstrators blocking the stairway to their rooms. This forced the administration to find a new place for their scab guests.

The outside pickets came in and the Coalition held a meeting on the stairs to decide what further action should be taken. We decided to occupy the original recruiting rooms for as long as the GE recruiters were on campus. By doing this, we were allowing GE to recruit, but we felt that we were not strong enough to kick the scabs off campus, nor were we large enough in numbers to storm the makeshift recruiting office and stop the recruiting. (There were now ten administrators and some police behind a locked door guarding the GE scabs.) Our decision to occupy the top floor of the placement center was made because we felt the university had to be made to take a public stand on the GE strike.

Counter-demonstrators Won Over

The overnight occupation was the first in UNH's history. Even though we failed to keep GE out, we were able to draw a lot of students and reach people through rallies, leaflets and dorm discussions during the occupation. A public statement was issued which began, 'We, the Coalition to Stop GE, will occupy the third floor of the placement center at Huddleston Hall until the GE recruiters are off campus. Our demand is that no company recruiter be allowed to recruit while that company is on strike.' The numbers inside the building steadily increased as the hours passed. At 4:30 p.m. the administration decided to block off the entrances to the building with armed cops. At about midnight, a counter-demonstration began at the front of the building. SDS members and others who were blocked from entering the building by the cops discussed the action with the

counter-demonstrators. Most were won over to the Coalition demands, though some disagreed with the tactics. Within a half hour, they drifted away.

Coalition Strengthens Protest

We left the building at 4:30 p.m. the next day as the GE recruiters left campus. The 38 occupants of Huddleston left together. We held a short rally where we read our second statement declaring the occupation a success. For all of us who took part, probably one of the most valuable aspects of the occupation was the fact that we were able to form a 'coalition' in spite of differences that had kept us apart all semester. Also, we were forced to do a lot of talking to students we often label as 'bought off' or apathetic. We got into concrete discussions instead of just throwing leaflets at people.

Specifically for us in SDS, we've been able to connect the scab recruiting with campus worker-student alliance issues we have been fighting around, and to expose a little more of the total picture of UNH as a boss.

As a final note to our action, an injunction and restraining order were issued, naming nine 'ring-leaders' and 'all others similarly situated'. This injunction and restraining order are still in effect and we must enter a plea in court within the next thirty days. Furthermore, the administration attempted to revoke the UNH SDS charter. The success of our action depends upon our ability to build support among students by showing them that the interests of the university are dependent on the interests of big business. In following up the occupation, we have found dorm discussions to be one of the best ways to build support and continue to make this action a successful educational tool.

Kathy Holt
Eric MacEachern UNH SDS

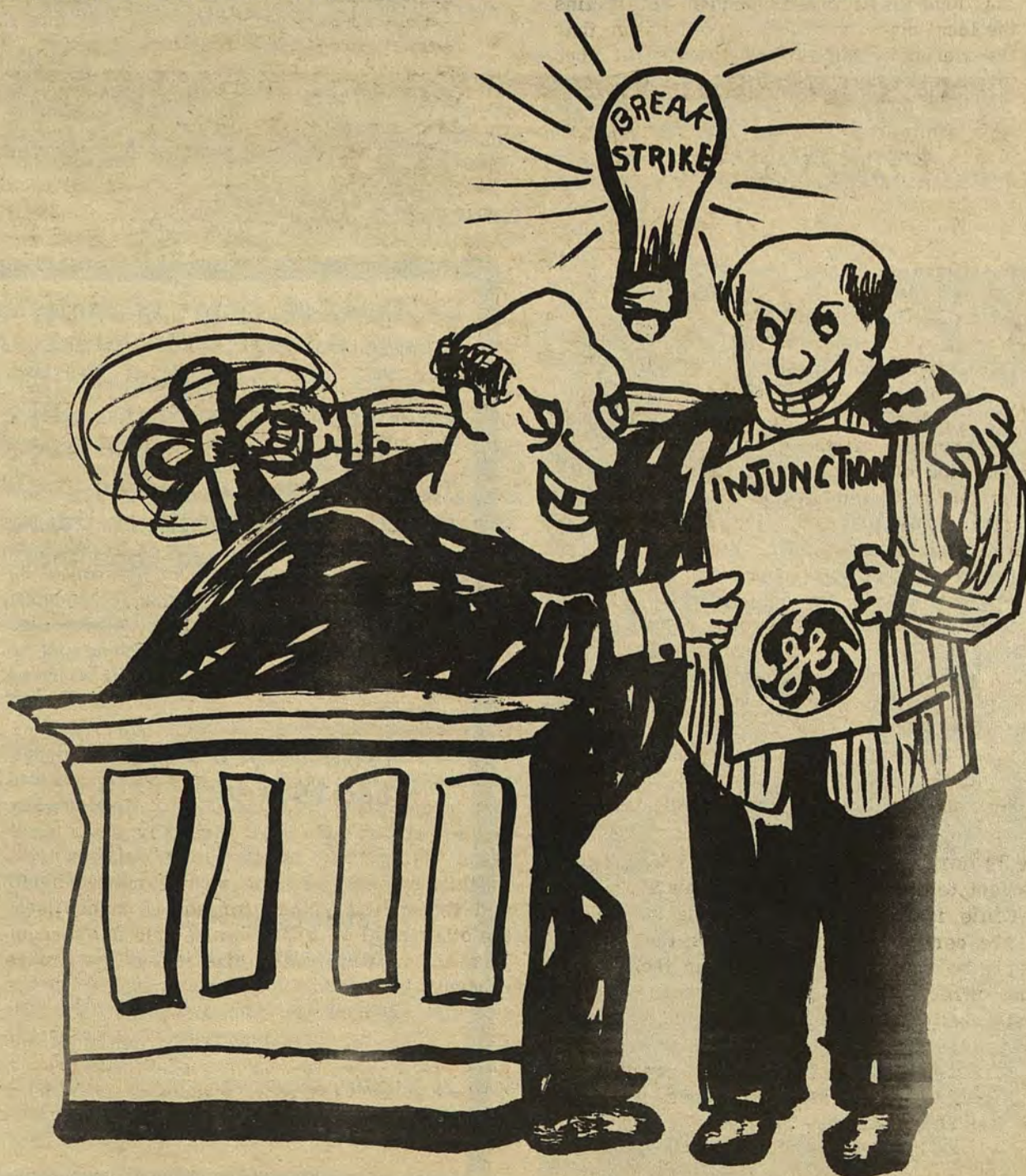
...in Rochester

Karen Paley, Rochester SDS

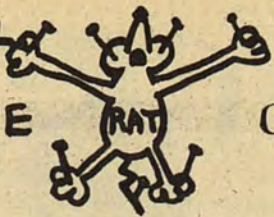
SDS has been doing a lot to support the General Electric strikers. We have picketed and harassed the GE recruiters, as well as collected money on campus and in front of grocery stores to buy food for the strikers in Rochester and Syracuse. Most of them are living on around \$15 to \$20 a week, as this is all their strike fund provides them with. By law they are supposed to collect unemployment insurance (a certain percentage of their average weekly wage) after seven weeks of being without work. However, as the strike goes into its fourth month, the strikers have yet to receive any money from the government because General Electric has held back the names and average weekly wages of the strikers. Is the government issuing an injunction against GE for obstructing unemployment insurance payments to its striking workers, as, for instance, they have issued injunctions to limit the number of pickets in front of plant gates and, therefore, help the company break the strike? The government has taken no stand against the company because they side with the company against the workers.

Only 20 people work at a General Electric appliance and service center in Rochester, and nine of them are scabbing. Since this kind of work does not require going to a central place every day at a regular time, SDS has been asked by Rochester strikers to help them picket the homes of the scabs. The first time about a dozen of us picketed with scab signs (one of which had a picture of a rat). Our morale was very high in spite of the sub-zero temperature. All the neighbors watched us through their windows and one elderly man asked us what we were doing. When one GE striker told him his neighbor was scabbing, he replied, 'I don't know why the hell some people do things like that.'

Self-critically, we could be doing a lot more to help the strikers hold out against GE, if we were more consistent in our collection of money.



RADICAL ARTS TROUPE



cont.

Well, we gotta do the thing that makes us look the best Kickin' out a chosen few will scare the rest There's lots of kids who think that these demands are right Crackin' down on freshmen will put them uptight.

There's two dupes for every Two dupes for every Two dupes for every...red!

P: All right, sounds good. Now let's see, if we go through the proper procedures, I guess you could announce that you have decided to expel fifteen...or maybe sixteen...students in about, uh, three weeks?

#4: I don't know what you're talking about... We could knock off that number of students in (smiling) less than one week!

#5 (speaking to P): Yeah, I mean if we go through all those procedures and do it your way, we won't be done until...uh...until, uh...

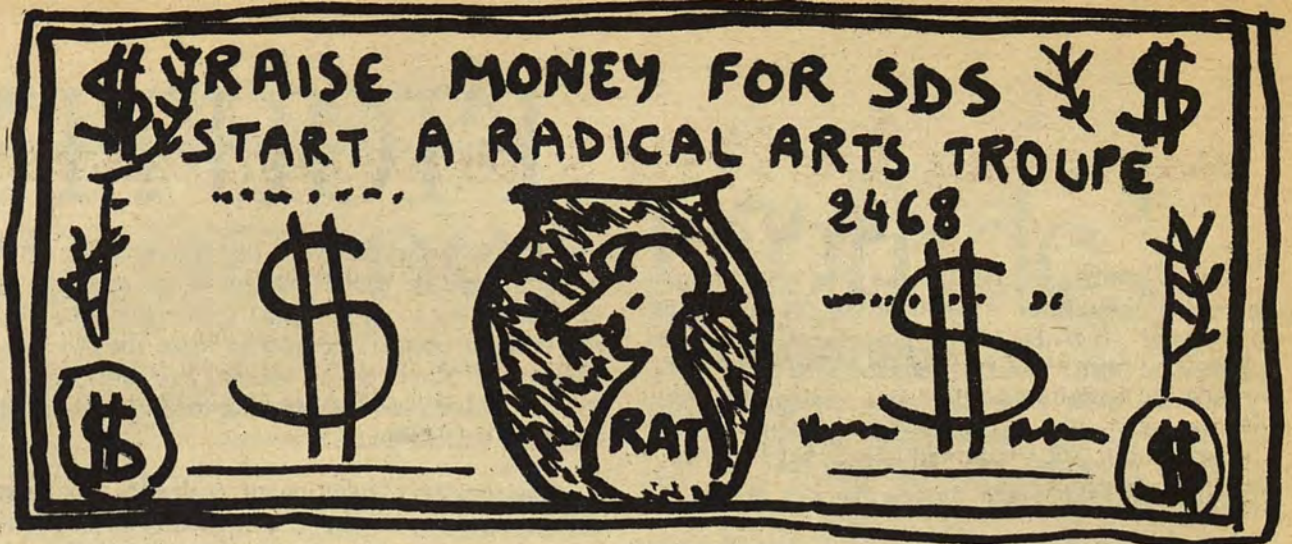
All Com. Members: CHRISTMAS VACATION! (All make chorus line and sing to tune of 'Time Is On My Side', Rolling Stones):

Time is on our side, yes it is (twice) Now this job will take us until Christmas break And then comes reading period And then comes exams And then comes intercession...

Com. Members, D and PB hum softly 'Time Is On My Side' as P steps forward, talks to audience, swaggering...

P: Yes, uhuh, we've got things pretty straightened out now. We'll throw in a few commitments, and those guys will throw out a few students, I'll put out a bunch of statements... I'm getting pretty good at that... and, all in all we've got a pretty good technique for dealing with these, uh... 'issues' that students raise.

#3 blows cop whistle, Com. Members drop to hands and knees, freeze in various poses, guns aimed at audience. P, PB and D stand sternly. One committee member, say #2, steps forward, removing placard and any other paraphernalia identifying him in his role in skit,



talks earnestly for a minute about seriousness of repression being used against those who raise questions of Harvard's role as a boss. ANNOUNCES RALLY. Exeunt, so to speak.

At the rally itself, the ending was changed, as follows:

When #3 blows whistle, as above, whole cast goes quickly to back of stage, removing all skit placards, dropping guns, etc. Having just left off the tune of the Stones' 'Time Is On My Side', they quickly come back to front of stage and sing first two lines of Stones' 'This Could Be the Last Time', then break into the following song, sung to the tune of the Beach Boys' 'I Get Around'.

Bring 'em back, bring 'em back, Bring the kids back, yeah (falsetto transition, hereafter 'ft') Bring the kids back

U.S. out now (Yeah, yeah, yeah, US out...) Don't ask us how (Yeah, yeah, yeah, don't ask...)

We've heard enough of your jive We wanna see 'em alive (ft)

Well, ya sent 'em there, to make the bosses fat And you can end this war at the drop of a hat

You say you want all those people to be free So cut out all your counterinsurgency

And get your bombs (Yeah, yeah, yeah, get your...)

Clear out of Nam (Yeah, yeah, yeah, clear out...)

Not to Laos or Guam Or even Tricia's prom (ft)

You say the Cambridge Project is really stud Just watch it nip mass movements in the bud Cause with weaponry you can shoot off their minds But with sociology you can blow their minds

It's no good man Smash Project Cam It's a phony sham Made for Uncle Sam (ft)

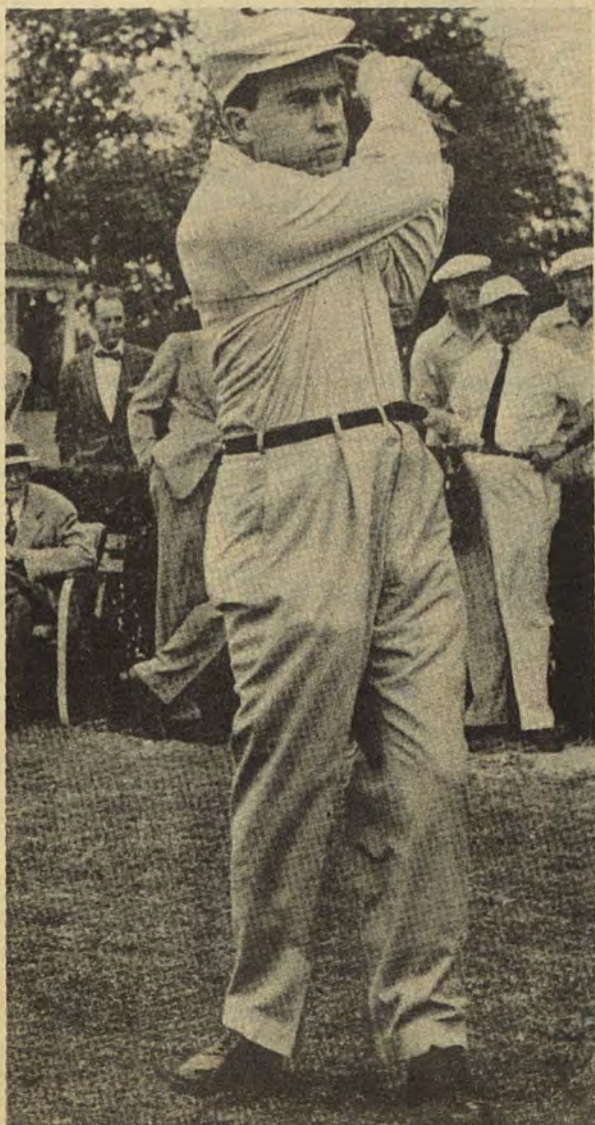
Well, the GE workers know you gotta fight If ya wanna make your wages and conditions right Yeah, the skilled and unskilled, both blue collar and white Are gonna beat GE racism and win the strike

Don't hack around When scabs are found Push them on the ground That makes the foremen frown (ft)

Well, I know one cat who paints at my school But he says his boss is really not too cool Cause he knows how to mix all the colors in sight But you should see how Harvard messes over black and white

Promote them all Don't try to stall You've had your day Now give the helpers their pay (ft)

Bring 'em back, bring 'em back, bring the kids back, yeah (ft) Bring the kids back, bring them all back...



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A suggestion at the last NC was to leave some blank space in each issue so people could send in comments on what they thought was useful, could be improved, etc. This space isn't very much, but we hope that it will encourage people to write...

Useful articles: _____

Articles you wish had been in: _____

Criticisms and Suggestions:

Letters

Dear Friends,

In the last issue of New Left Notes it was brought to my attention that there were two errors made in the State Community College Resolution. Since I live in Boston I brought this up with the editor and it was explained to me that these were technical errors.

One of these mistakes was the term 'working class colleges'. This is a misconception. It implies that the ruling class would allow a school to exist in which pro-working class ideology is maintained.

The second error, however, left out an important point in the paragraph explaining the special problems in dealing with kids in SDS from working class backgrounds. The point it made was that students from working class backgrounds have the mistaken idea that kids from middle class backgrounds maintain their class privileges. What I mean by class privileges is illustrated by what happens in Boston. If a kid from a working class background gets picked up by the cops and he's from a working class neighborhood (with no political pull) he gets a much stiffer penalty than if he were from a suburb. This does not happen when kids from middle class backgrounds ally with the working class. For example, when kids took over a building at Harvard on the issues of expansion and ROTC, people expected the administration to be liberal in their approach to them. But what really happened was that President Pusey had 500 cops sent in to try to smash the growing movement and threw a hell of a lot of them out of school.

The point is important because it clarifies the fact that no matter what your class background, when you fight in a pro-working class way, you're subject to attacks from the ruling class.

Rita Hollum, Boston State SDS

NLN cont.

The People

Must Do All This

To solve this problem we suggest that the responsibility for the writing and editing of articles for NLN be decentralized to regional committees. These should be in close communication with the NH and should solicit articles from their areas.

NLN sales have to be improved. No stacks should rot in closets or cars! Organized regular sale of NLN would not only get SDS politics to a lot more people, but would also be a great way of raising money to pay for NLN and other literature that SDS produces.

No improvement will take place unless people in every chapter take New Left Notes and its importance in the work of SDS very seriously. An interesting, informative, widely distributed student newspaper with pro-working class politics will be a strong weapon against imperialism.

What is necessary to make NLN fulfill its potential? Set up those committees to solicit and edit articles. Write articles on everything that should be written about. Think up great headlines and subheads for every article you submit. Submit drawings, cartoons, woodcuts, photos, with every article and by themselves. That will help a lot to liven up the layout. Send in clippings from newspapers and magazines. Sell New Left Notes, seek out responses to it, make criticisms, write letters.

In conclusion: A good New Left Notes doesn't get put out by a staff of five in Boston. It gets put out by the people.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

As printed in NLN for Jan. 10, point 4 in the implementation of the proposal 'Fight Imperialism -- Build CWSA' is an attack on college students. It reads:

...the only function of colleges and universities is to serve the ruling class by...(b) training bosses, officers and cops to oppress the working class.

If this were true and all students became bosses or their lackeys, then it would follow that such parasites would have no interest in allying with workers to oppose injustice. The approach as suggested confuses friends with enemies -- if we acted on these ideas, we would not try to win students but attack them. Hence, this part of the proposal was amended by the National Council to include the idea that the universities are also 'trying to win future teachers, welfare workers, etc. to reactionary ideas.' In so far as the university serves this purpose it undercuts the ability of most students to ally with workers either to fight for concrete reforms under imperialism or to smash the bourgeois state and set up a government that serves working people.

Alan Gilbert, Harvard-Radcliffe

Calley a Scab

Lt. William L. Calley, who is accused of ordering the killings at Song My, is a former railroad strikebreaker, according to Time Magazine.

Calley became a strikebreaking switchman on the Florida East Coast Railroad in the early '60s, later becoming a freight-car conductor and earning as much as \$300 a week.

MIT cont.

problems we had at that meeting was our timidity in raising pro-working class demands. This was not based on fear of the right-wing leadership, even though Weathermen and 'R'YM leaders were present. It was fear of the people: the idea that the majority of honest people would be hostile to pro-working class ideas.

For example, the GE demand passed with very little discussion, but we found out later that many supported it merely as an anti-war-production demand, and did not see the importance of allying with the GE workers in this nationally important strike. We should have raised this point more strongly. On the other hand, we raised successfully the issue of harassment of campus workers. We argued that the student movement must move in a pro-working class direction and in particular we must try to build a fighting alliance with campus workers. While not everyone was won to this strategy, they saw the justice of the demand, as we had been building a campaign on this issue all year.

Later that night the meeting adopted a leaflet presenting and explaining the demands. Early next morning members of MIT SDS leafletted campus workers. We found almost universal support for the action. However, many objected to the Panther demand. We struggled with them over the need to fight racism, although we had reservations about the demand ourselves. We think the way to fight racism at MIT is to expose the specific ways MIT is racist in its treatment of black workers and students. The Panther demand is pie in the sky, and most students cannot be won to supporting such a demand.

Friday evening, we left the offices. We knew that the demands we had raised would not be met because of this action alone, and the most

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important thing to do was to talk to people outside and build for further action.

That Sunday, there was a mass meeting of 300 people to discuss future plans. People were readily convinced of the need for a petition campaign to build support for the demands. Again there was a struggle over which demands would be on it, especially on the issue of racism. We argued against the Panther demand, and instead put forward a demand concerning racist promotion policies for black dormitory workers. This was a demand which we had never raised before, because of our failure to relate CWSA to things like racism and male chauvinism in our past work. The result was that neither demand on racism was adopted.

What we have to do from now on is to put forward the idea that students must ally with workers in struggles around workers' own grievances which attack the material basis of racism and male chauvinism and around issues which hurt us both, like fighting the GE recruiters and attacking war research. We must have the perspective of engaging in concrete struggles, because students will be won into SDS on the basis of our practice and not our rhetoric.

This was the first time we have built a joint campaign with RL-SDS. As a result, we think the political situation at MIT has improved dramatically. Although we tended in this action to worry about relations with RL people to the point of neglecting non-radical students, we overcame our earlier sectarianism toward RL. We think our experience shows that joint actions can be important on campuses with split SDS chapters.

by Brian Harvey
Neal Goldstein

It is October

A dirty floor of stone,
covered with a ceiling
peeling green paint
hold the feet
that carry us out
to the brisk night air,

after the heat of September
and its melancholy
for summer's wildness,
flees our bones,
leaving a chill to bring,
the throbs of new life
new battles in the war,
of big class against
small class

lean muscle against
folds of fat,
fought by kind hearts
of clenched fists.

-Bob Naseef, Temple

Rat sings: Two Dupes for Every Red

by Harvard-Radcliffe Radical Arts Troupe

Last October Harvard-Radcliffe SDS began a campaign to secure promotion to journeyman status for all painters then classified as 'painter's helper'. The 'helper' program was being used to hire experienced painters, mostly black, to do the same work as painters, but for less money. There were several unproductive attempts to get the administration to grant the demand or confront the facts of the case. Finally, having added a demand for 20% third-world workers on Harvard construction sites, we held a militant sit-in in the office of one of the deans (see NLN, Dec. 10).

At the sit-in, there were at various times anywhere from sixty to one hundred, all committed to forcibly obstructing the dean. But when disciplinary letters were sent out later on, only 25 students were charged. Announcement of punishments - 16 were thrown out - was conveniently held off until just before Christmas vacation.

Our rally was held one week after vacation, in the middle of reading period. This RAT skit, produced in order to draw people to the rally, was for most students the first visible sign of SDS life since learning of the stiff crackdown.

The whole cast got together to write it. We found it impossible to portray anyone with good politics in the skit without seeming self-righteous or sappy. Hence the skit is all a satire on the administration; the positive alternative comes out in the short speech afterwards about the rally.

Songs are very important. The difficult part is finding a tune that will work. Once you find one, it's easy to compose verses. Some self-criticism is due here: 'The Battle of New Orleans', however affectionate we may all feel about it, has too fast a tempo. It is impossible for crowds to catch all the words at first listening. The other tunes work much better. When good politics and goldie-oldies are meshed properly, the contrast between form and content can be overpowering. A falsetto rendition of the line 'Smash Project Cam', for instance, combats the stereotype of an SDS member as someone who may be correct, but is too abrasive in approach. And it goes without saying that the administration/mass media redbait of pro-working class students as a 'dry, humorless lot' is exploded by this kind of performance. The skit is not without humor. And I wouldn't know a 'dry' person if I saw one.

Enter three persons in coat-and-tie, with placards reading 'Dean', 'PERSONNEL BOSS', and 'PRES. & FELLOWS'.

D: Someone's been sitting in my office!
 PB: Someone's been sitting in my office!
 D (in the plaintive tones of the littlest bear in 'The Three Bears'): Someone's been sitting in my office and they wouldn't let me use my telephone!
 P: There, there, boys, we'll take care of it. What seems to be the problem?
 PB: The students say we're racist.
 D: They say we hire black workers on the same jobs for less.
 PB: They want more black workers on construction sites!
 P: Don't worry. Where there's a will there's a way... Did you lie to them?
 D: Oh, no sir, I wouldn't do that... I mean, yessir, I tried that... I tried the old qualifications gimmick. I told 'em we knew all about the painter's helpers -- been working on it for months and they do not meet our qualifications for painter. You know: Painting, and staining, and graining...and color mixing... and stage-rigging and rig-staging...furniture finishing and finiture furnishing, embossing in gold, embalming, skywriting, scuba diving, re-touching the paintings in the Fogg Museum, and, uh, running the 100 yard dash in under ten seconds!
 P: What did you say when they challenged you with facts?
 D: I said I didn't know anything about it.
 P, PB, and D (tune of 'Please Don't Let Me Be Misunderstood', Animals):
 We're just a boss whose intentions are good
 Oh Lord, please don't let us be misunderstood
 PB: And I pulled the old numbers game. They expect us to have 20% black construction workers at Harvard. But only 5.319% of such workers in the area are black. Since there are - on the average - 213.48 construction workers at Harvard we would have to hire 42.73 black workers. Now 42.73 (pulling out slide rule and figuring) equals 7 times the square root of 15 times the original percentage of 5.319, which if you had done any research at all and knew anything about math, you would realize is a completely...IRRATIONAL...number. (P B beams, others clap, as P B reveals huge signboard with all sorts of weird mathematical notations on it and IRRATIONAL printed at bottom.)
 P, PB, and D (tune of 'Feelin' Groovy', Simon and Garfunkel):

Slow down, you're movin' too fast; it takes a while to change the past.
 Well, if there's progress to be made, it'll come slow, or maybe never.

D and PB: But they won't give up! What will we do to solve the problems?

P: Well, we could call the cops!

D and PB (restraining, suppressing P bodily): No...no... This looks like a job for (shrill whistle is heard from offstage) the Committee on Rights and Responsibilities! (As these last words are spoken, committee members enter, with various signs, all brandishing and firing cap guns.)

P: That's the spirit, boys! Now remember, there's one thing to keep in mind... right?

Com. members: RIGHT! (Make a chorus line and sing to tune of 'Call Me Irresponsible'):

We're right, you're responsible

You are reprehensible

What's more, you're dispensable too

P: Now you better make sure you have the whole story in mind (hands them a copy of the history of the painter's helpers program, which they sing to the tune of 'The Battle of New Orleans', by Johnny Horton

Well, just a few years ago we looked around our school

There weren't enough black workers, so we didn't look too cool.

We found some with experience and sent them to paint.

They said, 'You know we're journeymen.'

We said, 'Oh no you ain't.'

They worked real hard 'cause they thought they'd be promoted

We said there'd be some openings if they stick around.

To their jobs, they were all devoted

But now that they've caught on, it's gettin' hard to keep 'em down.

Well we ran through procedures, and we ran through committees,

And we ran through some channels where we'd never been before.

We kicked out some students and we hassled some workers.

We gotta figure out a way to keep 'em off our door.

Com. member #1 (this line is a direct quote from Alice's Restaurant and should be done as closely as possible to the Guthrie original): We have here (taking pictures from brown envelope) twenty-seven 8 x 10 color glossy photographs with circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back o' each one explainin' what it's all about to be used as evidence against them.

#2: Yeah, that's great! Look, you can see all one hundred of 'em, linking arms, and chanting and sitting-in... They're all doin' the same thing, we can kick out every single one of 'em!

D: No, no, wait a minute -- if we do that, the whole college will be up in arms. We've got to be selective.

PB: That's right... selective. As selective in our expulsion policies as we are in our admission policies!

#3: Yes, after all, as we all know... (#3 leads song, to tune of 'Surf City', Beach Boys):

Well, Harvard University needs law and order

Refrain: Get rid of the hardcore

To please the Corporation and expand our border

(Refrain)

Yeah, the hardcore makes the kids act in subversive ways

By tellin' them that equal work should get equal pay

BOMP, BOMP, BOMP



Deans moan, 'Someone's been sitting in my office'