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# New Left Notes

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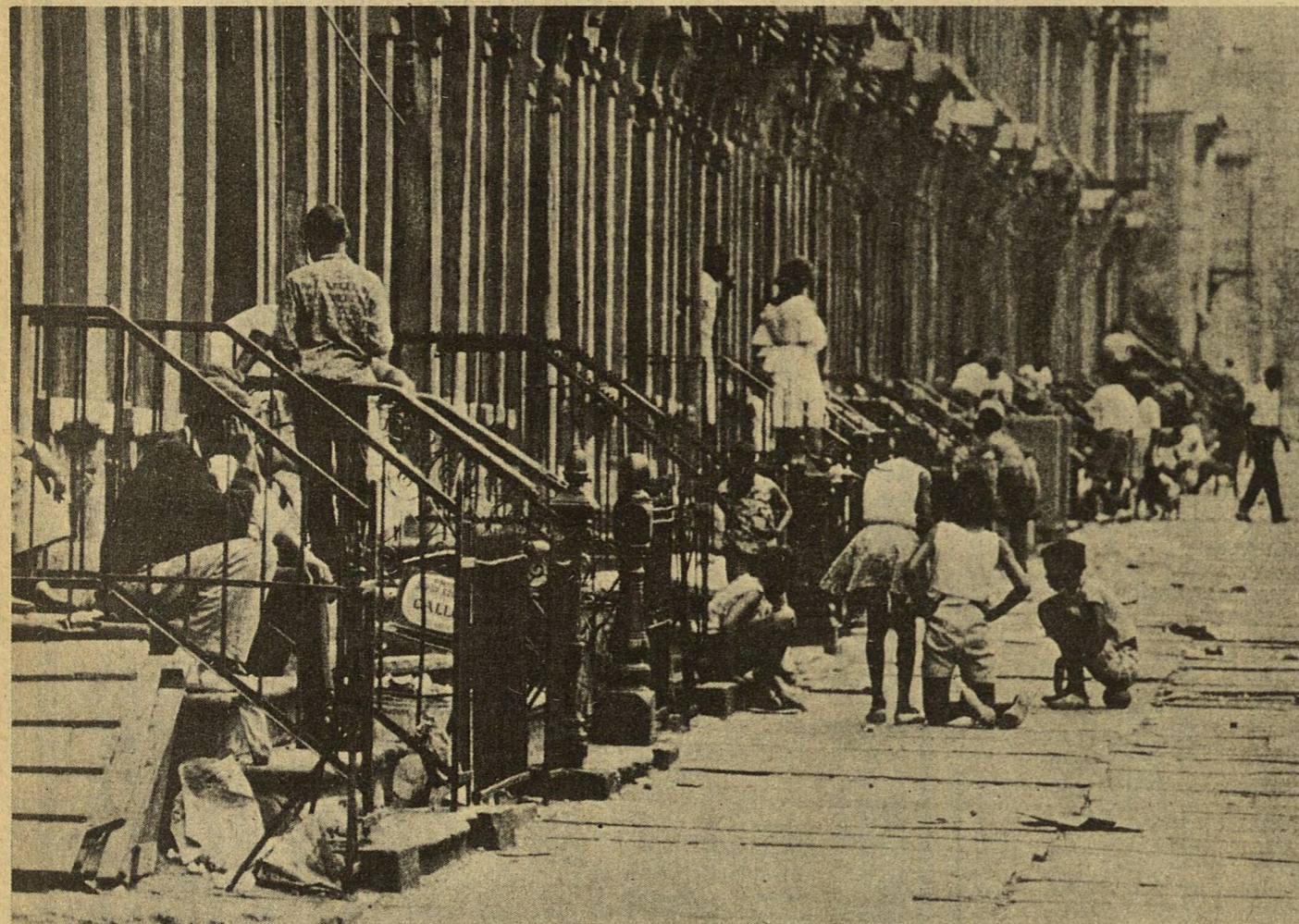
Students for a Democratic Society

April 6, 1970

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# New Left Notes

173A Mass. Ave. Boston

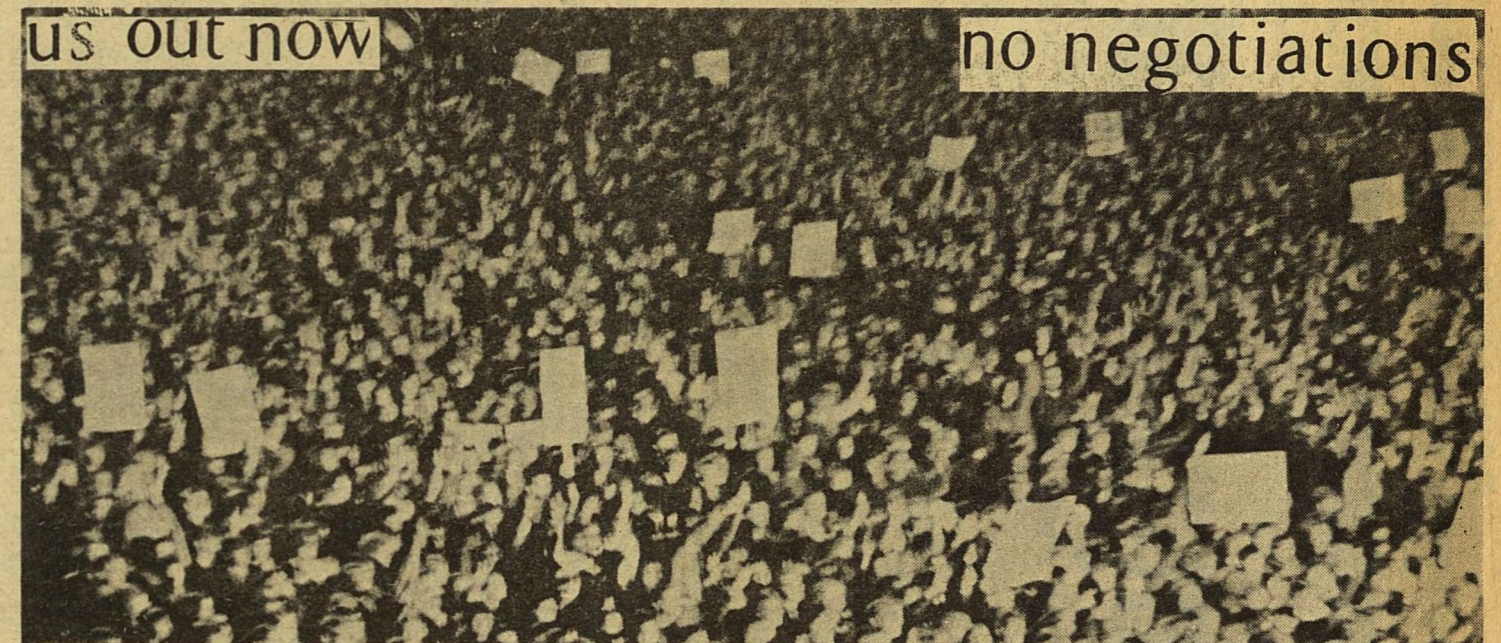


BEFORE THE FIRE

Green dome with a gold cross  
puts the cathedral in the skyline,  
sun bursting through a hole  
between thick, heavy clouds

casting its rays gladly  
on crumbling slum houses,

where the only plants  
are brown, greenish weeds  
between the cracks of the pavement,  
robbed of the gold  
thrown into the sky  
to feed the hearts  
of a few fat bellies.



liberal politicians mislead the movement

postal strike

liberal politicians

ecology

great white hope

classroom insurgency

fight the war effectively april 13-18



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record or:

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## “what’s so good about goodell.”

Everyone, even President Nixon, agrees that we have to get American boys out of South Vietnam. But the lessons of the past year have shown that, with plans like ‘Vietnamization’, just wanting US troops out does not mean wanting an end to US presence in Asia or South Vietnam, just wanting ground fighters returned home does not mean desiring an end to US military assistance to the South Vietnamese regime.

Senator Charles Goodell (R-NY) has emerged as a prominent liberal dove in the Senate. A speaker at Moratoria and the Washington march, Goodell supposedly won the hearts of Moratorium leaders when he introduced a bill which, in the words of Sam Browne, ‘would bring an end to the Vietnam conflict.’ In the past few months, it has become clear that Goodell’s bill (the ‘Vietnam Disengagement Act’, S-3000) will become the rallying point of liberal political forces in the coming year. Because of its importance, we reprint the bill below.

What does the bill propose? Despite the dovish sounding language, the bill offers a liberal ‘solution’ to the war which would mean, in fact, that while troops were withdrawn, the rotting South Vietnamese government would be propped up with such massive military and economic aid that the Vietnamese people (remember them?) would only have to continue their struggle. In the words of Jerome Grossman, the initiator of the Moratorium, the bill ‘sets a fixed, public timetable to accomplish the total withdrawal of all American military personnel, but it would permit the continuation of appropriate military and economic aid to the South Vietnamese government, as recommended and approved by Congress.’

Does the liberal Goodell solution really differ from the Vietnamization of Nixon? A clue is found in the speech with which Goodell presented the bill to the Senate on September 25, 1969. The analysis which Goodell presents is, we find, essentially the same as Nixon’s, if only a bit more emotional.

Goodell states at the outset his opinion of Nixon’s war policy: ‘Richard Nixon sought the

Presidency with a pledge to end the Vietnam War. Since assuming office, he has pursued that end with diligence and patience. He has changed the nature of that war by clearly reversing the policy of military escalation so disastrously implemented in the previous administration.’

Despite the President’s troop withdrawals, he has been unsuccessful in ending the war. ‘The President,’ states Goodell, ‘had been faced with enormous obstacles in seeking the path to peace. The Paris peace talks are stalemated by the intransigence of North Vietnam and the Vietcong(!).’ Also the South Vietnamese government unwisely resisted our efforts at ‘de-escalation’, and the military leaders have overestimated the amount of offensive pressure needed against ‘the enemy’.

Goodell concludes that the loss of American lives must stop: ‘At inordinate sacrifice, we have for six years given the people of South Vietnam their option of freedom from north Vietnam. It is now for them alone to exercise that option.’ While Goodell leaves it up to the South Vietnamese to determine if they are to be ‘independent’, he is careful to leave the door open for American aid in forms other than combat troops. He states specifically, ‘Nothing in the bill would prohibit the United States from continuing to provide such military supplies, equipment and military aid funds to South Vietnam to match Soviet military assistance.’

From these remarks, Goodell’s position on Vietnam is clear. The war is essentially an attempt of the North to conquer the South, and the American presence in Vietnam has been designed to ‘preserve freedom and independence in the South’. Furthermore, the Paris negotiations have been stalled by the reluctance of ‘the enemy’ to bargain in good faith. (Compare this with Nixon’s speech of last November, or that of any ruling class politician.) Goodell’s portrait of the Vietnam conflict leads easily to his proposal: begin withdrawing American troops (to cool the situation off at home, because involvement in Vietnam ‘frustrates our good intentions’) while continuing aid in all other forms.

## RACIST MURDER SHOWS NEED FOR REVOLUTION

by Jay Sargeant, Progressive Labor Party

On Saturday, March 9, Franklyn Lynch, a popular black singer, was murdered in Boston City Hospital by Walter Duggan, a Boston cop. Boston Globe reporter Robert Anglin was an eye-witness. The Globe reporter said that Lynch had been acting strangely for a while and had gotten into an argument with another patient, named Condon. Here’s the reporter’s account:

‘Duggan (the cop) then came between the two, pushing Condon, who fell against a bed and slid to the floor, breaking his leg. Duggan then pushed Lynch, turned half around facing away from him, drew his pistol and raised it to eye-level. He aimed it down one end of the ward out of my sight. ‘Get back or I’ll shoot,’ he said. The weapon was not yet pointed in Lynch’s direction. He let his gun-hand drop - still rigid - and made a quarter turn toward Lynch. Lynch took a swipe at the gun with his towel and Duggan raised the weapon and fired once, then three times, then once again. Lynch didn’t move at all when the first shots hit. After the last shot he collapsed.’ (Boston Globe, 3/9/70)

The reporter’s eye-witness account makes it clear that Duggan murdered Lynch in cold blood. In the same edition of the Globe the police ver-

sion of the murder appears. The cops try to put across the lie that Duggan was defending himself, that he ‘had to do it’, and so on. Here’s the cop story:

‘Lynch, police said, then began repeatedly snapping a towel at Duggan’s hand in an effort to disarm him. Then he lunged at the officer, knocking him backwards, police say, and Duggan, who still had the revolver in his hand, warned Lynch to retreat. Police say, however, that Lynch continued to lunge at the officer, forcing him to fire once. When this failed to stop Lynch, the officer continued to discharge his service revolver.’

Usually, when the cops commit murder - and it happens every day - it’s quickly covered up with lies and threats. This time they got exposed!

### GLOBE COVERS FOR RACIST MURDER

The Globe reporter’s story makes clear that the cops lied to cover for their hired killer, Duggan. Duggan shot Lynch five times in cold blood. Lynch never jumped Duggan, and he never even took a step forward. He just flicked his towel once, was shot several times, and collapsed.

S. —  
A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the “Vietnam Disengagement Act of 1969.”

SEC. 2. (a) Congress finds that the broad foreign policy interests of the United States require that the American military presence in Vietnam be removed at the earliest possible time, and that such action will promote the social and political well being of the people of South Vietnam; that the prosecution of the war in Vietnam with American troops must be ended, not merely reduced; that the loss of American lives in Vietnam can be halted only by establishing a clear timetable for terminating American combat operations and withdrawing American troop commitments in the near future; and that the responsibility for ending the American involvement in Vietnam is not the President’s alone, but must be shared by the Congress under its constitutional authority to “raise and support armies” and to “declare war.”

(b) It is the purpose of this Act—

(1) to reassert the responsibility of Congress, under its constitutional authority to “raise and support armies” and “declare war,” to share with the President the task of extricating this nation from the Vietnam war; and to involve Congress in setting a clear and unequivocal timetable for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam;

(2) to express the clear intent of Congress that all American military personnel be withdrawn from Vietnam on or before December 1, 1970; so that the retention even of noncombat military training personnel in Vietnam after that date would not be permitted without the enactment by Congress of further legislation specifically approving such retention;

(3) to give clear notice to the government of South Vietnam that following December 1, 1970, it must assume the burden of fighting; and to permit the withdrawal of American military personnel and the assumption of their combat functions in an orderly fashion on a schedule set by the President with a required termination date of December 1, 1970.

SEC. 3. Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

“SEC. 602A. Presence in Vietnam.—No part of any amount authorized to be appropriated under any Act shall be used after December 1, 1970, to maintain military personnel of the United States in Vietnam.”

The Globe knew the truth. The Globe could have done either of two things:

- It could have written an editorial blasting the murder and the lies the police officials told to protect Duggan.

- It could have tried to help to cops hide the facts that Globe reporter Anglin, the eye-witness, had exposed.

The Globe chose the second course of action. It backed the cops. After the first stories appeared, March 9, the Globe dropped their reporter’s eye-witness account. They just never mentioned it again.

In fact, the Globe went so far as to pretend that the only version was the cop version! For instance, on March 10, the Globe printed the following story about the murder:

‘Lynch then began snapping a towel at the officer’s gun and advanced on him. Duggan warned the man to back off, but, according to police and patients, the man kept advancing on the officer who shot him.’ (Globe, 3/10/70; our emphasis).

Continued on page 8

# ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE LIBERALS

There are two types of contradictions among the liberals, those among the liberals themselves, and those between the liberals and the real world. Those among the liberals themselves are hardest to defoliate; they claim that peace, self-determination, freedom are their goals, and who would argue with that? Perhaps no one; yet liberals have been known to argue endlessly with each other and with conservatives as well about both the causes of the People's War in Vietnam ('madness', 'unwise bureaucratic snafu', 'military-fascist pentagon spies, goons, robots', etc.) and the obstacles to its satisfactory culmination (can't end it unless Thieu-Ky are out, unless legislative branch takes initiative blah blah constitutional duties blah blah, can't end it unless I'm President). Despite this internal monologue, all emerge singing the same old song: Hail to the Chief. It might be well to ask at this point: What is the nature of the contradiction among the liberals? Answer: None, it's a false contradiction, i.e. a contradiction of form only and not of content. There is no difference between the way Nixon will 'end' the war and the way McGovern would.

This is where the Major Aspect of the contradiction among the liberals comes in, the Real World. What is the contradiction between negotiated settlement, coalition government, vietnamization, foreign troop withdrawal and all other liberal placebos, and peace in Vietnam? It's already happened. The Geneva Accords of 1954 provided for all this plus free elections in Vietnam (they never happened) and in 1962 Kennedy negotiated a similar tripartite coalition government for Laos.

## The Question of Merchants and Industrialists

Remember Japan? We pounded her into nuclear dust particles in 1945 and now, a short twenty-five years after Hiroshima saw the light, tens of millions of Japanese workers have been organized under huge corporations to make Japan a world leader in production of ships, planes, motorcycles, radios; in short many things to sell. Knowing something of imperialism themselves, the Japanese have refused to allow any substantial foreign investment in Japan. But the lesson is not lost on American business, which must grow to survive. The GE plant in Saigon where workers can by law earn no more than \$1.40 a day is only a shining prototype of the vast industrial empire which might some day reach across Southeast Asia, peopled by millions of Vietnamese, Laotian, and Thai factory slaves, not only manufacturing, but harvesting rice, tin, rubber for remote barons in the USA. In return, the altruistic barons will maintain an American Military Presence to ensure that their workers live in peace, free of the outside Communist threat which would deprive them of the right to work for an American company.

Business must grow to survive, and politicians must win elections to survive. Democratic Party Chairman O'Brien said this week that the Democrats are virtually broke, too poor to bring their progressive policies to the American public in 1972. Concurrently, the administration is suddenly enforcing an old law which prohibits corporate contributions to political campaigns. The Democrats are on the receiving end of this; they need money to stay elected, and where you get money from is rich people.

## Overall Planning and Proper Arrangement

This, in roundabout form, is the true content of the contradiction between dove politicians and real peace. In this dialectic, the question of Merchants and Industrialists is key. It's not that in 1954 and '62 we didn't vietnamize hard enough, withdraw completely enough, although those are all true. It wasn't a mistake, error, accident, bureaucratic tie-up, or slip of the tongue either. After the Accords of '54 and '62 the CIA et al went purposefully about trying to win back in 'peacetime' what had been lost to the Vietminh and the Pathet Lao militarily, catalyzing racism

among the Meos and Montagnards, pitting Catholic against Buddhist, pulling the puppet strings of Diem, Souvanna Phouma, and Sihanouk (the latter as best they could; he was a French puppet and well-heeled) to bring about a condition of war again as quickly as possible.

What happened between wars was only a part of Overall Planning and Proper Arrangement. The barons wanted to grow. The Vietnamese wanted them to go. In between were four Presidents, all running on peace platforms and saying, 'I will make the barons rich and the workers tranquil', denying that the two were utterly irreconcilable. And since they won, and wished to win again, they made the barons rich.

## Can Bad Things Be Turned Into Good Things?

The only way out of Vietnam is Out. Part way out means the barons will do their best to get all the way back in, and they need hardly any pretense (it took a couple of atom bombs in Japan).

McCarthy

McCarthy, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (February 19, 1970), rejects immediate withdrawal of troops as 'precipitate'. McCarthy's magic secret ingredient is the negotiated political settlement. He rejects Vietnamization because 'Asians would be killing Asians with American arms... We will have made of the Vietnamese army essentially a mercenary army fighting its own people for an unrepresentative government.' Someone might have told him that it's already a mercenary army fighting its own people. Finally,

'There is no reason to believe that we can bring about serious negotiations in Paris until the United States is willing to make a basic change in policy. Serious negotiations cannot proceed unless we are willing to support a coalition government to control the process of transition... It would prepare the way for the eventual selection of a permanent government.'

Presto, easy as that; Thieu and the NLF side by side happily married under the auspices of the United Nations. It might last for ten minutes; coalition governments collapse like card-houses when things get rough, and the Vietnamese people aren't about to be sold out after twenty-five years of war. Of course then McCarthy would have to prop up the losers a bit (remember Laos).

McCarthy is a bad thing that cannot be turned into a good thing. (in contradiction with the Real World)

McGovern

In a recent letter to an SDS member, McGovern says that he has opposed American military intervention in Vietnam since 1963. In other words, we should regard his affirmative vote for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution as a mild attack of temporary amnesia. McGovern's analysis of the war is typical of liberals' approach -- point out evil gremlins all over the place: Thieu-Ky ('the Saigon regime is the major barrier to peace in Southeast Asia' - Foreign Relations Committee, Feb. 4, 1970), constitutional responsibility ('if Congress is to recover its constitutional responsibility... we had better assert without delay our control over war now raging in Laos and Vietnam'), and credibility gap ('at the very least, we should take the time and make the effort to learn what the CIA and the military and President are up to in Southeast Asia - statement in the Senate, March 3, 1970).

A contradiction indeed. If McGovern had been upset by the 'madness' of our foreign policy since 1963, it's rather strange that he hasn't taken the 'time' or 'effort' to find out what's

really going on. The point is, everyone knows what's really going on, and it's a larger issue than who was the latest bribe-torture-betrayal victim of the CIA.

There are some verbal Rubicons that liberals will never cross, since it would lead them to the heart of their contradiction and expose their humanitarian cover. One is the use of the word Imperialism. Imperialism is a standard English word, used in grade school texts to describe the Big Stick that Teddy Roosevelt held over Cuba and the rest of the hemisphere in the early twentieth century. Since this one word contains the kernel of truth which explodes all other Vietnam myths, it is always used in establishment press in quotation marks. (Kennedy: 'They called me an 'imperialist' for some reason'.)

If the war is to end, imperialism must end. If imperialism doesn't end, no temporary cease-fire coalition cover can end the war any more than aspirin can cure a brain tumor.

Lenin recognizes imperialism (the last stage of capitalism) appearing in two distinct phases: first, when foreign countries, set free by the imperialist military, are exploited only for their raw resources and used as captive markets; second, the most advanced stage, when the entire manufacturing process takes place away from the 'home' country. At this stage, things get shaky because overseas factories are vulnerable to the wrath of people who have been forced to work for them.

McGovern will never admit that this is the real reason for trying to cool things off in Vietnam. But he's quick to point the accusing finger in the other direction, China:

'If we are concerned about a future threat to Southeast Asia from China, let us have the common sense to recognize that a strong, independent regime, even though organized by the NLF or Hanoi, would provide a more dependable barrier to Chinese imperialism than the weak puppet regime we have kept in power...' (statement to the Senate, March 3)

If you'd like to explode a contradiction like this, ask any liberal: (1) In how many foreign countries do the Chinese maintain troops? (2) In how many foreign countries do the Chinese have factories or businesses?

Ah yes, the real enemy, China. Without too much imagination you can see what a vote for McGovern means. In a decade your children will be marching in the streets protesting the war against China, because it's clear that McGovern, his sense of imperialism unfailingly accurate, recognizes China as the real threat.

McGovern and all liberal politicians are bad leaders who cannot be turned into good leaders. To support them is not the lesser of two evils -- it's the same evil with a sugar coating of racist disregard for the Vietnamese. You can't vote out the CIA, or the milk lobby, or the oil lobby -- or any lobby.

The liberal politicians' so-called 'contradictions' are only in form. For it is clear that, while they say they want an end to the war, their actions have proven these statements to be false. The only answer is complete American withdrawal. The only way to achieve this is by students' allying with those hurt most by the war (workers) in exposing whom exactly the war and imperialism serve, and crippling their ability to continue in the same way.

by Garby Leon, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS

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About 200 students rallied in support of a major walk-out by 200,000 postal workers against their boss -- the US government, in a demonstration both defiant in spirit and educational in content at noon in Boston's Post Office Square on March 24th. Secretaries, businessmen, and many other lunch hour spectators watched as students marched around the Square's mall chanting: 'Workers yes, Nixon no -- scab army's gotta go', which clearly referred to the National Guard's presence in the NY Post Office. Postal workers peered from the city's main post office building, waving peace signs and smiling in approval -- especially, black workers who gave the best response! While the majority of students marched and chanted with their signs, others penetrated the crowd of spectators and handed out leaflets explaining reasons to support the postal workers. Reactions to this varied, with secretaries and office boys rendering a good response, while businessmen wore frowns of displeasure and disgust -- a milder censure than the outrage expressed against the postal workers and their strike which directly damaged them, and their businesses!

Onlookers remained as demonstrators gathered around a monument on the mall to hear the wife of a postal worker, representatives of the BSU, BU SDS, and Progressive Labor Party speak about the postal workers' strike. All the speakers drove home one very important point: the leadership of the black workers in the New York Post Office walk-out. The woman speaker, whose husband is a postal worker, stressed the significance of this leadership when in referring to the strikers she said that 'it's only when you're on the bottom that you can see the whole picture, and it's then your responsibility to help others understand that picture, as well as take leadership to try to change it.' Representatives from PL and the Unity of Blacks both took this point one step further. They explained that because black postal workers in NYC have experienced more oppression than white workers due to racism, (1) they were the first to take leadership in the walk-out, and (2) they took the responsibility to show white workers that their enemy was not black workers, but that the common enemy of both white and black workers was their boss -- the federal government! Other aspects about the postal strike highlighted by the speakers included the illegality of the strike - as dictated by the government; the union misleadership prior to the demonstration, the tactics used to railroad the back-to-work vote in Boston by the union leaders; and finally, the need for students to support postal workers.

Even though the Boston City government refused a permit for this rally and a march route to the South Postal Annex, we marched on sidewalks through the busiest shopping area of downtown Boston. Shoppers stopped and stared, listening to the chants, reading signs, taking leaflets, and engaging marchers in conversation. It was hard to judge their reactions. However, spectators made good comments on the chant: 'Stamp out Nixon, Cancel scabs!'

When the demonstration reached the South Boston Postal Annex, it was received very coolly. Postal workers gathered at windows and on the docks, while students stood on the opposite side of the street chanting and waving signs. Students who crossed the streets to talk to postal workers and give them leaflets were turned back by supervisors, who stood in front of the docks; workers, for the most part, shunned taking leaflets. At this point, someone from SDS took a loudspeaker and tried to explain why students support the postal workers. He stated that because students have not experienced the oppression of working for the government as have postal workers, students, therefore, could not possibly lead that struggle, or any other workers' struggles, let alone win the fight against that oppression. However, students have taken the leadership in fighting against the war, and in doing so, have confronted the same enemy as the postal workers -- the government!

The main thrust of the speech was to explain to the postal workers who SDS was and why students had an interest in supporting their strike, in order to break down the stereotypical attitudes most workers have toward students. Workers listened intently to this, and after we had explained ourselves we left, chanting our support!

Whenever SDS mobilizes students to build an alliance with working people, the attitudes of most students - including SDSers - towards workers, systematically taught us throughout our lives, prevents students from effectively joining

## MAIL MOVES THE COUNTRY -

with workers to fight our common oppression. Most students have accepted the stereotype of working people, built particularly by the media and educational institutions. This stereotype says that the interests of working people lie in defending the existing order and that they will, therefore, be a reactionary force defending the government against students who want social change. For example, many students accept the idea that working class individuals work only to spend the weekend by the TV with a six-pack of beer, and stay oblivious to the war, black rebellions, third world revolutions and all the forces of social change. Moreover, when students accept the idea that only a college education makes for truly sensitive and concerned individuals, the myth that working people are a regressive force in society is strengthened. The most 'scholarly' and popular political science texts used in any introductory government course in any university, teach students as much about the American working class as does watching 'The Life of Riley' or Jackie Gleason in 'The Honeymooners' -- lies. Yet if such attitudes are strong in students, they may have seen the recent struggle of postal workers as just a greedy attempt to increase their stockpile of crass material goods, of which they already have ample.

Times was carelessly frank in reporting the effects of the New York walkout, saying that 'the major banks, insurance companies and corporations of the country' would suffer most from the strike (NYT, 3/22/70).

The idea that working people in this country are 'super-patriotic' and are in total agreement with the government's line that 'a law is a law...' is contradicted by the actions of the postal workers. As a woman, wife of a postal worker, explained at our rally, 'These people have really been backed against a wall by the government. They were simply left no choice and had to act for themselves.' Yet the liberal newspaper Boston Globe went so far as to call the strikers 'anarchists' bent on 'inciting lawlessness' (3/21/70). This woman who addressed us went on to point out the parallel of how the press uses these ideas to discredit the postal workers to the public just as they try to discredit student radicals. She said that 'now perhaps, there are grounds for understanding between these strikers and their student supporters.'

In order for our rally in support of Boston postal workers to have occurred we can assume that the students who participated had already begun to struggle against the illusions they had about working people. However, when the demonstration reached the South Boston Postal Annex, the workers there received us coolly, with suspicion, and, in some cases, with hostility. Students' first reaction was, perhaps, to reaffirm



If we look at the strike of the postal workers we can see that these ideas have no basis. In order to take action against the oppressive conditions of poor housing, high prices, high taxes and the need to work two or even three jobs, rank and file postal workers militantly struck the federal government to secure a decent wage consistently denied them. Postal workers knew that their wild-cat strike (also against sellout union leaders) was against the law. They knew that court injunctions were being used against them, and that the President would probably use the National Guard if necessary to break their strike. Nevertheless, rank and file postal workers continued to unite with one another, take militant action, and stop the great business corporations cold to pressure the government for their demands. The government tried to isolate the strikers by turning the public (fellow workers) against them. They insisted that the strike only hurt those who received welfare, unemployment, and regular pay checks by mail. Yet, before this became the government's line, the New York

in their own minds old anti-worker ideas, and to base the cool reception on the 'typically reactionary attitudes' of working people. What is needed, rather, is for students to try to understand the concrete reasons why the postal workers (and many workers in general) are suspicious and even hostile toward students.

First of all, many workers accept the idea, built by the press and news media, that student activists are rich, reckless, pill-popping snobs, who demonstrate virtually for kicks. The press consistently builds false impressions of student demonstrations by discrediting the participants. At huge demonstrations TV cameras seem to film only students with long hair, and sound editors selectively cut the most important points speakers make. A good example is that during the Washington moratorium there was a complete blackout on an SDS-led demonstration of almost 10,000 people at the Labor Department to support GE strikers.

# WORKERS

## ~~ZIP CODE~~ MOVES THE MAIL

Secondly, a major tactic used to discredit student demonstrations is when the government and the press imply insidious, hidden motives behind the 'real' organizers of the demonstration. What happened during this recent postal strike is an excellent example of this, and no doubt resulted in the recalcitrant and suspicious attitudes of many of the postal workers whom we met.

### Rats-Make-For Divisions Between (Rademacher) Students & Workers

When Mr. Rademacher, national president of the Union of Letter Carriers, publicly blamed the strike on SDSers who worked in post offices last summer, he tried to effectively turn postal workers against student supporters. Besides evoking from postal workers the stereotyped idea of student demonstrators built by the media, Rademacher's statement made postal workers feel that they weren't even in control of their own wild-cat; that some outside organization, and students to boot, were trying to take over. Both students and postal workers must see Rademacher's statement for what it really is: an attack not only on SDS and other students, but on the postal strikers themselves in an attempt (1) to prevent any alliance of postal strikers with students, and more importantly, (2) to prevent postal strikers from organizing themselves into an effective fighting force.

By casting students as the enemy of postal workers, Rademacher uses a tactic known as red-baiting, which is a more overt use of anti-communism. When workers and students fight the source of their oppression, big businessmen and the government that protects them, lose the most. By relying on the lies they have taught us about communists, men like Rademacher, who defend the interests of our rulers, divide working people from militant, rank and file leaders. Such leadership, now developing in the Letter Carriers Union, would depose Rademacher himself in leading their fellow workers to beating the government. In this context Rademacher's statement about SDS is both an insult and an attack on the postal workers. Its desired effect is to create suspicion and mistrust among the strikers, isolate militant leaders and, therefore, effectively block the developing rank and file organization which is necessary to win this struggle.

Regarding SDS and students specifically this statement infers that postal workers don't understand the oppressive nature of their own living and working conditions, that they don't understand who their enemy is, and that it takes students, working in a post office for only one summer, to explain all of this to them. This is simply a lie. How can one compare the mere exposure students would have by working in post offices for only three months, to the oppressive conditions postal workers have lived through up to twenty years! To draw the conclusion that students or other 'small, militant factions' are leading the postal workers' fight against the government is incredible! Nevertheless, this is the attitude Rademacher, no doubt with the support of the government, hopes to reinforce in postal employees about students.

If Rademacher is successful in keeping postal workers from accepting student support with his baiting of SDS and student 'subversives', this could help no-one but the federal government, and judging from the actions of this union misleader, it seems his allegiance does in fact belong to the government and not to the postal workers. Rademacher has consistently fought against the right of union locals to take independent action against the national's dictum (i.e. his!). He has publicly tried to discredit developing rank and file leadership in NYC and in Chicago by blaming the wild-cats there of thousands



NIXON'S "SILENT MAJORITY"- SPEAKS UP!

of workers on 'a tiny minority of black militants' or on manipulative dissidents. Moreover, Rademacher has consistently defended the government's policy that wild-cats are illegal and can not be tolerated. Finally, on the NBC Today Show of March 23, Rademacher went so far as to defend Nixon's use of the National Guard to crush the strike, stating that, under law, wild-cats must not take place and, under law, the President must defend the nation's interest. Rademacher covers up the fact that these laws have been written by and for big business (GE wrote the Taft-Hartly Act) to protect their profits and not to protect working people. 'he (the President) has his job to do,' said Rademacher, 'and I have mine.' Where students are concerned it should be clear that Rademacher's job - the government's job - is primarily to stop people from fighting back in their own interests, and to specifically prevent students from supporting workers who do this.

### The Same Rat Exploits A Further Contradiction

Both at our rally in Post Office Square and at the demonstration in South Boston Postal Annex, black workers were consistent in giving good responses. Whereas the white workers received us coolly and with suspicion, black workers greeted us with clenched fists, V signs, waved with smiles of appreciation and bought New Left Notes. By comparison, the response of white workers and black workers to our demonstration was markedly different. Why did black workers greet us favorably?

Black postal workers received us favorably because these workers have spearheaded the postal workers' struggle and from this leadership position have recognized the need to ally with people of common interest in order to defeat the federal government! Black workers understand that they should not only unite with white workers, but also win students to support their struggles. Racism prevents this alliance. Because all white people and particularly white workers have been raised and educated with deep-rooted racist attitudes, they do not readily ally with black workers who share their common interests. Workers who have a common interest in fighting back are therefore kept divided. In fact, white workers learn to consider black workers to be their enemies. Racist union leaders explain that if whites admit black workers into unions, their wages will fall and their jobs will be taken. This hatred is reinforced when black workers, banned from unions to begin with, are used to scab on white workers' strikes. Nevertheless, white workers themselves gain nothing from this. Fighting alone, their struggles

are successfully broken, their demands lost, and their unions continue to be run by self-serving racist union 'leaders' who are merely lackeys of management. Only employers, under attack by striking workers, benefit from racism. They understand that to keep black and white workers fighting each other prevents an alliance of all workers, who would force employers to meet their demands.

The recent wild-cats of postal workers particularly in New York City and Chicago demonstrate that black and white workers can defeat racism by uniting around their common interest and fight against their common enemy, the government, together. 50% of postal workers in NYC are black. News film footage showed black and white workers marching arm in arm, raising clenched fists and chanting their readiness to fight the National Guard. To try to break up this alliance the racist national leadership tried to blame the New York walk-out on a small, hardcore number of black militants. This lie was exposed when black and white workers burned the racist National Union of Letter Carriers leader, Rademacher, in effigy. Again, in Chicago, black white workers were united and consistently exposed racist union leadership, who, besides trying to railroad people back to work with deceptive promises of federal negotiations, tried to blame and rank and file walk-out on a '1% minority of dissidents'.

Continued on page 15



# ecology

Public concern over pollution has never been greater, and with good reason. The problem is grave; the world is in deep ecological trouble and the very balance of nature is threatened by the industry and sheer numbers of Homo sapiens. The media are filled with news about ecology, and politically it is the fastest growing of all issues.

Herein lies a magnificent opportunity, but also a real peril for those who truly desire to save and heal the environment before it's too late. The pollution question is becoming a political football for the same kinds of people who have caused, if only by their inaction, most of the problem. From the President on down they all want to use pollution to gain popularity and votes. It appears that some have very suspect motives in jumping on the pollution bandwagon. Two of these motives may be (1) drawing attention away from Vietnam and the 'peaceful' exploitation of future Vietnams now underway by the imperialistic corporate establishment; and (2) attempting to channel concern for the environment into a harmless drive to clean up a few rivers and have a little less air pollution.

The average American will be expected to pay three times for any pollution control carried out by establishment politicians; first, in higher taxes, second in higher costs for consumer products (as industry passes along the cost of pollution control), and a third time in layoffs when some offenders, such as US Steel in Duluth or certain paper mills, have to shut down because pollution control is not 'economically feasible'. The ecology movement will flounder if masses of voters are threatened with loss of income. This movement must always propose steps that will lead to fuller employment for a guaranteed income and not allow the huge corporations to make political pawns of the people. We can build a mass movement that will rescue the planet if we are not burdened by stereotyped economic thinking.

'Let's crack down on the bad companies and reward the good companies,' the liberals will be saying. The truth is that there are no 'good companies'. This is because all US industry is operating an economy of waste. A great many Americans are now employed in producing things that other Americans throw away. Many of these things are what we used to consider 'durables' such as cars, appliances, furniture, etc. This waste economy is extremely profitable because it almost eliminates true market competition; but this type of economy is extremely hurtful to the environment for obvious reasons.

The problem is not that politicians or corporation owners don't want to protect the environment; the problem is that these people have for all of their adult lives been geared to thinking in terms of protecting profits first and letting other considerations come a long way second. (Corporate profits have never been higher than in the last few years, yet our cities are in decay, our parks are condemned for highways, our schools are not performing their function.) No politician in either the Republican or Democratic party is capable of carrying out the kinds of changes that are necessary. Those who control the corporations also control the government to a large extent (even leaving aside the military-industrial complex) and direct the philosophy of the two major parties.

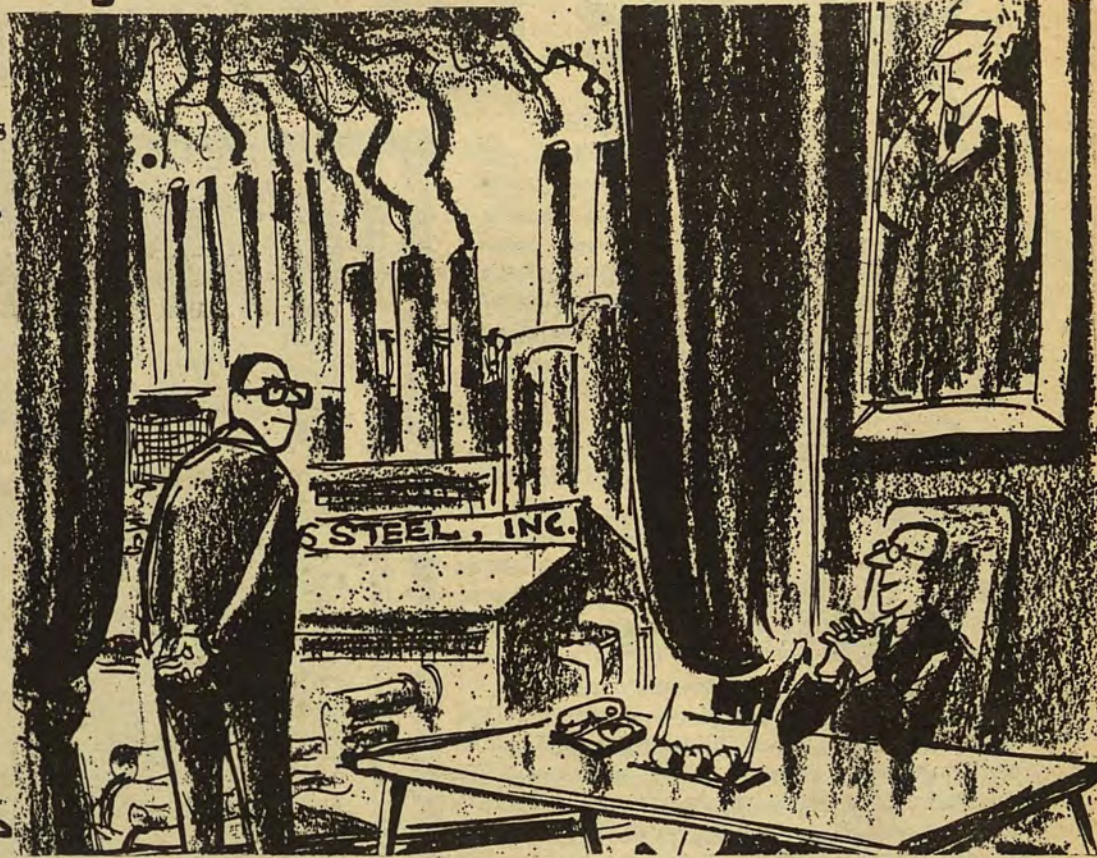
Only a total, radical reorientation of the national economic system can avert the ecological disaster that is now bearing down on us. We must decide which goods and services we want our industry to produce and which ones we can do without. We must demand the most durable 'durables' that it is technically possible to produce. And, we must have recycling of everything from

Let 'em fine us  
for polluting.

We'll make  
it up  
in profits.'

MADONIN

## Why Should The People Pay?



paper to sewage. In short, the answer is an ecologically planned, democratically controlled economy. An economy that is planned from the bottom up in order to provide equally for all. This is true socialism -- it is the only way that we can avert death.

Above is the text of a leaflet prepared for a liberal anti-pollution rally on February 28 in a Minneapolis suburb. The rally featured Robert Vaughn (of The Man from UNCLE fame) and a panel of ecologists and liberal ecology activists. It really wasn't much of a rally. It was held in a swanky restaurant and only about 200 people attended. The audience was, however, mostly left-liberal, worried, and questioning. Many were not swanky people and there was a fair number of college and high school students there.

The leaflet appeared to be well-received. Just about everyone there got one and some took a number of copies with them. Of all the literature there, this was the only piece given to the bartenders. They were impressed that someone treated them as more than a part of the furniture.

From a radical standpoint the leaflet will appear somewhat equivocal, but this can be defended on two counts.

(1) The primary way that the left can combat the repression now coming down is to spread the ideas and ideals of socialism to as large a number of people as possible. We must gain friends and allies who recognize that wasteful destructive tendencies are inherent in capitalism and that concern for the community is the true nature of socialism. People can't be organized strongly around purely 'corrective' measures. An awareness of capitalism's destruction of nature must be extended to an awareness of the total corruption it works upon society. Most persons in the ecology movement are leaning toward the ideals of socialism; it is up to us to put their hopes and ideals into perspective and tie up the loose ends, thereby creating real revolutionary commitment. Good ideas come from the people and ecology is one of the best ideas. It is not limited to the issues of a single community or group. It is international in scope.

(2) The use of leftist rhetoric may work on the campus, but it rings a false note many times in the broader community at this time. This is especially true for members of 'conservation' groups. One can't throw terms like imperialism or ruling class around among white-collar types without first laying the groundwork of hours of rapping and pages of explanation. White collar workers are usually more interested in ecology and consumer protection than in direct exploitation on the job. Although they are, of course, exploited (especially the women), they usually don't see it that way. You have to start where people

are, not where you would like them to be. This poses a real challenge to the organizer of white-collar workers and communities, because it's difficult to avoid opportunism. An organizer, or educator can avoid opportunism only if he has a clear idea of what the ultimate goal is. In this case the goal is to save the world from destruction. Saving the world can only come about by mobilizing the masses to put the means of production in the hands of all the people, and the philosophy of production in the minds and actions of all the people.

After this leaflet has circulated around a little while longer we in Minnesota SDS will get one out on 'Pollution, whose fault is it?' and escalate the overt political content of our message.

### THE TEACH-IN

It is crucial for radicals to attend the national environmental teach-in the week of April 20. It has been said that this teach-in is 'liberal' and has been set up by the 'bosses' to draw attention from radical actions and issues. But ecology can be a radical issue. The establishment is creating an issue and getting an audience together for us, an audience much larger and much more diverse than we could ever have called by ourselves.

The profit system is already being questioned by millions of ecologically aware Americans. The teach-in will make millions more aware. We must supply the engine for this vehicle. The environment will never be healed or saved under private enterprise. (To clean up Lake Erie alone, for instance, would require a completely planned economy.)

We in SDS and other radicals must put forward the motivations and connection between those who pollute and those who oppress at home and abroad. Tell them the real reasons why 'defense' spending is so high, third world people (especially Latin Americans) are starving, show them that the country is being run for the few at the expense of the many. We can demonstrate how pollution, racism, male chauvinism, and anti-communist are all intertwined. We will have to do our homework. We can show that a stabilized population will hurt capitalism which needs expansion of exploitation to survive. It will be up to us to combat racist or anti-working class attitudes which otherwise could split the movement. We can show how the myopic attitudes of the sell-out 'labor' bureaucrats have aided the corporations in creating environmental problems. We can, above all, show that environmental destruction is caused by an unplanned, individualistic economic system and national ethos.

by Ray Griffith  
U of Minnesota SDS

# midnight cowboy

## Shows "Dream of Escape"

### Is Cruel Joke

Midnight Cowboy, starring Dustin Hoffman and John Voigt, gives an absolutely devastating picture of the decay of American capitalism. Joe Buck (played by Voigt), the 'lonesome cowboy', starts out as a dishwasher in a greasy spoon restaurant in Texas. He is hassled by his boss and troubled by bitter memories of rape, betrayal and desertion. He decides to split for New York and become a stud.

As he himself explains, he's never had anything going for him but his good looks. He is an absolutely impoverished member of the working class -- the kind our professors tell us cannot exist!

In New York, he fumbles around on Park Avenue looking for rich old women to stud for. They aren't buying. One rich woman, in early middle age, takes him on, but he winds up paying her. That's the way it goes, especially in New York (so the movie suggests).

Buck finally meets up with his alter ego, Enrico Rizzo (called 'Ratzo'). In a beautiful scene the two introduce themselves. 'Joe Buck from Texas.' 'Enrico Rizzo,' whines Hoffman, 'from the Bronx.' Everybody laughs, but, really, where's the humor? Is Joe Buck, the handsome dishwasher, really any different from 'Ratzo' Ricco, the consumptive petty thief, the son of a subway shoeshine 'boy'?

The point of the movie - for me, at least - is that there's no difference. Both are part of the working class and must share the constant uncertainty, struggle - and sometimes, agony - that that entails. Technically, of course, these two hustlers, living together in a condemned tenement, are not workers -- they're part of what Marx called the Lumpenproletariat (people who are poor and perhaps come from working class backgrounds, but who do not work and instead

are parasites). But for Joe, at least, his stay in New York is just a temporary, desperate attempt to escape from being a dishwasher.

To digress for a moment, this idea, that such an escape is possible, is exactly the idea that is fed to us daily. Escape the working class by being a professor, a writer, a 'professional', a hip businessman, an intellectual hustler. That's the line students are fed.



VOIGHT & HOFFMAN IN "MIDNIGHT COWBOY"

Workers often get cruder fare. Escape the working class by becoming 'your own boss' (e.g. getting the franchise on a fish-and-chips store or a gas station); escape by exploiting your looks, your charm, your sex (e.g. airline stewardess, movie star, all the 'glamorous' professions).

Lately, it's become: escape the working class by becoming a hippy. Some time ago I met a young factory worker, a guy with long hair, on his way South to escape the 'horrendous monotony of the machine shop and the incredible smog and pollution of this area'. Somehow, I suspect that thirty years ago this guy would have stood and fought.

Joe Buck is on a different trip. When Rizzo tells him his cowboy outfit is 'faggot stuff', Buck, wounded, cries out, 'Faggot stuff? Is John Wayne a faggot?'

We had almost forgotten how myths like this one, so totally divorced from reality are still real to millions of people in this country.

'Midnight Cowboy' is probably a sincere attempt by people within the system (Hoffman does ads for VISTA) to destroy some blatantly false ideology. One of the ways it is shown that the makers of this film are still within the system is that, aside from Joe and Ricco, there is hardly one sympathetic or even likable character in the movie (the only one I remember is a small child playing peek-a-boo on the bus). For a sensitive, alienated person, like Joe Buck (whose character we see only through the movie media), the surface of America can really look like a nightmare. But, it is only in the process of trying to change things that one truly discovers the often admirable, and sometimes heroic nature of many of these same, everyday people.

by Ralph Moss  
U of California, Irvine  
All Campus Employees

1. "SO DEREK DECIDED TO LEAVE ALL THE PROTEST GROUPS, AND SIT-INS, AND EVERYTHING." "YEAH, BUT HE DIDN'T GIVE UP, DEREK NEVER GIVES UP. HE HAS... CHARISMA."

2. "SOME KIND OF A PHONE-IN." "YES. HE'S GOT THIS GROOVE GOING WITH THE PHONE COMPANY."

3. "PHONES ARE TACTIC. MARSHALL MCLUHAN SAYS PHONES ARE VERY TACTIC." "NO. HE'S GOT THIS JOB. AND THE WHOLE THING IS COMMUNICATION. REAL COMMUNICATION. HE HELPS PEOPLE TALK TO EACH OTHER. IT'S LIKE A PUBLIC SERVICE."

4. "YEAH, AND THIS NEW PHONE COMPANY HAS 40,000 PEOPLE WORKING THERE. AND ALL KINDS OF NEW IDEAS. IT'S BEAUTIFUL." "YOU KNOW WHAT? I LOVE THE PHONE COMPANY."

South Central Bell

When we saw this ad, we called a Dallas (where the ad ran) operator and asked her if it was really "groovy" working for the phone company. She said she got \$76.50 a week before taxes. When asked what this came down to in per hour wages, she laughed and replied, "Nothing!"

# YSA/SMC Leadership Sellout

## Anti-War Movement

'I don't see why we should be bound to the agreements of the convention... After all, we aren't students and we can't take a lot of time off to go to conventions.'

The above statement was presented at a delegate meeting of the New England Anti-War Conference called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The reference was, of course, to the decision of the original New England Anti-War Conference to exclude liberals and other imperialists from speaking at the April 15 demonstrations. The speaker, a woman representative of 'Brookline PAX', was serving as resident apologist for what was in fact an illegal meeting. At two previous meetings of the New England Anti-War Conference the subject of liberal politicians on the speakers platform had come up. On both occasions the majority had decided that those who did not agree with the basic premise of the conference - that the US has nothing to negotiate in Vietnam - would not be asked to speak. And there we were back at MIT for yet another meeting... only this time the meeting was stacked with business people bent on overturning resolutions which did not serve their interests. Despite the heading on the agenda which read 'In order to implement the decisions of the New England Anti-War Conference...' the obvious goal of those assembled was to implement only those decisions friendly to the minority caucus present. SDS was of course invited - with three delegate votes - in order to provide a smokescreen over the clandestine intentions of the group. Attempts by SDS to expose the intentions of these misleaders were ignored by a hostile audience especially gathered in order to railroad their proposals through. It was later learned that at the time of this meeting negotiations to secure as a speaker Senator Goodell (R-NY) were already under way! Obviously, the representatives at this meeting had no intention of abiding by any decisions which did not serve their interests.

Exactly what were their interests? The guiding spirit of this meeting was Jerome Grossman, a Boston Businessman who supposedly conceived of the idea of the Moratorium. Much reverence was paid to this man and one can only

conclude that the interests represented here were of big business and not of the people. The choice of Goodell as a speaker is one not difficult to understand. The famous Goodell Senate Resolution calls for a phased withdrawal of US Forces and increased economic and military aid to the Thieu-Ky regime in Saigon. This situation would of course be ideal for US imperialist interests... Let the bandits in Saigon serve as agents for US businessmen. Let Thieu and Ky, who have had much experience killing Vietnamese patriots, having fought with the French Colonialists against the people... let Thieu and Ky lead the suppression of popular revolution. After all, who gains by such a situation? Business interests! -- like those represented at this delegate meeting of the New England Anti-War Conference...

In the past demonstrations such as those held on October 15 of last year have served as convenient platforms where aspiring politicians could say that they wanted an end to the war while at the same time acting to continue US involvement in Southeast Asia. In short, they tell people what they want them to hear... that the war was a tragic mistake, that the 'sovereignty' of the south Vietnamese must be defended by the south Vietnamese, thereby perpetuating the myth that south Vietnam is a national state. Liberals mislead the movement. They go on about negotiations, cease-fires, coalitions, and the newest example of covering the truth -- Vietnamization! But these are only techniques for prolonging US domination because all are based on the assumption that the US has a justifiable interest in Vietnam.

Who suffers from the war? Certainly not businesspeople. At the delegate meeting mentioned above a proposal that the question of how to ally with working people be added to the agenda was soundly defeated. The leadership of these mass demonstrations has always avoided workers' struggles. On November 15 in Washington the SMC and Moratorium Coalition, who had been given control of permits, denied a parade permit for a rally in support of GE strikers. Many have countered pro-working class ideas with the argument that 'a single-issue affair is vastly more popular'. In practice this has only served

as a cover for alliances with liberal politicians and for continuing the movement's isolation from workers. Workers are the major force for change in this country. The war hurts working people more than any other group. They are hardest hit by war-caused inflation and war taxes. Moreover, the Vietnam war is not fought by politicians and big business people -- it is fought by working people. They are the ones who are called to leave their homes to defend business interests in Southeast Asia. They are the ones who suffer the pain and disease of war. And they are the ones who are called upon to die in the defense of so-called national interests!

The recent postal strike has aptly demonstrated the power of workers. When workers get together to buck the system they can throw a positive scare into those who run the country. They can turn the whole system right back on those who have for so long exploited them. After all, who got hurt by the mail strike?... certainly not the little guy who doesn't get his bills, not the potential draftee waiting for his notice. Wall Street and Big Business panicked though! Notice how fast the army moved in to protect the interests of Wall Street. One is not surprised that those who favor liberal politicians at mass rallies, who favor negotiated settlements and military aid to unpopular Vietnamese rulers... one is not surprised that these people rush to be counted when defeating pro-working class resolutions.

SDS believes that the only concrete way to fight against the war is to fight against its causes, not to just fight against the war itself. To remove only the visible portion of a cancer does not end the disease. We must ally with the people who suffer most from this cancer. We must fight against the purveyors of cancer, those who profit while others absorb all the pain. The enemy is the profiteer, the oppressor... the allies are the people, be they Vietnamese struggling against tyranny, or the American workers fighting for economic freedom. The enemy is the same!

by Karl Bajoris, Boston State SDS

## racist murder

Continued from page 2

Incredible. Suddenly the Globe is giving the cop version, pretending it's what the patients, the eye-witnesses, say happened! These guys must think people are stupid. The very day before, the Globe's own reporter, Robert Anglin, gave his eye-witness account -- and his account is the opposite of the above story. The Globe decided to join the police and lie, to clear Duggan, the murderer! Two days later, they dropped any mention of the incident, as the issue intensified in the black community, they refused to cover it.

This isn't unusual. The Globe and all the rest of the press try to deceive the people. They try to turn them against one another by distorting stories. They try to cover for the cops and try especially hard to build racism against black people. Not one of these papers, for instance, will tell the truth about what happens inside Boston City Hospital -- about the cops in the corridors who beat up and insult patients, or about the over-crowded, unsanitary conditions and rotten pay the hospital workers get. Just like none of the papers told the truth about the GE strikers -- instead all the papers - from the Boston Record American to the Boston Globe - spread the lie that the strikers were living 'high off the hog' and 'have no right to complain', etc.

In addition to attacking militant black workers, the bosses try to sell vicious racist lies about black people to white workers and students. But the latter are also hurt by racism. Aside from the fact that racist ideas are rotten

blacks who can provide a tremendously militant force in fighting rotten conditions workers and students face. Racism is the number one way the bosses divide the people so they can make lots of money. Racism must be defeated not just by blacks but by whites as well!

What about this cop murder? We should demand compensation for Lynch's family and all cops out of Boston City Hospital.

As for Duggan -- he should get the severest punishment for his crime! But the courts will never give him what he deserves. The same bosses who run the Globe control the courts and make sure they are used to build racism not to punish racist criminals like Duggan. An example of this was the shackling of Bobby Seale during the Chicago trial. The picture of him bound and gagged was intended to say to people: 'Black people who rebel are nothing more than dirty animals.' The same goes for the request made by the NAACP that the Federal Government investigate the Lynch murder. If the Federal Government wanted to stop such crimes they'd have no trouble. The fact is they are controlled by the rich just as much as the local cops are. They also do their best to spread racism. A Federal investigation would be a farce.

To win, the people have to rely on themselves, on each other, on the millions of black and white working people and also students who are hurt by this capitalist system. Only the people can give Duggan and - more important - his billionaire bosses who never do the dirty work themselves, who just sit home and count the loot -- only the people can beat those who run this country and are responsible for this murder!

This racist murder is not an isolated inci-

dent, it is a clear example of how the ruling class uses its state apparatus, the cops, the courts, and the press to maintain the oppression of black and white working people in this country. It is because they own and control the sources of wealth - factories, mines, and land - that they can develop a huge government machine that serves them, not the people. With this machine they try to turn everything to their advantage, try to profit from all the suffering of the people, try to use the newspapers, TV, radio and schools to back them up and divide the people.

To secure gains that these rich rulers can't turn around through force and trickery, workers and their allies will have to smash the bosses' courts and cops, who are used to crush workers. We must build a new government and a whole new society run by and for the workers, which will deprive the rich parasites of every drop of power. We must build a society free of exploitation of man by man, a society and a government that really serves the masses of people. This government is socialism, we must fight to build it.



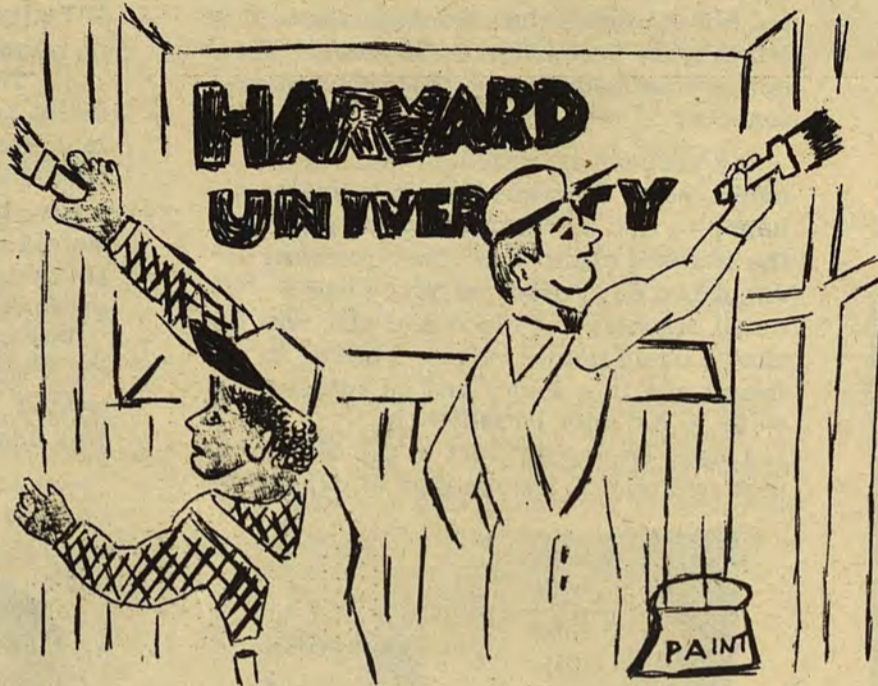


# FIGHT BACK

VOL. I, NO. I, WORKER-STUDENT COALITION NEWSLETTER MARCH 13, 1970

## PROMOTE THE ~~HELPERS~~ APPRENTICES!

- A.** Can you tell the difference between the two guys working?  
**B.** No. They look like they're doing the same work to me.  
**A.** They are; but one's a helper and the other's a painter.  
**B.** Well, what does that mean?  
**A.** It means Harvard pays one man \$1800 a year less than the other.  
**B.** Why is that?  
**A.** Because Harvard isn't hiring any painters.



A majority of the painter's "helpers" (now classified as "apprentices") have this week submitted to Harvard the following appeal for promotion:

"We are not satisfied with the apprentice rating you gave us, because we do the same work that the journeymen do and we feel we should get the same pay. We were hired as helpers and this was unfair since we did the same work for less pay. The apprentice program did not change this unfairness: we still get less pay, and the journeymen did not have to go through this training in color mixing, etc., to get journeymen's pay at Harvard. This apprentice training is a lot of extra expense and time away from our families for training we never have to use at Harvard. We have enough experience to do the work at Harvard, and we don't see why we have to go to this apprentice program 6 hours a week at night on our own time. To our knowledge our work has been satisfactory since we have been here as helpers. We ask to be promoted immediately to journeyman painters at Harvard."

## Racism Helps Harvard Bosses

When black "helpers" came to work for Harvard's Buildings and Grounds Department, they ran into a lot of racism from the white workers. One mechanic (a mechanic is a journeyman in any of the trades) told a black worker to his face, "You're just after our jobs. All you blacks off the streets of Roxbury are illiterate. I had to work hard for what I've got. You just want to make it easy."

It's true that black people suffer from more unemployment than whites, and more poor education. But the vast majority of black people work very hard for a living, and one of their worst problems is that fully qualified blacks just can't get as good jobs as equally qualified whites and often have to work two jobs as a result.

According to the census, black college graduates earn less than white high school dropouts. This is because of racism. Most black workers really take pride in doing their job. Not as many are illiterate as most people think. You might find a few of them that are on that standard. This is not because of laziness or inability to learn. It is because in the schools and on the job blacks get exploited even more than other workers.

A while ago a black apprentice said to a white worker, "I just want to be respected as a man and as a worker. Harvard does not take money out of your pocket to pay me. I am not really stealing anything from you. You have already learned your trade, and I am here at Harvard to get a better job opportunity. It's not taking the easy gravy. I'm willing to make this sacrifice to go to school and learn something more about my trade, as most of you people did."

### Bosses Build Racism

One thing the white mechanic said was true, though. He did have to work hard for his living. He still does, and all workers do. And they have to fight hard against employers like Harvard to keep the gains they have won. It is the Harvard big bosses who are trying to keep working people at Harvard divided. The racism of white workers toward black helpers plays right into the hands of Harvard's slick big bosses. That's why they set up a helper program to begin with. They want to spread the idea that all blacks are only qualified to be helpers. They want to encourage white workers to feel threatened by black workers. The struggles of black workers all over the country have forced Harvard, like other employers, to hire more black workers. But like other employers, Harvard is try-

This is the latest step taken in the fight begun this fall against an unfair pay differential which was directed mainly at black workers. Harvard has tried hard to hold on to this money-saving racist practice. They have kicked out, suspended, or otherwise punished white and black students who demonstrated for promotion of the "helpers." They have harassed and threatened workers. They have come up with a program which only makes the unfairness greater.

We feel that these workers should be supported in their fight for equal pay for equal work, in their fight against Harvard's racism. We are passing around petitions of support among workers and students, both of whom stand only to gain by winning these workers' promotion and the revoking of all punishments.

At its start 2 years ago the "helper's program" was a means of hiring qualified black journeymen painters for helper's pay. The applicants were told that "regardless of their experience there were no openings for journeymen at the time, only openings for helpers." This was a lie, because they were put to work eight hours a day doing journeymen's work.

When this program became so obviously racist that people began to question it-- "Is it only blacks who are being hired as helpers?"--Harvard began to hire whites in the same manner--"regardless of their experience, etc." Finally even this became too conspicuous, so the foreman got a directive to hire the next two applicants as journeymen.

In the face of protest this fall Harvard responded by promoting two helpers, trying to give the impression that the injustice had occurred by mistake and only in these particular cases.

By changing the helper program to an apprentice program Harvard and the Union have only changed the situation for the worse, because the men have to waste six hours of their time in school to back up Harvard's poor excuse for paying them less--"they need to learn more about colors."

## who we are

The group that writes this newsletter consists of campus workers and students. We have come together in the course of fighting against the ways Harvard and Radcliffe hurt the people who work for them: hiring practices which discriminate against black workers and women, bad working conditions, low pay. We plan to continue the work of making a strong alliance between workers and students that will oppose these schools' oppressive policies.

This alliance has been growing since the fall. Students got part-time jobs on campus in order to get to know the workers who keep this place going. The students found out a lot about what Harvard

cont. p. 4, col. 1

cont. p. 2, col. 1

## racism, cont.

ing to turn this against their entire workforce.

Another time someone saw a white mechanic and a black helper walking together. The white man was walking with his hands in his pockets. The black man was carrying the mechanic's tools and his dirty overalls. This was typical of the attitude that some of the mechanics had. "This is the kind of racism you have to put up with. If you take it personally you get really pissed off. You feel like busting one of those guys in the head. But you'd rather not get into something like that because you feel that working people should not fight one another. I just want these people to take me as I am. I'm not asking anyone to like me or be my friend."

In the beginning some of the mechanics did not want the helpers to use their tools. Their attitude was, "We worked hard to buy these tools. Why don't you buy your own?" A few helpers refused to buy tools because at the present moment they could not afford to. So Harvard really got on those helpers and told them they had to get their tools.

### Bosses Play On Racism

Recently Harvard promoted a black mechanic to the position of assistant foreman. This caused a big stir with the other mechanics. They thought it was unfair and unjustified, because there were other guys with longer time at Harvard who could also fulfill that job. The only reason why Harvard gave the job to the black mechanic was because they knew that they had to respond some way to the pressure of black and white students (and other organizations like NAACP). The way Harvard acted was designed to build racism.

They did this in at least two other cases also. They promoted a black cook to be a steward (supervisor in a dining hall) and a painter's helper to a high-paying job in the Personnel Office. In each case there were men with more seniority who could have filled these jobs. Harvard picked just one black man to promote as a token. If they were really sincere they would have hired black workers long ago and upgraded them along with everyone else. Certainly at that time there were qualified black workers available, despite Harvard's claim. And if they had just made an honest mistake they would have promoted all the painter's helpers and ended the racist wage differential. Instead, they've been promoting racism all along, and acting this way now under pressure just shows they are determined to promote it even more now.

### Racism Must Be Fought!

Racism is bad because it splits up people and this is the reason it is fostered. By preventing people from getting together their bargaining position is weakened and what makes it worse is that the people themselves are weakened as people. This is very bad because it instills fear and hatred. The only way you can fight that is by black and white really joining together as one and fighting racism throughout the nation, especially at Harvard.

This newsletter comes from the experiences of the people who wrote it. We wish it to become a more and more useful tool for improving the lives of the people who work and study here. We ask for people's criticisms, experiences, insights. Please write to  
J.K. Chapman  
12 Upland Rd.  
Camb., Mass. 02140

# CAUTION

## Harvard May Be Hazardous To Your Health

When you come to work at Harvard, one of their big selling points is the great medical plan you get, including the University Health Services. But what kind of treatment do people really get? And, more specifically, what kind of treatment do women get at Harvard?

Because there is no gynecologist for over 7,000 female workers and students, women are given a run-around about a lot of important questions. Women should not have to feel embarrassed or intimidated about practical medical questions, but they do at the Health Services. The actual treatment is also medically questionable.

My husband is a student and I'm an employee at Harvard. We were really happy to find out through a test given at the Harvard clinic that I was pregnant. About two days after the test I had a small discharge of blood and also was so tired I could hardly move. I talked to a friend who is a doctor and he advised me to go to a doctor immediately.

I made an appointment at the clinic that afternoon. I proceeded to explain e-

verything to the doctor but he didn't respond to my questions. Then he joked and said he couldn't see if I had a ring on because my hand was covered. He said it made all the difference in the world to him whether I was married or not. I felt that the real problem was not my marital status but my physical health and I told him so. He seemed unconcerned that I was bleeding and said there was a good chance that there was something drastically wrong with the fetus. He said that if I miscarried there was nothing he could do about it and that I should go on working. This is our first child and I was upset to hear that it might be deformed. I later learned that the body often miscarries if there is something wrong with the fetus, but he did not explain this to me. He did not examine me, claiming that "it might disturb something." I was told to go back to work and forget about it.

When I got back to the office I called the Cambridge City Hospital and they suggested that I go there immediately. I was admitted on an emergency basis and

**cont. on p.4, col. 3**



## INSURANCE?.....SURE!

As an employee at Harvard, I would like to request on behalf of myself and other workers that Harvard change its present contributory group insurance plan, which is not in the best interests of the worker. Recently I wrote a letter to the Crimson and also spoke with three of the bosses about this insurance plan, and nothing came of it.

In this plan, hourly-paid workers pay a certain percentage of their income in order to get coverage. If you die during the time you work at Harvard, your beneficiaries get the equivalent of your income for one year. But when you reach 65 and retire, this policy no longer covers you. It has no cash value at any time, which means that if you want to terminate it, as I did, you can't get back the money you already put in it. And at that age you won't be able to get a policy you can afford from any other company. You get nothing.

If you happen to get seriously ill and can't work at Harvard any longer (say you're disabled by an accident on the job) you can't continue the policy (since you're no longer an employee), which wouldn't cover you anyway, since it only covers you if you die. You're a living dead: you can't work, and you can't collect from the policy.

We would like to see these changes: First, that workers be allowed to continue the policy after retirement at the same rate. Second, that workers who leave Harvard after five or more years be able to continue the policy at the same rate. Workers who wish to terminate the policy should receive the money they've already put in it and also a reasonable amount of interest. And third, that a worker who becomes incapacitated on the job should from that time on become a life member of that policy (without having to contribute), so that when he dies his beneficiaries can receive the compensation they would have had he still been working.

The cost of these changes should be borne by Harvard. And for the insurance plan to be really just, Harvard should pay for all of it. The workers should not have to pay anything.

To my opinion this is not too much to ask of Harvard. I am sure there is better coverage for the faculty and administration. To me this is discrimination, because we are all organs of the same body. We each have our own duties to perform. One cannot do without the other.

Sonny Gordon

# WHAT'S IN A CONTRACT?

## HARVARD HITS GROUNDSMEN WITH CHEAP LABOR SCHEME

Throughout the contract negotiations for Harvard craftsmen and groundsmen this year, Harvard and the union leadership systematically tried to keep the wages of the groundsmen especially low. They did everything possible to keep the groundsmen from receiving a 92¢ wage increase like the other workers. The groundsmen got a 65¢ increase, which kept their wages below those of the lowest apprentices in the skilled trades. If they had gotten the 92¢, their wages would have been higher than those of the apprentices.

## Keeping Wages Down

We think this is part of a general employment policy which will save Harvard a great deal of money. The basic tendency, already evident, has been to reduce the number of outside journeymen hired. This will continue. Then Harvard has created an apprenticeship program which will produce journeymen. Finally, these apprentices will be recruited from the ranks of the groundsmen. Thus Harvard has created an internal system of promotion which only needs to hire groundsmen from the outside.

This serves Harvard in several ways:

1) Harvard journeymen are paid less than outside journeymen. If journeymen from the outside are hired, this puts pressure on Harvard to raise its wages. By using only Harvard-trained journeymen, this pressure is reduced.

2) Through an apprenticeship program much of the work that journeymen do can be done by apprentices who are paid less. This is the essence of the helper program which carries over to the apprenticeship program--less pay for the same work.

3) Finally, if Harvard runs the program they will receive large amounts of federal money.

In light of this, we can see why it is important that the groundsmen be paid less than the lowest-paid apprentices. This would provide Harvard with a permanent pool of men from which to recruit apprentices. Many of the groundsmen would be eager to join because of the prospect of better pay. (Already, twelve groundsmen have been accepted into the apprenticeship program.)

The pressure from the union leaders for capitulating to Harvard's threats can be seen in the letters to the men, first from Harvard:

"Should this Agreement be rejected a second time by the membership, the University reserves the right to rescind this Agreement, including the provision that wage increases are retroactive to December 8, 1969."

then from the union leaders:

"Your negotiating committee strongly recommends acceptance of the University's proposal. Failure to do so may mean a loss in retroactive pay back to Dec. 8, 1969, along with many other items in this letter."

Harvard's only obstacle in pursuing this plan was that the groundsmen overwhelmingly rejected the 65¢ offer by a vote of 37-4. In the face of this opposition, Harvard set about to intimidate the groundsmen into settling. They sent a letter to the union which threatened the workers with withholding retroactive pay if they did not accept the offer. The union passed that letter along to the workers and advised them to give in.

## Union ≠ Unity

The union leadership, instead of helping to unite the workers, worked to split

them. In the first place, the workers are split by the way that the union is organized. The contract is divided into two separate halves -- one for laborers (groundsmen), the other for craftsmen. The craftsmen are divided into five sections, each of which votes separately. The groundsmen also vote separately. Supposedly, if one section rejects what the contract offers them, all of them do.

The way the last contract was handled, those sections that were getting the worst deal and were most likely to reject were scheduled to vote last. In the crafts section, the painters, who make less than the other craftsmen, and who had shown a willingness to oppose the "helper" program, voted after the other four had approved. The groundsmen, who were offered 27¢ less than all the other workers, voted last of all.

Throughout the negotiations, and at the union meetings, the union heads tried to make each section think that the sections that had already accepted the contract were not bound to go out with them if they chose to strike. At a union meeting held after the groundsmen had rejected the contract, one painter proposed that the union not formally sign the craftsmen's half until the groundsmen accepted. The union head ruled the motion out of order saying, "What do you care about the groundsmen, you're a painter aren't you?"

## To The Last Penny

But it wasn't enough that Harvard had its way with the contract. One point in the letter from the union concerning the contract guarantees four hours pay for being called in two hours before regular shift. (Groundsmen are called in at 6 AM when it snows to clear the walks.) Harvard threatened to withdraw this guarantee in the event of a second refusal -- and when the groundsmen accepted the contract, they withdrew it anyway, in effect. Because before the ink had dried on the contract, Harvard informed the groundsmen that many of them would have their shift changed from 8-4:30 to 7-3:30. Thus, with the new shift schedules, men get time and a half for one extra hour, rather than double time for two extra hours. One groundsmen who questioned this was told by Personnel that the reason for it was to cut down on overtime.

## Rank & File Can Lead!

Signing a contract does not mean that the workers agree to its terms. The workers were pressured into signing this contract by a combination of subtle tricks by the union leadership -- like telling each unit that the others were under no obligation to support them, when in fact they were -- and scare tactics from the Harvard Corporation -- the threat of withdrawing retroactive pay, in the letter above. Harvard and the union heads were able to get away with this because



Harvard painter John Carroll speaks to more than 800 students and workers at January rally held in support of painter's "helpers" and disciplined students.

## FIGHTERS NOT MARTYRS

"Harvard has no business kicking out the students who sat-in against that racist "helpers" program. I'm also bothered because it doesn't look as if SDS is doing enough to fight it. A union backs up its members when they get fired by the bosses. SDS should do at least as much! Otherwise, people lose faith in SDS. The average guy watching TV, seeing Harvard pull a trick like this, is waiting for the students to do something. If nothing happens, he says, "That doesn't sound like those kids. How come all of a sudden they quit so easy?" I've heard that expressed right on my own corner. It looks like martyr for the cause -- like the kids just don't care and go in with an attitude of "We lose? So, we lose." It's one thing if you were out to bomb the White House or something. But what you're doing is challenging the structure to make things better for ordinary people. Are you going to lose a certain number of students from every freshman class just for that? Remember, Harvard kicking them out is like being given a jail record -- it follows you around for the rest of your life. It's the same as when a worker gets fired for fighting the system, or when they persecuted people in the Joe McCarthy days. Maybe you never did anything wrong, but the thing sticks to you till they bury you. Maybe you students don't realize how serious this is, but the people on the street sure know it.

Why not fight to get your students back? If you do fight, you might win, and if you don't fight, you know you lose. When you fight to get these kids back in school, people watching TV are bound to say, "Jeez, they're right." Harvard isn't right by doing this. They're defeating all that they are supposed to stand for when they kick kids out of getting their college education. Besides, right now probably 500 new kids would join SDS if they weren't afraid they might risk losing their education by getting really active. If you get a campaign going against these repressions here, maybe not everybody would join, but at least they'd know you're fighting it."

of the lack of organization among the rank and file workers. Such an organization of workers within the union would prepare the workers to deal with Harvard's intimidation, to fight bad contracts before they expire, and would put control of the union back where it belongs -- with the workers.

## who we are, cont.

and Radcliffe are like--found out about practices like the painter's helper program, or the 91¢ pay differential between men and women cooks in the Radcliffe kitchens.

### Why Students?

Students are also hurt by such practices, which exist throughout society, since most students go on to become workers of one kind or another. Women who graduate from Radcliffe face low-paying jobs and the same especially bad treatment women workers at Harvard and Radcliffe face. Students who go on to become teachers have to teach in lousy schools which are run by businessmen on boards of education who don't care about either pupils or teachers. In fighting against the Vietnam War students have to oppose the same rich men who make their money off the backs of workers.

Feeling a real need to ally with workers to improve things, students demonstrated to get the administration to stop some of its practices. In the course of these campaigns students and workers began to work together and to get to know each other. This led to a rally held in January in support of black and white students who had been kicked out, suspended or warned for demonstrating for the promotion of the painter's helpers and for 20% black and third-world workers on Harvard construction sites. At this rally workers, students, and a professor spoke to more than 800 students about the importance of fighting the racism, oppression of women, exploitation of all workers, and the repression which Harvard and Radcliffe practice.

This group is another step forward in that growing alliance. We meet regularly to plan how best to broaden and strengthen the alliance and how best to carry on campaigns.

### Divide And Conquer

The big businessmen who run Harvard and Radcliffe are very afraid of workers and students getting together. They would rather see us fighting each other, just as they prefer to have black and white fighting each other, women and men fighting each other, native and immigrant fighting each other. By working together we have broken down a lot of the bad attitudes workers and students have toward each other, and have also learned how the rich people who benefit from people being divided create and encourage those attitudes, that division.

Radcliffe tells its janitors and its groundsman that if they are caught "fraternizing" with the women students they will risk being fired. Women workers in the Harvard kitchens are not allowed to talk with students on the job or even after work in the students' rooms. This year, students who were talking with painters and helpers have been ordered by foremen to leave, and workers who have been seen talking with students have been harassed by the bosses and warned. The Radcliffe administration told kitchen workers, when SDS'ers who worked in the kitchens were going to throw a party for them, that they were watching to see which of the workers went (in order to see who the "sympathizers" were). Thus the administration threatens workers when they get "too friendly" with students.

### A Good Education?

Students are exposed all their lives to ideas which are intended to make them look down on and fear working people--ideas which Harvard and Radcliffe do their best to reinforce. All through school stu-

dents are taught that they are "better, more sensitive, more important" than workers because of their education. Workers are made out to be simple-minded, crude, and bought-off. The history courses students get here ignore the history of working people--a history of tremendous struggle for better lives. When working people are talked about, it is in order to blame them for racism, fascism, etc. In Social Relations courses students are taught theories about the "rigid, authoritarian frame of mind" peculiar to working people. A professor, in a recent lecture, said that workers were too dumb to invent anything. A police recruiter who spoke at Harvard recently implied that police brutality was a result of the working class background of most of the cops, when it is their job and their training to be brutal towards those they're supposed to keep in line--striking workers, black people in the ghetto, student demonstrators, and so on.

Ideas like these split students from the allies they need. More and more, students are seeing through these lies. When they do, and attempt to fight alongside of workers, the college administrations try to make it seem as if students' and workers' interest were opposed to each other. In the fall of '68, when Radcliffe kitchen workers tried to strike, and students were trying to support them, the administration said that it would have to raise tuition to pay for the wage increases. They pulled the same trick this year, when they said they would have to close Hilles Library a few nights a week to pay for abolishing the wage differential between men and women cooks.

### Spoiled Troublemakers?

Some workers, on the other hand, tend to think that students who demonstrate are rich kids who do it for kicks, who ungratefully give up the chance for a good education, who wouldn't be that way if they had more discipline at home. Or they think students are just crazy, or "paid by communists" and so on.

A lot of these ideas come from the news media, which is run by the same big businessmen who try to split people upon campus here. The papers and TV play up people like the Weathermen, who beat up workers and students, and ignore or underplay the issues in demonstrations which are in the interests of working people. For example, SDS held a rally in Washington on November 15 in support of the GE strikers. It was totally blacked out in the news, even though over 7500 people came to it.

### Bosses Pass The Blame

The Harvard bosses try to blame students (and other workers) for a lot of the bad treatment they hand out to workers. Secretaries, receptionists, and other office workers are consistently told that any unpleasant parts of their jobs are "for the students", never for the administration or the faculty. If by some chance you should finish your work before 5:00, you have to sit by your phone "because students will complain if they call and there is no answer". And you can't have the switchboard transfer your calls "because the switchboard is so inefficient". Nobody ever says that the faculty and the administration enjoy the petty power of keeping people at their desks; nobody ever points out that the switchboard is inefficient because the administration is too cheap to hire enough help.

### Workers/Students Unite

More and more workers and students have come to see through these attempts to split us up. We have fought together on this and other campuses. Students walked on picket lines during the Buildings and Grounds unionization strike in

1967. Students emptied a truck full of scab linen during the 1969 strike of Gordon Linen truck drivers. Many workers agree that the painter's helpers campaign helped Harvard workers get a pay increase in their latest contract that was more than twice any previous increase.

We think that workers and students stand only to gain by getting together. This group, the Worker-Student Coalition, will work towards that alliance. In this newsletter and in succeeding ones we will write about the conditions of workers here, about how Harvard and Radcliffe use racism to hurt black and white workers, about how the bosses try to split people up, about the kinds of things students get taught which end up hurting them, about the university's exploitation of women, about the nature of the people who run this school and run this country, about the ways of fighting against them for better lives. We welcome the comments, the knowledge, the experience, the participation of others.

## health, cont.

was told that if I wanted the baby I was to have complete bed rest for five days.

The other secretary who works with me was as angry as I about the treatment I got from the University doctor, so we decided to write this article and publicize the issue. We've each had enough experience or heard about them from other people to know that this lousy medical care is not uncommon at Harvard. We think that many aspects of medical care here for both workers and students, male and female, should be discussed so that something can be done to change things.

First of all, it is often hard to convince the doctors that you are sick. Cafeteria employees are not allowed to go home unless they have the permission of the Health Center and usually they only get permission if they have a temperature. They generally get two aspirins and are sent back to work where they serve the food that students eat, which is obviously medically unwise. Employees are often accused of trying to get out of work, and students are suspected of trying to get out of exams.

When you do get treatment, it is sometimes worse than none at all. We have heard of several cases of misdiagnosis. To give just one example, a student with a severe stomach ache was given medicine for three days until his appendix ruptured. Then he had to have a series of three operations to remove the fluid which came from the rupture. He was hospitalized for two months, all due to the incompetence of the Health Services. We're sure most people know of many more similar cases, of greater or lesser severity.

Another problem is that the clinic is usually very busy, so that the doctors cannot spend sufficient time with a patient. Also, since most people go in on a clinic basis, they never see the same doctor each time. The doctor that you do see just glances over your medical history, gives you a quick diagnosis, and sends you off.

Harvard acts as if it is doing us a favor by giving us medical attention. But we pay for this service every year, whether we are employees or students. And the kind of treatment that we get in return for our money is often intimidating, insufficient, or down-right irresponsible. Most of us cannot afford to see private doctors, especially since we pay to use the clinic, and as a result we get lousy medical care.

We would appreciate responses to this article and we encourage other people to write in about their own experiences with the Health Services, or about any ideas or opinions they may have.

--two women employees

# student leader exposed as front for **RACIST** boston state

A racist insult by the student government president at Boston State College several weeks ago has led to a series of demonstrations, a one day strike, and the emergence of racism as a mass issue on campus.

The incident that gave rise to these events was the hanging of a picture of the noted racist, Georgia governor Lester Maddox, and his wife, in the Student Government Association (SGA) office by SGA president Brian M. Leahy. Under the picture was the caption 'This is Maddox Country'. When asked what the picture was doing there by the SDS member who saw it, Leahy replied that it was his 'right' to put it up. SDSers then raised this with black students, who afterwards went to see Leahy. He proceeded to remove the picture, claiming it was 'a joke'.

This 'joke' wasn't very funny. Lester Maddox tries to whip up racism. His famous axe handles, which are supposed to symbolize resistance to blacks, showed up in Lamar, South Carolina, a few weeks ago when whites used them in attacking a bus full of black children.

## S.D.S. CALLS A RALLY

SDS members talked some more with black students, who agreed that there should be a rally against racism in the SGA office the next day to demand an apology from Leahy. An SDS leaflet explaining what had happened and calling for a rally was handed out.

Leahy got scared when he saw the leaflet the next morning. He hooked up a microphone in the cafeteria and said that the issue was not racism but rather SDS's opportunist, manipulative attack on him. He was attempting to defend himself and isolate SDS with anti-communist red-baiting. This is a weapon dishonest people use to slander and lie about radicals in order to discredit them. It enables them to avoid dealing with the issues radicals raise. Red-baiters know that in open political debate their own dishonesty and the indefensibility of their ideas are nearly always exposed. People who want to see progressive change in this country, whether or not they are radicals or comunists, must fight anti-communism whenever it is used.

After an SDS reply to Leahy, 40 students crowded into the SGA office and the short, open hallway which connects it to the dean's office (for quick access no doubt). When Leahy finally arrived, students demanded an explanation and an apology. None were forthcoming. Instead he blew up completely and demanded that the students get out of 'his' office. He punched a student photographer in the face.

People left the office and gathered outside to talk about what had taken place. We discussed the motives of Leahy, who has made it clear many times that he will do and say whatever is necessary to further his political career at college and afterwards. SDS and non-SDS students agreed that it was important that we write a joint leaflet to inform the student body of the incident. This was done. The student who was punched said that he would press assault and battery charges. Some SDSers voiced the opinion that the courts are racist and should not be relied on to fight racism, but the student decided he would go ahead and file a suit.

## BLACK STUDENTS TAKE THE LEAD

At this point the Black Student Association (BSA) met and decided to strike all classes the day of the hearing and demonstrate outside the Roxbury courthouse. The BSA statement called only on black students and faculty to strike and stated that because black people have and must be in the leadership of their own liberation struggle, there was no need for an alliance with SDS at this time.

It was certainly right for the BSA to emphasize and insist on the leadership role of black people in the fight against racism. Clearly they are hurt the most by it and have fought back the

hardest. It is also right for whites to fight racism, because they are affected by it too. Some black students who are not friendly to SDS because they figure whites will always sell them out, or whites can always give up fighting the system and receive a nice piece of it, or whites are hopelessly racist, said that SDS was trying to run the show.

This wasn't true. SDSers had talked with black students all along, and they had supported what was happening. We had raised our belief that we needed the leadership of black students to really fight racism at Boston State. We hadn't discussed what was going on with nearly as many black students as we should have. This weakness can certainly be linked to our own racism, which this society instills in everyone. We told black students that we would support their strike and demonstration and spent the day leafletting and trying to win people to go.

The turnout of over 100 students at the courthouse the next morning proved you can rely on students to fight racism if you put your ideas out front. After jamming the courtroom and picketing outside, the crowd followed the cry of black students to 'take this thing back to State'. Leahy, meanwhile, had failed to show up for his hearing. Perhaps he was confident, since, as we learned from the court clerk, two deans and two cops had phoned the courthouse and asked to have the case buried.

for turning out people with strongly racist and reactionary ideas. To the extent that it lives up to this reputation, it does so by teaching lies about black people and about this society. For instance, our courses don't teach us that black people are systematically given the worst jobs at the worst pay, the worst food, clothing, and housing at inflated prices, the worst hospital care, the worst sanitation service, and the worst schools. Yet these facts represent the core of racism, which is primarily an economic phenomenon.

Instead we are told that blacks are poor because they are unmotivated, uneducated, or psychologically crippled. Racism is dismissed as a mere attitude. But in fact it is racist ideology like this which allows the rich class of men (0.5% of the population owns over 70% of basic industry, communication, and transportation in the US) that runs this country to go on gouging black people with impunity.

Future teachers are taught to be disciplinarians and are forced to use a curriculum which in no way helps black children prepare for the problems black people face, i.e. how to fight back against their exploiters. By spreading ideas like these, Boston State guarantees that the teachers it turns out will fail to really help children.



STUDENT POWER OBSCURES THE ISSUE

Back in the school cafeteria, the BSA read a statement calling on all students to strike against racism. This rally was followed by marching and picketing by 250 striking students. The issue of racism was obscured at the cafeteria rally when several people came forth and said that this 'crisis' proved that we all had to get together and pressure the legislature to come through with the new building it has promised and drop its proposed tuition increase. We need 'unity', they said, so we can exercise some power in our own interest as students.

This diversion indicated the racism most white students have in not seeing the oppression of black people as a more serious matter than their own undeniable oppression as students. It also showed that we have been weak in pointing out how the significance of the last few days' events went far beyond Leahy's personal racism. We hadn't made it clear that Leahy is just one of the ways racism is pushed at Boston State. What was necessary was to go further than the question of new buildings and get to the very nature and purpose of the college itself.

## BOSTON STATE BUILDS RACISM

Boston State is located on the edge of Roxbury, where most black people in Boston live. The school supplies Boston with the majority of its teachers, and has an undeniable reputation



Racism exists because it is profitable to the ruling class. In addition to the money it squeezes through low wages, bad services, and

**LED  
TO**

Continued on page 13

# memo

TO: ALL PERSONNEL  
SUBJECT: ABSENTEEISM

It has been brought to my attention that the attendance record of the department is a disgrace to our gracious benefactor who, at your own request, has given you your job. Due to your lack of consideration for your jobs with so fine a company, as shown by such frequent absenteeism, it has become necessary for us to revise some of our policies. The following changes are in effect as of today:

**SICKNESS: NO EXCUSE...** We will no longer accept your doctor's statement as a proof, as we believe that if you are able to go to the doctor, you are able to come to work.

**DEATH (other than your own)...** This is no excuse. There is nothing you can do for them, and we are sure that someone else with a lesser position can attend to the arrangements. However, if the funeral can be held in the late afternoon, we will be glad to let you off one hour early, provided that your share of the work is ahead enough to keep the job going in your absence.

**Leave of Absence (for an operation):** We are no longer allowing this practice; we wish to discourage any thoughts that you may need an operation as we believe as long as you are an employee here, you will need all of whatever you have and you should not consider having anything removed. We hired you as you are and to have anything removed would certainly make you less than we bargained for.

**DEATH (YOUR OWN):** This will be accepted as an excuse, but we would like a two-week notice, as we feel it is your duty to teach someone else your job.

Also, entirely too much time is being spent in the restrooms. In the future we will follow the practice of going in alphabetical order. For instance, those whose names begin with 'A' will go from 9:00 to 9:15, 'B' will go from 9:15 to 9:20, and so on. If you are unable to go at your time, it will be necessary to wait until the next day when your turn comes again.

The personnel director

The above is an excerpt from a newspaper written and published by workers at Columbia University.

## Repression in Buffalo

The State University of New York at Buffalo, called by some 'the Berkeley of the East', has been the scene of tremendous radical activity, militant demonstrations and confrontations during the past month. What started out as a protest against the racist administration and physical education department policies by black athletes has mushroomed into a student strike with a large, and constantly growing base of support. We have seen the Buffalo City Police called on campus for no reason -- they are now stationed there indefinitely. We have had major battles with the police, sustaining relatively few injuries and losses. One girl, however, is now blind in one eye from mace, and another's back may be permanently injured. The administration has refused to grant our demands, and has even arrested 45 of our full-time faculty members, who staged a sit-in in the administration building one Sunday morning, in peaceful protest against the presence of police on campus, and against an injunction which by now has become permanent. This injunction forbids any kind of radical or militant activity. Easter vacation has come to this campus, but when it ends, there is no telling what might happen here, for we have an angry community, angry students, and angry faculty. A detailed report on the whole situation in Buffalo will be forthcoming soon in New Left Notes.

## CWSA Wins Support, Leads The Way

Recently, at the University of Maryland, we were informed of the probability of a strike of campus workers and nine Baltimore area hospitals including the University of Maryland Hospital. State workers were offered a 6% increase in wages which the workers rejected as being no increase at all. The skyrocketing cost of living and the fact that hospitalization costs had gone up 22% in July would totally wipe out the raise. American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Union demanded a \$650 across-the-board increase and a completely paid hospitalization plan.

### STUDENTS PLAN MEETING TO SUPPORT CAMPUS WORKERS

At a union meeting March 11 attended by SDS and students in the Black Student Union, the workers voted to strike if their demands were not met by Monday, March 16. At this point, members of SDS and BSU began to make plans to gather student support for the threatened strike. We set out then to build for a meeting of students. The meeting was called on the 15th and was attended by a coalition of newly-involved students, SDS, BSU, Campus Coalition Against Racism, Women's Liberation, Student Workers Union, and Revolutionary Youth Movement. It is especially appropriate that BSU and Women's Liberation participated in this struggle in helping attack racism and male chauvinism. We decided to have a teach-in the following day.

During the course of the meeting, decisions were made on what should be discussed at the rally. We had some valuable discussion in connection with the problems that campus workers face and the relation which these problems have to the problems faced by workers all over the country. This meeting and the teach-in were a continuation of SDS's attempt to build a campus worker-student alliance. The fight for pro-working class ideas and the fight against racism and male chauvinism became the foundation for building a coalition of student support.

### STUDENTS HOLD TEACH-IN TO FIGHT

On March 16th, 300 students, faculty, and workers, gathered in front of the library to discuss the strike. Never before at the University had black and white students and workers come together. The first speaker was a campus worker who explained quite clearly that the university does not pay its workers enough to live adequately and she urged students to help workers win their demands. Without students behind them, she continued, scabs could very easily be recruited from the student body. With hundreds of students in the picket lines, students would think twice before crossing them. After another worker gave a very moving plea for unity, an SDS member made a verbal attack on racism and how concretely white students should begin to fight it.

Now speaking to an excited crowd, a women's liberation representative began to speak on the role that male chauvinism would play in the proposed strike, especially since it would be mostly women workers that would have to carry the burden. She also pointed out that the university is a racist institution, employing mostly blacks as service workers and mainly whites as clerical workers. The invited speaker from the international sanitation workers' strike here in Washington related the campus workers' strike to the sanitation strike. His main point was that both groups were fighting the same enemy -- the racist, profit-hungry bosses who must be challenged and defeated if the workers of Maryland and the workers of the whole country are ever to achieve a higher standard of living. The last speaker was a member of the student workers union who explained the importance of getting all student workers organized, not only in support of the strike but to have in the future an organization to protect student workers.

### STUDENTS ORGANIZE CONCRETE SUPPORT

Monday night the various groups got together and established the committee to support campus workers. This committee formed six work committees, including fund-raising, base-building, defense, literature, inter-organizational, and publicity. The body elected a chairman from each committee to which was added a representative from BSU, SDS, Women's Liberation, the student workers union, and RYM. This formed the steering committee. At this meeting, as earlier in the day, the coalition united around supporting the campus workers in their just demands. Black and white students were fighting racism, and, in the process, making significant steps in fighting racism in white students. Male chauvinism was raised consistently as being an issue we must fight. This built a foundation for support for the workers from women's liberation groups. This struck at the root of male chauvinism: the exploitation of women workers.

The potential for building an alliance of campus workers and students clearly exists and we must continue to build it, in both quantity of student and quality of worker involvement. Following the demonstration and coalition meetings, we continued to make the campus worker-student alliance a mass issue among students and workers. Thus students, many not in SDS, began going into dorms talking to other students. We handed out leaflets and sold a lot of 'Ally with campus workers' buttons. It is interesting that before the campus worker-student alliance program became our central campaign on campus, selling SDS buttons was a difficult task. But recently 'Ally with campus workers' buttons and New Left Notes have sold extremely well. Through this kind of activity, many honest and concerned students have been won to joining SDS, and many others have come closer to it. The attitudes of students about SDS are beginning to change. It is not uncommon to hear students or workers say that 'I'm still not sure about SDS, but what they are doing is a good thing.'



Although we have met with much success in reaching students, our struggle has been retarded by the union misleadership, who put off strike votes three times, making it difficult for workers to consolidate the strike and for students to give it support. But even if these misleaders call the strike over Easter holiday or not at all, SDS and the relations between workers and students have gotten stronger. We will continue to build a pro-working class movement here by continuing to fight for free meals for dining hall workers, fighting racism and male chauvinism, and seizing every opportunity to expose university bosses -- bosses no different from GE bosses and GM bosses who benefit from the War by oppressing Vietnamese workers as well as US workers. This is just a short analysis of what has happened; we will write a more detailed analysis of the positive steps taken and of the mistakes made. There were many, and we hope that others will be able to learn from our successes and failures.

Brian Rennex  
Steve Blatner  
David Willett  
Mark Woodward U of Maryland SDS

## Phillipine Students & Workers Fight Rulers Together

Students in Manila have been joining with workers in increasingly militant demonstrations and assaults against US interests in the Philippines (New York Times, 3/4/70). Since Feb. 18, there have been three assaults on the American embassy in Manila. The first was partially successful, damaging the embassy with rocks and gasoline bombs. The latest, in early March, was part of a mass demonstration against American involvement and social problems related to US intervention. About 1000 broke off from the larger peaceful demonstration and sought to fight their way to the embassy; they were held off by police using guns and tear gas.

The United States is the chief prop of the oppressive Philippine regime: US companies own 90% of the Philippines' oil, and the people remain impoverished as US companies steal the country's wealth. When the people fight back, it is the US who supplies the arms by which the government defends itself.

Students have not only united with workers in the city, but have helped in the organizing of the peasantry. The peasantry represents 75% of the population and works mainly on giant sugar

plantations at starvation wages. Most peasants cut cane for 60¢ a day and children get 30¢ a day, as soon as they are able to work. None go to school. One peasant, age 54, according to a reporter, was told by a doctor that he needed an operation or else he would die. "I told him (the planter) that I would die and my children would starve if I did not have the operation," the ailing man reported. "He answered, 'Opie, you should have died long ago anyway.'"

Increasingly, peasants have been joining the guerrillas in the hills. Last August, the 'New People's Army' on the island of Negros began operations by killing several policemen and officials. Plantation owners who live in luxurious houses and drive expensive American cars have become increasingly afraid of violence, but are very far from considering radical reform.

Students have played a role in efforts to organize farm workers' unions among the peasantry. Organizing is done at great risk, since the unions themselves are illegal and the planters 'defend' themselves against all such strangers by hiring armed guards to patrol the haciendas. But the struggle continues to grow, and students are increasingly acting to build that struggle.



The price of protesting in Manila—student is beaten by long police club

## STUDENTS SUPPORT STRIKING TYPOGRAPHERS

March 7, Northern California Regional SDS 'Regional Interim Committee' called its first demonstration since its inception this school quarter. It was called in support of striking workers of the International Typographical Union (ITU) at the San Rafael 'Independent Journal' newspaper. The strike has gone on for two months now, up against professional scabs, union misleaders, and a boss who's out to smash the world's oldest union. The 'IJ' strike is unique in that for the first time in years, labor 'leaders' were forced by rank-and-file militancy to call for an all-union demonstration of support to shut the newspaper down on February 14th (see previous NLN for details of the strike and the demonstration).

SDS members, including many people new to the organization and new to radical politics, came from all over the Bay Area -- San Fran-

cisco, Berkeley, San Jose, Sacramento, Oakland. Speakers from SDS spoke about the need for students to ally with workers to fight racism and oppression; a speaker from Progressive Labor Party spoke on the worker-student alliance as a strategy in the fight for socialism. Then, spontaneously, a speaker from the Marin County Strike Support Committee spoke (an organization of students from the local College of Marin); while many students from CM have been scabbing at the 'IJ' others have organized support for the strikers. A 13-year old paper boy spoke about how his support for the strike cost him his job at the 'IJ'.

Meanwhile, union misleaders had pulled the union picketers off the lines, leaving a bare six of the court-ordered maximum of 22, fearing the effects of rank-and-filers seeing students out to support their struggles.

## tech trial takes cake

The trial of 28 people accused of trespassing on MIT property during a takeover of administration offices (Jan. 15-16, 1970) came to an unexpected end on Tuesday, March 10, when the prosecution (MIT) reluctantly agreed to an eight month continuance. (If the defendants are not convicted of something else in that time, the court will drop the cases.) The courtroom proceedings were a critical factor in forcing MIT to accept a compromise it had previously opposed.

The original demands raised by the more than 150 people who took over the office were:

- \* an end to war-related research at MIT
- \* no more GE recruiters on campus during the strike
- \* an end to MIT harassment and speedup of campus workers
- \* abolition of the Discipline Committee and rescinding of all past punishments plus an expression of solidarity with the Organization of Black Unity at Harvard

Responding to a leaflet describing the political justification for the occupation, approximately 200 students came to the trial in support of the defendants. It was necessary to move to a bigger courtroom, but many of the spectators were refused admission and the doors were locked. They responded with loud singing of revolutionary songs until the doors were again opened and they were permitted to view the proceedings.

Inside, a very free atmosphere developed as defendants passed around food and at one point gave the judge a piece of cake. It was clear that the spectators were not at all intimidated by the courtroom environment. Even less intimidated were the defendants, several of whom decided to defend themselves without an attorney. Rather than appealing to legal technicalities, they declared their intent to present a political justification for their actions. As soon as the trial had started, they raised many procedural objections and asked for the removal of plainclothes cops and also a picture of a banking commissioner from the courtroom. (Both requests were denied.)

Unlike the students, however, MIT's administration (some of whom are well known liberals), seemed to be completely shocked and intimidated by the courtroom events and by the presence of so many spectators. Faced with the prospect of intensive cross-examination by students, and the possibility of a very long trial, the administration reversed its previous position of seeking a conviction and agreed to a continuance.

The packed courtroom had encouraged the defendants and showed the courts and the administration that there is wide concern on campus for the actions. This was reinforced by a recent student government poll which showed that about 60% of the students oppose MIT taking any internal disciplinary action against the people who seized the office.

by paul Egerman, MIT SDS

The ruling class press reported the demonstration a 'failure'. After two weeks of organizing, only about 150 students showed up for the demonstration. Predicting 5000 students, they had circled the area with 500 cops by 8:00 a.m. This reaction shows the ruling class's fear of the potential of a radical student movement and of its awareness that it has challenged SDS -- to struggle harder with people we know, in our classes, on our jobs, in the dorms, to bring more people to the next support demonstration, April 25, and to the picket lines every day.

In self-criticism, the chapters did little to really mobilize people to come -- we relied too heavily on the Regional leaflet, and not enough on talking with people about the importance of the strike as an opportunity to build a fighting alliance between militant workers and students.

by Nelly Blacker, UC Berkeley

# The Molly McGuires

(is hollywood getting radical?)



## You'll Get A Blast Out Of This One

THE SCENE: A mine in the Pennsylvania coal fields in 1876.

Weary, dust-blackened miners are leaving the pit at the end of the day. But wait -- a small group of miners stays behind. They duck into a tunnel, quietly and efficiently plant dynamite charges, then take the car to the surface and leave. Seconds pass. Suddenly, the mine explodes: kerBLAST, kerBLAST, kerBARROOOOM! Another blow is struck against Pigamerika.

And that pretty well describes the movie, 'Molly McGuires' -- a bomb, in more ways than one.

Supposedly it's the story of the Irish miners and an organization of theirs called the 'Molly McGuires'. It's acquiring a reputation as a 'radical' movie, and the Molly McGuires have been compared to the Black Panther Party. But isn't it suspicious that Big Business (Paramount Films) is making a film about workers fighting Big Business? It is indeed.

Briefly, the story goes like this: the Molly McGuires are giving the companies a hard time. They blow up the mines, sabotage railroads, kill superintendents, etc. Sort of a miners' Mission Impossible Force. What the workers hope to gain is never clear. The companies get Pinkertons to send an agent (Richard Harris) to infiltrate them.

Harris goes straight to the tavern, where they all hang out, and makes friends with them by drinking, gambling, and fighting -- which is what Paramount films seems to think Irishmen relate to.

He starts on the mine, and gets a room with a retired miner and his beautiful daughter. She's about the only woman in the film. Harris divides his time between conspiring with the workers, informing on them to the local cop, and picnicking in the lovely countryside with the girl. He seems to have 'doubts' about what he's doing, but always shows up to collect his money and turn in his friends even after the cops kill two of them.

Finally, he testifies at their trial and ensures that they'll be hung. The girl leaves him, but with tears in her eyes -- not hatred. In the last scene, Harris comes to see Sean Connery (leader of the 'Molly McGuires') in his cell as he awaits execution. And what happens? They philosophize about the different paths they've taken, reminisce about the old days (like how they trashed\* the company store). Connery then comes up with the Freudian analysis to the effect that Harris came to visit him 'to be punished' for his sins, then hits him to satisfy Harris's needs. The movie closes with Harris walking away from the prison while the gallows are being tested in the background.

Well, what do you expect?

For a start, it's not clear what the miners are upset about. They go to work at dawn, but get off while it's still light and have plenty of time to spend in the tavern drinking and gambling. Hollywood coal mines aren't so bad -- you pick and shovel, but not too hard, for there's no foremen in sight. The coal is pretty and sparkles, and the dust miraculously washes out of the miners' skin.

In reality, the miners were brutally oppressed. It was 50-50 whether you'd die first from an explosion and cave-in, or from coal dust clogging up your lungs. You were forced to live in a company house and buy from the company store. You were more likely to go into debt than make money. Add to that the terror from company vigilante groups and to that add vicious anti-Irish racism ('Micks' they were called), designed to isolate workers from each other (an old story). With the exception of a couple of short scenes, the film only hints at this.

On the other hand, it is not the usual Hollywood movie. It doesn't show, like 'Easy Rider', workers as fascist slobs, and it does make it clear who the police work for. But, after all, a

\* TRASHED -- a Weatherman expression meaning to wreck, destroy, lay waste, in a wild manner

lot of people know that anyway, so there's not much harm in conceding it on the screen.

The one thing the movie DOESN'T show is MASSES of people fighting and WINNING. Strikes, or other mass actions, are brushed off with one line mumbled under breath, 'We had our strike and didn't win anything that way!' The assumption of the whole movie is that the only way to fight is with small, secret, elite groups blowing things up, killing cops, etc. In fact, it's unclear whether there ever really was any group called the 'Molly McGuires'. There was a union, the Workers' Benevolent Association, which conducted several big strikes. It's not mentioned in the movie. Also, at the time, the Reading Railroad monopoly was taking over the small coal companies. Sabotage was a common tactic of monopolies (John D. Rockefeller acquired a reputation for it). It was probably the Railroad, not the workers, who were blowing things up. (Funny, Big Business's movie doesn't mention their OWN role at the time, relying on the people's ignorance of real history.) At any rate, the Press at that time labeled all union activity as 'Molly McGuires' -- the same way they try today to equate Weatherman and SDS.

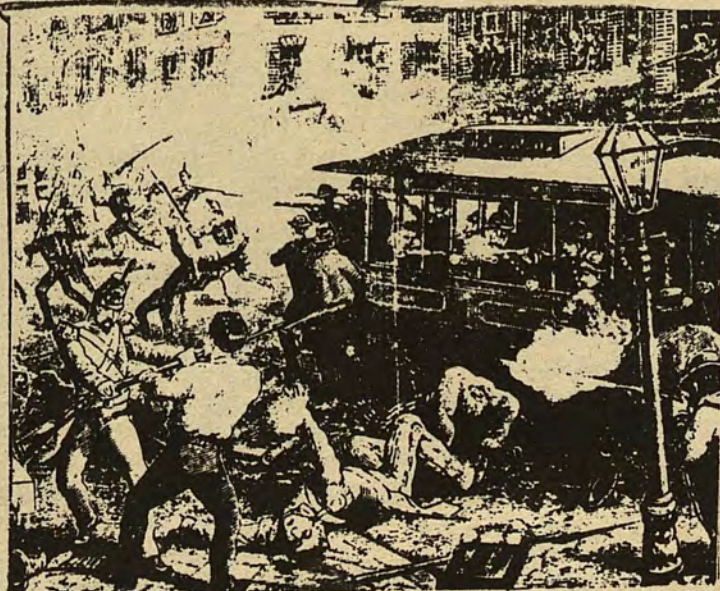
The effect is this: to make people think that there are two choices -- get ahead, but be a rat (a la Harris), or fight the system with terrorism, strike a noble pose ('Make a noise before I go,' as Connery says at one point) -- and fail. The message reads: Defeatism.

We can learn from this picture. In one sense it is accurate. If you don't rely on the people, you'll be smashed.

We want to change this world, not just 'make a noise' before we go. That means reaching out to and depending on the masses of people, not holing up in some basement making bombs. I think the rulers know that terrorism constitutes no real threat to them. Recently the San Francisco Chronicle had a front page article about how bombs were supposed to be the big thing in the 'New Left', including DIAGRAMS AND INSTRUCTIONS on how to make home made bombs.

All in all, we should be encouraged that a movie like this is made. It means the ruling class realizes that a lot of people are looking to the working class for leadership. But we shouldn't expect them to make a really pro-working class movie, for instance, about how in the SAME YEAR as the 'Molly McGuires' trials the Pullman strikers in Pittsburgh routed the militia and took over the town for four days!

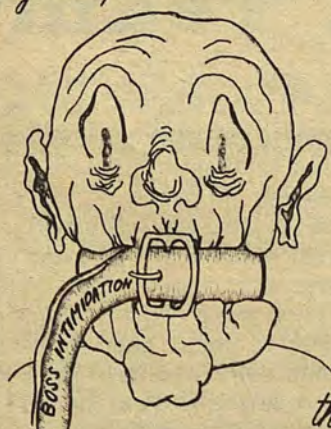
By Bill Ouage  
Berkeley SDS



1877 Railroad Strike



Got your lip buckled?



**SPEAKOUT!**

## RUTGERS WORKER LEADS FIGHT AGAINST SCHOOL

In the last week of February four workers at Rutgers-Newark were fired. Two mailroom workers were fired for refusing to give in to speed-up and for attempting to unify campus workers and students. Two women snack bar workers were laid off for refusing to change their hours to a new 40-hour week, their reason being that they have children to care for and can't work a different schedule. One of the mailroom workers, Frankie Tortoriello, wrote the following leaflet calling for support in getting the workers' jobs back:

I, Frank Tortoriello, was an employee of this University, namely in the mailroom. Very recently I was a victim of the University policy of keeping its employees quiet and not exploiting the slavery tactics of the University. Since I refused to be silent, I along with other concerned campus workers, were unjustly fired. Of course the University could not give my desire to unify the campus workers and to exploit their tactics as a reason for my dismissal from my job, so they used the reason that I was not producing enough work and my attitude was bad. This cannot be a valid reason because the fact is that the job requires a staff of five people and since September we have been working with only three full time men and one part time man who works very limited hours. But, most recently, they fired Mike Kogan, one of our full time mailmen who was also trying to unify the campus workers and as in my case they gave the same reasons for his dismissal. So we were down to only two and a half men staff and they expected me to do the work of two men in the time it takes two men to get the job done! I refused to this on the ground that slavery was abolished 100 years ago; so the University threatened me with suspension of a week (no pay) if I did not comply with their wishes. I, therefore, was forced to comply with their demand. This was a week ago; I for one week worked the job of two men to the best of my ability but was told I was not producing their slave quota and as a result they messed me up with suspension for three days after which time they told me I had a 99% chance that I will be fired. This morning, Friday, February 20, they told the one remaining mailman that I was definitely fired.

I was not given a hearing and now I am unemployed and the chances of me getting transferred to another department are negligible because I will be presented by the Personnel Department as an irresponsible troublemaker. This is not just happening to me, it is happening on this entire campus! There is a Union for the campus workers, but this Union is a complete

### Boston State Continued from Pg. 9

high prices, the ruling class uses racism to divide people. Racist ideas prevent white workers and students from following the militant leadership of black people against these rich interest groups.

And the low wages and high unemployment of black people are a depressant on the wages of white workers. That is to say, businessmen get away with paying white workers less than they need to live well with the racist and divisive argument that whites better be happy with what they have, because there are plenty of blacks who would gladly take their jobs for less. Given the economic roots of racism, it is clear that it is workers who have the need and the power to fight the racism which is used to divide them and challenge the ruling class together for a better life.

The same businessmen, big landlords, and merchants that exploit black and white working people control Boston State and other educational institutions through trusteeships or more indirect means. Whether or not the trustees and their loyal administration (it would be fired if it were not completely loyal) consciously plan how to build racism, they are not about to sit idly by and let

farce for it has always been controlled by the Administration. The workers have been chased around and sold out by this Union and the Administration has used it as a tool to keep the workers quiet. It seems that they had planted a Mr. Al Brown as the Vice President of this Union, with the understanding that if he kept the people quiet for a time (as he has done) he would be rewarded with a better job, a boss's job (which recently has been done). The University has kept the workers quiet because Al Brown is Black, as are most of the campus manual laborers. They felt that the workers, because of racial tensions in this country, would feel the pressure to follow Mr. Brown. This is an overt example of how the University uses race to split the working class. And since I tried to make the workers aware of this situation, the University was forced to get rid of me. But the University has finally dug their own grave because they failed to stop me soon enough. I have been able to reach many workers and they will work to stop this kind of slavery for good.

I am asking you to come and support me this Tuesday morning, February 24, at 9:30 a.m. at 53 Washington Street. We will demand that Mary Circigliano and Dottie Seclorowicz (the two women fired from the snack bar this week), Mike Kogan (the other mailman who was fired February 12), and myself be rehired.

Fifty students showed up on the 24th at the personnel office to demand that the fired workers be rehired, that an open hearing be held to discuss the issue, and that the manager of the snack bar be dismissed. The students decided to build more support for the demands and a meeting was held later at which 85 students showed up.

Then, on March 4, Local 888 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, the union here, held a meeting. Sixty to seventy workers attended, though usual attendance is usually more like twenty. The old pro-administration leadership was thrown out and a new president and new shop stewards were elected. Frankie Tortoriello was elected shop steward of the physical plant. Workers made several militant speeches -- especially a young black electrician recently returned from Vietnam.

Due to the pressure from students Tortoriello was given his job back. The University is now claiming that Tortoriello cannot be shop steward because the mailroom isn't part of the physical plant, and thus not part of the correct bargaining unit. This is pure crap.

With respect to the two cafeteria workers,

Boston State teach the truth about racism when this would clearly threaten their interests. It may sound nice in the abstract, but in the concrete it would lead to people fighting back much harder and fighting together. Radical and communist teachers at Boston State have been harassed and fired. By precluding radical analyses of racism in the school, the trustees guarantee that the subject of black people will be dealt with falsely, i.e. in a racist manner.

If we had done a better job in raising these ideas earlier, we would have been in a better position to defeat the student power ideas that arose. Why make a big issue of buildings and not ask what those buildings are for? And even if students did ask this question, they couldn't change the nature of the college by reasoning with the trustees or getting on student faculty committees. These men are often anxious to grant the illusions of power, but from San Francisco State to Harvard such men have never hesitated to use force to meet militant challenges to the essential role of universities -- serving them. The only way to win anything from them is to fight them politically on a solid anti-racist, pro-working class basis.

Some people who argued these student power ideas made the valid criticism that the strike had no demands other than for an apology from Leahy. Although many black and white students saw it as a way of raising the racism of the school and the courts, others saw it only as an attack on Leahy, who many already agreed was a creep. There were no demands that got at the root of the school's racism, nor were these things ever raised sufficiently in an informational way. We did try to fill this need later through mass leafletting.

### RACISM HOLDS US BACK

By the time a second BSA demonstration was held at the courthouse, we had raised our ideas on racism and fought red-baiting much more sharply. At this hearing the case was thrown out for 'lack of evidence' (40 people had witnessed Leahy's attack). Our great weakness was not working together with the black students enough. We should be honest about the racist fears and mistrust which divide us from black students, but unless we can see the importance of overcoming these divisions and start tackling them, we won't fight the ways universities attack black people.

Racism is presently a mass issue at Boston State. At the outset we saw fighting the racist 'joke' as a principled question, because every racist idea, no matter how small, helps sustain racist superexploitation of black people. We had no idea the struggle would unfold as explosively as it has. It has taught us the importance of being bold and imaginative in putting SDS ideas into practice. And it has taught us how powerful radical ideas really are.

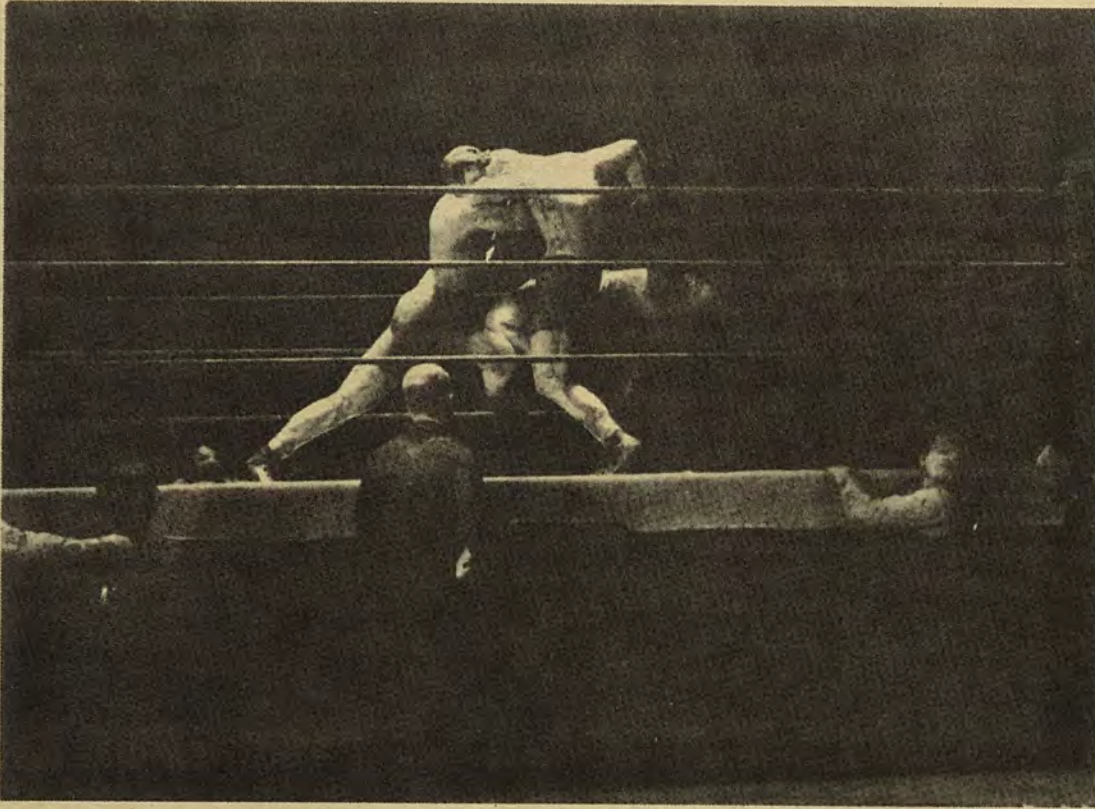
by Ann Sullivan, Jim Taff, Cathy O'Malley,  
Nancy O'Neil - Boston State SDS

the union bureaucracy in New Brunswick has convinced the local Newark leadership to use the slow union grievance procedures. This has caused serious problems for students who want to act now to get the job back. Students are nonetheless working to build as much support as possible for the workers' demands. Relations between workers and students are excellent, and student support has been very strong.

Some of the main problems we face now are: (1) How to relate to the union. Should militant workers try to get elected to offices? Should student workers (members of the union) try to play an active role in the union? Should students abide by the decisions of the union to cool things down about the two fired workers? (2) There is a lack of a strong continuing organization by which workers and students can work together. Very few students have taken jobs on campus, thus making it difficult to establish friendships with workers. The Campus Worker-Student Alliance at the moment is more of an ad hoc committee.

Mike Kogan, Stan Varon, John Ryan  
Rutgers-Newark Campus Worker-Student Alliance

# 'Great white hope' - A Hit, But For Which Team?



'The most significant drama of the decade,' the Baltimore Sun calls it. The New York Times, The New Yorker, Newsweek, New York Sunday News, Chicago Daily News, Boston Globe, Variety, The New York Review of Books, Walter Winchell, and Ed Sullivan join in the raves about 'The Great White Hope', Howard Sackler's play about the career of Jack Johnson, the first black heavyweight champion of the world, who defies prejudice to win his title and have an affair with a white girl that ends in tragedy. Let's take a sober look at Broadway's latest answer to the problem of racism.

In examining the play, we should keep in mind the audience it's directed to. I think my parents, who took my sister and me to see the show, typify the viewers -- white, liberal, professional, upper middle class, Jewish, suburbanite, New York Times-reading theatergoers. Most of the audience dislikes police, the FBI, cruelty toward blacks, Uncle Tomism, boxing, religion; all of these things were dutifully ridiculed in the play. Most leaving the theater seemed to think the play progressive -- it strengthened their understanding and feelings about the evils of racism. But to judge its actual ideological impact, we must penetrate this progressive facade and examine the play in more detail.

The first thing that made me feel uneasy when watching the play was the pervasiveness of derogatory terms for black people, exaggerated dialect, and racist jokes. Of course, the audience was supposed to disapprove of the more blatant forms of racism, but we were also supposed to be amused by them. It often got pretty gross. When discussing the location for a fighting match, the white fighter's trainer says, 'The drier the better! If that nigger gets a sweat up, one good whiff and Frank'll be finished.' A whole scene consists of a blackface's racist entertainment of Frank's fans, with the theater audience looking on and supposedly also amused. I don't think the same audience would find so amusing and in such good taste a play set in a concentration camp in which the main humorous response from the audience came from watching a couple of Nazi guards sitting around cracking anti-semitic jokes.

Moreover, the black characters in the play are all cast in stereotyped roles. They are usually either boxing, singing and dancing, or praying. The masses of black people appear in the play only to pray for Jack's victory. The distorted image of black women is even more blatant. Jack's ailing mother is continually shown praying forgiveness for not raising Jack to be

docile. Jack's black mistress Clara is motivated only by hysterical jealousy of his white mistress Ellie. In one supposedly hilarious scene, Clara and Jack yell at each other, and Jack exposes the fact that Clara only came looking for him after another lover, 'Willie de pimp', was thrown in jail. The view of black women as promiscuous, unconcerned about anything but their men, docile (or else hysterical), unintelligent and totally emotional fits the racist slander hurled against them by reactionary propagandists from Jensen to Moynihan, who blame black people, and especially black women, for their own oppression. Jensen's falsification of statistics to 'prove' that black children are intellectually inferior to white children has resurrected the Nazi Aryan Race myth in full glory. Moynihan's more refined racist mumbo-jumbo accusing black women of dominating and ruining their families earned him great recognition from the US government. From these theories, as from Sackler's caricatures in this play, one would never guess that, in fact, as a result of their especially bad treatment as workers who are black and also women, black women have the clearest understanding of the contradictions in American society. And they have taken the lead on the job and in the community in fighting back -- for better housing, higher wages (note the growing militancy of hospital and telephone workers, for example), decent welfare, against rent gouging and police brutality. SDS's most successful campaign this Fall - a sit-in which forced Yale to rehire a cafeteria worker and temporarily ease up on mistreatment of other workers - was initiated by a black woman worker who fought back against racist and male chauvinist harassment by a manager.

While, unlike Clara, Ellie is portrayed as scrupulously honest and morally above reproach, her role also reduces to a male chauvinist stereotype. She is totally naive and emotional, cares about nothing but her love affair with Jack, and, when that turns sour, commits suicide. Much of the excitement of Ellie's affair with Jack is clearly supposed to come from the racist mythology about black males being 'supersexed'. One of the climaxes of the play is her scene in bed with Jack. The comment from the reviewer for Women's Wear shows the male chauvinism in the play's appeal to women: 'The play has the kind of size - the raw power - the masculinity - that nobody has been providing for our theater. It is there, muscular and pounding and driving, it is easily magnificent.' It is indeed a magnificent wedding of racism and male chauvinism.

What about black workers, who make up the overwhelming majority of black people? The single reference to working in a factory is put into the

mouth of the uncle Tom who wants Jack arrested, to make it look like life as a worker is a docile alternative to Jack's rebellious individualism as a heavyweight champion. Scipio, the elderly black 'street philosopher', who seems to speak for the playwright, explicitly advises black workers to forget about their jobs and go out in search of a neverneverland; 'Colleck you wages, grab whutevah here gonna come in handy an sluff off de ress! Time to get it goin! Time again to make us a big new wise proud dark man's world... Dream bout it, brothers -- Five hundred million on dey own part of de earth!' Through Scipio, the playwright accuses the mass of black people of being docile 'black flies... singing and moaning' who need separatism. No mention is made of the tradition of slave revolts, ghetto rebellions, and leadership of militant strikes by black workers who would not appreciate Sackler's description of them. In line with Sackler's ideas about separatism, he portrays all the white working class characters as stupid and hopelessly racist.

Interestingly, the whites who make up almost all the audience are given one sympathetic character (other than Ellie) whom they can identify with. He is Jack's kind-hearted but money-minded Jewish manager Goldie (whose name, Gold with an affectionate ending, sums up the character). Of course, from a class point of view Goldie is precisely the one who stands to make a profit off of Jack's misery. But from a liberal psychological point of view he is the one-in-a-million benevolent white friend-of-the-blacks. The implicit message is that the viewer should see himself in the role of a moralistic businessman or lawyer who builds a career for himself by 'helping' black people. Instead of confronting the racism of the type of people who attend Broadway shows, the author offers them a character that merely builds their racist and paternalistic attitudes (the recent party thrown by Leonard Bernstein for the Black Panthers is an example of racist paternalism used for a lot of good publicity). Black people do not need kindly white businessmen to 'help them out' -- only the masses of black people united can win anything from this system.

The anti-semitic stereotype of the money-grubbing Jew with a good heart may appeal to the guilty self-image of many in the audience. But it slanders, for example, an elderly Jewish General Electric worker I spoke to recently, who eloquently explained to me his closeness to and solidarity with his fellow strikers, whom he had worked alongside of most of his waking hours. Nor does this Shylock image do justice to the growing number of Jewish students and teachers who are rejecting capitalism and racist Jewish nationalism.

The New York Times calls 'The Great White Hope' 'a triumph!' From their class point of view they are correct. It is truly a triumph of bringing together racism and male chauvinism, coated with liberalism/nationalism, into a skillfully performed\* piece of propaganda to fool many upper middle class suburbanites. But others will learn from black workers and students - who reject Ellie's chauvinized, guilt-ridden racism and Goldie's benevolent exploitation - that alliance in fighting America's racism means opposing the class of bosses that profits from racism, its state apparatus, and its ideological and cultural gimmicks.

\*Some works which politically are downright reactionary may have a certain artistic quality. The more reactionary their content and the higher their artistic quality, the more poisonous they are to the people, and the more necessary it is to reject them. A common characteristic of the literature and art of all exploiting classes in their period of decline is the contradiction between their reactionary political content and their artistic form.

- Mao Tse-tung, Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art

by Neal Koblitz, Princeton SDS

# Letters



Dear NLN,

I'm sure the postal strike has had the same impact on SDSers and other students around the country as it has here in Boston. This single tremendous event has demonstrated in concrete, living form the accuracy of most of the ideas we have been talking about, fighting for, and trying to put into practice.

All of a sudden there can be no doubt about who has the power to change things in this country. As the Boston Globe said, 'The strikers are obviously undaunted by the fact that they can bring the whole nation (read: the ruling class) to its knees.'

Hopefully a heavy blow has been dealt to the self-centeredness of the student movement. We haven't the tiniest fraction of the power workers have to fight against the ways the rich hurt all of us (the war, racism, male chauvinism...). Nor should we have any more romantic illusions about leading workers. After all we're just beginning to arrive at an understanding of this society that they arrived at first hand years ago. We're going to have to learn to follow their militant leadership, especially the leadership of black workers, who get hurt the most and fight back the hardest.

Some students in Boston who had been won to pro-working class ideas in the abstract were very disappointed at the fact that some postal workers greeted our support with indifference or even hostility. Some of the remarks they heard were 'we don't need you', or 'why don't you get a job?' These students had come to the SDS demonstration in an honest attempt to defeat some of their anti-working class ideas and feelings, but now they were having second thoughts.

I can't emphasize enough that many, many workers greeted us enthusiastically, but to cope with the occasional bad experiences people have we need to seek out the reasons for some workers' antagonisms towards students in general and SDS in particular.

The newspapers portray students as nothing but idle, stuck-up parasites, concerned only with their own pleasure and raising hell for fun. Although this is played up in order to divide workers from students, there is some truth to the notion that students tend to see themselves as somehow special or more sensitive than workers. The ruling class-run schools and media encourage such attitudes. With the help of the Weathermen the media has tried to convince workers that the student movement is out to attack them. In part the workers are reacting to the student movement's self-centeredness mentioned above. If we're going to convince these people that we're sincere and can be useful allies, then we have to be willing to struggle with their bad ideas as well as our own in order to overcome the divisions that the ruling class has sown among us.

The ruling class has dropped its mask in broad daylight. The liberal Boston Globe and New York Times, for instance, denounced and threatened the strikers with the most vitriolic language I have ever seen them use. I could hardly believe my eyes. All kinds of splitting tactics were used, from redbaiting SDS, to telling the public the strike was an attack on them, to appeals to the 'national interest', to phony promises of come back to work and negotiate a fair deal. Nixon, the courts, the cops, the army, the press, and the union 'leadership' were all arrayed against the workers.

If this strike has deepened and broadened our understanding as much as I think it has, our practice should really improve. We have to drive home its significance to the masses of students. A truly mass, pro-working class student movement would be an enormous asset to working people as they escalate their struggle to make this a decent society.

Jim Taff  
Boston State SDS

Dear friends,

I am a student at a small liberal arts college in southern North Carolina (St. Andrews College). Over the past year a group of us have been attempting, by various means, to increase the political consciousness of the student body. One of the methods was the sale of literature - chiefly the Guardian. However, it is becoming apparent to us that the Guardian is at best useless and perhaps even destructive because of its increasingly blatant anti-working class bias. We have been increasingly impressed by SDS/WSA since the split in SDS last June. We would like to replace the Guardian with New Left Notes. Is it possible for us to order 25 copies of NLN per issue?

At what price? START IMMEDIATELY.

Also, do you have any copies of old issues which we could use to introduce the campus to SDS (preferably free -- but that is not essential, since we realize you are in financial difficulty)?

Also, what pamphlets do you have? -- in what quantity, and at what bulk prices?

Yours for a growing pro-working class student movement,  
Tom Cocks

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

The article on the Boston SMC conference in NLN (#11) failed to discuss fully the role of the November Action Coalition (NAC) and the 'Communist' Party ('C'P). The impression that the article gives is that differences between SDS and NAC are minimal and that both fought tooth and nail against the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), who wanted to have politicians speak at the April 15th anti-war demonstration. Neither is true.

The key thing done by the conference was the decision that 'liberal politicians, big businessmen, college presidents, and other imperialists' could not speak April 15th. The conference was won to seeing that men like McGovern and Goodell are not opposed to the exploitation of Third World peasants and workers by US business -- in fact, their ideas of negotiations and coalition governments in Vietnam are an attempt to help the ruling class maintain its presence in Vietnam. This resolution was proposed by an SDSer and it was mainly SDSers who argued against the misleaders that YSA likes to have at its rallies. Not one NAC spokesman spoke in favor of the proposal, although they voted for it. NAC has always opposed SDS's saying that the US has no right to negotiate anything in Vietnam, claiming that this is an attack on the NLF, which is negotiating. This is silly. The reason why we must attack the role of the US in negotiating is that without this attack the anti-war movement can be won to the misleadership of politicians who want the US to negotiate its way into Vietnam.

The true colors of the NAC leadership were shown a week after the conference at a steering committee meeting in which the YSA and SMC leadership proposed that McGovern or Goodell be allowed to speak. A week earlier the YSA said that the steering committee couldn't change any decision of the conference and that the anti-war coalition should be democratic. The YSA lost on a close vote and then walked out to form a new coalition in which it was sure that it could win a vote to have politicians speak. NAC leader Miles Rapoport said to SDS: 'you forced them to walk out. Now you won't get any of their resources.' Rapoport was more concerned with the YSA's money than with whether or not politicians would speak at the rally. And when John Pennington proposed another anti-war conference to decide what action to take, NAC leader Mike Ansara said, No, we've tried working with you before (in SDS) and you know how it is, but let's be friends. What hypocritical nonsense from a guy who alternately ignores and viciously attacks SDS in the Old Mole, a newspaper he heads.

The 'C'P, which supports Democratic Party candidates, sellout union leaders, and which called the GE sellout a 'victory', voted with the YSA on the crucial votes about liberal politicians speaking. Incredibly enough, a 'C'P leader in Maine, Larry Moscowitz, told an SDSer: 'We have a principled position of always opposing the Trotskyites (YSA).'

At the conference, we did find that we could unite with the rank-and-file of both SMC and NAC on anti-imperialist politics. It is important, however, to point out the differences between NAC and SDS and to criticize the NAC leadership.

In struggle,  
Nathan Goldshlag  
Maine Regional Traveller

Postal Strike, continued from p. 5

At the insistence of those hurt most by the wild-cat strike of postal workers, every tactic has been used to defeat them. This article has attempted to explain how many of the forces of business-power fell in line to smash a just popular struggle. How the press and news media portrayed the strike as an attack on the public by, for example, never stating that strikers agreed to deliver welfare and relief checks on their own time, but that the government wouldn't allow them; by broadcasting 'exposes' such as how the loss of mail made life more miserable for GIs in Vietnam. How the union 'leaders' - many of whom are appointed by the Post Office Department itself - used the ideas of racism and anti-communism to stop rank and file organizations from leading the struggle. How the government used their courts and police to enjoin and harass strikers and, when people still continued to wild-cat, used the National Guard to insure that Wall Street got its mail. The result is that for the time being the rulers of this country have succeeded in stopping the fight of postal workers, and have had to use every tactic they know to do it. Yet chances are excellent that the struggle will begin again!!

Students in Boston are continuing to go to Post Offices to talk with workers there and are being well received. People who work there are now eager to talk specifically about why students want to support them and for the most part are no longer fearful of SDS. People in SDS should examine their own attitudes toward working people, build ties with postal workers all over the country, and reach out to their fellow students concerning what they think about working people. The ideas of men like Rademacher, which build stereotypes of students, must not go unchallenged. Students must prove to working people that they are wrong. When students are organized to support working people they should explain themselves and what they think to workers in this country and should listen to what workers have to say in return. If our interests as students vis-a-vis the people who run this country are at all the same as those of the men and women who must slave for them, then our understanding of working people must be realistic and based on experience.

(Editor's note: It is beyond a doubt that the ideas of male chauvinism were used along with the ideas of racism and anti-communist to divide postal workers from one another in this struggle wherever men and women were united to fight the government. Because of a lack of specific information this aspect of the postal workers' wildcat was not discussed in this article. Those who do know of concrete examples, particularly people on the West Coast, where women led wild-cat walkouts, are urged to write articles about it.)

by Ginger Neaher, Wheelock College SDS  
Ed Guarino, BU SDS  
Carl Manders, BU SDS

## TRANSFORM THE CLASSROOM INTO A FORUM FOR POLITICAL DEBATE

The dull classroom in which the professor lectures and students diligently 'absorb' everything is becoming extinct at UC Berkeley. Students in all departments are beginning to speak out in class and challenge the ideas of their professors.

In one class, 'The History of Economic Thought', a liberal prof began the course by declaring that he hoped there would be a great deal of sharp discussion in 'his class'. He then quickly proceeded to separate what he called positive economics (the technical aspect) from normative (the political aspect). He would concentrate mainly on the 'scientific and absolute' positive side, rather than the 'value ridden' normative economics. These safe ground rules didn't last for long, however, before he was challenged by several students who pointed out that it was by no means scientific to separate politics and the real world from economic theory. Removing the subject matter of the course into the abstract, and away from the real problems that face us today, is one of the main ways the liberal 'scholars' defend the ideology of the status quo. It is hard to criticize imperialism if it is viewed as only a hypothetical model.

Just a few days ago some SDSers found out that there was a political science prof who was making apologies for Arthur R. Jensen (Education prof at Berkeley who claims that he has 'proven' that black working class children are genetically inferior in intelligence and therefore can learn only by rote). The next time his class met it was joined by one SDSer who countered that Jensen's 'discoveries' were not only unscientific but furthermore were just the phoney kind of ideas that come out of the university to justify the special oppression of black workers. One task for the classroom insurgent would be to expose the profoundly reactionary ideas that often come wrapped up in the pseudo-scientific language developed by American social scientists.

# Class Lies.....

## DARE TO STRUGGLE FOR PRO-WORKING CLASS IDEAS

To expose that racist, male chauvinist, and anti-working class ideas and practices flourish in this country, and are pushed by the people who benefit from their use, has been the ongoing fight of people in SDS. Concrete examples of these practices are moribund; existing pay differentials between men and women, between black and white workers, between black and white women -- this is only one of thousands. Recently, however, there has been discussion within SDS of how the ideas which lead to such practices are put forward by courses, teachers, and textbooks in the colleges and universities of this country. It is felt that in order to destroy such practices, it is necessary not only to expose and fight them as they exist; not only to expose the small, wealthy class of people who push them and benefit materially from their use; but also to reveal the false and vicious ideas from which these practices spring and which try to justify them. The following article shows the need and means to do this effectively within a classroom situation.

It is crucial that students all over the country go on the offensive against the constant barrage of reactionary (conservative and liberal) ideas which are pushed in classrooms. If we really want to expand the range of progressive politics we must not sit back passively in class and let professors have free reign with their ideas. Our primary tasks should be to involve as many other students as possible in the struggle against racism and imperialism (the two most serious problems facing the US today). At the same time we must also challenge anti-working class and male chauvinist ideas. We must expose the hidden presuppositions like those which liberal or conservative profs use to 'prove' that 'workers at home and abroad benefit from US foreign investment'. The anti-people (i.e. presenting some as superior, others as inferior) character of colleges and universities will become much clearer

# "Class"rooms Push

to more students if we expose every day new examples of how the institutions consistently defend the interests and ideology of the corporation owners at the expense of working class people.

Thus far two different approaches have been suggested for building the insurgency movement. On the one hand we could concentrate our energy in only a few classes. With this approach we should be able to thoroughly analyze, and then challenge, whatever anti-people politics a course presents. The first step probably would be to organize an insurgent caucus in each class. This should be built by making friends and issuing leaflets written for that class.

We would want to make a detailed study of the required readings. Most standard texts staunchly defend or apologize for the social injustices perpetrated by the ruling corporations. Racist explanations for the superoppression of black people (like 'the causes of juvenile delinquency are rooted in the family') often appear in the most liberal sociology and psychology texts. Such texts should be sharply attacked!

Weekly or monthly leaflets could be written criticizing the prof's lectures and readings. This is probably most useful to large classes where there is little hope of getting to know everyone. The emphasis of the leaflet should be on an alternative pro-working class analysis rather than 'tearing up the prof'. Every leaflet should be written by the whole caucus, not just a few 'ace writers'. There should be a maximum of political debate around the politics of each leaflet. If there is more than one viewpoint in the group and no agreement can be reached, then print both sides. Maybe at the bottom of the leaflet

classmates; and then don't hog the floor or feel that every point must be answered. It is also desirable to avoid super-intellectual arguments or any unclear statements that would tend to leave the rest of the class in the dark.

## ADVANCE THE ATTACK ON IMPERIALIST IDEOLOGY

At this point we have very little practical experience. Other schools should send in articles to New Left Notes as soon as possible; they don't have to be long. What we need at this time are more ideas for carrying out the strategy and examples of practice. Perhaps there should be a regular column in New Left Notes. An article on a particular textbook which is used nationally would be very helpful to other chapters. Lots of questions need to be answered. Like: are concrete demands necessary to building the insurgency movement. And, if so, what are they? In order to be most helpful to other campuses, each article should evaluate experiences and ideas in terms of how well they have, or can, expand the range of students actively involved in struggling for progressive pro-working class politics.

by Victor Coffield, Berkeley SDS



space could be left asking for criticism or comments and then they could be collected after class. All leaflets should explain what the insurgent caucus is, and invite everyone interested to join. Remember, the goal is not simply to show what we stand for and demolish the prof, but rather to expand the range of students actively involved in fighting imperialism and its ideology.

A second approach could be for a chapter to try to make classroom insurgency a mass issue right away among a large section of the student body. This would mean leaflets, letters in the school paper, and maybe banners calling on all students to challenge the reactionary political content of their classes. Some direction should be provided in terms of stressing the need to fight racism and other justifications for imperialism. Pamphlets on those subjects would need to be distributed. After a week or two a meeting should be called for all those participating or interested to discuss the politics which have been (or should be) raised and what the response has been. As with the first approach, a great effort should be made towards making friends and getting feedback from other students. The second is certainly a more difficult approach. But it does allow the chapter to become involved in a campus-wide struggle. This is ultimately what we should aim for, but perhaps this tactic would be better as a second stage.

There is a very strong tendency for those who challenge their profs to come off as arrogant know-it-alls to the other students. This is undoubtedly the number one danger facing the insurgent, because it would mean quick isolation from the rest of the student body. Here are some suggestions which should help us overcome this major problem. MAKE FRIENDS and GET FEEDBACK before and after every class. Don't lecture the other students or get in long debates with the prof. Try to turn the discussion towards your

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