

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 3, Number 39

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

December 23, 1968

NC issue!



by Mao Tse-tung

Combat Liberalism

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both

the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

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NEW LEFT NOTES
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Revolutionary struggle for women's liberation

(NC resolution submitted by Noel Ignatin)

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

In spite of early Amazon wars, 10,000 years of uninterrupted struggle for equality, over 100 years of a modern women's rights movement in this country, the 19th Amendment and various legal reforms, the fact remains that today, in the last third of the 20th century, in the United States of America, the most highly developed capitalist society on earth, women continue to form a despised and subjugated group, repressed both brutally and subtly, denied the minimal birthright of even the lowliest man. While it is true that women of the working class, and especially black and Spanish-speaking women, are the most oppressed of their sex, all strata of women suffer under male supremacy of one form or another.

Female Channeling

The school system plays a specific role in preparing both men and women to accept the subordinate position of women. From elementary school, with its "model of discipline" being the prim little girl who sits with hands folded, and its dancing lessons for girls and gym classes for boys; to the high school, with its socially useless home economics courses and training-for-auxiliary-role secretarial courses for girls; to the institutions of "higher education", which for women generally mean beauty schools, secretarial schools or a major in elementary education, or else preparation for the role of the "cultured" wife of a bourgeois man through literature, music and humanities courses (recall Gogol's description of the "education" of a young woman of the nobility as consisting of the French language, "music", or the playing of songs on the piano, and "home economics", or the knitting of small surprises for her husband)—all these stages of the "education" process

reveal clearly how the institutions are set up to oppress women.

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

- (1) Women who desire equality must become revolutionaries.
- (2) All revolutionary organizations and all individuals, both male and female, who desire revolution must fight for the equality of women.

Proposal

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

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

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

beauty schools, secretarial, nursing and other job training schools for women.

(3) We should launch a campaign to bring the wages of women student employees of the university up to the level of men. This must definitely not be subordinated in a general struggle to raise wages of all student employees, nor should it be postponed on the ground that it would divert attention from the just demands of all employees, male and female. The central question is oppression—the general oppression of all student employees and the special harsh oppression of women student employees. In some cases, tackling the especially low level of women's wages may prove to be the key to solidifying all the employees and winning improvements for all. In general, it would be better to raise the two questions side by side, with equal emphasis; but in no case should SDS challenge the low wages and bad conditions generally without especially challenging the especially low wages and bad conditions for women.

Guidelines

The above three points are by no means exhaustive; if other demands which relate to the fight for women's equality come up, they should by all means be incorporated into the program. I would like to suggest several guidelines for the campaign.

- (1) I hesitate to suggest specific forms of organization, since conditions vary, but I believe that whatever forms within SDS are decided upon to organize the campaign, they should be such that the chapter as a whole has charge and responsibility, with women taking the main responsibility to organize women, and men taking the main responsibility to win the support of other men.

- (2) While attention should be paid to the need to win men to actively support the demands, the emphasis should be on rallying women to fight for their liberation and, in the process, help women in SDS to play more of a leadership role.

- (3) The campaign for specific demands should be accompanied by



research, internal education and propaganda by SDS explaining why women are still subjugated by men, why they cannot achieve equality under the present system and why all students should fight for women's equality.

(4) In unfolding the campaign, the parallels should be drawn between women's liberation and black liberation,

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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

COMMUNISTS?

Jim Prickett's article, "Anti-Communism in the Movement" in the December 11 New Left Notes is just another version of the old argument, "If you're not with me, you're against me." Unfortunately, PL has placed itself in the situation in which it supposedly sees itself and no one else. When an organization spends all its time spreading (false) tales about other left-wing socialist tendencies, as, for example, I understand it has done

consistently in NY Peace and Freedom, and as it has done constantly about the tendencies having any affinity at all for Trotskyism, and when such an organization as a result of its obsession with destroying the reputation of other radicals itself becomes a victim of the same kind of mindless attacks—then it is difficult to have any sympathy whatsoever for that organization.

Nonetheless, this letter was not meant to be mindlessly adulatory of either PL (obviously) or, on the other hand, of the types around the national office who would call themselves "Revolutionary

Communists." Unfortunately, again, this label has simply become a convenient substitute for any kind of reasoned internal political and ideological discussion within SDS—despite what some would say, such as that "SDS now has a political line." I would venture to say that the "politics" of SDS is inevitably the politics of those few within the organization who discuss new theories among themselves, and then when widespread discontent with America results in SDS meetings of from 200 up, these types come into those meetings and talk about "our politics," as though there really was any sense of common ideology within the organization. Such modes of operating (so characteristic of SDS) are neither democratic, nor communist in the truest Marxian sense of the term.

Criticize, Don't Purify

So what happens as a result of that lack of internal discussion? People have to "justify" their purity. They've got to engage in self-deprecatory rites of "self-criticism," since that sort of hogwash becomes a substitute for reason. When one attempts to introduce into the political void some discussion—be it a discussion of the roots of our politics, or of what communism really does mean (and whether a simplistic labelling of Russia/China as the "socialist" bloc is adequate here), or of the lack of internal democracy in SDS—one is hereby branded as an "anti-Communist." It's a form of McCarthyism-in-reverse.

Both the national office as well as many traditional members of SDS are themselves responsible for this situation. But even worse, most of them do not themselves see anything wrong

with the way things are. Or when they do, they see it not in terms of a political critique of the organization, but in terms of "personality" hang-ups or something similar.

Too Late?

Whether it is too late now to do anything about this I cannot say. The implication of guilt that PL tries to throw into almost every single one of its pseudo-political articles or polemics is only matched by the covert elitism and the anti-democratic procedures of the clique that runs SDS with a sort of "gentleman's agreement." No conspiracy is involved; just a sort of common view of politics on both sides, and, equally on both sides, an unwillingness to subject either view to any sort of radical criticism. The tactics utilized by both sides to prevent such discussion are different (PL utilizes a kind of bludgeoning of criticism with its "anti-Communist" charge, while in some cases SDS people are more discreet; they either use the "consensus," in which everyone is seen as a nice unanimous grouping, despite the psychological intimidation of dissenters that goes along with such an outlook; or, on the other hand, as with publications like the Movement, they simply refuse to publish articles which have criticisms of revolutionaries with which they disagree. But both demand uncritical adulation, NOT critical thinking within the framework of Marxism.

That's why the label of "communist" which both have sought to ascribe to their politics is little more than a farce.

Al Greene
Madison, Wisconsin

New Left Notes

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Toward a revolutionary youth movement

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

—Mao

(NC Resolution
submitted by Mike Klonsky)

At this point in history, SDS is faced with its most crucial ideological decision, that of determining its direction with regards to the working class. At this time there must be a realization on the part of many in our movement that students alone cannot and will not be able to bring about the downfall of capitalism, the system which is at the root of man's oppression. Many of us are going to have to go through important changes, personally. As students, we have been indoctrinated with many racist and anti-working class notions that in turn have produced racism and class-chauvinism in SDS and was responsible largely for the student-power focus which our movement has had for many years. We are moving beyond this now, but that movement must be planned carefully and understood by all.

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

Main Task

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

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

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

Youth Oppressed

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

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

black liberation struggle more solid. While recognizing that "black capitalism" is not a solution to the problem of racism, we must be careful not to dismiss the anti-colonial nature of the black liberation struggle by simplifying calling it "bourgeois nationalism."

The ruling class recognizes the critical potential of young people. This is why they developed so many organizational forms to contain them. Because young people have rejected the integration process that the schools are supposed to serve, and have broken with the "establishment" to struggle in terms of self-interest or have been forced out by industry that no longer has any room for the untrained, unskilled and unorganized young worker, the power structure must use its military, its courts and police to physically and materially repress youth. The price of this repression will be high. The response from various strata of youth has been rebellion, from the buildings at Columbia to the movement in the streets of Chicago to the Watts ghetto uprising.

Revolutionary Youth

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

1) It would build a link through working-class youth to the working class to bring the dynamic of the student movement to workers. The student movement must be a catalyst to ignite the struggle of the working class with its militancy. It must also bring the issues to working people necessary to raise the consciousness of the workers, like racism and the war in Vietnam. Developing a base among working-class youth is an organic way for the student movement to ally with the struggle of workers. Young workers are our link to the class struggle.

2) By developing roots within the class struggle, we insure that our movement will not be reactionary. This is a dialectical approach whereby youth add militancy to and raise the consciousness of the working class and at the same time merge with the struggles of that class to guarantee that the youth movement will have the correct class perspective.

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

RACISM

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

We must also fight racism within our own movement and among youth in general and make our loyalty to the

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

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

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

b. SDS should move towards the building of alliances with non-academic employees on the campus based on struggle against a common enemy.

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

d. Attacks on the 2-S draft deferment should be organized and students should be discouraged from taking a 2-S.

e. Some of us should move into factories and shops as well as working-class communities to better understand the material oppression of industrial workers as well as bringing to them the dynamic of the youth movement.

f. Attacks on the war in Vietnam and university complicity should be continued and intensified. The Vietnamese are carrying on a vanguard struggle against the American ruling class and we must not fail to support that struggle.

g. Attacks should also focus on the university as an arm of corporations that oppress workers. Corporations that exploit workers should be fought on the campus. (Aside from producing napalm, Dow Chemical Co. has plants in 27 countries of the third-world and is among the largest of the imperialists.)

h. SDS should support the struggle for working-class control of the schools.

2) ATTACK INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

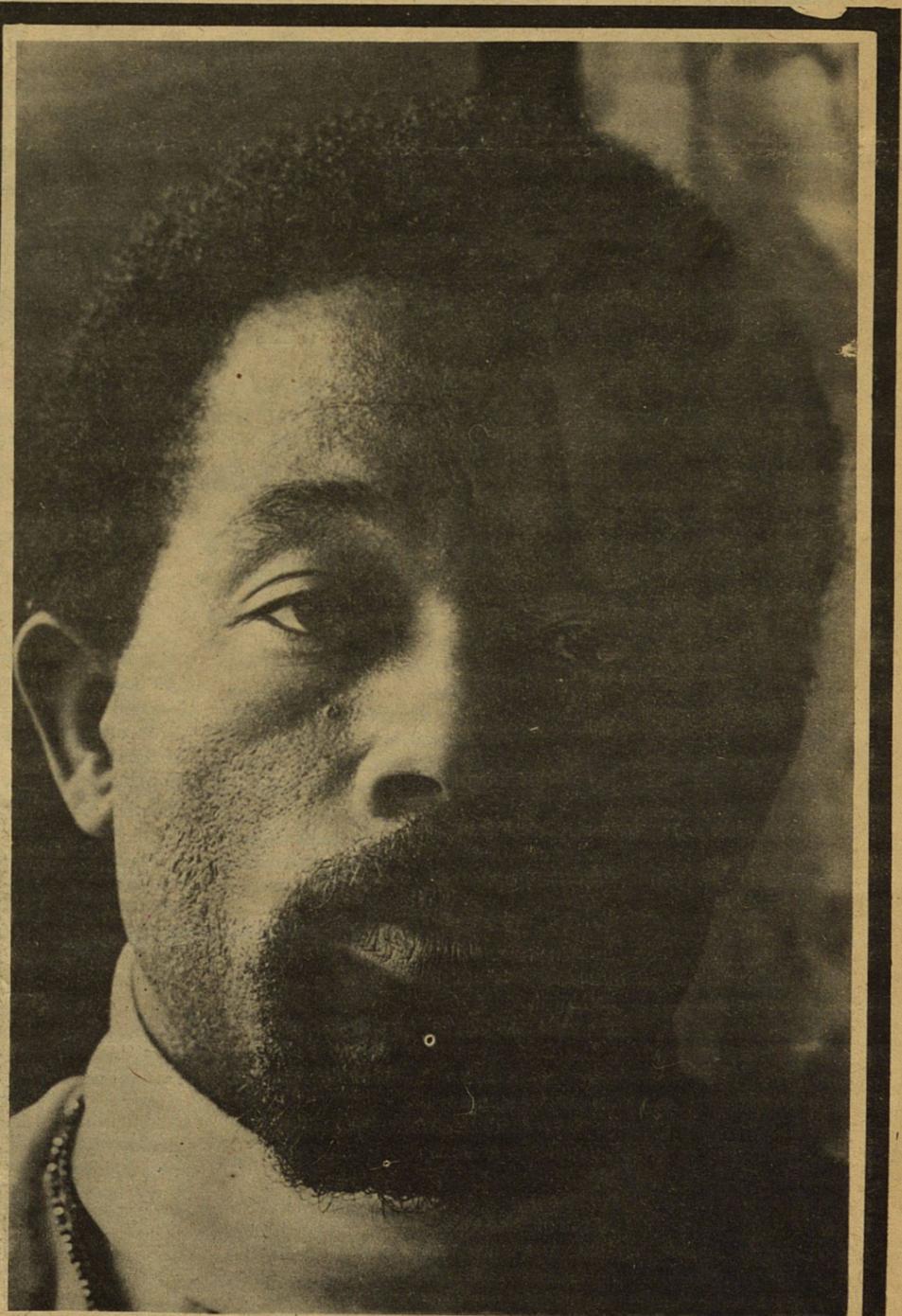
We must view the university as a racist and imperialist institution which acts as the brain center of repression against liberation struggles. Programs should be developed which aggressively attack it as such and attempt to stop it from functioning in this manner. Targets should include:

a. Police institutes on the campus
b. The real estate establishment (The University of Chicago is among the largest slumlords in the city.)

c. Centers for counter-insurgency (domestic and foreign) including research and planning centers and sociology and education departments which teach people racism so that they can help defeat the struggles of blacks.

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

e. A fight should be waged for the admission of black and brown students to help wage the struggle against racism on the campus. Blacks are carrying on the most militant of fights both on and off the campus and more black admissions means a more militant student movement. We must also expose the racist and class nature of admissions systems and the high school track system.



We urge every public-spirited reader of New Left Notes to call their state and local police as well as the FBI if they see Eldridge Cleaver, even if they only THINK they see him, even if they IMAGINE they see him. The police are looking for him.

Chapter position on SF strike

This is the position of the S.F. State SDS chapter on the strike called by the BSU and the TWLF.

The strike call of the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front was answered by white students who formed a supportive strike committee. A struggle over political leadership of this committee developed from the first mass meeting between SDS and the Programs—a conglomerate of liberals and radicals involved in community services programs, Experimental College, Community Services Institute, etc. While SDS maintained that the main issues of the strike were racism and the class nature of the university, the program people maintained that campus autonomy was key and the 'road to victory' was the establishment of 'liberation schools' rather than fighting the State. "Racism is too amorphous," explained the Programs leaders, "white people can't relate to it".

SDS Position

Basically, SDS put forward the position that the main issue of the strike was racism and the class nature of the university. As white students we maintained that the black and Third World students should be in the leadership of their own strike. Further we argued that our main role should be to build support among white students for the strike, which could only be done by directly struggling against and confronting the racist ideology which had been pounded into students' heads. Particularly, SDS felt that it would be chauvinistic for us or other white students to try to direct or act as a brake on the struggle of the Third World students.

We felt that the attitude pushed on most white students by the system is one of "me first" and "my education first and foremost" and it does its best to conjure up racial fears that allowing non-white, "non-qualified" people to college would destroy the quality of the institution. SDS felt that these and other attitudes which keep white and black students from struggling against racism had to be vigorously attacked. On the one hand (as stated in the first point) the role of white students in relation to the black and Third World Peoples struggle for self-determination through this strike should be one of support. On the other hand white students must take the offensive in fighting racism—

racism in their fellow white students, in course structure, and in the highest institution of racism itself—the university.

Mass Meetings

Many honest people attending the mass meetings felt that the Programs people were correct in saying racism was too "amorphous" an issue to win support from the white students. "White demands" had to be attached in order to elicit that support. SDS maintained that the addition of 'white demands' would be yet another case of white people using the backs of Black people for their own ends and further—that racism was not a vague issue, but one that could be seen as an oppressive force that affects all oppressed people. In capsule form, our position was that racism acts as a divisive force keeping oppressed people fighting among one another rather than uniting to fight the common enemy. While we pointed to labor battles to bring out the true role of racism, the local bourgeois press, the SF Chronicle, gave us another example. Their "objective" reporting of roving bands of non-white militants disrupting classes gave a vivid example of how racism was used to divide white and black students. Specifically the average white student would gain the impression that he had more in common with the administration (because they are also white), than with his fellow non-white students.

To the Working Class

We are not educated, but trained as highly paid workers to serve the ruling class and spread their ideology. The role of higher Education in this society—as well as all other formal institutions in this country—is to serve the ruling class. The black and Third World students at SF State are attempting to make the University serve the interest of the community. White students must follow their example and build an alliance with the white working class community. The BSU and Third World Liberation Front are a vanguard force that is leading this struggle. The role of white students in this strike is to join with the vanguard in making the trustees yield on these demands. This struggle is the beginning of the fight to make the colleges and universities serve the masses of the people and not just the ruling class. Another hotly contested battle raged

over the question of 'campus autonomy'. The Programs people said the major problems on the campus stemmed from the authority that the Trustees wielded over SF State. They reasoned that we, as a community (administration, faculty, students) should reign jointly over the campus and solve our own problems. SDS pointed out that the college could certainly be autonomous (i.e. controlled even by students) as long as it still served the interests of the ruling class. Campus autonomy was one of the cries of the Academic Senate of SFSC, who publicly bemoaned the fact that George Murray was fired by the Trustees just at the time they were going to fire him themselves!

True Interests

The demand for student power or campus autonomy does not challenge the class nature of the college, and reinforces the mistaken idea that student intellectuals are a privileged group and that the university should be isolated from the community. The Board of Trustees were more than happy to let students at SFSC run their Experimental College as long as the EC did not challenge the power and control of corporate giants by encouraging its students to join with oppressed people

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and fight against them. Students must see that their interests lie in making the college serve the interests of all working people in the community and that the only way to stop the college from serving the interests of big business and make it serve the interests of the working community is for students to ally themselves with working people and fight our common enemy.

Another idea championed by the Program leaders at the early meetings was the concept of liberation schools or parallel institutions. As it was proposed, it denies the basic premise of the Third World Student Strike. In fact, it is a slap in the face of Third

World liberation. The concept of liberation school abandons the intense struggle to change the existing nature of the university. The people who argue for liberation schools are essentially saying that the university, corrupt and exploitative as it is, can go its own way while the students will go create their own university which will be free from corruption and exploitation. Extending this argument, those who advocate the counter-institution believe that students should not confront the corporate giants and fight to change the university, but rather should set up alternative schools. This type of thinking changes nothing. An ethnic studies department still exists only on paper. George Murray remains suspended. The powers that reign supreme continue to use the universities as an instrument to keep people down.

The Columbia rebellion showed the danger of liberation schools. There students, believing in the efficacy of counter-institutions, gave up a valiant fight against racism and set up model classes on lawns and in houses. Meanwhile, while these classes were meeting, Columbia continued to drive black people from their homes in Harlem, and continued to work with IDA.

Fight not Flight

What should be done? Instead of setting up liberation schools, classes should be organized among people involved in the strike towards advancing each other's understanding of the struggle and not deserting it. The liberation school poses an alternative to the present system. Yet, it is the Trustees we must confront, and it is they who define the role of the university, systematically exclude third world people and institutionalize racism in our education. The strike's course shows that the alternative to the present system is not to ignore it but to fight for change.

After a few days, when it became clear that the great majority of students attending the mass meetings rejected both the analysis and the tactics put forward by the Programs people, the latter stopped attending the mass meetings and called meetings of their own. Those people whose names were in the hands of the program people soon received calls explaining that a new group was forming comprised of people who were in support of the 15 demands but could not "relate" to

Mao: combat liberalism

(continued from Page 1)

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To enter into an argument and struggle against incorrect views not for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly, but in order to make personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist. This is a seventh type.

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or

direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along—"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself. This is an eleventh type.

We could name more. But these eleven are the principle types.

They are all manifestations of liberalism.

Dangers of Liberalism

Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organizations from the masses which the Party leads. It is an extremely bad tendency.

Liberalism stems from petty-bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interests first and the interests of the revolution second, and this gives rise to ideological, political and organizational liberalism.

People who are liberals look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma. They approve of Marxism, but are not prepared to practise it or to practise it in full; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism with Marxism. These people have

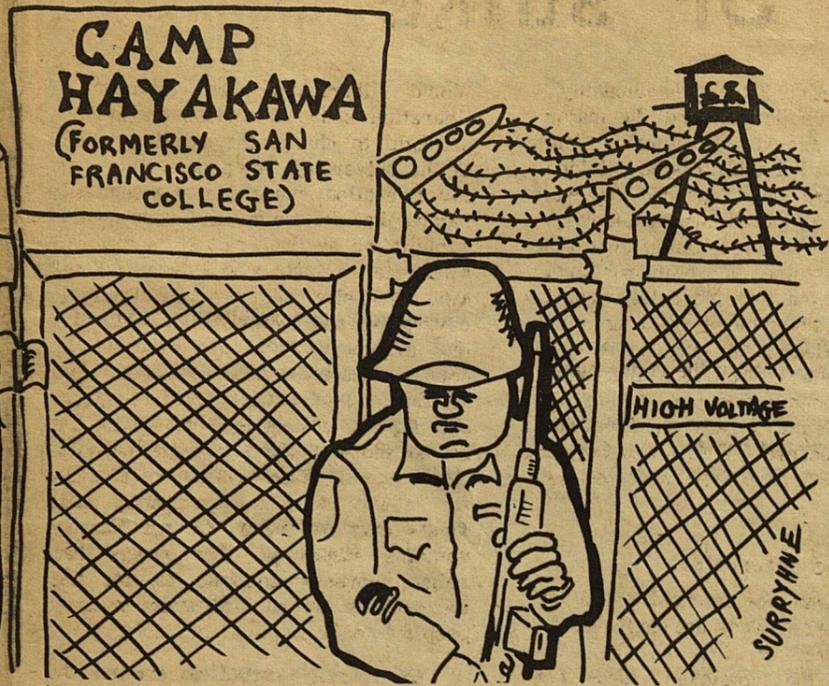
their Marxism, but they have their liberalism as well—they talk Marxism but practise liberalism; they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each. This is how the minds of certain people work.

Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with Marxism. It is negative and objectively has the effect of helping the enemy; that is why the enemy welcomes its preservation in our midst. Such being its nature, there should be no place for it in the ranks of the revolution.

Mao's Communism

We must use Marxism, which is positive in spirit, to overcome liberalism, which is negative. A Communist should have bigness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any private person, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist.

All loyal, honest, active and upright Communists must unite to oppose the liberal tendencies shown by certain people among us, and set them on the right path. This is one of the tasks on our ideological front.



THIS IS YOUR PRESIDENT SPEAKING! YOUR ORDERS FOR THE DAY ARE AS FOLLOWS: GO TO YOUR CLASSES, SPEAK ONLY WHEN SPOKEN TO, KEEP OFF THE GRASS, NO LOITERING IN THE RESTROOMS. THERE ARE POLICE STATIONED AT EVERY DOOR TO CHECK YOUR ID BEFORE YOU PASS INTO OR OUT OF A ROOM, REMEMBER, THIS IS FOR YOUR PROTECTION. ANYONE CAUGHT TALKING IN THE LIBRARY WILL BE SHOT. THAT IS ALL...

(from S.F. State Strike Daily)

Strikers demand self-determination

SDS. While they (The Program Leadership) said they were principally in agreement with SDS, both their tactics and strategy smacked of 'ulterior motives' (i.e. we were using this struggle for our own ends). This SDS baiting was no different from our past 'liberal administrators', from U.S. Congressmen and from the dearth of red-baiting used in the struggle waged by the working class during the 30's and 40's. It was the same inasmuch as those who supposedly agree with the ends of a 'left organization' (which the programs did not) attempt to put that organization down on organizational grounds other than the politics (i.e., the organization is controlled by reds). Red-baiting represents the use of (and thus the reinforcing of) ruling class ideology to enforce the fear of communists in this country....The use of red-baiting must be exposed and sharply attacked.

Need to Fight Cops

The weapon that the rulers always fall back on when all others fail is their armed might. In this case it was the police forces from San Francisco and some surrounding counties. Hayakawa thought that if he used enough police terror we would quit and give up the strike, but instead of rolling over and playing dead we fought back, and met their clubs and mace with rocks and bottles. Several plainclothesmen were beaten up when they were discovered. This was a big step forward for many white students; they overcame their awe and fear of the pigs and followed the leadership of Third World people and helped defeat every attempt to smash the strike.

Violence

This was also a big step forward for the white student movement in another respect. Pacifism is very strong among white students. It has its roots in the class background of most students who come from the middle class and who have been taught that struggle should be avoided and violence is wrong. Pacifism obfuscates the class nature of violence and is used by the ruling class to keep movements from winning. The ruling class uses any means necessary to keep people in their place, and we must use any means necessary including people's violence to defeat them. When white students began to follow the example of Third world students and began to fight back they increased the chances of winning the strike.

Conclusion

We have learned many lessons from this fight at State. We learned that people united and fighting can beat the armed might of the state, that sharp struggle not counter institutions are the only way to defeat the rulers, that the struggle against racism in our own ranks as well as in the institutions is important for the development of a movement, and most of all that it is important to build ties and alliances with working people if we are ever to defeat the rulers of this country.

Roger Alvarado is a leader of the Third World Liberation Front; Nesbit Crutchfield is a leader of the Black Student Union and Mason Wong is a leader of the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action, all at San Francisco State College. The following are excerpts from The Movement, from a discussion held with them about the struggle at State on December 6.

QUESTION: What is the status of the strike at this point?

NESBIT CRUTCHFIELD: As of now the strike at State has been going on approximately a month and five days. These fifteen demands have not been met and therefore the strike is still going on. It's getting stronger and stronger. One very obvious thing we should bring out is that the black community, the brown community and the yellow community have shown that we are different college students, students of our communities. We are not in a cocoon. The demands are a matter of survival for our community.

SELF-DETERMINATION

Q: Why are these demands non-negotiable?

NESBIT: They're about self-determination. Self-determination means the power

and ability to determine our own destiny --to address ourselves to what we are as a People. We couldn't do this in the past because we had no knowledge of our own history, our own heritage, our own background or culture. We're talking about seizure of power, but you seize power in a context and our context is S.F. State College, as an extension of the community, as a microcosm of the entire society that we live in.

We're not asking for a Black Studies Department that will be like the other departments in the College. Our department will create a vitality that people have never seen before.

ROGER ALVARADO: We do not want equality, we want more. We want the ability to control the power, the authority, the finances, to direct our education. We understand the principle on which we base our demands is self-determination. Determination to direct ourselves to learn whatever we want to learn and use it the way we want.

NESBIT: We're not talking about Negro history like they teach in the Negro Colleges of the South. They encourage the attitude that we must assimilate, that we must not be a People, but rather drown ourselves in some melting pot. We're black people and we want to carry out that long, very fascinating, venture of finding ourselves.

The innovative education we're talking about will show black and third world students what mechanisms and power determine and exploit them. What powers make our fathers castrated automatons. We're going to bring them to that education factory and show them these powers and how and why they must be changed. This is why we're having so much trouble with the demands--because they're talking about self-determination. If we were asking for a Negro studies program that

talked about cooperating with the system, then we would have been back in school weeks ago.

Community Needs

Q: How has this struggle developed?
NESBIT: The fifteen demands have developed over a long period of time and consultation--they weren't made spontaneously just for the sake of confrontation.

ROGER: We started about a year and a half ago. What we got was referral to committees and promises of things to come. We called the strike because of our needs as a People, not just our needs at the College.

Poor people in this country pay the highest percentage of their income for taxes. They pay a higher percentage than Rockefeller has ever had to pay in his whole life. If Rockefeller can make a billion dollars a year, then he's going to pay \$999,999,999 and 99 cents to the people because that's where he's getting his money from.

QUESTION: How have black, brown and yellow people come together?

MASON WONG: The reason we've joined together is because we have common needs and common desires. The Chinese for example are tired of being used by the power structure as an example; playing us up as a unique group. *We

(continued on Page 6)

"The student movement is part of the whole people's movement. The upsurge of the student movement will inevitably promote an upsurge of the whole people's movement."

Chairman Mao

LOS ANGELES: High school battles continued this month. Four BSU student leaders at Fremont High School were suspended by school authorities. The following day nearly 1,000 boycotted classes and rallied at the school; meanwhile black and white students held rallies with SDS and BSU speakers at Hamilton, Hollywood, and Fairfax High Schools on campus in support of the Fremont boycott. Parents met at the school while boycotting students set small fires in the school. Two days later the administration rescinded the suspensions and the students were reinstated.

STORRS, CONNECTICUT: The campaign to stop corporate recruiting at the University of Connecticut expanded last week. 300 students marched on recruiters from the U.S. National Security Agency, U.S. Army Material Command, and U.S. Naval Underwater Weapons and Engineering. Sixty-seven were busted by state cops; the next day Peace Corps recruiters left the campus. Earlier in the fall U. Conn students battled campus police in a confrontation with interviewers from Olin-Mathieson.

CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA: Expulsion of non-militant black students at Cheney State College was combatted by an 80% effective student boycott of the school which forced its closing. Two hundred state police occupied the campus for the second time this fall. The struggle at Cheyney State began last spring when the school was closed for the first time.

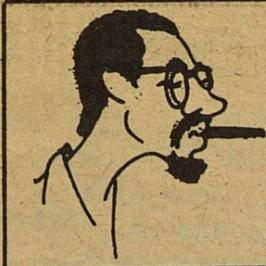
ST. LOUIS: White students at Washington University fighting to kick ROTC off campus sat in at the Chancellor's office and succeeded in having ROTC classes ended. Meanwhile black students at Washington U. were sitting in with a series of demands which include the firing of a campus prof assaulted a black student.

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO: Reies Tijerina, acting as his own attorney, was acquitted of three charges including the capital offense of kidnapping which resulted from an Alianza "raid" on the Tierra Amarilla courthouse in Northern New Mexico last year. During the trial, which lasted a month, the prosecution claimed that Tijerina and nine other members of the Alianza had terrorized people at the courthouse.

Tijerina's cross-examination of the state's chief witness and the supposed kidnapping victim put an end to that charge. The witness ended his testimony saying to Tijerina: "No sir, I don't blame you."

Nearly 30 Indian and Spanish farmers from the northern part of the state testified to the state's systematic harassment and intimidation of Alianza members. It was clearly brought out that the so-called raid on the courthouse was a mass citizen action to place the District Attorney, Alphonso Sanchez, under citizen's arrest. Even the judge was forced to admit that citizens were entitled to arrest public officials who violate the law.

The trial was a major victory for the Alianza. Tijerina and the others still face other charges. It is not yet clear how the state intends to move on them.



FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TRACKS

A student movement has its own built-in limitations, both in terms of how much it can do and how much it can understand. In some ways, a student movement tends to be artificial, because the student lives in an artificial environment—the university. Thus, it is natural that a student movement generally concerns itself with issues that the majority of society has hardly any time at all to be concerned about. This is good to a point. Without the student demonstrations against the war, there would've been no antiwar movement. Without student consciousness of racism, blacks would be even more isolated and vulnerable to attack.

A student movement evolves to an inevitable point where it realizes that wars and racism are the manifestations of an inhuman system and if wars and racism are going to be stopped, the system itself must be stopped and another created. And it is at this point that a student movement reaches the boundaries of its inherent limitations. When this juncture is reached, the student movement finds its members becoming increasingly frustrated and the movement seeks to relieve that frustration through activism and/or by turning its attention to changing the students' immediate environment, the university.

A student movement which concerns itself with bringing about changes within the university is engaging in an act which can have all the appearances of being important, while being, in essence, quite unimportant. Regardless of how unending one's stay in a university may seem, the fact yet remains that after four years of serving time, the student leaves. The university is a temporary society for most who live within its confines and as such, any radical activity aimed at it is of limited value.

Because the university is a temporary society, any movement coming from it is in danger of being temporary. The next student generation may have

more traditional interests than the one which kept the campus in an uproar during the preceding four years. And while student movements are characterized by a great willingness to confront the reigning social authority, there is nothing inherent in a student movement that will insure its evolution into a radical movement once the students leave the university.

Perhaps the greatest liability of a student movement is that it is only able to speak to other students. While this is of limited value, the fact still remains that there is perhaps no group more powerless than students. Not only are students without power, the instruments of power are not even a part of their world. If all students went on strike, it wouldn't cause the society to pause in its step. The most that a student movement can do is to disrupt. The power to disrupt, however, cannot be equated with the power to make a revolution. A student movement is only a revolutionary force when it can act as an adjunct with other forces in the society. It is needless to say that such a situation does not presently exist.

When student radicals leave the campus, they can avoid coming into direct contact with other forces in the society by creating their own little worlds where they continue to live with each other, talk only to each other and remain unconcerned about the concrete problems which most people have to face. The student radical is never heard talking about a rise in the price of milk, new taxes, real wages or doctor bills. The student radical creates his own society in which money is not an overriding problem and because it isn't, the student radical thinks that revolution is all about love, because he has time to think about love. Everybody else is thinking about survival.

No matter how radical a student may be, his

radicalism remains virgin until he has had to face the basic problems which everyone in the society has to face—paying the rent every month. It is easy to be radical when someone else is underwriting it. It is all too easy to belittle the Wallace-supporting factory worker when one does not know the constant economic insecurity and fear under which that factory worker lives.

While the goal of revolution is the creation of the new man, people turn to revolution when that becomes the only means of satisfying their material needs. They do not become revolutionaries because of any ideas about the new man.

The student radical has to become an everyday radical before he can be totally trusted. He must know the concrete problems which face the everyday person. And while such issues as the war in Vietnam, the repression of Mexican students and the invasion of Czechoslovakia are important, revolution is made from the three eternal issues—food, clothing and shelter. The American system requires of its people that they exchange their lives and humanity for food, clothing and shelter. Our job is to show people that they are being robbed of their birthright for a mess of pottage and that that is not necessary.

As long as the movement is dominated by students, the movement will carry within it the seeds of its own death. As long as the student, upon graduation, carries his radicalism to an apartment three blocks away from the campus or to the nation's East Villages where a thousand others just like him reside, his radicalism will remain theoretically correct and pragmatically irrelevant, except as a gadfly forcing the system to make minimal reforms.

Julius Lester

(reprinted from the Guardian)

SF State

(continued from Page 5)

remain silent. We work hard. We don't ask for help. We don't go on Welfare. We're happy people and Chinatown is a happy town." Chinese people are suffering. We've been suffering ever since we came to this country. Because of our image we've paid a heavy price. We have poverty and ignorance.

The Chinese people who have made it are forced to exploit their own people. Don't let the restaurants and the glittering lights fool you, because I can take you down a half a block away and you'll see common kitchens, a community bathroom—one bathroom for 90 apartments that are four by eight—old people that are hiding and afraid to come out. We can't communicate with these people because we've been educated by the white man's education. Whitewashed. We've been taught to be ashamed of being Chinese.

We have a culture and no chance to learn about it. They make a mockery of our New Year's Celebration—it's not supposed to be a Mardi Gras. The reason why people love us is because we keep our mouth shut so they don't have to deal with us. Well, we're telling people: we don't want to be loved, we just want to get what's coming to us.

Here at S.F. State they teach Mandarin. It's groovy, but we can't communicate because all of our people speak Cantonese. How can they ask us to learn a language (Mandarin), when the U.S. government doesn't recognize that those 800 million people exist. Sure, we can learn Mandarin, but how can I communicate with the old lady in Chinatown who has TB and speaks Cantonese. We need that language to help our people. Personally, I can't even speak to my own father. We suffer a big generation gap because we're taught to be ashamed of our language.

A Week Of Hayakawa

Q: How do you see the events of this past week?

ROGER: The whole development of the strike has been continually to respond to the actions of the administration. Since we started the strike we have taken the position that we will not only strike, but we will escalate the activities of the strike until our demands are met. What's gone on this week has only been a further reaction to the actions of the right wing Trustees and Dumke to bring in a fascist like Hayakawa who wants to call in as

many pigs as he can; and, if necessary, bring in the national guard rather than recognize the validity of these demands and begin the process of implementing them.

Q: Hayakawa has said that he is meeting your demands. How do his "concessions" stack up with your demands?

NESBIT: The President only addressed himself to six of the fifteen demands. We have 15 demands, not 6. We're striking about all 15.

ROGER: The fact that Hayakawa chose to relate only to black people's demands we see as being an attempt to divide the coalition that has evolved among all non-white people. It's the same kind of process that Smith was involved in. Rather than recognize the reality on which the coalition is based—which is needs—he has continued to react to third world people as isolated bodies, isolated peoples. But all over the country and all over the world we are treated the same.

What Hayakawa has done with the demands will only serve to heighten the contradictions. He has educated the people and shown that the Man didn't address himself to the demands. He didn't address himself to the basis of the demands. He can't deal with people's needs.

Tactics

It's our understanding as a so-called minority that we are not in a position of controlling anything. The whole development of the strike, the whole fact that the strike has gone on this long is because we have not put ourselves into the position of trying to tell the Man that we controlled anything. We did not walk into a building and take it over and

blatantly tell the Man that we controlled it—now he could come try to kick our ass and let him come and do that. We understand very clearly that we do not control a god-damned thing that goes on.

But what we can do...we can manipulate ourselves to such an extent that at the very least we will neutralize the Man. The Man has, for a month and five days, brought on his pigs; has attempted every chance he's gotten to destroy what's going on. The reasons he hasn't been able to do it is because we haven't let him get away with it. Because we haven't put ourselves in a position where we know for a fact (just in terms of numbers, just in terms of physical strength) we would lose.

and White People

Q: How do you think white people should relate to your struggle?

NESBIT: To get a decent education white people cannot wait for it to come to them. Go out there and grab it. Get up off your ass and fight for it.

ROGER: White people should actively take up their own struggle and begin to move. But all this is hypothetical. FSM could have been a beginning. They let that victory fall, instead of using it as a battering ram to go after other things. If they had related back to their own community about what the struggle was and gotten the people to understand that, and then begun articulating and specifying needs of white people, they could have gone beyond free speech.

Q: in the case of S.F. State, weren't white people hesitant to put forth their own demands because they didn't want to manipulate your strike?

ROGER: If you're ready to stand up and take what belongs to you 'cause you have decided that's what you want, then that's what priority is. Whether or not you use the impetus of a third world movement as the basis of your struggle is not the question. What we are talking about is people's needs. If people's needs is the priority, then that's what you relate to. If you recognize you have certain needs, then the question is: how you going to move on them? Is it just enough to move into a strike that is already going on, or are you going to continue the struggle after the strike of the third world people is over?

NESBIT: What sickens me is that white people tend to academize what they'd like to do. Earlier this evening, a white man asked me, "Why do you people come on so strong?" What he was really asking was: "Why don't I, as a white person, feel so strongly as you about what affects my life? I can't project that feeling of despair, desperation and complete rejection of what's going on. Why? I think because people are so completely immersed in the security syndrome—this attitude that we must be selfish."

ROGER: White people have accepted the role they've been given in society. In the 1930s it took two longshoremen to get killed before the union could be where it is. If you look at the Union now, it's a cop out to the people who were then throwing themselves down on the line. However much the ILWU has given the longshoremen, at the same time representatives from the ILWU approached us for 3 hours this week about going to talk to a mad dog like Alioto because it was something politically "sophisticated to do". The only way that can happen is that the people who are the constituency of the union allow them to get away with it. It's a basic question of attitude. People have closed down their minds.

If you're going to recognize yourself as a human being, then you're not going to set up priorities on the basis of anybody else's. You must relate to other people's priorities from the basis of your own needs—on the basis of what you need so you don't starve physically or mentally, so you are not abused, or allow that to be done to other people.

WOMEN

(continued from Page 2)

and attempts should be made to link the two struggles.

(5) The campaign should be seen as the backdrop and the mirror against which to examine SDS and correct any tendencies within it to keep women in a subordinate position.

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

Finally, I think there are two main false ideas against which SDS must do battle in the course of the campaign. The first is the belief that the fight for the equality of women is solely the business of women, and that only the women have the right and responsibility to oppose male domination. As far as men are concerned, in my opinion the key slogan should be, "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master."

The second false idea which should be combatted is the belief that, since the "woman question" can only be solved by radical, fundamental social change, therefore the struggle for women's rights should take second place to other struggles "of wider appeal." If we hope to win large numbers of women to SDS and achieve the kind of internal solidarity that is necessary, we must give proof of our good intentions for the future by putting them into practice now.

Huey Newton

In defense of self-defense

(Huey on anarchists and individualists as related to revolutionary struggle and the black liberation movement—reprinted from The Black Panther, November 16)

We should understand there is a difference between the rebellion of the anarchists and the black revolution or liberation of the black colony.

This is a class society; it always has been. This reactionary class society places its limitations on individuals, not just in terms of their occupation, but also regarding self-expression, being mobile, and being free to really be creative and do anything they want to do.

The class society prevents this. This is true not only for the mass of the lower or subjugated class. It is also true within the ruling class, the master class. That class also limits the freedom of the individual souls of the people which comprise it.

In the upper class, the individuals always try to free themselves from these limitations—the artificial limitations placed upon him through external sources: namely, some hierarchy that goes by the name of State or Government Administration.

Upper Class Anarchists

In America, we have not only a class society, we also have a caste system, and black people are fitted into the lowest caste. They have no mobility for going up the class ladder. They have no privilege to enter into the ruling structure at all.

Within the ruling class they're objecting (resisting?), because the people have found that they're completely subjected to the will of the administration and the manipulators. This brings about a very strange phenomenon in America. That is, many of the rebelling white students and the anarchists are the offspring of this master class. Surely most of them have

a middle class background and some even upper class. They see the limitations imposed upon them and now they're striving, as all men strive, to get freedom of the soul, freedom of expression, and freedom of movement, without the artificial limitations from antique values.

Need for Discipline

Blacks and colored people in America, confined within the caste system, are discriminated against as a whole group of people. It's not a question of individual freedom, as it is for the children of the upper classes. We haven't reached the point of trying to free ourselves individually because we're dominated and oppressed as a group of people.

A great part of the people of this country are youth. But they're not doing this as a group of people. Because as a group they're already free to an extent. Their problem is not a group problem really, because they can easily integrate into the structure. Potentially they're mobile enough to do this: They're the educated ones, the "future of the country," and so forth. They can easily gain a certain amount of power over the society by integrating into the rulership circle.

But they see that even within the rulership circle there are still antique values that have no respect for individualism. They find themselves subjugated. No matter what class they're in they find themselves subjugated because of the nature of this class society. So their fight is to free the individual's soul.

This brings about another problem.

They're being ruled by an alien source that has nothing to do with freedom of individual expression. They want to escape this, to overturn this, but they see no need to form a structure or a real, disciplined vanguard movement. Their reasoning is that by setting up a disciplined organization they feel they'd be replacing the old structure with other limitations. They fear they'd be setting themselves up as directing the people, therefore limiting the individual again.

But what they don't understand, or it seems that they don't understand, is as long as the military-industrial complex exists, then the structure of oppression of the individual continues. An individual would be threatened even if he were to achieve his freedom he's seeking. He'll be threatened because there'll be an organized lower group there ready to strip him of his individual freedom at any moment.

Cuba's Vanguard

In Cuba they had a revolution, they had a vanguard group that was a disciplined group, and they realized that the state won't disappear until imperialism is completely wiped out, structurally and also philosophically, or the bourgeois thoughts won't be changed. Once imperialism is wiped out they can have the communist state and the state or territorial boundaries will disappear.

In this country the anarchists seem to feel that if they just express themselves individually and tend to ignore the limitations imposed on them, without leadership and without discipline they can oppose the very disciplined, organized, reactionary state. This is not true. They will be oppressed as long as imperialism exists. You cannot oppose a system such as this without organization that's even more disciplined and dedicated than the structure you're opposing.

Recent French Revolution

I can understand the anarchists wanting to go directly from state to non-state, but historically it's incorrect. As far as I'm concerned thinking of the recent French Revolution, the reason the French uprising failed is simply because the anarchists in the country, who by definition had no organization, had no people that were reliable enough as far as the mass of the people were concerned to replace DeGaulle and his government. Now, the people were skeptical about the Communist Party and the other progressive parties, because they didn't side with the people of medium living. They lagged behind the people, so they lost the respect of the people, and the people looked for guidance from the students and anarchists.

Free as a Group

But the anarchists were unable to offer a structural program to replace the DeGaulle government. So the people were forced to turn back to DeGaulle. It wasn't the people's fault; it was Cohn-Bendit's fault and all the other anarchists who felt they could just go from state to non-state.

In this country—getting back to North America now—we can side with the student radicals. We would try to encourage them and persuade them to organize and weld a sharp cutting tool.

In order to do this they would have to be disciplined and they would have at least some philosophical replacement of the system. This is not to say that this itself will free the individual. The individual will not be free until the state does not exist at all, and I think—and I don't want to be redundant—this cannot be replaced by the



anarchists right away.

As far as the blacks are concerned, we are not hung up on attempting to actualize or express our individual souls because we're oppressed not as individuals but as a whole group of people. Our evolution, or our liberation, is based first on freeing our group. Freeing our group to a certain degree. After we gain our liberation, our people will not be free. I can imagine in the future that the blacks themselves have structured. They will see there will be limitations, limiting their individual selves, and limiting their freedom of expression. But this is only after they become free as a group.

We Stress Organization

This is what makes our group different from the white anarchist—besides he views his group as already free. Now he's striving for freedom of his individual self. This is the big difference. We're not fighting for freedom of our individual selves, we're fighting for a group freedom. In the future there will probably be a rebellion where blacks will say, "Well, our leadership is limiting our freedom, we will strive for our individualistic freedom that has nothing to do with organized group or state." And the group will be disorganized, and it should be.

But at this point we stress discipline, we stress organization, we do not stress psychedelic drugs, and all the other things that have to do with just the individual expansion of the mind. We're trying to gain true liberation of a group of people, and this makes our struggle somewhat different from the whites.

Our Fight's the Same

Now, how is it the same. It's the same in the fact that both of us are striving for freedom. They will not be free—the white anarchists will not be free—until we are free so that makes our fight their fight really. The imperialists and the bourgeois bureaucratic capitalist system would not give them individual freedom while they keep a whole group of people based upon race color oppressed as a group. How can they expect to get individual freedom when the imperialists oppress whole nations of people? Until we gain liberation as a group they won't gain any liberation as an individual person. So this makes our fight the same, and we must keep this in perspective, and always see the similarities and the differences in it.

There's a tremendous amount of difference in it, and there's a due amount of similarities between the two cases. Both are striving for freedom and both are striving for liberation of their people, only one is advanced to a degree higher than the other. The anarchists are advanced a step higher, but only in theory. As far as actuality of conditions, they shouldn't be advanced higher because they should see the necessity of wiping out the imperialist structure by organized groups just as we must be organized.



On revolution and university reform

(Editor's note: Che gave this speech as part of a symposium at the University of Santiago in Cuba on October 17, 1959. Excerpts of the speech have been translated from the July 1968 issue of OCLAE Magazine by Arlene Eisen Bergman.)

It is interesting for me to come to speak about a problem that has been so important to students everywhere—to speak here, in a revolutionary university, in one of the most revolutionary cities of Cuba.

The topic is broad, so broad that various speakers have been able to develop different themes. As a fighter, I'm interested in analyzing precisely the revolutionary duties of students in relation to the University.

The Class Position of Students in Cuba

To do this, we must analyze carefully who the student is, to which class he belongs, and if there is something that defines students as such, or if students' actions simply correspond to the general actions of the different classes to which they can belong.

We find that the student is the reflection of the University where he is found. While there are different types of conditions students face, ultimately there are economic conditions which insure that the student belong to a social class that is relatively well-off economically.

In general, students belong to the middle class—not only here in Oriente, in Santiago de Cuba, but also in Cuba, and, in fact, in all of America.

Naturally, there are exceptions. We all know them. There are extraordinary individuals, very capable, who can struggle against adversity with amazing tenacity, and succeed in acquiring a university degree. But, in general, university students belong to the middle class and reflect the desires and interests of this class. Although, often, exactly in times such as now, the stirring call of the revolution can carry them to more extreme positions.

Role of the University

We are trying to analyze the general tendencies within the University which respond to its social base, and its revolutionary duties in relation to the whole community. This is important because the university is greatly responsible for the success or failure of the technical part of the great social and economic experiment that is being carried on in Cuba.

We have instituted laws that profoundly transform the ruling social system. The latifundios have been liquidated, almost in a flash. The tax system has been changed. Prices and duties have been changed. Industrial cooperatives have been created. So, a whole series of new phenomena and the corresponding new institutions are flourishing in Cuba.

We have started this immense work with good intentions alone—with the belief that we are following a true and just road, but without considering the technical elements to do things perfectly.

We don't rely on these elements because we are innovating, and the university has been geared to supply the old society with a variety of professionals who administered in the context of the necessities of the past. There was a need for many lawyers and doctors. There were fewer civil engineers and the like. But now we suddenly find ourselves with the need for agricultural teachers, agronomy engineers, industrial chemists, physicists, even mathematicians—and there aren't any.

The State

In many cases, the courses don't even exist. In others, the courses are taken by a small number of students that have seen the need to study new things. Some students take these courses because other faculties are full or because they wanted to study and there was nothing they really liked. In sum, there was no state direction to fill all the gaps that we are finding in the technification of our Revolution....

If the State is the only entity capable of expressing an opinion with some certainty about the necessities of the country, obviously, the State must participate in governing the University. There are violent complaints about this. The students call it loss of

autonomy....

This is a false attitude because, in fact, the university is disengaging itself completely from the life of the country. Because it is cloistering itself and converting itself into a kind of ivory tower, far from the practical accomplishments of the revolution. It is a false attitude because it would mean continuing to send our Republic an enormous number of lawyers who are not needed. Look at the number of doctors coming out, or at the whole variety of professionals, whose programs could at least be examined to be made more useful.

Two possible roads arise at this point. There is a rise of important groups, in student sectors, who consider the worst thing in the world to be state intervention or the loss of autonomy.

Now these student sectors are, perhaps, fulfilling their class obligations, but they are forgetting their revolutionary obligations. They are forgetting the obligations they have incurred in the struggle to the great mass of workers and peasants who put their bodies, their sweat and their blood at the side of the students, in order to arrive at the great solution that was the first of January.

Dangers

This attitude towards autonomy has been very dangerous. The problem involves larger questions that go much further than our island. From outside, great strategic links are being extended to join all those who feel they have lost something with this revolution—not the goons, not the embezzlers, not the members of the old government—but rather, those who remain on the margin, or even support the government in some form, but who feel they have lost economically.

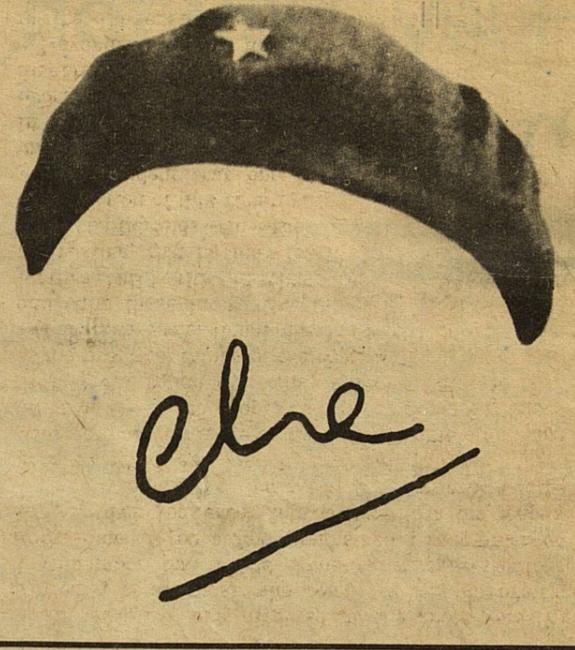
If the State is the only entity capable of expressing an opinion with some certainty about the necessities of the country, obviously, the State must participate in governing the University. There are violent complaints about this. The students call it a loss of autonomy. . .

All these people are dispersed in different social positions. They can demonstrate their discontent with all the liberty they want. But national and international reactionaries intend to cement all the forces of discontent against the government and make them a solid mass in order to have this front for invasion or economic depression or who knows what else.

The university, when it's facing difficulties, fighting furiously around the word autonomy, as well as fighting around questions of lesser importance like the election of student leaders, is creating the very field in which the seed of the big reactionaries can be planted effectively. And this place, this place that has been the vanguard of the people in struggle, can convert itself into a backward element, if it doesn't incorporate itself into the great plans of the revolutionary government.

What I say is not a theoretical analysis of the question, nor a hurried opinion. This has happened in all of America and the examples could be multiplied.

I remember the pathetic example of the University of Guatemala, which, like Cuban universities, was a vanguard of the people in struggle. It carried a good part of the weight of the popular struggle during



the dictatorial regimes and later during the government of Arevalo.

But, during the Arbenz government, they became centers of struggle against the democratic regime. They were defending exactly what is being defended now, university autonomy, the sacred right of a group of people to decide fundamental affairs of a country although these decisions are against the very interests of the nation.

In this blind and sterile struggle, the university was transforming itself from the vanguard of the popular forces into the arm of Guatemalan reaction. The invasion of Castillo Armas, the public burning, in an act of medieval vandalism, of all books that spoke of themes considered evil by the little Guatemalan satrap, was necessary before the university could return to its senses and take its place in the struggle along with the popular forces.

The mistake was extraordinarily large and Guatemala is today, as you know, still coming out of that chaotic situation, searching again among difficulties and errors to find an institutional life with democratic rules. This is a vivid example that all of you remember because it belongs to today's history.

History of University Reform

We could go much further into the analysis of the great conquest, the University reform of 1918, that was achieved in the country and province of my birth, Cordoba, Argentina. We could analyze the personalities of the majority of those militant students who fought a hard battle for university autonomy in the face of conservative governments that ruled all Latin American countries in those times.

I don't want to name names because I don't want to provoke international polemics. I would like you to read Gabriel del Maso's book, for example, where he carefully studies university reform. Look there for the names of all the great authors of the reform. Then look at their political attitude, note what they have been in the public life of their respective countries, and you will be quite surprised.

You will have the same surprises I had when, believing in university autonomy as an important factor in the advancement of countries, I made the analysis that I advise you to make now. The blackest figures of reaction, the most hypocritical, because they speak the language of democracy and they systematically practice treachery, were those who supported and often the ones who appear as the heralds in their countries of university reform.

Advice

These words are directed at the great mass of students, at all those who comprise this university. I remember that I had some short conversations with some of you a few months ago. I recommended to you that you enter into contact with the people.

Go to the masses, but not as an aristocratic dame goes to give them some coins. Don't go to give them your coin of knowledge or the coin of some other kind of help. Go to the people as a revolutionary member of a great legion that today governs Cuba, to work at the practical things of the country.

Let each professional use his wealth of knowledge and unite those interesting things he learned in the lecture halls with all those things, perhaps more interesting, that he may learn while building in the real battlefields—in the great fight for the construction of this country.

It is evident that one of the great duties of the university is to carry on its professional activities in the midst of the people. It is also evident that in order to do this, organizationally, the planning and directional aid of some state body is needed.

Nevertheless, the Revolution has not intervened in the University, because it doesn't consider that this would be the most logical and honorable way to do things. The Revolution simply points out the reality to students, and it depends on reason, which is so important, and on discussion. Thanks.

The December 1969 National Council meeting of SDS was held in New Haven, Connecticut, on December 27-30. The conference was a tremendous success, with about 900 people registering and attendance of close to 1000 from all over the country. People came from as far away as Florida, Minneapolis, and San Diego; from diverse areas such as Ohio, Utah, North Carolina, Pittsburgh, Washington D.C.; as well as from New England, New York, and Chicago.

Panels were held which dealt with such topics as culture, drugs, and individualism; male chauvinism; racism; the campus worker-student alliance. Most time was spent in workshops and small discussions, where people got down to dealing with questions on the basis of campus and other practical experience. How to integrate ourselves with other students was talked about a lot. Also discussed at length was how SDS could raise more sharply on campuses the question of the War in Vietnam and foreign imperialism. Proposals were passed which dealt with support of the General Electric strike, fighting male chauvinism, and further building of a campus worker-student alliance, and attempting to develop a systematic approach to building SDS at state and community colleges. (The resolutions passed were different in some cases from those in this issue of New Left Notes. The Campus Worker-Student Alliance proposal was redone completely.)

Three new people were elected to fill vacancies in the National Interim Committee: Dobbie Russel, from Florida State in Tallahassee to National Inter-Organizational Secretary; Laury Hammel from the University of Utah in Salt Lake City; and Howard Wiener from State University of New York in Stonybrook, Long Island.

Radical Arts Troupes (RATs) from Boston, Berkeley, and New York City gave performances, and the Yale SDS jug band played at the party on the last night.

Plans are being made for the next National Council meeting to be held on the west coast in early February, which will be attended by many who were unable to attend the New Haven conference. A more complete discussion of the conferences, the past and the upcoming, will be in the next issue of New Left Notes, which should be out by January 9. People should begin immediately to build for the February N.C.: win people to coming, raising the money necessary (lots of it), writing and discussing resolutions.