

BOULDER AND BOULDER

"...like a rolling stone or toward a boulder election strategy." C. Davidson

Good  
1) Call for, publicize and organize for a national strike of high school and college students on November 4 and 5.

2) Mobilize large militant SDS regional demonstrations in major cities -- to make visible the wide extent of opposition to this election, making a direct focused statement through action, about why all elections under the present system are fraudulent. Use our campus base to reach out to all sectors of the population, in particular, the working class support for Wallace.

3) Support National GI Week through literature, propaganda, local demonstrations.

BUILD THE LEFT

Last spring saw a new stage of political crisis for imperialism, stemming in part from the increasing defeat of US forces in Vietnam, from the failure of reformist solutions to the oppression of blacks at home, and from financial crisis within the capitalist world. In the present pre-election period, that crisis is manifested by an increasing political polarization: the 'center' has proven its failure -- just as it can't either get out of or win in Vietnam, so it can't successfully change or preserve the status quo at home.

The failure of the "center" is irreversible: it remains for the left not to cling to liberal myths, but to build its own strength out of the polarization, to build the left "pole". The growth of the right is a reaction to the threat of the left's real and potential strength here and internationally: it remains for us to make the threat real.

The growth of the right has two distinct aspects: the strengthening and use of the state apparatus of repression, and the popular support for Wallace and the politics unannounced by Wallace. We take the latter as a serious danger and failure of the left. We must intensify efforts to interpret our positions and actions at factories, subways, Wallace rallies, communities, and through our media.

Thus more people on and off campus are ready to be turned on to the movement while at the same time repression becomes an increasing threat. We cannot afford ourselves the luxury of lessening our efforts on campus, inasmuch as the movement is weak and shallow in most places, nor the luxury of turning inward to "consolidate"; we must attack, expand and consolidate at the same time. The situation around the elections not only requires that we do both, it also provides the opportunity to do both.

- 1) The Strike and Mobilizations allow campus chapters to reach out to greater numbers of students around focused programs which have sharper political analysis and content than strictly campus "student power" or "anti-complicity" issues.
- 2) The Strike and Mobilizations use the energies of the student movement to reach out beyond the campus on our own terms, to raise advanced political positions in a context where large numbers of people are interested.

## STRIKE

*Don't like*

The student strike is an important political statement by the student movement to the rest of the country. It is possible to expand the politics of Columbia to denounce the universities and schools as an intrinsic part of the capitalist system, and to link that assault to the broader issues of the electoral apparatus and the political parties of racism and imperialism.

- 1) The Strike and militant regional demonstrations locate ongoing local organizing efforts in the context of national and international issues. The connections between local and national work is natural during the weeks when the American public is involved in a national spectacle and is encouraged to "vote" where they live and study and work - all over the country. Calling a national strike will create a consciousness of a national week of confrontations - a snow-balling effect, more organically powerful than that which occurred last year during Stop the Draft Week, Wisconsin, Brooklyn and the Pentagon. In addition to the value of agitation and education around the elections, the Strike will actually further local activities, not compete with them.
- 2) A Strike, as an effective symbolic or agitational action, has real political effects on the broader struggle. This political impact makes it a real, as well as symbolic, strike - an action which embodies our response and alternative to elections. The Strike is a precedent for high school students; a defiance, an organizing vehicle, a rejection of pacifying institutions.
- 3) The Strike is a rallying point for SDS politics: a forum for our position on the Vietnam war and other "vietnams", the draft, the exploitation of the black population, the role of the university and schools, the working class, drop-outs, capitalism - the occasion to affirm the politics and process of building a movement: action, study, power.

## DEMONSTRATIONS

SDS can establish a national consciousness that an opposition to the government exists all over the country and that it is a fighting opposition, not a begging or parliamentary one. It is clear that large demonstrations and confrontations are helpful to developing awareness, involvement and organizing. We believe that now is a time when the national political situation calls for our vocal, demonstrative presence more than ever. SDS now has a national identity and the election period

is the opportunity to both inject the ideas of SDS into the political arena and to make that national image a local reality by simultaneously involving thousands in militant regional actions all over the country.

Because political conditions are very open right now, and may be increasingly repressive in the coming period, we should think in terms of what programs now will develop the seeds of revolution most broadly. "Developing the seeds of revolution" goes beyond having large numbers of people understand or agree with our ideas. What's also needed is to turn masses of people on to looking at their own role as active agents of change. What does this is for people to decide for radicalism not in the abstract, but concretely through their own decisions to act in specific cases. Involving large numbers of people directly in decisive actions will make the difference between a movement which depends overly on its "leaders", and can be repressed easily, and one with resilience and depth which continues to multiply and grow under adverse conditions. The goal of regional mobilizations is. . . . . to build revolution by insuring the self-activity, involvement and experience of masses of people.

1) Regional mobilizations, fed by the Strike, have the potential to involve tens of thousands more people than a single national demo, and the potential to be useful to many more chapters. They enable chapters to develop publicity, marshal its forces, reach into and off campus, transport people to a regional demonstration, and participate in a collective political experience.

Regional demonstrations offer the most realistic possibility of involving high school students and non-students (working people, drop-outs) in SDS initiated demonstrations against the parties and candidates of imperialism and racism. Similarly, regional demonstrations free us from total reliance on the mass media for interpretation of our actions. An essential part of SDS election action program is carrying our position to working people, communities, factories - through leaflets, rallies, debates with Wallace supporters, use of the movement media.

2) Regional demonstrations permit the common national political positions to be tied to issues peculiar to different areas and to stimulate ongoing work. GI Week, for example, should be an educational and agitation issue -- a concrete way to reach working class men through a campaign around the military. But only in certain areas (near military bases, NYC, Bay area) can support for GIs and the demand for the immediate return of all US troops be the focus for demonstrations.

3) Regional mobilizations permit the greatest tactical flexibility. No demonstrations today can avoid the possibility of being attacked by cops unless they accept the cops own parade route or picnic ground. If and when we are attacked for exposing the politics of imperialism and racism, we must best be able to defend ourselves. If they call out the national guard to suppress us, it will be in ten or twenty cities, not just one.

## IMPLEMENTATION

High school students who are attacking their schools as jails will refuse to stay locked up when their schools are used as the location for the sham election ritual.

Communication and coordinated work among black, brown and white high school students.

Aggressive use of a variety of media and propaganda forms: wall newspapers, guerilla theatre, teach-ins, canvassing and leaflets, films, rallies at noon which create an agitational center on campuses and communities.

Canvassing of dorms and communities talking about Wallace, the Peggy Terry/Cleaver ticket, the role of political parties based on exploitation.

Opening movement centers in cities which will organize regional mobilizations to be centers for election action committees, education, liberated space.

Intensification of assaults on recruiting, rote, mid-education, university research and university profits.

Mass distribution of Vietnam GI and the Bond, literature on the political parties, the candidates, interpreting popular support for Wallace.

Contact and work with other groups: welfare rights organizations, insurgent labor groups, community control organizations, high schools, drop-outs.

A special election issue of NEN with samples of literature and propaganda from different geographic parts of the country plus articles directed to different sectors of the population.

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FALL '68?

### HIGH SCHOOL RESOLUTION

One of the most important divisions of the American Educational industry is the high school. This public institution affects the lives of 30 million Americans. The atmosphere of the high school in America is repressive, non-productive and in humane. Instead of education of young people, the high school attempts to press upon them bankrupt values of a decaying society.

The blatant attempts of American schools to "channel" and "accelerate" certain students into jobs which have no meaning make obvious the failure of capitalist education. Young men and women are fed direct lies to cover the bloody colonialist and expansionist history of the United States. They are not taught to think for themselves, but are trained to accept a system which channels their minds and bodies for private profit. High school police training and ROTC are meant to recruit future imperialist soldiers and to prepare for aggressive wars.

In short, high schools in America act to oppress creative desires in a group who are in some of their most creative years. Everything from sexual repression to grades is aimed at preparing the student for life in a sick society. We therefore feel that high schools and the society that spawns them need drastic change. Knowing that the school cannot change to the extent we want unless we change the system which uses it, we will organize in the high school to move students to overthrow that system by confronting the issues that directly affect them.

We feel it vital that the National Council of SDS supplement the Bloomington and Lexington resolutions by supporting the following program.

1) That the National office and the National Interim Committee begin a specific program aimed at organizing high school SDS. This would mean that the National office actively solicit high school literature and make buttons specifically directed toward the high school struggle.

2) That the existing college and non-student chapters of SDS make high school organizing a specific part of their program. That they begin high school movements where there are none and aid those movements already in existence. The college chapters should help in specific ways such as offering courses in the history of Vietnam and the struggles of oppressed peoples. b) teach anti-draft and counseling skills, c) hold conferences for and by high school students, with work shops on organizing and issues, d) organize underground papers (this means helping high school movements with their papers, e) show solidarity with the high school struggles.

3) That the Los Angeles Free Student-- a paper put out by High School SDS in LA, xxx which is distributed nationally, xxx be circulated much more and officially represent SDS to high school students as a high school New Left Notes.

*High School SDS L.A.*

SFSC FALL '68?  
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## FIGHT RACISM

BUILD A WORKER - STUDENT ALLIANCE

SMASH THE STATE

The material base of racism is capitalism's driving need to maximize profits. It is estimated that an extra \$22 billion a year is made off of the wage differential between Black and white workers. (The average Black worker makes \$1,000 less per year than white workers.) Added to this are the high rents and high food prices for Third World people in the ghettos. Taken together, these factors show that the ruling class has a great stake in perpetuating racism in this society. The super-exploitation of one section of the working class also serves to keep the working class divided and fighting each other instead of uniting to fight the real class enemy.

The ruling class also has created a whole series of racist myths, prejudices and stereotypes in order to justify and continue the super-exploitation of Third World people at home and abroad. These lies tell us that "there is something inherently inferior in Third World people that leads to their being slaves." In reality, Black and Third World working people are slaves as are all working people, because this system must exploit people for profit. Many people confuse the base of racism with this superstructure of racist ideas and come to the conclusion that racism is a psychological problem. While it is certainly true that we must wage sharp individual and collective struggles against the lies all of us have learned about Third World people, we must be very clear in pointing out the class base of racism and that it is the ruling class and its system that must be defeated in order to defeat the base of racism.

Over the last few years SDS has led struggles to expose the imperialist and class nature of the university and the need to build a Worker-Student alliance. We have to, at this point, begin to consciously point out and struggle against one of the main aspects of Bourgeois education, one of its most sacred tenets--the promotion of racism. For instance, it is good business for Dudley Swim, an illustrious member of the California Board of Trustees of the State College System and member of the Board of Directors of Del Monte Corp. (which makes huge profits by paying Mexican farmworkers \$1.25 per hour) to fight to keep higher education lily white--otherwise he and his cronies would be hard put to find labors to work in their fields for \$1.25 per hour.

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

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

### RACISM IN THE MOVEMENT

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

1) Racism and the building of the worker-student alliance. 98% of the Black people in this country are part of the working-class--the most exploited section of the working class. Black workers, who make

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

2) The attitude that "racism is amorphous-white students can't relate to it" First of all this argument denies the super-exploitation and oppression of Third World people and Third World students in particular. Secondly, it shows no understanding of the basic way in which racism is used by the ruling-class. These forces who objected to organizing white students around fighting racism are the same forces who are so quick to attack the white working class for not supporting the struggles of Black workers. Racism is a primary weapon used by the ruling-class to divide the people so that they are less able to fight the ruling class. Students relate to this in a very important way. Most students eventually become part of the working class as teachers and social workers whose primary job is to develop and perpetuate racist and anti-working class ideology. Not struggling around the question of racism means perpetuating racism.

There was very sharp struggle around this question during the first weeks of the strike at S.F. State. People who put forth the position that white students can't relate to racism (leaders of the Experimental College and the anti-working class forces within SDS) argued that we should add "white" demands to the 15 TWLF demands. These demands were to have been very narrow student power type demands (i.e. campus autonomy, free speech, student control of courses, etc.) which didn't point out or challenge the class nature of the university.

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

4) Special Admissions Demands The position that the demand for special admissions of Third World and working-class youth is not worth fighting around as "they" will just become corrupted. This chauvinism must be crushed. It stems from the attitude that we as elite (white) intellectuals are capable of withstanding the corruption of bourgeois education while "they" (non-white youth) are not. Of course the ruling class will try to promote their ideology in any special admissions program, however, not to join in a struggle around the demand for special admissions leads to nothing but the preservation of the university as a lily-white institution.

5) The role of violence One of the main tactics of the administration at State was to have their liberal front men who expressed their undying support for the demands of Black and Third World students but at the same time issue pious statements condemning the "violence." At State during one afternoon of clearing scabs out of some classrooms a typewriter was thrown through a window. The picture of the broken window and the typewriter resting in the bushes was reprinted in at least twenty West Coast newspapers as an example of the violence of "roving bands of non-white militants." This attack on Third World students must be met head on by exposing the class nature of violence. The necessity of working people and particularly Black people to use violence is a result of the violent and systematic oppression which the ruling class perpetuates every day. Secondly, revolutionary violence against the class enemy and its lackeys (college administrators) is the only way that class in the long run is going to be smashed or is going to give in. The role of white

Black and Third World students are willing to engage the administration but to build support for it, draw courage from it and participate in it.

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

6) Anti-communism---the twin brother of racism At State red-baiting attacks have been directed against Third World students and other radical groups, particularly SDS and PLP. The newspapers kept referring to TWLF as, "a far left militant organization." At least two local liberal columnists ran long articles announcing that Third World students were known to carry the red book around with them at all times. At one point Hayakawa offered to discuss the demands with Third World Students if they would repudiate the support of SDS and other radical organizations. Third World students told Hayakawa to shove his offer up his ass. The red-baiting of the strike was used in the same way as racism in that it was directed at dividing the people so that they would be less able to fight the administration. Essentially the outlook the ruling class pushes is that the communists are using the "not unfounded grievances of the people (Vietnamese or Third World people in the U.S.) while "we" (the white ruling class) know what is really best for the people--the imperialist system.

7) The promotion of a bourgeois nationalist outlook as opposed to a proletarian internationalist outlook Hayakawa's appointment as president was a particularly crass example of the ruling class trying to use nationalism. Hayakawa's statement that he was the real representative of the Third World community, rather than the Third World students, let the cat out of the bag. It was quickly pointed out that he only spoke for one segment of the Third World community--that portion which sided with the ruling class. As support grew for the strike on campus among working people in the ghetto one Third World political hack after another began to appear on campus. This included advocate of redevelopment in the ghetto, supervisor Terry Francois, who one week after declaring his support of the demands of the Third World students, voted in favor of a special budget request by the police department to finance their S.F. State operation. The newspapers were quick to promote these forces as leaders of the struggle, reasoning that if there was to be a School of Ethnic Studies it would be better to have it under the control of "responsible" (pro-ruling class) members of the Third World community. At present the Ford and Carnegie as well as other capitalist foundations are begging non-white students to take their money and finance special admissions and Ethnic Studies programs. The intent is clear--that they are quite willing to give up a little bit of the racist form if they can be assured of continued promotion of the same old racist content.



Previously we have stressed the imperialist and class nature of the university. We must now begin consciously to win white students to an awareness of the racist basis of the university in particular and the society in general, as another key aspect of U.S. imperialism. We also must be clear that racism will only be destroyed when the whole system is smashed.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

1) SDS chapters should fight for demands which expose and attack the class nature of education. a. Demands for education reform. For example, courses should be taught on working class history, the real story of US Imperialism. These should also include demands for courses on the history of the non-white section of the working class in particular--the super-exploitation of non-white workers in erecting the bloody edifice of US Imperialism. b. Demands around the special admissions of Black and Third World students. These should be supported specifically in exposing not only the racist nature of the university but the class base of racism as well, from the content of the courses to the admission of working class youth.

2) One of the main functions of universities is providing the staffs and departments for various urban removal projects (i.e. Columbia and Chicago). We must be in the forefront in winning students to the fight against these removal schemes and to allying with the working class Third World communities in this fight.

3) Support of ghetto rebellions. This means winning students to seeing the need to support the sharp struggles of Black and other non-white workers, as opposed to the band-aid running and helpful tactical hints to the Black masses put forward in New Left publications. We must build this support around seeing the right to use "whatever means necessary" to fight the daily violent oppression used by the ruling class against the people. It is good to build for substantial mass actions at City Hall, national guard armories, etc. in the event of ghetto rebellions. Mass action, as opposed to individual terrorism is important. We are trying to build support among the people for these rebellions, pointing out that we will eventually take part in such rebellions too.

4) Must take the initiative in educating people on the question of racism. It is the responsibility of white radicals, not black students, to fight racist attitudes among white students. One thing we used successfully during the strike was classroom education--going into classes and asking to speak on questions of racism in the university and other questions relating to the strike. We should also be clear that racism is a principled question and can no longer be tolerated in the movement.

5) The national office should open NLN to more articles relating to racism and the worker-student alliance, particularly those written by chapter people involved in such struggles rather than the "new left" theoreticians. Articles have been submitted by chapter members at SFSC around these questions, (especially during the struggle last spring over Third World admissions) which have never been printed by NLN.

6) We should begin sharp internal struggle within SDS around the question of racism. Specifically this should deal with racism as part of the class question, part of developing a pro-working class outlook. We should also deal with SDS' relationship with Third World student groups on campus.

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

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FALL 68

A PROPOSAL FOR AN ELECTION DAY SDS MARCH ON THE WHITE HOUSE

On November 5th tens of millions of Americans will be forced into making a non-existent choice between various more or less "liberal" or "conservative" racist imperialists. Things are getting worse, economically, intellectually, culturally. Taxes rise, more die in Vietnam, domestic police terror grows, suppression of the Black and student movement increases. The Democratic and Republican Party can offer no change. They're bankrupt because they are the imperialist parties. Some turn to Wallace's demagogic "simple" answers, which really equal only the same--worse and worse conditions for the very people he appeals to.

But hundreds of thousands of students and millions of Americans refuse to choose between the three. They're looking for answers outside of the "system"--the imperialist system. Many are looking to us. Across the country first SDS meetings have seen 2, 3 and 4 times as many people as ever attended before. Many have been brought to a large extent seeing the farce of the '68 elections. All want to learn...and act. They must be brought into the on-going SDS projects. But that isn't enough.

To all of these people, as well as millions mistakenly choosing one of the imperialists to vote for (we can't write these people off!), we must offer a clear, vocal political vehicle. Between now and the elections we should carry out an intensive agit campaign on-campus and reaching out to workers. This needs a national focal point. A massive, militant national demonstration of opposition to the hoax of the elections, to imperialist wars, to racism. A clear loud NO! to be heard throughout the country and around the world. In the history of the U. S. there has not been such a vocal attack upon the farce of the presidential elections.

We propose that SDS organize a national march on the White House, Election Day, November 5.

We propose three main ideological themes:

- The Elections are a Hoax!
- U. S. Get Out of Vietnam Now! No Negotiations!
- No Imperialist Law or Racist Order!

It is vital that around the organizing for the march SDS use these three themes for massive radical education through literature, forums, one-to-one talks, etc. The elections and the issues will be on everyone's lips during the next month. The Vietnam war isn't over. It is growing. We shouldn't forget it. It should be a major them. We should use this opportunity for radical education and political organizing for the march. Campus issues from recruiters, ROTC and IDA to university expansion and racist admissions policy can be built around and related to this organizing. This will be a tremendous boost to base-building. Our on-going campaigns should grow.

**BUILD SDS**

The first SDS march on Washington had a tremendous effect of building SDS and advancing the student movement. This was done especially through the intense work done on campus before and after the march. New chapters were formed. Old chapters grew. Thousands joined SDS.

Organizing for this march should have the same effect...except more intensive. The objective situation is sharper, the demonstration should be also. This march would offer every chapter a real opportunity to organize 500...1,000...2,000 students. It would be a real boost. It would activate, in the organizing for and actual going to the White House, the many new people at that first meeting. Instead of dropping out or joining a phony McCarthyite "new" party these people should be brought into SDS and radical activity.

It is important that the march be led by SDS. At the time of the first march a liberal coalition wanted to take control of it. This move was narrowly defeated within SDS. Such a coalition would have meant a real defeat for the radical movement.

It is important that this march not be in coalition with the Mobilization, which has

watered down the politics and/or led people into police traps every time they have led an action: from N. Y. 's Stop the Draft Week to Chicago (where the people fought valiantly inspite of the Mobilization mis-leadership).

### WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE

During the weeks proceeding the march, SDS, SLAP committees, should carry out intensive leafletting and talking with workers at factory gates, subway entrances, etc. GI's can be reached near and on bases, at transportation points, etc. We should explain our analysis of the elections, imperialism, racism, how they screw both students and workers, and why we're going to the White House. We should follow up these contacts after the elections.

### WEST COAST

On the Coast demonstrations should be held to coincide and tie-up with the White House Action.

### IN WASHINGTON

We should begin with a rally, putting forth the three themes, leading to a march on the White House and a demonstration in front of it. If violence occurs, it will be initiated by the government. Chicago has taught us that that is likely. A lot of tactical considerations must be discussed at length. We don't want any traps. We can expect a lot of force to meet us, very possibly the Guard and Federal troops. SDS should organize to keep tactical control of the situation. We don't want crazies, provocateurs, "terrorists", or plainclothes cops to lead the demonstration. These are problems that now come up at any large demonstration. The N.C. and the SDS March Organizing Committee will have to discuss these at length. Plans will have to relate also to changing events. We can't go into all of these in this proposal.

The basis of the proposal is: a national March; the White House (not the Pentagon), which is the center of the ruling class government, as the target; the three political themes; and the organizing efforts before and after the March to reach students and workers.

### IMPLEMENTATION:

1. A national call be put out by SDS immediately.
2. An SDS March Organizing Committee be elected at this N.C. to work full-time on the march for the next month, set up a Washington HDQ, print literature and signs with the three themes, etc. Ample funds should be mandated from the national office for them to operate on.
3. Every chapter begin organizing immediately for march and elections.
4. Regional conferences be called next week for regional planning, transportation, organizing new schools, etc.