

San Francisco State College BSU/TWLF Student Strike 1968-1969

Student Political Polemics

The various left-leaning, on-campus political groups mostly supported the TWLF-led strike. But there were rivalries, disagreements, and contending points of view. These groups included Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and contending factions within SDS — Progressive Labor (PL) and Joe Hill/Independents. Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), International Socialists (IS), and others.

JAN? PL

Another example of YSA's position against fighting racism goes back to Dec 6, 1967 on our own campus. At that time Black students on campus, with about 75 white supporters took militant action, including a sit-in, against the racist administration. In addition, members of the Black community came on campus, using violence in their attack on the racist college.

YSA consistently was against any militant action, argued against the sit-in and in general argued against making a principled attack on racism, no matter how many people we had. In addition, they denounced and attempted to disassociate white students (this failed) from the violence of the Black community people. This was a racist attack on the right of TW people to use violence to liberate themselves. This position was not an error they have since corrected (as was true of many white students, who have since taken strong anti-racist positions), but is at the root of their political outlook, which they constantly put forward and organize around. If we are to continue to build the strike and involve masses of students around fighting racism we must sharply attack and defeat these ideas.

We are proposing to the body of the Student Strike Support Committee that whereas the SSOC

1) Has exhibited overtly its racist policies by trying to usurp the leadership of the week of Jan-13, which is Third World Community Week,

2) Has put forward an independent action which is contrary to what the Support Committee stands for and again shows the racism of the SSOC by in effect saying to Third World students "we can lead your struggle without you",

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The Strike Support Committee denounce the formation and actions of the SSOC and disassociate itself from the SSOC in all forms.

Further, we should begin to strengthen our other campus committees, so that we can take the real issues of the strike to other campuses, and defeat the racist and misleading ideas the SSOC is advancing.

Gordon deMarco
Terry Barrett
Jan Solganick
Howie Forman

Build the Strike - Defeat Racism & Liberalism ^{1/3} PL

INTERNAL STRUGGLES NOT SECTARIAN FACTION FIGHTS

As the strike movement at State has grown, we have seen more and more the positive role of internal struggle in clarifying issues and putting forth a political position that will build and win the strike. In the strike support committee as well as in society as a whole, there are ideas which will build an anti-imperialist, anti-racist movement and there are ideas which hinder the building of such a movement and, in fact, ULTIMATELY strengthen the system. If we are to continue to build support for the strike we must aggressively attack racist, liberal, and misleading political ideas within the movement.

The strike has been a success because we have consistently centered our struggle around identifying and fighting institutional racism and racist attitudes in white students and in the Student Strike Support Committee. Also the predominate attitude of the strike support committee has been trying to understand and fight against the class nature of the university. A third political attitude that has prevailed in the strike support has been the understanding by many students of the necessity of making political ties with the working class communities.

When the strike began some students felt the strike should be waged around a fight for Title V and campus autonomy. The fight against racism, they said, would not be a popular issue with students and faculty who do not recognize their racist attitudes. Through the internal struggle, the Strike Support Committee determined that it was crucial to support the BSU and TWLF 15 demands and focus our fight in an attack on racism.

The faculty supported the TW strike in terms of misleading issues: due process, educational reform, academic freedom and free speech. We struggled to show that due process is but a means of continuing racist firings and other racist policies under the guise of "justice will be secured under our democratic processes". The "democratic processes" is a tool of the people who deny justice. Educational reform, academic freedom and free speech are paper issues when they do not attack the basic nature of a system that allows those freedoms only until its interests are challenged.

RACISM, MISLEADERSHIP, AND THE STATEWIDE STRIKE SUPPORT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

On Monday, Dec. 30, the YSA called a press conference in the name of the newly formed Statewide Strike Support Organizing Committee. We must oppose and defeat the ideas being advanced by the organization as racist and putting forth strategy that will lead to defeat.

In the name of the strike, the YSA spokesmen duced the question of violence shifting the responsibility for the violence to the cops. The Strike Support Committee has fought hard to win people to seeing the right and necessity of oppressed peoples to use any means necessary, including violence, to achieve their liberation.

In the press conference, they also strongly emphasized "the right of self-determination of minority people and students for their educational destiny". (Press release, YSA controlled SSSOC, Dec. 30, 1968). Within the rhetoric of self-determination, they perpetuate student elitism by pre-empting the right of the whole Third World Community to determine the nature of education. Secondly, calling only for "educational destiny" obscures the right of the people to control all aspects of their lives. This is in direct contradiction to the politics of the Strike Support Committee. We have emphasized that this is not a fight for student self-determination, but rather a fight to make sure that working people control and are served by this institution. It is the building of an alliance with the Third World and white working communities that has enabled to strike to be successful. Thirdly, they renamed the long-planned Third World Community Week called by BSU-TWLF, the "National Week of Solidarity". We see this as an attempt to usurp a segment of the strike from the Third World Students. This act must be called by its name and

that is racist. It is racist in that the SSOC is putting forward an independent action which in essence denies the role of the vanguard force, the TW students, and is telling them "we can win your struggle on our own". The act is also racist in that their literature never mentions that the primary focus of the week of Jan. 6-13 is Third World Community Week called by TW students.

THE SSOC AND THE POLITICS OF THE YSA

As an organization the YSA has consistently taken a position that is racist or has pandered to racism. The line put forth by the strike Support Committee is that racism is the central issue and not to wage a vigorous fight against it is to capitulate to it. On the other hand SSOC is attempting to build a mass movement which will "mobilize" a huge number of people under any vaguely related political banner. This massing of people under non-specific political positions provides a forum for bad political ideas that can defeat a movement (i.e., Hugh Hester, Retired General was the main speaker at a YSA led "anti-war" mobilization rally in Oct. In his speech he endorsed Richard Nixon as a "peace candidate").

The SSOC is attempting to recruit masses of students under the banner of educational reform, against police repression, educational self-determination, etc. This whole approach ignores, in fact, denies the central issue of the strike -- racism. Lest there be confusion as to our position, let us clarify. We know that if we, as members of the Strike Support Committee, go to other campuses to get students to come to state in support of the strike, that many will come under banners much different from the politics we put forth. That is okay, we welcome them and because they differ with us politically is no reason to reject their support, but reason to try to win them to our position. On the other hand, SSOC goes to campus to recruit people on whatever issues are popular in order to mobilize the greatest number of people is dishonest to those people they recruit, is racist in that it doesn't push the central issue because it may be unpopular, and is opportunist in the fact that every principle has been compromised in order to involve a large number of people under the leadership of their organization.

To enlarge on the last point concerning the issues of the SSOC is raising we offer this quote from their leaflet of Dec. 31: "If we are to develop free institutions of higher education, we cannot allow the flagrant use of police repression in the style of Latin American dictatorships to continue. It is in the interest of the entire community to show that we will not tolerate this. An attack against the striking students is an attack on the entire movement for a meaningful educational reform."

We feel that educational reform should be a part and a means in changing the society but when educational & reform is put in the context of an end in itself in order to build a "broad base of support" it misleads the struggle of students against racism and against the state. This type of thinking works out of a wrong analysis of the state and if this liberal reform were to be pursued the struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people would be turned into defeat.

The political positions taken by the YSA in the past have been dangerous and have led to the defeat of two campus struggles in the past year. These ideas they put forward must be made known to the people, argued against and defeated politically.

It must be made clear that the YSA has consistently taken this so-slow on racism approach, not only at SF State but in other struggles as well. An example is the Berkeley Cleaver course issue. This began as a fight against the racism of the university. YSA opposed this approach, jumped in an organized around the liberal "easier" notion of academic freedom. This action had three main effects: 1) It undermined the Afro-American Union's fight against racism; 2) No-one got educated on the question of racism. When the issue is racism, to not struggle around it and in fact to tack on another issue instead is to take a position against Third World Liberation and is racist; 3) Most damaging and every important in relation to this strike was that this approach did not build a politically strong (and educated) base for winning the Cleaver case. YSA was severely attacked by the Berkeley AAU for their racist, opportunistic politics.

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EARLY JAN

SDS INDEPENDENT CAUCUS POSITION PAPER

We, the Independent Caucus of the Students for a Democratic Society at San Francisco State College believe that it is imperative to wage a vigorous and decisive struggle against racism, imperialism and capitalist exploitation. We unequivocally support the BSU - TWLF leadership in the San Francisco State strike. We, in the New Left, believe radical action in the past has been weakened by ultra-sectarian hassling and factional in-fighting, rather than organizing to smash the class enemy. We of the New Left in general, and SDS in particular, do not, however, deny the necessity of sharp debate to provide the theoretical basis for political action. Political or ideological debate is differentiated from factionalism in that the characteristics of factionalism are:

1. The over-simplification of events and political ideas for the purposes of labeling and thus discrediting them.
2. Rigid dogmatism, i.e., a vulgar, narrow-minded, simplistic, conceptual view of reality.
3. The wide-spread use of personal attack and invective under the charade that they are political in nature.
4. Anti-democratic methods of calling pamphlet meetings and press conferences.

This type of factionalism has had a history of distorting facts and events for sectarian purposes at the expense of the movement. We believe that mass action dictates the need for uniting with and struggling against and not struggling with and uniting against. We do not want to see a repetition of the Stalinist-Trotskyist battles that crippled the U.S. radical movement in the past and prevented masses of people from fighting the true enemy -- the ruling class.

During the Christmas hiatus several serious developments have manifested themselves in the Strike Support Committee. The coalition of forces that are supporting the TWLF and BSU in their fifteen just demands has been suffering from the effects of internecine, sectarian warfare. We have seen ideological debate sink to the depths of vicious personal attacks at the expense of rational debate that is necessary to solidify support for victory. Our position is one of complete support for the Third World Liberation Front and the Black Students Union in their courageous fight against the racist and class nature of San Francisco State College.

We in SDS see the necessity for making the university serve the needs of the people of the community -- the workers of this country who produce the wealth of this nation and yet are systematically denied the full fruits of their labor. This wealth, in turn, is used to exploit, oppress and slaughter the working class of this country every time they attempt to determine their fate, e.g., Watts, Detroit, Newark. Racism is the chief tool of the ruling class to divide black, brown, yellow and white working people from struggling against the class enemy. It is this reason why racism is the key issue in the strike. Racism is an integral part of capitalism and we realize that to smash the former you have to smash the latter.

We recognize that even within the vanguard force of this struggle -- the TWLF -- there may be political differences among the various members. But this has not stopped them from providing strong, effective and revolutionary leadership during the strike. Any Strike Support Committee that would not follow this example would be counter-revolutionary, i.e., weakening the revolutionary thrust of the struggle.

It is our aim to end the sectarianism that has weakened the Strike Committee and thus re-build it into a massive force that is fighting for the fifteen demands to end racism and to make the university serve the people and not the ruling class.

SPECIFIC CRITICISMS OF SECTARIANISM

The possibility of forming a broad based strike committee has been hindered by certain sectarian actions of a faction of the Strike Committee, namely the Progressive Labor Party caucus. The reason for these sectarian actions is that Progressive Labor (PL) believes that THEY ARE THE REVOLUTION, and therefore, it is necessary and totally justified to intimidate and isolate all other individuals and groups (e.g., all other left-wing groups are considered counter-revolutionary). For example, the pamphlet supposedly representing the entire strike committee, in fact, contains exclusively the politics of the PL caucus; including two leaflets issued by the Progressive Labor Party and a position paper by the PL faction of SDS, neither of which were issued by the strike committee. Excluded from the Strike Committee pamphlet was any mention of departmental organizing or agit-prop theatre, because PL did not want to give credit to other working groups in the Strike Committee. In fact, PL has used the name and prestige of the Strike Committee to further their own political ends. This unprincipled action was accomplished by completely by-passing any DEMOCRATIC APPROVAL OF THE PAMPHLET and instead the pamphlet was "approved" by certain members of the PL caucus.

This is not the only tactic PL has used to intimidate and isolate all other points of view. PL has even resorted to vicious character assaults on political rivals and has coupled these assaults with simplistic political distortions. For example, an individual in SDS was accused of leaving his fellow students to fight the cops. This same person has also been accused of advocating "non-violence" or "terrorism" when in fact these were simplistic distortions of his position. In the PL framework, certain individuals and groups must be labeled as the "class enemy", "counter-revolutionary", "racist" -- even if that means completely distorting the politics of that individual or group. Also, any individual or group that attempts to expose the faults of PL is immediately labeled as a "red-baiter", instead of dealing legitimately with the criticisms raised.

Another tactic that has been used by the PL caucus is intimidation of students who have legitimate questions about specific tactics of the strike. For example, an individual active in the Strike Committee proposed at a mass meeting that the Strike Support Committee should SUGGEST to the BSU-TWLF leadership that on a specific day a non-confrontation tactic (community organizing) should be used. She was attacked as a "racist", when, in fact, the next day the BSU-TWLF used community organizing rather than confrontation. This is not an isolated example of intimidation--hundreds of students with legitimate questions and fears have been intimidated into not returning to mass meetings.

The practical result of PL's extreme unwillingness to work with anyone who will not accept their single-minded phraseology, has been to turn the Strike Committee into a group that, instead of being the "voice of the strikers" has become only the voice of the PL caucus. The policies of the PL caucus have contributed to the failure of the Strike Committee to engage and coordinate the activities of ALL students who support the struggle around the fifteen demands of the BSU - TWLF.

We would like to make it clear that this is not meant as an attack on specific individuals within the PL caucus, many of whom have done excellent work throughout the course of the strike.

PL is not the only faction which has used unprincipled tactics in order to exert their political hegemony. The YSA (Young Socialists Alliance) showed by their attempt to use the Statewide Strike Support Committee to push the YSA line of "mass mobilizations" without clear politics, that they too will use political manipulation. In fact, the YSA deliberately excluded people with different politics from working on the now disbanded Statewide Committee. If YSA had been in a position of political leadership we probably would have had an equal amount of criticisms of them.

PROGRAM

② struggle gets shorter
meeting gets smaller
① SDS N.O. phyllet

The SDS Independent caucus believes that the S.F. State strike committee should adopt a five point program consisting of the following:

③ 1. Combating racism and the class nature of the university. We believe that the problem of racism at SF State College is inseparably bound to the class nature of the university, just as in the larger society the problem of racism is inseparably bound to the nature of capitalism. It is inadequate, in fact, impossible, to organize a fight against racism at State College without simultaneously dealing with the class nature of education under corporate capitalism. It is the duty of the strike support committee to take the lead among white students in combating racism. We recognize that Third World people are, by far, the most oppressed segment of society. It is our belief that white students will only be organized effectively to combat racism, however, when they have been given a clear understanding of what racism is, why it exists, how it is used by the rulers to divide and oppress people of all colors, and why it is in the white students own self-interest to fight racism. In order to do this we must go beyond the use of catch-words and rhetoric. First, we must educate students as to the nature of racism. Many students still think that racism consists solely of George Wallace wearing a white sheet while lynching a black civil rights worker. They have this concept because that is what the mass media tells them that racism is. We must fight this.

1. need to assert class nature

2. aspects

Secondly, we must show white students that fighting racism is in their self-interest. In order to do this we have to educate white students as to how the class nature of the university oppresses them. Many students have been brain-washed into believing that the system works for him instead of against him. Only after a white student realizes that he too is oppressed by the same enemy that oppresses people of the Third World will he understand that it is vital for him to fight racism. A person doesn't know he needs allies until he realizes he has to fight. Unless students clearly understand the relationship of racism to their own lives they will relate to the strike and general appeals to "fight racism" out of motivations stemming from chauvinism, liberal race guilt and paternalism.

2. Developing community support for the fight against racism and the class nature of the university. In order for the strike to win it is necessary that we develop the strongest possible support within the community at large, as well as the broadest possible support among the student body. In order to do this we must reach the community around the duality of the class nature of the university and racism. We must demonstrate to the community that the university is being used against them, that, in fact, the money that they pay for education is being used to keep them oppressed and exploited. We must show the community that black, brown and white strikers are trying to force the university to serve the working people who pay the taxes, and it is the political leaders of the state (acting as a tool of the corporate elite) who are trying to maintain the university as an institution paid for by the people but benefiting only the rulers. We must prove to the community that the fight against racism and the corporate control of the education system is in their interest.

④ 3. The need for departmental organizing. One of the major points of student oppression is the classroom. Here is where the liberal capitalist ideology is imparted. This ideology deceives Third World and white students about their true history (note that the racist history department also refuses to set up a course on labor history), teaching them bourgeois life styles, grading them one against the other, convincing them in a hundred subtle and not-so-subtle ways that they will graduate into fully-empowered, professional, decision-making, world-running Americans. In actual fact, most students will become workers themselves.

will provide groundwork for future struggle

Therefore, we believe that some strike energy should be funnelled into the departments where we should work at two levels: First, and most important, to convince white students to support the fifteen demands and to strike against racism. Secondly, to lay the groundwork for challenging the capitalist essence behind the facade of liberal education. Our energies, however, should not be spent in any attempt to win such reformist demands as student representation on ERT committees as ends in themselves, or any other "student power" demands. This type of demand does not challenge the class nature of the university.

Our department strategies should learn from the Third World demands for educational self-determination, and also from the insistence of the Third World that the purpose of that self-determination is to meet the needs of their people. We cannot, and do not want, to build socialism in one department of the college.

4. The need for direct action and confrontations. The use of tactics involving direct action, e.g., picketing, classroom education and confrontation is necessary to secure the fifteen demands of the BSU and TWLF.

a. We unequivocally recognize the leadership of the BSU and TWLF in the present struggle. We believe that all confrontations should flow from a mass participatory base of Third World and white students. We support mass confrontation as a means of winning the fifteen demands, ending racism and challenging the class nature of the university.

b. The only way our demands can be met is to stop the functioning of this institution which presently serves the interests of the ruling class and functions to oppress the masses of people in the community. As a tool of the capitalist ruling powers, the university serves as a factory to produce the technicians and apologists for a system which works in the interests of these powers. Direct action and confrontation in an effort to stop the functioning of the university is a direct threat to the use of the university as such a tool.

c. We are not as naive as to state that the closing of one college will in itself threaten the stability of the system. Even when we, win the demands the struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism must continue.

d. It is our position that in this struggle the real violence has been perpetrated against people of color by systematically denying them the right to determine their own educational destinies. We support the right of black, Third World and white students to use any means necessary to secure the demands and to end exploitation and oppression.

5. The need for building a mass base. In order to win the strike it is imperative that a mass base of support be built. Any individual or group who supports the fifteen Third World demands and the basic principles of self-determination for Third World people, anti-racism, and the challenge to the class nature of the university should be able to take part in the Student Strike Committee without fear of intimidation, exclusion or sectarian attacks.

However, there are many people who are supporting the strike on issues which compromise the Third World's fifteen demands and principles. Campus autonomy, free speech, police brutality, and academic freedom are all issues which can be won from the power structure of the state. But by meeting these issues the power structure still would not be answering the basic issues of the fifteen demands -- racism, self-determination for Third World people.

The Student Strike Committee should dedicate itself to organizing around the Third World position. In this way we feel a mass base could be built for a prolonged struggle against racism, for self-determination of the Third World people and to win the strike.

Signed: John Webb, Les Sogol, Candy Huerlin, Harlan Garbell, Charles Rasmussen, Dorothy Bricker, Renee Johnson, Alex Forman, Joy Magezis, Rachel March, Melody James, Andrea Snow, Joe Beresford, Bob Biderman, Robert Glick, Barry Biderman, Stephanie Mines, Bruce Hartford, Ken Milz.



UNITY IN MASS ACTION



WAKE!
EARLY
JAN

The seven week struggle at S. F. State College has opened a new chapter not only in the battle against the reactionary university and college system, but against the racist power structure at the root of the system. By demanding control over institutions which affect their lives, BSU and TWLF students have served notice to the "man" that "either the college function in the interests of the people or not function at all."

Further, the BSU and Third World have reached out into their own communities and engaged broad layers of Third World people in the strike demonstrating to both the linguist puppet and his masters that there is Third World unity in the common struggle. White students, organized under the direction and leadership of the BSU and TWLF, and in total support of their demands, have begun to reach into their communities, mobilizing thousands of students and workers in solidarity with the strike and in support of the demands. These successful efforts are unprecedented. Support continues to grow, forging the strongest weapon for victory.

The recent controversy in the Strike Committee has, however, raised serious questions concerning the proper strategy in support of the strike and its demands. Accusations hurled at the Statewide Strike Support Organizing Committee -- which was seriously and actively engaged in the building of the strike -- as well as those aimed at the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) -- whose members have not only been active in every aspect of the struggle, but some of whom have been arrested in the course of that struggle -- indicates that certain tendencies within the committee are less concerned with building the broadest support for the TWLF demands than with factional in-fighting, even when this narrows support for the strike.

It is unfortunate when there is such a need for unity that we are forced to reply to divisive and slanderous attacks. However, rather than replying in kind, we wish only to set the record straight on where the YSA stands.

1. We unequivocally support the 15 demands of the BSU and TWLF
2. We are in full agreement that the direction and strike tactics remain in the hands of the BSU-TWLF
3. We point out that the responsibility for violence rests solely on the state apparatus and its police agents
4. We believe that the best strategy for winning is to build the broadest mass support in the community and among students on other campuses, based on the demands

RACISM, VIOLENCE AND THE 15 DEMANDS

Racism as exemplified in the policies and structure of the university and college system is not just a product of the consciousness of individual men or groups of individuals. Rather, individual or institutional racism flows from a system, capitalism, which profits and perpetuates it. To expose the racist nature of the university, we must explain and explore the principle which can not only smash racism but in the long run, through revolutionary struggle, the system itself. That principle is the revolutionary right of all oppressed peoples to self-determination in all aspects of their lives, from education to the workplace.

The right of oppressed people to self-determination is a central part of the world wide conflict with imperialism. That principle is as important at S. F. S. C. as it is to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Nowhere is this stated as clearly than in "A Call to All Third World People," in the BSU newspaper, BLACK FIRE:

The Third World student strike at SFSC is based upon the principle of Third World people controlling their education and its direction -- self-determination in Third World people's educational destinies. The basis of the principle is need -- Third World people need to determine for ourselves every aspect of our lives. Let us be clear on the basic necessity of self-determination in our lives.

(Volume II, No. 4)

Flowing from that principle, Third World people have the right to determine their own demands, their own strategies and their own tactics. The function of the Strike Committee is to build support for the Third World demands.

The YSA has been accused of "ducking" the question of violence by placing the responsibility for violence on the police and the state apparatus they serve. We ask this: where else should it be placed? The state is the primary initiator of violence

whenever and wherever it denies to the people the right to determine their own lives, whenever and wherever it practices racism, maintains poverty and exploitation. The right of oppressed peoples to determine their destiny goes hand in hand with their right to defend themselves by whatever means necessary against a system which oppresses and exploits them.

If any equate this right of defense with the violence of the state, let them say so. For by doing so they are equating the exploited with the exploiter, confusing the revolutionary struggle for self-determination with world wide imperialism.

THE CASE FOR MASS MOBILIZATION

What has prevented the administration from crushing the strike at State? Cops have been mobilized from 12 municipalities, yet the strike grows. Our power to continue is the result of our ability to reach out into the community and to the other campuses. Despite whatever political differences exist among Ron Dellums, Carleton Goodlett and the BSU, the BSU saw that as long as these men speak out in support of the 15 demands, their participation in the strike is welcome. White students must likewise mobilize broad support. The YSA welcomes the AFT strike, knowing that their entrance will escalate the level of the strike. Despite our political differences with others, we pledge ourselves to work with all groups who support the Third World demands.

The YSA believes that a mass movement is the best protection against victimization. If there were only 50 strikers, the movement would have been crushed weeks ago. It is the massive character of the strike which has enabled us to continue, and to prevent demoralization within our own ranks.

The YSA participated in the Statewide Strike Support Organizing Committee (SSSOC) because we saw that the committee, based on support for the Third World demands, was capable of mobilizing thousands of high school and college students. In conjunction with Third World Community week, which is designed to mobilize the Third World community, SSSOC worked to build 1) solidarity rallies on campuses throughout the country and 2) the strike at S. F. State by urging California students to come to S. F. State:

This week of solidarity, Jan. 6-13, is based on support for the principle of self-determination for all oppressed national minorities. We support the 15 demands of the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front.
(SSOC Call)

Over 10,000 leaflets were distributed in the two weeks of SSSOC's existence. We believe that the work of SSSOC was a principled and necessary approach toward mass action and now should be continued within the Strike Committee.

PAPER ISSUES OR REVOLUTIONARY TIGERS?

With the state apparatus concentrated in the hands of the corporate elite, we must use whatever handle we can to overthrow and expose those who seek to rule us. Some students sneer at democratic freedoms, seeing that they are largely illusionary rights. Yet one cannot short-circuit history by demanding of people what they do not yet understand. Lenin, Malcolm X and Che have all utilized democratic freedoms as a means of readying their people for revolution. We, who regard ourselves as revolutionaries, see as healthy the tendency of people to assert their rights of freedom of speech, freedom to assemble, freedom to picket. But we realize that these freedoms are curtailed whenever those in power are in danger of losing that power. We use these guaranteed freedoms as another weapon by which we can expose the nature of the state.

DEBATE AND THE COMMON STRUGGLE

Most of the factional attacks on the YSA seem to come from those closest to the political position of the Progressive Labor Party.

It is not secret that there are serious differences between PLP and YSA on many fundamental questions, ranging from Ocean Hill-Brownsville to the Cuban Revolution. We will gladly debate these differences at the proper time and in the proper place. However, the Strike Committee in the middle of a common struggle is neither the time nor the place.

But on the question of mass support versus the philosophy expressed by one PLer, i.e., "all we need are 40 good rock throwers," we intend to discuss our views in a non-

factional way in the strike committee. And we will not be threatened or intimidated by smoke screen charges of racism.

In order to facilitate a broader, more unified support of the strike, we urge all who support the strike to become active participants in the Strike Committee.

Specifically, those in Interdepartmental Caucuses, the Programs, Teaching Assistants and other groups that have been formed during the strike.

We call for the implementation of the following principles:

1. Sectarian factionalism has no place in the support movement.
2. Attempts to intimidate strike supporters by accusations of "racism" can only narrow the support and weaken the strike, and have no place in the movement.
3. An atmosphere must be created where all who support the strike can freely participate and express their ideas.
4. Our structure should reflect the broadness of our movement.

Howard Cohen
Dianne Feeley
John Hansen
Paul McKnight
Helen Meyers

for the S. F. State College Young Socialist Alliance members.

ALIOTO: "Isolate the Maoists"!

Last Friday Mayor Joe (Rice King) Alioto made a big-deal speech about the SF State strike. Alioto's Big Deal was to offer all kinds of "recognition" "legitimacy" "approval" and "concessions" to striking students if only those students would agree to work within the system to play ball with Alioto, and above all to break with the "hard core Maoists". "Isolate the Maoists," cried the Rice King Mayor, who only a month ago was hollering that "only a small minority" was on strike at State.

Just who are these Maoists? And why is the ruling class so scared of them-- what do Maoists have which is so contagious?

The Maoists are the Progressive Labor Party and those forces in the Third World Liberation Front leading this strike who have looked to the example of the Chinese revolution and have consistently maintained a principled position of no sell-out and no compromise with the ruling class on the basic fifteen demands, on amnesty for strikers, and on the fight against racism.

And just what are the Maoists ideas which are so contagious and frightening so as to get Big Joe so flustered? First of all, we in PLP believe that only a revolution which smashes the present capitalist state apparatus and establishes complete and total rule by the working class (dictatorship of the proletariat) and its allies can finally end the racism injustice unemployment police brutality evictions rotten schools and the big business brainwashing which they call "education" at SF State College. The current struggle at State is moving more and more students in the direction of that revolution clearly understanding the statement often made that the 15 demands are minimal demands. Just look at some of the specific issues and it's clear why Alioto is so scared:

1. Racism - Racism is the main tool of the ruling class to maximize profits through the super-exploitation of Third World workers (the average wage of Black and Brown workers is 54% that of white workers) and to keep the working class divided. Without racism capitalism could not survive. \$22 billion dollars extra profit were made last year in the United States off the super exploitation of non-white peoples. When racism is defeated among students, intellectuals, and particularly working people we will then be able to unite the entire working class into an invincible army to take state power. Alioto and his class are frightened to death that the people will see the primacy of defeating racism, so they along with some right wing forces within the movement try to steer the struggle against racism and for the fifteen demands into one of local control.... "if we could have local control (local racism) everything would be okay." Alioto is up tight because the TWLF has refused to grab at his negotiations offer and are continuing to expose racism and thereby challenge the keystone of Alioto's system -- profit from racist super-exploitation.

2. Worker-Student Alliance - Alioto fears the Maoist position which advocates and has put into practice the need to unite with working people and win them not only to support our fight against racism but to fight against racism in the unions. Alioto and his cronies on the Central Labor Council are desperately trying to use the AFT strike to split support of working people from the struggle against racism and for the fifteen demands. The AFT must resist this racist ploy by Alioto and the union bureaucrats and take a position firmly support the fifteen demands of the TWLF. We firmly hold to the Maoist principle that students and workers must ally in order to build a movement capable of smashing capitalism. The increasing numbers of rank and file workers on the line indicates that this consciousness is increasing in the working class as well.

3. Violence - "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Alioto would like to believe he is some sort of Ghandi and with his ambitious eye on the governorship he piously attacks Ronnie Reagan (I don't need your bayonets my mace and clubs will do the job). With the help of the revisionist so-called "Communist" party, the Young Socialist Alliance and other fake radicals, as well as J. Racist Hoover who warned about the "violence prone Progressive Labor Party" Alioto is trying to fool people into believing that capitalism can be persuaded to give up its racism and super-exploitation and that the only people who have a right to violence are his cops and goons. We firmly take the position and support the position of the TWLF that people have the right to defend themselves from the ruling class and their pigs by whatever means necessary. We further support the right to revolutionary violence against the ruling class recognizing that they

must be destroyed before a working class state can be built.

4. On Settlement of the Strike - We firmly support the position that the 15 demands are non-negotiable. Further, the statement that these are minimal demands should be taken seriously. We see it as a basis for beginning of a sharper struggle to smash racism. There is no question that the struggle must go on to insure that the whole racist and bourgeois content of education in this country is totally exposed and destroyed. We are fully aware that because of the strength of the TWLF led struggle the ruling class will have to give in to most, and if we continue to struggle all of the demands. However we are just as sure that the ruling class will fight like hell to keep the same old racist, anti-working class content. The Administration, having been forced to grant Ethnic Studies departments will do its best to make them bourgeois Ethnic Departments as opposed to working class Ethnic Studies. The Administration will try to hire bourgeois nationalists who will push a reformist, Black Capitalist, anti-communist line. We must fight for courses which teach the real history of Third World working people, the oppressive conditions in the ghettos and factories and the need for us as students to ally with the working class against the ruling imperialist class.

5. Red-Baiting - Alioto and the rest of his class are frightened to death that more and more students are considering revolution as the only alternative to a system which is nothing by a thinly veiled dictatorship of the very rich, represented at SF State by the Board of Trustees which makes laws only to enforce the power of its army and police over the masses of people. Many who don't agree with PLP and others who take a revolutionary position on some issues non the less agree specifically around the need to hold firm on the strike, reject pacifism and stand up to police terror and resist racist and red-baiting ploys. We must also be careful of those within the movement who try to submerge their political differences with cried of manipulation and "foreign ideology". Some hold Mao in the hand and at the same time red-bait PL'ers for bringing "outside politics" into the organization. As long as students and supporters continue to hold firm around these specifics, Alioto's ranting will not help him a bit.

Revolutionary struggle and ideas cannot be quarantined. No amount of press conferences on the ruling class TV and radio, no amount of goon squads, Grand Juries, jails or bribes will isolate the growing revolutionary movement. We consider Alioto's attack on the Maoists as a compliment to our Party and the international revolutionary movement. Big Joe can sound off all he wants -- until it turns into the death rattle of the capitalist class -- there is no way Alioto or any of his friends can stop the growing consciousness of the need for revolution in this country.

Progressive Labor Party

Labor Donated

1. An end to campus racism

- P-S -- open admissions for all Third World people.
- C -- building the "critical university" in the classrooms to combat racist ideas in curriculum, teachers and students.

2. Struggle against campus complicity with the war machine

- M -- abolish AFROTC.
- M -- end all military and defense-related research.
- M -- no more recruiters for U.S. military and economic imperialism.

3. End the university's role as an extension of the corporate interests of the state of California

- P-C -- build radical consciousness among white students through implementation of area studies, such as: the labor movement, radical movements in the U.S., the struggles of poor white people in America.
- P-C -- develop programs to train organizers to fight the capitalistic system when they leave the university.

4. End campus fascism

- 5 -- out with Hayakawa and his lackeys.
- 3 -- no more police or agents of the state on campus.
- 5 -- end to suppression of all strike supporters.

5. The university must serve the needs of the people

- P -- Third World students must determine for themselves the courses and programs to meet their needs, and the needs of their communities.
- P-C -- the university must serve the needs of working class and poor white people.

6. Power to the people

this platform is endorsed by
Richard Bray
Martha Embry
Teri Joslin
Sharon Miranda

[April 25, 1969]

NOTICE: MEETING TO DISCUSS THE ROC PAMPHLET ON STATE STRIKE, DISCUSSION OF COORDINATED DISTRIBUTION WITH NEWSREEL, MOVEMENT, JOE HILL CAUCUS SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1969, 10:30 a.m.

Over the last year, and especially since the beginning of the strike at San Francisco State College, the movement has grown significantly both ideologically and in the development of new areas of work. Since our success depends on the accuracy of our analysis and on the correctness of our activity, those of us who have been involved in that development must continually evaluate and re-evaluate the degree to which our ideas have been authenticated in mass work.

The strike at San Francisco State ("Tama Strike") has had and will continue to have a direct influence on insurgent action in the Bay Area. This influence should be credited both to the force of the example given, and to the work of State strikers in extending the lessons of the strike to new constituencies. This can be seen in the Black community (in the development and strengthening of high school BSUs, most importantly at Poly High); in the Chinese Community (the ICOSA, the Wah Ching, and the Red Guard, educating and organizing the community, confronting the Board of Education in community meetings and at Galileo High, disrupting the oppressively commercial Chinese New Year celebration); in the chicano community (Brown Berets, TWLF, La Raza Unida, AMUNYO--developing a community base around the issues at Mission High School); and with labor (the AFT strike; the limited solidarity with the hospital workers' strike and the greater solidarity with the OCAW strikers in Richmond and Martinez). The influence of the strike in the off-campus white communities has been negative; in the absence of radical action in those communities, the media have polarized those communities against us.

The situation calls for at least rudimentary analysis. First, a few assumptions. In stating these, it should be said that I am speaking primarily of those of us in the Research Organizing Cooperative, Newsreel, the Revolutionary Union, the Joe Hill caucus and The Movement. The writer is not so well acquainted with others from Liberation News Service, Leviathan and the Radical Student Union, but it is understood that at least sections of these groups, if not ~~entirely~~ these groups entirely, share these assumptions. This is not to say that there are no disagreements among us. Just that our arguments tend to fall increasingly within a common framework. This paper has the basic purpose of stating that these assumptions alone are basis enough for us to begin to work together in a more coordinated fashion.

The failure of the Progressive Labor Party to exercise proper leadership in the strike--its improper line, its essentially self-aggrandizing, reflex-like criticism of all groups other than itself--has, along with other experiences, indicated to us that PLP does not in fact function as a revolutionary organization. We have moved to an understanding that the chief struggles now being waged are between American imperialism and the oppressed nations, internal or external to the USA. Effective opposition to racism must therefore involve support for the national liberation struggles, from the struggle for black liberation, led by the Black Liberation Party, to the Vietnamese struggle, led by the National Liberation Front. We understand, moreover, that we can best support these movements, and especially the most oppressed classes within the internal, black colony, by involving ourselves in mass work among the white working class.

ROC, NEWSBREL, and THE MOVEMENT have all emerged in recent months as resources which can be used as tools for extending the movement into areas which have not received sufficient attention in the past. These resources should not be seen as business enterprises seeking to broaden distribution and sales, but as tools for the organization of mass work. Distribution, then, becomes a question of strategy. It is necessary to state the major tasks of the movement in the period we are entering:

(1) ON THE CAMPUS -- Consolidation of the student movement in Northern California--perhaps involving the creation of an SDS region. It is crucial that we build a functional network of revolutionary campus groups throughout this region, for the purposes of reciprocal aid, mutual development, and collective action. It may be possible to develop unified campus programs which seek to expose the class nature of the schools and attack the ruling class. We must travel to campuses in this region with these resources, and be sensitive to the felt needs of the campus groups as they relate to regional organization, conferences, newsletter, etc.

(2) IN THE COMMUNITY -- The most significant problems the student movement is trying to deal with arise out of, or are related to, the failure of the schools to serve the people. To recognize this is to recognize the need and the possibility of building a community base for the student movement. Working-class communities are by necessity the constituency from which our campus programs must grow. We must relate to existing community groups (PTAs, community organizations, high school organizations, neighborhood groups where they exist) with these resources, as we work to build community organizations of a revolutionary political nature. We can begin to do this by engaging community people in discussions over the class nature of education and of the student revolt. Again, we must be sensitive to the possibilities of new community projects in areas strategically important.

(3) AT THE WORK PLACE, -- The role of students must be defined in the emerging class struggles; it must sharpen its (students) relationship to the means of production. While this is a problem requiring an analysis which has not yet been sufficiently done, it also indicates the practical necessity of building, in functional terms, solidarity with workers struggles. This implies not only strike support (picket lines, leafletting, boycotts, building campus programs against recruitment by the corporations being

fought). It involves education of students on the nature of class struggle. And it involves the development of building communication with workers on the nature of the student struggles, especially those aspects which attack the class nature of the schools and which attack the common enemy, most particularly in the fight against racism and imperialism. We can develop our existing ties with workers (hospital workers, oil workers, longshoremen, painters local 4, AFT locals, auto workers) to show Newsreel films, distribute the ROC pamphlet, the Movement, have speakers. This is immediately important in the need to get out the story of the State Strike.

some notes on distribution of Strike at Frisco State, and future cooperation in use of agitprop resources.

preliminary comments: (1) distribution should be prototype for future pamphlet distributions, with speakers from State, Newsreel showings, Movement paper distribution. (2) general perspective here is one of reaching constituencies personally and in an organized fashion, rather than through "anonymous" distribution.

Three levels of distribution:

- 1 - LOCAL (S' & east bay) intensive -- we would build direct contacts with the actual constituencies we want to reach--~~by~~ workers, teachers, parents.
- 2 - State-Wide (considering mainly northern & central california)--we would work in "team" fashion with other groups (Joe Hill, TULF, BSU, Newsreel, Movement) to promote the materials & make contacts on campuses elsewhere in the region.
- 3 - national distribution--this is a mailed distribution, basically to make money to cover for free local distribution where necessary.

LOCAL--three main sets of channels:

1. unions (free distribution)
2. high schools (student groups and AFTs)
3. community organizations

thought in terms of making personal contact with people we know of & trying to arrange joint showings of the NEWSREEL flick & distribution of the pamphlet. where possible, have state college students rap about strike with people there.

STATE-WIDE DISTRIBUTION

hoping we can get other people to do the kind of things we'll be doing, elsewhere in the state. Joe Hill and/or TWLF might be able to organize this. Would consist of using SDS/AFT/BSU/other contacts in schools throughout the state and lining up "tours". hopefully we could sell most of the pamphlets thus distributed--though we don't want that to impede distribution.

both of these--local and statewide--would have the effect, we would hope, of building working relationships within the movement: between us, Newsreel, LNS, RSU, SDS chapters, AFT people working on stuff, parents, people in unions.

NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION--this is really all impersonal, sales oriented.

see if we can get excerpts from pamphlet printed by Guardian, NLN, LNS, with our address, how to get pamphlet.

bookstores that handle good times and movement

bookstores, friends, etc that we know of elsewhere in country who would sell some

libraries--Jane Zimmerman works in a library, is willing to work out distribution locally and statewide for libraries.

advertisements in Movement newspaper.

THE MONEY END OF THINGS:

we print 5000 for \$960--about 16¢ each. sell them for 50¢, we break even at 1700 copies. will certainly get more money from some people than 50¢, also fund-raising, excess can cover future operations, as well as perhaps paying for printing 5000¢ more. Pamphlet distribution on college campuses should, in most cases, be sales ¢ at at least 25¢, usually 50¢.