

VIETNAM: NO MISTAKE!



How the U.S. got involved

Why the U.S. should GET OUT NOW!

sds

25¢

WHO ARE THE BOMBERS? OFTEN THE RULERS!



The poster at the left is plastered all over the greater Boston area. The picture? One might remember seeing it before. This fellow is one of the thousands who rightly stoned the police off the Berkeley campus last spring in the fight to abolish ROTC there. Here he is made to look like a bomb thrower in part of the media's increasing attempts to portray radicals as small cliques of bomb throwing idiots. In many cases SDS has been accused of bombings or bomb plots. At Boston State College, for example, the school administration has organized bomb scares to coincide with all SDS activities. And then when SDS holds impromptu rallies among all the students the building to be 'inspected' the administration says this is proof SDS phoned in the bomb scares.

This is the oldest trick in the book. The government is behind many of the bombings -- witness the June Time Magazine account of undercover agent Tommy the Traveler who posed as an 'SDS organizer' and persuaded small groups of students to firebomb buildings. Back in 1903 a Colorado mining company hired a Pinkerton guard to derail a train in order to discredit the miners' struggle for a union.

SDS does not have and never did have anything to do with bombings and terrorism. We have a lot to do with a student movement that allies with working people to wage mass militant fights against imperialism, racism and the oppression of women. We support the hundreds of San Jose auto workers who seized the area around their plant and kicked the cops out, and we support the millions of working people (mainly black) who have organized rebellions against police terror and over rising unemployment. These are struggles that are directed against the real enemy -- the big businessmen who run this country. That's why these businessmen organize and publicize terrorist bombings.

Reprinted from New Left Notes, the SDS national newspaper (12/10/70)

Fight Racism

Support Ghetto Rebellions

JOIN SDS!

front cover:

40,000 march in Puerto Rico after U.S. ROTC building is burned
Vietnamese liberation fighter
SDS anti-war demonstration (Boston, 1969)
General Electric strikers demonstrating at Northeastern U.
Led by black workers, angry postal workers call for historic strike
Hundreds of SDSers in Los Angeles demonstrating against racist repression

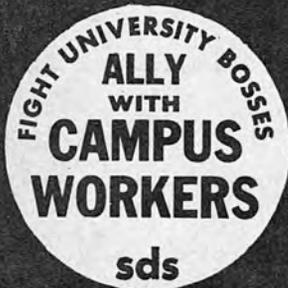
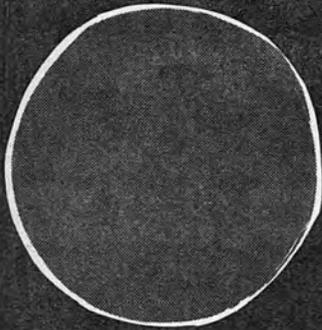
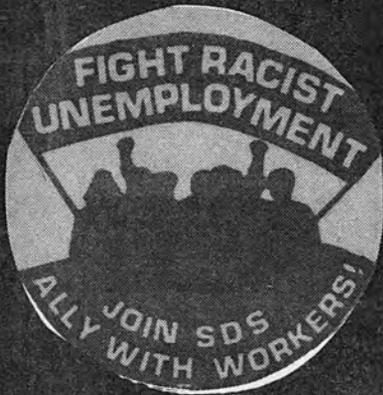
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How the U.S.

Got Involved

If the war in Vietnam is the "mistake" that liberal politicians would have us believe it is, then the history of the war must be a history of small "mistakes."

Since 1945, however, when the Vietnamese--under communist leadership--first began to fight collectively to free themselves from foreign domination, the U.S. strategy in S.E. Asia has consistently made the "mistake" of looking out for the best interests of U.S. big businessmen. Only the tactics, the ways in which the U.S. has attempted to insure its political and economic control over Indochina (aid, for example, or advisors or strategic hamlets, etc.) have changed--from one administration to the next.

Like pacification, escalation, negotiations, and every other recent U.S. attempt to "end the war," Nixon's new tactic, "Vietnamization," is also a hoax. It won't work, it can't, and it was never intended to. The smokescreen of ingenious catch-phrases, "staged withdrawals," "shifting the burden of the war onto the South Vietnamese," etc.--may, of course, fool a few people, but not many. Because--after all--what "Vietnamization" really means is this: maintaining 250,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam to do the same job that 500,000 U.S. troops couldn't do.

What the U.S. hopes "Vietnamization" will do, however, is buy the U.S. time, time in which to negotiate an imperialist peace--one which will assure the U.S. of dominance over all of S.E. Asia.

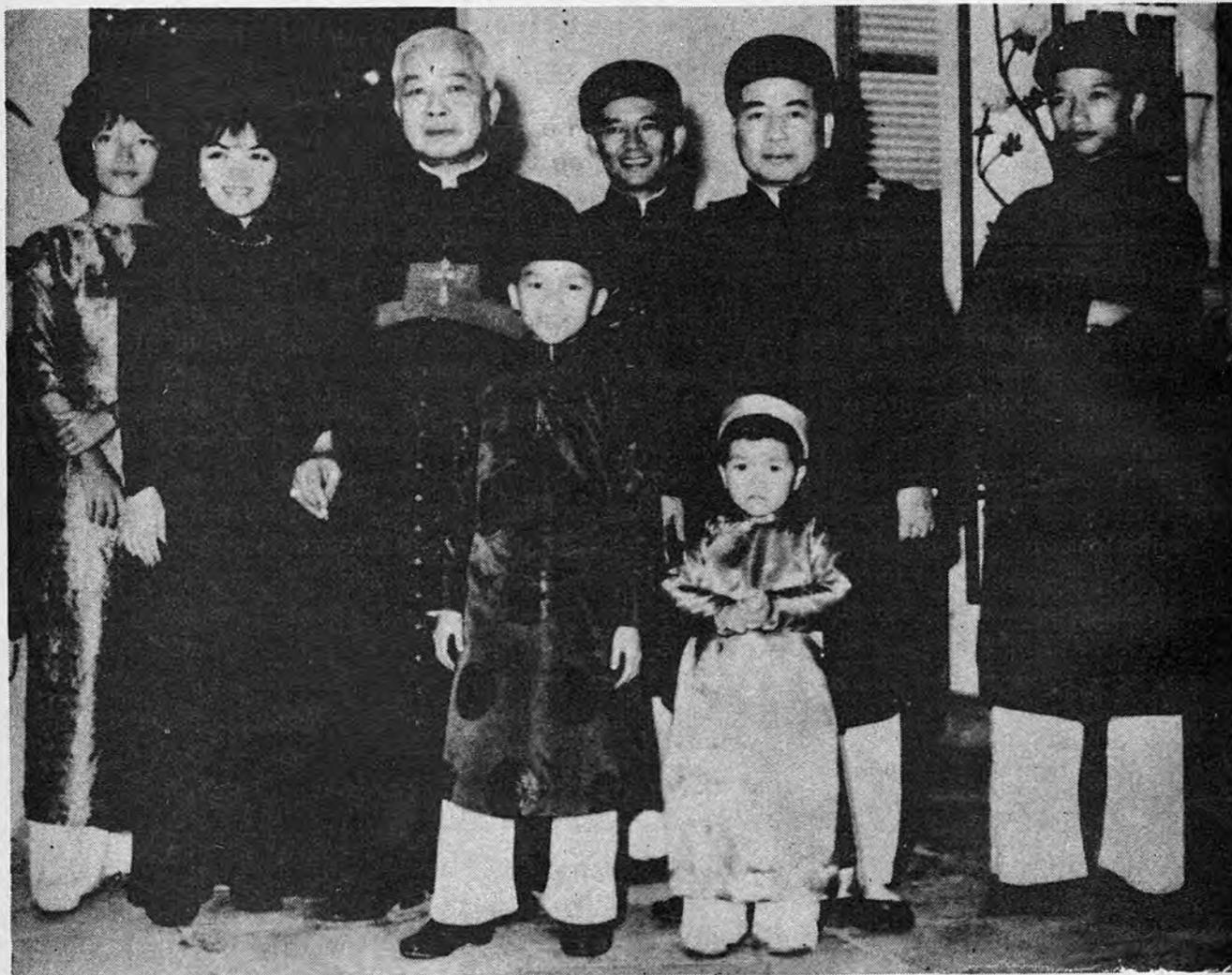
IMPERIALISM: WHAT IS IT?

What we mean by imperialism is U.S. big business exercising economic and political control over "underdeveloped" countries in order to reap maximum possible profits from their resources and people. Increasingly since World War II, the largest U.S. corporations have found it necessary to invest abroad for the better rates of profit available there. Currently investments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are returning profit rates four times as high as those in Canada or Western Europe. In fact, the top 50 U.S. corporations depend heavily on foreign investments. The Chrysler Corporation, for example, made 80% of its profits in 1961 from foreign investments, while 91% of its assets are in the U.S. As U.S. News and World Report put it back in 1954 in an article entitled "Why U.S. Risks War in Indochina: It's the Key to Control of All of Asia,"

"One of the world's richest areas is open to the winner in Indochina. That's behind the growing U.S. concern...tin, rubber, rice, key strategic materials are what the war is really all about. The U.S. sees it as a place to hold at any cost."--(4/4/54)

ONE "MISTAKE" AFTER ANOTHER: A SHORT HISTORY
OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (READ: IMPERIALISM) IN S.E. ASIA

Following capitulation in 1940, France, which had ruled Indochina for over a hundred years, relinquished its control of Vietnam to the invading Japanese. The French colonialists, however, although no longer in power, continued to administer the country for the Japanese; and under their administration, thousands of tons of rice were exported during the war to Japan. The result: 2,000,000 Vietnamese people died of starvation.



Family portrait of Ngo Dinh Diem, a Vietnamese aristocrat and former French administrator

Once the war was over, the French tried to re-establish their rule--or misrule--but the Vietnamese people, who under communist leadership had already liberated several provinces on their own, resisted; shortly thereafter, following the French bombardment of the Port of Haiphong (in which 6,000 Vietnamese were murdered), the French-Indochinese War began.

For eight years, the U.S.--under the Truman and Eisenhower administration, supported, and in fact underwrote the French war effort, supplying them with massive military aid, over two billion dollars worth in all. By 1954, the year the Vietnamese finally defeated France once-and-for-all at the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the U.S.

was paying for something like 80% of the French war effort.

The foothold in S.E. Asia that the U.S. government had "mistakenly" lost through massive military aid, it now "mistakenly" tried to secure at the conference table. But the Geneva Agreements of 1954, which were signed by the two combatants, Russia and several European powers, did not coincide with the U.S. wishes. According to the Agreements, the importation of arms and military advisors were prohibited; Vietnam was divided into two military demarcation zones, to allow the regrouping Vietnamese forces in the north, and French forces in the south; this division was to end in 1956 with free elections throughout Vietnam to re-unify the country.

The U.S., however, refused to permit the elections to be held or the reunification of the country to take place, because as President Eisenhower later wrote in his memoirs:

I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indo-Chinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possible 80% of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader
... (Mandate for Change, p. 373)

Instead what the U.S. did was to "mistakenly" install an anti-communist regime under Ngo Dinh Diem. How was Diem chosen? Look magazine summed it up as follows: "Secretary of State Dulles picked him, Senator Mansfield endorsed him, Francis Cardinal Spellman praised him, Vice-President Nixon liked him, and President Eisenhower okayed him." (1/28/65) As the Look quote indicates, Diem's support lay not among the Vietnamese people, but in the U.S. government. The U.S. government, however, had only created a leader. It still had to find him a following.



Dulles picked him, Spellman praised him.

Academic apologists for the U.S. role in Vietnam refer to the effort in 1954 to entrench Diem in South Vietnam as "nation building." To produce "support" for its Diem regime, the U.S. began to give "aid" directly to Diem, instead of to the

French, shortly after the end of the Geneva Conference. Bribery and corruption, however, proved a problem. Diem distributed more than \$12 million to Cao Dai and Hoa Hoa religious sects leaders as bribes.

Ever-concerned about the inability of Diem's armed forces, the U.S. government expanded the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) which had existed in Vietnam since 1950. Moreover, MAAG rebuilt the Saigon regime's army into a force of 150,000 and established a Self-Defense Corps (local militia) of 40,000. A 50,000 man Civil Guard was trained as well--not, however, by the MAAG, but by the MSUG, the Michigan State University Group. The training of these Vietnamese mercenaries by U.S. advisors was one of the first U.S. attempts at Vietnamization.

Meanwhile, the communist forces (the Vietminh) who had traveled north in 1954 after the arbitrary division of the country along 17th parallel, consolidated into the largely self-sufficient country that is now known as North Vietnam.

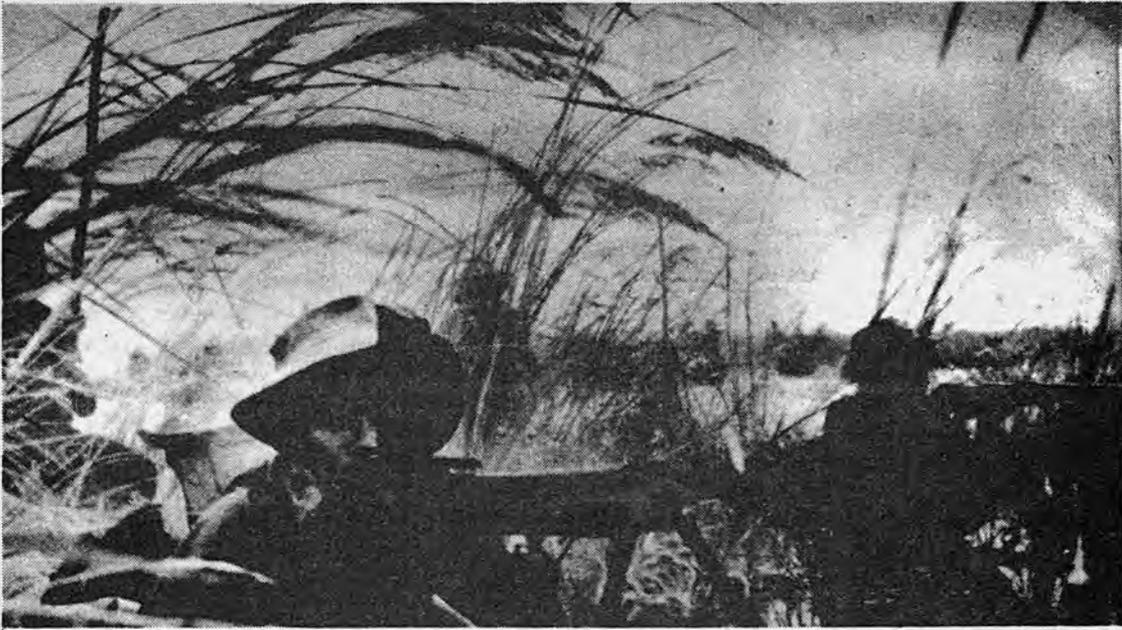
Anti-Diem, anti-U.S. feeling, still ran high in the south, however. In 1955, after Diem had again and again refused Hanoi's request to begin consultations on the elections, it was announced in July that there would be a referendum that October. The South Vietnamese would be able, then, to choose between Diem, the U.S. government's puppet, and the French marionette Emperor Bao Dai. In what all observers agree was one of the most fraudulent elections ever rigged, Diem credited himself with a modest 98.2% of the vote. Not bad! Not bad for a person whose "land reform" and anti-communist programs had made him the most hated man in Vietnam. The only American complaint was that a 60% vote would have looked better. (Life, 5/13/57)

The Vietnamese did not retreat in the face of this attack on their well-being and independence. Mass opposition against Diem's phony referendum developed in late 1955. Mass meetings and demonstrations continued into 1956. The attacks resulted in wholesale arrests and imprisonments. Class terror was rampant. The army and police, on behalf of the landlords, led vicious raids on peasants and Vietminh sympathizers. On through 1957-58, the Vietminh-led struggle became sharper and a picture of broad-based support in the countryside became clearer.

Moreover, in 1958, Diemist atrocities became a daily occurrence; more and more South Vietnamese had friends and relatives who had been arrested, beaten and tortured by the U.S.-Diem regime. One member of Parliament, Tran Ngoc Ban, made a statement against the inhuman conditions in Diemist prisons and was arrested shortly thereafter. Just one of the already 50,000 political prisoners. Conditions like this continued to broaden the base for rebellion, until the anti-Diem feeling grew so high, that it became expedient for the U.S. to overthrow Diem, which it did in 1963 with the help of the CIA.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

In 1960, various anti-intervention organizations, made up of communists and non-communists, many of whom had remained south after the Geneva agreements, united to form the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (NLF). The NLF program called



The Vietnamese fight back!

essentially for the overthrow of the Saigon government, its replacement by a broad democratically-elected coalition, massive land reform measures, the withdrawal of all U.S. troops, and the reunification of Vietnam.

The NLF, however, was by no means a purely military organization. Their goal, wrote Douglas Pike, and ex-U.S. security specialist in Saigon, was:

...not the occupation of real estate, not the preparation for some pitched battle, but organization in depth of the rural population ...to restructure the social order of the village and train villagers to control themselves. ...Military activity, even guerilla military activity, formed a relatively small percentage of the day-to-day work of the members of the NLF...A main force unit in the 1962-63 period spent an average of one day a month on military missions. Much of the rest of the time was devoted to training and indoctrination work, agit-prop, and other propaganda activities among the general population, or in what is called economic production--mainly the production of food (Viet Cong, p. 238)

This sort of political work enabled the NLF cadre to integrate themselves thoroughly with the peasants, or according to Mao Tse Tung's phrase, become "fish in the sea of the people." Because the NLF functioned to serve the needs of the people, it came to enjoy the peoples' support in terms of food, medical care, transportation of heavy equipment, weapons manufacture, reports on enemy troop movements, recruits, etc. Clearly this initial political work was a prerequisite for successful armed struggle against the local and Saigon parasites and their U.S. backers. The frequent U.S. claim that NLF forces are a minority who use terrorism to maintain a hold on the people is a blatant, conscious lie.

The war is a class struggle. On the one hand, the NLF, which represents the interests of the poor, is fighting the Saigon government which represents the interests of the rich. "The (Saigon)...government and the mass of peasantry still seem to be on opposing sides," a Washington reporter wrote in 1967.

...Land is of such paramount importance here that the Viet Cong allow only the landless or very poor farmers to command guerilla units or qualify as party members. The provincial government's social order is the exact reverse. Most of the military officers, civil servants, and community leaders come from the landowning gentry. The same is true in Saigon. (Washington Star, 1/24/67)

To counter the NLF's effective organization of villages, the U.S.--in the summer of 1961--"mistakenly" developed its pacification program. The plan, which recognized the villages as NLF base areas, strove to herd the peasantry into "Strategic Hamlets" where they would be "safe" from their own people. Like the tactic of massive military aid, the new plan, also known as "Special War," failed miserably:

The Hamlet program aroused deep popular resentment...Communist propaganda focussed on the most objectionable aspects of the program, calling the hamlets concentration camps...This charge was all too accurate in many instances. (New York Times, 12/3/63)

An attempt to beef up the Saigon Army (ARVN) with luckless draftees also failed. According to U.S. figures, 30% of the Saigon Army deserted in 1965.



Defeating "Vietnamization"--South Vietnamese liberation fighters

It was about this time that U.S., on the verge of a massive escalation of the war (from several thousand advisors to several hundred thousand troops), began to publicize the myth of North Vietnamese "aggression."

The U.S. government has always maintained publicly that it is answering the call of the Vietnamese people who have been attacked by foreign (North Vietnamese) aggressors. Had the U.S. and Diem really believed they were resisting a North Vietnamese invasion and attack upon the South Vietnamese people, they would simply have armed the peasants to defend themselves. In fact, the opposite approach was taken. Thus, Diem abolished local elections in 1956, making village officials appointive. The reason for this was clearly that the villages would most likely

have elected Vietminh fighters as their leaders. (U.S. in Vietnam, Kahin and Lewis, p. 104) The Vietminh soldiers, according to United States officials, were South Vietnamese all along. (New York Times, June 18, 1963) Moreover, this argument that the war is between the north and the south, as the U.S. claims, is an insult to the South Vietnamese, who had fought the Japanese and French for 14 years before the U.S. took over.

Even the U.S. government in its White Paper of 1965, which attempted to prove that the North invaded the South, conceded that in the year or two just preceding the massive U.S. escalation of troops, over 98% of the Viet Cong (NLF) weapons captured in the war were manufactured in the U.S.--less than 1/50 of them from Red sources. (The Vietnam Reader, ed. Marcus Raskin and Bernard Fall, p. 143-164) Regarding the charge of North Vietnamese "infiltration," it's true that in the late 50's and early 60's, many thousands of Vietnamese did in fact drift south. Most of the "infiltrators" however had been born in the south and had lived most of their lives there. They were mainly the ones who had withdrawn to the North in 1954--in agreement with the Geneva accords--and who had been awaiting the reunification of the country that had never come. When they did come south, it was to fight the U.S., not their fellow Vietnamese.

ESCALATION: THE U.S. SWITCHES TACTICS

In February of 1965, the U.S. government, fearful as ever of an NLF victory, chose to escalate the war. The bombing of the North began on February 8th, and by January 1st of the following year, 200,000 U.S. troops had been shipped to Vietnam. One more "mistake."

The immediate pretext for the bombing was the Gulf of Tonkin incident in which two U.S. destroyers were supposedly attacked by North Vietnamese PT boats. Josephy Goulden's Truth is the First Casualty (Rand-McNally, 1969) reveals that the "attacks" were nothing more than ocean waves hitting the hulls of the ships on a stormy night. Sonar operators mistook the waves for enemy torpedoes. Captain John Herrick reported the action and his doubts that anything had really happened. His superiors, in concert with President Johnson, demanded that Herrick verify that actual attacks had occurred. Naturally, he acquiesced, and the U.S. had its pretext for escalation.

For the first time, North Vietnam was forced to respond with massive aid, both materials and men, for the south. By early 1968, the NLF had consolidated their forces well enough to launch a major offensive. The Tet Offensive, which drove the U.S. and allied Vietnamese out of Vietnam's second largest city, Hue, led to the liberation of hundreds of villages and the destruction of hundreds of U.S. planes. Moreover, the offensive proved once-and-for-all that the NLF did in fact have the strength and the broad popular support that it claimed it did, in the cities as well as in the Vietnamese countryside.

What the Tet Offensive did, however, was to force a U.S. change in tactics. Apparently escalation hadn't worked; the U.S. was still losing the war. So shortly thereafter, in the spring of 1968, the U.S. announced that it would enter into nego-

Bombing aftermath.



tiations with the Vietnamese. The Paris "Peace" Talks have been going on practically ever since.

The negotiations, of course, have not ended the war. According to the American press, this is due--in large part--to the "unreasonableness" of the Vietnamese. By "unreasonable," the media usually means that the NLF and Hanoi have so far refused to negotiate an imperialist peace, i.e., one which would not result in the immediate withdrawal of American troops, but which instead would permit U.S. business interests to continue their domination over Vietnam and the rest of S.E. Asia.

Why The U.S. Is In Vietnam

I Rationalizations of the war put forth by the U.S. government.

As the Vietnamese War grew in size over the last decade, various justifications were put forward by the U.S. government for its involvement.

One stems from the stated official Policy of Containment. The U.S. must check the expansion of Communism, since it is a centrally-run conspiracy aiming at achieving world dominance and destroying democracy. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk called this "the central issue" of our times: "...the announced determination to impose a world of coercion upon those not already subject to it...is [the issue] posed between the Sino-Soviet empire and all the rest [of the world's nations], whether allied or neutral, and it is posed on every continent." This argument claims that the U.S. is committed to protecting world democracy, and that the Saigon government is an example of this. But hardly anyone continues to claim that the Saigon government is democratic. Even newspapers have claimed that the elections held in Vietnam have been totalitarian and thoroughly corrupt. Furthermore, America's claim to being the defender of freedom in the world has been exposed through its support of numerous openly fascist regimes around the world (Taiwan, Paraguay, Greece, Haiti, South Africa, etc.). It has become clear that what the government seeks to do in Vietnam is to create a facade of sham democratic institutions and procedures, within which and through which its well-paid puppets-- Thieu, Ky, and the rest--hold real power. Under this cover the rest of Asia--and especially Vietnam, is left "open" for entry by U.S. businesses, which will milk the human and natural resources of Asia. Guy Francis Stark, Chief Industrial Development Advisor for the U.S. Foreign Service in Taiwan and Saigon, said in the Wall Street Journal (11/11/67),

Let me use your pages to make this proposal: a massive invasion of South Vietnam by American industry...In the modest development effort that presently exists, a number of American-sponsored enterprises have been immensely successful. (our emphasis)

Thus we are able to see the genuine "justification" for U.S. involvement in Vietnam: imperialism, in its economic and political roles.

II Cheap labor and natural resources: sources of imperialist profit.

The bulk of the vast wealth of the U.S. is concentrated in the hands of a tiny sector of the population: 76% of all corporate wealth is owned by merely 1% of the U.S. population (in Domhoff). In this concentration, banking capital (of wholesale banks) has the most strategic and influential role; nearly every major U.S. corporation is under the control of a directorship dominated by one of the huge banking family groups. In fact, the Rockefeller and Morgan groups together control billions of

dollars worth of corporate wealth! (PL Magazine, February 1970) These big businessmen--this tiny class of rulers, which we call the ruling class--control large portions of basic industry, communications media, and transportation. Their enormous wealth enables them to control the government (through direct and indirect means) and with

FROM THE PAGES OF FORTUNE,
THE MAGAZINE FOR MILLIONAIRES, MANUFACTURERS & INDUSTRIAL MAGNATES:

When you need something more diplomatic than a gunboat

Times have changed. Empire builders can't shoot their way to success as they did in the bad old days. But there's nothing to regret about the passing of gunboat diplomacy: it was costly, it was risky--and in the long run it was ineffective. Today's way, the diplomatic way, is infinitely more efficient--but it depends on *inside* knowledge. That's why you'll do well to choose Chemical Bank as your international business partner.

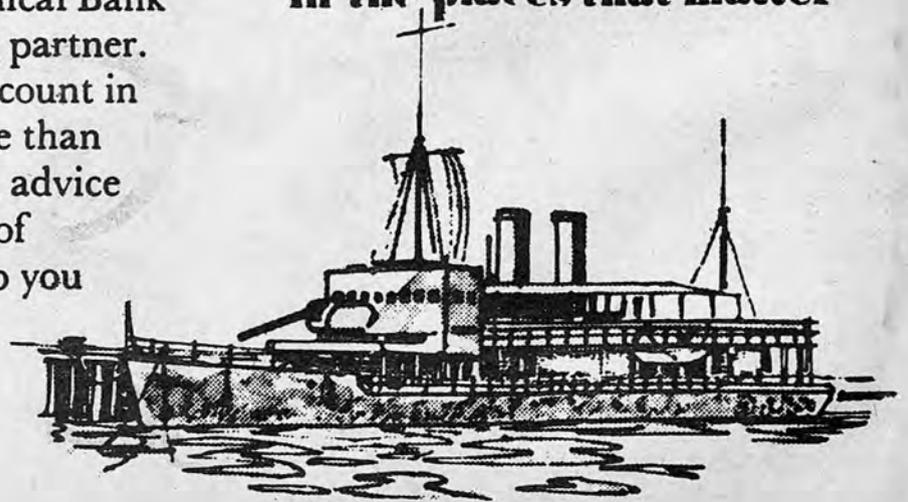
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**the bank that knows
the people who count
in the places that matter**

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Bank**



the government they control a vast empire, based in the U.S. and extending throughout the world; an empire which they run for their own profit.

In the case of Vietnam, the downgraded position of labor makes this country very attractive to big business, and part of U.S. policy there is to keep it that way. In South Vietnam, for example, the puppet regime has instituted a law which sets the maximum wage for Vietnamese workers at \$1.40 per day. Another law forbids any form of a strike; during an illegal longshoremen's strike, U.S. troops were used on docks to break the strike.

The Chase Manhattan Bank (Korea, Determined Strides Forward, May 1968, p. 3) reports:

"Americans comment on the dexterity and aptitude of Korean workers, who are available at cash wage rates averaging 65¢ a day in textiles and 88¢ a day in electronics."

Many businessmen see particular value in Southeast Asia,

"The best thinkers on the subject in business and government agree

FROM THE PAGES OF FORTUNE, PART II:

"Our multinational company
looks at the world
as one big global market



...and it looks great!"

EATON
YALE &
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INC.

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The profit motive has propelled it on a fantastic journey in search of new opportunities.

In the last decade American investment overseas has more than doubled and is now approaching \$65 billion.

And today more than ever multinational companies need a multinational bank. A bank that knows its way around the world.

Like Irving Trust.

We have correspondents in virtually every country. Bankers who know the local scene and how you can prosper in it.

We have a branch office in London and representative offices in Hong Kong, Paris and Beirut.

And together with four other leading world banks we formed the International Commercial Bank Limited, headquartered in London. It specializes in medium-term financing.

So, wherever in the world you see opportunity for your company, we'll be there to help you.

With our knowledge of the country.

With information on the market situation.

With expertise in banking.

Making sure the sun shines brightly on your investment.

At IRVING TRUST COMPANY we back you up with more than money.

One Wall Street, N.Y.

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that magnificent business opportunities await in Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. As the military situation in Vietnam improves, they expect the flow of business to double, triple, and quadruple." (Nations Business, 2/28/69)

The U.S. government has consistently helped big business move into Southeast Asia. There are no longer import duties on machine equipment sent to Vietnam. There is a 25% exemption on taxation on capital investment used for expansion. There are no taxes on the profits of U.S. business for five years after investment, and no real estate tax for three years. The Insurance Act of 1967 protects 100% of business assets against expropriation and damage during the wars. It further protects debts up to 75% of value.

Many American companies have followed this primrose path, and have located in Vietnam. Chase Manhattan and the Bank of America have opened branch offices in Saigon. The New York firm of Parson and Whitmore holds 80% interest in an American-managed papermill in Bien Hoa. American Trading Corporation and Brownell Lane engineering corporation are selling and servicing heavy equipment, and averaging 20 to 30% returns on their investment. Esso and Caltex are studying proposals to build a \$16 million oil refinery in Vietnam.

The nature of these investments brings us to the second major reason for U.S. imperialist expansion: natural resources. The desirability of Southeast Asia was noted by John Foster Dulles (in the April 1959 U.S. News and World Report):

Southeast Asia is the so-called 'rice bowl' which helps to feed the densely populated region that extends from India to Japan. It is rich in many raw materials, such as tin, oil, rubber, and iron ore. It offers industrial Japan potentially important markets and sources of raw materials.

Six years later, Henry Cabot Lodge (speaking at the Middlesex Club of Cambridge)

sang the same tune, only without reference to Japan:

Geographically, Vietnam stands at the hub of a vast area of the world--Southeast Asia--an area with a population of 249 million persons ...He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Phillipines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south. (Boston Globe, 2/28/65)

Looking at Southeast Asia generally, and keeping in mind the strategic importance of Vietnam to this area, we find the following statistics: Tin, of which the United States has no natural reserves, must be imported, and 88% of U.S. tin comes from S.E. Asia, primarily from Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia. The only other significant "free world" producer of tin is Bolivia, from which country we receive only one percent of the tin we use. Manganese is another mineral which does not naturally occur in the U.S., but which does in S.E. Asia, and is an essential ingredient in the manufacture of steel. The world's present major source of oil is the Middle East, and in Fortune's words "Major companies are eager to diversify their sources of petroleum because of political uncertainties in the Middle East...Moreover, Southeast Asian oil is extremely low in sulphur content and thus

"THE LONG-TERM ECONOMIC VIABILITY OF SOUTH VIETNAM"

As early as 1966, the Department of Defense had allocated something like \$1 billion to four U.S. construction companies -- Raymond International of New York; Morrison-Knudsen of Boise, Idaho; Brown & Root of Houston, Texas; and J.A. Jones of Charlotte, North Carolina. Together, the four companies are working on a frenetic time schedule to "build the immense infra-structure required by modern combat forces -- jet airfields, deepwater ports, warehouses, power plants, ammunition storage depots, troop cantonments, communication stations, hospitals, highways, bridges.... When the war is over, a lot of this construction will also have peacetime value; indeed it will represent a capital investment vastly beyond the capacity of the South Vietnamese themselves to supply. As such, it is one of the most significant steps the U.S. is taking to assure the long-term economic viability of South Vietnam." ("Building by the Billion in Vietnam," Fortune, September 1966, our emphasis.)

is increasingly favored in the pollution-conscious markets of the U.S. and Japan." Well over half a billion dollars is projected for foreign investment (mainly by U.S. oil firms) in exploring what might be one of the world's largest oil reserves, one which will "stretch clear across the Far East--from the shores of Burma and Thailand, down the Malay Peninsula, and along the Indonesian archipelago. The reserves may also extend to waters off South Korea and Taiwan..." (Fortune, 3/70) The U.S. receives one-quarter of its chromium ore from S.E. Asia, and large reserves of tungsten in S.E. Asia already provide the U.S. with 11% of its import. The potential for U.S. investments overseas in the world mineral market is tremendous and in determining the politics for imperialism these resources are as good as real.

We have seen, then, some of the economic reasons for U.S. intervention into S.E. Asia, and for U.S. imperialism in general.

South Korea's Economy Booming With Cheap Labor

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

PUSAN, South Korea, April 24—Running 24 hours a day on three shifts, the big Tong Myung plywood factory in this port is a fitting symbol of South Korea's increasingly vital economy.

It also is a vivid example of how the Korean boom is supported by the willingness of South Korean workers to work long hours for little pay under harsh and sometimes dehumanizing conditions.

Tong Myung has a capacity of 140 million square feet a month and is said to be the world's biggest plywood producer.

Starting from no exports a decade ago, it now ships nearly \$30-million worth of processed wood abroad annually—exports that play a key role in South Korea's rapid economic expansion.

Inside the cavernous plant, it is dimly lit dank, and evil-smelling.

The air is filled with fine sawdust and reeks of formalin fumes. A visitor's eyes begin to burn and water uncontrollably within a few minutes.

The factory's 5,000 workers, many of them young girls, work 10 or 11 hours a day, six



The New York Times (by Philip Schabecoff)

Scene in Motorola's electronic component plant outside of Seoul. Because labor is less expensive in Korea, production cost* are one-tenth those of a similar plant* in Phoenix.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
TUESDAY, MAY 12, 1970

days a week. The work is hard and monotonous.

For their labor, the girls working at Tong Myung receive about \$32 a month. Men, who do heavier work, get about \$48 a month.

Jhong Jae Young, an 18-year-old girl with broad, pink cheeks and shy black eyes, joined the factory two months ago and works as a checker.

Grateful for Job

Pusan is far from her home in Chinju, but her father is dead and she had to help her mother and seven brothers and sisters.

Half of her \$32 monthly wage she sends home and another \$12 goes for her room and

meals at a boarding house. The remaining \$4 is for clothes and other personal items.

"The work is not so hard," she said. "I am glad that I can earn money."

What did she do for fun? she was asked. Dance? Go to the movies?

"No," she said, her voice barely above a whisper. "Nothing."

South Korea's evolving economic miracle is built largely upon the willing shoulders of workers such as John Jae Young.

A rugged, mountainous land with few natural resources, Korea's most valuable commodity is manpower.

It is cheap labor, of course—cheap enough to produce low-cost products for competitive export markets and cheap enough to attract foreign manufacturers to set up plants here.

Conditions Of Labor

But it is also labor that is being increasingly recognized

for its intelligence, ability to learn, literacy and capacity for hard work amid conditions that would be unacceptable in most industrialized countries.

George A. Needham, representative director of the Motorola Company's electronic component assembly plant on the outskirts of Seoul, told visitors to the bright modern factory that total production costs in Korea were one-tenth of costs for similar production at Motorola's plant in Phoenix, Ariz.

He also noted that it took two weeks less time to train Korean girls to assemble semi-conductors and transistors than to teach American girls the same job.

Motivation Found

"The girls here are more motivated," explained Mr. Needham. "Life is tough in this country. These people really need this work."

South Korea's energetic workers have spurred an eco-

nomics boom that has seen the nation's gross national product—the value of all goods and services—jump from \$2.3-billion to \$6.1-billion between 1959 and 1969.

In the last five years, Korea's GNP has grown by an average annual rate of 12.6 per cent, a rate exceeded not even by the vibrant Japanese economy.

But South Korea still is not a rich country. Per capita GNP is only \$195 a year for the country's 31 million people.

Although South Korea's workers undoubtedly have improved their lot in recent years as far as material existence is concerned, they seem to have lost something, as well.

Studied in America

Young Ok Ahn is a 38-year-old chemical engineer who studied in the United States and, like many other Korean scientists who could not have research facilities or a suitable salary in Korea, remained in America.

III Imperialism hurts people at home.

We must reaffirm that the basis for U.S. involvement in Vietnam (and the rest of Southeast Asia) is embodied in its desire for cheap labor and natural resources, secured by political control. The resources of Southeast Asia are--after all--crucial to U.S. imperialism; without them, the American ruling class would be cut off from a vital source of super-profits. And only through the control of Vietnam can U.S. imperialism extend itself to the rest of Southeast Asia. Henry Cabot Lodge at the Cambridge Middlesex Club:

"Vietnam does not exist in a geographical vacuum--from it, large store-houses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined..."

In the eyes of an imperialist, the People of Southeast Asia are a "storehouse" of cheap labor, and little more. Small wonder then that the people of Vietnam have--for over 25 years--remained firm in their opposition to foreign imperialism. Just as they once fought the French and the Japanese, they are committed now to fighting the U.S. At the same time, the American people are fighting back here at home against another form of imperialist oppression. Low wages, spiralling inflation, and the racist exploitation of black people in this country result--after all--from the practices of the same people who are oppressing the Vietnamese: American big businessmen. Closing down plants here in the U.S. and moving production abroad are--for example--just one way in which these men increase job competition and lower the demands of American workers. But in the struggle for control of S.E. Asia, it's the people themselves who will ultimately decide things; and if the people of Vietnam (and the rest of S.E. Asia) refuse to negotiate away their victories to the U.S. imperialists, then eventually, they'll win.

TIME:

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Vietnamese students demand, "US out of Southeast Asia now!"

THE BLATANT IMPERIALIST

"I spent thirty-three years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force--the Marine Corps. I served in all the commissioned ranks from second lieutenant to major general. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism.

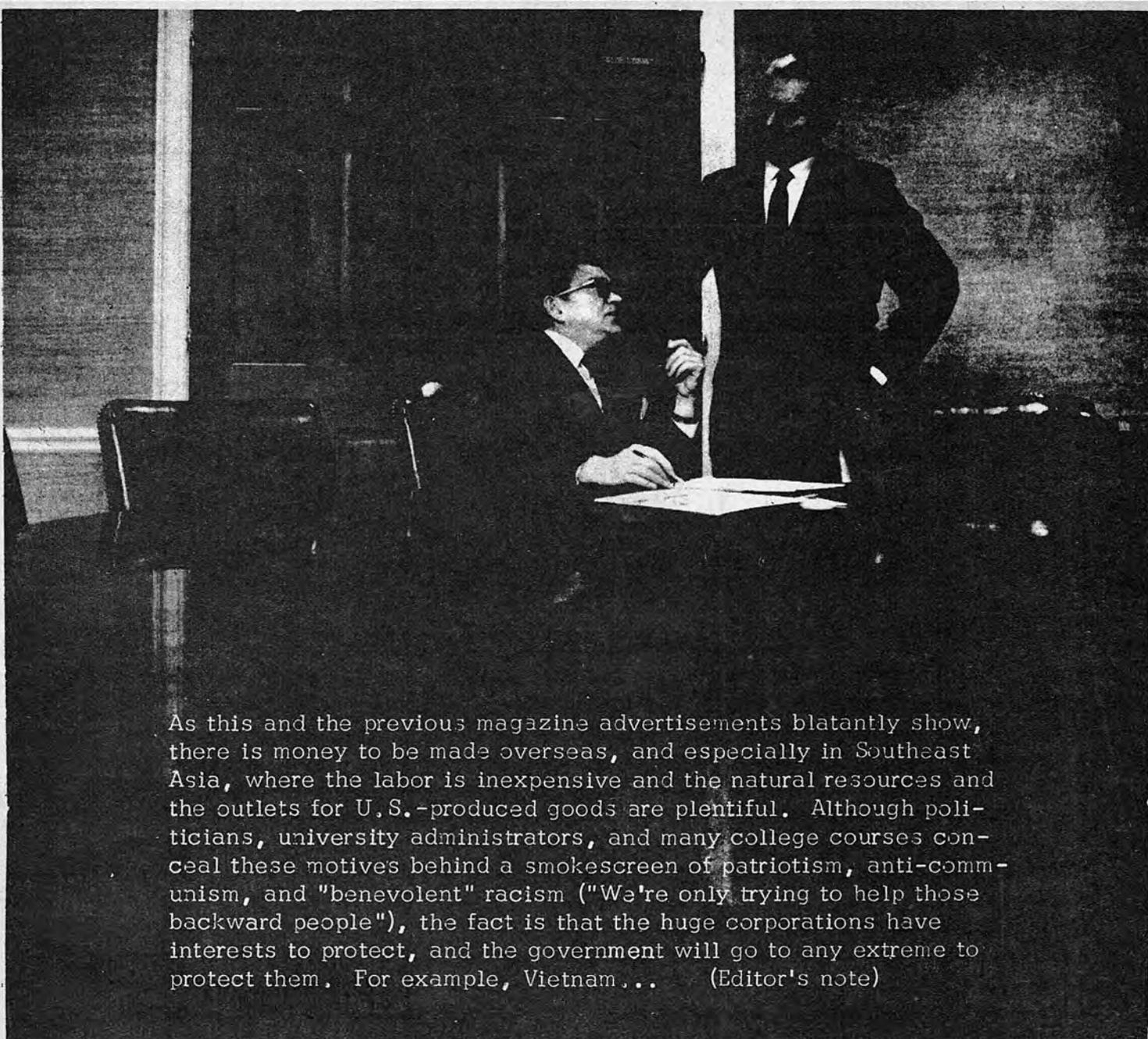
"Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in. I helped purify Nicaragua of the international house of Brown Brothers in 1902-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American Sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for the American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

--Smedley Butler
Major General USMC
Labor's Untold Story,
P. 241, Margon

THE SUBTLE IMPERIALIST

"We don't challenge, in the strictest constitutional sense the right of a sovereign government to dispose of properties and people within its sovereign territories... We do think as a matter of policy it would be wise and prudent on their side to create conditions which will be attractive to the international investor, the private investor. So our influence is used wherever it can be and persistently through our embassies on a day to day basis, in our aid discussions and in direct aid negotiation, to underline the importance of private investment.

--Dean Rusk, Committee on Foreign Relations
U.S. Senate Hearings on Foreign Assistance
Act of 1962, Washington D.C.



As this and the previous magazine advertisements blatantly show, there is money to be made overseas, and especially in Southeast Asia, where the labor is inexpensive and the natural resources and the outlets for U.S.-produced goods are plentiful. Although politicians, university administrators, and many college courses conceal these motives behind a smokescreen of patriotism, anti-communism, and "benevolent" racism ("We're only trying to help those backward people"), the fact is that the huge corporations have interests to protect, and the government will go to any extreme to protect them. For example, Vietnam... (Editor's note)

"Which one of our bright young men can speak some Spanish?"

Expanding overseas? Whom will you send: the men who know the business or the men who know the language?

It needn't be that kind of choice at all. Just select the *best* man for the job

...and let a Linguaphone Portable Language Lab teach him the language he needs to know: Spanish, French, Italian or German... quickly, painlessly and most economically.

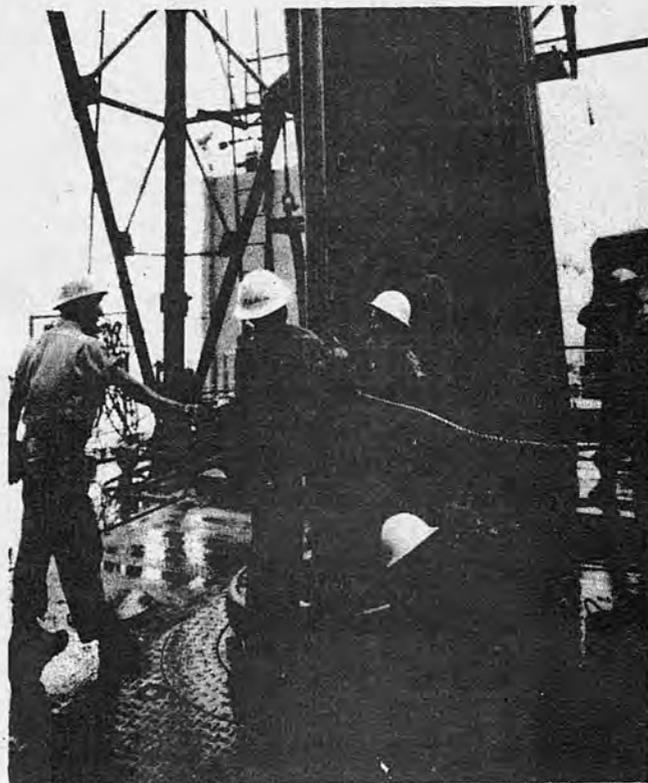
(FORTUNE)

U.S. BIG BUSINESS — thirsty for oil

(reprinted from Fortune magazine, 3/4/70)

The quest (for oil) off Indonesia and neighboring nations, gathering momentum over the last four years, is creating an atmosphere reminiscent of the Alaska-Yukon gold rush. Nine oil rigs have taken up positions off Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia for wildcatting, i.e., looking for oil by drilling. By the end of this year, drilling rigs in the region are expected to total fifteen, and twice that many are expected by 1972.

The potential undersea reserves, oilmen believe, may stretch clear across the Far East--from the shores of Burma and Thailand, down the Malay Peninsula, and along the Indonesian Archipelago. The reserves may also extend to waters off South Korea and Taiwan, new surveys indicate. On that theory, reinforced by seismic tests, companies from the U.S., Australia, Canada, Europe and Japan are planning to spend a conservatively estimated total of \$500 million on exploration over the next four years.



Aboard the Japanese ship, FUJI, drilling is carried on around the clock.

While the expenses and risks are high, the incentives for pursuing the offshore search in Asia are considerable, too. Major companies are eager to diversify their sources of petroleum because of political uncertainties in the Middle East, the world's major source of crude today. Moreover, Southeast Asian oil is extremely low in sulphur content and thus is increasingly favored in the pollution-conscious markets of the U.S. and Japan.....

Indonesia, where most of the offshore exploration is going on, opened its doors again to foreign oil companies in 1966, after the fall of the Sukarno regime.* Because of the country's known onshore reserves, major petroleum concerns and independents have flocked in and signed thirty production-sharing contracts with Pertamina, the powerful government oil company. Onshore, long-time Indonesian producers, Caltex and Stanvac, have expanded exploration efforts. (Caltex is jointly owned by Standard Oil Co. of California and Texaco, while ownership of Stanvac is shared by Standard Oil (N.J.) and Mobil.) Meanwhile, Shell, Mobil, and other companies have obtained new onshore rights.

* The new anti-communist regime, which the CIA installed, shortly thereafter murdered something like one million people.

Liberal Politicians and the War

Over the past few years, a movement has begun to grow which exposes and fights the small group of people who run this country and are responsible for the war in Vietnam. With the tremendous struggle of the Vietnamese people to drive U. S. imperialism out of Vietnam, and the growth of the anti-war movement here and abroad, the U. S. government has done all it can to divert fights being waged by the anti-war movement away from itself and has tried to obscure who is really to blame for the war. We believe Moratoriums and the like, encouraged and built by liberal politicians, big businessmen and college presidents, are part of this attempt by the rulers to channel the fight against the war into tactics that only serve to build cynicism. As long as the movement is run by liberal politicians and their friends, then who is the enemy and how to best fight that enemy will remain obscured. Phony "end the war" bills like the Goodell bill or Hatfield-McGovern bill which call for troop pullouts at some time in the future, and other schemes by liberal politicians must be rejected. We must clarify the nature of the war and fight to get the U.S. Out of Vietnam Now! NO NEGOTIATIONS!

WHAT DID THE MORATORIUM SAY?

The Moratorium saw the war as an 'American tragedy'--a tragic mistake caused by 'military advice which has created a futile and bloody conflict'. Its National Committee asked for a 'firm commitment to withdrawal or a negotiated settlement'--never demanding immediate withdrawal.

We disagree on both counts. The long U.S. presence in Vietnam belies the argument that the war is a tragic blunder. Its massive military aid to the French from 1945 to 1954 to fight the Vietnamese, its creation of the Diem regime and attempt to put the overthrown landlords back in power, its guiding role in the 'strategic hamlet' concentration camp program, and finally, its open invasion with 500,000 troops--all clearly show the war has been a carefully planned policy for years. This war is necessary and inevitable--it is not an accident. We think that it is part and parcel of the system of U.S. imperialism, a system based on the driving need of big business to maximize profits. A system which puts profits primary, and the people secondary:

"That empire in Southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any one of the major powers on the globe...I believe that the condition of the Vietnamese people, and the direction with which their future may be going, are at this stage secondary, not primary." (Senator Gale McGhee, in the Senate, 2/17/65)

Not only is Vietnam essential as a source of cheap labor (maximum wage \$1.40/day!), but it is also strategically the key to Southeast Asia.

Control of Vietnam would give the U.S. a base for expansion and consolidation

of imperialism in Asia. A U.S. victory in Vietnam would be a great discouragement to the rapidly escalating struggle of people throughout the world. This war is not a "huge accident"--it is a planned attack on the people of Vietnam which hurts the American people as well.

We think that the U.S. has no right to negotiate anything in Vietnam. U.S. businessmen have exploited the natural and human resources of the Vietnamese for twenty years. This has meant lousy wages, miserable conditions and starvation for the people of Vietnam and huge profits for U.S. firms and their local allies. This not only keeps the Vietnamese in poverty, but also allows U.S. management to keep the wages of American workers down. Clearly peace without total U.S. withdrawal means the continuation of a system which has been oppressing the Vietnamese people for centuries. The negotiations are simply an attempt by the U.S. to gain at the

B. of A. Chairman --'War a Mistake'

From Our Correspondent

Washington

The Vietnam war is a "tragic national mistake" and the only way out of our "current dilemma is the elimination of the war," Louis B. Lundborg, board chairman of the Bank of America, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday.

He called the war "morally indefensible and practically unsustainable."

Lundborg said it is futile to try to fix the blame for the war — but that regardless of who is responsible, "the rest of us have gone along pretty supinely."



LOUIS B. LUNDBORG
'Indefensible'

--San Francisco Chronicle 4/16/'70

Now that most people are against the war, the bankers and businessmen who profit from imperialism shed crocodile tears and declare that "no one is to blame."

conference table what they have been unable to gain on the battlefield--continued domination of Vietnam. To support the right of the U.S. to negotiate is to support the right of the U.S. to continue exploiting and oppressing the Vietnamese. There is nothing to negotiate--the U.S. should GET OUT NOW!!

The Moratorium says halt the war because it "had had a corrupting influence on every aspect of American life and much of the national discontent can be traced to its influence."

We disagree. We think the U.S. should get out of Vietnam immediately, but we do not bemoan the fact that the Vietnamese war has revealed to many people, workers and students alike, that the U.S. rulers are vicious aggressors, bent on continuing the exploitation of workers and peasants throughout the world. For as the businessmen reap more and more profit from the war, workers and students are forced to pay higher taxes and inflationary prices, earn less money and forced to die in this war. Industrial strikes, many of them wildcats, are at an all-time high; so are ghetto rebellions, in which black people, led by militant black workers, fight against rent-gouging landlords and petty exploiters (pawnbrokers, used goods, loan agencies, etc.). Lastly, the universities have been greatly exposed, their role in furthering the misery and oppression of the majority of the people of the world is becoming clearer all the time.

By not attacking the negotiations, the liberal leaders who pushed the Moratorium, hoped to accomplish two things: (1)obscure the nature and source of the war (a war of oppressed people against their oppressor) and (2)keep people stringing along, "waiting and seeing" if peace isn't just around the corner--a good way to keep the people from actually fighting against the war!

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATORS WON'T END THE WAR

Worse, the Moratorium leaders took the position that in fact, there is no enemy; that no one profits from the war or has an interest in it; that Nixon is bad only because he is "dragging his feet." Sam Brown, former head of the now defunct National Moratorium Committee, told the Boston Globe

The industrial analogy (of a strike) is not really appropriate. We don't want to cripple the universities or shut them down but simply use them as bases for working against the war. (7/1/69)

In other words, the same universities which are tied to big business interests in Vietnam will suddenly be transformed into bases working against those interests!

"Our colleges and universities must be regarded as bastions of our defense, as essential to the preservation of our country and our way of life as supersonic bombers, nuclear powered submarines and inter-continental missiles."

--John Hannah, President of Michigan State University and Director of AID --
Agency for International Development

In spite of what the Moratorium Committee would have us believe, however, universities are not in fact neutral ivory towers devoted to "pure research" and "critical intellect." Though this may be the facade, in reality they are just as much a part of the exploitative corporate structure as any big business. They

speculate in stocks and securities, invest in companies with defense contracts and holdings in apartheid South Africa, and collect rents on large real estate holdings. (The University of Chicago, Yale, Columbia and Harvard are some of the worst slumlords in the country.) Aside from these profitable activities off-campus, on-campus they employ thousands of campus workers, generally at low wages, to say nothing of the lousy working conditions, constant racist attacks on black and Latin workers, strike-breaking, union-busting and general harassment.

"MEN WITH ULTIMATE
CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY
DO NOT ACT IN THIS WAY."



DARTMOUTH'S DICKEY:

Universities help to oppress workers abroad as well. According to the New York Times, ROTC programs on campuses across the nation provide the Army with 65% of all first lieutenants and 85% of all second lieutenants currently on active duty. (Times, 1/5/69) These officers are paid to serve in wars like Vietnam and Laos or wherever there are big business interests to protect.

Speaking in front of faculty considering action on a student referendum that had overwhelmingly demanded the abolition of ROTC, former Dartmouth President John Sloan Dickey (Council on Foreign Relations, Rockefeller Foundation) said that the faculty is free to do as it pleased, but that "our trustees are not going to take a slap at the government. Men with ultimate corporate responsibility do not act in this way." (New Left Notes, 8/26/69...our emphasis)

By and large though, by inviting liberal university administrators to speak at mass demonstrations, Moratorium leaders have only helped to confuse people about the ways in which "men with ultimate corporate responsibility (do and) do not act...." Two university administrators at Yale, for example, Reverend Sloan Coffin and President Kingman Brewster, are both "against the war"--at least at mass gatherings. But in their day-to-day work, they usually show their true colors the way they did last fall when they assisted in the racist firing of a black cafeteria worker, Mrs. Colia Williams.

So the great support that university administrators gave to the Moratorium did not come from sincere wishes to fight against the war. Rather they were worried that the student movement had exposed who they served--through struggles like those at Columbia, Harvard, and San Francisco State; they feared that students were building a movement that would fight concretely against the ways that universities attack the people. By supporting the Moratorium, they hoped to obscure the fact that they are

the enemy, thus keeping students and workers from opposing them.

Perhaps the most striking example of university complicity is the 1954 Michigan State University case. In order to help entrench Ngo Diem, whom the U.S. had just installed as a puppet in Saigon, the U.S. turned to MSU. At the call of Vice-President Nixon himself, University President John Hannah set up a team of 54 professors, police experts and administrators to train para-military secret police and help build a government structure for Diem. To further the work of the MAAG (the Military Assistance Advisory Group), Hannah's militia were later used to terrorize the Vietnamese population. (See Ramparts 4/1/70)

President Hannah later hired a friend of Diem's, Dr. Wesley Fishel, to head the MSU "technical assistance team." Shortly after the story of the MSU project broke in a Ramparts expose in 1966, Hannah made Fishel a full professor.

Almost two decades later, history came close to repeating itself at Southern Illinois University. Wesley Fishel has turned up as a visiting professor at a brand new Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs, the first department of its kind in the nation. The center is being financed by a \$1,000,000 grant from none other than the Agency for International Development. (New York Times 2/23/70) The director of AID, a government program specializing in counter-insurgency, is John Hannah.

It is in this context that the role played by liberal university administrators becomes even clearer. If we examine them more closely, we see that none of them offers a solution--they merely divert our attention from the problem. They need the disguise though--they have a lot to hide!



Cops guard door at NYU where striking campus workers, and student supporters, closed down the university for over a week. (April, 1970)



THE ROLE OF LIBERAL POLITICIANS

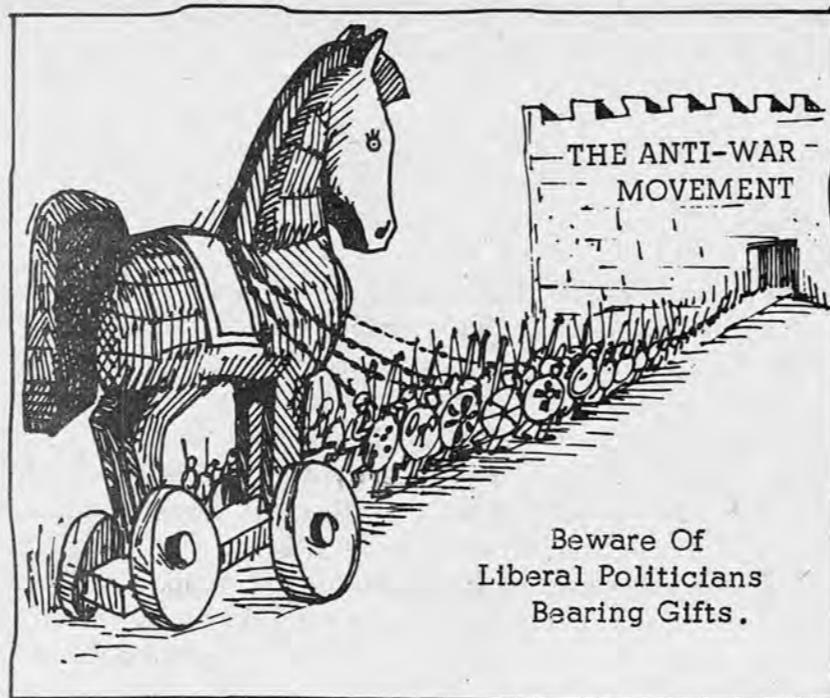
Many people who sincerely want to end the war feel that the best way to get the U.S. out of Vietnam is to support big-name politicians like Kennedy, McGovern, or McCarthy, who, they believe, can further the cause of peace. This type of thinking once again confuses cause and effect. These same liberal politicians are, in fact, responsible for much of our policy in Vietnam. Kennedy was the one who started sending increasing numbers of troops and Johnson, once considered a liberal, was the one who bombed the North and sent 500,000 American troops to Vietnam. For months after the 1968 elections, "liberal" politicians did not say a word about the war! Now that the anti-war movement is being built again, the Vietnam Moratorium, which was part of that movement, offered the opportunity to every Democratic Party hack from McGovern to Muskie to Fred Harris to jump on the "anti-war" bandwagon, and provide another cover for our continued presence in Vietnam.

WHY MC. CARTHY RAN

The McCarthy campaign offers a striking example of how this sort of co-optation has worked in the past. It is no accident that the leaders of the Vietnam Moratorium are all ex-McCarthyites, for their position is the same: get the people off the streets, get them into responsible political channels where they can work for a politician who sounds like a "dove."

Why did McCarthy run? The answer was clear to Tom Wicker, who wrote in the New York Times, "McCarthy's purpose in running was to channel their (the students) energies into constructive political effort rather than let them explode in street demonstrations... If he did not totally succeed, at least he got an "A" for effort." McCarthy, like many others, sensed the rising disgust with American foreign policy, and so he painted himself as the new Messiah to direct the peoples' anger into "responsible channels." Many thought that McCarthy's election would really bring peace, but McCarthy's own statements on the war prove otherwise. On the solution to the conflict he wrote,

"I think a phased withdrawal with some steps along the way would lead to a reasonable settlement. But it would be precipitous to remove U.S.



TAKING THE STEAM OUT OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

People argue, "Well, McCarthy didn't really want to get the U. S. out of Vietnam, but at least it was a step in the right direction." In reality, movements like McCarthy's have actually hurt the anti-war struggle--they have not attacked the issue of negotiations and have not attacked the "right" of the U. S. to be in Vietnam. McCarthy built a following around the notion of "let's start negotiating, and then we'll be on the road to peace." Two things have since become clear: (1) the "negotiations-now" position led people to mistakenly believe that withdrawal was around the corner, thus taking the steam out of the anti-war struggle. (2) The negotiations have been shown up for what they are, a ploy to keep people quiet at home while the government wages the war more viciously than ever. After one President's press conference even government officials admitted that the President saw the negotiations as a stalling tactic for "Vietnamization", i.e. building up the South Vietnamese army with American guns and American know-how.

The history of the anti-war movement is ripe with examples of how liberal politicians have tried desperately to channel all opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam into fake demands for negotiations or more "reasonable" solutions than total unconditional withdrawal. These movements put people on a merry-go-round which wears them down and leaves them cynical. It's no wonder that so many people have adopted the "you can't fight city hall" attitude when they have been led continuously by liberal and conservative politicians alike up so many dead ends.

While many have become cynical from all the lies and illusions about the Vietnam war which politicians have spread, many have learned from the past and seen these operations for what they are--old wine in new bottles. The way to end the war is not through symbolic actions or through mass demonstrations alone, but through ongoing anti-imperialist struggles--against ROTC, against university involvement with the Defense Department, against counter-insurgency institutes, etc.

How to Fight Against the War

Tens of millions of people in the U.S. now oppose the war in Vietnam and want the U.S. to get out now. The November 15, 1969 demonstration in Washington proved that more people than ever before are willing to take part in anti-war actions. There is no way in which politicians can claim that they don't know how most Americans feel (despite Nixon's attempts to invoke his "silent majority"). On campus after campus, anti-war students have led actions against ROTC, recruiters, and trustees with "defense" interests. When the government told GE workers that their strike was against the "national interest", that their demands were inflationary, that they were hurting the war effort, the workers said, "To hell with the (bosses') national interest," and stopped the nation's second largest "defense" contractor cold. This was despite attempts by the press and politicians to fool us into thinking that the war is almost over, that negotiations will end in a speedy withdrawal, and so on.

But still the war continues. Demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people haven't ended it. They haven't even prevented troop build-ups, bombing, or invasions in Laos, Thailand, or Cambodia. In fact, what these demonstrations have often done has been to build liberal politicians and their lies that the whole trouble in Vietnam is that the government is too rigid and bureaucratic to "give peace a chance". We have seen an anti-war movement built on the demand "Stop the Bombing, Negotiate!" and collapse like a house of cards when negotiations started. One lesson to be drawn from all this is that mass demonstrations are good, but to really attack those rulers who benefit from the war we must raise concrete demands that strongly challenge their interests.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST IDEAS

Some people, out of a desire for unity, say "Don't make a big public issue about imperialism and the fact that big businessmen are the primary enemy of the anti-war movement." Unity is certainly necessary, but only a movement unified against the big business rulers can succeed in fighting them and their imperialist wars. The fight against the war must be a fight against business's ability to wage imperialist exploitation and their ability to cover up the realities of U.S. foreign policy. We should have no illusions about the rulers' eagerness to mislead mass movements which potentially threaten their huge profits. Scores of various liberal misleaders have already jumped on the anti-war bandwagon. We heard McGovern tell us that the war was a "tragic mistake" in October. And at a time when Lindsay's cops were attacking students fighting against the Institute for Defense Analysis at Columbia (a counterinsurgency program) as well as fighting against Columbia's racist expansion into Harlem, he was speaking at an anti-war march across town. They're all there--the Democrats, the Republicans, university presidents--saying that they want the war ended, while taking pains to obscure and undercut any understanding of the how's and why's of U.S. imperialist involvement. This is not the first movement to be misled by political opportunists. Eisenhower was elected on



NIXON'S "SILENT MAJORITY" SPEAKS UP! New York City -- Postal workers strike a real blow to those who profit from the war.

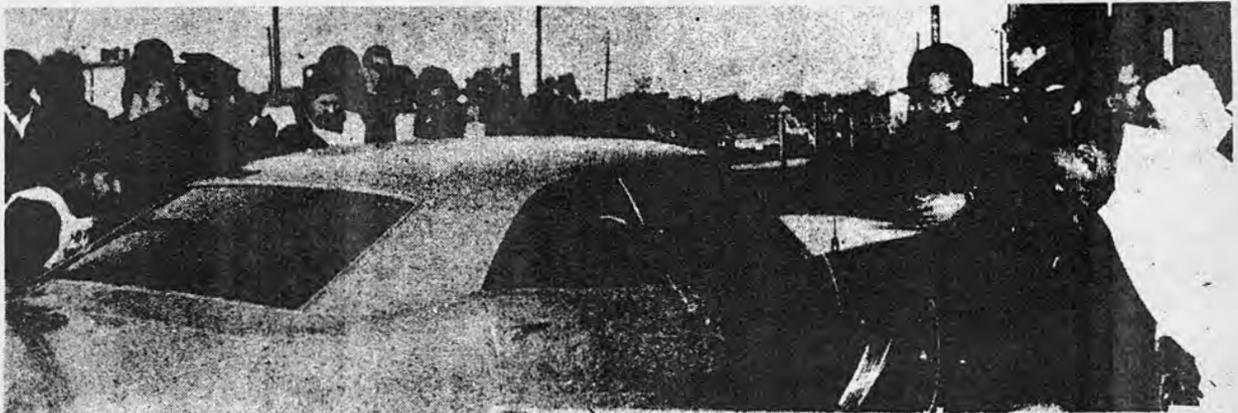
promises to pull out of Korea, and there are still 50,000 U.S. troops there engaged in combat. They are forcefully maintaining imperialist domination in which Koreans work in U.S. owned factories for 60¢ a day. Kennedy's "peace" in Laos was suffered by Laotians for a full four years before they rose up in armed struggle against it. The U.S. is greeting this with corresponding escalation. And in 1964, SDS fell for LBJ's promises to keep U.S. troops out of Vietnam. Our slogan was "Part of the way with LBJ"!

Let's not be fooled again. An effective strategy which really fights to get the U.S. out of Asia must have two very important features. First of all, it must not merely be a "protest" movement--rather it must launch concrete campaigns against those institutions which serve the war effort. Campaigns against ROTC, military recruiting, foreign policy institutes which do research on other countries, government officials, etc. can really have a concrete effect of making it harder for the U.S. government to carry on the war effort. Second, and of critical importance, the student movement must seek allies, not among the politicians or businessmen, but from the masses of working people in this country--the section of the population which is hurt most by the war, and which has the power to end the war. We have to develop a strategy which will help consolidate a real fighting alliance between working people and students on a broad range of issues.

.A STRATEGY THAT FIGHTS TO WIN

To put anti-imperialism into practice means developing an anti-imperialist strategy. This means adopting a long-range view of the fight against the war, directing it clearly against those responsible for the war--the businessmen with global investments to protect. The war in Vietnam, while being the most intense, is only one of many life and death struggles between U.S. businessmen and workers around the world. The more U.S. imperialism is hemmed in by anti-imperialist struggles elsewhere, the more difficult becomes the prosecution of the war against the Vietnamese. Every workers' strike, every black rebellion, every uprising in other Third World countries, spreads U.S. forces out thinner and materially undermines the Vietnam war effort. For this reason, the argument that the anti-war movement is a single-issue fight and that raising other issues (i.e. black rebellions, GE strike, etc.) only weakens it is dead wrong. (The same Ohio National Guard, for example, that recently shot down students at Kent State was called out only two days earlier to help break the Teamsters' wildcat. And in Georgia, it was the National Guard that Governor Maddox called on recently to suppress a black rebellion in Augusta.) The anti-war movement must join all oppressed people in their fight against ROTC, university racism and male chauvinism, university expansion into working class communities, etc. Such an alliance, made up of workers and students--black and white--can really get the U.S. out of Vietnam now (not to mention Cambodia, Laos, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, etc.).

These alliances aren't about to be made in a day, though, or in the abstract either. They are forged day by day through organized struggles. We in SDS are helping to build



A direct instrument of the bosses, cops break picket line and allow scab car to pass.

those struggles through programs like Campus Worker-Student Alliance (CWSA) and student strike support actions, like the ones students organized last year in support of striking GE workers.

I. CAMPUS WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE

The campus worker-student alliance is a project in which about 30 or more SDS chapters are presently engaged. On each of these campuses, sometimes a few, sometimes many--inside and outside SDS--have gotten themselves part-time jobs in cafeterias, university-affiliated hospitals, libraries, and on buildings and grounds crews. Through these jobs, students are able to talk politically with the workers to whom they are closest, and LEARN from them as well; after all, workers know a lot more about their oppression



"MEN AND WOMEN, BLACK AND WHITE, WORKERS AND STUDENTS MUST UNITE!"--THOUSANDS TAKE UP THE CHANT IN FRONT OF GM'S WORLD HEADQUARTERS IN DETROIT AT SDS ELECTION DAY MARCH

than we do. By working alongside campus workers, we face the same exploitation and harrassment they face, and take part first-hand in the same daily struggle against the administration boss. At the same time, the program provides us with the opportunity to re-examine our own ideas and attitudes (fear of black people, a feeling of superiority over working people, etc.) that the U.S. educational system has drummed into us. Through this experience, students in CWSA projects are beginning to understand for the first time in an intimate and thorough way, just how the university functions. But most important, we are beginning on many campuses to build an alliance with working people that really threatens the interests of the university bosses and the handful of bankers and corporation presidents who maintain universities to do their counterinsurgency research, train their ROTC officers, and teach their ideology.

At Yale, for example, CWSA fought and won a struggle to reinstate Mrs. Colia Williams, a black female cafeteria worker who was fired for fighting back against speed-up, racism and male chauvinist harassment. (see above photo)

At Wayne State in Detroit, the janitors' and matrons' union voted unanimously against allowing military recruiters on campus.

At Columbia, militant workers and students began a boycott that resulted in the rehiring of James Colbert, a black worker and shop steward who had been fired for being a "troublemaker", i.e., fighting back against racist remarks by the manager. Only a few weeks later, on May 9, campus workers, in alliance with students, shut down the whole university in support of the three national demands of a strike: (1) Get out of Southeast Asia now; (2) End political repression--free the Panthers; (3) Smash ROTC, war recruitment and war research. This was the first political strike by U.S. workers in over twenty years. In fact, Columbia workers organized buses to the national SDS demonstration at the Labor Department in Washington that same weekend.

At the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis recently, a thousand students marched into the administration building and forced the university to rehire a campus worker who was fired for joining a political picket line.

At New York University recently, the Black Student Association, Lucha (a Hispanic group) and SDS-supported the two-week-long campus workers' strike for higher wages and better working conditions.

At the University of Chicago and at Harvard, workers and students have started joint newspapers. At both schools, CWSA is actively campaigning against courses that teach racism and male chauvinism.

Everywhere, in fact, where there are CWSA projects (and even where real CWSA struggles have not as yet developed), students and campus workers are learning from one another. . . students, that workers are not all "bought off" and "reactionary", and workers, that student radicals are not the madmen and pacifists that the bosses' press say we all are. On campus after campus, out of this learning process is growing an alliance that can really shut down war and police institutes, fight the racist oppression of black and Latin campus workers, and struggle against the male chauvinist ideology that justifies the super-exploitation of women.

II Strike Support Actions

It could be safely said that the recent three month long strike of 150,000 workers against General Electric had the rulers of this country really shaking in their boots. Besides being



United Press International
Policemen in Lynn, Mass., preventing pickets from blocking entrance to General Electric plant



GE WORKERS SUPPORT STUDENTS

The day after students broke a court injunction and protested the appearance of GE recruiters on campus, GE workers showed up at Northeastern University to show their support for the students.

the fourth largest U.S. corporation, G.E. is the second largest defense contractor, and all the appeals of "national interest" and "hurting the war effort" had no effect in getting them back to work. The same could be said for the postal workers who struck for the first time in history, virtually paralyzing Wall Street and forcing the government to call out troops to break the strike. Nixon had to send down a special edict earlier this year prohibiting the railway workers from striking, and the massive Teamster strike has shut down trucking in many major areas of the country. At a time when the government and big corporations are trying to stop these strikes with threats, injunctions, and appeals to patriotism, hundreds of strikes are dealing a very important blow to the government, and to those who profit from the war. Upcoming strikes among teachers, city workers, and in industry--in particular the auto industry--promise to continue this pattern. The more successful these strikes are, the harder it is for the huge corporations to continue to oppress people here and in other countries, (i.e. Southeast Asia.)

In trying to become a more pro-working class movement, we must materially support these forthcoming strikes: join picketers, throw scab recruiters from struck companies off campus, organize boycotts, raise food and money for strikers, and do educational work among students to help convince them of the need to ally with working peoples' struggles. Generally, rank and file workers have been extremely pleased to have student support, and are glad that students are trying to learn and spread the undistorted truth about their strikes, which are seldom reported in the press. Furthermore, discussions with the strikers around other political questions, such as racism, the oppression of women, the Southeast Asia war, the student movement, and the oppression of working people in general, can really help build strong ties between the student movement and the rank-and-file workers' movement, and can be an important way to break down false stereotypes.

FIGHT MALE CHAUVINISM!

The U.S. rulers make extra money all over the world by super-exploiting women. In order to get away with paying women very low wages, they have to build support for these male chauvinist practices by spreading vicious lies about women. These myths include the ideas that women are only good for housework, sex, and low-paying jobs because women are supposedly "innately" dimwitted, frivolous, hyper-emotional, irrational, unreliable, etc. These male chauvinist practices really pay off for the big businesses---in the U.S., women workers, who make up one-third of the labor force, are paid an average of \$2,875 per year less than men workers. Besides getting the lowest paying jobs, women get significantly lower wages than men even in situations when both are doing identical work.

All around the world, women have taken the lead in the fight against U.S. imperialism. In Vietnam, women have fought hard against myths of "feminine passivity, submissiveness, etc." Men and women together have taken up arms to fight against their exploitation by the U.S. In the U.S., women have led many fights against the welfare system, gouging landlords, rotten medical facilities, bad schools, and on-the-job exploitation. Black women and other Third World women, both workers and students, have been in the forefront of struggles against racist police harassment and the especially lousy living and working conditions forced on them and their families.

Whenever women fight back against their exploitation, male-chauvinist abuse is heaped on their heads by the U.S. rulers and their friends. The only Vietnamese women you ever read about in the U.S. press are prostitutes, who are always castigated for supposedly giving VD to American GIs. Welfare clients attempting to win such things as winter clothing or furniture allowances are characterized in the press as totally irresponsible women who have as many children as possible in order to get more from welfare. These women supposedly care little about the children themselves. (That this is a complete slander is shown by the tremendous courage and tenacity of welfare mothers in these struggles for better conditions for their families. Further, in Boston for instance, a woman with one child gets \$45 a week while a woman with three gets \$56 a week--only about \$14 per month per child at present!)





Male chauvinist practices hurt the anti-war movement. Besides super-exploiting women at extra low wages, male chauvinist ideas and practices hurt the whole movement. For example, the lack of child care facilities and, in some cases, husbands who leave their wives with all the housework really prevent many women from taking truly active parts in the movement. Further, since women are experienced in the struggle against their own special oppression, we must all learn to accept and follow leadership of women within the movement. This means struggling hard with friends and husbands whose male chauvinism discourages women from taking leadership roles and from participating fully in all aspects of political work. This also requires that fights for child care centers and against the extra oppression of women should be supported by the anti-war movement as part and parcel of the same fight against U. S. imperialism. The following article, written by some women at Ft. Campbell and Ft. Knox, Kentucky, and published in a GI newspaper EM-16, shows how the Army tries to split men from women by promoting male chauvinism. These women are fighting for solidarity in the struggle against the Army brass and the U. S. government; we should follow their example and carry on the fight against male chauvinism within the anti-war movement.

GI WIVES TALK BACK TOO!

GI wives have a tough life because of the Army too. Most of us hate the brass and many of us argue against our husbands re-upping. The most obvious problem is the low pay we are expected to exist on. Everyone knows that the price of living is high around a post because the local businessmen take advantage of the fact that 80,000 people must live and shop here. If we have to buy a car to get to work, HFC and Time Finance will be pleased to let us have the money if we pay one-third the loan again in interest. In other words, when a friend wanted \$260 to buy a car, he ended up spending \$375 for a piece of junk that bust its wiring 2 miles after they drove off the lot.

We all know that three days after pay-day we're wondering how we're going to make it through the month. And it's the women who have to make those dollars stretch to pay the rent, the food, the payments. Now peanut butter sandwiches are fine sometimes, but every night for supper after the 15th is pitiful! Some women are willing and able to work to try to add to the family income but jobs are scarce and the pay is awfully low. About 600 jobs on post are being cut out supposedly to curb inflation--those families just won't have the money to buy anything this way. They can get away with paying us \$27 for 40 hours because there are so many of us who need jobs--a situation the bosses love. Some of us feel that even if they paid decent wages in the Army, we'd still hate it. It's against our interest when our men have to go and maybe be killed in Nam. Or how about a situation where Dad worked at a place that was on strike and our husband was sent by his beloved general to go break that strike, like in Charleston where the Guard was sent in against hospital workers.

The Army says we have it good because of all the special privileges like the PX and commissary and the hospital. Believe me, it's no privilege to go the emergency room with a vomiting child and have to wait three and a half hours to see a doctor. There are never enough doctors to care for our needs, so often we feel guilty about it. But we know that the doctors treat us like idiots--they don't ask us what's wrong and often they can't or won't do anything until we make a stink. A woman we know took her six month old child into the hospital because his temperature kept zooming higher and higher. They told her nothing was wrong and to get out since she was interfering. She fought back by threatening to take the baby home, after a nurse told her that if he didn't get attention soon, he'd die. So finally after a week in the hospital without any medicine for convulsions and fever, they did something. And then there's the dental clinic which cleans teeth fine but sends you to a civilian for anything like braces which cost alot.

Other articles in this issue have talked about how the Army tries to keep the GI's divided. We should include the ideas that women are inferior, stupid, good for nothing. Our men hear these lies every day in the Army, and then come home and sometimes put them into practice, like expecting us to wait on them hand and foot. Their hatred for the Army is taken out on us, instead of against the Army itself, and of course, the Army is delighted to escape the fight and pass it off onto us. Needless to say, these ideas, which we could call "male chauvinism" do not help GIs or their wives. Quite the opposite! These lies often keep men from allying with women in the fight against our oppression, and that's stupid. Women can and do fight back, and we should encourage these actions and not agree with the bosses who try to keep us ALL down.

--- reprinted from EM-16, a rank-and-file GI newspaper from Kentucky



Black students at the University of North Carolina help shut down the cafeteria in support of the striking cafeteria workers

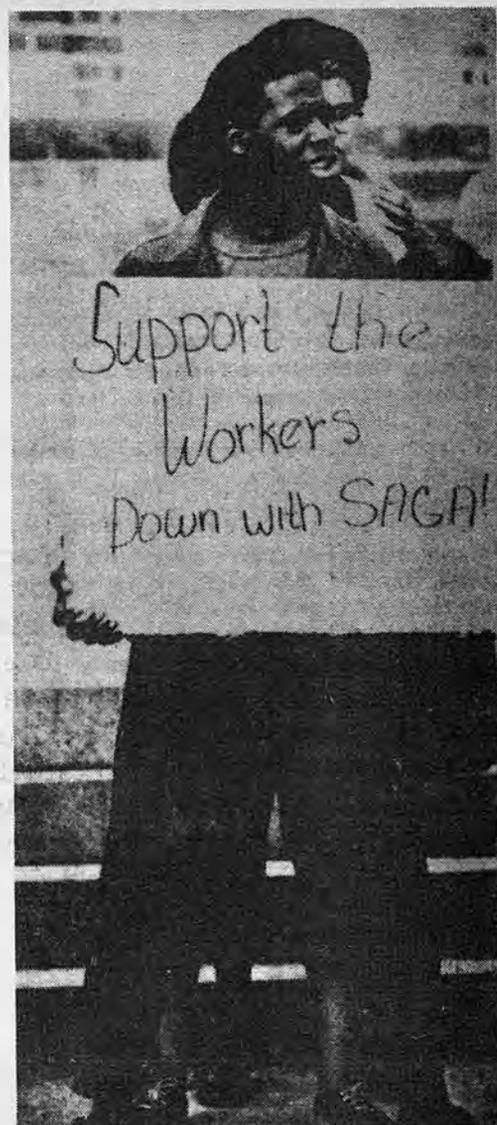


photo credit proteanRADISH, Chapel Hill, N.C.

ADVANCE THE STRUGGLE--FIGHT RACISM

One of the main weaknesses of the anti-war movement has been its failure to fight racism. Every day black and third world people face racist harassment and oppression. In their communities black people are subjected to unfit housing, lousy sanitation, robbery by merchants, and police attack. Black workers get the worst jobs, especially low wages, and the least job security. The per-capita income for blacks is \$1000/year less than for whites. Summed over 22 million black people this racism means 22 billion dollars in extra profits for businessmen. Little wonder black workers are in the lead of the upsurge of labor struggles. If we do not fight racism, black and third world people will have no reason to trust the mainly white anti-war movement, and the development of a strong alliance between black and white students and workers that is essential for a real fight against the war would be tragically delayed or even prevented. Furthermore, black people are clearest on the need for an on-going struggle against U.S. imperialism and would steer the anti-war movement clear of the "get-rich-quick" schemes of anti-war misleaders. The Black Liberation Movement was the first section of the anti-war movement

BACK BLACK



ASBURY PARK, NEW JERSEY: WORKERS FIGHTING FOR JOBS, HOUSING AND OTHER NEEDS



Boston SDS demonstration backs black rebels.

REBELLIONS!



Lumber yard burned in the struggle of black workers in Cairo against racist unemployment and cdp terror. The lumberyard is owned by bus inessman Bob Cunningham leader of the 'white Hats' an organization of cops

and bussness men whose activities include shooting up housing projects. Black workers have fought these attacks heroically.

This summer tremendous numbers of black people have realized that the only way to change the rotten conditions under which they live is to fight. Newspapers call black rebellions race riots, but in truth they are heroic struggles. People in these rebellions are fighting against great odds: cops have turned black neighborhoods into armed camps; the news media uses these rebellions to whip up racism; and liberal politicians have filled the air with idle, empty promises trying to cool things off. Yet black people continue to fight back.

We students and workers must see through this flack and recognize the highly political nature of these rebellions, that these people are not "rioting" in some kind of aimless, purposeless way. The people of New Bedford, Massachusetts burned the Model Cities building in the ghetto there. This exposes the nature of such government programs which are designed to do nothing more than create the illusion of progressive change.

Furthermore, we students and workers must reject the vicious lie that these rebellions are attacks against white people. In New Bedford, Beloit, and other places, whites have fought along side of blacks against their common appression, against rent gouging slum lords, profiteering ghetto merchants and phony government programs.

It is absolutely essential that the anti-war movement recognize the political significance of these courageous struggles and that it move to ally with them. Students this summer have begun to build support for these fights with massive leafletting and posterling campaigns, demonstrations (see articles, pp.2,5 and 8) and marches. We should not consider this our "summer project". People across the country: Take up the struggles to build mass support for those fighting back in the ghettos! Counter the racist lies of the news media!

COPS OUT OF THE GHETTO!

to express solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution. Black GI's have led large rebellions inside the army, and the Detroit rebellion held down the entire 82nd Airborne Division on its way to Vietnam. In August 1968, the Fort Hood 47, who were predominantly black, refused to be flown to Chicago to put down the anti-war, anti-election demonstrations at the "Democratic" Convention. And in the postal strike, again it was a predominantly black union, local #36, that provided the leadership that practically ground this country to a screeching halt. The anti-war movement must follow this militant leadership, but to do this it is crucial to overcome and fight racism.

The way to do this is to expose the way imperialism relies on racism, and to support in every way the struggles of third world people against racist exploitation and repression. Black people have pointed out very sharply the racist nature of the war and of imperialism. Racist slurs and propaganda laid the basis for genocide like the Song My massacre. The imperialist justification of "aid" to underdeveloped countries is also based on the racist notion that Western "culture" is a prerequisite to "enlightening" backward peoples and to developing "intelligent" (i.e. capitalist) economies. And when the U.S. invaded Trinidad last year to protect Singer Sewing Machine, Chase Manhattan, and Standard Oil interests, the U.S. press made it seem like the people rebelled because they were black - not because of the rotten conditions under which they are forced to live. Similarly, racist sociology is used to build anti-communism and to justify U.S. intervention: "the Asian people accept enslavement; the commies can manipulate them." The whole spectrum of racist ideology that is used to bolster imperialism must be exposed for the oppressive lie that it is. But that is only the first step, because racism is institutionalized throughout American society; we must fight not only racist ideology, but strike at racism's very roots -- the special oppression of black working people. The racist repression of black organizations and black and third world people in general must be fought by the anti-war movement as an integral part of its program. And all segments of the anti-war movement should be involved in ongoing struggles against racism. Unless this is done, racist divisions among the people will continue to weaken our fight against those who profit from the war and who profit from racism.

Last year at Boston State College, black and white students seized a building and demanded the removal of a police institute, the purpose of which is to teach cops how to effectively harass black people and put down black rebellions. At Berkeley, SDS supported a successful struggle led by black students to cancel a lecture by Arthur Jensen, a world-renowned 'scholar' who has allegedly "proven" that blacks are genetically inferior. Very recently, 300 SDSers, Afro-American students and sympathetic black and white students at the University of Connecticut prevented a racist Portuguese diplomat from speaking on Portuguese domination of its African colonies!

This past summer in Boston, SDS led a demonstration of 800 people in support of ghetto rebellions like the ones in New Bedford, Mass., Asbury Park, N.J., and Hartford, Conn. Just recently, many SDS chapters held demonstrations in support of the Cairo rebels who have been fighting back against unbelievable economic conditions for already one year and a half. The average yearly income for black workers in Alexander County, Ill. is \$4,000 and unemployment is up to 35% ! A black boycott of racist businesses resulted in the formation of a coalition of cops, city officials, and businessmen. Organized by an Ill. State Attorney, this KKK-type vigilante group has freely attacked blacks and black housing projects countless times. Black workers have responded courageously - several times they have driven cops out of their communities with sniper fire, and on Nov.8 they burned a lumber company owned by a leader of the racist 'white hats'. Also, two weeks before, they pinned cops down in their own police station for six hours.



photo credit James Yudelson

Berkeley April 1970

BUILDING ONGOING STRUGGLES AGAINST WAR RESEARCH, WAR RECRUITMENT, ROTC

The U.S. government already knows that millions of people oppose the war. But big demonstrations that politely ask the government to "end the war" or "bring the troops home now" will accomplish nothing, no matter how many people are mobilized. Businessmen are concerned about profits, not popularity. To really fight the war, we must raise concrete demands against university administrations (and other local bosses) and wage mass, militant struggles to actually win the demands.

Some of the struggles which we are waging are around ROTC programs. Campus ROTC programs turn out 85% of all junior officers, many of whom serve in Vietnam. (New York Times, 1/5/69). Many more students become officers through Officer Candidate

School on campus. We must build militant struggles to throw these programs off campus. Already such struggles have helped reduce the national ROTC enrollment 25% since last year, and 40% since 1966 (New York Times, 3/2/70).

None of these campaigns, however, have been easy. The ruling class in this country needs ROTC, and it will use every argument, tactic and gimmick in the world (from cops to referendums) to hang on to ROTC for as long as possible. At Harvard, for example, it was only after SDS and other groups had mobilized thousands of students into a militant Abolish ROTC campaign, that the administration 'agreed' to phase out Army ROTC by the end of 1970, and Air Force and Navy ROTC by the end of 1971. At other schools, where anti-imperialist struggles are still being built, students are having to deal with and expose the same sort of arguments that students at Harvard faced. However, until these arguments are defeated, we believe that it will be hard to build a nation-wide movement that will enlist thousands of students in the campaign against ROTC. For this reason, in the last section we are outlining the ways in which chapters (through leafletting, petitions, dorm discussions and mass meetings) have dealt one-by-one with the arguments that college administrators have advanced to defend the university's imperialist complicity.



One month after a Puerto Rican ROTC building was burnt to the ground, 60,000 workers and students marched to protest ROTC, Selective Service.

THE RULING CLASS DEFENSE: CHAPTERS REPLY

Argument #1 -- The University Is A Neutral Institution Engaged In Value-Free Research

Harvard-Radcliffe SDS replies,

"Harvard is a corporation; it has business interests, for instance, in the power companies of the American South (companies which follow racist hiring practices); it is a landlord in Cambridge, and its effect on the community has been to drive up rents and dispossess working people (at an enormous profit). Harvard allows military re-

recruiters free run of the campus, and specifically, the three ROTC programs, dating back to 1916, are among the oldest in the country. Harvard also gets important research contracts for a variety of purposes (Louis Fieser, the inventor of napalm, is a professor at Harvard), not to mention the fact that it permits CIA agents to take graduate courses at the East Asian Research Center--As if the CIA men are only interested in getting inculcated with the values of a liberal education!" Harvard also allows recruiters from various corporations on campus to recruit students to continue the oppression of people in Vietnam, South Africa, Guatemala, Iran, etc. It is not surprising that David Rockefeller (President of Chase Manhattan) and others like him sit as Overseers of Harvard University.

"A fundamental aspect of Harvard's support of the status quo is the curricula of courses in the social sciences, which extol the virtues of American power and the benevolence of American capitalism. For example, Samuel Huntington took a six-week tour of South Vietnam before the elections for the State Department; he returned with an elaborate rationalization of the U.S. policy (the incredible urbanization taking place, etc. -- see the Harvard Crimson, 10/17/67). Is it only an accident that Samuel Huntington teaches Govt. 227, Revolution and Politics in Vietnam? Other courses (the economic development courses, for example) claim that U.S. investments are good for the development of the third world. This curriculum naturally prepares people to serve in leading capacities in the ruling class. Given these factors, we do not believe that the university is neutral, or that Harvard is engaged in value-free research. On the contrary, Harvard plays a crucial role in training and supporting the ruling class." (a H-R leaflet fall - 1968)

Argument #2 -- Purify ROTC, Purify The University

Dartmouth SDS replies,

"This argument really builds on anti-working class ideas that students already have. It views ROTC as a blemish on a university that is basically good: '...if only we could make ROTC like the rest of the college...' the argument runs. ROTC is seen as an ugly militaristic thing, a sample of the unscholarly 'outside world' intruding on 'our' university. This is anti-working class because the 'outside world' students are thinking of is 'the great mass' of 'unaesthetic people' whose 'insensitive values' have no place on campuses delicately creating the elite. So this argument about purifying the university really strengthens students' arrogance towards workers, giving it a 'radical' veneer. Moreover, this approach does not build a base for throwing ROTC off! It leads one to discuss questions as: 'Are ROTC courses 'liberal' enough, or are they too militaristic? Should ROTC officers receive professorial status? Should ROTC get academic credit? Perhaps it should be made an extracurricular activity?' Seeing ROTC as an unnatural blemish, not as one of the many ways in which U.S. schools are used against the people, this view leads to considering the administration as neutral, or at worst confused. Thus one tries to wheel and deal (trying to get on committees and making moralistic appeals to the administration) for ROTC reform, such as removing academic credit and professorial status for ROTC officers, while not fighting to get ROTC off campus. That, by the way, is just what the Dartmouth faculty came up with. Picking up on this argument they passed a resolution in January, 1969, 'purifying', but not abolishing ROTC."

(S.D.S. New Left Notes, 8/26/69)



BERKELEY (April 15, 1970) Thousands of students, chanting "U.S. Out Of Southeast Asia! ROTC Must Go!" demonstrate against ROTC, battle cops.

Argument #3 -- Let's Vote

University of Connecticut SDS replies,

"SDS does not want to vote on ROTC -- we want to get rid of it. We want to abolish ROTC because ROTC is "essential to the life-blood of the U.S. military" (Col. Pell, Harvard ROTC commander). That military is presently engaged in imperialist wars like Vietnam and Laos to protect the interests of a few at the expense of people at home and abroad.....

"The ROTC referendum, sponsored and funded by the Student Senate, obviously does not deal squarely or honestly with the problem at hand. What is needed now is a strategy -- one which is principled and honest -- but most important, one which will win.

" BOYCOTT THE REFERENDUM!

"We are urging all students not to vote in the Student Senate's referendum. The referendum is not binding. The referendum does not propose to abolish ROTC. But even if it were both binding and for abolition, we would still object to the referendum on the principled basis that the people most affected by ROTC (Vietnamese, Third World, blacks) do not vote. ROTC is not a student power issue. SDS would continue to fight against ROTC and IME (Institute for Military Education, an expanded and humanized ROTC) even if a majority of the students on the UConn campus voted that ROTC was a good thing in a referendum. It is part of the elitist attitudes we learn in college that assume college students should be making decisions (really participating in mock elections) for

the whole world. While Third World people fight back against U.S. Imperialism, opportunists tell us: "VOTE..." (a UConn leaflet, 3/19/70)

Argument #4 To Deny Students The Right To Join ROTC Is A Violation of Personal Freedom
University of Illinois Circle Campus SDS replies,

" The question then becomes: Does ROTC have a right to be on campus? Does ROTC, in fact, have a right to exist? It seems important that we don't look at this question abstractly, but that we look at it in terms of what ROTC is used for. Does the U.S. have a right to suppress the struggle of the Vietnamese people so businessmen can have another place to invest and make super-profits? The administration evades this question by throwing up the smoke screen of "free speech" (freedom to join ROTC).

" But what does free speech mean in this case? ROTC is an instrument of U.S. Armed Forces engaged in a war against the Vietnamese people. The American government's "right of conquest" is here counterposed to the Vietnamese people's right to rebel. But only one of these mutually exclusive rights is in fact a genuine right. The force which



Boston University students interfering with a GE recruiter's 'right' to scab!

robber uses to extort goods does not give him a right to those goods. The force applied to maintain social conditions in which the great majority live on the edge of starvation and are treated as animals, and a small number of men live luxuriously (e.g. in Vietnam, both french colonialism and U.S. imperialism from Diem through Ky) cannot manufacture a right of conquest.



SDS demonstration of 15,000 rallying at Labor Dept. (May 9, 1970)

"When 20,000 Black and white workers at Newport News Shipyard struck last summer, they suppressed their boss' freedom to make money. When the boss called scabs in, he opposed the workers' freedom to live better. When they beat the hell out of scabs and cops, what of the scabs' right of free movement, and the cops' right to serve the ruling class of corporation owners in peace?

"The instruments of U.S. domination in Vietnam (i.e. ROTC, the CIA, etc.) have no "rights" either there or to recruit highly trained "human resources" on American campuses. To justify their "rights" in this regard one would have to extol the activities in which the U.S. Army engages; in effect one would have to support the right of conquest--the right of a foreign government to exploit a people. There is no such "right" (any more than Murder Inc. should have the right to recruit highly trained technicians of death on American campuses; such a procedure presupposes the "right" to murder.) Military recruitment on campus also presupposes the "right" to suppress Black rebellions in American cities, break strikes like the postal strike, etc." (a U.I.C.C. leaflet, spring 1970)

ADVANCE UNDER ATTACK

Historically, whenever the interests of big businessmen are really threatened, the ruling class turns to violence and repression. Coercion is one of the most frequently employed weapons in their arsenal, and they've used it time and again, to crush workers' strikes, black and third world rebellions, as well as student movements, both here and abroad. Through coercion -- from busting people who sit in to protest ROTC to shooting students, the way they did at Kent and Ohio State -- the businessmen who profit from imperialist wars hope to scare people away from fighting back in a militant fashion. But as the struggles of working people have shown us, the greater the oppression, the harder people fight back; and that if you rely on the people, rather than politicians, and "dare to struggle" workers and students can "fight to win."

WHO ARE THE BOMBERS? OFTEN THE RULERS!



The poster at the left is plastered all over the greater Boston area. The picture? One might remember seeing it before. This fellow is one of the thousands who rightly stoned the police off the Berkeley campus last spring in the fight to abolish ROTC there. Here he is made to look like a bomb thrower in part of the media's increasing attempts to portray radicals as small cliques of bomb throwing idiots. In many cases SDS has been accused of bombings or bomb plots. At Boston State College, for example, the school administration has organized bomb scares to coincide with all SDS activities. And then when SDS holds impromptu rallies among all the students the building to be 'inspected' the administration says this is proof SDS phoned in the bomb scares.

This is the oldest trick in the book. The government is behind many of the bombings -- witness the June Time Magazine account of undercover agent Tommy the Traveler who posed as an 'SDS organizer' and persuaded small groups of students to firebomb buildings. Back in 1903 a Colorado mining company hired a Pinkerton guard to derail a train in order to discredit the minders' struggle for a union.

SDS does not have and never did have anything to do with bombings and terrorism. We have a lot to do with a student movement that allies with working people to wage mass militant fights against imperialism, racism and the oppression of women. We support the hundreds of San Jose auto workers who seized the area around their plant and kicked the cops out, and we support the millions of working people (mainly black) who have organized rebellions against police terror and over rising unemployment. These are struggles that are directed against the real enemy -- the big businessmen who run this country. That's why these businessmen organize and publicize terrorist bombings.

Reprinted from New Left Notes, the SDS national newspaper (12/10/70)

Fight Racism Support Ghetto Rebellions **JOIN SDS!**

front cover:

40,000 march in Puerto Rico after U.S. ROTC building is burned
Vietnamese liberation fighter
SDS anti-war demonstration (Boston, 1969)
General Electric strikers demonstrating at Northeastern U.
Led by black workers, angry postal workers call for historic strike
Hundreds of SDSers in Los Angeles demonstrating against racist repression

sds new left notes



Students for a Democratic Society, 171a Massachusetts Ave. (second floor)

SDS NATIONAL CONVENTION

CHICAGO

pp. 6, 7

VOL. 5, #20, 11/22/70
printed by union labor

SDS Rallies 2,600 Workers, Students

MARCH ON GM

READ NEW LEFT NOTES



"MEN AND WOMEN, BLACK AND WHITE, WORKERS AND STUDENTS MUST UNITE!"—THOUSANDS TAKE UP THE CHANT IN FRONT OF GM'S WORLD HEADQUARTERS IN DETROIT AT SDS ELECTION DAY MARCH. SEE PAGES 6-7 FOR THE FULL STORY.

—San Francisco State —

Newspaper Office Takeover Sparks

FIGHT AGAINST SEXISM!

'The pill has liberated women. Since they aren't afraid of pregnancy they want to do it all the time.'

Tony Rogers
S. F. State Phoenix

This is the kind of sexist crap that S. I. Hayakawa is fighting for tooth and nail. And S. F. State SDS is fighting hard against it! On Nov. 16, around 100 students took over the office of the Phoenix, a university-funded students newspaper which dishes out a daily menu of blatantly sexist columns and derogatory anti-working class articles and editorials. They demanded that the authors of these attacks, columnist Tony Rogers and editor Otto Bos, be fired, that the paper retract these articles, and that they print an SDS-written article denouncing the attacks on women.

The Phoenix staff refused and the administration called in the Tactical Squad.

When a university sends the cops to protect a paper's 'right' to push sexism, it makes it clear that, for the ruling class, THE CONTINUED OPPRESSION OF WOMEN IS SERIOUS BUSINESS! The administration at S. F. State is fighting to keep ideas about women's inferiority in circulation, but SDS there is militantly challenging their 'right' to do that.

THE TAKEOVER

The following interview was taped over the telephone between the editor of NLN and Gary Barton from S. F. State SDS, during the takeover of the Phoenix office. At the time of the call,

people in the office were discussing the political effectiveness of seizing the office and whether they should stay or leave, since the Tactical Police were coming down the hall.)

GB: We put out a leaflet this morning and asked for people to assembly in front of the Commons at 10:30. From there we were going to go to the Phoenix office. We were going to confront them with basically the chauvinist articles that had been printed in the paper in the last year and a half and which had been coming to the forefront this semester. It came to a head last Friday when the school newspaper printed on the editoria page a really anti-working class article called 'Workers Versus the New Left'. I'm going to

Cont. on back page

JOIN SDS