

# Resolutions Passed at the SDS Convention

## — RACISM

## — WOMEN'S LIBERATION

These resolutions were passed at the SDS Convention after the RYM walkout. The Jeff Gordon article (reprinted from Fight to Win) is included because the racism resolution is based on it and is meant to give it a specifically anti-racist thrust. The resolutions appeared in the 30 June 1969 issue of New Left Notes.

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## The MOVEMENT Must Serve the People - The Schools Can't

by Jeff Gordon

The ruling class, their local flunkies and their college administrators are running scared. They are afraid of the growing strength of the Black Liberation movement, the emergence of a rank-and-file movement of workers and anti-imperialist organizing in the army. They are scared of the radicalization of the student movement and the beginnings of an alliance with the working class. Class oppression and class struggle is sharpening. Economically, politically and culturally, the Glorious Free Enterprise Empire is falling apart.

Faced with this escalating class struggle, the rulers have come up with a strategy to attack the people and try to give Imperialism some breathing space. Basically, with some local variations, their strategy is to SCARE, to SPLIT, and to MISDIRECT.

It's vital that we have a correct political answer to these attacks. If we do we can turn them around and come out stronger. If we don't this could mark a period of retreat, isolation, floundering and opportunist diluting of our politics.

The ruling class would love nothing better than for us to run around talking of REPRESSION, REPRESSION and slow up on the very aggressive political organizing that forces them to attack us more. The "Communist" Party did just that and they moved further to the right. This question is key for SDS.

SCARE - HIT HARD! - DIVERT...

Local cops, with Nixon's active encouragement,

are coming down harder on student protesters, especially Blacks. SDS has been singled out among white students. Arrests come quicker, with charges more severe and bail stiffer. All this is much sharper for Blacks—Panther arrests, SF State, Baton Rouge, Brooklyn College, etc. Liberals all over are "supporting the right to peaceful (read: ineffectual) protest" while adding their voices to the attack. They often advocate that schools "clean their own houses first" before the vigilantes and Congress get us all.

Coupled with the big attack is an administration-backed student power push. "Rightful and understandable complaints" held by "the silent majority" have been discovered. New committees are being set up like mad. Committees to study. Even committees to "control." Curriculums are being changed. Added to. Requirements dropped.

Student power for white students, around for a long time, is being bolstered. Student power for Black students is being put forth with a more militant veneer, justified by nationalism and backed by administrators as a counter to proletarian ideology.

THE STRATEGY IS SIMPLE: HIT HARD, THEN GIVE THEM STUDENT POWER! The bosses' class hopes their attack (which can still get a lot, lot sharper) will either drive us into: a rightest legal defense (sometimes called "legal resistance") strategy; and/or a "left"-appearing, super-secret, self-scare campaign leading to terrorism and isolation; and the student power bag. This bust-quick and divert to student power, 1-2 punch is endorsed by the Wall St. Journal and NY Times. But in case they can't scare us out of sight and misdirect what's left into student power bullshit,

the rulers are trying to:

#### DIVIDE WITH RACISM

The ruling class is now whipping up racism among white students as a smokescreen to hide behind. They want to split students. It's the old divide and rule strategy. The press has played up and exaggerated every bit of interracial student violence in NY. They are building a scare campaign. The government can then crack down hard. While fascist groups like the boss-organized, racist Jewish "Defense" League in NY organize for race war, cops are brought on campus as "neutrals" to establish law and order." Then the administration comes out for "reason" and student power! This is the story at CCNY, for example.

The rulers' campus race-war strategy has significance beyond the campus. Bosses are scared by the growing, though still limited, unity of Black and white factory workers. They are especially afraid of white workers following the militant leadership of Black workers. In Newport News, Va., and in some auto plants, Black workers, taking the lead on class demands, have been joined by whites. They fought side by side against cops. Although racism is rampant, the bosses have failed to spark worker race war, to split the workers totally. Now they will try spreading the fear and lies about campus racial fighting to white workers. Thus the on-campus fight against racism has implications for THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS and is vital for a worker-student alliance strategy.

#### OPEN SEASON ON WSA? FIGHT BACK!

Within SDS the rulers have singled out the strategy of worker-student alliance and the wsa caucus for special attack. That makes sense. The rulers cringe at the thought of a student movement won to serving workers (and fighting imperialists).

In practice, the WSA caucus and strategy are key obstacles to the rulers' student power plans. And the worker-student alliance work-in has them especially upset. The Illinois Manufacturers Assn. calls the WSA work-in "an insidious plot." The Berkeley Chamber of Commerce warns that the WSA work-in "will have an ugly impact on your business and the business community of Berkeley." (Good!) They both hint that something should be done about it. If they can smash the caucus, the rulers figure they can more easily isolate and terrorize SDS and drive it into the bourgeois arms of student power and counter-institution politics.

Tied to this is a big campaign within SDS against the caucus. Pushed by the "national collective" Les Coleman/Mike Klonsky leadership, the idea is to distort and isolate the worker-student alliance strategy and advocates. The same idea—get the wsa!—seems to be held as well by the Daily World, Militant and Guardian, all of which "radical" papers have launched big attacks on the wsa caucus and PLP as the bad guys in SDS. But the caucus is growing based on a principled stand, always trying to serve working people by fighting imperialism. (The wsa caucus doesn't change its politics every day to court popularity.) It won't be diverted or scared off by attacks, whether from the ruling class or the National Office. The attacks are just signs that we're on the correct path, leading more struggles in better directions.

As the movement comes under harsher attack, voices are increasingly heard saying we must concentrate on "defense" that the real issue is "repression." We say: the attack is a compliment. The best answer is to up the ante on

building a worker-student alliance. A key part of this is to:

#### SMASH RACISM

The rulers want to divide us and increase divisions among workers by playing up campus racism. We've got to show white students how racism is used to split the people, to their own great loss, while only the rulers gain! There are two positions in SDS on fighting racism.

THE RIGHT-WING NATIONAL SDS LEADERSHIP SUBSTITUTES BANDAID RUNNING AND STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FOR BLACK PEOPLE FOR ACTUALLY LAUNCHING A MASSIVE ANTI-RACISM FIGHT AMONG WHITE STUDENTS. Chauvinistically, they have tried to use the armed struggles of Black working people and the respect that white radicals have for the Panthers as their main argument within SDS! Of course, support statements are good, and we're all for debates on these questions. BUT WHAT COLEMAN AND KLONSKY ARE DOING IS JUST ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF WHITE LIBERALS AND RADICALS USING THE BLACK MOVEMENT AS A COVER FOR WHAT HAS PROVEN IN PRACTICE TO BE THEIR OWN BAD POLITICS.

#### FIGHT STUDENT POWER. WE MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE \* THE SCHOOLS CAN'T

"Student power" is a reactionary demand. 1) It builds the serious illusion about the nature of the capitalist state—that students can acquire real power over a section of the state apparatus, the university, while the capitalists still maintain clear control over the cops, money, etc., which operate and guard that section. As Lenin said: "The basic question in any revolution is that of state power. Unless this question is understood, there can be no conscious participation in the revolution, not to speak of guidance of the revolution." 2) Student power is offered up as a BRIBE! "We'll let you carry out some of our imperialist policies if you're nice," is their offer. This builds a movement aimed at getting special goodies for students. We must build a very different movement. A movement geared to fighting in workers' interests. Pushing student power helps hold students back from seeing that workers must run the world. Moreover, the rulers know that "student power" turns working people off, thus further isolating the movement.

Student power ideology ran rampant in the movement around the time of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. It was set back through hard experience and long-term struggle. But now it's arising again in two new forms, disguised with a more "militant" cover clothing its basically liberal body. One form is the Coleman/Klonsky line that "We must fight to make the schools serve the people." The other is the demand for Black student power.

UNDER CAPITALISM THE SCHOOLS CAN'T SERVE THE PEOPLE. To fight for this builds illusions and serves as a front for student power.

Thus, supporters of Coleman/Klonsky at Brooklyn College said that if an 18 demand reform struggle was won (and keep in mind—B.C.'s President came out for these demands!) "the policies of the college" would be "turned around" and "the school and the society would serve the people." Nonsense!

At Columbia (see article, this issue) a demand for "Black student admissions (the Black student group leadership, SAS, opposed open admissions) was backed by the SDS chapter leaders. Using nationalism and a COMPLETE

**DISTORTION** of the concept of self-determination, the SDS anti-WSA leaders backed SAS bourgeois demands. We support self-determination. But radicals must ally with Black working class forces and Black and white students WHO SUPPORT BLACK WORKERS, not with the white or Black petty bourgeois operators WHO EMERGE IN ALL STRUGGLES OF BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS, TRYING TO MISLEAD WITH SELF-AGGRANDIZING STUDENT POWER DEMANDS. To use "self-determination" as a cover for pushing bourgeois leadership is plain chauvinist demagogery. The SDS right-wing leaders at Columbia went even further, saying that the Black student power demand WAS A PRE-CONDITION THAT HAD TO BE MET BEFORE THEY'D AGREE TO FIGHT ROTC, which is an attack on Vietnamese people and Black ghetto rebels, and Columbia's expansion policy, which is evicting thousands of Black, Brown and white workers from their homes. "Self-determination" apparently means for these guys: screw the people!

The administration ALSO backed the SAS demands. In addition, an SAS leader then denounced SDS for trying to use the Black students' struggle "for their own ends." That's what happens to opportunist, student power alliances! The political line of the Coleman/Klonsky-run "national collective"—building student power disguised as "serving the people" and building nationalism while demagogically using the tremendous struggles of Black people—led to the debacle at Columbia.

Instead of building illusions that the UNIVERSITY can serve the people under capitalism, WE MUST BUILD A MOVEMENT THAT SERVES THE PEOPLE! That fighting movement must expose and defeat all student power ideology. It must win over honest students who accept these ideas. It must isolate and defeat those dishonest opportunists who put it forth for their own gain. It must win students to side with the international working class.

We can't fight racism by building student power!! Autonomous control over a racist institution is still racist!

#### TACTICAL PROGRAM

We should add a new thrust to our tactical approach. The University is an institution of the state. Under the capitalist system it's a capitalist institution. We've taken too narrow a view. We have to broaden our attack on it. Not only should we continue to make demands on the administration—demands which attack the anti-worker uses of the colleges—but we should begin to MAKE THE UNIVERSITY A POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND IN OUR SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLES OF BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS. Thus a building could be seized and strong support built on campus, to back a city-wide strike or Black rebellion. This would raise the issue much more sharply to students, would show support, and would take some of the pressure off those we support.

This would be saying: we can't limit our struggles just to the context of the schools. If properly built, such actions would help change many workers' outlook towards the student movement.

This approach should be tied to generally sharper actions aimed at building a worker-student alliance. That's the best way to answer the rulers' attacks!

Keeping this in mind, tactics fall into three categories:

FIRST we should oppose the anti-worker, racist uses of schools by the rulers.

a) **FIGHT UNIVERSITY EXPANSION.** It's bad both because it throws working people out of their homes AND because it increases the effectiveness of these imperialism-serving institutions. Often—e.g., at Columbia and Harvard—expansion is blatantly racist. **FIGHTING RACISM** should be a major part of the attack on expansion.

b) **FORM PRINCIPLED ALLIANCES WITH BLACK GROUPS.** This holds for both student and non-student groups. Defeat racism in SDS.

c) **CARRY ON MASS IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGNS ON CAMPUSES AGAINST RACISM.** This is key for smashing to rulers' campus race-war strategy. Basis of racism in super-exploitation must be exposed, while students must be won to seeing that racism will only end when it is crushed through violent struggle. They must be won to that fight.

d) **THROW ROTC OFF CAMPUS.** Not to "purify the university" but as an attack on imperialism. Don't accept schools' phony stalling actions—maybe we'll abolish it in three years perhaps." No extra-curricular status. Throw it out. In building for this action, it's key to make clear to students JUST WHY we are so opposed to imperialism.

e) **ATTACK AND SMASH RACIST COURSES AND PIG INSTITUTES.** Students oppose us on these actions due to racism and/or the liberal idea that all men (oppressors and oppressed) should have freedom to do their thing. The key thing to fight is racism!

f) **BAR WAR-INDUSTRY, GOVERNMENT, RACIST and STRIKING RECRUITERS.** Broad support, once again, should be built, so people see this is part of building a pro-worker movement, that we're not just out for spring kicks.

g) **ATTACK MILITARY AND SOCIOLOGICAL COUNTER-INSURGENCY RESEARCH.** This helps defeat the lie that schools are a neutral refuge for knowledge-hungry scholars.

SECOND we should fight and defeat the administrations' student power thrust and their attempt to bury us in student-faculty talk-show smokescreens. This means wide-spread agitation AGAINST STUDENT POWER as being diversionary and selfishly anti-working class. Organize to expose and smash student-faculty-administration committees. This must be done in a mass way. Otherwise many students will think we're just attacking these committees (which many support) for the sake of disruption. Never build but always work towards defeating self-seeking student power types. When administrators advocate schemes to "help out" the community so that the "previously too removed" schools "can take on their community responsibility" expose this as just a cover for more attacks on the people.

THIRD we should build solid support for and ties with working people in struggle

a) **SUPPORT STRIKES, GHETTO REBELLIONS, WORKERS' ACTIONS VS. RENT INCREASES, OTHER RULING CLASS ATTACKS.** Win students to SUPPORT anti-boss violence by Black and white workers! Build mass student support for workers' struggles. Attack anti-worker (especially, anti-Black worker!) campus attitudes. Do political work with workers being supported, raising especially the need to fight racism.

b) **DEFEND BLACK AND WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS UNDER ATTACK!** Also, Black students in all-Black colleges are under vicious attack. The Panthers are under sharp attack. National Guard are often used. Support actions can be tied in with local projects

d) **SUPPORT CAMPUS WORKERS' ORGANIZING ATTEMPTS AND STRIKES.** In conjunc-

tion with campus workers, raise demands for preferential hiring of Black and Brown workers. Organize student employees. Fight schools' attempts to use students as scabs.

e) ORGANIZE SUMMER WORK-INS. Learn from the workers; build ties; argue for revolutionary ideas—especially attacking racism!—but don't sound know-it-all. Discuss how campus actions are aimed at building a pro-worker student movement.

f) MUCH MORE LEAFLETING OF FACULTIES AND WORKING CLASS AREAS. Explain our struggles. Counter the Nixon line

which portrays us as rich, fascist, spoiled brats concerned with having a ball.

g) BUILD THE YEAR-ROUND WORK-IN—A NEW PROJECT. This will help reach out to the more working class students. Millions of college students work part time. A new thrust to expand the work-ins will be to reach these students, organize them and reach the millions of full time workers they work with. More on this later.

**BUILD TIES WITH WORKERS. BUILD A PRO-WORKER STUDENT MOVEMENT!  
SMASH RACISM—SMASH IMPERIALISM,**

## Less Talk, More Action — FIGHT RACISM

All US colleges are racist institutions, part and parcel of the imperialist state apparatus. Right now, they are a main center for the spreading of liberal racism. Black workers are leading struggles against imperialism. This makes the ruling class desperate. Racism is absolutely necessary to imperialism. They are strategically weak. Therefore, they are intensifying their building of racism to further oppress Black people and disunite the working class.

We must advance under this attack. We must turn it into its opposite. The main thrust of SDS's work this year should be a major anti-racist campaign on campuses across the country. We must turn the campuses into battlegrounds against racism and the imperialism it serves.

### The schools are centers of racism

1. Schools are paid for by the working class and only the working class. All wealth is produced by workers. Schools are supported by tax money stolen directly from workers. The heaviest burden for this falls upon the super-exploited Black and Latin workers. Also, the schools are physically built by workers -- not mayors, planners, or Boards of Trustees. Thus, schools are built on the backs of all workers and especially come from the racist super-exploitation of Black workers.

2. The basis of US colleges is to teach and research racism and imperialism. Racist courses, cop institutes, and counter-insurgency centers abound. Future teachers, social workers, etc., are taught to spread racism to the working class. They are also prepared to be pitted against Black workers -- as in New York's racist teachers' walk-out. Universities serve as a major intellectual and ideological center. Statements by leading professors have an important impact on many people.

3. Many Universities are expanding so as to better get and spread ideas for imperialism. Often, this expansion is done at the expense of the working class around the University -- most often, Black workers. Expansion throws Black workers out of their homes so as to expand the facilities for studying how to smash their movements and for teaching racism.

4. Universities and university hospitals have racist hiring practices and super-exploit their workers. Colleges welcome, of course, recruiters from companies with similar racist practices (i.e. all companies).

We have done much research into how the university is imperialist in general. We should now expand that to a particular understanding of all its racist uses. The above is a beginning in that.

### The movement must serve the people

Most students can be won to fight in a pro-working class, anti-imperialist and anti-racist way. About

one-half of the students who enter college do not graduate. Over 40% of graduates teach. These and others need to fight the rulers. Our job is to expose the University's lies and its programs. This can be done by organizing mass struggles for real reforms (e.g. abolish ROTC, stop the pig institutes, stop expansion, stop scab and racist recruiters, stop racist courses, etc.). In the process, the rulers will expose themselves. We can develop and deepen the class consciousness of many students.

This cannot be done if we fight for 'control' or 'democratic participation' in running of any phase of the imperialist, racist, rotten, lying, exploiting university. Our job is to win masses of students to a fighting anti-racist, pro-working class movement. Our unity and fighting power can win concessions. We must not mislead students to become petty managers -- front men for imperialism. Therefore, we must oppose all 'student power' demands.

### Revolutionary violence — class war

We must win white students and workers to seeing why it is necessary to use revolutionary violence to defeat imperialism. We must win them to supporting the violence of Black workers. But that isn't enough. We must defeat pacifism, especially among students, and engage in revolutionary violence. This does not mean we stand for individual terrorism. We must learn from and advance the example of San Francisco State and Berkeley on the question of using mass violence. No social class ever surrendered.

### Turn attacks on Black people into their opposite

The ruling class is upping its attack on Black people and right now particularly the Black Panther Party because the rulers are running scared! It's a sign of weakness, not strength. Our response must be to advance under the attack. We must build support for those attacked, exposing the rulers. This must be done among students on campus and taken to white workers. It is a serious mistake to only mobilize the already existing movement in support. If we can't win new people, we're in trouble. The national leadership of SDS had a parasitic outlook on support. They are incapable of winning students to opposing attacks on the Black liberation movement as an attack on the working class and all the people. Their program at the last NC for Panther support includes only the usual bandaid cant that Trotskyist groups have been putting forth for years.

### Fight for demands in the interest of Black workers

In fighting racism, we must ally with Black workers and students. Our struggle must be part of the class struggle. The ruling class is trying to divert these struggles into demands that don't serve Black workers -- demands for Black student 'control' over Black studies departments, Black deans, Black trustees,

etc. They don't fight the super-exploitation of Black working people. A dean is a dean is a dean. A cop is a cop is a cop.

### Tactical program

Fight Racist Expansion -- Avoid the trap of demanding 'good expansion'. That is impossible -- rulers' schools' expansion must attack the people.

Attack Racist Exploitation of Campus Workers -- Demand preferential hiring of Black and Latin workers. Support better wages, working conditions and right to unionization of all university workers. Unite with these workers. Students can take campus jobs during the year as part of the year-round work-in.

Smash Racist Courses and Institutes -- Especially pig institutes and 'riot' control courses.

Support Black Rebellions -- Defend Black Liberation Movement Fighters. Raise money, demonstrate, educate, mount sharp attacks on schools in support of Black rebellions. Fight attempts to turn white against Black students and workers.

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As a step toward implementing this anti-imperialist, anti-racist program, the following is proposed:

## The Fight for Women's Liberation is Fundamental to Defeating Imperialism

Unfortunately the question of women's liberation is little understood and fought for even less in the movement. Since one-half of the working class and one-third of the labor force are women and they suffer oppression and dual exploitation, they have an essential role to play as fighters and leaders in any anti-imperialist movement.

In order to fight male chauvinism it is necessary to understand its origin and the material basis of the super-exploitation of women workers. Women were not always especially exploited. There is nothing 'natural' or 'classless' about it. The special oppression of women grew out of economic needs based on the relation of people to the mode of production. Its main characteristic has been the special oppression of peasant and working class women by dictatorships of minority classes -- slave, feudal, or capitalist. Black, Brown and Yellow peasants and working women have always suffered triply.

With the rise of capitalism and modern industry, the economic foundation on which the traditional family was based was destroyed. Women were taken out of the home and put into the factory. But the special exploitation of women, who became a cheap reserve labor force, continued. To justify the double exploitation of women workers, the ruling class fostered the ideology of male chauvinism.

Soon after joining the labor force, women became a vital element of the labor movement. As early as 1824, women in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, joined with the men in a militant strike against wage cuts. The following year, women workers took the initiative and led a strike of New York tailoresses. From then on, women workers took an active, militant part in labor struggles and frequently rose to leadership positions, e.g. Mother Bloor, Mother Jones (a key organizer of miners), and Ella Mae Wiggins.

At the turn of the century women led a militant strike of 20,000 NYC garment workers (75% of whom were women) that ended in recognition of the ILGWU (at that time still a pro-worker union). A particularly significant struggle for women was the strike of 8000 New England women telephone operators supported by 4000 men. This caused the most complete tie-up of any public service ever experienced. The strike was a complete success.

SDS should call nation-wide student actions, such as local and regional mobilizations, rallies, sit-ins, etc., on the second Wednesday in November with the following demands:

### —END THE RACIST ATTACKS ON BLACK PEOPLE

\* Free all Black political prisoners, end crackdown on the Black liberation movement, oppose ruling class attacks on the Black Panthers.

\* End pig institutes, smash counter-insurgency courses, stop university expansion.

\* Attack racist exploitation of Black workers.

### -- U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM

\* Total and immediate abolition of ROTC.

\* End military and war researcher recruiters.

\* End counter-insurgency research.

Where specific issues are already important, they would of course be emphasized. Working people and schools without SDS chapters should be leafletted to win support. Workers who agree should of course be encouraged to take action -- but we are clearly in no position to lead massive working class action. The work-in is an excellent way of beginning to build ties that could lead to forms of working class participation.

As in the past, women today play an important part in class struggles. Last year women workers at Figure Flattery, continuing the militant tradition of New York garment workers begun in 1825, led a militant strike to re-hire their Communist shop steward. They successfully fought a coalition of bosses and sell-out ILGWU leaders, showing what can be done when men and women workers fight together. This action was supported by the SDS Work-In.

### Chauvinism's economic base

The real basis of male chauvinism in contemporary capitalist society is the profits made off of the super-exploitation of women workers.

The primary way that working class women are super-exploited is that women workers, who comprise one-third of the labor force in the US, are paid an average of \$2,875 per year less than men workers.

This super-exploitation has several different forms. First, women workers are often paid lower wages than men for the same or similar jobs. Often, the bosses 'justify' this wage differential with the argument that men are the principal support of families. But since the male workers do not receive higher wages as a result of the difference, it is clear who this argument serves -- the bosses. They are the ones who get more profits. Another point not mentioned by the bosses is that one out of every ten families is headed by a woman (this doesn't count single women). 42% of these families have less than \$3000 per year!

In addition, women are used by the bosses as a marginal labor force -- the first laid off during economic recession or depression. Because of the lower wages and lack of job security, women can be and are used as scabs, further splitting men and women workers. Similarly, working class women are used as part-time or temporary workers (one-fourth of all women workers are part-time or temporary), enabling the bosses to manage with fewer permanent full-time employees. In this way, they save money by cheating workers out of hard-won fringe benefits. Part-time

and temporary workers do not receive vacation pay, retirement and other benefits. Hiring an extensive number of part-time or temporary workers also makes it more difficult for all of the workers to unite. In a factory or office with a rapid labor turnover, it is less likely that strong ties among workers will develop. Temporary workers also are likely to have less class consciousness than women who are steadily employed. In addition, sellout union bosses often do not permit temporary workers to join unions through requirements of several months work in a factory before eligibility for membership.

The bosses also exploit working class women who are not in the factories. These women provide the services for their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons, which are necessary for the continuation of the labor force. The bosses know that if this source of cheap labor were not available, it would be necessary to pay higher wages in order to have a strong and perpetual labor force -- and profits would be smaller. The bosses prefer this permanent source of labor rather than having to pay from their profits for the day-care centers and services which would have to be provided if all women were full time paid workers. (This is counter-balanced somewhat by the profits which could be made off women employed in commodity production. Also, after an initial outlay of capital, day-care centers might be a cheaper way of taking care of children during the working day.) This, however, would not allow the bosses to employ women as marginal laborers. In many cases, the same women suffer dual exploitation in both factory and home.

Black women are triply exploited -- first as workers, second as Black people and third as women. Black women have the lowest yearly median income of all workers. They also have the highest unemployment rate.



Since union leadership, for the most part, no longer serves the worker's interests, they help to promote bourgeois ideology, like male chauvinism, in the same way that the bosses do. To keep men and women from waging a united struggle, union misleaders have fostered the growth of separate unions based solely on sex. Specifically, this has occurred among telephone workers where men and women belong to separate unions. This separation has weakened their ability to unite and frequently they do not support one another during strikes. Male chauvinism has penetrated all levels of unionism. On the local level, women are

discouraged from assuming leadership positions. This lesson was brought home to us by the SDS work-in. For example, in one office of Kaiser hospitals, where there are over fifty women and only a handful of men, the shop steward was a man. The entire local union hierarchy, in fact, except for one minor official, was composed of men. And this in an area - office and technical personnel - where the vast majority of workers are women.

## Family

In the home in capitalist society, we often find reactionary ideas. After a day of exploitation, the husband comes home to 'comfort' and escape from his everyday oppression. He expects his wife to serve his needs, often whether or not the woman also works. This means extra work for the married woman, who is expected to work, clean and look after the children -- a lot of cheap labor for the ruling class.

The relationship between husband and wife in the home creates antagonisms among the people which can only serve to set them against one another instead of seeing their class enemy clearly. Bosses often play on these antagonisms when workers strike. For example, last summer, the Chicago Work-In supported a wildcat strike of Railway Express Drivers -- all men. REA called all of the workers' wives to get them to pressure their husbands back to work, on the basis that the men were only hurting their wives and families by staying off work. (Many wives rejected this line and several men struggled with their wives over this question. A few women even came to the picket lines as a result.)

The family does not have to be primarily reactionary. We should attempt to attack the bourgeois aspect and make the family a unit for fighting the ruling class. A good example of this kind of struggle is the REA drivers' struggle with their wives.

The most realistic responsible way to free women to struggle and work is to demand day care centers for workers' and students' children. This struggle can both win a needed concession and raise consciousness about the extra exploitation of women.

## Superstructure of chauvinism

A superstructure of myths, prejudices and ideologies stems from and helps to continue the material basis of chauvinism in a capitalist society. US culture, education, etc., perpetrated by the ruling class, create this superstructure of romanticism and sexuality for very specific reasons. The promotion of the idea of women as 'gentle', 'weak', and 'feminine' is put forward to convince men and women that women are not fighters! This idea does great service to the ruling class, since it keeps one half of the working class and its allies docile. The fewer who struggle, the better for the ruling class!

The superstructure also promotes escapism and individualism both for men and women. Both are led to believe that happiness will be achieved through certain products, images and life styles. Women can marry the man of their dreams who will give them security and happiness. Men can escape from the hardships of work to the nurturing wife at home. These ideas are escapist and individualistic because they build the illusion that by personal and material gratification, it is possible for an individual to escape the effect of economic exploitation.

## Male chauvinism within the movement

If our movement is to serve working people's struggles against imperialism, we must defeat male chauvinism within our own ranks. It is easy to see chauvinism in the mass press, but when it comes to the movement many look the other way.

Certain movement publications ape Playboy magazine and pander to male chauvinism. A quote from an issue of the RAT (NY SDS's subterranean news) reads: 'Last time we ran a naked chick on the cover we temporarily doubled our circulation. Thought we'd do it again.' In a recent leaflet put out by the PPNC and RSU in Berkeley, around People's Park, we find at the top a picture of a girl raising her blouse and the words 'Today we relax.'

Our tolerance of such blatant examples of chauvinism within the movement is a clear indication that we don't understand how chauvinism works against us. Chauvinist ideas, that women are scatter-brained, that they are mere sexual objects, that they are physically weak and not fighters, hold women back -- keep them politically undeveloped, and thus rob the movement of half its fighting force.

Male chauvinist relationships between our men and women create antagonisms and distrust which divide us from within. Such divisions are an internal poison which must be fought or they will defeat us. Irresponsible relationships are chauvinist and exploitative, not revolutionary. They foster individualism and a non-struggle attitude. While pretending to oppose bourgeois ideas in the movement, we often accept romantic 'haven' notions about our personal relationships. Our personal relationships should not be counter-institutional 'liberated zones' under imperialism, but should build the struggle against imperialism.



It is not just the men who must struggle against their chauvinist ideas. For it is often women as much as men who put men first within the movement and SDS. Picking up on the ruling class line that men are talkers, doers, etc., many women are intimidated by men and fail to think and act in political terms as anti-imperialist, pro-working class student leaders.

SDS's task is to build a Worker-Student Alliance; we must see the need to ally with working class women, and fight chauvinism in a number of ways. One way to put this into practice is to develop women leaders and fighters on campus for pro-working class battles. For it is through those anti-imperialist struggles that men and women are forced, if they are to win, to fight a common battle. One possible way that the involvement and development of women can be advanced is through the formation of women's caucuses within (not separated from) SDS.

A major role of these caucuses would be to organize those women already in the movement and to reach other women and bring them into the struggle to build

SDS and a Worker-Student Alliance (on campus fights against ROTC, military recruiting, racist expansion, support for workers). At Columbia, a group of women within the WSA caucus, recognizing the need for women to take a more active role in building the anti-imperialist, anti-racist movement at Columbia, began organized work in Barnard College. They discussed with the women at Barnard the importance of SDS, the building of a WSA, the concrete struggles against the University administration, and the need for women to be active within the movement. Through this concrete work at Barnard, these women brought additional women into the pro-working class struggle against racist expansion and helped to build SDS. Also, by proving to themselves and to the men within the movement that women can and must be an important part of any progressive movement, they were (and are) fighting chauvinism. Another role of women's caucuses would be to lead SDS in directly supporting specific struggles which benefit working class women (e.g. day care centers for children of University workers; supporting strikes led by militant women workers).

### How do we fight male chauvinism?

Many men and women see the necessity to defeat chauvinism. However, in attempting to raise this issue and fight for women's liberation, many of them have made a fundamental error. That is the error of not seeing the ideology of chauvinism as a way to justify the super-exploitation of women workers. If we do not see this exploitation as the basis of chauvinist attitudes, then we cannot fight them -- only strike out at symptoms, or in some cases actually help to build these attitudes.

One view is that of seeing women as a whole as oppressed, and fighting for women's liberation 'across the board'. This raises some women's positions within the bourgeoisie and does not recognize class as the primary allegiance. Even though bourgeois women are oppressed, the most we could hope for would be that a few of them would be won away from their class. Because their allegiance to their class (capitalist) is stronger than their oppression as women, we should not make it our task to work with or for them.

This line (sex above class) takes shape concretely in demands for women trustees, foremen, deans, doctors, executives, etc. These demands attempt to improve women's positions within the bourgeoisie or within the petty bourgeoisie, or they take women workers out of the ranks and make them part of the management. There are basically two things wrong with these kinds of demands, both stemming from not seeing class as primary. First, giving women positions as foremen, deans, etc., does not deal with the fact that these people are tools of the bosses or administrations and do their work. This kind of demand puts sex first, i.e. a woman foreman is okay because she is a woman, even though she (like a man foreman) does only the bosses' work.

The second error is catering to individualism and the desire to get ahead, rather than seeing that the liberation of the working class can take place only through a process of collective struggle to improve everyone's conditions. That is, the working class cannot (because of capitalism's need to exploit labor) improve its situation through its members moving 'up' one by one. And, to support demands which would help a few move upward is giving in to individualism and is essentially screwing those who still have to take the worst jobs.

This error of putting sex first is tied to not seeing the primary enemy as the ruling class. This also leads to seeing men as 'the enemy' or thinking that working class men (even in the short run) benefit from chauvinism.

Many Women's Liberation groups would argue that working-class men and male students do derive advantages from the exploitation of women. The National Office-affiliated groups talk about fighting male supremacy, not male chauvinism.

This way of looking at the oppression of women is basically liberal, no matter how thick the cover of revolutionary rhetoric. Most existing Women's Liberation groups organize women to discuss their personal problems, about their boy friends -- but have never shown women how to defeat their male chauvinist attitudes. They also hesitate to attack any woman (except WSA women, who have been thrown out of their groups) on the ground that it is not 'sisterly' (read ladylike) to struggle hard! For example, the University of Chicago administration set up a University Committee to study the case of Marlene Dixon after she was fired for political reasons. SDS had taken over a building to support her. One of the women on the Committee was sent to try to get SDS out of the building. A leader of WRAP, the Women's Radical Action Project 'liberation' group at the U of C, appealed to her as a woman to support the struggle when she was clearly a conscious and willing agent of the administration!

The idea that women as a group suffer from oppression by men as a group obscures the reality that both men and women in the ruling class profit from the super-exploitation of women workers as a whole, and that the fight for Women's liberation is the enemy of the entire ruling class, male and female. For this reason, it is possible for men to overcome their male-chauvinist attitudes and join struggles led by women against their exploitation. It is also possible for men to overcome male chauvinism in the course of anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggles when they see the need for women, who are often most militant, to take part. Men can and must come to understand that it is in their own interest to fight male chauvinist attitudes and practices, and see the vital importance of women's role in the fight against the ruling class. On the other hand, male chauvinist attitudes are often pushed by University administrations, factory owners, etc., when women fight hard. For example, one girl at Radcliffe was thrown out on charges including directing and inciting male students to use force against the deans and use of obscene and abusive language to deans. Welfare clients have had tons of male chauvinist abuse heaped on their heads from a welfare system they've fought militantly for years. The idea that women should be only sweet and submissive sexual objects - and that militant women must be hysterical or whores - is pushed hard by the ruling class to scare women from fighting and to win men against them.

Some women's liberation groups are putting forward that because women are the prime consumers, they can be organized to consume less products. These demands are both anti-working class and escapist. Anti-working class, because the problem of working women is not that they consume too much, but that they cannot afford the things they really need to lead a decent life. Escapist, because to tell women that they shouldn't wear lipstick is to say that their problems can be solved by adopting a different life style -- that is, changing their personal consumption habits and not fighting the ruling class. Women who attack the Playboy Club or the Bridal Fair are attacking escapism without making it clear that escapism to counter life styles is no answer either. If the Bridal Fair demonstrators had pointed out that GE, the purveyor of many products there, was engaged in putting down a militant strike (of largely women workers) and attacked GE on that basis, it would have helped women to see the material basis for their exploitation, and attacked the escapist propaganda. Instead, it attacked, in effect, the women who bought these products by telling them not to be so crass and materialistic, and see themselves as objects. The source of

their exploitation is not subjective but material and economic. Middle class women, as women in the movement, need to ally with working women not by telling them to consume less but by fighting with them in concrete struggles against the ruling class of this country.

To defeat male chauvinism we must fight it in such a way as to overcome its divisive effect on the working class. That is, we must fight it with the understanding that it is not men against women, but the working class against the ruling class. Concretely this means supporting demands that improve wages and working conditions for women workers and are in the interest of all workers. It means uniting with and supporting the organization of women workers, the fights in the schools in which working class women play a vanguard role, the organization of women on campus to lead SDS's fights against imperialism, racism and male chauvinism. For instance, demands for equal pay for women attacks the bosses' ability to use low wages of women to keep all wages down. And we can help defeat male chauvinism among ourselves and workers by mobilizing students' support for working women's struggles like this and others.

For example, last summer's SDS Work-In supported Puerto Rican women workers who led the wildcat strike at Figure Flattery in NYC's garment center.

Another demand that students could raise and support on the campus would be day-care centers for children of campus workers and students (at Columbia, the faculty are provided with such care). Such a struggle would certainly be in the interest of working class women and families, who have to pay exorbitant fees to have their children taken care of.

On campuses, especially on all-women campuses, there are recruiters for the all-women's sections of the US armed forces. To kick these military recruiters off campus would be to fight in the interest of super-exploited working women and oppressed peoples all over the world.

We must also wage an intensive ideological campaign among male workers and students and in the classrooms to expose and defeat all male chauvinist practices and ideas. Through our experience in the SDS Work-In, we saw the triple ways in which all women are oppressed: as workers, as women workers on the job, and then at home as women in the household. After a hard day's work it was they, not their husbands, who had to cook, clean, and take care of the children.

The same holds true for women students. Where a couple are both students and have the same course load, it is most often the woman who must do the housework, shopping, and cooking and where there are children, take care of them. Often, women work hard to send their husbands through college. Often, too, the men have an easy time of it and the women are still saddled with the housework.

In the last analysis, we must realize that as long as the material base for male chauvinism exists, it cannot be completely defeated. Therefore, the primary fight must be against this capitalist system of exploitation. In the same light, we must also see that the end of capitalism is not an instant guarantee to the end of chauvinism and that the struggles against it (like racism) must continue to be waged by women and men.

(This resolution is just a beginning. More program must be worked out. This will mainly occur through the lessons of struggles around organizing women. We welcome criticisms on how to improve the analysis and further develop program.)

DEFEAT MALE CHAUVINISM  
FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION!

