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# MOVEMENT

APRIL, 1969

VOL 5, NO. 3

in this issue:

german sds  
wisconsin-dru  
army union  
tuskegee

"I. John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood."

--written on  
the day of  
his execution



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THE MOVEMENT

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# LETTER

To the Editor:

University reform, restructuring Columbia and Berkeleys, is just as Mark Rudd argues (the MOVEMENT, March, 1969), a waste of time. Student power in universities which train people for power in government and industry hardly arouses the interest of students. To young workers and other constituencies which Rudd wants students to address, "student power" can only sound like an attempt to maintain a privileged position.

University reform, however, is a very different thing at San Francisco State and other state and junior colleges which are now replacing the elite schools in setting the tenor of the student movement. At these schools Third World militants are involving both students and "other constituencies" precisely by demanding reforms in curriculum (ethnic studies), university governance (Third World self-determination) and open admissions.

The state colleges, and this is the crucial difference, have the job of channeling average middle class and lower middle class students into "occupational training" programs which produce teachers, welfare workers, salesmen, bureaucrats etc. Lower level educational institutions like the state and junior colleges are important to lower income families because they hold out the hope of mobility and status for their sons and daughters. In addition SF State is situated in a multi-racial community where the question of community access is important because public education is nominally free.

The junior college system is even closer to the community. Essentially an extension of high school, it attracts mainly black and white working class youth. Once enrolled they hope to enter four year colleges or to complete a program of vocational training. But economic pressures and standards designed to reduce enrollment precipitously after one year force them to enter the work force before completing an education.

Restrictive admissions policy (the tracking system) as much as money keeps many high school graduates out of higher education. This policy is the result of what is known as the crisis of state finance, the inability of the state to squeeze enough revenue out of taxpayers to provide the social services like education needed by the corporations. These admissions standards affect nonwhite applicants the most, but they also restrict white entrance. Technically, the system is not supposed to function as an exclusive one; and when the exclusion is dramatized, the facade of equal opportunity crumbles and the educational system is vulnerable to attack from within and without.

Because of State's alleged access to all classes, the strike emerged as a race and class conflict which commanded the attention of the whole community. The most important of the Third World demands (open admissions, ethnic studies and educational self-determination) brought the conflict into the open because issues raised in the context of "restructuring" the college could not be contained as "campus" issues when they were defined to meet the educational needs of the Third World communities in the Bay Area. At the same time the demands IN TOTO could not be accommodated by the state college system because they would have changed the class function of the state colleges by supplanting the present system of processing skilled labor.

In the context of the S.F. State strike, Rudd's dichotomy between student power (restructuring) and a radical position on the university breaks down. The Columbia students' demands led to a symbolic confrontation while the Third World demands confronted the state educational system with a concrete program which attacked its very basis from within and without. What nonwhite students at places like S.F. State have done white students can begin to do because they already know that the issue of education is important in the white community. It is apparent that "tracking" is having a similar detrimental effect there.

The following could serve as an outline for a program designed to build a student movement interested in relating to working class constituencies:

- 1) Students and organizers should focus on state and junior colleges by enrolling as students and teachers.
- 2) Campus organizations should demand open access and free tuition.
- 3) They should demand courses and programs responsive to community needs such as courses on urban problems, race, poverty and the labor movement.
- 4) These programs must focus on community participation in instructional work and they must have an action component--that is, organizing work should be an integral part of the course.
- 5) The demand for action courses will lead to the demand for student control of content and direction of education (self-determination).
- 6) The programs should include training cadres for post-graduate work in the community.
- 7) No demand should be separated from a total program that expresses the interests of both students and community people.

A program along these lines cannot guarantee that student politics will turn away from limited and privileged conceptions of power. Ultimately the political content and class definition of student politics must come from the revitalization of the class struggle in white working class communities. Only then will demands for an educational system with community participation and orientation have any significant content.

Bill Barlow  
Peter Wiley



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## RAPE

They say, "I'm from Missouri...you'll have to show me". But the administration of the University of Missouri would rather not have political truths graphically portrayed. The charge of obscenity reared its ugly head there--as Dean of Students Jack Matthews ruled some literature that SDS was distributing obscene.

The material to which Matthews objected was a headline in NEW LEFT NOTES and a Frank Cieciorka cartoon in the MOVEMENT. The cartoon, of course: those pigs standing astraddle Liberty and Justice in the act of rape... "with liberty and justice for all..."

Anyway the campus rose up against the censorship as thousands attended rallies in support of SDS's right to distribute the vile (and effective) stuff. Eventually a five hour meeting of the Committee on Student Organizations, Government and Activities climaxed the activity with a ruling in favor of SDS.

William Wiecek, a first year assistant history professor defended SDS before the committee, while Dean Matthews temporarily stepped down from his chairmanship to play prosecutor. Wiecek based his defense on the "redeeming social significance" law and waving a colorful series of Playboy diagrams of sexual intercourse as well as other periodicals sold by the University asked: "How can the University sell material like this then turn around and punish students for distributing literature no more obscene or vulgar?"

And at this point it looks like the movement at Missouri succeeded in pulling Liberty and Justice, as well as the MOVEMENT and NEW LEFT NOTES away from the ravaging clutches of a University administration.

And last week the MOVEMENT received an order from some folks at the University of Missouri for 100 more copies of that issue of the paper. Other folks who want it just write us.

*This is the Sammy Younge, Jr. Memorial Issue*

### CLASS OF SERVICE

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# STRIKE AGAINST IMPER- IALISM

by Bob Avakian

On March 3, after 8 weeks of bitter struggle, the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) voted to go back to work at the Standard Oil refinery at Richmond. They didn't get everything they wanted--certainly not everything that is coming to them--but almost to a man they will tell you that the settlement is a victory and the strike was well worth it.

They will be getting an average wage increase of 58 cents over two years--14 cents below their original demand, but a full 20 cents above the company's first arrogant offer. The company will pay out more for retirement, medical and other benefits. But most important, the refinery workers refused to go along with Standard's attempt to fire three of the most militant pickets. Instead, the three men will return to their jobs and the company's charges against them will be submitted to arbitration. The union's case--including films of the company goon squad--will be very strong in arbitration, and it is almost certain that the company will fail in its attempt to get rid of the three "troublemakers".

The refinery workers are going back into the plant stronger, and more united, and more determined to build their union than when they went out. In fact, some of the more militant guys have told Jake Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer of the union local, "Hell, we should have stayed out a few more weeks. Now that I'm back to work I see how much we really hurt them (the bosses)."

This is exactly the opposite of the 1948 strike, which lasted 63 days and not only resulted in a humiliating settlement--including the firing of over 60 strikers--but enabled the company to divide the defeated refinery workers into 10 or more craft and company unions. After that debacle, it took the oil workers 20 years to rebuild and summon up the determination to challenge the monster.

## CHEVRON STRIKE CONTINUES

The victory of the refinery workers--and especially the fact that they protected the jobs of militant pickets--has given added inspiration to the OCAW workers who are still striking the Chevron Chemical plant in Richmond. Chevron Chemical is a "wholly owned subsidiary" of Standard Oil and part of the same giant Richmond complex as the refinery. But the Chevron workers have a separate "bargaining agreement"--which includes a union shop. The company--actually Standard Oil--negotiating through its dummy corporation, Chevron Chemical--has prolonged the Chevron strike by trying to force the workers to give up the union shop. This is union-busting, pure and simple, an attempt by the bosses to turn the clock back 20 years to the time the Chevron workers first won the union shop. But Standard's main interest is not really smashing the Chevron workers. The Chevron union shop is a source of agitation and inspiration to the 2000 refinery workers, who realize that in order to really defeat the company, they have to have the great majority of the refinery workers, instead of the present 30 to 40 percent, organized under one banner. If the company can force the Chevron workers (who do have the majority of the 500 workers in the four chemical plants organized) to give up their union shop, it will discourage the refinery workers from even raising the union shop question.



The response of the Chevron Chemical workers to the bosses union-busting is probably best summed up by one guy who told me: "Either we go back with our union shop, or there won't be any plants left to go back to!" A woman picket put it only slightly more mildly: "We'll never go back without our union; hell, we'd be fools to do it!"

But Standard is still refusing to budge on the question because its billionaire owners are operating on the basis of the "domino theory"--the same approach they take, along with their imperialist buddies, in Southeast Asia, and the rest of the Third World. Vietnam--despite its wealth of rubber, tin and other resources (including "cheap labor")--is not of vital importance to U.S. imperialism. But the greater southeast Asian co-prosperity sphere--the whole row of dominoes is of desperate importance.

Almost all of the refinery workers who hung tough through the whole strike--and the Chevron Chemical workers who are still hanging tough--know that they would probably have been crushed without the support of hundreds of students--who, along with a weekly contingent of Longshoremen from San Francisco, have repeatedly forced the company to cut back plant operation, close and barricade most of the plant gates, and continually wonder what the bearded bomb-throwers from Berkeley and San Francisco State might do to the very vulnerable refinery. This has more than offset the weapons in the company's considerable arsenal--which includes brutal cops, company goons, and sweetheart scabs (some of whom were bribed to the tune of \$300 a week during the height of the refinery strike).

## STUDENT SUPPORT

The students have kept up other harassing tactics. At San Jose State, two weeks ago, several Standard oil recruiters were given the Dow Chemical treatment and had to cancel their interviews. Students at Berkeley have helped in the boycott of Standard and Chevron products and have put up picket lines at a few Standard stations. In San Francisco students, along with refugees and outcasts from the campus, have joined with oil workers and farm workers in picketing Standard's main headquarters in the financial district--protesting the poisoning of farm workers by Chevron-produced insecticides and the union-busting tactics of Chevron's parent company. And, on March 21-22 students and other movement people from all over the San Francisco Bay area will join Longshoremen and guys from other unions in a 24-hour, round-the-clock mass picket of the Chevron plant.

The student support has been reciprocated by the oil workers. After long and sometimes heated debate among the ranks of the active OCAW pickets--debate that went into the questions of racism, the demand for open enrollment of Third World students and Third World control of Third World studies, and even the role of George Murray, Black Panther Minister of Education--the oil workers voted, almost 2 to 1 to back both the student and AFT strikes at S. F. State. On several occasions, oil workers took time out from their own strike to join the picket lines at Cal and S.F. State. And they did this in the face of opposition not only from the sell-out leader-

ship of many (though certainly not all) local unions, but from the office of the Lt. Governor of the state.

One oil worker in particular, a white guy in his mid-30s, told me he had gone through some real changes as a result of direct contact with student radicals. "When our strike first started", he recalled, "I was against the students. But then, after they came out to our picket lines, I got to talking with some of them, and now I understand what it's all about, and I support them 100 percent." He was wearing a "Free Huey" button next to his "72 plus" button (referring to the original union demands for a 72 cent wage increase plus benefits). He told me a student had given it to him on the picket line, and he recalled the shocked reaction of some of his fellow oil workers when he wore it for the first time: "One of the guys came up to me and said, 'What do you mean "Free Huey"?' and I told him, "damn right--I sure would like to walk a picket line with him (Huey)."

## NOT A STUDENT-WORKER ALLIANCE

This experience--along with many others like it that have developed out of the oil strike--have pointed out the crucial role the student movement can play in building a revolutionary movement in this country. And it raises a number of very important questions about the tactics of student support for working class struggles.

There is a lot of talk going around--in relation to the oil strike and to labor strikes in general--about a "worker-student" alliance. On the basis of our experience with the oil strike, and in other struggles in Richmond, we do not believe that "worker-student alliance" has any real meaning. Perhaps the idea is based on the Marxist-Leninist strategy of worker-peasant alliance. But students, unlike peasants and workers, are not a class.

Although they have very definite class origins--mainly the middle classes--as students they are, by definition, in a transitional stage, relative to the means of production, and occupy no definitive class position. This is why they cannot be organized around class demands of immediate "self-interest"--as Mark Rudd pointed out very well in the last issue of the MOVEMENT. And it also means that students cannot enter into alliances with workers, or anyone else, on a class basis.

As intellectuals they are able to discern the decaying nature of American imperialism and the contradiction between the professed principles of the American Way and the actual practice of the American ruling class. But it is the struggles of the most immediate victims of imperialism--the people of the Third World, inside and outside the U.S.--and the brutal reaction of the imperialists to these liberation struggles, that have held up a mirror of U.S. society.

The student movement has grown up and developed in support of the Third World liberation movements. In the early 60s, students went south to support the black liberation movement in its civil rights

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23



photos: Detroit NOC



by Jim Jacobs, Detroit National Organizing Committee

Almost every major factory in Detroit contains a groups of militant, sometimes, radical black workers discontented with the white supremacist policies of management and the unions. Over the last several months this unrest has found organizational expression in the formation of revolutionary black worker organizations.

DRUM--Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement at Hamtramck Assembly (see the MOVEMENT, January, 1969); CRUM--Chevrolet Revolutionary Union Movement at a GM plant in Detroit; FRUM--Ford Revolutionary Union Movement at the massive River Rouge plant; and now ELRUM--Eldon Avenue Revolutionary Union Movement at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant are some of the examples. Recently these groups have come together to form the League of Black Revolutionary Workers.

Last month members of ELRUM called a wildcat against management and union racism, upsetting the efforts of both Chrysler and the UAW to impose industrial discipline.

Since these black worker struggles will be increasing it is critical, that we as white organizers, understand these actions and relate to them. The following is an analysis of the situation in Detroit, with particular emphasis on ELRUM and an attempt to raise questions about how these black struggles effect white working class organizing.

Relations between black and white auto workers in Detroit have never been close. In the early years of the auto industry blacks were excluded from the production lines by the companies. The labor force was made up of newly arrived ethnic groups, primarily Poles and Italians, as well as Southern whites who readily accepted the idea that although they were working ten hours a day, six days a week, they were better off than the "nigger janitor".

## SPLIT THE WORKERS

One of the first companies to hire black workers was Ford. Recognizing the advantages of a cheap labor supply that might be mobilized against union organizing attempts, Henry Ford maintained close ties with many black clergy and was respected by the leadership of the growing black community. Thus, when the UAW began organizing at Ford, many black workers supported management. In 1941, when the auto union called for a walkout at the River Rouge

plant, blacks attacked the picket lines and attempted to break the union. As a result white antagonism to blacks increased. During World War II many work stoppages occurred in protest to the introduction of black workers on the assembly lines in Detroit.

Since the early 1950s the proportion of blacks in the urban unskilled and semi-skilled work force has increased as the result of two trends. The first is the movement of whiteworkers to the suburbs. Detroit is now ringed with massive white working class suburbs, particularly on the northeast and southwest sides. Warren, for example, is an all white predominately blue collar suburb of 179,000. A majority of the white working class now lives outside the city limits.

## PLANTS FOLLOW WORKERS

In many cases their migration has been followed by the movement of new industrial plants into these areas. Since World War II only one major automobile plant has been constructed within Detroit, whereas many have been built in the new suburbs. An example is Chrysler's Sterling Stamping Plant, some twelve miles from the Detroit city line. It is one of the few Chrysler plants which does not have a majority of black workers. As this trend continues the older plants in the city will increasingly be manned by blacks.

The second important trend has been the increasing automation in the auto industry. This has caused an overall decrease in the number of unskilled and semi-skilled production jobs. Automation, coupled with moves by the management to decentralize the auto industry, has resulted in the loss of many jobs. In Michigan and Ohio alone more than 190,000 auto jobs have been lost since 1950.

These job losses have been partially compensated for by the growth of the service industries which have provided jobs for working class whites. The sons and daughters of white production workers, when they have not entered the

skilled trades, have taken jobs as gas station attendants, vending machine repairmen, delivery drivers, etc. Although these service jobs usually do not pay as well as auto jobs the working conditions are often not nearly as oppressive. When young white workers do take jobs on the production lines, they usually choose to work in the newer plants in their suburbs.

Blacks are needed to fill the remaining production jobs in the city, especially because of the high turnover rate. One third of all new auto workers do not last a year. As a result the work force in the Detroit auto plants consists of a majority of black hourly production workers, a significant minority of older (over 45) white men and women, and an almost all white skilled trades department of all ages.

## WHITE SUPREMACY ON THE JOB

While they are a majority in many plants black workers are faced with three forms of white supremacy: 1) they are hired for the worst jobs in the plant; 2) they often do not have access to the better jobs; and 3) they are oppressed by racist individuals in both union and management.

All the worst jobs--foundry work, body shop, engine assembly--are predominantly black. Blacks will be found wherever a job requires hard physical labor or subjection to tremendous noise or dirt. This is especially true for black women who are given many difficult jobs. At Eldon Avenue, for example, they are required to lift 40 pound axles. White women, on the other hand, are usually found in the tool crib (parts department) or receiving and shipping departments.

More significant in the eyes of the black workers is the difficult they face in gaining access to better jobs. In many auto plants upgrading (the ability to switch jobs for more desirable ones) is not determined in an objective fashion. The upgrading test is administered by a foreman and marked secretly. The applicant is only told whether he passed or failed. When new positions open in the plant, white workers, with their connections (friends and family) in the local union or lower management circles are the first to know and the first to apply. Lacking these connections blacks rarely receive such benefits. Often both management and union pass over seniority

in order to place white workers in better positions. Finally, there is almost no movement of blacks into the skilled trades, which are better paying and far more secure from the threat of automation.

On their jobs black workers are also often faced with all white supervisor staffs both in management and union. Very few of the management personnel are black and many of the foremen are individual racist. At Eldon Avenue, for example, blacks claim that over 100 blacks have been fired because of their skin color by general foreman "Maddog" Larry. To make matters worse, the local union bureaucracy remains firmly in the hands of the older ethnic groups. While the UAW has promoted civil rights legislation and waged campaigns against racial discrimination in Detroit, on the shop floor many of its stewards and committee men are obviously anti-black. Typical of liberal institutions that are always fighting someone else's battle, the UAW has failed to deal with racism in the plants and within its own local structure. For all its public backing of moderate-militant blacks, to the black worker at Eldon Avenue, the failure to force the ouster of people like Maddog Larry is more significant than all the pious tributes to Martin Luther King.

## ORGANIZING AGAINST RACISM

Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle is a key plant in the Chrysler empire. It produces the axles for every Chrysler car. It is an old plant with poor working conditions. 60% of the workers are black. Although Local 691 has black stewards and committee men the union is controlled by southern white and Polish workers. (See Larry Laskowski's article, page 18).

ELRUM was organized in November, 1968, patterned very closely after DRUM. Its first public activity was the distribution of a four page newsletter--ELRUM--which emphasized various racial abuses by union and management personnel. Individual stewards, foremen and supervisors were singled out as racists, and the black union leadership was severely criticized for Toming. Production of the newspaper provided an organizational focus. Internal education seminars, led by Panther and ELRUM leaders were conducted. At these seminars a strong anti-capitalist ideology was put forth with the intent of building a cadre of revolutionary black workers. However, the drawing power of ELRUM in the shop was on the basis of exposing management and union racism.

## STRATEGY

The black radicals in Detroit--League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Panthers, Black High School Association--hold a perspective that organizing black workers and making them aware of their central position in the major industry in the United States is the primary task. They have emphasized organizing in the factories as a means of generating motion in the community.

Typical of this thrust is the way in which blacks have utilized the Wayne State University paper, the SOUTH END. Controlled by black revolutionaries, its banner line reading, "One Class-Conscious Worker is Worth 100 Students", the editors fill the SOUTH END with articles on DRUM and ELRUM which are passed out at factory gates around Detroit.

As an organizational form, ELRUM is not a traditional radical caucus within a local union. The strategy has been to organize independently of the union, promoting tactical flexibility and minimizing the formation of parochial attitudes so prevalent in trade union organizing attempts. Black workers at Eldon Avenue are not simply organized to change conditions in the plant; they are in solidarity with other black workers around the nation, with groups moving in the community, and with all blacks struggling to overturn the system.

This organizational form allows ELRUM to consider running candidates for local union offices while at the same time supporting demonstrations against Chrysler recruiters at Wayne State, or organizing black high school groups in support of Malcolm X day. The tight coordination between the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Panthers, and the black high school movement is a significant step forward in organizing a city-wide black movement, with power at the point of production.

## ACTION IN THE SHOP

After distributing their newsletter for two months ELRUM began to move on



# WORKERS SET THE PACE

the question of grievances. The cumbersome grievance procedure of the UAW, which settles everything as far from the shop floor as possible, has created a huge backlog of unresolved disputes. This past fall the problem of unresolved grievances led to a number of wildcat strikes in the Detroit auto plants.

ELRUM decided to bring a number of grievances, many concerning the company's racist policies directly to Local 961. On January 22, some 300 black workers, some taking off from work, stormed into the union hall to demand all grievances resolved. The local union leadership failed to give assurances that grievances would be settled shortly, and stood by while Chrysler fired two workers and penalized others for missing work while attending the meeting.

ELRUM called for a strike on January 27th around nineteen demands. Most deal with racism--the hiring of more black workers and the appointment of more blacks to management positions. ELRUM demanded 75 workers in the skilled division, three black nurses in the hospital and six black General Foremen. They demanded amnesty for the workers fired and removal of other penalties imposed on those workers who participated in the union meeting. Other demands centered around working conditions in the plant: removal of all safety hazards--grease and dirt on the floor, repair of the ragged metal platform in Department 71--and a resolution of all pending grievances. Finally, ELRUM demanded that a committee of black workers be appointed to review applications for skilled workers.

The walkout was partially successful with about two-thirds of the first and second shifts refusing to enter the plant. Many key departments were closed. About 40% of the workers did not report for the three shifts that Monday. People from the black community, many members of the Black Panther Party, stood on the picket lines while cop cars drove by and union photographers snapped pictures.

Chrysler took immediate action against the wildcat. The next day 25 workers were fired and 86 disciplined. All were fired and disciplined on general charges of "misconduct". In addition management resurrected an injunction, first used against DRUM last July, which prevents DRUM-ELRUM from picketing any Chrysler plant anywhere in the world. The Chrysler Corporation, after its experience with DRUM, was determined to crush ELRUM immediately. A long work stoppage at Eldon Avenue would expose the soft underbelly of one of the ten largest corporations in the world, and both ELRUM and management knew it.

## ACTION AGAINST THE LAW

To force the UAW to fight against the firing and suspensions, ELRUM picketed the international headquarters of the union. Standing in front of UAW "Solidarity House", the protesters shouted, "Black for our People, Red for our Blood, Green for our Land". As usual, UAW photographers and cops were on the scene. After meeting with Shelton Tapas, an Uncle Tom from the Fair Practices Department, ELRUM received this message: "The union has been processing the grievances and if there is any need to intensify our efforts, that will be done." But in reality the UAW demonstrated little interest in making a fight for the jobs of ELRUM workers.

The disdain which the international leadership of the UAW demonstrated for black worker organizations is not surprising. The present union leadership has sought to eliminate radical black workers' groups altogether on the ground that they threaten industrial discipline. Concerning DRUM, Douglas Fraser, Director of the UAW Chrysler Division, and a leading candidate to succeed Walter Reuther, said:

Not every picket line is a Union picket line...It is important for you to know and understand that these picket lines are not UAW picket lines. Legal picket lines of the UAW can be established only after strikeable grievances have gone through the grievance procedure. A DEMOCRATIC VOTE MUST BE TAKEN IN WHICH ALL MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL ARE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE. To put it mildly, DRUM leaflets are extremist hate sheets. The object is to pit white workers against black workers and even black against black. (emphasis in the original)

The UAW is concerned with performing its role in modern capitalism: to enforce its end of the contract so that production continues. Demands to eliminate racism in the shops have never been issues on which the union has negotiated. Nor does

the NLRB consider them negotiable. It is thus extremely unlikely that the Big Three auto makers will permit them to become part of the bargaining process.

In its attempts to undercut radical black groups, the UAW stands exposed as a corporate liberal institution. Although it fights for major wage concessions (starting salary in the auto plants is \$3.50) with pension and fringe benefits, the UAW has accepted and enforced the capitalist prerogative to set rules in the work place.

Working conditions have become more oppressive since 1945. The speed-up has increased, and management and union join in practicing white supremacist policies. This has led to widespread rank and file dissatisfaction with working conditions. Groups like ELRUM are successful because they are primarily concerned with the working conditions of rank and file black workers. The black workers' groups demand precisely what the union has never dared fight for. That is why a black workers' revolt has developed into a full-scale movement inside one of capitalism's best unions, the UAW.

## RELATING TO WHITE WORKERS

The critical problem for the black working class liberation movement now is not to devise better tactics for attacking the UAW bureaucracy and the corporations, but rather in relating to white workers strategically.

White workers have been--at best--distrustful of black organizing attempts. This has been the case especially when, as Noel Ignatin puts it, their "white skin privileges" are challenged. These privileges are the real material basis for the pervasive racist ideology characteristic of all of American society, including students and workers. Racist ideology clearly benefits the capitalist class. But it is not merely the product of crude ruling class propaganda directed at workers. More basically, racism as ideology grows directly out of the social and economic functioning of American capitalism. Consequently the radical movement in the working class faces not only the set of ideas and attitudes characteristic of the racist personality and psychology, but also more fundamentally, a deeply entrenched structure of WHITE SUPREMACY. Both the ideology and its material base are a powerful constraint against the possibility that any egalitarian, socialist consciousness will emerge spontaneously from day-to-day struggles.

Working as inspectors, fork lift drivers, or in the tool crib, white workers are typically found in the least oppressive production jobs in the plant. Benefitting from the seniority rules, they have the first choice of new job openings. Through their friends and family, and through control of the local union, they have the inside track on job openings and thus advance more quickly. If layoffs occur, as they do frequently in the auto industry, whites are able to stay on longer and get back sooner than blacks. And the UAW's skilled trades division, which is nearly all white, has the right to veto all contract proposals unilaterally, even though it represents only a minority of auto workers. These are some examples of the highly developed and extensive system of privileges which divide white workers in every plant and industry from each other, and whites as a whole from blacks.

To point out this privileged position of white workers is not to say that it is in their "short term" but not their "long range" interest to fight for egalitarian socialism. The interests of all working people lie with a socialist revolution, nothing less. Yet, since this radical consciousness is not presently widespread among white workers, it is obviously inadequate to demand that white workers give up their present hard-won racist gains in favor of a future socialist society. As radical working class organizers we cannot allow a distinction between short and long range benefits from racism. Our task is to seize every opportunity to fight against white supremacy in every way. Only in this way will we have a chance of undercutting racism.

Unfortunately few of the radicals in the Detroit shops have confronted the white supremacy question in their organizing. This is not because they deny its existence. Rather, most argue that black-white unity can only be achieved by focussing on issues which affect both races. They believe that by emphasizing issues that affect all workers, white workers will learn in the process of struggle to "deal with" their special privileges. This view holds that the de-

velopment of socialist, anti-privilegist consciousness will emerge out of a united struggle against a common enemy. Perhaps an example of this approach in the UAW is the United Caucus, a national opposition to Reuther growing out of revolt over wages in the skilled trades. The United Caucus concerns itself with wages, working conditions and democratic procedures. However, it has rarely emphasized the "particular" issues affecting certain minority groups within the UAW, such as women or blacks.

## AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH

An alternative to this approach assumes that workers will develop consciousness of themselves as a class only if organizing begins on the basis of sub-class issues. This approach holds that by appealing to the interests of particular class subgroups such as black workers, unskilled workers, young workers, women, etc., consciousness will grow from immediate particular issues to develop into consciousness of the class as a whole. As yet little working class organizing has proceeded with this emphasis. In Detroit, the National Organizing Committee is attempting to develop this approach in its efforts.

The failure of whites to recognize the need to fight white supremacy among workers and to support groups like ELRUM as being representative of the interests of all workers has in large measure been responsible for creating a dangerous "blind spot" in the outlook of revolutionary black workers' organizations in Detroit. White workers must be organized as well. The black leadership recognizes that, in theory. But little is done concretely to encourage the organizing of white workers. For one thing the movement is strapped for money and people to do the day to day organizing. For another, rank and file black workers move fast on race questions, even before these have developed into class issues.

Faced on the day to day level with white supremacy, black groups have made a tactical decision to attack white workers as racists. Yet, ideologically, as Bobby Seale puts it (see, the MOVEMENT, March, 1969), the thrust of the black movement is toward socialism. That means, "If we want to develop a socialist system within the black community we're saying it is also going to have to exist in the white community". This can only be achieved through a white working class movement. Black workers' groups must recognize this need. Perhaps the model for this strategic dealing with white worker groups should be the Black Panther Party. However, Seale's thoughts on community organizing is less meaningful to workers in the shops.

In developing class consciousness among black workers, there is also a danger in emphasizing demands for black foremen. Clearly these demands are tactical, aimed against everyday mani-

festations of white supremacy, and serve to demonstrate the power of groups like ELRUM in their efforts to organize black workers. As John Watson, editor of the SOUTH END and one of the original organizers of black workers' groups in Detroit, wrote:

We are no more for integrated capitalism than segregated capitalism. Neither are we in favor of a separate state, based on the same class lines as in this society. We are against a separate state in which a black capitalist class exploits a black proletariat. (RADICAL AMERICA, 7-8/68)

The danger of demanding black foremen is that workers will be diverted from class consciousness by coming to believe that it is their task to reform management. A black foreman is still a foreman, and that should always be emphasized. Neglecting always to present a strong class-conscious perspective in every action hinders efforts to build a socialist movement.

The development of black workers' groups presents a number of important issues to white organizers. Most of them hinge around one central truth: radical consciousness is more developed among black workers than among white. In the shops this means that the white organizer must attempt to reach white workers, while black workers remain in the vanguard of the struggle. How will white workers react to black actions in the future? Can whites successfully organize around questions of, and against, white supremacy? How do organizers fight management's attempts to divide black workers from white workers? What is the potential for young black and white workers to struggle together over issues affecting them?

The second series of questions deals with organization. Black worker movements have generated tremendous enthusiasm and support from their communities. The efforts of DRUM in Hamtramck Assembly have mobilized a radical community consciousness. Among working class whites this has not happened. There is a need to create a white working class movement that will provide community support for the actions of workers in the shops. How will this relate to black groups? Can actions be co-ordinated among black and white community groups? Can whites accept the probability that they will not be in the vanguard of working class struggles, but followers of black workers?

These questions only scratch the surface, but as working class organizers we must begin to deal with them. The future of a working class movement rests upon our success in creating a working class solidarity that transcends race, age, skill and sex differences. Black worker groups need broad. League of Revolutionary BLACK WORKERS. 9049 Oakland, Detroit, Michigan. TR 3-2550.





# WDRU



Photo: CONNECTIONS

## FROM CONSCIENCE TO CLASS

by Bob Gabriner and Barbara Baran

During the fall of 1966, when the draft began to haunt students at the University of Wisconsin, five seniors sat down to discuss the situation. After 8 weeks of hard, sometimes bitter rapping, the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union, with 40 members, was born. Today the name, WDRU, is well known throughout the state but is no longer simply associated with draft resistance. "DRU", as the organization is called, is a statewide organizing outfit struggling to build a revolutionary consciousness based upon a class analysis of American society.

DRU is significant for two primary reasons. First, it has set many native Wisconsin high school and college students in motion around issues ranging from the use of irrational authority in the high schools to militarism and imperialism. The numbers remain small yet, but will grow as DRU organizers develop their strategy and familiarity with the specifics of locales such as Milwaukee and Racine. Second, the history of DRU offers a story of how consciousness and experience interrelate, how an organization can struggle and mature while facing the problem of organizing a radical movement among youth.

One member of the group has suggested half-seriously that perhaps "process" would be an appropriate name for the Wisconsin DRU. The unfolding of a self-conscious critical and extremely flexible core of organizers in Wisconsin is the focus of this article. Growth and change are intrinsic to its history.

The birth of the DRU came in the midst of a developing anti-war movement on the Madison campus. The Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam were the best known and most active groups, but neither could break with the traditions of UW's left. They were largely supported by the left, reaching few students outside the radical community. Frustrated with the inability of the anti-war groups to break out of their isolation and the traditional meeting-march-protest syndrome, a variegated group of pacifists, former civil rights workers and anti-war activists established the Wisconsin DRU. The initial group consisted almost solely of upper-middle class students from the large metropolitan areas of New York, Washington and Chicago--all of whom considered themselves radicals. Their politics, however, were nascent.

The early meetings, as Jody Chandler (see CONNECTIONS, Madison, Wisc., March 23-April 8, 1967), a founder of the group has noted were "very, very good,

very personal, intimate. People sort of came apart and talked about their lives and how their lives related to America." The kind of intimacy created in those meetings led naturally to a notion that a union--"some kind of collective action"

**WE WERE A DRAFT RESISTANCE UNION. THE CONCEPT WAS VERY IMPORTANT: WE'D ALWAYS STAND TOGETHER NO MATTER WHO WAS AFFECTED. IN OTHER WORDS, ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL.**

--was the best expression of their politics. A union would demonstrate that "we'd always stand together, no matter who was affected".

But the meetings became repetitious and frustrating because the participants had "exhausted their souls". No one knew what to do. "The draft," said one DRU member, was "just this kind of omnipotent thing that we really could not deal with." Finally three or four members took the initiative in February, 1967, and drew up a "We Won't Go" statement, the second such manifesto written in the country. 47 men signed the statement which appeared in the UW

### DAILY CARDINAL.

No one knew what was going to happen when the CARDINAL published the statement, but it did allow the union to get uncorked. A loosely structured organization based upon committees (finance, campus, community, literature, legal, etc.) was formed. The basic strategy was to try to clog up, disrupt, or otherwise reduce the efficiency of the Selective Service System. People believed that if enough confrontations were created, the SSS could not function.

Union members spoke in dorms about "Why I Won't Go". The notion that one could take a moral stand and be relevant at the same time stimulated the union's

growth. The students believed that a mass draft resistance movement could effectively stop the drafting of young men and thereby create a crisis for the war machine.

In May, 115 men signed a second statement and 60 endorsed a support pledge. The discussions inside DRU according to Chandler, "served an internal need for people to act in new ways: what was being talked about was an individual's life and the risks involved in making a stand against the draft. People asked what the meaning of jail was, what it meant to risk jail, to risk your future career and life style because of your stand against the war and the draft."

Coupled with the notion of risk was the concept that the resistance movement had to spread throughout the state, to high school students and community people. These two ideas were to become part of the foundation for DRU's work. During the spring of 1967, however, they were simply the focus of intimate discussions.

Again, the intimacy of the meetings turned against the participants. The closeness of the group seemed stifling and frustrating. How could the union act out its tentative ideas about resistance? General Hershey provided the answer: four members were called to Milwaukee for their pre-induction physicals and in mid-May a call went out for everyone to help "our people". The plan was to send additional members inside the Induction Center with the four who had been called for physicals so that "an atmosphere conducive to resistance" could be established. A spirited picket line yelled encouragement to the brothers inside. In all 11 DRU people were busted. Some inductees had responded positively to the demonstration; and the frustration inside DRU had been alleviated. But the strategy appeared inadequate. They saw that it was impossible financially to create these confrontations time after time. The Union

didn't have the manpower and the resources to have "ten, twelve, fifteen people arrested every time one of our people went to a physical."

The DRU members remained committed to the strategy that if 4 per cent of the draftees refused to cooperate, SSS would fall but the program to accomplish such a feat eluded everyone. DRU was kept busy with requests for counselling and information, but there was an underlying anxiety about the direction of the group. During the summer of '67 a small group went full-time and began thinking about specific programs for the Wisconsin resistance movement. They wanted to involve people in day to day work, "not just bureaucratic stuff," that would develop the DRU base so that when its people were "picked off" there would be a definite response.

The small staff often travelled to Chicago to rap with Dee Jacobson then in the national office of SDS, about political direction for DRU. These sessions crystallized the anxiety. One of the members of that summer staff recalled,

We talked about the need to organize throughout the state, but we weren't making an effort to reach new people. There was no experience and that was the basis of lots of talk. What we found, I mean, like we had a fantastic time that summer. June and July were just unbelievable. Eight or nine people were going through \$75 worth of groceries a week. We were stoned every night, EVERY night, that's true. We were absorbing enormous amounts of ice cream from Chocolate House because we were stoned all the time. We had a good time, but each time we had to talk to Dee Jacobson, when we had to face up to what we were doing, it made us really think about what we WERE doing and forced us to try to go beyond it and try to understand just in our own terms how one does organize a movement...What we found was that we were basically approaching organizing for the union in the same way we approached the University of Wisconsin as students. In other words, just as there was the academic life, you go to classes, you come home and do your homework, you go to a meeting now and

**WE DECIDED TO DISCARD OUR STUDENT LIFESTYLES AND ORGANIZE A DRAFT RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN THE STATE. WE HAD SOME FINE EXPERIENCES THAT SHOWED WE WERE ABLE TO WORK OUTSIDE OF MADISON AND THAT PEOPLE WERE RESPONDING TO OUR IDEAS, ESPECIALLY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS.**



then and again. And then there was your other life: you danced and you had a good time and all that. Well we found we were approaching draft resistance organizing in the same way. That what we were essentially doing was going to work and then coming home, and that really hit us about the kind of changes in life style that were necessary and what those changes would mean in terms of individuals' lives, what kind of changes those make in the everyday things you do, in the way you walk along the streets. That was really important.

## SELF-CRITICISM

After a disastrous national conference on draft organizing held in Madison in August, 1967, DRU found that most draft resistance organizers in the country were "full of bullshit" like themselves. According to one DRU member, "they were not organizing and had no concept of what that meant." An intense period of self-criticism followed. It was decided that DRU would give up its duties as national coordinator of the resistance movement and a "two-pronged" program would be established around draft information and research on the Madison draft board in preparation for an all out attack on the local Selective Service System.

But the most important development for that small group of full-time DRU people was the experience of talking to high school students outside Madison, and finding that they did respond to "ideas that weren't just liberal peace-type ideas." The first such interaction was at a church coffeehouse in Williams Bay, Wisconsin, a very small conservative town on Lake Geneva. Sixty high school students and 30 John Birchers showed up to hear the DRU speakers. The Birchers threatened to bomb the coffeehouse, but the kids were not to be intimidated and really responded to the talk. They invited the DRU back. The evenings spent in Williams Bay pointed out that the very presence of DRU polarized the group and that in such a polarization most of the young people sides with the young organizers against the adults. The conflict was partially one of style and approach, but beneath the surface, DRU found that the kids resented the authoritarian posture of their elders. After similar experiences in more small towns in Southern Wisconsin, DRU had confirmed that the draft was not the point of departure for many of their potential supporters; it was the

Dan Swinney, another founder of the Wisconsin group, noted that the original conception as written in the "We Won't Go" statement began to change as DRU became more involved outside the UW college community.

We found that many kids were receptive to what we were saying, especially in repressive communities like Sheboygan. But the We Won't Go idea was insufficient, since the resistor was still isolated. For example, in Sheboygan a guy who refused induction did more harm for the development of the resistance movement than good in that community. He and his parents lost their jobs; they were socially ostracized, people wouldn't talk to them. What he proved to every young man in that town was if you took our original stand against the draft you are really going to get screwed.

As DRU accumulated its contacts and experiences in the state, the staff began to change. Many of the original members of DRU were unable to commit themselves to being full-time organizers either because of time or because they were not ready for it. The old idea of a union which combined the subjective and personal needs of people with the struggle against objective conditions began to fade. Full time organizing did not allow for the loose easy-going routine

## WE BEGAN TO CALL DORM STUDENTS, HISTORY STUDENTS AND CAFETERIA WORKERS, CONSTITUENCIES. THAT IS, THEY RELATED TO THE SAME INSTITUTION IN THE SAME WAY.

of the original group. Discipline and long hard work were necessary if groups were to be organized in the state. The result was that a new generation of radicals formed around the original core of DRU.

## BROADER ISSUES

Similiary the draft itself was no longer the focus of DRU, but an issue which allowed the organizers to open up broader issues, particularly the question of imperialism, and the relation between the repressive function of the draft and other institutions such as the public school system.

By early 1968 DRU, with a new staff of about 12, began discussing the concept of "constituency organizing". Originally, John Feurst said, constituency organizing meant little more than the fact that "we weren't organizing a homo-

## CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZING IS A MEANINGFUL CONCEPT FOR THREE REASONS: FIRST, IT GAVE US A WAY TO BREAK DOWN MONOLITHS INTO WORKABLE GROUPS. SECONDLY, WE FOUND THAT THERE ARE ISSUES WHICH COULD BE RAISED WITHIN HOMOGENEOUS GROUPS OF PEOPLE THAT ALLOWED US TO PULL THESE PEOPLE TOGETHER. THIRDLY, WE SAW THE POSSIBILITY OF LINKING CONSTITUENCIES TO BUILD A MOVEMENT.

authority wielded at home, in school, and by the cops.

The experience of going outside Madison, generally conceived of as an oasis in a desert of backwoods conservatives, made the DRU staff more confident and assertive. The task before them was "to create an atmosphere, a consciousness which allows people to see that there is an alternative to simple submission to the Army and to the basic assumptions of America, and that that alternative can only be created by themselves."

By going outside of Madison they discovered a new potential for organizing among small town and medium-size city high school and college students. They also began to draw connections between the kind of irrational authority utilized in high school and that of the Army. High school, they told kids, prepared you for submission to life in the Army. High school was one of many repressive institutions that one faced throughout his life.

## TOWARDS RESISTANCE

To build a consciousness of what alternatives there might be and to stimulate an atmosphere conducive to resistance, DRU embarked upon a varied program in the fall of 1967 among high school students in Madison, Eau Claire, Superior, Janesville and other towns and cities throughout the state. Guerrilla theater and underground newspapers were two tools for organizing. Draft counseling was another. A small tightly knit staff was now working closely together. Literature on the draft and American imperialism was reprinted, and written and printed in the small Madison office. Much of the time was spent travelling outside Madison.

## WE'D SEEN THAT THE NOTION THAT YOU COULD HALT THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM BY GETTING ENOUGH NON-COOPERATORS WAS NOT TRUE. OUR BASIC NOTION IS THAT OUR JOB IS TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH YOUNG MEN CAN MAKE THE DECISION TO RESIST--CAN DECIDE NOT TO GO TO VIETNAM.

blowup lasted until finals and then died. During summer school people started talking about the formation of student associations in each department. Issues such as the use of grades, prelims, the lecture system and the content of many courses were raised by the associations. In some cases a student association, such as the one in history, developed a "critique and program" embracing the issue of the University's relation to the military and the war in Vietnam. But for the most part, the student associations concentrated on immediate issues specific to departments and courses. The problems with constituency organizing came into sharper focus during WDRU's summer program, dubbed, "The Summer Offensive".

In preparation for the Summer Offensive, recruiters combed the campus both for full-time organizers and for

hung up in empty anti-authoritarian forms, directing the impulse instead toward discussions about the nature of the town's power structure and the similarity between the oppression these kids faced and that experienced in the black community. But nothing in their own or DRU's experience equipped them to move programmatically beyond youth questions. A free school was begun and "Fresh Air", "probably one of the toughest high school papers ever printed" was written and distributed guerrilla-style.

We'd go to a dance with about ten guys each with ten copies of "Fresh Air" under their shirts. We'd gather in the middle of the crowd, give a signal, and go in all directions giving out papers away. By the time the cops could get to the scene we'd all be clean and everybody would be reading a copy.

At the end of the summer, the organizers left Waukegan to return to school in Madison, though frequent contact was maintained. Analyzing their experience a couple of months later, certain real weaknesses of the project were clear. A small, solid cadre of kids had been developed, but the guys in the group who were already working in factories had dropped out of the movement by fall. Only the needs which existed in the consumptive and leisure portion of their lives had been dealt with directly by the organizers.

The failure of the constituency approach and, more importantly, the reasons for that failure, began to become clear for the first time. In Waukegan, it was painfully evident that organizing those youths as youths did not speak to their needs in a total way nor did it tell them anything about how to live as radicals in the productive sphere of their lives. The middle class and upwardly mobile working class kids DRU had been organizing before would be going on to college, where their immediate oppression would again be a peculiarly youth-based and high cultural one and where they could live as radicals by joining SDS. Here both the failure of the constituency approach and its alternative were hazy. In Waukegan, the alternative was clearly organizing those kids as members of the working class.

## BEYOND YOUTH CULTURE

Gradually, the need to move "beyond youth culture" and a narrowly-defined constituency approach became apparent on all the projects as the work of the spring and summer was consolidated and extended in the early fall.

In Appleton and Eau Claire, the work came almost to a standstill as both kids and organizers floundered in their inability to develop compelling programs around youth questions. In Milwaukee, where a citywide high school movement, involving kids from 25 or more schools had been developed, work on a high school underground newspaper served as a substitute for programs which directly challenged the nature and functioning of the school system. In Madison, the high

## OUR BUILDING BLOCK THEORY WAS TOO MECHANISTIC. ISSUES LINK UP, NOT CONSTITUTENCIES.

was different from those in the other towns and the problems were brought into sharper relief.

"We initially started organizing around the draft", say Mike Rosen and Bill Drew (see NEW LEFT NOTES, "beyond Youth Culture", Feb. 12, 1969) "We were to have success--not because people were anti-imperialist, but because they were anti-authoritarian." The town's swift repression only increased their success:

Everywhere we went we found anti-authoritarianism. People began to identify with us, because they hated the draft and had also been arrested by the cops, usually for stupid reasons.

The organizers tried to avoid getting

## IN WAUKEGAN, WHILE RECOGNIZING THE NECESSITY OF BEGINNING ON A CONSTITUENCY BASIS, AT THE SAME TIME WE REALIZED HOW EMBRYONIC THIS STEP IS AND HOW LARGER GROUPINGS MUST BE MADE TO REALIZE SIMILAR INTERESTS AND ACT AS A MOVEMENT.

school organizers had freed themselves from the stranglehold of a group of sophisticated upper middle class kids, but still felt frustrated and bogged down by endless discussions on dope, rock and dress codes. On campus, regulations had been liberalized sufficiently that dorm kids felt little need to move around dorm issues and in the departments many of the student associations had become embroiled in essentially academic concerns.

Faced with these failures, DRU made a desperate attempt on the campus to link their campus programs and force them out of reformism into a self-consciously anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist stance. The projected solution, a mass demonstration around the elections and Dow's return to the campus, proved too mechanistic to move people. At a mass meeting of 1800, DRU was soundly put down.

Meanwhile, however, more organic solutions were being discovered in the off-campus work. Alice Falkin, who had recently come to DRU from the Lakeview project in Chicago, brought to the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20



# I might get busted if I join the Union

**MOVEMENT:** Tell us what the ASU is and how it got started.

**ANDY STAPP:** The ASU is a union of rank and file enlisted men in the Army, the Navy, the Marines and the Air Force. We have organizers on all the military reservations in the U.S. and Europe and Vietnam. The union has a program that appears on the union card and also in every issue of our publication, **THE BOND**. The program is:

1. An end to saluting and sir-ing of officers--let's get off our knees.
2. Election of officers by vote of the men.
3. Racial equality.
4. Rank and filers control of court-martial boards.
5. Federal minimum wages.
6. The right of free political association.
7. The right of collective bargaining.
8. The right to disobey illegal orders --like orders to go and fight in an illegal war in Vietnam.

The union actually grew out of a series of court-martials at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma. In the summer of 1967, I was court-martialed along with others who later became union organizers, Dick Perrin, Dick Ilge, Paul Gaedtke. We saw there was so much mass support for us among the enlisted men that we began to realize it was possible not just to agitate as individuals against the army but to launch a mass campaign involving hundreds and thousands of men.

I had been in the army a year and had not realized what support there was to have that kind of a fight against the war, against the officers and against militarism. It was only through a struggle that this came out and I think that's true on campus too. Sometimes SDS and other organizations do not realize what kind of support they can get until they get into a struggle and then they see there is a tremendous base there. We found the same was true in the army.

**MOVEMENT:** What kind of activity were you engaged in? What kind of struggle led to this understanding?

**ANDY:** I went into the army with the idea of organizing consciousness against the war, but I had no idea you could organize a union. I wouldn't have dreamed that was possible. I had been expelled from the university for burning my draft card and the draft resistance movement in Philly didn't seem to be going anywhere at the time (I guess it is now). So I went into the army with the idea of organizing.

For a year I agitated, handed out literature, talked to guys, fought against the sergeants, fought against the officers and against racism. I sort of built up a very small number of men (maybe 5 or 6) that were kind of a hard core in this artillery unit I was in at Ft. Sill.

What finally provoked the court-martial was that we sent a telegram of support to Captain Levy when he was being court-martialed for refusing to train Green Berets. Then the brass came and they tried to single me out and break me down in the eyes of the other guys, to sort of crush me and demoralize the other guys. I knew that it would be a mistake to back down in a confrontation so when the officers asked me to surrender all of my literature, which was one of the tools I was using to organize with, I refused.

I was court-martialed for refusing to turn over socialist and anti-war literature to the brass. The court-martial was marked with irregularities and perjury. It ended with the intelligence clerk leaping up and denouncing my commanding officer. The clerk was court-martialed and within a month I was court-martialed again for speaking at the University of Oklahoma. Dick Perrin, who became an organizer of GIs who left the army and were living in France, was court-martialed that month; Paul Gaedtke was court-martialed in August for beating up a sergeant, and finally I was court-martialed in February, 1968 on a charge of subversion and disloyalty. Actually the charge was organizing for the ASU, because in these initial court-martials we began to see the response we were getting from the other men and we began talking about organizing a union and we did it.

## UNION CORE

**MOVEMENT:** Was the support you were able to mobilize around the initial court-

martial the core of the union?

**ANDY:** Yes, that was the core of it. On my second court-martial I was acquitted and when I came back to the barracks all the guys burst out cheering. They love to see a guy put an officer down. Nobody beats court-martials and then I did and it gave the men a sense of confidence that we could win and from then on things were much easier because the guys had that confidence that we could lick the brass. Organizing against the war and organizing against the officers is really the same thing. You have got to take advantage of the class hatred

to God that their names were not on the list. The few guys that I knew that actually requested to go to Vietnam (and it was a very few) did so just so they could get away from some officer who was riding them. They thought that if they could go to Vietnam it would be different and they would not have this bastard sitting on them. I never saw a guy volunteer to go to Vietnam for so-called patriotic reasons.

## MOOD IN THE ARMY

**MOVEMENT:** How would you character-

The men hate the officers but the only thing holding them back now is fear. They are scared. What the ASU is trying to do is to rip away this veil of fear. It is trying to make the guys feel more confident. That's why we have a union; so the guys won't feel they are just one guy against the Pentagon. So that they'll feel that they are in an organization that includes thousands of guys and that will give them the confidence to fight against their fear.

## STRUGGLE INTENSIFYING

**MOVEMENT:** The struggle inside the army has been intensifying in the last two years. Why?

**ANDY:** It has intensified over the last several years and the war in Vietnam is one of the main reasons. The guys before undoubtedly had the kind of at-

titude that they could take any kind of bullshit for two years. But when Vietnam comes they are talking about being killed or maimed. We attribute a large part of the growth of the union to the war. Guys figure, yeah, I might go to prison for being in the union, but I might get killed if I go in the war and maybe the union can help me fight going to Vietnam. So when they weight it that way they join.

In a peacetime army I don't think there would be nearly the rebelliousness and certainly Vietnam is the main catalyst in this rebelliousness. When I first entered the army everything was individual resistance, everything was acts of one or two guys fighting back, but now it is beginning to take a mass character.

Beside Vietnam another spark for these rebellions is the black liberation movement. Black GIs just like black people in every aspect of American society, have played a vanguard role in the struggle in the armed forces. The most significant case of mass resistance has been the Ft. Hood 43. The 43 Afro-American GIs who refused to be shipped to the Democratic National Convention to be used as cossacks against the black people and the youthful anti-war demonstrators who had gathered there.

In political consciousness and militancy these black guys were pretty much ahead of anything I have seen white soldiers do. Of course they were only reflecting what they felt in their own communities. The army is not a hermetically sealed organization.

The students who are drafted into the army carry in the ideas they learn on campus. Black people carry ideas in that they learn in the ghetto, young white workers carry ideas in that they learn in their communities. So the army is not something completely different from American society at large. It is just that all the contradictions are more intense in the army, but the ideas were basically acquired elsewhere.

The case of the Ft. Hood 43 shows why a union is needed. The union was able to swing into action within an hour after these 43 men were arrested. Because we are an organization and not just a newspaper, we have an apparatus at Ft. Hood and this organization went into operation. We got them a civilian lawyer immediately.

Let me give you a different type of example. At Ft. Campbell, Ky. last April when the rebellions broke out among the black GIs at the Fifth Division in retaliation for the murder of Martin Luther King the union only had two or three guys on the base and we weren't able to respond. We weren't able to respond because we didn't have an apparatus that could move and the result was that the whole thing was done in a lot of secrecy and there was no coverage in the bourgeois press.

At Ft. Hood it was different because we did have what the Pentagon calls an infrastructure set up. We were able to move. And that had a lot to do with the black GIs getting light sentences. They had a lot of publicity which we had pushed to get for them. They wanted it and we got it. We also got them civilian lawyers. Of course they were very, very strong themselves and this plus the strength of the black liberation movement was MAINLY responsible for

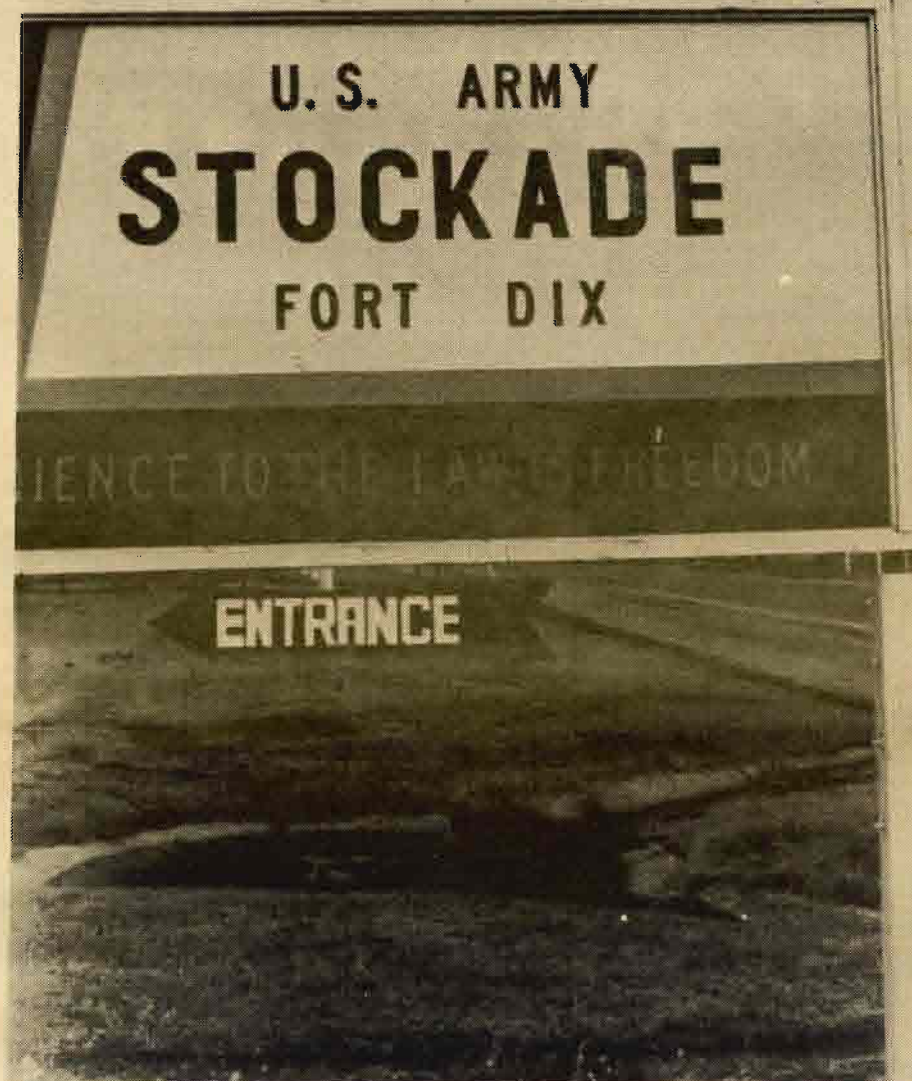


Photo: BOND

that the men feel toward their oppressors.

**MOVEMENT:** How is it possible given the system of military justice that you were able to beat the court-martial?

**ANDY:** Well for one thing I had a civilian lawyer that came in from Denver. He was very sharp, not like these jag officers who are really on the other side. The second point in my favor was there was a lot of press in the courtroom. Third, and this is not that important, I was not guilty.

**MOVEMENT:** You said fighting against the officers is the same as fighting against the war. Would you elaborate this?

**ANDY:** Well for one thing the officers are all for the war. The role they play in the war makes it much less dangerous for them. They get much higher pay, medals, awards and glory and all that, plus they are indoctrinated with a fascist-militarist education in OCT and ROTC. They tend to be very much for the war. The enlisted men are not so heavily indoctrinated and they are scared that they are going to get maimed over there. They don't feel that the Vietnamese are any political threat to them. I don't mean to say the EMs are pro-National Liberation Front, but they don't want to get hurt over there. So it works out that the officers push for the war and the EMs don't. They don't want to go.

I remember when the order would come down for the men to go to Vietnam it was like a disaster area. Everybody would run to the bulletin boards praying

ize the mood of the guys in the army?

**ANDY:** Well the mood of the guys in the army is one of restlessness. There have been rebellions at Ft. Bragg, at Okinawa, Long Binh, Danang and there was recently an anti-war rally in Vietnam itself at Chu Chi. There have been two rebellions at Ft. Hood, one on October 3, 1967 when the 198th Light Infantry Brigade rebelled and just about levelled large sections of the Fort causing about \$150,000 in damage. Apparently they killed a Lt. in the fighting and they threw grenades into the officers' club. There were rebellions at Ft. Campbell, Ky. after Martin Luther King was killed. There were three nights of rebellions there. At Ft. Lewis there was a unit which resisted being sent to Vietnam and had to be broken up into smaller units and be sent piecemeal because the unit as a whole was so determined not to go the brass was afraid to send it as one unit.

So on the one hand you have this tremendous feeling, a great upsurge of mass sentiment against the war and against the officers, but there is the other side of the story: the men are still somewhat intimidated. They are still scared of the brass, they are still scared of the lifers. There have been very, very heavy prison sentences meted out in retribution. Bruce Peterson got 7 years at Ft. Hood (He was the editor of **FATIGUE PRESS**) and they framed him on a marijuana charge; there are the Presidio 27 who face enormous charges; and there have been many others. So there is a balanced picture.



# but I don't want to go to Vietnam

their light sentences. That was a prime example of why an organization is necessary for the guys to fight back. Because the brass is organized, the Pentagon is organized and the GIs have to be organized too. Its as simple as that.

## RACISM

**MOVEMENT:** That raises the question of racism and racism in the army and how the ASU is dealing with that question in its organizing.

**ANDY:** Vietnam is a racist war. The GIs are infected with racist terminology against the Vietnamese people and if you don't fight against anti-black racism you cannot fight against the Vietnam war because that's anti-oriental racism. Its opportunist and ducking the issue to avoid the question of racism and of course racism is used to divide the GIs

The only GIs that have ever quit the union have quit on the grounds that they don't want to be in a union with a bunch of black people. These are racist GIs and we say good riddance to them. We feel that there can't be any progressive organizations or any progressive moves that are accompanied by racism. If we built a racist union we'd be building a union on the proverbial sand. That union could be swept away very quickly. For one thing it won't include the most militant element of the army, the blacks. Also the GIs would be infected with this very backward ideology of racism and it could be turned on us at any point. We feel that this is a foremost struggle.

When I was at Ft. Sill the first action the union took was to defend a Japanese-American GI, Rodney Oshiro. It was shortly after I had been court-martialed on this so-called subversion statute and up until then every action the union had taken had been defensive, just defending union organizers. Now Oshiro wasn't in the union but he was being court-martialed because he had failed to address this racist officer with the word SIR. A Japanese-American GI better remember to say sir to Lt. Benkowski. We got a lawyer, Rudolph Schwer, who came down from Denver and we passed the hat in the barracks. It was the first overt action of the union, I said to the guys, "Well let's get some money up to defend this guy, to pay for the lawyer" and we raised \$87 among the men. Now this might not sound like much, but when you realize that GIs get paid so little it was a big victory.

I know some of the guys who gave money were prejudiced, but they hated the Lt. more than they hated a guy of a different race. This was the beginning of educating them to who the real enemy is. It made that feel part of a struggle against racism and against this racist officer. So the union has always taken a principled position on the question of racism.

**MOVEMENT:** Has the racist nature of the war made it easier to move guys around the questions of racism by linking up issues or has this hindered you?

**ANDY:** It's a very difficult problem because American society is saturated with racism and the war has generated even further racism in the Vietnam training. The indoctrination sessions led by the officers and the Sergeants are nothing more than an orgy of racist terms against orientals. The Vietnam war has been like a further injection of poison into people in the sense of making them more racist.

On the other hand the black GIs have stopped putting up with the racist crap. The struggle against racism today is more sharp than ever before and this is true in the army too. Any GI that wants to work in the union is going to see quick enough that if the blacks are not in the union there isn't going to be any union. So he more or less has to work with them. If he wants to achieve the other goals, like kicking the officers in the pants and not being sent to Vietnam, then he's going to have to do it in concert with the black troops who make up a good chunk of the army. To that extent it forces the white GI to be less racist.

**MOVEMENT:** The union is heavily integrated now?

**ANDY:** Yes, it is. We don't keep racial



Photo: BOND

(Bill Smith, Viet Vet and Vietnam Editor of the BOND, with Bob Reicker, one of the Ft. Hood 43.)

records, but the men that join the union tend to be working class guys who have the rottenest jobs, like ammo humper, infantrymen, truck-driver, cook, jobs like that. Now the guys with the rottenest jobs, as you can guess, are the blacks. When I was at Ft. Sill I was one of the few white troops in the ammo section. With the exception of myself the highest educated white troops humping ammo had a tenth grade education. Of the black troops humping ammo almost all of them were high school graduates and one guy was a college graduate, with two degrees from Howard University, one in political science and one in economics and he was humping ammo.

## RELATIONS WITH MOVEMENT

**MOVEMENT:** How do you see the relationship of the ASU with the movement in general outside of the army?

**ANDY:** We see the union as just one of the fronts against U.S. imperialism. The black liberation movement, the draft resistance movement, SDS and struggles on campuses, the increasing number of strikes among workers--we see all these as fronts against U.S. imperialism. We don't see the ASU as some sort of panacea that is going to solve all the problems, or that we have the only answers.

We are for maximum struggle against U.S. imperialism, which means that people should struggle wherever they are. If people are on campus they fight there; if they are in a factory they fight there; if they are in the ghetto they fight there. And if they are in the army they fight there. If there are deserters they can fight there. The ASU doesn't take a position against desertion, and of course we don't take a position against draft resistance.

There are guys who will go into the army, who will not resist the draft and who also will not desert and for them there should be a program that enables them to fight against U.S. imperialism. And that's what the ASU sees itself as.

**MOVEMENT:** What about the coffeehouses?

**ANDY:** As far as I can see the most impressive of these coffeehouses is the Shelter Half (see, THE MOVEMENT, March, 1969) at Ft. Lewis. Now a coffeehouse in and of itself isn't automatically a big struggle. When you start organizing a union, then you've got a big struggle on your hands. A coffeehouse can be like that if the people in it are very political and make sure that the politics don't get submerged in the rock and roll and so on; don't get buried in it. In other words, a coffeehouse is just as good as the people will make it, or just as bad. It could be totally apolitical, the type of place where guys will go just to forget about the Army. And of course we don't want them to forget about the Army, we want them to remember the Army; we want them to remember ex-

actly where they are and that they've got to fight against it. Then again, a coffeehouse run by people who are anxious to help struggles on the base, by guys in the serve that have the perspective that guys can fight back right where they are, against being sent to Vietnam, against being sent into the ghettos, and so forth, a coffeehouse that helps to initiate that kind of struggle is right out in the forefront, as far as I'm concerned.

Then there's some that feel that they can educate GIs against the system in general, but that the GIs probably can't really do much while they are in the Army, and their purpose is to educate them so that when they get out of the Army they'll be part of the movement. I disagree with that. I think GIs can do a lot while they're in the Army, like the Ft. Hood 43 and numerous others who've refused to go to Vietnam.

Guys can put up a big struggle while they are in the Army. A coffeehouse that has the perspective that we'll educate them so that when they get out they can be part of the struggle, that's sort of ducking the real issue. The GIs don't have to wait until they get out.

Then there's a third type of coffeehouse, and the Shelter Half is an example --at least that's my impression, I'm not an expert--they seemed to be in line with the way the union sees things; that it's important to fight on the base, to work with guys who want to refuse to go to Vietnam.

## REFORMIST?

**MOVEMENT:** Some people might characterize the program and demands of the union as reformist. Will you respond to that?

**ANDY:** Sure. There's a lot of misconceptions about just how the Army runs. Now the program of the Black Panther Party, for example, has been characterized as reformist too. I know from first hand experience how an imperialist army works--it runs on the basis of absolute obedience to authority. When this obedience breaks down, the ability of this army to function as an imperialist army begins to break down.

The demands raised by the ASU, which include the right to refuse to obey orders, the right to seize court-martial boards --enlisted men should run court-martial boards--these demands objectively destroy the ability of the U.S. Army to be an imperialist army. That's what these demands would do. Now to raise the demand "destroy the imperialist army" doesn't mean a whole lot to GIs, but to defend their right to refuse orders to go to Vietnam, which is the eight and most important of the demands of the ASU --I don't know what imperialist army could function for two minutes when the guys refuse to obey orders, when they refuse to ship out and go to war. When the men refuse to go to war, that's the ballgame, that's it.

So the demands of the union are not

sectarian demands which the men couldn't understand. They are demands that arise from the men. It's like what Mao said, from the masses, to the masses. We listened to what the guys were saying and we try to articulate it in some kind of coherent program and then we bring it back to them, in the form of eight union demands. Since the army is full of people who don't want to be there, people who've been impressed into the army, there's this tremendous resistance movement. So, it's possible to take hold of this feeling of malcontent and resistance and weld it into a combat organization, which is what the ASU is.

## CONCRETE ACTION

**MOVEMENT:** Concretely, what does the organization do?

**ANDY:** For one thing, we can send large quantities of anti-war, anti-imperialist, anti-racist literature to GIs that request it. We do this all the time. We can organize civilian support demonstrations for GIs. For instance, when Sood was given the fifteen years, within an hour we had a demonstration going in New York City. We can supply lawyers, civilian lawyers, to GIs when they are in trouble. We've done this with hundreds of guys.

I've been to many army bases at the request of GIs, because I've had some experience in organizing, and guys who want to have an organizer come down and help them get something off the ground. I'll come down and look at the lay of the land and listen to them a lot and hear what their problems are, then I can suggest some things. Most of the union struggles are left up to the initiative of the men where they are. Guys in the Air Force are not quite as oppressed as guys in the Army, and they'll fight around more politically conscious demands--anti-imperialist and stuff like that. Whereas the Marines are on the other end of the spectrum. All they want to do is punch some fat lifer's teeth in.

We have a pretty loose rein over the union, to the extent that the men are allowed to initiate their own struggle, but we can give them advice on this. Bill Smith, who's a Vietnam veteran, will go onto an Army base and relate to the men, I'll do the same, if they don't know I'm coming. That's one of the things we can do.

But then also, just by existing we give the guys a feeling that they are not alone. I think if you just keep raising their consciousness but there's no action, guys begin to feel demoralized. But if they feel they're building a combat organization it sustains their morale. It's like the old labor union thing: you can take one stick and break it, but you can't break 20 sticks. It destroys the alienation and fear, and that's a big problem. That's why we consider the Presidio

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# THE NATIONAL GUARD STANDS

by Bill Drew, Alan Hunter, Paul Siegle

Struggles around black student demands are erupting across the country. This current has overtaken and engulfed most white radicals. Except for grooving on the style and charisma of the Black Panthers the white left has paid too little attention to racism, its place in American capitalism and the necessity to fight it.

We moved from friends of SNCC days to opposing the war. Moved from draft resistance to opposing imperialism and capitalism. But we have not, either in our analysis or actions, located racism in America's dominant institutions.

But since King's death, since Columbia, and mostly since S.F. State this

The recent strike has shown the need to relate to the problems of youth and workers and of being CONCRETELY anti-racist. Links must be forged programatically as well as understood theoretically, for it is only through alliances of class conscious groups that we can succeed in the near future.

rest of society and perpetuate false consciousness (even if students call themselves "niggers") unless concrete links to all those exploited by capitalism are made.

## DIVISIONS

This problem became clear in the subsequent development of black-white relations on campus. In the spring of 1968 University of Wisconsin ownership of Chase Manhattan Bank stock was exposed and a spontaneous sit-in developed when the regents rejected demands that the stock be sold and the money used for black scholarships.

Under white radical leadership the anti-racist content of the struggle became obscured by the demand that all students control the University financial policies. Not having created a radical class conscious student body, these white

thus neither flowed out of, nor built, continuing projects.

In part this failure may have been heightened by the emergence in the last couple of years of the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union (WDRU) which has drawn some of the best people off the Madison campus and put them into the field around the state to work with high school kids and students in the state universities. (See article on page ).

The irony of this is that the big, liberal, hip Madison campus has, like a beacon, attracted the students which the movement most needs in the lower track universities throughout the state. Those cultural and political lefties who gravitate to Madison act as troops for demonstrations here, whereas if they were in the state universities they could be a cadre helping to build a state-wide network of SDS chapters. The WDRU is now in the process of trying to develop



Photo: CONNECTIONS

has begun to change. Ever since a radically conscious black vanguard has begun to rock campuses throughout the country the change has been rapid. In this article we will discuss how this change has begun to occur at the University of Wisconsin in Madison as a result of the recent strike initiated by black students.

First it is necessary to discuss the history of the white student left in Madison and its isolation from the rest of the city and state. The student left at Wisconsin developed out of an intellectual radical tradition. As at other elite educational institutions the rebirth of left politics owed much to the Southern civil rights movement and the thinking of C. Wright Mills.

In Madison William A. Williams, Hans Gerth, and the 1959 birth of STUDIES ON THE LEFT helped build a community of radical scholars, most of whom were graduate students. The University and the state government tolerated the left because it had no programs to reach out to people. It was isolated from the rest of Wisconsin and so posed no threat.

More recently the war in Vietnam added an activist and anti-imperialist dimension to the Madison left. But in the rush to a hard anti-imperialism a new isolation was created. If we now identify with the struggles in the Third World and lionize Che and Mao; if we once out of moral impulse went South or engaged in debates on the feasibility of socialism--we still have not related to the everyday problems of people who live near--though not yet with--us. We have not related the everyday problems of people to the struggle against imperialism.

## ARTIFICIAL LINKS

A history of SDS on the campus clarifies the problems white radicals faced when confronted with the strike early this semester. On October 18, 1967 white radicals sat-in to obstruct Dow recruiters and were beaten by police. Although Concerned Black People had first stated that they would also obstruct, they decided against the action at the last minute. They believed that a sit-in put people in a defensive posture and that the demand for an end to war recruiting did little to help the black man in America.

The difference between the black students and white radicals was the difference between fighting for concrete and winnable demands as opposed to abstract and somewhat moralistic ones. The Dow sit-in was coated with radical rhetoric and a link to Third World struggles, but the link was purely symbolic. Those who sat in were really expressing their impotent rage at the University for failing to live up to its professed ideals.

The lesson of Dow, as articulated by white radicals, after a 6000 strong anti-pig movement surged and faded in two days, was "don't mourn, organize". The organizing that took place in dorms and departments was student power stuff, informed by the style and content of STUDENT AS NIGGER.

The trouble with this approach, as important and necessary as it may have been at the time, was that it tended to reinforce the isolation and elitism of multiversity students. Student power fights tend to isolate students from the

leaders could not guarantee that the triumph of student power would mean an anti-racist university.

Blacks saw themselves as being used by white radicals and were opposed to a sit-in that would bring on repression with no chance of winning the demand. Because the blacks refused to support the sit-in, it disbanded. The whites drew the conclusion that the campus blacks were too middle class in outlook to take any action. Blacks on the other hand were convinced that white radicals were too confrontation-oriented to win any demands.

Black-white mistrust was further aggravated by a boycott of student union food services in the fall of 1968. The issue grew out of the arrest of a black man in the union and turned into a demand for student-community control of the union. This history of mistrust was to set the stage for serious difficulties in creating an alliance which could raise the issue of racism in a radical context.

But there were two further difficulties that hindered the white left from responding well to the strike. White radicals had neither a program around, nor internal education about, racism. The SDS students working on an anti-imperialist campaign neglected to make clear the relationship between domestic and foreign oppression by the American ruling class and the role racism plays in maintaining this oppression.

Secondly, even though Wisconsin is a major national university with over 30,000 students and a history of radicalism it was without an SDS chapter working functionally on programs. SDS members have reacted to salient issues at the last moment and the actions have cadres in these schools.

## OSHKOSH

The November 21, 1968 incident at Oshkosh State University proved the importance of bringing the struggle to the state universities. Black students approached University President Guiles with a list of long standing demands centered around the creation of an Afro-American Cultural Center, black courses and black instructors. They demanded he sign the list and when he gave them the usual jive about how things take time and consideration, they took things into their own hands and destroyed office equipment in his and other administrative offices. Ninety students were summarily expelled, leaving the university with about twenty-four black students. (The town itself has no black families). This repression provided the impetus for intensive organizing among white students in Oshkosh, and hopefully a sustained radical presence will emerge.

In Madison the Oshkosh expulsions, along with an accumulation of local grievances, set the Black People's Alliance into motion. Ever since the Chase incident last spring they had been negotiating with the university's administration; for more black scholarships; for a Black studies department; for an Afro-American Cultural Center; for more black students on campus; for black control over certain financial aid and counseling services for black students.

The BPA was, of course, continually messed over and ignored by the administration. But the BPA made a major error in continually failing to educate the white student body about the course of negotiations. Most students, including



# AROUND HER DOOR

the radicals, did not know of any of these proceedings. Nevertheless, in late November the BPA demanded the reinstatement of the Oshkosh students and admissions of at least 500 blacks to the Madison campus by next fall.

The BPA boycotted classes for a week but won only minor concessions. Never during the boycott did they ask for white support actions nor did whites initiate any actions. However, a couple of weeks after the boycott was over, 200 whites disrupted a state board of regents meeting at which the Oshkosh affair was being discussed. The black leadership was at best noncommittal, and at worst hostile, to this action.

## BLACKS SEEK SUPPORT

Then unexpectedly at the beginning of this semester the black leadership began to make overtures to white radical leaders. Obviously they realized that meaningful black demands could only be won with the support of whites. This is especially true in Madison where there is no sizeable black population in the community (2300 out of 150,000) or on the campus (less than 500 out of over 30,000 students). Unlike Berkeley, S.F. State, Chicago, or Columbia there is no ghetto bordering on the campus. In fact, Madison is the only city in the U.S. with a population over 100,000 with a larger middle class than working class. This is largely due to the fact that Madison is the capital of the state and there are thousands of public employees working in state and university offices. Thus the blacks could not count on outside help from the community and the troops for the struggle had of necessity to be predominantly white.

## MISTRUST

But mistrust clearly existed even though the white leadership was self-critical of its past actions. This mistrust continued partly because the black leadership's position was basically cultural nationalist. But because there were also strains of Panther ideology there was some belief that black and white radicals should organize their constituencies separately but work together for the common goal of creating socialist consciousness. Still the only possible role for whites in a movement dominated by the kind of nationalism that existed at Wisconsin was that of support in the narrow sense of getting bodies out on the line.

It was in this context that, on Friday February 7, the black vanguard began the strike. With some whites they disrupted classes and then at a rally read and explained a set of 13 demands they had earlier presented to the administration. These demands included an Afro-American Cultural Center, a Black Studies Department with black student and faculty control, 500 more blacks on campus, and the opening of the University of Wisconsin to the black students expelled from Oshkosh.

The demands were carefully worked out and did not put undue financial pressure on the university. The next day we moved, a couple of thousand strong, on the Wisconsin-Ohio State basketball game, but disruption was checked by the presence of large numbers of police effectively guarding the entrances to the field house. Sunday was quiet, and in the evening large dorm meetings were very successfully held in which blacks and whites jointly ran the meetings and answered questions.

But by this time large numbers of white

radicals were beginning to feel that they had been manipulated. A semi-self-appointed group of five whites had met a couple of times with the blacks. It was through this body that the Sunday meetings had been set up. Most whites felt however that these five should be democratically elected by the whites who supported the demands as being non-negotiable. So accustomed to having control over even non-existent structures and programs, white radicals felt uneasy when they could not define the development of the strike.

So Monday evening, after a day of non-obstructive picketing, a white constituency assembly met. There were representatives---mostly radicals---from over thirty groups that supported the strike. They elected a five man steering committee that was to meet with black leaders and help work out day to day tactical decisions. This steering committee was forever in an odd position

because there was never a clear understanding between blacks and whites as to who would call the shots.

The whites assumed that the steering committee would make decisions along with the black vanguard; but as it worked out this vanguard intended to and did decide on tactics, but was open to suggestions. One valuable role the steering committee did play was in helping the blacks to assess the mood and commitment of the white students.

## STRIKE SUPPORT

Given the absence of an operative SDS chapter, the constituent assembly could have been a good form for involving many people in organizational tasks. Unfortunately the few leaders who emerged in the assembly were not able to delegate responsibility adequately and too

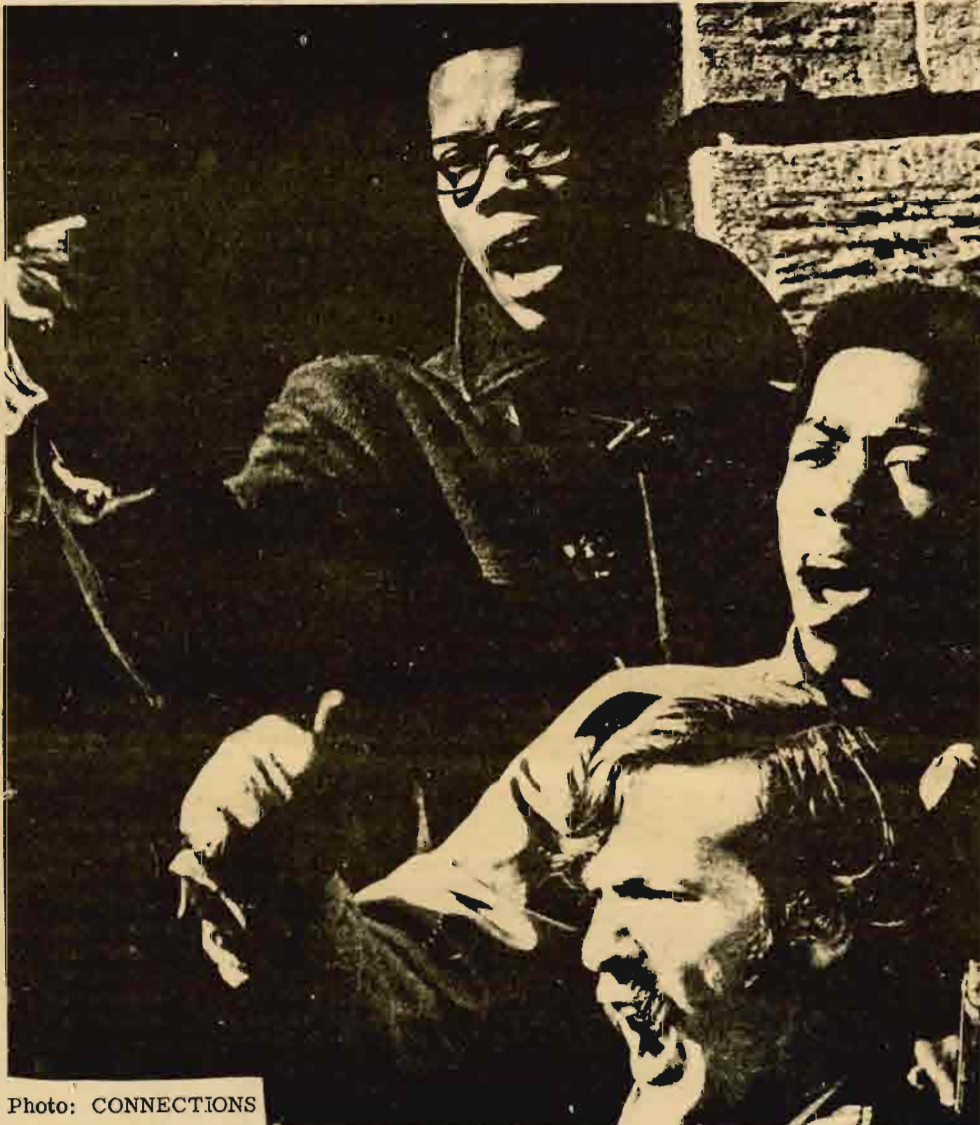


Photo: CONNECTIONS

much work devolved into the hands of only a few people. The student senate supported the strike and provided both paper and mimeo machines for leaflets, as well as funds for bail. In fact, the blacks so needed this material support that they kept up better contact with the student senate than with the more radical assembly.

Taking their lead from black leadership, the senate and the assembly were able to get many students out again Tuesday, and by afternoon, people were up for obstructive picketing and the blocking of doorways. This continued through Wednesday and was very successful, even though the blue-arm-banded "Hayakawas" emerged and precipitated action by charging the lines. At all times the word from the blacks was to avoid confrontation with the police. People learned to split from building entrances as the police arrived. (It didn't take much to teach this). In this way, arrests were kept down to 4-5 a day and almost nobody was hurt.

Thursday 900 National Guard were stationed on campus--and by Friday 2300 had been called up--and the police chased about 5,000 students all over campus and down city streets. The tactic of disrupting traffic was very effective since all the buildings were virtually barracks for the Guard. That night the march of 10,000 took place.

Most disturbing to the radicals was the dominant liberal attitude of the marchers. This was most clearly seen in the choice of songs sung en route: "We Shall Overcome" and "America the Beautiful". Friday it became obvious that the lack of radical commitment and politics on the part of most of the strikers would have a telling effect,

The numbers of people only slowly decreased, but the police became hip to the essentially pacifistic nature of the crowds. One or two cops were able to move 200-300 people from an intersection.

From then on things went down hill. People began returning to classes, and for lack of any other strategy the black leaders called a moratorium on the strike, ostensibly pinning their hopes on the upcoming faculty meeting.

A word here about the police and the Guard. Calling up the Guard was obviously a political move by Governor Knowles, a junior Reagan, but both the police and the Guard worked with great effectiveness. There were plenty of cops who were damn well ready to smash us, but they were under tight discipline and made few slip-ups. They were waiting for a situation where they could finger us for having precipitated the vio-

lence, given this situation, was that they spent too much time in futile efforts to get students out to rallies and meetings. As a consequence, the all-important work of deepening the political content of the struggle suffered.

It is difficult to speak concretely about institutionalized racism and how it reaches all of us, and we never became good at it. In our meetings the crucial need for political education was mentioned again and again, but the same people who would have undertaken this were engaged in a dozen other things.

Thus, while it is a major political failing that the understanding of racism was not broadened more than it was, it is at least partially due to organizational failings. We now know that we should have allocated our time for this, but during the intensity of the street action, et. al., it was difficult to reset priorities.

Without a deeper understanding of and commitment to the demands than a feeling of guilt or of helping others, support could not be sustained. While the cry "On Strike, Shut It Down" was potent for a few days, we never had a real political movement that could so hamper the working of the university as to win the demands. If we had spent more time getting across our political message about the necessity of fighting racism not only for blacks but for all of us, we could have deepened and broadened support. But the precipitous fashion in which the strike was called--and the lack of a good SDS presence--obviated any chance for a sustained strike by large numbers of students.

## FACULTY

As the strike slowly died the faculty farted around; the timidity and self-servingness of the professorial is important for the students to see again and again. The faculty demonstrated its acquiescence to institutionalized racism by refusing to take a stand against the upper administrative levels when the administration vetoed an Admissions Office decision to admit three of the Oshkosh blacks. A faculty special committee on black studies programs failed to recommend an equal vote for students in the proposed Black Studies Department.

The result is that a committee appointed by the chancellor will begin to plan the Black Studies Department. None of the other demands have been met in any measure, although some attempts are being made to get more black students here with financial assistance.

On Thursday, February 27, a few days before the last of the faculty meetings, black and white radicals expressed their general frustration and rejection of the faculty concessions by destroying windows and furniture in seven or eight campus buildings. The action did not serve to rejuvenate the strike, but only increased the amount of repression. Meetings in small groups have continued for some time, but this was the last public action.

## ON THE DEFENSIVE

For the present time and energy will have to be put into fighting the coming repression. About 40 students were arrested and a few more warrants are still out. Some of those arrested and probably some not arrested will be suspended or expelled. The Regents are passing repressive regulations to better deal with us and the State Legislature is passing a whole raft of bills to contain us. It wants to limit out-of-state enrollment and increase out-of-state tuition. Soon state HUAC-type hearings will begin unless we can get a federal court injunction to stop the proceedings (as happened last year after the Dow sit-in). As a national movement we are not yet strong enough to effectively oppose the class nature of the courts.

More important, however, is the need to expand our movement, to reach out to new people and new groups. During the strike we began to understand this more concretely than before. The legislature was going to cut back the salaries of the T.A.'s by several hundred dollars, but if it had, the T.A.'s would have come out in support of the 13 demands as well as their own economic demands. The blacks made it clear that they would have supported the T.A.'s.

But lack of understanding and overt racism in some T.A.'s kept them from striking on the black demands as long

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# SAMMY YOUNG JR.

## bringin' it all down home

by Stephanie Mines and Phil Frazier

At Tuskegee Institute in 1968, black students staged a seizure for power. They demanded not merely educational reform but a total restructuring of the school in the interests of the black community. The mandate which they issued and the form that their demonstration took established an irreversible precedent in the history of student-university-community relations. In times of extreme flux, it is difficult to make definitive historical connections, but it can be said that the Tuskegee revolt initiated trends that were to be repeated again and again across the country.

Tuskegee Institute in Macon County, Alabama is an isolated town within a town—a scene of apparent affluence with an atmosphere of neatness and calm. The homes surrounding Tuskegee Institute are owned by "black professionals" all of whom are tied, in one way or another, to the college. Tuskegee proper is owned and controlled by white businessmen as are the large and prosperous farms surrounding the town. The residents of Tuskegee Institute rarely have to come in contact with the black sharecroppers who comprise the major portion of the population in this Black Belt county.

Established in 1880 by Booker T. Washington as the Tuskegee State Normal School, Tuskegee Institute was, and continues to be, a training center for blacks which makes it possible for them to become an unobtrusive part of society. Under the direction of Booker T., and later George Washington Carver, the school was essentially geared toward agricultural, mechanical and non-professional work. Today, it offers training in engineering, agriculture, veterinary science, nursing, home economics and "mechanical industries" such as construction.

There is a token "School of Arts and Sciences" where courses in the Humanities are taught by a few transient white teachers. The Philosophy Department, for instance, has a faculty of two and the Political Science Department, at its peak, had a faculty of three. The only Ph.D. offered is in Veterinary Science. Master's degrees are available for only a few majors, like Sociology and Education. Many of the departments employ out-dated equipment and methods, insuring that blacks who study to be engineers, for instance, will not be competitive for top-level positions.

Clearly, then, the nature of Tuskegee has not changed since the days of Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver (it is only recently that young black people have begun to outspokenly question the fact that they do not control the enormous profits made from Carver's development of hundreds of products utilizing peanuts and sweet potatoes). While purporting to be a model of progress and self-advancement, Tuskegee, in fact, simply perpetuates the racist division of labor by training

blacks for jobs white society feels suits them best. Even more importantly, Tuskegee Institute was seen by black people throughout America as a "promised land"—the one place where their sons and daughters can learn "respectable" trades and become a meaningful part of society. So, when the black students of Tuskegee challenged the nature and function of Tuskegee Institute, they also challenged a religious faith in the dream of racial assimilation and slow, steady progress.

The students that led the Tuskegee insurrection were part of a dialectical process that summarizes the growth and development of the black student movement. For the most part, they were middle-class blacks who came to Tuskegee in the early 1960's to fulfill their parents' dreams of self-improvement. In a few cases, such as Sammy Young's, they were the children of the bourgeois "professional" blacks who were a part of Tuskegee's privileged, college-tied, black community.

They arrived in Tuskegee in the midst of campaigns for de-segregation and voter registration, and given the singularly uninteresting and meaningless quality of the college curriculum, many soon became involved in Civil Rights generally, and in SNCC more specifically. In March of 1965, Tuskegee Institute students marched to Montgomery, Alabama to protest the denial of voting rights to black people and the brutal beating of civil rights demonstrators in Selma on the previous Sunday. For most of the Tuskegee students, this was the first organized demonstration against white supremacy. *James Forman, describing the charge by the sheriff's posse on the marchers and the internal disagreements between SNCC and SCLC, calls the incident "the students' cram course in civil rights."*

After the Montgomery march, a number of Tuskegee students began to work closely with SNCC, often leaving school to work as organizers or spending more time in the Movement than in the classroom. Among them was Sammy Young, Jr.

### SAMMY YOUNG JR.

Sammy is important because his life and death contain the essence of the first half of the process of political and personal development that the student activists at Tuskegee experienced. In addition, his death signalled the end of an old era of compromise and reconciliation and the beginning of a period of aggressive, forthright and outspoken demands for human dignity.

Born into the Tuskegee community that was bound, physically, materially and philosophically to Tuskegee Institute, Sammy's decision to join SNCC entailed a total transformation of values—a complete rejection of the benefits and life style of the middle class that was reflected in a revitalization of his person, even down to his appearance.

His fellow students saw him change from an "Ivy League" who wanted to succeed in school to a young man who refused to accept hypocrisy in any form, including a degree from an institution that was clearly irresponsible and non-

functional from the perspective of the black community. It is impossible to say exactly what generated this metamorphosis in Sammy—there were probably a multitude of experiences on a number of different levels—but his participation in the Montgomery march and his contact with SNCC workers who came to Tuskegee to organize voter registration were certainly contributing factors. Through SNCC Sammy was able more clearly to conceptualize his identity—to realize himself as a man with a community to which he was responsible and a history of which he was proud. SNCC helped Sammy define his origins and his direction, but he did not stop there. He continued to search for his specific role in the Movement—to develop himself as a human being and to define himself in terms of the world around him.

Like many of his fellow students, Sammy became intensely involved in the Freedom Democratic Party, and worked on organizing voter registration campaigns in rural Mississippi. The students were detaching themselves more and more from Tuskegee Institute and hardly considering it, even when they worked to desegregate Tuskegee's public accommodations.

The image one gets of Sammy Young Jr. from talking to his friends is one of extreme energy—movement—like a flashing light that cannot be contained. A friend of his, seeing the intensity of feeling in the midst of chaos at UCC Berkeley the other day said, "Sammy's here, baby, Sammy Young is in town."

Despite the strong commitment to students to the civil rights movement it became clear in late 1965 to the SNCC oriented student leadership of Tuskegee that voter registration, boycotts, marches and attempts to desegregate public accommodations were not having the anticipated effect. Minor, legal victories were won but there was no substantial change in the quality of people's lives. In Tuskegee, for instance, voter registration resulted in the election of a black sheriff who acted white.

### DEATH OF AN ERA

Despite this growing awareness, it is not easy to change direction in mid-stream. In January 1966, Tuskegee students were engaged in a voter registration campaign in Tuskegee. They had brought 118 people to the courthouse for that purpose. Sammy and a number of other SNCC workers had been threatened at knife point because they refused to be intimidated by the registrar's attempts to cancel voter registration on that day. The threats were reported to the FBI who declared that the situation was "out of their jurisdiction" and in the hands of the local authorities. That night Sammy Young, Jr. was shot dead by service station owner Marvin Segrest, who is now alive and at free in Tuskegee, having been acquitted by an all-white jury in Lee County, Alabama.

It is not sufficient to say that Sammy's death had a radicalizing effect on the Tuskegee students. It was one of the final arguments necessary to convince them that the old methods were dying—that Sammy's death could not be vindicated by marches and boycotts and non-violent demonstrations. His death also bound more closely together the leadership cadre of Tuskegee students who had been with Sammy since his freshman

year at Tuskegee. They became committed to completing the process that Sammy had begun—to actualizing his unfulfilled and possibly unrealized objectives in their own outspoken, uncompromising actions. There was a brief and predictably unsuccessful attempt to memorialize Sammy's death in marches and boycotts, particularly after Segrest's acquittal. But, that was like the funeral service for the end of an era.

Sammy's death redirected student attention to Tuskegee Institute. The school, along with the black civic and social organizations, refused to join with the students in protesting Sammy's murder. When added to the general failure of non-violent tactics in gaining social change, this unwillingness of the school administration to recognize the significance of Sammy's death forced some students to reconsider their attitudes and objectives. They began to re-evaluate the school itself, not in terms of their own dissatisfaction with the curriculum, but in terms of the black communities where they had been working.

Sammy's friends returned to Tuskegee as students—drawing a circle of experience that began in college, led them to the community around the college and then returned them to school, with apparently very little changed. But, a great deal had changed. Suddenly, their former dissatisfaction with the content of college life began to take on substance when understood in the light of their work as SNCC organizers. Given the conditions of life in Macon and Lowndes counties, how could Tuskegee stand isolated, bearing no relation to the lives of the people it was supposedly built to serve? In what specific ways did Tuskegee function in the interests of black people? Was the training students received there instrumental in making life better for black people? Was the curriculum geared toward advancement or repression? Why was the school controlled by white trustees? Why was it that the Tuskegee curriculum caused the students to despise their heritage rather than celebrate it? What did it mean that the head janitor at the school was Tuskegee graduate? The war in Vietnam added depth to these questions—would young black men continue to die in Vietnam while Sammy's murderer ran free in Tuskegee? Why had Sammy died—wasn't it time to resurrect his power, his vitality?

These were the questions being asked by the SNCC-educated vanguard, simultaneously, the majority of the students were seeing Tuskegee's inferior quality of education on a narrower, departmental level. The school was not turning out qualified, trained workers who could compete on the job market, students in the department of engineering and the school of mechanical industries complained about the outdated equipment being used. Students in other departments wanted more majors available to them—there was no music major, for instance, and the nurses wanted to establish a "Community Outreach Program" so that they could get college credit for work done outside the school. Athletic scholarships were not offered at Tuskegee and the students resented this denial of prestige in an area where black people excelled.

While these grievances were essentially bourgeois in content, they led to the conclusion that Tuskegee was not fulfilling its supposed objective—training black people to function in a white society. The real nature of Tuskegee was thus revealed to the majority of students in a very specific way. If Tuskegee did not serve them, then who did serve them? If a degree from Tuskegee did not get them a good job, then what was it worth?

### THE BLACK UNIVERSITY

At this point the students who had been in SNCC were able to politicize these complaints and give them wider scope. Because of their experiences in the black community and their confronta-

tations with both the white and black establishments, they could understand how and why Tuskegee Institute did not function in the interests of black people and that, in fact, it was instrumental in the suppression of black people. The dialectical process that had first led them out of the school and into the community and then forced them to return to the college was now having its effect.

From this combination of demands for specific departmental reform and the political perspective supplied by the SNCC-educated vanguard came an organization called Unity and the formulation of a mandate which contained, as its introduction, the concept of the "black university"—the college controlled by black people for black people, autonomous in its decision-making power and concerned primarily with serving the community which surrounds it.

On February 29, 1968, a State Department official was scheduled to speak at Tuskegee about Vietnam. Unity decided that this speaker was antagonistic to the real interests of black people and that Tuskegee must be made into a place where black ideas are realized. The students took over the podium and threw eggs at the State Department officials. The Tuskegee Institute administration immediately began to take punitive action—and the students responded by rejecting the entire judicial procedure.

This incident provided the setting for the presentation of the mandate to the president of the college (Luther H. Foster.) The mandate, with its "black university concept" was the explanation for the students' rejection of the State Department official as a suitable speaker for their campus. But the president declared that he did not have the power to implement changes as extensive as those called for by the mandate. So, the students withdrew pressure until April 5 when all the Trustees were scheduled to arrive at Tuskegee to commemorate "Founders' Day." On April 4, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. The students decided to go ahead with their plans to present the mandate to the Trustees the following day. It may appear strange that Dr. King's death did not alter the students' plans. One of the leaders of Unity explains this by saying that the mandate was so important that most of the students could not conceive of halting its presentation to the Trustees. It might also be suggested that while Dr. King's death meant the end of non-violence to most Americans, for the Tuskegee students who had been in SNCC that death had occurred two years earlier with the murder of Sammy Young, Jr. They were finally paying tribute to Sammy—conducting their own memorial service on the Tuskegee campus.

### TRUSTEES HELD CAPTIVE

The Trustees, (including General Lucius Clay) arrived with their wives and families for a week-end of patronizing leisure with the darkies on the plantation (see Ralph Ellison's description of Founders' Day in *INVISIBLE MAN*) and found instead that the students had some serious work for them to do. With the purpose of communicating to the Trustees the seriousness of the demands and the necessity for an uncompromising and speedy implementation, the students locked all exits from Dorothy Hall (the

building where they were to reside during their stay at Tuskegee), took over the communication system and established a picket line around the building. Of the 3000 member student body over 2000 students were actively participating in the demonstration. The Trustees and the President were told that they would be permitted to leave only when the demands contained in the mandate were met and implementation assured.

The Trustees were held captive for two and a half tense days during which the apparently strong alliance of diverse political elements in Unity began to show signs of strain. As might have been anticipated, the most discernible split was between the students who had experienced that dialectical process of political education and those who had not.

With the knowledge that Tuskegee's black sheriff had a court injunction against the students and that they could be charged with kidnapping, the students released a Trustee who claimed he would die of a heart attack if not permitted to leave. Shortly after his release the National Guard arrived and was stationed around the campus.

Those who still believed that educational reform was the issue argued with those who emphasized the "black university concept" about whether or not to accept an offer from President Foster. Foster claimed that the Trustees had granted him full power to implement the demands and agreed to remain in Dorothy Hall if the students would release the Trustees. Tired and pressured by the threatening nearness of the National Guard, the students released the Trustees.

The National Guard, restrained only by the fact that the students could get to the Trustees before the Guard got to the students, informed Unity that they would not hesitate to charge the building now that the students had only a Negro President for security. Recognizing that their seizure for power was now a failure, the students began to leave the building, and eventually, with kidnap charges hanging over their heads, to leave Macon County and scatter throughout the country, temporary exiles from the place that had given them their birth as political revolutionaries.

The incident at Tuskegee, flowing as it does directly out of the struggle of black people for control over their lives, must be seen as a wellspring of current developments in the black student rebellion. Whether or not the SNCC vanguard at Tuskegee were the sole originators of the concept of the "black university" is really unimportant. What is important is the growth of this theory of educational self-determination from direct contact with the Southern black community and the dialectic of political education optimized, in part, by the life of Sammy Young. It is the interaction of the college-community-college-community process that draws our attention to Tuskegee 1968 and causes us to consider its historical impact in places like San Francisco State College.



# CAL ON STRIKE



photos: TOWARD BETHLEHEM

by Jim Hawley

The strike at S.F. State has been an inspiration, an impetus to raise the level of struggle on campuses all over the country. The strike at U.C. Berkeley should be a reminder of the need for sober study of the issues raised by the Black Studies struggles now sweeping the country.

The TWLF (Third World Liberation Front) called a strike for an autonomous College of Ethnic Studies in late January. After some obstructive picketing and minimal disruptive action Reagan declared a "State of Extreme Emergency" on the campus. Reagan's edict allowed the Highway Patrol to invade the campus under direct authority of the Alameda County Sheriff who now effectively runs the campus.

The strike has really been a series of demonstrations, marching around campus and through buildings, and occasional battles with the police. Shortly after one battle where the cops were particularly brutal, the AFT called its own strike supporting the TWLF demands, demanding cops off campus and a series of union demands.

While much sympathy exists for the demands, the school has never been shut down. As strikers chant "On strike, shut it down" and "Pigs off campus", the majority of students, while upset, walk through cordons of cops to class anyway. Reagan clearly over-reacted to the strike. He has always made a get-tough policy with Berkeley the cornerstone of his political appeal. He likes to associate the Berkeley students with the Vietcong. But that is his problem.

This scenario only hints at the major problems of the strike. The TWLF has serious political weaknesses and white radicals have not clearly seen a way to relate to the strike and build a movement in the process.

The history of the TWLF partly highlights the political inexperience of the strike's leaders and partly explains their rather liberal conception of the strike. The strike is the first attempt on the part of any of the Third World organizations to mobilize the entire campus around Third World demands.

The Afro-American Students Union (AASU), which initiated a Black Studies Proposal in May 1968, was primarily a cultural nationalist group which rejected mass political activity--even of black people--in favor of back room negotiations with the administration.

In late May, Bobby Seale interrupted a "mock trial" of Huey Newton that the AASU was staging on campus. He clearly dramatized the AASU's isolation from the ghetto community. Seale accused the AASU of "sitting up here in the big walls of the university while there's black people in the black community who's dying." The AASU had made no attempt to organize and mobilize the campus to Free Huey. Seale

told them, "Black people have never gotten together through cultural programs. What you need to work on is political organizing to stop the pig's from bashing heads."

Last fall, during the controversy over Eldridge Cleaver's course, involving the right of a black revolutionary to teach on campus for credit, the AASU played no public role. They failed to see that the issues, student control over their own education, the racism of the university's power structure, were similar to the AASU Black Studies proposal which was then being "considered" by Chancellor Heynes.

MASC (The Mexican-American Students Confederation) did take direct political action. They sat-in the office of President Hitch to protest the University's buying of scab grapes. But MASC did not seek campus support. It relied on its own membership for the sit-in and also for a class boycott for a couple of days following the sit-in.

The Asian-American Political Alliance and the Native American Indian Association are the other two groups in TWLF.

The very formation of the TWLF at Berkeley, based on the model of the TWLF at S.F. State, was a step towards overcoming the cultural nationalist tendencies of each of the groups. The fact that the strike was called campus-wide, not just for Third World people, recognized the need for cooperation between Third World people and whites.

## THE DEMANDS IN PERSPECTIVE

Almost a year of fruitless dealing with the administration taught the AASU that it couldn't rely on the good will of the administration. They found that the faculty also rejected autonomy for a Black Studies department. In fact, the faculty, feeling their professional prerogatives challenged, was consistently to the right of the administration.

The first act of the TWLF was to reformulate the AASU proposal to meet the needs of all the Third World groups: an autonomous Third World College, financial assistance, revision of University hiring so that Third World people would have positions at all levels, including the Regents; and admission of Third World applicants on the basis of criteria accepted by Third World people; amnesty for strikers.

The major issue of the strike is the demand for self-determination of Third World people within the confines of a racist and traditional university structure. But the TWLF has been vague in articulating the political content of self-determination.

This political foginess has created a confusion over what the nature of the Third World College would be. The college could emphasize a cultural nationalist-black capitalist type program. It could be made into a Third World liberal institution in the image of all academia with some stylistic changes. Or it could serve as a center for educating future revolutionaries to serve their communities. The TWLF talks a lot about "serving the community", but hasn't specified the political nature of that service.

## WHAT HASN'T HAPPENED

The basis for unity among the Third World and with white students and with workers should be an understanding that the struggles of oppressed minorities have a dual nature; they are class struggles and national liberation struggles against a form of internal colonialism the ideological core of which is racism. Racism permits super-exploitation of Third World people within the working class, as workers, but also oppresses Third World people as national groups. Self-determination is essentially a struggle against colonial oppression.

The TWLF demands for an autonomous Third World College are revolutionary because they provide one institutional form for the national liberation movement. National liberation struggles also heighten the contradictions within capitalism by attacking one aspect of Third World oppression.

But in order for the internal colony to be liberated, there also must be a revolution in the mother country which, of course, requires the struggle of white revolutionaries. Since the majority of Third World people are also super-exploited workers, the national struggle must be linked to the class struggle as a whole. In other words, Third World demands are essentially working class demands; and provide the basis for unity among working people, revolutionary students and Third World people.

This theme has not been developed during the strike. To argue, as many

TWLF leaders do, that the College is a form of student power is self-defeating. It blocks the development of a class analysis by all students. More important, it divorces Third World students from their communities.

The black community in the Bay Area is relatively well-organized. It is the seat of the Black Panthers and BSU's exist in most high schools. Yet during the first six weeks of the strike, not one community mobilization effort was made. This failure to relate to a community which is already in motion is critical. The struggle involves the total power of the state and cannot be won on one or two campuses alone.

## TACTICS OF STRUGGLE

The weakness in the political perspective of the TWLF has taken its toll in tactical problems. The tactics have often alternated between acts of individual "terrorism" and opportunist manipulation of mass mobilizations to influence a particular negotiating session. Confrontations with the cops after they attacked picket lines were discouraged early in the strike; and when they did occur, the TWLF often denounced their own supporters as provocateurs.

For example, during the two days before the National Guard was brought on campus, people had responded to police with rocks and bottles, and became quite skilled at heaving the tear gas canisters back at the pigs. At a rally in front of the Regents meeting on the following day, those who fought the cops were denounced by most of the TWLF leaders as police agents or acting in the interests of police agents.

The TWLF communique called on strikers to "Be Cool -- Avoid a Police Riot". Picket lines were to be peaceful and legal, no rock throwing, no violence. "The Governor is just itching for an excuse to destroy the establishment of a Third World College". (As if one were almost established.) "According to reliable sources, serious consideration is being given to appoint Curtis Lemay as the next chancellor. DO NOT PLAY REAGAN'S GAME."

But, they were playing someone's game -- maybe Heynes', maybe Unruh's, one democratic hopeful for the governorship. The reasoning was that the y had better cool it, because "we're better off with what we have, if we struggle too hard, things will get worse."

This kind of opportunism has required that the strike leaders often have not informed the strikers on the state of negotiations. (While the demands are non-negotiable, implementation is negotiable.)

## HOW WHITES RELATE

White students can only relate to a self-determination struggle in a meaningful way if they are organized and have an ongoing revolutionary strategy that can link up with TWLF in an organic way. Although Berkeley has been the scene of dramatic political actions for many years, a coherent radical mass organization has never emerged from these struggles. People in Berkeley have traditionally moved from one crisis to the next and any political linkages that are made between crises are almost accidental.

The formation of the Radical Students Union at the beginning of the winter quarter was an attempt to establish a permanent radical mass organization on campus. After the Cleaver crisis, a long smoldering split in SDS between PL and its supporters (a minority) and everyone else united only in their dislike for PL (a majority) occurred. Some people involved in the Cleaver crisis and some SDS members who were fed up with phoney ideological discussions with PL established the RSU.

Shortly after the TWLF called the strike, a white Strike Support Committee (SSC) was formed. RSU members won all the at-large seats on the SSC at the first mass meeting which, to a large degree, kept the most active leadership from building RSU. In short, RSU entered the struggle before it had been firmly established as a coherent organization.

## STRIKE SUPPORT COMMITTEE

Unprepared to tackle the problem of racism, without a program and poorly organized, the SSC was pulled together at the beginning of the strike at a mass meeting of 1500 people.

From the outset, the SSC defined its role as purely supportive and thoroughly subordinate to the TWLF. The SSC raised no demands and did not understand how demands for self-determination related to their own interests.

The issue is not a question of additional demands, often called "white demands" -- a misnomer which should be dropped since white people's interests have nothing to do with being white. The problem confronting the white student movement (but it should have confronted the entire left - Third World and white movements) is how to relate the specific Third World demands to a generalized attack on the oppressive functions of the university and the dual nature of the Third World liberation struggle.

Let it be clear. The Third World strike over its demands can and should be led by the TWLF, not by white people. That is part of the meaning of self-determination. But it distorts the meaning of self-determination to extend this to include all struggles taking place in other areas of the university and society. For example, when the AFT went on strike, it struck in support of the TWLF and also for specific union demands which complemented and strengthened the TWLF struggle by opening a second front.

Immediately after the AFT strike began, a liaison committee between the TWLF and AFT was formed to coordinate the struggle. A de facto coalition was formed between two independent parties -- that is also part of the meaning of self-determination. Of course, whites have an interest in fighting racism. The fight should get top priority by all. But the self-interest of whites in fighting racism is made most clear when it is connected to other struggles against oppression and exploitation.

The beginning formulation of such a campus program has begun, but has never been pressed on the SSC. To date, there has been little activity independent of SSC. The RSU during the first week of the strike printed, but unfortunately did not distribute a leaflet supporting the Third World strike and also raising "agitational and educational" issues, trying to put self-determination in a broader political perspective. The leaflet stressed the class nature of the university and the uses of the university to imperialism. It called for open enrollment of poor and working class white people and GPs, free extension courses, expansion of student initiated courses for credit, and of war related research and control over research by students and faculty.

To these demands might have been added a School of Suppressed Studies, labor, working class and social history, imperialism, Third World, women, etc. Also, an intensive program of departmental organizing should have been undertaken to relate departmental grievances to the issues of the strike.

In spite of the weaknesses of the TWLF strike, the leadership and the strike as a whole may be forced to wage a more radical struggle, because the very issue of Third World autonomy is radical. The struggle carries its own imperatives.

There has been ferment all over the Bay Area -- in the colleges and universities, high schools and in the plants in Richmond, in court with the Oakland Seven and the 27 up for mutiny charges at the Presidio. The basis for coordinating these struggles is there. ◆





# waiting for the verdict

by Ernest O'Shea

In the 9th week of the trial, the defense has rested its case. A few days after this paper goes to print, the jury will go out and return holding the verdict in its right hand.

There is only one just conclusion to this trial: The Seven are acquitted, the Defense Committee is paid back the thousands of dollars spent on the case, and DA's Jensen and Coakley are sent to the Pen. Anything less is less than just.

The flabby prosecution case (the judge called it "mushy"--it gave you the impression of being the collected ramblings of a middleaged liquor-softened bigot) ended with a colossal error. Jensen played for the jury the five hour tape of the climactic all-night rally on the Berkeley campus the night before Stop The Draft Week began.

Up to that point the jury had been given little sense of what STDW was all about. The litanies of the prosecution witnesses (mostly cops) sounded like military histories. Captain McCarthy, chief cop on the line, complained that the demonstrators were unruly--"They kept shouting We are the people, We are the people!"

MCCARTHY: On the police wedge: In CLASSICAL crowd control the purpose of the wedge is to push people to the right and left with the baton.

On MACE: We prefer to use it in place of the baton; you don't have the chance of

long quotes accurately from memory?

FINK: Yes

HODGE: You must have an excellent memory.

FINK(modestly): Yes.

HODGE: You must have total recall.

FINK(puffing up): Yes.

HODGE: Have you taken any tests to prove this ability of yours?

FINK: No.

HODGE: But you can remember license plate numbers, quotes, names and places absolutely?

FINK: Yes.

Two minutes later, the court reporter missed a statement by the fink and asked him to repeat his last sentence:

FINK: Uh, I can't remember...

Up goes the courtroom, end of credibility.

Wheeler's superior, Sgt. Dahl, head of intelligence, showed photographs of certain people he was to get the goods on: Mandel, Hamilton and Cannon. This was in late September, a month before Stop The Draft Week.

MAL BERNSTEIN: tell me all the untruths you told Mr. Mandel during this phone call.

FINK: I can't remember. There were a whole fistfull.

16, 1967, Sproul Plaza. The relation of forces in the courtroom begins to change: life enters. Here is the passion of Stop The Draft Week: the songs, speeches, arguments.

An agit-prop group sings Hell No We Won't Go and one of the alternate jurors is quietly mouthing the words.

A black man takes the mike and begins to rap about the war: the black man in the jury perks up and begins to smile.

For five hours the jury listens to us spill out our open-mike, super-democratic confused political guts. The voices of 16 months ago sound very moderate now. No one urges violence, no one uses the word Pig. "I consider myself to be a good American," says Mike Smith.

At the end of the tape, someone accuses STDW of "nonviolent provoking".

And Mike replies, "I don't want to do battle with the Oakland cops. We're not going down to provoke anything".

That was a long time ago.

## THE DEFENSE ATTACKS

The prosecution put on the stand one type--the professionals of law and order, the guys with the five o'clock shadow on their skulls. The defense brought into the courtroom America. A 70 year old grandfather, a high school pom-pom girl, a wife, a mother, a TV reporter, a Methodist minister, a Lutheran minister, an ex-Green Beret, an editor, an ex-cop, a Deputy Probation Officer, a bearded World War II Air Force Captain who looks like John Brown, a

50 year old black woman who gave the Black Power salute while swearing in ...You name it.

It was Stop The Draft Week all over again. Few of them knew the Seven before the week. They went to the Induction Center because nothing else had worked, no letters, electoral campaigns, peaceful demonstrations, and they were damned if something didn't have to be done, but no one knew exactly what. They told of being Maced and beaten. Their stories were gentle and uncompromising.

JENSEN: did you have anything in your hand when you crossed the street?

WITNESS: Just my girlfriend's hand.

## SELECTIVE PROSECUTION

Like everyone knew it would, selective prosecution as a defense went down the drain by judicial decree, as did Nuremberg. A day had been set aside for arguments.

JUDGE: I am unsure about this. We don't have race discrimination here, we have some other kind.

MAL: These defendants were selected for prosecution because of their political beliefs. That is the unjustified standard in this case.

JUDGE: Should they have indicted thousands? The 3 year statute of limitations hasn't run out yet (A chill runs through the courtroom). Perhaps the interests of society override the free speech elements here.

GARRY: We have leaflets showing many organizations who planned to go down and shut down the Induction Center. Not one of them was indicted for conspiracy. Why these Seven? Because they were leaders. The District Attorney chose to indict 7 people he despises, hates and fears.

At this point Judge Phillips pulls from the clutches of a law book an

Because that was the real issue, Phillips could not and did not argue law when he ruled against letting selective prosecution enter the case:

"It doesn't fit the statute, that's all. There has to be some discrimination according to race, religion or some other cause, and that doesn't exist here..."

was his entire statement.

## THE DEFENSE RESTS

The judge likes the Seven.

The jury likes the Seven.

The prosecution presented no evidence to speak of. But no evidence to speak of is all that is needed to convict.

The defense has proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the police lied when they denied brutality, that the cops trapped and beat people on Tuesday, that they set out to get the Seven before STDW ever occurred.

The same people who were Stop The Draft Week defended Stop The Draft Week. There was no need for the Seven to take the stand. A prouder and more beautiful collection of people it would be hard to find, than the defense witnesses. Just about all that could be said has been, simply and intelligently before the jury. It will not necessarily make a difference.

The majesty of the law allows the judge to command a finding of guilty. It is possible that the judge will instruct the jury as they go out that advocacy of stopping the inductee busses equals conspiracy to interfere with a police officer. If so, no matter how sympathetic the jury may be, it will be practically forced to a finding of guilty.

If so, we're in a world of trouble, cause the man's going to kick down a lot of doors with his Law.

## A PROPHECY

Some prophets are better than others and the I Ching is damn good. So this author cast the I Ching before writing this article, asking the Chinese book of wisdom, "What will happen to the Oakland Seven as a result of their trial?"

And the I Ching replied with the section named Shih--The Army:

"When there is conflict, the masses are sure to rise up. Hence there follows the hexagram of the Army. Army means mass.

"The Army means the masses. Perseverance means discipline. The man who can effect discipline through the masses may attain mastery of the world.

"The strong one is central and finds response. One does a dangerous thing but finds devotion. The man who thus leads the world is followed by the people.

"Good fortune. How could this be a mistake?"



photo: nacio jan brown

bruising your hands.

Why were no arrests made? "It was a combat situation. We were ordered to clear the streets, not to make arrests."

## THE WORM

Police spy #2, Robert James Wheeler Jr. Like Coleman he testified from notes.

Defense Attorney Dick Hodge: These originals are typed. Did you have a little typewriter with you at the meetings?

FINK: No.

HODGE: When did you write them?

FINK: After the meetings.

HODGE: You mean after a 2 1/2 hour meeting you went home and wrote down

MAL: And you were lying because you considered that your job?

FINK: Yes.

MAL: And you consider testifying here part of your job?

FINK: Yes.

The prosecution evidence accumulates slowly, like dust in a closet. (It is rumored that Lowell Jensen has the world's largest collection of aluminum foil from chewing gum wrappers at home.) Bank statements, locks, leaflets, slides, photos...Not one piece of direct evidence among it all. The jury is dying of thirst.

Then Jensen puts on his clincher. The five hour tape. You Are There : October

incredible piece of American judicial shit. SELECTIVITY CANNOT BE ARGUED IN SERIOUS CASES! It is assumed society will not tolerate selective prosecution in serious felonies, therefore, selective prosecution does not occur in serious felonies.

That pretty much ends it.

The real issue behind this fight was whether DA Coakley could be subpoenaed by the Defense to appear as a witness. The defense reasoned accurately that putting Coakley on and letting him rave could only do them good.

Jensen would rather drop the case and burn down the courthouse than put his fanatical boss on the stand.



# international sds conspiracy

While ten thousand West German police were protecting Nixon from the Berliners last month, a somewhat smaller number of their American sty-mates were trying to protect Americans from Karl Dietrich Wolff, former president of West German SDS here on a fraternal visit. Harrassed daily by immigration police and arrested for "suspicion of car-theft" in Los Angeles, Karl has been touring SDS chapters with Heidi Reichning, raising funds and building bridges of cooperation between the sister revolutionary movements of the two mostreactionaryadvanced imperialist states. As it appears from our interview with Karl, the problems of our movements are similar, not by coincidence. Portions of this interview were edited by the MOVEMENT from tapes of the "Surplus Prophets", a program on radio KPFA, Berkeley, California.

MOVEMENT: What does SDS stand for and how did it start?

KARL DIETRICH WOLFF: It stands for Sozialistischer Deutscher Student-  
enbund--League of Socialist German Students--and began as the student organization of the Social Democratic Party in 1946. From 1956 on the group moved steadily to the left of the Party. By '58, when the Party badly wanted to get into the government they started expelling more and more SDS members. In 1959 the entire national council of SDS was expelled from the Party, and two years later membership in the two organizations was declared incompatible.

Since that time we have understood ourselves as the possible nucleus of a revolutionary movement. In the beginning SDS was still to a large extent a seminarist Marxist movement. Fidel Castro once said that he had time only to finish the first 140 pages of CAPITAL before the time came to make the revolution; well, we had time to finish the whole book. We analyzed and didn't do anything.

Then the period of economic reconstruction in Germany came to an end. They used up the big reserve of skilled technical manpower that existed and were not getting any more technicians from Vienna and places in the East because the Wall was built and the supply was cut off. Then industry organized a technocratic "reform" of the

university and put the pressures on students' working conditions all around: they limited the number of semesters you could spend, they stepped up exams, tightened the grade and credit system, cut down the curriculum, squeezed out independent study and so on. All the kinds of things you already have here.

We began to realize that all our discussions about democratizing the university and our endless reform debates were quite useless. We began to realize that the best argument doesn't necessarily win. Then we began to organize and to resist. Hand in hand with this came rising consciousness about political conflicts in the world and in our society.

In 1965 we had the first mass sit-in, at the University of Berlin, over the issue of time-limits on degrees. The same week there was the first demonstration at Amerika-Haus, where the U.S. flag was lowered, the red flag raised, and eggs thrown. Since that time the movement has grown enormously and is capable of agitation everywhere.

## INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

MOVEMENT: How do you define yourselves in terms of the international situation?

KARL: We have an anti-imperialist stand against the U.S. Government. We are fighting the kind of influence that the American government has in Europe

and the complicity of our own government in support of American aggression in Vietnam. This means that we must understand the structures of our own society, because Vietnam is not a mistake--it is part of the imperialist structure. In the interests of mankind we must destroy imperialism.

This is not just an abstract question. The West German government is not just verbally supporting the U.S. policy in Vietnam. When the war really got going, the West German government began paying for almost all the U.S. troops stationed in West Germany. This made it possible for the Americans to spend more in Vietnam. Our government has also given special loans to the South Vietnam puppet regime.

Right now we are analyzing West German aid to the Portuguese and the development of German interference in Angola. Krupp, for instance, is buying territory in Angola and is hiring a private army to help the Portuguese fight the liberation army there.

MOVEMENT: We were looking forward to reading about massive demonstrations against Nixon when he visited Germany recently. What happened?

KARL: The mobilizations in West Berlin have always been the biggest. But during the few weeks before Nixon's visit, the West Berlin police were especially brutal. The headlines made a lot of people believe that every demonstrator had to fear for his life. They announced that American Secret Service Guards would shoot unpredictably. About 10,000 police were mobilized for Nixon's three and one half hour visit. This was the main reason why not much happened.

## RESISTANCE STRATEGY

MOVEMENT: What is the general line of your strategy in dealing with the struggle against imperialism.

KARL: Ours is a resistance strategy. We are not interested in reforms. We are interested in stimulating conflict in the university and other institutions so people can achieve a radical consciousness. We don't try to tell people that we have the power today to get a free university in a free society, because we haven't.

But we can create conflicts in which people really start to understand that every true move towards self-determination, even at the lowest level in the university, will be met by repression and state violence. If people view the confrontation as political and don't

just get morally outraged, then there's a good chance to mobilize more and more people.

MOVEMENT: You talk about the "long march through institutions" as a strategy. What does this mean?

KARL: It means that we don't try to build up counter-institutions that are not in struggle. We try to establish new structures within the existing institutions which define themselves in the process of struggle. For example, we don't move out of the university to build a "free university". What we try to do is to mobilize enough people to bring about real change at the place where they live and work. We start to struggle on issues of local control, on issues of production control at the base, on issues that are openly political.

MOVEMENT: So-called liberal magazines and individuals here are increasingly charging that the movement is "neo-fascist". Have you run into such attacks and if so, how do you deal with them?

KARL: It is more difficult for you to respond than for us, Germany has had the historical experience of fascism, and we have been in the forefront in exposing what remains of the old fascism and its revivals. We also know that if people had been ready to fight a civil war against the Nazis in the Weimar Republic then there would have been no Second World War and no concentration camps.

But the neo-Nazi party in Germany is not the main problem, it is only a symptom. Both the Christian-Democrats and the Social-Democratic Party have been advocating Nazi laws and Nazi repressions, and maintaining close cordial ties with the Waffen-SS veteran groups since before there was any student movement to speak of.

What we are facing is an institutional fascism, where the ruling class and the parties tend to violate their own rules and constitutions, or create new ones ad hoc, in exactly the same way that the old fascism violated the liberal parliamentary forms. Things like preventive arrest and concentration camps are being proposed by the Social Democrats in West Germany at the same time they are being discussed in the U.S. Congress, interestingly enough.

We do, however, have the experience of being attacked as fascists by so-called liberals, even by people like Professor Habermas who calls himself a Marxist. Our answer is to bring the question down to concrete terms. Are you in favor of young workers in factories having political discussions--discussions which have



Photo: BLACK PANTHER





not been held for thirty years--or are you in favor of calling the police when that happens? Are you in favor of informing the people, by demonstrations, about American war crimes in Vietnam, or are you in favor of demonstrators who do this being arrested? And so on. If the people are not in favor of it when we do these things, they should not call themselves socialists; they aren't and never have been. And they shouldn't claim that they're trying to protect us, because they're only protecting the police and the state.

#### APPROACH TO STUDENTS

**MOVEMENT:** The SDS is basically a student organization. Could you tell us something about the class background of most of your members?

**KARL:** Only about 7% of university students come from working class, blue collar, backgrounds. So, of course, the majority of students mobilized at the university are middle class. The working people at the university usually don't join SDS because after a very rigid screening process, when they make it into the university, they are completely streamlined--they only want to move higher up.

**MOVEMENT:** We have heard much about the "critical university". Would you tell us something about its development?

**KARL:** After the Murder of Benno Ohnesorg in June 1967, the students became quite aware of the fact that the universities had taught them nothing about the system and how to fight it. They learned nothing critical of state apologetics in law school, they learned nothing critical of Keynesian economics in economics, etc. So students organized classes on their own in the university. They stayed inside. But we had to be very conscious of the tendency for these courses to become sterile study groups.

**MOVEMENT:** How did the courses work?

**KARL:** Some of the strikes that have been organized during the last half-year started by groups organizing a radical caucus in class. They criticized it also

outside of class and tried to influence people in the class to eventually break up the class. We closed down all the universities in Berlin in that way. When a professor doesn't allow our criticisms, we lock him out. For example, if he doesn't think it's interesting to talk about the relation of the course's subject matter to political repression, then we tell him that we're not interested in listening to him either.

#### APPROACH TO WORKERS

**MOVEMENT:** We've heard that a lot of young workers participate in SDS demonstrations. How have relations between SDS and workers developed?

**KARL:** The labor unions have education courses for young members. Part of the programs of the more leftist labor unions were set up by SDS people. We chose the literature and topics of study. When we were kicked out of the Social Democratic Party, many of the labor unions sympathized with us and gave us a chance to do things. This also gave us a chance to expose the social democrats.

This happened before the SDP tried to undermine the power of the unions, and before the economic recession hit West Germany around 1960. Since then, the policy of the labor unions has become increasingly reactionary. For example, during last year's strikes against the passage of the emergency laws, the unions expelled people who struck.

**MOVEMENT:** What were the results of this labor education program?

**KARL:** They didn't have many practical results because we didn't relate to the worker's situation in the factory at all. But when our demonstrations started, some of the contacts we had made with workers in the education programs paid off. During the Springer demonstrations more than one-third of the demonstrators were young workers. The recession also helped.

We have tried to keep in contact with the workers who showed up for the demonstrations. But we have to reach a lot more people inside the factories. Also,

when people were kicked out of the unions for their strikes against the emergency laws, we stayed in contact with those groups.

The contacts we now have are permanent. It isn't just a question of our occasionally leafletting at a factory gate. For instance, economics students on strike against the university made a careful analysis of the chemical industry relating to chemical workers. The students discussed the investment picture and how profit mechanisms operated to determine the fate of the workers. The workers discussed these things and the students helped them put out their own clandestine factory newspaper. There is the same kind of cooperation with the workers in the metals industries because metal and chemical workers have always been the most radical.

**MOVEMENT:** How do you relate to workers on strike?

**KARL:** We don't have the kind of situations you had in Richmond, because there are hardly any strikes. Almost the only kind of strikes have been wildcats where workers would stay out 5 or 6 hours a day, or have sit-ins and discussions inside the factory, but no pickets.

This is not so much because of anti-strike legislation, but because of the bureaucratic control by the unions. For example, last year after the recession, it was important for the country to raise levels of consumption. The government publicly had to ask the unions to demand higher wages!

**MOVEMENT:** Do SDS people make the decision to become workers themselves?

**KARL:** It depends on how you define worker. If he is an engineer in a chemical plant, then you could say SDS people become workers. But in assembly line or factory work they don't take us. The secret police are very efficient in keeping us out. We used to work in the factories during vacations, but they won't allow this anymore.

**MOVEMENT:** Has there been any attempt to organize people after they leave the university?

**KARL:** Last year we started organizing among professionals. There are now

groups of radical architects and socialist teachers who remain in close contact with SDS. They don't develop as labor unions with narrow interests, but rather as politically conscious organizations in the professions. Some architects and engineers have started to publish inside information about some of the bureaucracies and factories which has been very helpful to us in our educational campaigns.

We try to develop consciousness among those engineers so that they know that their struggle is the same struggle as other workers on the assembly line. This requires changing their training at the source. The new slogan of the engineering students at the technical university in Berlin is: "Learn your profession through class struggle"--for instance, by starting strikes and by organizing counter-universities in their schools. So that when they get into factories they don't collaborate with management, but rather with whatever beginnings of the blue collar movement there is.

#### REPRESSION AND DEFENSE

**MOVEMENT:** You are now facing two thousand criminal cases against members of your organization. How do you deal with this enormous repression?

**KARL:** That's really a problem, and I wouldn't want to say we've solved it. And that's really why I'm here; to raise funds for our defense, because we really don't have enough money to pay for our lawyers. Most of the two thousand are charged with rioting or inciting to riot, disturbing the peace or inciting disturbances, destroying property or inciting, etc. No direct political charges have come down. The government is trying to make people believe that we are just criminals.

The first sentences to come down have been for just participating in the Easter demonstrations--two years prison, no parole. The heavier charges haven't

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# FREE WOMEN

by Sue Eanet and Anne Goodman

The oppression of women has long been a recognized injustice in capitalist America, and the student movement has been aware of this problem. Women's liberation groups have been formed over the last several years and have functioned on several levels—relating to women in terms of personal oppression by male chauvinism; subordinating the struggle for women's liberation to specific programs or issues raised by S.D.S. or other groups; demanding certain numbers of women on committees, or as chairman, in the same mechanical way that student power advocates demand representation on college administration committees; and combinations of these tendencies.

As the result of political discussion within S.D.S. over the past few months, the movement has begun to recognize the limitations of these approaches. The fundamental problem has been that all of these tendencies have failed to relate the oppression of women to broader social and economic oppression, and to relate the struggle for women's liberation to the larger class struggle. The proposal to fight the military presents a good handle and overall analysis to attack the institutions that especially oppress women.

Recent cutbacks in budgeting for hospitals, schools, poverty programs and welfare services reflect domestically increased military spending for imperialist wars. Social service institutions have increasingly become instruments of class

repression, using the limited services available for the purposes of indoctrination and regimentation of society. This militarization has oppressed working class women, and especially black women, by amplifying the effects of existing male supremacy in capitalist America.

1) **At the point of production:** As young men are drafted to fight for freedom, American women are used as a reserve labor army to fill vacated jobs at substantially lower wages, and with less representation with trade union hierarchies. In the Southern California aerospace and missile industry, for example, women now comprise over one-fourth of the assembly and small parts workers, on a lower wage scale than men holding the same jobs. The total number of employed women there has risen steadily for three years while unemployment has held steady in the population at large.

At the same time, the state cannot provide adequate daycare for young children, and working women are forced to relinquish the raising of their children to sub-standard centers, or to pour out hard-earned money to pay baby sitters. In both cases, the mother's role of inculcating values in the child has been supplanted by the imperialist state.

2) **In the University:** Three-fourths of all female college graduates who later become employed become school teachers, and another ten percent become social workers of various kinds. Their

college education prepares for their role as the primary indoctrinators of America's children. They are carefully taught the false ideologies of anti-communism, racism, and imperialism, and many idealistic young women intent on serving the poor, later are required to act as baby sitting cops in the schools. As the main administrators and case workers in the welfare system, they serve as middle men between the rulers and the poor. In both cases they find themselves the object of community hatred for reasons not always obvious to them.

Female women preparing for work in social service institutions and schools often do not realize what the future holds for them. While they usually do not have a sense of loyalty to the working class, they very rarely consciously align themselves with the ruling class. Movement organizers should seek to substitute solidarity with working women for their liberal ideas, and should make it clear that they can best perform a social service by supporting struggles against the schools, the welfare systems, and the hospitals, from their positions within.

3) **Welfare:** As an absolute rule, the welfare system is a means of class oppression. Debates about eligibility requirements reflect the inability of the imperialist economy to meet the needs of all the people. Insurgents are systematically excluded from welfare rolls and women are subjected to humiliating investigations of their private

lives. In California, women applying for Aid to Dependent Children are first given the "opportunity" to subject themselves to sterilization. The welfare system effectively crushes the spirit of the poor, and reduces their potential for insurgency.

4) **Health Care for Women:** Nationally, next to care for the aged, maternity and gynecology departments and clinics of public hospitals receive the lowest appropriations within hospital budgets. Infant mortality in the United States is the eleventh highest in the world, and female deaths from septicaemia following childbirth is 30% higher in the public hospitals for the working class (e.g. L.A. County General Hospital) than in private hospitals. In addition hospitals regiment, under-pay and over-work thousands of female employees. In only a few hospitals in America are nurses unionized and in many cases women are forbidden to organize as a matter of policy.

5) **Public Education:** Black and brown women often find their own lessons to their children totally undermined by the school. They often see their children's self-confidence crushed in the tracking system, and by the racism of the teachers. The mothers are at odds with the teachers and the administration of the school, but they have no power to change the situation. Sometimes a mother discovers that the school is even acting as a cop, turning her kid over to the police as a "disciplinary problem", and taking away parental responsibilities, even with very young children.

In a male supremacist society women are supposed to have primary responsibility for caring for the children. But as that society becomes increasingly more militarized and repressive, the state usurps more and more of that role.

Just as the tracking system in the public schools serves the ruling class by providing young men for the army, it also channels young girls by teaching them to psychologically accept a self-concept of inferiority so that they will later accept male supremacy in the economic structure. In addition, the vocational departments and the tracking system prepare girls for *supportive* jobs which perpetuate male supremacy and the consumption ideology, i.e., beauticians, secretarial workers, garment trades, and "home economics" (jobs that many of them may never get).

\* \* \* \* \*

These are only a few examples of the ways in which working class women are affected by the militarization of American society. These examples indicate that women fight their oppression by attacking these institutions, rather than by blindly attacking men as the enemy.

This does not mean that men do not oppress women, but rather that strong, organized attacks on the injustices of trade unions and shops, schools and universities, welfare, and hospitals can bring men and women together in a class struggle against their mutual oppression.



## ELRUM SUPPORT

by Larry Laskowski, Detroit NOC

(Note: Larry Laskowski was a white tool and die maker at the Eldon Avenue plant.)

ELRUM's demand that the platform in Department 71 be replaced is a minimal one when the other conditions in this department are considered. Department 71 is the second noisiest and dirtiest at Eldon Avenue. It also requires a great deal of physical labor, since a never ending flow of rear-end housings that start out weighing approximately twelve pounds and end up weighing over thirty pounds have to be lifted, carried and stacked. The amount of dirt and grease in Department 71 is so bad that a tool-maker who does repairs on the machine that forms the rear-end housing usually has to change his overalls when he's finished. This dirt and grease is on the floor as well as the machine and produces an obvious safety hazard.

Department 72, where the rear-end housing are machined requires an amount of physical labor equal to that in 71 and is the noisiest department in Eldon. The noise is so bad you have to yell at the top of your lungs to be heard by a person standing next to you. The filth in this department takes the

form of a shiny solution of lubricant and water that bathes the machine operators for eight hours. It is so bad they must wear rubber boots and aprons. Of course, a safety hazard exists here also, since the lubricating solution can cause a person to slip and fall as easily as the oil in department 71.

Nobody expects to get a production job and not have to put up with some form of physical labor, but goddammit at least the worker deserves some protection from noise that could ruin his hearing and obvious slipping hazards that could split his skull.

These hazards could be done away with but Chrysler corporation might have to spend a few bucks and this might cause a decrease in profits. And besides why spend money on two departments that are 80% (actually more like 95%) black. If one of those "niggers" falls and breaks his skull there will be another in the employment office willing to take his place. Apparently this is their attitude since they aren't concerned with doing away with the hazards. As a matter of fact they seem more concerned with doing away with the people who have brought the hazards to their attention—ELRUM.

## WISCONSIN CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

as they could hope the Legislature would not mess them over. As it turned out the threat posed by the strike on campus forced the legislature to back off on the T.A. salary cut. The power of people together stopped the legislature, but not as effectively as if the TWO groups had seen the necessity of coming together.

Another group that benefitted from the black led strike was local 171, the University Employees Union. It had never been recognized and could not legally go out on strike. But after the recent strike began, the University recognized the local. (There may yet be a strike over wages.) In both cases the concessions were attempts to prevent the formation of concrete links between students and other sectors of society. In the future we will be crating those links with other groups and will be drawing new people into clear class conscious struggle.

To briefly recapitulate: we entered a period of intense struggle against racism without good preparation by either whites or blacks. SDS was not

together and its members had not been educating themselves about institutional racism. Nor did most of its members identify with the need for a proper class consciousness. Furthermore, many white radicals were fearful of following black leadership. Nor was the black leadership together enough. It had not reached many of the black students or educated the whites about its moves. For good reasons it was distrustful of white radicals, but neither could it relate to white liberals in a good way. Both groups failed to inject good political content into the events.

Still, there are a number of positive features: these problems are now more clearly revealed and we can begin to fight them. We learned to move together in the streets and to look out for each other. We see the need to be both more organized on our own campus and to reach out to others. The fears held by blacks and whites of each other are decreasing. And, perhaps most important, many more of us understand that real victories are not easy, that they take time and must be worked for constantly.



# Class Oppression in High Schools

by Juan Gonzalez

Benjamin Franklin High School, on 116 Street in East Harlem, has a population of approximately 3,000 students, 92% Black and Puerto Rican. As of this year, according to Board of Education statistics, 100 are enrolled in the vocational program, 670 in the academic (college preparatory) program, and 2,286 in the general program. The graduating class of June 1967 comprises 20 graduates of academic curriculums, 50 graduates of the vocational curriculum, 130 graduates of the general curriculum. Of the 763 students who entered in September 1964, 29.8% of the original class received diplomas, of which 1.8% were academic. Drop-outs, transfers, or unaccounted for students number 60.2% of the class.

The situation of Ben Franklin is duplicated more or less throughout the majority of New York City public high schools. It is a situation in which Black, Puerto Rican, and white working class kids are systematically miseducated, systematically tracked into the worst courses, systematically programmed for failure, systematically inculcated with racist curriculum, systematically oppressed by conditions that verge on prison-status—most high schools are occupied daily by anywhere from 4 to 15 New York City police—and systematically prepared for semi-skilled jobs and for America's military. In Washington, D.C., for instance, recent studies report that 80% of all public high school graduates are in the army within two years. It is a situation the crisis proportions of which have only recently been discovered by large sectors of the radical movement (and concurrently by the ruling class) because of the growing number of high school rebellions in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and last spring and this past December in New York.

## BLACK REBELLION

Black students have been in the forefront of these rebellions, just as Black university students, Black G.I.'s and Black workers have been in the forefront of battles in other sectors of the society. There are, of course, real social conditions that determine the depth and militancy of the Black rebellions—the Black high school student is the worst victim of the high schools. Over 50% of all Black and Puerto Rican students in New York City drop-out. Only 20% of those who graduate from academic high

schools go to college. Meanwhile, in Vocational High School, like Food and Maritime or Aviation, where 60% of the students are Black and Puerto Rican, and where the possibility of jobs awaiting graduates in the vocation they are trained is slight, no one goes to college. The same class society that determines the nature and function of those high schools determines what happens to students when they leave. Black high school graduates have a higher unemployment rate than white drop-outs, and those Black graduates who find work average lower pay per week than white drop-outs, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

technicians, there are also elite and working class high schools. According to a 1961 study by Patricia Saxton, 5000 of the nation's 26,500 high schools produce 82% of all college bound students. The overwhelming percentage of Black and Brown students in non-college tracks in high schools are matched by large numbers of white working class kids in the same tracks. In one mid-west city, Saxton found, 25% of the students whose family income was below \$7,000 were in college preparatory courses, whereas 79% of those with incomes over \$9,000 were being groomed for college. Radicals were not aware of the deep felt resentment of white working class kids against the

orientation is to ally with the inherently revolutionary fights emerging among young working people—G.I.'s impressed into a losing imperial war in Vietnam, and high school youth who, because of the increasing demands of imperialism for the waste production of bombers and missiles, instead of housing, good schools and hospitals—find themselves with a shrinking job potential, find themselves less and less prepared for the technical skills necessary for the waste production America's rulers have set as its priority.

That is why our movement will in the coming weeks be faced with perhaps the most revolutionary demand it has yet made. We may soon have to debate



For the average Black and Puerto Rican high school student, then, the schools are prisons, part of the same elementary school system that determined his functional illiteracy in the first or second grade, part of the same system that assures the dilapidated housing, the unavailability of decent jobs, and the police and court system ready and eager to strike at him if he begins to protest. What has not been as apparent as the racism of the schools however is the class-nature of the educational system. The high schools prepare white working class kids for similar semi-skilled jobs, prepare them for impressment into the working class army, paid twelve cents an hour to kill and be killed in wars against working people in other countries to protect the empires of Standard Oil, General Motors, Englehard Industries.

In the same way that there are elite universities like Columbia, Stanford, Princeton, and working class colleges that produce low level professionals and

schools until December, 1968, when they joined with Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the high school student strike—when Flushing, Cordoza, and Francis Lewis High Schools in Queens, had thousands of students walking out, leaving the middle class radicals and liberals in the buildings worrying about their grades and catch-up studies. The Black and white working class kids were not worried about the studies they had "missed" during the teachers' walk-out for they knew that those studies prepare them for nothing but the army and a \$70 a week job anyway.

## OPEN ADMISSIONS

SDS has begun to realize that it can develop into a true revolutionary socialist movement only if it fights with and in the interests of Black and white working people. At present, the best and most organic way to develop that working class

whether to demand of Columbia the open admission of all Black, Puerto Rican students, and white working class students who wish to attend, with Black and Latin studies departments set up to develop meaningful and relevant curriculum for Black and Puerto Rican students. This demand strikes at the very foundation of an elite university like Columbia. It calls for a reappropriation of the wealth and resources of this university and a redirection of its function so that it serves the needs of the working class and not the needs of the corporate class for war research and production of managerial personnel for corporations. It implies that a university should not be training state department officials and business school graduates, but producing literate and skilled working class youth, knowledgeable of the important role of Black people in building this nation, of the basis of society being in the wealth produced by the labor of working people, and of the role and function of the corporate class as rulers and oppressors, as well as prepared for skilled jobs with decent incomes.

This demand will mean the ending of special privileges enjoyed by many people who both study and work at the present Columbia University. Perhaps America's most pressing need is not for research and teaching of *Critique of Pure Reason*, or Renaissance Art. Perhaps those who teach such subjects, would be more useful at this particular period teaching remedial reading, or urban planning. Let us be clear, the study of Kierkegaard at Columbia, while 1.8% of Ben Franklin students get academic diplomas and 60% drop-out, many functionally illiterate, is a class privilege. To say, as many educators do, that the "problem" is one to be handled in the elementary schools ignores the masses of Black and Puerto Rican parents engaged in a struggle for control of their schools and better education. SDS at the universities is part of that common struggle.

The training of state department officials, of corporation executives, the production of ROTC officers, war research, is *class oppression*. Socialists must destroy those privileges and fight that oppression. In the long run, the general well-being of society will be raised at the expense of the immediate class privileges of a few. That is why we must demand that the wealth of this university be reappropriated—OPEN ADMISSIONS FOR BLACK, LATIN, AND WHITE WORKING CLASS YOUTH, AND SEPARATE BLACK AND LATIN STUDIES.

# SEATTLE

Twenty-five members of SDS and BSU occupied the president's office at Seattle Community College on February 25. The demands of the students concerned the construction of a branch campus in the central area, the city's ghetto.

There was a controversy over the state legislature's appropriation of \$7 million for the construction of the campus. The students' demands were not only that the campus be constructed, but that the community be in control of the college.

The administration's original plan was that the main academic sections of the college would be located at two other campuses located in predominantly white areas. The central area campus would have a minimal academic program, while the main emphasis would be on vocational training.

The students realized that the administration's proposal was inconsistent with the needs of the central area community. It would have only served to channel the students in the area into the same low-level jobs which consistently fall to the lot of black people.

The only way to assure that the campus reflects and fulfills the needs of the community is to assure community control. Therefore the following demands were presented by SDS:

1) First priority should be given to the central area campus. All activity on construction on other campuses must be stopped until construction begins on the central campus.

2) There should be community, faculty and student representation on the central campus steering committee.

3) There should be equal representation of black people for all positions to be filled at the central campus. The community should have a voice in all hiring and dismissals.

4) All high school and junior high school students in the central area must be included in any survey to determine future curriculum.

These demands were to be presented to the president at a rally on campus, but Erickson failed to show up. (He was in San Francisco speaking at a conference on "Community College-Urban Crisis Situation".) The students refused to talk with anyone else and proceeded to occupy the president's office.

The SDS chapter at the University of Washington organized a support demonstration in front of the building that was also prepared to function as a defense demonstration in case of a bust. Their appearance sent the Seattle Community College administration scurrying in attempts to conciliate the students inside.

A list of thirteen demands, including the four SDS demands was drawn up by the students and presented immediately to the Board of Trustees. Two Board members and the Vice President of the college signed before a notary public an agreement to the demands and a commitment to submit solutions in writing to the students with progress reports at two-week intervals. The signing took place at a public press conference. SDS and BSU are determined that the demands be implemented quickly.

Jose Cervantes Luigi  
Ron Kravitz



group important experience in dealing with working class kids. She and the two other full time high school organizers in Madison were finding that working class kids responded to class-based explanations of their problems. They understood and were concerned about tracking, knowing that it meant they were being trained in second-class schools for permanent second class citizenship. Discussions of this kind of channeling under capitalism moved easily and openly into what a socialist school would mean, not only for them but for their community as well.

One of the groups of kids decided to include a demand for working class history in the manifesto which served as the platform for their paper. They saw the demand as a way to create

schools to concentrate base-building operations in. Marxist theory aside, DRU's own experience and the composition of Milwaukee dictated that the schools chosen be predominantly working class. The Waukegan experience pointed toward the need for going beyond the high schools into the junior colleges and factories.

It was decided that the organizers would move into a part of the city which had three high schools, two public and one parochial, and a heavy concentration of industry, including A.O. Smith, the second largest industry in Milwaukee. Two organizers would deal with the high schools, attempting from the beginning to steer the group toward class-based issues; two organizers would go into the factories to begin to accumulate the kind of knowledge and experience DRU needs if it is going to

middle class kids it has been organizing and go to "the people". It means that DRU has learned that the links they discovered between authoritarianism, cultural oppression, and the war; and the capitalist, imperialist basis of this society are not necessarily seen by others. Organizing them around those narrow issues can, therefore, be self-defeating. Organizing youth qua youth may not deteriorate into a materialist economism, but youth culture has revealed within it self-seeking and potentially fascist tendencies (think of "Wild in the Streets") and clearly does not speak to young men and women's eventual relationship to the productive apparatus. Similar problems are involved with organizing dorm kids as dorm kids, teachers as teachers, grad students as grad students.

Neither constituency organizing nor anti-authoritarianism have to be rejected in toto because of this discovery. Both are still useful and important starting points. The authoritarian structure of American capitalism does directly affect young people and therefore provides a beginning for contact, analysis and motion. Anti-authoritarianism must further be seen as a valid response to historical conditions--the failure of established authority as American liberalism is unable to deal with the Vietnam war, the urban crisis, and so on. The move here is "beyond youth culture" and its preoccupation with style not a return to the culturally sterile position of the old left. Similarly, organizing people where they live and work is still seen as a highly reasonable approach. Issues, however, will have to be based on a class analysis--setting high school students in motion around tracking, for instance, rather than dress codes.

The kids set in motion will be different also; locale in this case determines class origin. As DRU is moving away from the constituency approach, it is moving also from the small cities and towns throughout Wisconsin into the state's eastern industrial areas: Appleton, Racine, Milwaukee, where a large majority is industrial working class. Even here, the superstructural contradictions are much less sharp than in this country's major urban areas such as New York, Chicago, Detroit and San Francisco. But they are growing and so are the cities. Developing radical cadres



## WE HAVE TO FIGHT THE BLURRING OF CLASS LINES WHICH OFTEN OCCURS IN YOUTH CULTURE.

class-consciousness and begin to break down the blatant racism of their school and school-mates. Another group supported the striking janitors of their school with a leaflet entitled "Garbage" that read:

This leaflet is about our school. This leaflet is about garbage. Let it collect in the hallways, classrooms, bathrooms, Mr. Wendt's office. Let it pile up till they have to close the school down. Then the city will be forced to deal with the janitors who are on strike demanding a decent wage...When you finish reading this leaflet, tear on the dotted line, fold, mutilate and drop it on the nearest floor.

### CLASS POLITICS

In Milwaukee, also, a new approach was being mapped out and the initial groundwork laid. With four full-time and one part-time organizers already working in the city's high schools and colleges, and two more organizers coming from Madison in January, it seemed possible to consider a full-scale organizing project aimed at young working class kids. The conception grew initially from the organizers' frustration with the amorphousness of the high school work, the need for priorities in terms of which

honestly organize working class youths to live as radicals. The other three organizers would continue work in the colleges, extend initial work in the technical school, and begin to develop a teacher organization from contacts accumulated during the summer work in the Education school and the early work in Milwaukee.

The shift away from a narrow constituency conception does not mean that DRU has decided to turn its back on the



Photo: CONNECTIONS

in small Wisconsin towns is virtually impossible because of the fantastic outflow of young people from them every year, but developing a statewide radical movement based on the university and the major urban areas seem to the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union to be a real possibility. This is the task before DRU.

Of course most left groups need funds to survive, but the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union is especially in need of support right now because of its expansion into the eastern industrial regions of the state. To make it the organizers will have to scrape and improvise everything. Help in the form of money, office supplies, cars, etc. would be appreciated. For more information contact WDRU

217 S. Hamilton St.  
Madison, Wisc. 53703

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sentences not only an attack upon those 27 men, but upon us too, because it's an attempt to re-instill this fear. It's an attempt to say that anybody who acts in concert, anybody who gets together can get fifteen years for mutiny. So it's an attack on the union; that's why we feel the response to the Presidio has got to be hit back fast and to hit back hard, both by civilians and GIs.

### BARGAIN WITH THE BRASS?

MOVEMENT: When you call yourselves a union, you don't mean an organization that can bargain with the brass?

ANDY: I don't think it's a question if you bargain or not (the Vietnamese are bargaining with the U.S. in Paris). Of course we would never make a deal with the enemy to the detriment of the GIs. The important thing is what your goals are. I don't think it's possible to build a reformist organization. If there's a whole bunch of EMs getting together to make a demand on the brass, that's a revolutionary thing, because ultimately their demand is not to be sent to Vietnam, not to be sent to fight an imperialist war. Because that's really what's on the back of their minds. I raised the example earlier of American labor unions, which are based on the idea of reformism.

But a factory and the army are somewhat different. If the army shut down for three weeks, it would be different than if a factory shut down for three weeks. So the analogy doesn't exactly apply. Anyway, I'm not George Meany. It's not

a reformist thing.

The German Spartacist League set up what they called food committees to agitate for better food, and within six months these food committees had shot all the officers, thrown them overboard and run up the red flag. Now I suppose it's possible to say that these food committees were reformist. But the people who would say that don't have an exact grasp of how the German Navy worked in 1918. Guys aren't allowed to get together and demand better food; that's MUTINY.

As far as our demand for higher pay goes, that's only one of our demands. It shouldn't be singled out from the other seven. That would be like saying the only thing the Panthers do is serve hot breakfast to children. The pay is so low in the Army that privates and corporals at Ft. Dix in New Jersey are on welfare--this is a grievance. We have to listen to what the GIs are talking about and the 15 cents an hour they get paid is one of the things they talk about. If the union doesn't show it's for them on that issue as well as on the right to live and the right to have fair trials, the union won't win their support.

### FEAR

MOVEMENT: There's a lot of fear in the movement when people receive their induction notices. People want to struggle and don't want to go to jail for refusing induction, but they don't know if organizing in the army is possible and they

worry about going to jail in the army. Would you comment on this?

ANDY: Yes, it's important for people to know that they might go to jail in the army. I feel that the decision to resist the draft has to depend on what they feel they can do most effectively politically. You get a guy like Dave Mitchell who's a fantastic draft resister, he made a lot of anti-imperialist propaganda, he dragged it on for years; he went to jail; and he's out of jail now. He can be a prominent spokesman on the Left.

On the other hand it probably would have been a big mistake for me to resist the draft. I was certainly more effective inside than I could have been as a draft resister. So that's up to the individual. A person can organize in the army; there's already an organization set up. There's only one, that's us, and he can work with us. People come to us even before they go in, they sign up. But he should realize there is a possibility of being sent to Vietnam, and if he refuses to go, then jail. There's a possibility of being like Stolte and Amick, or Harvey and Daniels and going to jail. It's just by a hair's breadth that I missed the stockade. To be in the movement means that jail is an occupational hazard. Jail is to be avoided, but not at all costs. That would mean that maybe you should kill Vietnamese to avoid going to jail.

I don't want to sow false illusions, but I think there is a way of organizing. I don't want to be put in the position of attacking the draft resistance movement,

because I think that's one area where U.S. imperialism can be strong. It may be that what the ASP is doing and what draft resistance is doing in concert will result in the abolition of the draft. Essentially, what we're doing is to organize draftees, once they're in. If the draft were to be abolished, I don't think the union would keep going--that would be a victory. Then we'd shift to something else. I wouldn't call for the unionization of a mercenary army. The army we have now is like a press-gang. Tens of thousands of rebellious youth have been forced into it--that's why we call for its unionization. It is possible under these conditions to enter and to struggle against U.S. Imperialism from the inside.

It's wrong to push a line that nothing can be done inside the Army; that you have to wait until a guy gets out. Anybody working with GIs who pushes that line is avoiding struggle, and when those GIs get out they won't be struggling either, nor the organizers. We feel that wherever you are you can put up a fight against imperialism. And that applies to GIs as well as anyone. Especially to GIs.

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# GERMAN SDS

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come to sentencing yet. The prosecutors gave a press conference the other day and made quite clear what line they will follow. First they want to get a few "precedent" cases of fellow travelers, as they like to call them, and then they want to sentence the leaders, the "hard core". Under the laws, national leaders in SDS could get up to ten years for inciting this, that and the other thing "with subversive intent". You should understand that the German judicial system and its judges are completely feudal, and that we don't have the jury system in Germany.

MOVEMENT: There's been much study here of ways of making political repression as expensive as possible for the courts by politicizing the trials and thus delegitimizing the courts. Are you using political defense in Germany?

KARL: Very much so, in many different ways. We always try, for instance, to reintroduce the political issue that was at stake when our comrade was arrested. In Tuebingen five were on trial for conspiracy to block traffic in front of the Amerika-Haus at a Vietnam demonstration. The day of the trial, another thousand students blocked traffic again at the same spot, to show that the issue was alive and that the conspiracy indictments were wrong.

If we cannot raise the issue again in this way we hold teach-ins and mock trials on campus to link the repression with its causes.

We also try to politicize the trials internally by introducing political evidence over the objections of the judges. For instance, a defendant answers every question with a political speech until they carry him off handcuffed, still speaking. Or, to de-obfuscate the judge's authority, people blow soap-bubbles at him. Or when people are asked personal questions, they ask the judge right back, for example, whether he was a member of the Nazi Party too, like so many of the judges. Or, when the judge enters, people in the audience remain seated, eating, talking and smoking, but when the defendant comes in they rise, raise their fists and sing the Internationale. And recently in Frankfurt, when we were barred from the courtroom, we painted slogans all over the courthouse. Now when they have a trial of one of us they cancel all other cases and surround the building with hundreds of police. That fairly well explodes the law's false image of impartiality.

MOVEMENT: Do you have sympathetic movement lawyers, people willing to put themselves in jeopardy to defend you?

KARL: So far only very few. The Social-Democratic lawyers are useless in political defense; they withdraw from the case in a huff the minute politics enters in. One of our best lawyers, on the other hand, was almost disbarred because he refuses to wear the gown, the class insignia of the legal profession. Then too the law schools are beginning to graduate more people who were educated by us and are with us.

MOVEMENT: There is a move here for people to learn to defend themselves in court. Is there such a thing in Germany?

KARL: Yes, we have both local and national groups to train people in legal self-defense. But if the charge is heavy enough, they force you to take one of their appointed lawyers.

MOVEMENT: Have you had any success in taking your case directly to the public?

KARL: That is not easy. The most success we have had is with projects to relate the repression against us to the repression against others, such as the wildcat strikers and even ordinary criminals, such as teenage gangs in Berlin and a group of housewives arrested for shoplifting. We politicized their trials.

We also do political work in prison. When the members of student government at Heidelberg were released (they were in because they called for general strike) the whole prison sang the Internationale and waved red flags out the windows.

MOVEMENT: Our movement has become conscious of an increase in repression. We understand that yours has experienced a qualitative leap in the level of repression. To what do you attribute this?

KARL: The kind of repression we are encountering now has really only developed since the Easter demonstrations, when more than 150,000 people came out to the streets to try to block delivery of the Springer papers. More than a third of the people in that demonstration were young workers. Since that time the repression has leaped. As long as we were merely a student movement they only cut off funds, suspended or expelled people and so forth. But since the movement began to make inroads

into groups of young workers, to establish direct practical contacts with young workers' and apprentices' groups, they are really beginning to crack down on us.

## INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

MOVEMENT: Would you tell us about the internal organization of SDS? To start how do you know when someone is a member of SDS?

KARL: That's difficult to say. We have quit defining membership in the organization in a formal way. People are no longer considered members just because they sign up and pay their dues. Membership varies from local to local. For instance, in Munich only people who work permanently with one of the project groups are considered members. There is no other formal structure. In Frankfurt each of the projects delegates someone, usually on a rotating basis, to participate in the local council, which is a formal organization that

But after we kicked them out, this is not a problem anymore.

## EXPULSIONS

MOVEMENT: Given the loose structure you have, how is it possible to kick out a faction?

KARL: We didn't kick all of them out formally. But we kicked out five very well-known CP people and then waged a propaganda campaign. They were expelled as individuals by a three-quarters vote of the national convention delegates. This was after three or four years of very useless discussion. They inhibited the discussions we needed in our organization for our practical work. The final straw came when they disrupted the demonstration at the world youth festival in Sofia; they worked together with the Bulgarian police. That was it. At the expulsion a condition was added that any groups which accepted these five as members would also be kicked out. After that they just formed their own CP stu-

reasons why you favor a less centralized, less from-the-top-down form of organization?

KARL: First, because that is the only way to keep in touch with the spontaneity of the masses. For example, young workers elect delegates to the national convention without being formally SDS locals. This way of allowing representation by people in direct contact with the masses, and in the masses, is a way of keeping the organization in touch with the people. And the May revolt in France showed that there is a lot of spontaneity in the masses even in highly-industrialized capitalist metropolises.

A decentralized organization can fight repression more effectively. When you cut off the formal head of a from-the-top-down organization, everything goes dead. If we were organized that way, they could stop us quite easily. And thirdly, because it's a more efficient form for quick, massive organization. For instance, after they murdered Benno Ohnesorg in 1967, the next morning there were mass



Photo: BLACK PANTHER

maps out general strategy for that area.

Most decisions, however, are made by informal cadres; people who work full-time. The informal cadre are all people who have been in close contact with each other for a long time and know each other very well. That means they can decide things very quickly if necessary. If they thought a given formal decision were dangerous they could stop it.

## PROJECT GROUPS

MOVEMENT: What exactly are these project groups?

KARL: For instance, groups that work in the community, or in a certain factory, or research-action committees, or liaison groups with high school students, or a department organizing committee, or a liberation nursery--all these are project groups. In Frankfurt we have about 13 or 14 of them now, each with from 5 to 15 members. Some them are short-term, some of them permanent.

For instance, the groups that meet with workers have to be permanent; if you miss one meeting the project is finished. The university reform projects are permanent in the sense that we cannot fail because the struggle never ends. They work in the resistance perspective. The formal structures that we had earlier worked well until the level of mass mobilizations was reached, but then the task just overflowed and the formal groups weren't able to handle it anymore.

MOVEMENT: And on the national level?

KARL: After the actions in the summer of 1968 communication between the locals and the national, and between the locals was weakened. To strengthen these communications we got rid of the office of President (I was the last) and replaced it with a five member secretariat. Those locals who had solved the problems of repression and of mass direct action in a good way, and had taken regional responsibility, delegated people to the national office to serve for six months. These are people who had long experience and whom their chapter supports strongly. Of course this organizational problem would have been immense for as long as we had the CP in the organization.

dent groups. That's OK. We don't worry about that.

MOVEMENT: How would you characterize the line of the CP people you expelled?

KARL: The German CP line. That means unconditional support of the Soviet Union and of parliamentary methods in West Germany. Internally they debated a lot like your PL does, except that in foreign policy they support the Soviet Union instead of China. Internally the only thing they always say to the student movement is "support the working class" without saying what that means and how that can be brought about. They are against direct action and against disruptive techniques. And they don't have any sort of class analysis.

MOVEMENT: What are some of the

demonstrations in 75 cities across West Germany. No centralized organization could have effectively organized that. It was done by a mass-conscious movement decentralized and organized at the base. Of course we don't believe decentralization is an end in itself. We do hold to the importance of national communication channels and we do try to establish national theoretical debate.

MOVEMENT: Is there much cooperation among the different West European movements?

KARL: We have had quite concrete cooperation in deciding on common dates for demonstrations. And on sharing research and information; and having seminars analyzing the French revolt. Now we are preparing for a Europe-wide anti-NATO campaign. But of course we realize that the anti-NATO campaign we are organizing is still not quite as conspiratorially effective as the conspiracy of the NATO bosses.

Jeff Sharlet is sick and he needs bread.

So what else is new? Who isn't broke these days, especially in the movement, and who hasn't been down with the flu? The difference is that Jeff, who is 26, was just operated on for cancer of the kidney; though he appears to be convalescing as well as could be expected, he'll be bedridden for a month and certainly unable to work for a long time after that.

Movement people--and especially those working with GPs--owe a lot to Jeff. He started THE VIETNAM GI, which many agree is one of the best GI newspapers, with money he'd been awarded as a Woodrow Wilson academic fellowship after returning from his own tour of duty in Viet Nam. Surely it was the best use one of those grants was ever put to.

Inside a year the paper had grown into both "State-side" and "Nam" editions that gave GPs all over the world a heavy dose of the truth about the Army and the war, told in the words of men still in the jungles or recently returned.

And now he's broke and critically ill. Friends in Bloomington, Indiana, are collecting money to help get him through the next few months. Anything you could send would help. Make checks out to: THE JEFF SHARLET HOSPITAL FUND and send them to: Shel Sklare, 516 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana.

For those who would like to send cards or greetings, the address is: Jeff Sharlet, c/o Veterans Administration Hospital, Rm. 611, Ward 6-C, Miami, Florida.



# IN THE RACE

Charles Bursey is a member of the Black Panther Party in Berkeley. Lee Coe is a white worker, has been a machinist for many years. Both of them are running for different seats on the Berkeley City Council. Bursey is running as a Black Panther Party candidate, Coe as a Peace and Freedom Party candidate. Bobby Bowen, another Panther, is also running for City Council in Richmond.

Why bother with City Council elections at all? Bursey views the campaign as one of the many channels the Panthers can use to bring Panther ideology to the masses. "We've got to reach the people at all political levels".

The impetus for the campaign comes from the ideas put forth by Huey Newton almost two years ago: "Laws and rules have always been made to serve the people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict on poor people are non-functional in relation to the status of the poor in society.

"These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect rules that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men." (from IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE).

Bursey is running on the Black Panther 10 point program, a model of rules and laws designed to serve the interests of the people. Bursey notes, "Every-

thing happening today relates to our ten point program". The campaign will put a special emphasis on Point 5, "We want an education for our people that teaches us how to survive in the present day society". Strong support for the Third World Liberation Front struggle at the University of California at Berkeley flows directly from point 5.

The campaign is also working for an amendment of the City Charter that will implement point 7 of the Panther Program, "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people. We want all police and special agents to be excluded from school premises". The campaign for City Council goes hand in hand with the petition to put community control of police on the ballot.

The Panther proposal for community control of police would eliminate the police chief and make the police responsible to the people, not the appointed City Manager. The plan recognizes the three basic areas of Berkeley (black, campus and white middle and upper class). Each area would have its own separate and autonomous police department. Each department would be administered by a police commissioner elected by a Neighborhood Police Control Council of 15 members. The Council members come from the community and are elected by all those who live there.

No more beating heads in the name of the mythical "people of California". The Councils would have the power to discipline officers for breaches of department policy or violations of law. The council would set department policy and could recall the police commissioner at any time they found that he was no longer responsive to the community. The com-

munity could also recall Council members who are no longer responsive to it. All policemen must live in the Department where they work.

The focus on police control and the TWLF demands links the electoral campaign with the major struggles of the area. Lee Coe insists that "the real issue is the picket line at Cal. That is where power is confronting power. Our campaign must support the picket line or else it's worthless".

"We're talking about pig control. We oppose tax money being spent on clubbing students. Our campaign is a means of involving people who wouldn't be involved otherwise."

Coe hopes that the campaign will help rebuild the Peace and Freedom Party which pretty much collapsed by November. "We aim to make PFP an anti-imperialist party for working and lower middle class people". For instance, Coe is soliciting support from COPE and the ILWU. He has been active in the ILWU for many years. "There's a good chance we'll get support from the ILWU legislative Committee. If so, then we'll also be ILWU candidates".

Coe refused to speculate on the possibilities for success in bringing PFP to the working class. "Ideally, revolutionary workers will take an interest in the Party and build it. It should be a rank and file effort. The PFP platform for the City Council elections, in addition to supporting the Panther program, deals with many issues of concern to workers: housing and rent control, repeal of city sales taxes, support for city employees and an ordinance against importation of professional strike breakers into the city. ♦

## EUGENE 7

Seven Eugene activists have been busted on political charges. The arrests occurred in connection with the eviction of a Naval Aviation recruiting team from the University of Oregon Student Union Building on January 22, and with a series of People's Liberation Court trials of local draft boards in Eugene and Roseburg, Oregon.

Arrested in the Naval Aviation incident and charged with assault and battery were Howard Anderson and Ray Eaglin, both Eugene Panthers, and Bill Kerlee, Roy Bennett and Kip Morgan of SDS. Each had bail set at \$500, except for Anderson who received a \$1000 bail assignment. The usual bail for that charge is \$50.

In addition, Don Fitt and David Gwyther of SDS were charged with third degree arson for the alleged immolation of the Navy recruiting literature and the blue blanket used to cover the recruiting table. David Gwyther and Kip Morgan were first arrested by the FBI and taken to Portland, Oregon for federal arraignment. The two were arrested on warrants charging two counts of disruption of draft board procedures and one count of conspiring to commit the act. All of the Eugene Seven have been bailed out with the exception of David Gwyther who is being held in Rocky Butte jail in lieu of \$5000 bail. Morgan's original bail of \$10,000 was dropped to \$1500 only after political inactivity was promised. Gwyther, offered the same deal, refused so they doubled his bail. Gwyther, fasted in jail to protest the inhumane bail and illegal arrest.

The continued harassment of the campus by local police continues. Four days after his first arrest, Roy Bennett was arrested again while walking across the University campus. Going home after attending a benefit performance by the San Francisco Mime Troupe, Bennett was picked up by detectives and charged with the alleged attempted malicious use of explosives. City officials claim that Roy placed a stick of dynamite, which failed to detonate, in the Lane County Democratic Party Headquarters. Bennett was held on \$5000 bail.

The Eugene Black Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Movement, composed primarily of SDS members have joined forces to protest the illegal arrests. Moreover, a series of three non-negotiable demands have been presented to University of Oregon officials. Rallies have been held on campus in support of the demands: (1) amnesty for the Eugene Seven political prisoners; (2) removal of all military influence from the campus including ROTC, military recruiting, corporate war recruiting and war research on campus; and (3) an end to political repression on the campus, specifically an end to patrols on campus by armed police officers, and removal of narcs, police and FBI informers from the university campus.

Money for bail and for lawyers is desperately needed and may be sent to Mutual Defense Fund, 519 E. 13th Street, Eugene, Oregon, 97401.

Bill Watson

## BANANAS UP THE ASS

Struggles against militarization and imperialism are being waged on many levels at the University of Washington. SDS has demanded: No More ROTC, No More Military or Corporate Recruiters, No More War Research, and No More Classes which are apologies for Imperialism.

On February 24, 300 students drove a United Fruit recruiter off the campus. Speeches condemning the role of United Fruit in Guatemala were made at a rally called by UMAS (United Mexican American Students) and SDS. Speeches also pointed out the conflict between corporations like Del Monte and West Coast farm laborers. UMAS has been working with farm laborers in nearby Yakima, and a recent campus boycott ended the serving of California grapes in the cafeteria.

After the rally students marched to the recruiting office and filled the lobby chanting, "Up Against the Wall, Chiquitas Gonna Fail", and "Bananas up the ass of the ruling class".

Guerrilla theatre depicted the rise of Jacobo Arbenz and his overthrow by the CIA, stressing the role of John and Allan Dulles, major stockholders in United Fruit. The theatre ended with Guatemalan guerillas asking that their North American brothers join their struggle. Students next moved on the recruiting room, demanding that he leave. The crowd forced him out of the building and he was last seen on a street corner waiting for a security guard to bring his car. Another aspect of the successful demonstration continued the program of organizing in Spanish classes against the pro-imperialist textbooks.

On March 5 the struggle escalated as over 2000 students demonstrated against ROTC, while 8000 students looked on. Meanwhile a rally called by the student government to have "rational dialogue" on the limits of dissent (to compete with the demonstration) drew about 1000.

SDS made it clear that the issue had nothing to do with the "limits of dissent" nor with purifying the university. The real issues that the University is an integral part of the apparatus of imperialism, and that ROTC is important to the military and must be stopped.

Demonstrators marched through campus buildings chanting, "Join Us", and "Smash ROTC". They marched around two ROTC buildings and through a third. There was no confrontation with authority, but an SDS speaker at a closing rally put it this way: "Black people have a saying...as a house goes up, a house must come down. This house went up on violence. We'll be back next quarter to shut this place down."

contributed to REP during the past eight months, outgoing mail, part of a file listing subscribers to RADICALS IN THE PROFESSIONS NEWSLETTER ...and part of a file listing people who had been dropped from the mailing list. SDS lost their contact card file for the region, financial books and records, and correspondence.

The raid was a professional job: glass cutters were used for entry...AND whoever pulled it knew what they wanted, knew the address and filing system, and knew what files were worth taking. Nothing was damaged. Other movement offices should take

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## Raid

On the night of February 7, the offices of the Radical Education Project and the Michigan Regional SDS office in Ann Arbor were raided. Important files and records were stolen. The robbery occurred a few weeks before a Michigan legislative committee on student disorders began its witch hunt.

No doubt about the connection between the robbery and the investigation: stolen were address plates from two separate lists. Both lists were nationwide, but only Michigan names were taken. Also taken were financial records, including the names of all people who bought literature and/or

note of the ease with which the pigs gained access. Consciousness of security must increase.

The repression in Michigan is part of a national pattern. In their press release REP calls not only for vigilance, but also for utilizing repression as an educational and organizing tool. Quoting Joe Namath, the Jets quarterback, they note, "The best defense is a good offense."

Who comes in and out of your office? Where do you keep important information? How many copies of your mailing list do you have? BE PREPARED!



# OIL STRIKE continued from page 3

phase. Then the focus of student agitation shifted to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. And now the student movement has shifted focus once more, onto the black and third world liberations movement which have developed into powerful components of the global struggle against U.S. imperialism. This shift explains the heightened level of the student struggles.

## ANTI-IMPERIALISM

The student movement is in a position to begin carrying anti-imperialist ideology to the working class. Our experience in Richmond has shown us the importance of Lenin's admonition of 60 years ago: "Social-Democracy (Communism) leads the struggle of the working class not only for better terms for the sale of labour-power, but for the abolition of the social system that compels the propertyless to sell themselves to the rich. Social-Democracy represents the working-class, not in its relation to a given group of employers alone, but in its relation to all classes of modern society and to the state as an organized political force."

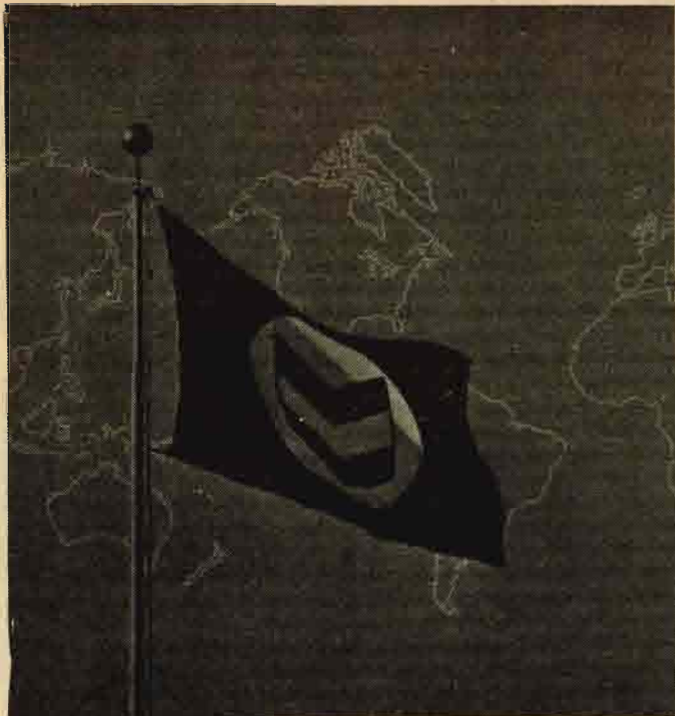
The student movement has a very valuable role to play in helping to break the labor movement in this country out of the economist shackles that bind the working class to its exploiters.

It would be a real setback if the student movement falls into the trap of trailing behind the economism of the labor movement. The primary contribution that the Cal and S.F. State students have made in the oil strike, more important than beefing up the picket lines and scaring hell out of the company, is the linking up of the oil strike with the struggles of third world peoples. This is certainly not to say that students should run out to the picket lines and throw leaflets at the workers, or talk down to them, or start attacking the union leadership, or use language and rhetoric that is either unintelligible, or if intelligible, often offensive, to working people. But it does mean that they should not hesitate to raise political issues, and point up the inter-relationship between struggles against the common enemy.

## STRATEGIC PRIORITIES

At the same time, however, it is absolutely crucial for many students and others in the movement to sever their class ties completely and integrate themselves with the working class, so that working people will be able to grasp the anti-imperialist ideology of the student movement, put it into practice themselves, in unity with third world people, and develop it to a higher stage.

As Stalin writes in FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, "The point here is not that the vanguard shall realize the impossibility of preserving the old order of things and the inevitability of its overthrow. The point is that the masses, the millions, shall understand this inevitability...But the masses can understand this only from their own experience. The task is to enable the vast masses to realize from their own



experience the inevitability of the overthrow of the old regime, to promote such methods of struggle and forms of organization as will make it easier for the masses to learn from experience to recognize the correctness of the revolutionary slogans."

We have learned from our involvement in the oil strike that it is possible to explain the anti-imperialist struggles in class terms, and to constantly drive home the point that our enemy, as U.S. workers, is the same monster the black people and the people of Vietnam are facing in battle. From the start we have passed out leaflets, to the oil workers and other working people in the community, calling for a boycott of all Standard and Chevron products and listing the crimes of the Standard empire. We summarize first the atrocities of the company against its own workers --including the murder of a picket, Richard Jones who was run over and killed by a Standard oil scab-driven tanker, waved on by a supervisor, after he saw Jones fall under the truck. Next the leaflet runs down Standard's use of cops and company goons as strikebreakers, which is followed by a description of Standard's price-fixing and tax-dodging, and their bribery of public officials. The leaflet concludes with the following two paragraphs:

Further, Standard is one of the most racist companies in the world. Until recently they hired almost no black people, and then they tried paying them lower wages for the same work white guys do. This is exactly what Standard does in the racist dictatorship of South Africa, where black workers

at the Standard plants work long, hard hours for less than a dollar a day!

Standard does the same thing to Vietnamese workers in Saigon and other cities--where Standard has also unsuccessfully tried to bribe the National Liberation Front not to destroy their property. Standard also makes chemical defoliants that have been used to destroy the crops and lives of hundreds of thousands of poor farmers in Vietnam. No wonder people all around the world hate Standard and the other big companies like it.

## APPEAL

Our strategy is to carry on propaganda that will help unite the greatest number of forces against imperialist companies like Standard, while at the same time, appealing especially to the more advanced workers. This is a delicate and difficult balance to achieve, but our feeling is that it is better to go too far in the direction of appealing to the more advanced guys than fall into the trap of economism and liberalism. After all, the unions themselves do a good job of attacking the companies from a purely trade union, apolitical point of view. In carrying out propaganda and trying to move the struggle to a higher level we are guided by Mao's strategic advice:

The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate, and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements.

Following this approach, we are working to build a Solidarity Committee caucus in the OCAW among the more advanced oil workers we have met, and in other unions among the guys who have actively involved themselves in our Solidarity Committee and the strike. These caucuses will keep up day-to-day agitation on the job and also distribute leaflets (and later a newspaper) on political questions. They will back each other in strikes or other struggles that come up in any shop or union.

So far our greatest difficulty has been in figuring out how to tie these caucuses together through the Solidarity Committee and break down the isolation that exists not only between guys in different unions, but between guys in the same union but different plants. We have a lot to learn about the tactics of working-class organizing. We need lots of help--people who are willing to take jobs in the area (which we can help you find) and to help us strengthen our ties with working people.

Our mailing address is P.O. Box 1282, Richmond, California, and we can be reached by phone at (415) 237-7284.

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