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
To the Editor:

reform, restructuring Col-
When student power in universities which train people for power in government and industry hardwork is the ultimate to youth. To young workers and other consciousnesses which hold wage students to address, "student power" can only sound like an appeal 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 move-

The July 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 econo-

mical pressures and standards designed to reduce enrollment precipitously after one year force them to order 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 edu-

cation needed by the corporations. These admissions standards affect nonwhite stu-

dents the most but they are restricted to a few districts. Technically, the system is not supposed to function as an essential one; and when the exclusion is dramatized, the scope of equal opportu-

nity 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 de-

mands (open admissions, ethnic studies and educationally self-determination) became a crucial everyday concern. In addition SF State is affairs of a third institution where the question of community access is important because public education is nominally free.

They say, "I'm from Missouri," you'll have to agree, but the administration of the University of Missouri would rather not have obscene. - "with liberty and justice for all ... " headline in NEW LEFT NOTES and a Frank Cieciorka cartoon in the MOVEMENT. The cartoon, of course: its ugly head there--as Dean of Students Jack Matthews graphically portrayed. The charge of obscenity reared right to distribute the vile (and effective) stuff. Anyway the campus rose up against the censorship of William Wiecek, a first year assistant history pro-

fessor who want it just write us.

In the context of the S.F. State strike, HUDD's dichotomy between student power (striking) and a radical position on the university breaks down. The Colum-

biuma student's demands led to a sym-

bolic confrontation inside the third day. The demands confroimned 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 im-

portant in the white community, it is apparent that Armstong is better a similar dispensitional effect there.

The following could serve as an on-

line for a program designed to build a student movement interested in re-

lating to working class constituencies:

1) Student and other efforts should focus on state and junior colleges by enrolling as students and teachers.

2) Campus organizations should de-

velop access and free tuition.

3) They should demand courses and programs responsive to community needs such as co-ops on urban prob-

lems, race, poverty and the labor move-

ment.

4) Those 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 state control of content and direction of education.

6) The programs should include train-

ing for the work of the Third World community.

7) No demand should be separated from a total program that expresses the interests of Third World students and people.

A program along these lines cannot guarantee that student politics will turn away from limiting and privileged con-

structions of the ultimate material and 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 student orientation have any significant content.

Bill Bartow Peter Wiley

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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.

The workers are getting an average wage increase of 58 cents over two years—14 cents below their first demand, but a full 25 cents above the company's first offer. The company will pay $400 for retraining, 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 still 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 gone-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 1968 strikers.

The refinery workers are going back into the plant stronger, and more united, and more determined to build a new kind of union. The strike will have made the workers conscious of some of the more militant guys have told Jake Shears, the secretary-treasurer of the union agreement... that they should have stayed out a few more weeks. Now that we're back, we'll have to teach the other guys how to win (the bosses).

This is exactly the opposite of the 1965 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 the determination to change things.

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 plant. Richmond complex as the refinery. But the Chevron workers are running a separate "bargaining agreement"... which includes a union shop. The company—actually Standard Oil—capitalizes 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 running a union shop. The Chevron union shop is a source of agitation and inspiration to the 20,000 refinery workers who refuse to return to work. 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.

An intellectuals are able to discern the decaying nature of American imperialism and the contradictions between the professional 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 laid up a bitter lesson for us.

The student movement has grown up and developed in the context of black liberation movements, and in the early 60s, students went south to support the black liberation movement in its civil rights
Almost every major factory in Detroit contains a group 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.

ELRUM--Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement at Hamtramck Assembly (see the MOVEMENT, January, 1969) stressed close ties with many black clergy in 1950. Thus compensated for by the growth of the black community. Since we as white organizers understand these actions and relate to them. The following page is a wildcat against management and unions, particularly on the northeast and southwest labor force was made up of newly arrived ethnic groups, primarily Poles and Italians, as well as Southern whites. Since these black worker struggles will be increasing it is crucial 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 industrial plants into these areas. Since white predominately blue collar suburb of Detroit, with particular emphasis on 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 meeting 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 crucial 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 industrial plants into these areas. 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 fulfill 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 workforce 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 trade department of all ages.

WHITE SUPREMACY ON THE JOB

White 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 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--foundary work, body shop, assembly--are predominately black. Blacks will be found wherever a job requires hard physical labor or subject 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 is the area 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 classification grades are the first to know and the first to apply. Locking these connections blacks rarely receive such benefits. Often both management and union pass over authority in order to place white workers in better positions. Finally, there is almost no movement of blacks into the skilled trades, which are among the most secure of the threats of automation.

On their jobs black workers are also often faced with signs of segregation both in the workplace and in social areas. This is most evident in the area of promotion. Very few of the management personnel are black and many of those who are are not. Similar treatment is received by black women. At Eldon Avenue, for example, black women have been fired because of their skin color by general foreman "Maddog" Larry. To make matters worse, the work is often brutal and dangerous for black workers. Typical of liberal institutions that are always fighting someone else's battle, the UAW has failed to deal with this problem either in the plants and within its own local structure. For all its rhetoric making of moderate-militant blacks, to the black worker at Eldon Avenue, the failure to force the center 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 its 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 superintendents were aligned as "American," and the black union leadership was severely criticized for "Turning Production of the newspaper was an organizational form, into a local union committee, by black revolutionaries, its leaders were fired. To make matters worse, the local union also fired black stewards and committee men. The struggle continues.

Typical of this thrust is the way in which black s have utilized the Wayne State University News OUTLOOK. Controlled by black revolutionaries, its banner (see reading, "One Class- Struggle in Worker, 1st Edition", the editors fill the SOUTH END with articles on DRUM and ELRUM which are passed out at factory gates around Detroit.

At an organizational level, black the UAW is not a traditional radical union. In a local union. The strategy has been to organize black workers in the plants promoting tactical flexibility and minimal division of labor and organizing patterns so prevalent in trade union organization. The black workers at Eldon Avenue are not simply organized to challenge the plant's requirements, but 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 organization's strategy allows ELRUM to consider running candidates for local union officers, while at the same time supporting demonstrations against Chrysler management. By organizing black high school groups in support of black workers in the plants, 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...
WOKRES SET THE PAGE

the question of grievances. The cumbersome nature of these procedures, which consists of everything from the shop floor to the company’s top management, led to a huge backlog of unresolved disputes. This fact led to the problem of unresolved grievances, which led to a loss of morale among workers who became frustrated. Two major strikes led to the formation of the DETROIT AREA RACIAL UNION (ELRUM) in 1969.

ELRUM set the pace for the UAW, leading to a number of significant events. The first was the formation of the DETROIT AREA RACIAL UNION (ELRUM) in 1969, which took place in Detroit. The second was the formation of the DETROIT AREA RACIAL UNION (ELRUM) in 1970, which took place in Detroit. The third was the formation of the DETROIT AREA RACIAL UNION (ELRUM) in 1971, which took place in Detroit.

The critical problem for the black working-class liberation movement now is to define the nature of the struggle and to organize it. The struggle is not just a matter of winning immediate gains, but rather of building a movement that can eventually lead to a socialist society.

The movement is not a simple collection of isolated incidents, but rather part of a larger struggle for liberation. It is clear that the struggle for black liberation is a fundamental aspect of the struggle for a socialist society.

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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 and juniors discussed 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 unit struggling to build a revolutionary consciousness based upon a class analysis of American society.

...in significant for two primary reasons. First, it has set native Wisconsin high school and college students in motion around issues ranging from the use of irregular authority in the high schools to militarism and imperialism. Second, it has provided a core of organizers to bring the specifics of locales such as Milwaukee and Madison, 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 "bitterly" that perhaps "process" would be an appropriate name for the Wisconsin DRU. The unfulfilling 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 the 60's. They were largely supported by the left, reaching few students outside the radical community. Constrained by the stability 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 mostly 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 Judy Chandler (see CONNECTIONS, Madison, Wisc., March 23-April 6, 1967), a founder of the group has noted were "very, very good, very personal, intimate. People sort of came awash 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 and a union—"somewhat kindred 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're 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 small-minded, stupid 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 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 form of intimate discussions.

DAILY CARDINAL

No one knew what was going to happen when the CARDINAL published the statement, but it did allow the union to get word out. A loosely structured organization based upon committees (finance, campus, community, legislature, legal, etc.) was formed. The basic strategy was to try to cling 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 to 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 would effectively stop the drafting of young men and thereby create a crisis for the war machine.

In May, 110 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 lifestyle 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 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 tides were "flushed off" there would be a definite organization.

The small staff often travelled to Chicago to cop with Jim 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 is that we had a fantastic time that summer, June and July were just unbelievable. High or nine people were going through SDS worth of grocers a week. We were stoned every night, EVERY night, that's true. We were discussing enormous amounts of ice cream from Chocolate House because we were stoned all the time. It was a good time, but each time we had to talk to Joe Zuckner, who 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 thing organizes 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 courses, you come home and try to relate work, you go to a meeting now and..."
WE'VE SEEN THAT THE NOTION THAT YOU COULD NOT SELECT THE 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.

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

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TOWARDS RESISTANCE
To build a consciousness of what alternatives there might be to and to stimulate our consciousness, we began to work with the original core of our group, developing a concept of organizing one's life as a whole, not trying to make the staff more confident and assertive, but trying to "create an environment, a consciousness which is an alternative to simple submission to the needs of the institutions, the social order of America, and that that alternative can only come from an organizing process." By going outside Madison they discovered the validity of this approach, organizing among small towns and mid-sized towns, eventually with high school and college students. They also found that people were more open to the kind of irreligious attitude utilized by the SDS, even though the students had high school, they told kids, prepared you for the kind of life you would have in the real world. High school was one of many repressive institutions that one faced throughout life.

GENEROUS WORKING CLASS WITH A HOMOGENEOUS WORKING CLASS OF A MYTH WITH EXPERIENCE IN ITS DIFFERENT SECTORS, WHICH, THEREFORE, COULD PROVIDE A FRONTIER TO THE ORGANIZATION. IT WAS, IN MANY WAYS, AN EXPERIMENT TO TEST THE TENDENCY IN THE COUNTRY TO DEAL WITH THE WAR AS A MENTAL ILLNESS." IN ACTUAL WORK, THERE WERE VARIOUS CONSEQUENCES RELATING TO THE ORGANIZATION OF CONCERNS TO SOMETHING AROUND IMMEDIATE ISSUES. FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS THERE WERE THE POLICE, THE MILITARY, AND OTHER AUTHORITY RELATIONS; FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS, IT WAS THE SAME, BESIDES REGULATIONS ETC. THE EXPRESSED CONCERNS OF THE DORM STUDENTS WAS THAT THIS CONCEPT WOULD LEAD TO A BROADER BASE, MORE ANTICAPITALIST SENSIBILITIES. THE NOTION OF CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZING WAS TO HAVE SUCCESSFUL IMPACTS ON THE PEOPLE, THEY WERE ANTI-IMPERIALIST, BUT BECAUSE THEY WERE ANTI-AUTHORITY, THEY BECAME MORE ANTI-CAPITALIST. PEOPLE IDENTIFIED WITH US, BECAUSE THEY HATED THE DRAFT AND HAD ALSO BEEN DRAFTED BY THE COAST, USUALLY FOR THE SAME CONCERN.

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I might get busted if I join the union

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

ANDY: The ASU, or the American Servicemen's Union, is a union of rank and file enlisted men in the army. It grew out of the Vietnam Moratorium and the war protests on campus. The union has a program that appears on the union card and the general plan is that when a man joins he will tell his friends about THE UNION, THE BOND. The program is that he will end up by being a voting officer—let's get off our knees.

2. Selection of officers by vote of the men.

3. Federal equality.

4. Rank and file control of court-martial boards.

5. Federal minimum wages.

6. The right of free political association.

7. The right of collective bargaining.

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 that I had. There was a court-martial against me in July of 1967. I was court-martialed along with other NCO's like union organizers, Nick Ferris, Don Gip, Tom Gewhardt. We knew there was so much mass support for us among the enlisted men that we began to realize that there was absolutely no possible way to separate individuals as opposed to the army but that the court was going to try the 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-class 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 thing 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 what kind of consciousness I could organize. I wouldn't be surprised if it was possible. I had been expelled from university for being in a draft card draft and the draft resistance movement in Philadelphia already had me involved. It was at the time I guess it is now. So I went into the army thinking that I could change things.

For a year I agitated, handed out literature to try to build this organization among the NCO's, fought against the officers, fought against the officers and against racism, I sort of built up a very small organization of two or three people (maybe 5 or 6) that were kind of a hard core in this article. I wasn't in any big organization.

What finally provoked the court-martial was that I was sent to Ft. Lewis to support 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 bruise 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 build it up, I refused. I was court-martialed for refusing to turn over the papers and the literature to the brass. The court-martial was marked with treachery and duplicity. It ended with the intelligence chief leaping up and denouncing my commanding officer. The clerk was court-martialed and within a month I was court-martialed again in Stuttgart, Germany at a court-martial against me. That was court-martialed in August for desertion. During the trial in August, I was court-martialed in February, 1968 on a charge of abduction and desertion. Actually, I was trying to organize the ASU, because in these initial court-martials I was in a position where I was getting the other men and we were fighting the court-martials showing 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 jug attorneys who are really on the other side. The second point in my favor was there was a lot of press in the courtroom. Third, the brass was afraid to send it as one unit, I was using the press and the fact that I was on trial and the brass was afraid to send it as one unit. The law was used as cossacks against the black people. The army has been intensifying in the last two years. Why? ANDY: It has intensifi ed over the last several years in the war in Vietnam which is one of the main reasons. The guys before undoubtedly had the kind of attitude that they could take any kind of punishment, but now, when Vietnam is really going, they are just not willing to take it.

Before undoubtedly had the kind of attitude that they would not have this bastard in the courtroom. Now it is beginning to take a mass character.

Beside Vietnam another spark for the union has been the force problem. Black GIs just like black people in every aspect of American society are very much in the same situation in the struggle in the army. The most significant case has been the Ft. Hood, 43. The 43 African American GIs refused to be shipped to the Democratic National Convention to be used as cossacks against the black people and the youthful anti-war demonstrations who were marching.

In political consciousness and militancy these black guys were pretty much ahead of anything else. We discovered that if the soldiers do. Of course they were only a small part of the army but the fact that they and the youth carry ideas in that they learn how to organize and be able to swing into action within an hour and the result is that they'll feel that they are in a position 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 were on the list were not too interested in trying to do it to rig away this unit of the army. The brass felt more confident. That's why we have a lot more trouble. Of course we had just one guy against the Piggies, so they just let him be, they didn't want nothing to be happening on them. I never saw a guy voluntarily to go to Vietnam for so-called patriotic reasons.

MOOD IN THE ARMY

MOVEMENT: How would you characterize that the men hate the officers but the only thing holding them back now is the promise of the draft. If you were to try to do it to rig away this unit of the army, the brass would feel more confident. That's why we have a lot more trouble. Of course we had just one guy against the Piggies, so they just let him be, they didn't want nothing to be happening on them. I never saw a guy voluntarily to go to Vietnam for so-called patriotic reasons.

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

ANDY: It has intensifi ed over the last several years in the war in Vietnam which is one of the main reasons.

The guys before undoubtedly had the kind of attitude that they could take any kind of punishment, but now, when Vietnam is really going, they are just not willing to take it.
RACISM

MOVEMENT: This raises the question of racism and racism in the army and the struggle against racism in the US military. If you don't fight against anti-black racism, you won't fight against the war. If you don't organize against anti-black racism, you won't be able to organize against the war. But if you don't organize against the war, you won't be able to organize against racism. So we need to be fighting against racism and organizing against it in the army.

ANDY: Vietnam is a racist war. The black liberation movement, the black power movement, the black panther party, are fighting against the Vietnamese people. You can't fight against the Vietnamese. You can fight against the GIs and we say good riddance to them.

RELATIONS WITH MOVEMENT

MOVEMENT: What about the coffeehouse run by people who are an example of how the ASU is dealing with that question of racism and racism in the army and in its organizing.

ANDY: Vietnam is a racist war. The black liberation movement, the black panther party, are fighting against the Vietnamese people. You can't fight against the Vietnamese. You can fight against the GIs and we say good riddance to them.

CONCRETE ACTION

MOVEMENT: Concretely, what does the organization do?

ANDY: For one thing, we can seed 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 organizations for GIs. For instance, when Sood was given the fifteen years, within a week we had a demonstration going in New York City. We can supply lawyers, civil rights lawyers, to GIs when they are in trouble. We do this with hundreds of GIs.

MOVEMENT: Has the racist nature of the army works— it runs on the basis of obedience and fear, and that's a big problem. That's why we consider the Presidio a racist army, and we have a pretty loose rein over the union. People 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, and I can suggest some things. Most of the union struggles are left up to the initiative of the men where they are. GIs in the Air Force are not quite as oppressed as guys in the Army, and they fight around fiercely politically conscious demands—anti-imperialist and stuff like that. There are GIs who are on the other end of the spectrum. All they want to do is punch someone at little, that's it.

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 black power movement, and the anti-war movement on campuses, the increasing number of strikes among workers— we see all of them as fronts against U.S. imperialism. We see the ASU as just one of these fronts against U.S. imperialism.

CONCRETE ACTION

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MOVEMENT: Has the racist nature of the army
by Bill Drew, Alan Hunter, Paul Siegel

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 its principles. Moved from class resistance to opposing imperialism and capitalism. But we have not, either in our analysis or actions, localized racism in America's dominant institutions. But since King's death, since Columbia, and mostly since S.F. State this has begun to change. Ever since a radicalization of black students, campus protest has become more black student oriented.

First it is necessary to discuss the history of the white student left in Madison and its relation to the rise 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 educational institutions took place in dorms and classrooms and was functional on programs. SDS 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 opposed to a sit-in that was a unifying issue for them.

The sit-in created the problems white radicals faced when confronted with the strike early this semester. On October 18, 1967, white radicals sit-in to obstruct Dow recruiters and were beaten by police. Although Concerned Black People had first stated that they would also obstruct the sit-in, 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 sit-in that occurred on May 5, 1968, was the diff-...
in the afternoon, the radicals did not know of any of these proceedings. Nevertheless, in late November the IUPK demanded the reinstatement of at least 50 blacks to the Madison campus. The BP A boycotted classes for a week but this was not successful. During the boycott the radicals did not ask for support from whites and almost no whites initiated support actions nor did whites initiate any demonstrations. However, a couple of weeks after the boycott was over, 200 whites disrupted a state board of regents meeting at which the Pickford affair was being discussed. This was more successful than had been anticipated, and at worst, histrionic, to this action.

BLACXS SEEK SUPPORT

Then unexpectedly at the beginning of this semester the black leadership began to make overtures to white radicals. Donald H. Brown explained that meaningful black-white relations could only be won with the support of whites. This is especially true in Madison where there is 'too black a population in the community, 500 out of 125,000 or on the campus (less than 500 out of over 30,000 students). Unlike Berkeley, S.F. State, or others there is no ghetto bordering on the campus. In fact, there are thousands of public employees working in and out of the university. Thus the blacks could not come on cut and try help from the community and the groups for the struggle had necessarily to be predominantly white.

MISTRUST SEEK SUPPORT

But mistrust clearly existed even though the white radicals were not critical of its past actions. This mistrust continued after the BP A stopped and the black leadership's position was basically pupilized nationalist. Because the blacks—were also struts of Further Economics there was a feeling that black and white radicals should organize their committees separately but work together for the same goals, creating economic and racial consciousness. Still the only possible role for whites in a movement dominated by the nationalism of non-negotiable. So accustomed to having the campus buildings. The action did not effectively guarding the entrances to the field house, Sunday was quiet, and in the evening large dorm meetings were very successfully held in white, C.E. State, campus, or elsewhere there is no ghetto bordering on the campus. In fact, there are thousands of public employees working in and out of the university. Thus the blacks could not come on cut and try help from the community and the groups for the struggle had necessarily to be predominantly white. Nevertheless, in late November the IUPK demanded the reinstatement of at least 50 blacks to the Madison campus. The BP A boycotted classes for a week but this was not successful. During the boycott the radicals did not ask for support from whites and almost no whites initiated support actions nor did whites initiate any demonstrations. However, a couple of weeks after the boycott was over, 200 whites disrupted a state board of regents meeting at which the Pickford affair was being discussed. This was more successful than had been anticipated, and at worst, histrionic, to this action.

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bringin' it all down home

by Stephanie Miles and Hall Frazier

At Tuskegee Institute in 1964, Black students staged a sit-in 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 formula for their demonstration took form in a memorable demonstration of the history of student-university-community relations. In times of extreme stress, it is difficult to make clear historical connections, but it can be said that these events were repeated again and again across the country.

The University of Tuskegee was founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881. The Tuskegee Institute was created to provide education for Black students who needed to be prepared for work in the South. The university was established as an experiment in the education of Black people, and it was designed to prepare them for work in the South. The university was founded by Booker T. Washington, who was a strong advocate for the education of Black people.

The students at Tuskegee Institute were not satisfied with the education they were receiving. They were educated in a segregated system, in which they were not allowed to attend the same classes as white students. They were educated in a system that was designed to keep them from being competitive with white students.

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The strike at S.F. State has been an interesting test of the ability of students to organize and mobilize, and the results of the Black Study groups now appear strong enough to be able to increase the struggle. The TWLF (Third World Liberation Front) called a strike for an autonomous College of Ethnic Studies which was rejected by the administration. They found that the TWLF was "an obstacle to the operation of the university" and there was a dual "terrorism" and opportunist manipulation of the campus.

The basis for unity amongst the Third World and the Native American student groups is the shared understanding that the oppressed peoples have a common dual nature; they are class oppressed, for example, by the state, and national liberation struggles have a dual character, with both a national and international component.

The TWLF leaders do, that the College is a form of student power in self-defeating, and their demands have been met by the administration.

TACTICS OF STRUGGLE

The weakness in the political perspective of the TWLF, and racism in it, is tactical problems. The tactics of the TWLF are often characterized by dependency on "dual terrorism" and opportunism.

The TWLF leaders have a dual nature, which is reflected in their demands for autonomy and self-determination.

WHAT IS NEEDED

The basis for unity among the Third World and the Native American student groups.

The TWLF leaders have not only been able to win the support of the TWLF on campus, but also of students across the country.

HOW WHITES RELATE

White students can only relate to a self-determined Third World student movement if they are organized and have an ongoing revolutionary strategy that can link to TWLF goals.

The TWLF leaders have been able to win the support of white students across the country.

The TWLF leaders have been able to organize a general strike on campus, which has been supported by students across the country.

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The TWLF leaders have been able to win the support of white students across the country.
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 to the Pen. Anything less is less than of a middle-aged liquor-softened bigot

played for the jury the five hour tape

The Draft Week began.

little sense of what STDW was all about.

tors were unrulY--"They kept shouting

(mostly cops) sounded like military his­

tories. Captain McCarthy, chief cop on

the line, complained that the demonstra­

McCARTHY:

On MACE: We prefer to use it in place

of the baton; you don't have the chance of

McCARTHY:

on their skulls. The defense brought

into the courtroom America. A

a bearded World War

Air Force


Similarly, "The strong one is central and finds devotion. The man who thus

but finds devotion. The man who thus

A PROPHECY

The same people who were stop The Craft Week. Defen Se sign The Draft Week. There was no need for the Seven to take the stand, a problem and some beautiful collection of people it would be 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 majority of the law allows the judge to command a finding of guilt. It is possible that the judge will in­struct the jury as they go out that advancing the defense in serious cases 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 guilt. If so, no world of trouble, causes the man's going to kick down a lot of doors with his Law.

A PROPHECY

Some prophets are better than others, and the 1 Ching is damn good. do this author and cast the I Ching before writing this article, asking the Chinese book of wisdom, "What will happen to the Oak­man, named Shih--The Army:

Army means the masses. Per­

masses may attain mastery of the world.

"The Army means the masses. Per­

a bearded World War 3 Air Force

Captain who looks like John Brown, a

50 year old black woman who gave the Black Power salute while screaming in "...You know 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 lettrcs, electoral campaigns, peace­

usual demonstrations, and they were damned

they don't have to do, but no one knew exactly what. They told of being blazed and beaten. Their voices were gentle and uncompromising.

JENSEN: did you have any idea 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 through the draft by judicial decree, as did jur­y em­...
While ten thousand West German police were protecting Nixon from the Berliners last month, a somewhat smaller number of their American stymates were trying to protect Americans from Karl Dietrich Wolff, former president of West German SDS here on a fraternal visit. Harassed daily by immigration police and arrested for "suspicion of car-thief" 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 most reactionary advanced 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: We are the Social Democratic Student League—League of Socialist Student-Seniors—and began as the student organization of the Social Democratic Party in 1946. From 1946 on the group moved steadily to the left of the Party. By '58, when the Party halfway wanted to get into the government they started expelling more and more of their members. In 1959, the entire national council of SDS was expelled from the Party, and two years later membership in the two organizations was definitely broken.

Since that time we have understood ourselves as the possible nucleus of a revolutionary movement. In the beginning SDS was still in a large extent a semi-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; we had time to finish the whole book. We analyzed and didn't do anything.

Then the period of economic recreation 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 American-Stein, where the E. 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 complexity 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 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, and then we began to organize and to resist. 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 threat of a new American aggression?
KARL: Our is a resistance strategy. 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, we haven't.

But we can create conflicts in which people really start to realize 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 mobilize under-institutions that are not in struggles. 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 places 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 just a symptom. Both the Christian-Democrats and the Social-Democratic Party have been advocating West laws and Nazi represions, and maintaining close cordial ties with the Waffen-SS veteran groups since before there was any student movement.

What we are facing is an institutional fascist movement, and the American parties tend to violate their own rules and regulations, or create new ones as they please, 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 United States Congress. On Germany at the same time they are being debated in the United States, Congress interestingly enough.

My answer is, we have the experience of being attacked as fascists by so-called liberals who have been fighting Hitler. Habermas who calls himself a Marxist, may answer this question about concrete terms. Are you in favor of young workers in factories having political discussions—discussions which have
not been held for thirty years—or are you in favor of calling the police when that happens? Are you in favor of involving 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: We have heard much about student 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 democratic.

This happened before the SPD 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 workers' 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 longer demonstrations more than one-third of the demonstrators were young workers. The reorganization 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 newspapers. There is the same kind of cooperation with the workers in the metal 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 politically 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 wouldn'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 aunts and socialists teaching who resign 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 conscious 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 our lawyers. Most of the two thousand are charged with rioting or inciting to riot, distributing 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 Jackson demonstrations—two years prison, no parole. The heater charges haven't

CONTINUED ON PG. 21
The oppression of women has long been recognized as a major issue 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.

The form of political discussion within S.D.S. over the past few months has begun to recognize the limitation of this 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 as the primary indoctrinators of American society faces many of the same problems, but it does not have the additional problem of the self-confidence crushed in the tracking system of the school system, the tracking system of the educational system, the tracking system of the economic system, the tracking system of the political system, and the tracking system of the class system. As the result of political discussion it appears that the students and other sectors of society will be able to organize in large numbers together and its members had not been educated the whites about its moves. The organization of women as a matter of policy.

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Schools go to college. Meanwhile, in Vocational High School, like Food and Maritime or Aviation, where 62% of the students are Black and Puerto Rican, and where the possibility of jobs waiving graduates in the main academic subjects 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 graduate. Most 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.

Benjamin Franklin High School, on Ninth Street, is New York's biggest high school, with a population of approximately 3,000 students. 92% Black and Puerto Rican. As of this year, according to Board of Education statistics, 670 in the academic (college preparatory) program, 2,286 in the general program. Of the 763 students who entered in September 1964, 29.8% of the original class received diplomas, of which 1.8% were academic. Of those who graduated of the vocational curriculum, and 2,286 in the general program. The high schools prepare white working class kids for similar semi-skilled jobs, the high school student strike—when flushing, Guadalupe, and Frances 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 study. The Black and white working class kids were not worried about the studies they had “messed” during the teachers’ walk-out for they knew that those studies prepare them for nothing but the army and a 57$ a week job anyway.

For the average Black and Puerto Rican high school student, then, the schools are prison, part of that 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 his constant watering pace, and eager to strike at him if he begins to protest. What has not been apparent to 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 incorporation into the working class, 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, English Industries.

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

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That is why this movement will in the coming weeks be faced with perhaps the most difficult yet made. We may soon have to debate

OPEN ADMISSIONS

S.D.S. has begun to realize that it can develop into a true revolutionary social movement only if it fights with and in the interests of black and white working people. As present, the best and most organic way to develop that working class movement is to ally with the inherently revolutionary fights emerging among working people. G.I.'s impressed into a losing imperial war in Vietnam, and high school youth who, because of the theft of educational resources, are forced to work for the production of rotten coal, and cattle, instead of finding themselves with a striking job potential, find themselves with a job potential, finding themselves with a striking job potential. G.I.'s forced to work for the production of rotten coal, cattle, instead of finding themselves with a striking job potential, finding themselves with a striking job potential.

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

CLASS POLITICS

In Milwaukee, also, a new approach was underway which looked to a new groundwork laid. With four full-time and a number of part-time organizers working in the city's high schools and colleges, the whole effort was beginning to cut across girl and boy, white and black, as a new generation was formed.

The Waukegan experience pointed toward the amorphousness of the high school work. By the 1960's, the groundwork had been laid. With four full-time and a number of part-time organizers working in the city's high schools and the early work in Milwaukee, the shift away from a narrow confrontation did not mean that the union had decided to turn its back on the base of support it had in a high school setting. It had to be maintained and the demand for the kind of low wages, better food and health care, and the kind of freedom that the students want.

STAFF

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sentences not only an attack upon those 25, but a threat to any who might follow. It's an attempt to re-imprison those. It's an attempt at autocracy, not a way to construct a more democratic society. It is a way to perpetuate the repressive environment that exists within the military.

BARGAIN WITH THE BRASS?

MOVEMENT: When you call yourselves union organizers, do you really think people 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. now). It is a question of how you bargain. If you bargain with the brass, that you are working in second-class schools for permanent second-class students. The whole strategy of this kind of channeling under capitalism moved easily and openly into what a socialist school would mean, not for them but for their children as well.

One of the groups of kids decided to include a demand for working class history in themanifestos which served as the platform for their paper. They saw the demand as a way to create a reformist thing. The German Socialist League set up what they called food committees to obtain food for better food, and within a matter of months food committees had shot all the officers, thrown them overhead and off the roof. We were that. The German Socialist League set up what they called food committees to obtain food for better food, and within a matter of months food committees had shot all the officers, thrown them overhead and off the roof. We were that. The German Socialist League set up what they called food committees to obtain food for better food, and within a matter of months food committees had shot all the officers, thrown them overhead and off the roof. We were that. The German Socialist League set up what they called food committees to obtain food for better food, and within a matter of months food committees had shot all the officers, thrown them overhead and off the roof. We were that. The German Socialist League set up what they called food committees to obtain food for better food, and within a matter of months food committees had shot all the officers, thrown them overhead and off the roof. We were that. The German Socialist League set up what they called food committees to obtain food for better food, and within a matter of months food committees had shot all the officers, thrown them overhead and off the roof. We were that.
come to sentencing yet. The prosecution gave a powerful plea that day and made quite clear what long they will follow. First the judge said was "precedent" cases of fellow travelers, as they like to call them, and that they want to sentence the leaders, the "hard core" with subversive intent. You should understand that the German judicial system is run by the Nazi legal, and that we don't have the jury system.

MOVEMENT: There's been much study here of ways to render them as expendable as a possible for the country. We are trying to build this "shifting the courts. Are you using political means?"

KARL: Very much in many different ways. We always try, for instance, to violate them in the street at the same spot, to show that the issue again in April, 1969. The kind of repression we are experiencing now has really only de-...
Charles Bursey is a member of the Black Panther Party in Berkeley. Like most white workers, he has been marked for special treatment by the Berkeley City Council. Bursey is running as a Black Panther Party candidate in the upcoming election against his former roommate, Bobbie Bowater, another Panther, as well as running for fireman. The Black Panther Party is the in·

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

The impetus for the campaign comes from the idea that everyone should be involved with the movement. "Law and order are not always made to serve the people. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules officials attempt to tilt on poor people. We believe it is time that the poor in society.

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 demands of the Panthers: (1) the establishment of a campus and white middle and upper class), (2) that each area have its own police department, and (3) that the police chief would be appointed by a police and rules committee. The Panther proposal for community control of police is 3 members. The Panther proposal for community control of police is 3 members. The Panther proposal for community control of police is 3 members. The Panther proposal for community control of police is 3 members.

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In addition, Don Flint and David Gwyther of SDS were first arrested on February 8th for the alleged immolation of the Navy recruiting literature and/or property. David Gwyther and Ray Eagle, both Panthers, and Bill Kerlee, Bob Bennett and Kip Morgan of SDS. Each had bail set at $1000 and were released.

The campaign will put a special emphasis on Point 5, "We want an immediate end to the 500 S. University Avenue. 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 demands of the Panthers: (1) the establishment of a campus and white middle and upper class), (2) that each area have its own police department, and (3) that the police chief would be appointed by a police and rules committee. The Panther proposal for community control of police is 3 members. The Panther proposal for community control of police is 3 members. The Panther proposal for community control of police is 3 members. The Panther proposal for community control of police is 3 members.

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The campaign will put a special emphasis on Point 5, "We want an immediate end to the
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 (Communists) leads the struggle of the working class not only for better terms for the sake of the individual, 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 economic things, but in its relation to all classes of modern society and to the state as an organised political force.”

The student movement has a very valuable role to play in breaking the labor movement in this country out of the economist shackles that blind 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 CIO and S.F. State students have made in the oil strike, more important than beefing up the picket lines and scattering 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 take over the struggle or start attacking the union leadership, or use language and forms of organization that are alien to working people, or that are not understandable to working people. It does mean that they should head toward 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 sewer their class consciousness and integrate themselves with the working class, so that working people will be able to grasp the anti-imperialist ideology of the student movement, and use it to help them develop a higher stage of their class consciousness in unity with third world people, and develop it to a higher stage.

As Stalin writes in FOUNDAIONS OF LENINISM, “The petty bourgeoisie, aware that the impossibility of preserving the old order of things is inevitable, but that the masses can understand this only 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 slogan.”

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 into the working people 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 summarise first the atrocities of the company against its own workers — including the murder of a picketer, 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 guards 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.

Our strategy is to carry on propaganda that will help unite the greatest number of workers against imperialism 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 workers than to 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 Marx’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 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 been hampered by the lack of a working-class organizing. We need lots of help — people who are not only black people in the area (which we can help you find) and to help us strengthen our class with working people.

Our mailing address is P. O. Box 1282, Richmond, California, and we can be reached by phone at (415) 227-7264.

The subscription rate for Leviathan is five dollars a year for five issues. Make checks payable to Leviathan, 2700 Broadway, New York, New York 10025. The California subscription rate is five dollars a year for twelve issues. Make checks payable to Leviathan, 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, 94102.
The Panthers of Wrath Are Wiser Than The Horses of Instruction

William Blake