

## Wichita Iron Men Strike!

by Chuck Blackman

Our SDS chapter in Wichita, Kansas has been supporting a strike at Geo. C. Christopher & Son iron works for the past 6 weeks. This is the first strike in the history of the company. One of the main demands is against the bosses' long standing racist wage policy. The company has 140 workers—half Black and Chicano, half white. They are united around ending the racist practice of paying Black and Chicano workers less for the same work.

Christopher and Son is the largest iron works in Wichita. It manufactures steel girders for bridges and buildings, and does sub-contract work for the large aircraft factories located in the area.

The workers have three main demands:  
1) Higher Wages and Standardization of Wages—In the last two years the cost of living has soared but the striking workers haven't had a raise in 23 months! They are demanding a raise and they want it NOW. The second part of the wage demand is for a standardization of wages. This is key. It is a fight against the bosses' racism.

2) Sick Leave—Presently there is none. When a worker is sick and the bills are highest, the bosses cut off his pay.  
3) Pension Plan—None now; the striking workers are demanding that the bosses turn loose 10c for each hour worked and put it in a pension fund.

The racist practice of lower pay for non-white workers is a tool of the bosses to help them make profits. It does three main things for them. 1. It allows the bosses to make super-profits off Black and Chicano workers. 2. The bosses threat of hiring cheap Black and Chicano labor keeps all wages down. 3. It keeps the workers divided and therefore weakens them against the bosses.

To end this racist policy the striking workers are demanding the standardization of wages. This will force the bosses to pay according to the job, and to seniority. This is not the demand of all the workers.

### WORKERS GO FOR SDS

Our SDS chapter has been on the line since the first day. We were warmly welcomed from the start and have made many friendships which we value highly.

SDS has helped keep spirits high by taking over 100 photographs and keeping them displayed on a board which we carry from gate to gate.

The ruling class news media are ignoring the strike. To counter this SDS has taken our photo board to the campuses, other factories, and into the community, and displayed it while we distributed leaflets. A reflection of the warm ties that have developed from our support of the strike is the fact that the strikers' wives have been helping us sell our literature.

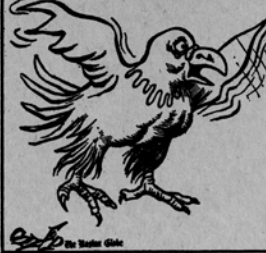
### STUDENTS NEED WSA

SDS's support of the strike is a big step

We Deplore the Fighting, the Killings,  
the Wars...



And the Only Way We're Ever Going to  
Overcome This Violence...



Reprinted from BOSTON GLOBE.

...That This Era of Militarism Has  
Perpetrated...



... IS TO FIGHT  
IT!!



Our response is: DAMN RIGHT!

forward in building a worker-student alliance. We have learned more from striking workers in the last week than we ever could out of books or academic discussions. We have had very rewarding discussions with the strikers about racism, imperialism, taxes, and Black and student rebellions.

Our weakness has been in neglecting the student side of the worker-student alliance. We are not working hard enough at taking the strike back to campus and building support for the workers' fight against racism. When we begin to win masses of students to fight the ruling class on a class basis, then we will be holding up our end of the worker-student alliance.

Our experiences supporting this strike have taught us how essential the strategy of building a strong worker-student alliance is for the student movement.

(Chuck Blackman is facing five years in jail on a phony arrest last year for head-butting the life of the President.) At the time of the arrest, the Wichita Beacon quoted Police Major Hannon as saying that Chuck's arrest should "act as a deterrent to others planning demonstrations during the President's appearance here." The arrest was an attempt—manifestly unsuccessful—to scare the movement in Wichita. Chuck's answer to the attack should be all of ours: increase all efforts to build a worker-student alliance, serve the people and fight to win.)

for a more radical outlook, though not quite sure of the exact direction to head in.

After that the WSA strategy was further developed and projects were built. The first work-in was organized. More people were won to building the worker-student alliance. The class struggle was sharpening, and strikes growing in militancy. The Vietnam war was very important in shattering the lie that the U.S. was just somehow mistaken in its foreign policy. The Black Liberation struggle was shaking off liberals who were using it for their own ends. SDS was becoming anti-imperialist. Class consciousness was developing.

But the next year, at the Ann Arbor convention, working-class ideology was still rejected by many. Student power, called "student syndicalism," was still strong. To hold back proletarian ideology, which was gaining strength, a theory "more Marxist" than straight liberalism or anarchism was projected. Called the "new" working class (NWC), it held that capitalism had changed and was eliminating the "traditional" working class. Further we were told that what was left of that "traditional" class had been bought off anyway. The NWC spokesmen heralded the emergence of a "new" college educated working class. These new technicians would be doing boring jobs and were alienated from control over their own work, though they'd be well off in an increasingly affluent society. Then came the French revolt and Columbia. These were great eye-openers for thousands of students. The work-in had been successful, for a start. Pro-WSAers were leading struggles all over. The NWC theory couldn't stand up in debate with the worker-student alliance. Black workers were taking the lead in fighting on the job and in their community. The potential of working class revolution was felt. The NWC theory lost strength.

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## BERKELEY (a we to press)

On Thursday, May 16th Berkeley Administration called on the city police to seize a University-"owned" park, which was being used by "street people," and erect a fence around it. That afternoon, the cops attacked a march to the park. In a move without precedent for the white student movement, cops were fired on with double-barreled buck-eyes. The press has revealed one death so far. Three thousand national guardsmen were called in. They have been occupying the city for five days. The ruling class added another page to its book of terrorist tactics when the cops used helicopters to fire tear-gas canisters on the demonstrators. The park is not the real issue here. It is merely an excuse to repress and intimidate the student movement, which is growing numerically across the country, waging anti-imperialist anti-racist fights, and developing an increasing awareness of the need to ally with the working class. The Worker-Student Alliance caucus took the position that we had to fight back sharply against this attack.

However, the movement's right-wing leadership was afraid of fighting back. They maintained that the primary issue was the park. On Friday SDS was able to direct 3,000 marchers to City Hall. This was a real victory: it showed that the people wouldn't be cowed by national guard, pigs, or terror.

Some guardsmen took off their bayonets and wouldn't fight! Many took our literature, read it and want to stay in contact. The movement grows.

### WSA Caucus Formed

This was the convention that elected the present leadership of SDS. It was also the convention at which supporters of the worker-student alliance formed into a caucus.

An example of this came just a few months ago at a special conference at Princeton. They argued that SDS should mainly fight "the increasing militarization" of the campuses. The WSA caucus and other SDSers fought for emphasizing fighting racism, while supporting anti-ROTC and similar struggles. We said that ROTC, etc. should not be fought because they represented "militarization," but because they were pro-imperialist.

The "militarization" outlook is a revisionist, old-CP line—holding that what's really wrong with this country is the military; what's wrong with the university is the growing presence of the military. But Coleman and Klonsky responded by saying that to emphasize fighting racism, was not anti-imperialist enough for them! Soon after,

## SDS HORRIFIES RULERS; ROCKS RACIST HARVARD

By Jared Israel, Mike Schwartz  
and Norm Daniels

Five o'clock in the morning, "SMASH ROTC - NO EXPANSION!" chanted hundreds crowded solid in rooms and on the concrete steps that lead up to University Hall. Cops poured into the yard. They charged. The chant rose defiantly into a roar.

Those inside chained the door shut, waiting, chanting. On the steps people were fighting back. In five minutes, cops were at the door, wielding bolt-cutters to cut through the heavy chain. Clubs swung. Some up front caught hold of them. The cops charged, trying to wrench the clubs free. One of us knocked the pigs' plastic-visored helmets off, so they couldn't use their big mace gun. We shouted: "SMASH THE PIGS NO EXPANSION!"

Clubs kept swinging, wooden ones and small rubber truncheons with a weighted core, opening v-shaped gashes. We fought back, but outnumbered and squashed together. Two hundred people, many bloody, were hauled off, shouting, down the steps through a double line of punching, club-swinging cops, to the paddy wagons. Over 60 injured. Deans Climp and Watson, inside University Hall, directed the cops. A student threw a bloody rag at Sac Watson's feet. He was arrested for assault and battery...

Inside the jail our spirit held. As our numbers swelled and the air got hot and clammy, we discussed the fight. One guy, new to SDS, pointed out that the Harvard Corporation had sent the cops. What had happened to us was bad, but we had to remember what Harvard did to working people each day. Stick to the six demands, he argued. And down the hall, we could hear the girls chanting: "SMASH ROTC NO EXPANSION!"

### BUILDING A FIGHT TO WIN.

Thousands have learned a lot from this struggle. People who said they'd supported calling in cops before now side with us. After the bust, over a thousand skirmished with cops in the yard, chanting: "ON STRIKE - SHUT IT DOWN!" The strike was very effective, for about two weeks, with more and more people won to the fight against ROTC and Harvard expansion. SDS has far more support than ever before—and students are much clearer politically.

Why? The Harvard fight has a lot of lessons that could be useful to other SDS chapters. Throughout the year, the chapter built support for this struggle. We fought for clear, anti-imperialist ideas, for building a worker-student alliance, a pro-worker student movement all along. Talking to thousands, demonstrating against administration smokescreens, we always fought to win people to seeing that only real militancy could fight the racist imperialists who run Harvard.

The fact that the demands—to smash ROTC, throw it off campus, and stop Harvard expansion—were pro-working class and were put forward that way is very important. We didn't end up building a movement that really stood for student privilege, a movement willing to go down for a mess of stu-

dent-power graft. And because we're FIGHTING FOR WORKING PEOPLE, we've been able to get a lot of our thinking across to workers, employed at school or living in the community.

### DEANS AND LIBERALISM AT HARVARD

April 9th, around 12 noon, forty of us, mostly members and supporters of the SDS worker-student alliance (WSA) caucus threw the deans out of University Hall, the administration building. Outside there was a huge rally. Soon hundreds had come up to the huge faculty meeting room. We stayed there 17 hours (up to the bust) talking, eating, talking—debating everything.

Things didn't just go along perfectly. At first, many were nervous. Some questioned throwing out the deans. Many weren't sure what it meant to fight against the Corporation, as a real enemy, or why, really, we considered them an enemy at all!

Many people had also been nervous the night before, at the huge SDS meeting held to debate the seizure. There the WSA caucus put forth a plan to take University Hall that night. We'd been fighting for our just demands all year, building for this point; it was fight now or back off and forget it. The "New Left" (anti-WSA) caucus opposed this, advocating delaying action for a week and then only POSSIBLY seizing a building. We said that to delay would let the deans scare people and set up a maze of smokescreens to kill the fight. In the end, a motion to postpone UNTIL SOME RANDOMLY CHOSEN TIME was passed. The next day we moved. If we'd waited for the anti-WSA caucus to move, the whole Harvard struggle wouldn't have taken place! As all the Boston newspapers noted, the "New Left" caucus was definitely the more "moderate" of the two groups in SDS.

After the meeting, a march around campus grew to well over a thousand. Although that boosted morale, some people still held back. Several "new left" caucus leaders even got some support when we evicted the deans they stood outside complaining.

Inside the building, things changed. The deans' threats and President Pursey's absolute lie (that Harvard wasn't throwing working people out of their homes!!!) helped clarify the fact that Harvard's rulers ARE THE ENEMY! And the debates really strengthened people—now that we were in this actual situation of sharp, practical struggle, the thousands of hours of organizing and several militant demonstrations bore fruit. Many saw that the cloud of abstraction that hangs over Harvard like grey ivory.

You've got to stand with working people or against them. If you're with them, you must fight to win!

### NO NEGOTIATIONS

The key debate was probably over negotiations. There were several different positions, but basically it came down to: should we talk with the deans or not? Some said: it's crucial to keep channels open so no one will do something rash. We answered that we're dealing with a class that

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# The Worker-Student Alliance Caucus And Why 'Fight To Win'

The Worker-Student Alliance caucus was formed around and is based on these three political points:

1. The basic strategy of the student movement and of SDS should be to build a worker-student alliance and a student movement which is pro-working class.

2. The WSA and the student movement must be anti-imperialist, anti-racist and internationalist; and

3. We must fight and defeat all forms of anti-communism within SDS and among the people we work with.

These three points have been elaborated upon in various resolutions to SDS NWCs, in work-in chapters throughout the country and now in this paper. Members of the Progressive Labor Party are active in the caucus and helped form it.

Since the concept of building a worker-student alliance based on proletarian ideology was put forth in SDS it has been attacked and distorted from every angle. But because it has been proven in struggle after struggle to be the correct strategy, it has continued to grow stronger!

At first the idea was laughed at. "Workers? Why everyone knows they're all bought off and sophisticated at all." That was in the days of a liberal SDS. Advocates of the WSA were attacked for talking of "imperialism." That word was taboo. "Dogmatic. Doesn't take into account 'new' U.S. conditions."

At the convention in Clear Lake, Iowa (just under 10 years ago) there was a witch-hunt type "forum" held to discuss "communists in SDS." The basis of the attack was that Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by Stalin, Mao and P.L.P. was just as evil, manipulative and murderous as capitalism. SDS advocates of an openly anti-imperialist program were accused of having led the 1950 purges and everything else that has ever happened. Anti-communism was openly admitted. The SDS leadership was desperately trying to hold back the radicalization of SDS. The SDS chapter membership, involved in struggle, fought

for a more radical outlook, though not quite sure of the exact direction to head in.

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the theory of working class revolution and its supporters. An organized attempt to exclude WSA and P.L.P. from SDS failed. The right-wing argued: 1) "external desires" should be thrown out (a clear call to the ruling class anti-communist argument that communists are "outside agitators") and 2) SDS should become more centralized, less of a mass organization, around a common ideology which would exclude adherents of the WSA. The common ideology—put forth by Bell-Dorhin-Hollwell—was basically Marcusean NWC. Thus another attempt was being made to defend anti-worker politics, hold back the progressive development of SDS and throw WSAers out.

The recent history is better known. Coleman and Klonsky (part of a "national collective" which is not talked of openly by them in SDS) have jumped from position to position. Never any explanation for the changes; just moving with the opportunity. It's hard to know what new position they'll come up with next.

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without explanation, they dropped the "anti-militarization" fights which they had just pushed as SDS major drive. In fact, WSA caucuses have led numbers of struggles against ROTC, LINKING THEM TO ANTI-RACIST DEMANDS (like at Harvard where ROTC and Harvard's expansion into Roxbury, were fought!).

The "national collective's" politics are as stable as the Sahara's sands. But one thing remains constant—opposition to the WSA. They have projected a couple of major distortions among SDS members. We want to unite with workers, learn from them and raise our politics with them. We should fight to raise the level of these struggles to political struggles. But that won't happen by not supporting the economic struggles.

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1. "WSAers ass-kick to any economic struggle of workers." We DO believe in supporting economic struggles. They are class struggles in which the workers and the bosses fight over surplus value. They are very real struggles for better conditions. What isn't mentioned by the usual distortion, is that we raise political questions in these struggles: Vietnam, racism, capitalism, union mis-leadership, etc. We actively oppose racist strikes, like the N.Y. teachers' strike. We oppose a sectarian view towards economic struggle. We want to unite with workers, learn from them and raise our politics with them. We should fight to raise the level of these struggles to political struggles. But that won't happen by not supporting the economic struggles.

2. "The WSA downgrades student struggles and just gets us off campus." False. We should fight around "on-campus" issues like ROTC, course content, etc. But the politics on which we fight these struggles must be pro-working class. Thus we oppose ROTC, not because it isn't a "proper" course for the university academically, but because it's used to suppress workers and peasants around the world. In every struggle there is a working class and a ruling class position. As Mao says: "Every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class."

The WSA says that in every campus struggle we must build the working class position.

The worker-student alliance is now under sharp attack in the press and from the "national collective." This isn't anything new. The WSA has been constantly growing throughout this. The main reason has been PRACTICE AND STRUGGLE.

### Why publish this paper?

New Left Notes has consistently refused to print or has severely politically edited—articles by WSAers and other SDS who oppose the politics of the "national collective." Dozens of articles sent in—both theoretical and reports of concrete struggle—have never been published. Others that were printed have had the political guts cut out of them. Some have had a sentence that had any criticism of the politics of the "national collective" cut out of them.

One article from the University of California at Berkeley SDS chapter, for example, had almost every mention of anti-racism cut out from it by the editors of NLN. Sections were cut out so that it seemed the article didn't attack racism. And at the Austin NC they made it clear that this policy would continue.

Therefore, we felt it necessary, in order to get our politics—and the experiences of struggles we have been involved in and led-out-to SDSers across the country, to publish this paper. It is internal to SDS. We wish we didn't have to spend the time putting it out. But it's absolutely necessary at this time. We invite other SDSers who have met this same response from NLN to send their articles into FIGHT TO WIN.

Very important: we need money to pay for printing and distributing this issue free. Please send in a contribution. Also, please send in names of people who should get this paper. Send to: WSA, 72-25 153 Street, Apt. 1F, Flushing, N.Y. 11367.

# ARMY BRASS UPTIGHT ABOUT ORGANIZING WITHIN

by Dennis Davis

Reprinted from CHALLENGE-DESARFO

From December 1967, until my discharge in April, 1969, I was stationed at Fort Gordon in Georgia. During this period of time I consciously tried to educate my fellow GIs about the nature of the war in Vietnam, about racism, and about the nature of the system—imperialism—that perpetuates racism and war.

When I first arrived at Fort Gordon I was very isolated. I had no friends and I didn't understand what the feelings of the GIs were or what their reaction to my ideas would be. At first I just listened to what they had to say. I was especially interested in hearing what these guys thought about Vietnam.

Our room had four Vietnam veterans and four GIs who expected to be sent. Waiting to let them express what they felt about Vietnam soon became very frustrating, because there was very little discussion about the war in any serious way. I began doing a little asking of my own.

WHEN I BEGAN DISCUSSING THE WAR WITH one Viet vet in my room I found him very eager to talk about it. As he expressed his views, I began to join in. As we talked, others who overheard us joined in. Soon others who happened to wander in also joined us. The discussion became very intense. Everybody was putting his two cents in. The two of us started talking about 9 or 10 p.m. and the group of us finished at 6 in the morning.

From discussions like the one above I learned several important lessons. Everyone felt intimidated by the army and assumed that all others around them fully supported the government while only they themselves had questions. Once I took the initiative the ice broke very quickly—the discussions became mass in nature. To break down what the Army had set up by intimidation took an "agitator," someone to take the initiative.

I learned that all the GIs had questions about what was going on around them. I had feared the Vietnam vet because I felt he would be bitter toward anyone not supporting the "cause" that his buddies had died for. I found that the vets most of all wanted to know what this cause was that they and their buddies had risked their lives for. What they had acted; now they wanted to understand; for what?



Dennis Davis, communist Army organizer.

I VERY QUICKLY BECAME KNOWN AS A "protector." I wasn't quite sure how the guys would react to my being a communist. As I got to know certain individuals better I became open about my membership in P.L.P. (Progressive Labor Party). To my surprise there was no bad reaction. Since I had made my views very clear in my discussions with them, they rejected the line that had been pumped into their heads that "communism is bad," though many still thought it was "unrealistic."

After four months of discussion and exchanging literature with the GIs in this company I was suddenly relieved of my duties. The reason given was that I did not have a security clearance; but everybody knew it was because of

the discussions we had been having and of the literature that had been spreading throughout the barracks. I received a lot of support from the guys in the barracks. In this way I learned that if things were explained openly, GIs could be relied upon for support.

With these lessons under my belt, and with the help of the army shipping me to different companies in quick succession, I made friends in quite a few companies. Many were willing and eager to do something instead of just sitting and taking it. We consciously set out to meet other GIs, to discuss our views with them. We were limited in the number of GIs we could reach just through discussion, so we decided to put out a leaflet which we passed out at a local theater where GIs went. We discussed the war and exposed the lies presented in the movie showing at the time, "The Green Berets." We immediately made contact with a number of GIs and our collective began to grow.

WE BEGAN TO REALIZE THE SUPPORT which we had all over the Fort but which we were unable to contact on an individual basis. Our experiences made it clear to us that the majority of the GIs were already against the war in one way or another. The only way to do anything about this was to get together with these guys, openly discuss our differences, collectively decide what we could do about our situation, and then take action on those ideas. We decided that the best way to reach these other GIs was through a GI newspaper. Thus began the GI paper at Fort Gordon, called "The Last Harass."

The first issue of the paper was infiltrated by a security agent. This resulted in the majority of the guys working on the paper being suddenly shipped overseas or to other forts. As we gained experience we became more security conscious and our base became broader and broader. The second issue caught them off guard because they hoped their actions had wiped us out or had intimidated us.

THE ARMY SECURITY OFFICIALS DID everything in their power to keep the GIs from the truth and to prevent them from getting together and doing something about it. They threatened court-martials and stockade sentences. GIs known to be activist were shipped to other

forts as soon as they were discovered. They had phones and even rooms bugged. They sent agents in to infiltrate us. But with all this the movement continued to grow. The army was now desperate and had to come up with some way of ending the GI activity.

I had only two months left in the service but it was suddenly decided that I was unfit for the military. Because I am a communist they felt they could discredit the paper and the movement by red-baiting, playing up the fact that the main editor was a member of the "pro-Maoist, highly disciplined communist" Progressive Labor Party. They tried to make the movement seem un-American, a foreign conspiracy, and so scare the rest of the GIs away from the movement.

THIS COMPLETELY BACKFIRED ON THEM. I had never hidden my political views from my fellow GIs, and I had been accepted by them as a communist. We openly discussed our disagreements and I openly discussed in detail what my perspective was. They could not scare off those who knew me by just saying "he's a commie" and relying on the usual U.S. brainwashing. All the men knew that they had been told that communism was bad, but none, including the Vietnam veterans, could tell you what the hell communism was, or why it was bad. More and more GIs could see that it was the army that was ashamed of what it was doing and was afraid of discussing it with the mass of GIs, while I wasn't hiding anything.

OUR MAIN WAY OF FIGHTING BACK WAS to continue to do exactly what we had been doing. On the first day of my trial we issued and passed out the third edition of The Last Harass. We did this because we felt this would be a good way to let the brass and the rest of the GIs know that we could not be intimidated. We knew that we had the support of the GIs and so could produce the paper without any detection, thus avoiding any repression from the army. We relied on this mass support throughout. Our experience shows that with mass support tasks can be accomplished which, at first look, would seem impossible. The security forces knew nothing of this new issue, which took weeks of work and had support from all over.

Reprinted from LAST HARASS

THEY'RE LOSING!

HOW DOES THE WAR IN VIETNAM!

I'M WINNING!

THEN HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN SO MANY AMERICANS DYING IN VIETNAM

THEY'RE LOSING!

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# Positive Harvard Program: Fight Racist Expansion & Imperialist ROTC

(Continued from page 1)

opposes most people's needs, so there's nothing to negotiate—either we stop their rotten actions or we don't!

The turning point came when an ex-ROTC cadet told how he'd tried working "through channels" inside everything from Navy ROTC to the McCarthy campaign to a Dean-Glimp-get-together-over-Sherry-luncheon. The most you ever get that way, he said, is: SHERRY. There's nothing to talk ABOUT! People cheered.

Other important debates concerned racism and the question of whether to let deans and their spies in the building. In the latter debate, a lot of liberalism came out. For example, people felt uncomfortable about throwing out a "nice" administrator named Smithies. Later, we discovered this humane individual works for the CIA.

Finally, people voted to throw out administrators and their agents. This was very important. Otherwise the seizure could have become a debate with the deans INSTEAD OF A REAL ATTACK ON THE HARVARD CORPORATION AND ITS ADMINISTRATION FRONT MEN.

But it can't be emphasized enough: people didn't just miraculously "get their heads together." The great success of this struggle was rooted in a lot of long hard work all year long.

## CLEARING AWAY SMOKESCREENS

Two key obstacles to the struggle were (and remain) a) students' liberal ideas, including the notion that Harvard's run by reasonable men, especially professors, that fighting them is not worth risking your career and b) the many smoke-screens the administration throws out which, appealing to this liberalism, attempt to throttle and side track all struggle.

A lot of organizing was done, talking with thousands of students. It was key, here, that the chapter took a hard line. We told the truth and did the work necessary to win people to seeing it was true, not trying to use students' bourgeois ideas as a way of winning them over. Thus, last fall the chapter's anti-war committee decided to base its campaign on opposing ROTC as a key source of junior officers for the army. That army is used to smash revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements all over, from revolutions in Asia to ghetto rebellions in Detroit to strikes at Newport News, Virginia, to student movements in Berkeley. ROTC-trained officers push draftees—working-class kids—to do the actual anti-worker fighting. So ROTC is used as an anti-worker weapon all over. This approach was key—we could have taken the opposite stand. Liberal groups, in fact, did just that! They opposed ROTC (few wanted it abolished—mostly they wanted it reformed) for two reasons. First, they considered it "below Harvard's high academic standards," considered it, indeed, to be part of the outside world which clashed with the academic life. Second, it's a part of the "outside world" is definitely present at Harvard. The Harvard Corporation and Board of Overseers which run the show are highly representative of the key financial groups in the US. So who in the "outside world" does Harvard Yard's walls exclude? Working people and pro-working class thinking! So this anti-ROTC "opposes" ROTC by appealing to the bourgeois bullshit that we must protect "fair Harvard from the crass world of uncultured, regimented men, shallow men without a subtle scholar's touch" thereby keeping it a cozy place in which to learn bourgeois lies. The second reason for opposing ROTC is that it's a militaristic blight on the school's otherwise neutral facade. FACADE IS RIGHT! Harvard's "neutrality" is strictly for public relations. From its on-going attempt to turn Cambridge into a vast center for military and sociological counter-insurgency research (while throwing all the workers to make the climate "more suitable" for subtle scholars) to backing South African fascists, to the stinking working conditions it forces on "its" workers, Harvard serves the billionaires

who run it! It's as neutral as United Fruit; so, really, ROTC fits in fine.

We didn't take a snotty attitude towards students who believed these wrong ideas, but worked to win them over. At the same time we fought those who were building a movement based on anti-worker bigotry and liberal illusions under the guise of opposing ROTC.

Besides a lot of debate and education, several actions took place before the April 9th seizure. Just before Christmas we organized an important sit-in at Paine Hall where the faculty was scheduled to meet to discuss (read: obscure) the issue of ROTC. We figured they would pass a "purify-Harvard-by-reforming-ROTC" motion. (They did, at a later meeting.) We decided to expose this administration attempt to belch up a smokescreen of "full democratic discussion" when, in fact, they were running the show. Anyway, NO PROCEDURE, no matter how democratic or undemocratic, CAN JUSTIFY ANTI-WORKING CLASS WEAPONS LIKE ROTC.

So we took over Paine Hall, Dean Ford, furious, ordered us out. It was key to stay. Had we left, after months of work, we'd have seemed like bull-shit artists. The "New Left" caucus said we should leave. They argued that it wasn't worth getting thrown out for. The group voted to stay. Ford cancelled the faculty meeting. Afterwards, organizing found a sharp petition, we won many over and forced the deans pretty much to back down on punishments.

The "riot-control" course fight was also key. SDS (again over the "new left" or anti-war caucus' opposition) backed the Black students' action in smashing this course which actually planned to produce reports for the government on how to crush Black rebellions. This fight raised very sharply the question of fighting racism ESPECIALLY IN DEFENSE OF BLACK WORKERS. It also helped bring home the necessity of taking really militant action even though that necessarily interferes with the oppressors' "rights."

## STOPPING IMPERIAL CITY

Harvard's expansion all over Cambridge and into Boston fits its plan to turn the surrounding area into one vast Imperial City equipped with every service to satisfy the anti-worker needs of US business, but minus the workers who live there. Harvard and MIT are buying huge areas. They are driving rents up and working people out. They are bringing in N.A.S.A., Lockheed, etc., and building high-income housing.

The existence of this vicious plan became clear to Cambridge Peace & Freedom, involved in a fight for rent control. A few weeks before the building seizure, the SDS Labor Committee (no relation to the so-called NY Labor Committee) began a related campaign at school, fighting Harvard's expansion. A key demand when we took University Hall, anti-expansion upset the Harvard Corporation most.

In planning the campaign, the Labor Committee avoided a serious error. The "New Left" caucus fought hard to make the key demand building low-income housing. WSA people argued successfully that a) Harvard would love to promise this and then squeeze workers out, tear down housing and build whatever they damn well pleased. So the "New Left" demand would provide a cover for worker-removal. b) Imperial city meant research and production for counter-revolution. Even if Harvard DID build some low-income housing IMPERIAL CITY MUST BE STOPPED! It screws the people. Interestingly, the Harvard Corporation is now putting forward the "low-income housing" line themselves! Again, if the anti-wa caucus had won, the Harvard struggle would have been defeated, this time ideologically.

STUDENT POWER: TRYING TO RESTRUCTURE A MOVEMENT.

During (and since) the strike, student power has been a key administration weapon. While we were jailed on April 10th, some administration-



A bloodied Jared Israel under arrest after fight with cops ended Harvard seizure. This term's struggle has led to growth of SDS chapter.

set-up "leaders" chaled a mass meeting, trying to co-opt our demands into "restructuring." The night before, one of them Ken Glazier, had said: "After talking with Dean Glimp, I think if we play it right we can squeeze out SDS and grab us a piece of student power." In the meeting, Glazier and friends pushed through (temporarily) a student-power thrust. This follows the Wall Street Journals plan: hit student rebels with a fast bust, then divert the indignation this causes into student power channels.

We discredited the Glazier group, whereupon he set up a new group, with many complicated subdivisions, so it got hard to tell just how they were all interconnected. Anyway, the "new" group pushed the same sort of student power bullshit Glazier had upheld. They called it "radical restructuring." And opposed to our anti-expansion stand, they argued the "New Left" caucus' old stand-by: "low-income" housing.

Many came to see through this, agreeing that student power AT BEST diverts mass struggle into a futile hunt for super-tricky procedures to "guarantee" an end to all bad things thereby making future struggles "unnecessary." In addition, and more important, student power is anti-working class! Workers, not students, built, maintain and pay for the schools. They and only they have the "right" to run them. That can't happen under capitalism. Under this system schools are used in every way against workers' interests. Concessions which SERVE WORKING PEOPLE can be extracted when a movement fights the rulers instead of wheedling and dealing and kidding around with restructuring gimmicks that get a few students fit committee seats. WSA people argued that the original Glazier group and all their equally bad successor-groups should be opposed. At the same time, we had to work doubly-hard to unite with honest people misled into following these operators! The "New Left" caucus' leaders opposed launching a hard fight against student power demands and the administration front men who were trying to divert the struggle. Despite this, a mass meeting of over a thousand voted overwhelmingly against restructuring schemes!

That same meeting backed Afro's demand for a Black Studies Department, largely under student "control." Despite the huge vote against restructuring, Black student power became the 8th demand.

A movement for Black student power, like white or any student power, builds a bourgeois attitude toward workers. That movement teaches students to play games with the rulers for a bigger slice of stolen pie. The bourgeoisie hopes to mis-train Black students as it's long done with whites, using them later to hold down the magnificent struggles of Black working people.

Because it posed NO THREAT—indeed, was from their point of view a good demand—Harvard's rulers not only accepted the 8th demand—they fought for it! Administrators and their regular supporters introduced and argued for the Afro demand at the faculty meeting which passed it 2 to 1. Thus the Corporation won two victories at once. First, they set up a Black Studies program where Black students will learn liberal contempt for workers and the nationalist line that all whites (as opposed to the RULERS!) are equally the enemy. Second, they took a lot of wind out of the strike's sails. Many wrongly felt that a great victory had been won, that you could talk turkey with the deans, that the faculty were "beautiful people" capable of talking us all out of "this mess," etc. (The faculty passed another "beautiful" motion setting up the firing-squad Committee of Fifteen, empowered to white-wash the administration and throw us out.) Within a few days the strike ended.

## PUSEY KNIFE HIS ENEMIES—WE KNOW OURS.

Since the 2-week strike, the struggle has gone through twists and turns. BUT IT HASN'T ENDED! We've worked on consolidating support, organizing, demonstrating. One demonstration attacked the smokescreen-Committee of 15. The administration has created a variety of phony committees and passed various ambiguous resolutions—including one reforming ROTC-besides. While we consolidate support for a sharp counter-attack, the Corporation also is clear on whom



Harvard Dean being shown the door! Carl Offer (with beard) was just sentenced to one year in jail for this proisrietary action.

they want to smash. Aware of which class he's working for, Pusey also knows what alliance he yearns to prevent. As he said recently on TV: It's only a "small group within SDS that are the ones who have espoused violence and force." This translates: the not-so-small was caucus and the many others who stand with its anti-imperialist and pro-working class politics.

Sixteen people, almost all in the WSA caucus, have been given Committee of 15 charges for throwing out the deans. Carl Offer, a caucus member, just got sentenced to one year in an assault charge brought against him by Seum Watson, a professional-flunky Dean for the Corporation. Most important: ROTC STILL EXISTS AND HARVARD CONTINUES EXPANDING! We have no intention of taking this crap with pleasant smiles!

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

by Jeff Gordon

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

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

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

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

## SCARE - HIT HARD! - DIVERT...

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

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

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

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

## DIVIDE WITH RACISM

The ruling class is now whipping up racism among white students as a smokescreen to hide behind. They want to split students. It's the old divide and rule strategy. The press has played up and exaggerated every bit of interracial student violence in NY. They are building a scare campaign. The government can then crack down hard. White fascist groups like the boss-organized, racist Jewish "Defense" League in NY organize for race war, cops

are brought on campus as "neutrals to establish law and order." Then the administration comes out for "reason" and student power! This is the story at CCNY, for example.

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

## OPEN SEASON ON WSA? FIGHT BACK!

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

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

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

As the movement comes under harsher attack, voices are increasingly heard saying we must concentrate on "defense" that the real issue is "repression." We say: the attack is a compliment. The best answer is to up the ante on building a worker-student alliance. A key part of this is to:

## SMASH RACISM

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

THE RIGHT-WING NATIONAL SDS LEADERSHIP SUBSTITUTES BANDAD RUNNING AND STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FOR BLACK PEOPLE FOR ACTUALLY LAUNCHING A MASSIVE ANTI-RACISM FIGHT AMONG WHITE STUDENTS. Chauvinistically, they have tried to use the armed struggles of Black working people and the respect that white radicals have for the Panthers as their main argument within SDS. Of course, support statements are good, and we're all for debates on these questions. BUT

WHAT COLEMAN AND KLONOSKY ARE DOING IS JUST ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF WHITE LIBERALS AND RADICALS USING THE BLACK MOVEMENT AS A COVER FOR WHAT HAS PROVEN IN PRACTICE TO BE THEIR OWN BAD POLITICS.

## FIGHT STUDENT POWER, WE MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE! THE SCHOOLS CAN'T

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

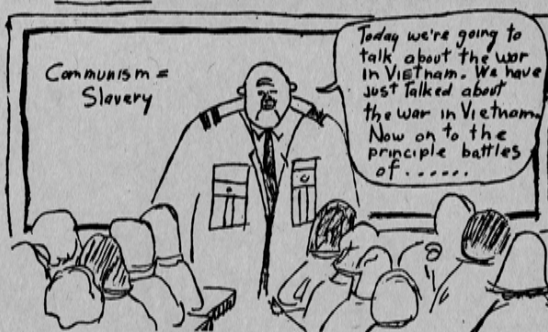
Student power ideology ran rampant in the movement around the time of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. It was set back through hard experience and long-term struggle. But now it's arising again in two new forms, disguised with a more "militant" cover clothing its basically liberal body. One form is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

UNDER CAPITALISM THE SCHOOLS CAN'T SERVE THE PEOPLE. To fight for this builds illusions and serves as a front for student power. Thus, supporters of Coleman/Klonosky at Brooklyn College said that if an 18 demand reform struggle was won (and keep in mind B.C.'s President came out for these demands) "the policies of the college" would be "turned around" and "the school and the society would serve the people." Nonsense!

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

The administration ALSO backed the SAS demands. In addition, an SAS leader then denounced SDS for trying to use the Black students' struggle "for their own ends." That's what happens to opportunist, student power alliances! The political line of the Coleman/Klonosky-run "national collective" is building student power disguised as "serving the people" and building

## "EDUCATION" IN THE ARMY:



THIS IS THE SAME EDUCATION WE GET IN COLLEGE! It doesn't serve anyone but the ruling class. The thing we all must learn is how better to wage the class struggle and defeat imperialism and racism. That can't come from a college text. Cortson reprinted from LAST HARASS.

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

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

## TACTICAL PROGRAM

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

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

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

Keeping this in mind, tactics fall into three categories:

- FIRST we should oppose the anti-worker, racist uses of schools by the rulers.
  - a) FIGHT UNIVERSITY EXPANSION. It's bad both because it throws working people out of their homes AND because it increases the effectiveness of these imperialism-serving institutions. Often--e.g., at Columbia and Harvard--expansion is blatantly racist. FIGHTING RACISM should be a major part of the attack on expansion.
  - b) FORM PRINCIPLED ALLIANCES WITH BLACK GROUPS. This holds for both student and non-student groups. Defeat racism in SDS.
  - c) CARRY ON MASS IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGNS ON CAMPUSES AGAINST RACISM. This is key for smashing to rulers' campus race-war strategy. Basis of racism in super-exploitation must be exposed, while students must be won to seeing that racism will only end when it is crushed through violent struggle. They must be won to that fight.
  - d) THROW ROTC OFF CAMPUS. Not to "purify the university" but as an attack on imperialism. Don't accept school's phony stalling actions--maybe we'll abolish it in three years, perhaps." No extra-curricular status. Throw it out. In building for this action, it's key to make clear to students JUST WHY it is so opposed to imperialism.
  - e) ATTACK AND SMASH RACIST COURSES AND PIG INSTITUTES. Students oppose us on
- these actions due to racism and/or the liberal idea that all men (oppressors and oppressed) should have freedom to do their thing. The key thing to fight is racism. Racism is being diversified BAR WAR-INDUSTRY, GOVERNMENT, RACIST AND STRIKING RECRUITERS. Broad support, once again, should be built, so people see this is part of building a pro-worker movement, that we're not just out for spring kicks.
  - g) ATTACK MILITARY AND SOCIOLOGICAL COUNTER-INSURGENCY RESEARCH. This helps defeat the lie that schools are a neutral refuge for knowledge-hungry scholars.
- SECOND we should fight and defeat the administrators' student power thrust and their attempt to bury us in student-faculty talk-show smokescreens. This means wide-spread agitation AGAINST STUDENT POWER as being diversionary and selfishly anti-working class. Organize to expose and smash student-faculty-administration committees. This must be done in a mass way. Otherwise many students will think we're just looking for these committees (which many support) for the sake of disruption. Never build but always work towards defeating self-seeking student power types. When administrators advocate schemes to "help out" the community so that the "previously too removed" schools "can take on their community responsibility" expose this as just a cover for more attacks on the people.
- THIRD we should build solid support for and ties with working people in struggle
  - a) SUPPORT STRIKES, GHETTO REBELLIONS, WORKERS' ACTIONS VS. RENT INCREASES, OTHER RULING CLASS ATTACKS. Win students to SUPPORT anti-boss violence by Black and white workers. Build mass student support for workers' struggles. Attack anti-worker (especially, anti-Black worker) campus attitudes. Do political work with workers being supported, raising especially the need to fight racism.
  - b) DEFEND BLACK AND WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS UNDER ATTACK! Also, Black students in all-Black colleges are under vicious attack. The Panthers are under sharp attack. National Guard are often used. Support actions can be tied in with local projects.
  - d) SUPPORT CAMPUS WORKERS' ORGANIZING ATTEMPTS AND STRIKES. In conjunction with campus workers, raise demands for preferential hiring of Black and Brown workers. Organize student employees. Fight schools' attempts to use students as scabs.
  - e) ORGANIZE SUMMER WORK-INS. Learn from the workers; build ties; argue for revolutionary ideas--especially attacking racism!--but don't sound know-it-all. Discuss how campus actions are aimed at building a pro-worker student movement.
  - f) MUCH MORE LEAFLETTING OF FACTORIES AND WORKING CLASS AREAS. Explain our struggles. Counter the Nixon line which portrays us as rich, fascist, spoiled brats concerned with having a ball.
  - g) BUILD THE YEAR-ROUND WORK-IN-A-NEW PROJECT. This will help reach out to the more working class students. Millions of college students work part time. A new thrust to expand the work-in will be to reach these students, organize them and reach the millions of full time workers they work with. More on this later.
- BUILD TIES WITH WORKERS. BUILD A PRO-WORKER STUDENT MOVEMENT! SMASH RACISM--SMASH IMPERIALISM,



## Defeat ROTC!

Reprinted from LAST HARASS

# MIT Workers Fight; SDS Supports Them

by Sue Neiman MIT

During the past few months, over 30 maintenance workers have been fired or forced to quit jobs at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.). This is not "normal" turnover or a fluke--it's the result of a calculated M.I.T. Administration policy to cut down the maintenance staff and make those left work even harder. (Nearly 800 maintenance workers are employed by M.I.T.). The Administration's hunchet man is a night supervisor, Sal Schula, whose constant harassment, abuse, and firings have made working conditions on his shift intolerable. Work loads for the men who have not been fired have been increased, doubled or tripled in some cases.

What's behind the firings, harassment, and speed-up? The ruler's Vietnam war is very expensive, so non-"defense" spending is being cut back. The M.I.T. Administration is turning the screws on everybody connected with the university--except the big businessmen who run it. (Chairman of the M.I.T. Corporation, James R. Killian, Jr., is a Director of General Motors, Polaroid, and A.T.&T.) Student scholarships and loans have been cut back, faculty pay increases have been curtailed, and the maintenance workers are being fired or forced out of their jobs. This doesn't mean that conditions were good before the cuts. Maintenance workers' wages are about \$5000 a year at M.I.T., and most of them have to hold down two jobs or work overtime in order to keep up. And M.I.T.'s attack on its own workers in only one part of its role as a servant of the ruling class. In 1967, M.I.T. received \$94.9 million for research con-

tracts from the "Defense" Department. M.I.T., along with Harvard and the federal government, is leading the current attempt to drive all working people out of Cambridge, and to transform Cambridge into a research center for imperialism and big business.

## WORKERS AND STUDENTS FIGHT BACK

Because of the intolerable harassment, all the maintenance workers at M.I.T. voted to strike, demanding the removal of Schula. At this point, M.I.T. sent a letter "To All Institute Personnel" ordering students and faculty to scab in the event of a strike. The union miss-leadership helped the Administration by calling off the dogs and agreeing to "arbitrate," giving in on Schula and only asking that one suspended man receive five days' back pay!

The newly formed M.I.T. SDS started to agitate on this issue and put out a leaflet exposing the Administration's imperialist attack and calling for student support for the workers. We are now organizing a drive to stop students from being used as scabs in case a strike breaks out. We are trying to build a pro-working class student movement at M.I.T., a worker-student alliance to fight in the common interests of both students and working people. The response of the M.I.T. Administration has been to threaten to fire the workers who talk to SDS members. The Administration is not going to listen to liberal appeals for "fair play"; only the united power of the working class, supported by a pro-working class student movement, will be able to win.

# BUILD THE WORK-IN

By Janet Foley-Fordham

This is the third summer that work-in projects are being organized. The basis of the work-in is that students take jobs in factories, shops, warehouses, etc. in order to: 1) learn from the working class and learn more about class struggle from on-the-job experiences; and 2) do political organizing around anti-imperialist and anti-racist issues.

During the summer work-in groups meet weekly for study and to discuss and evaluate their experiences. They also plan projects, agitational and educational work. Support for worker struggles is important.

Last summer in New York, the work-in committee supported a strike and later a slow down at Figure Flatery Co., a garment shop with 800 workers. The strike defended a communist who was fired. It also fought against the racist exploitation and degradation of the workers in the plant. The struggle led to a couple of battles between 200 SDSers and workers and pipe-swinging hired goons and cops. The lessons of the struggle—the opposition to anti-communism, phony union leadership (who opposed the strike) and racism—were then spread through the garment center by work-inners who helped hand out literature written by the workers.

Those who can't work (summer school), but who want to take part in the work-in can be doing support work such as leafletting factories, researching companies, etc.

This summer the ruling class is getting very uptight about the work-in and the forming of a workers-student alliance. The May 3rd issue of Business Week warned its executive readers to be wary of SDSers in sheep's clothing looking for work. Their article entitled "Will SDS crash plant gate?" began:

"Industry is receiving disturbing warnings that campus unrest may spread this summer to plants, under the direction of Students for a Democratic Society. The Illinois Manufacturers' Assn. recently sent its members a special bulletin alerting them to SDS plans for 'a summer work-in.'"

"The Students for a Democratic Society is apparently preparing to try to branch out into manufacturing plants," the association warned. "Employers should be alert to the problems posed by this program, and should make plans as to the best manner of handling suspected troublemakers."

"Alliance. The program mentioned by the association is intended, according to an SDS manual, to close racialist intellectual students and the largest section of the population—the workers." An SDS bulletin urges students to end their isolation. "We should not and cannot remain in our 'ivory tower'... SDS is planning a program that will help students get summer jobs in an attempt to break down barriers for a student-worker alliance."

"The organization suggests the kind of job to look for (places that have several hundred workers, the majority white if the SDS member is white, black if he is black); how to get a job (try not to mention you are a student, if you take an aptitude test don't show off, don't dress like a slob or hippy), and what to expect and do in the plant."

For more information about the work-in contact:

New York—mid-Atlantic: Janet Foley, 2553 Deacons Ave., Bronx, N.Y. (212) 367-8785.  
New England: John Pennington, 123 Green St., Cambridge, Mass. (617) 864-3126.

Midwest: Cathy Rakochy, 1324 East Hyde Park, Chicago, Illinois (312) 548-7523.

Northern Calif.: Lis Dewitt, 264 Coleridge St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110 (415) 282-4845.  
Southern Calif.: Steve Lippman, 500 Land Fare Ave., Westwood, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024 (213) 479-9070.

South: Ed Clark, c/o N.O. MDS, Box 2647, New Orleans, La. 70118

# Ruling Class Attacks Black Liberation Movement—Our Answer Must Be --Fight Racism Harder!

by Liz Dewitt, S.F. State College

The ruling class, fearful of the growing militancy among Black workers and students, has begun to step up their attacks. They are fearful of the growing use of self-defense by Black workers. In San Francisco, two Black youths were gunned down in cold blood by the cops. At the same time in S.F., six Chicano youths have been framed on a cop killing charge. In New York, Chicago, Des Moines, San Francisco and Los Angeles dozens of members of the Black Panther Party have been killed or framed by city and federal authorities. At San Francisco State College over seven hundred students are facing charges coming out of the four month old strike. The most serious charges are against Black students—mostly on cop assault charges. In Louisiana, North Carolina, Washington, D.C. and Tennessee National Guard units have been called out on at least a dozen Black college campuses to try to crush student revolts.

The primary reason why the ruling class has picked this time to "get tough" is the growing receptiveness to revolutionary ideas and the concept of a worker-student alliance. In the ghetto the Black Panther Party has come under attack mainly because of its advocacy of armed self-

defense. In the student movement in the last few weeks the ruling class has been singling out the summer work-in and the strategy of the worker-student alliance for attack.

It is clear that the student movement has to defend itself and support and help defend the Black liberation movement under attack. Up to this point there has been all too little solidarity within the movement! In practice there has been hardly any coordinated actions between different campuses. Few actions have been taken in support of struggles on other campuses or in the community. The most serious aspect of this lack of concern for other struggles has been in relation to struggles of Black and other non-white working people. Particularly, in the high school where in the recent months some of the sharpest struggles have occurred. Clearly the lack of the organizing of support for these struggles is the result of the still strong racist attitudes in the movement.

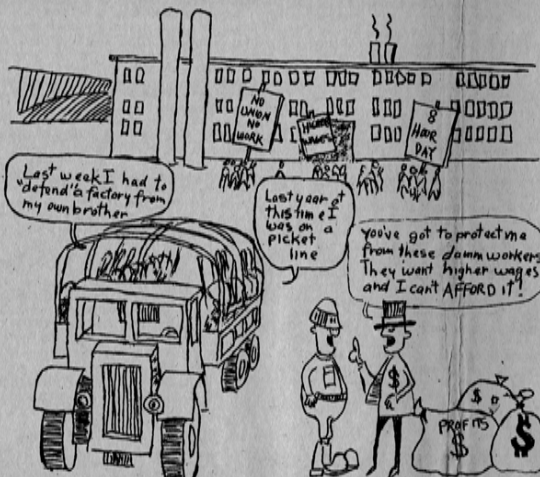
It is imperative that we change these attitudes and develop a fighting strategy in face of attack. 1. The reserve of the movement is not revisionist support committees, liberal do-gooders, or clever revisionist supplied lawyers. It is the people, workers and students, who are oppressed by imperialism and racism. We should use these attacks to further build and strengthen our ties with them. Most importantly we must realize

the primary necessity of winning the support of the working class based on our continuing to organize, not get sidetracked into "defense against repression."

2. Our support for the struggle of the Black liberation movement has to be more than bandaid running, button selling and movie showing to already sympathetic student radicals. This is half-assed support at best, and sham support at worst. Although it is important to raise funds for bail, medical expenses, etc. this must be a secondary aspect in combatting the racist attacks on the Black liberation movement.

The main attempt of these attacks is to isolate the Black liberation movement from the people. In particular they are to turn the white workers and students against the Black liberation movement. What the ruling class fears most is that white workers and students will begin to support and participate more and more in the struggles against the state being led by Black workers.

It follows then that the main aspect of our support of the Black liberation movement must be POLITICALLY organizing to win white workers and students (1) to actively supporting the BLM by launching a massive, comprehensive struggle against racism! This must be a primary part of the summer work-in, as well as an integral part of building a worker-student alliance.



Reprinted from LAST HARASS

## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

### BERKELEY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Dear Chamber Member: May 1, 1969

The following message is of such major importance that you are urgently requested to read it carefully. It concerns an insidious plan to disrupt our national economy and, if successful, will have an ugly impact on your business and the business community of Berkeley.

National business publications, such as the "Kiplinger Washington Letter" are aware of this movement and are most concerned. They are warning their readers that campus (and other) radicals are planning to infiltrate industry this summer. The efforts of "Students for a Democratic Society" and similar organizations will be moving off campus and into the main stream of the American Economy.

What do they hope to accomplish? A complete disruption of this country similar to that which paralyzed France in the recent past - which caused havoc in world money markets - which brought French President de Gaulle crashing to defeat and has left France in a state of economic jeopardy.

How do they plan to do it? Here are some excerpts from part of the blueprint. These are quotations from the "S.D.S. Summer Workers Bulletin" advising members how to put the plan into effect:

(The Chamber of Commerce included here extensive quotes—sounded pretty good from work-in material.)

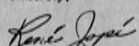
The foregoing are excerpts from a reprint of the S.D.S. bulletin circulated by the Illinois Manufacturers Association to its members. A word or two has been changed here and there to assist in condensing this material and its import. The entire text of this bulletin is on file at the Chamber and photocopies will be sent to you upon request.

Please bear in mind that the Chamber respects the right of individual to engage in peaceful protest. We are in the midst of a social revolution, world-wide in scope and change through mutual understanding should be beneficial to all.

The leaders of the new left are clever enough to sense this "revolution" and try to take advantage of it to further their own goals. Their technique is, in part, to use college students as the front line troops. Their success in this effort has been demonstrated over the past few years and now the new left is prepared to take the battle further afield and invade industry.

Make no mistake about it! This is no idle threat. Just remember what happened in France - look at what has happened in this country in recent years.

The time has come for all of us to pull our heads out from under the sand and shake off complacency. This is a time for intelligent action and your Chamber of Commerce like thousands throughout the free world is one organization through which action can be taken. Your support is needed - not tomorrow - not next year - not "some time when you have time" - IT IS NEEDED NOW!

Sincerely,  
  
 RENE JOPEL, President  
 Berkeley Chamber of Commerce

# Communism Sees Back Columbia; SDS Must Be Rebuilt!

by Roger Taus and Kay Waggoner

The core of SDS program this year has been the fight against expansion, NROTC, and other aids to imperialism war. The anti-expansion fight aims to prevent Columbia from serving U.S. imperialism bigger and better at the expense of the thousands of Black, Latin and white working people who are slated for "removal." Columbia's expansion is also for the higher profits rears which will make off middle and upper-income housing. This fight, therefore, sides with the masses of people who live around Columbia, and who hate and oppose its expansion.

Likewise, the fight against NROTC places us on the side of the Vietnamese people (who must fight ROTC officers), as well as Black and white workers at home.

Last year Columbia SDS led the sharpest and most massive rebellion in the U.S. student movement. Why didn't a mass movement get built at Columbia this year? Why were hundreds of students flagrantly mis-led? Let's look within SDS and find out.

The SDS Expansion Committee built a base to fight racism on a class basis. We fought for the rejection by students of class privileges, Columbia is holding 197 choice apartments vacant, solely for faculty and student occupancy, as a bribe to support expansion. One has already been converted into an off-campus NROTC office! We put forward the demand that the 197 apartments be opened to working people, the people Columbia has been throwing out of their homes. We also demanded that Columbia and the city stop the Early Acquisition Package, the first stage of urban removal in West Harlem and Morningside Heights.

The administration allowed and even egged on a two-day movement for co-ed dorms, led by Barnard girls who "occupied" several floors of boys' dorms. The 197 vacant apartments figure as space for the dorm overflow when co-ed dorm living is instituted in the fall.

The Expansion Committee, built over a period of months to 100 students by the Worker-Student Alliance caucus and campus Progressive Labor members, fought for an alliance with workers in the community against expansion. We argued for this with students on a CLASS basis: unity with the working people of the community and rejection of the administration's bribes to SUPPORT its expansion.

We canvassed in the community on the question of Columbia expansion. We learned how much working people hate Columbia by listening to their experiences. Columbia's expansion over the last few years has forced over 8000 people to move! We were able to make and maintain a few contacts who have joined a group formed in January to fight expansion and urban removal: the West Side Community Council.

The committee and our Worker-Student Alliance caucus also organized to support the parents and several teachers at S. 15 in the neighborhood by "sleeping in" at the school. This helped keep it open during the UFT-led racist teachers' walkout.

The failure to build a mass movement lies essentially with the SDS leadership, and their anti-WSA and opportunist politics. They have nursed a potential mass movement of student movement against expansion and ROTC into a sharp setback for SDS and the struggle.

First, they put forth the "military package," both at the Ann Arbor NC in December, and again at Princeton in a special conference.

It was supported by Les Coleman and other national collective leaders as the main thrust for SDS. They opposed fighting against racism as the main task because they claimed that it wasn't anti-imperialist, just anti-racist! The package included an April March to Washington, D.C., around immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, and support for the NLF. But this and any other organizing, such as an anti-NROTC campaign, were dropped after a brief, unsuccessful struggle against military recruiting at Columbia. What it represented a short-sighted and callous attitude towards struggle and serving the people.

These are the same forces who attack WSA and PL people for opposing negotiations in Vietnam. Yet they abandoned their own anti-military program, including good struggles against ROTC and military recruiters, while WSA pushed anti-ROTC fights around an alliance with the Vietnamese people in throwing the U.S. imperialists and their ROTC-trained officers out of Vietnam! Real internationalism towards Vietnam doesn't equal uncritical support of struggle—it means winning masses of people in the U.S. to fighting against the U.S. to get out of Vietnam now! Let's separate paper supporters of the Vietnamese people from those who want to fight.

The brief struggle against recruiters that flopped was followed by DROPPING the entire "military package."

Next the SDS leadership began to drum up support for the bad demands of the leadership of the Student Afro-American Society (SAS) for control first over an "interim board" which will set up a Black Studies Department at Columbia, and second, for control over Black admissions to Columbia.

Underlying the SDS leadership's complete tailism of the SAS student power demands is their desertion—in practice—of the view that Columbia serves only U.S. imperialism. Instead, they put forth the view that the university can "serve the people" under capitalism.

WSA REJECTS SHARING THE CONTROL OVER RACIST COLUMBIA! Black, as well as white students, will become anti-imperialist, pro-working class and revolutionary IN SPIITE OF maneuvers by the ruling class to "serve the people," i.e., the "interim board" the "new Student-Faculty Senate, Columbia University "Citizenship" Council, etc.

But the main demand of the SDS leadership

became "open admissions." First they sat on the demand. They did nothing to build it on campus, nor did they want it discussed in the chapter ("factional bullet!"). Why? Because SAS opposed the demand! The SDS leadership sat on their "open admissions" demand because of this opportunist alliance with the SAS leadership. SAS leaders were rebelling. The SDS leadership covered this up with a lot of nonsense about Columbia becoming a "revolutionary base" from which these H.S. students would return to their communities as better people's fighters. What a distortion of the nature of Columbia!

The SDS leadership made the SAS demands, being antagonistic to their demands), PRECONDITIONS which had to be met before ANY struggle around the chapter's other demands could be launched! "We will have no discussion or settling of the demands below," to open the 197 apartments to working people, stop the racist Early Acquisition Package, abolish ROTC, or stop military recruiting, until the precondition demand (for interim Board to control admissions) is met.

On this basis, the SDS leadership took over Phiology Hall April 17 for twelve hours. They misled several hundred people in a demonstration which didn't put forth the anti-ROTC, military recruitment and expansion demands.

The Expansion Committee raised the demands to open the 197 apartments and abolish ROTC and military recruitment at a sit-in in Hamilton Hall and the "leadership" in an unsigned leaflet, called this a "renegade sit-in" and narrowly managed (150-147) to disband the Expansion Committee as a chapter committee, April 24, at the biggest chapter meeting of the year.

The disbanding of the Expansion Committee (the most active SDS committee this year, brought many new people into SDS) and the creation of a "new" expansion committee based on agreement not to fight expansion at this time (sic), effectively marked the end of SDS' ability to lead masses of students this term. The "new" expansion committee hasn't functioned. It was just a ploy.

The administration responded to the sit-ins with a State Supreme Court Order barring demonstrations on the campus. This carries short jail sentences for contempt of court for any campus demo. It's a device that enables the administration to look "neutral," while the "bad" guys, in this case the court, push the agenda. This, however, was only a secondary, though significant, obstacle to fighting the administration. The main obstacle was the chapter's anti-WSA leadership!

The chapter leadership then DROPPED THE SAS DEMANDS AND "OPEN ADMISSIONS" AS "PRECONDITIONS" TO THE SDS DEMANDS AT THE NEXT CHAPTER MEETING APRIL 27, WITHOUT A WORD OF EXPLANATION TO THE CAMPUS. This, three days after disbanding a chapter committee of 100 people on the charge that not to support the SAS demands as preconditions was racist! They had changed their position because they were losing influence in the chapter. To change positions, based on lessons learned is good. But not in the opportunist, secret, un-self-critical manner of these guys.

This contempt for the masses of students, as well as for the chapter, explains the debacle on April-May 1. Having dropped the "precondition" (April 27), the chapter voted to take a serious action on ALL the demands on April 30.

One hundred SDSers took over Fayerweather Hall at noon, but the masses of potential supporters had been played with too often for the action to be taken seriously. Worker-Student Alliance caucus forces physically cleared the hall because they were losing influence in the chapter. To change positions, based on lessons learned is good. But not in the opportunist, secret, un-self-critical manner of these guys.

The body voted to leave when the cops came. WSA forces then argued for leaving immediately (it was now in the middle of the night). There was no need we felt for another SDS "in and out of a building when the cops come" action. This was unfortunately defeated. The sit-in stayed overnight, and voted in the morning to leave at noon and have a rally on campus. The leadership had drilled so much fear of arrest into people, however, that they and others left the buildings wearing masks and immediately fled the campus! (The N.Y. Daily News front page showed masked students fleeing and mocked us: "They Go The Rebels.") They remained in hiding the next two days!

And they are now saying that it was only "tactical uncertainty about the nature of Black leadership" (you figure that out!) that loused up the struggle! They are so concerned with staying on top of Columbia SDS at this point that they are unable to admit and analyze the chapter's political defeat, of the campus or within the chapter itself. Eight chapter members now face contempt of court charges (30 days) stemming from the sit-in.

We are evaluating the lessons of this past year's struggle now and mistakes that we made in it. Based on this the WSA caucus and others in the chapter will use the summer to rebuild the Columbia movement. Next year will mark another COLUMBIA REBELLION.