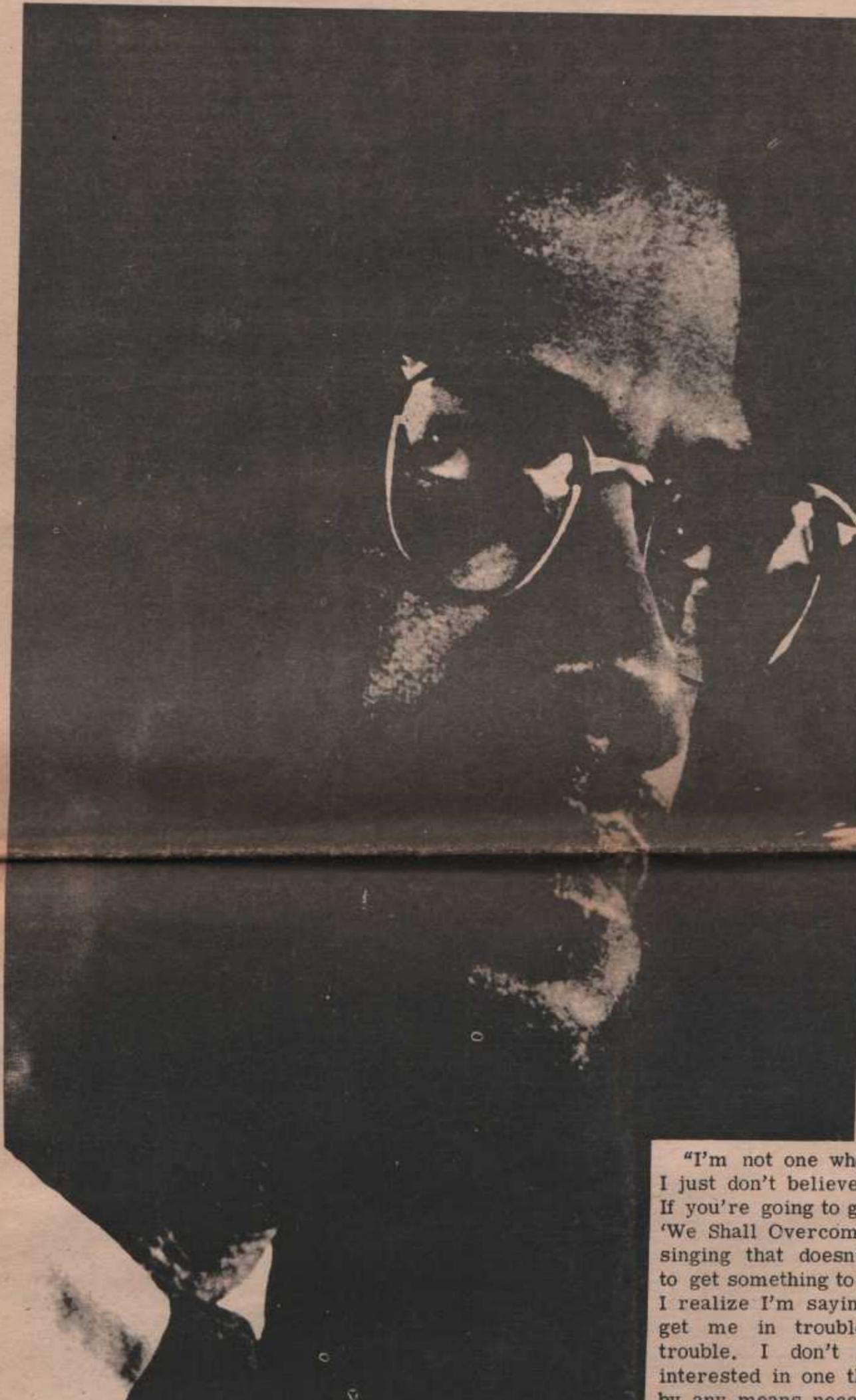


BROTHER MALCOLM



Students for a Democratic Society
1608 West Madison
Chicago, Illinois

SDS

NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4, Number 7
LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE
February 21, 1969

"I'm not one who goes for 'We Shall Overcome.' I just don't believe we're going to overcome singing. If you're going to get yourself a .45 and start singing 'We Shall Overcome', I'm with you. But I'm not for singing that doesn't at the same time tell you how to get something to use after you get through singing. I realize I'm saying some things that you think can get me in trouble, but, brothers, I was born in trouble. I don't even care about trouble. I'm interested in one thing alone, and that's freedom—by any means necessary."

Malcolm X, Dec. 20, 1964

February 21 is the 4th anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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Critique of Princeton

by Fred Gordon
Internal Education Secretary

The nine-hour discussion of the anti-military proposals at the Madison NIC was incredibly vague. The reportage of the NIC discussion in NLN, which I think does not accurately represent the discussion of the NIC, also does little to clarify the politics of any anti-military struggle that SDS might be planning for the spring.

The Princeton conference discussed two proposals for spring offensives. One was the "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools", the original draft of which appeared in New Left Notes. (This proposal went through several drafts at the conference.) The second was a proposal written by Coleman and Klonsky which called for a campaign against "militarization". Although the two proposals in certain respects contradicted one another, at Princeton they were simply combined and passed as indicating a "general direction". The NIC did little to undo this confusion.

It was clear, however, that most people at the NIC were opposed to the first proposal. The "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools" proposal was attacked as being "student chauvinist" and as expressing "right wing tendencies". But that proposal was never brought to the NIC, nor has it been printed in NLN. Surely, before SDS takes on a massive national campaign, the politics of that campaign should be thoroughly discussed.

THE COLEMAN-KLONSKY PROPOSAL

The "antimilitarization" proposal of Coleman and Klonsky is, according to New Left Notes, in line with the direction outlined for SDS in the resolution passed at the Dec. NC. This "Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement" proposal was, as Klonsky himself admitted at the NC, very vague. It was expected that subsequent articles in NLN would clarify it on several points. Instead, there has been nothing forthcoming in NLN except Hammerquist's article which does little but criticize it for its vagueness. The Coleman-Klonsky "antimilitarization" proposal merely perpetuates the vagueness of the original proposal. This is particularly true on the issues of imperialism and racism.

IMPERIALISM

The Klonsky-Coleman proposal begins apparently by saying that imperialism is in the interests of the American

working class (Page 1):

"We understand that there is a material basis—the uneven distribution of wealth and privilege among the working class of the world—for the allegiance given to American imperialism by the American working class."

It appears that they are saying that this is true until there are uprisings in the Third World against US imperialism. Then the oppression of the American working class, in terms of the draft, higher taxes, the rigidification of the society, etc. makes imperialism no longer in the interests of the working class. The material basis for the US working class' allegiance to US imperialism has shifted. They write (Page 1):

"The necessary crisis in imperialism, which we saw approaching, and anti-imperialist struggles such as that of the Vietnamese, the Chinese, and the Cubans, will change the material basis of that allegiance."

It seems that Coleman-Klonsky are arguing that the American working class is a "labor aristocracy"; a "labor aristocracy", that is, until there is Third World resistance to US imperialism. Then, imperialism is no longer in the interests of the US working class because the cost of fighting against people's war falls too heavily upon it. The thrust of the student movement will then be to draw attention to the oppressiveness at home brought about by war abroad, to attack the militarization of the society, and show how it is necessitated by imperialism. Since this militarization is against the interests of the working class, the working class will be able to see how imperialism too is against its interests.

But this thesis is wrong: the American working class does not profit from imperialism even when there is not Third World revolution. It does not profit because the cheapness of labor in the Third World is used by the ruling class to drive down wages at home. The essential nature of capitalism is to drive wages as low as possible to keep profits as high as possible. Unemployment (and welfare), and racism are necessary at home to maintain a "reserve army" of labor and super-exploited groups to compete with other workers and drive wages down. Internationally, the existence of a huge international proletariat is used in the same way.

It is true that anti-imperialist struggles abroad increase the oppression of the American working class and so intensify the struggle between the

working and capitalist ruling classes. But to refuse to see that imperialism is against the interests of the American working class is to dilute an anti-imperialist position and to impede the growth of a true internationalist working class consciousness. Concretely these politics lead to unclarity on the issue of negotiations. According to this analysis, if the US ruling class could win in Vietnam, either through a quick massive show of force (the bomb?) or through negotiating away the victories won by the people's army on the battlefield, the American working class would have a material self-interest in supporting such moves. This is not the case. The position that is in the real interests of the American working class is NO NEGOTIATIONS: IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL.

RACISM:

Imperialism is, according to Coleman-Klonsky, against the interests of the working class only when Third World people rebel. When they come to racism, it is unclear from what they say that racism is ever against the material interests of the white working class. All the Coleman-Klonsky proposal says about the nature of racism is (Page 3):

"...we must attack white supremacy which has developed out of real material basis and now prevents working class unity."

Now to speak of the "material basis" for white supremacy can mean any of three things. It can mean 1) that the white working class profits from racism, that the extra profits made off of black workers due to racism (\$22 billion per year) are distributed at least in part to white workers and so white workers have a material interest in the perpetuation of racism. Or it can mean 2) that racism is in the interests of the white working class until black workers begin to rebel. Then the cost of militarization, which falls mainly on this class, makes racism no longer in its interests. (This argument is parallel to the argument given about imperialism.) Or it can mean 3) that the material differences between black and white workers are the cause of racism in that they make it appear that white workers are profiting off of black workers, but that the "material basis" is not real—an end to racism is really in the material interest of white workers as well as black.

Klonsky and Coleman give no indication as to which of these positions they hold. The first position is false,

as is the second. The lower wages of black workers plus the high unemployment of blacks are used as a lever to push down the wages and working conditions of all workers. The third position that there is only an apparent material advantage for racism on the part of the white working class, is the correct one. White racism, as the SF State racism proposal passed at the NC clearly indicates, works against the material interests of the whole working class, white and black. It has been used historically to destroy militant labor struggles, and so it is used today. Our task is to show concretely and clearly how racism is used by the ruling class to defeat the struggles of workers and students. The obscurity of the Coleman-Klonsky proposal on this issue certainly does not aid this task.

One can argue that the obscurity of the Coleman-Klonsky proposal on the issue of racism is no crime. After all, we all need time to experiment and make up our minds. But this confusion on their part is inexcusable at this point for three reasons: 1) it works against, rather than building a clear anti-imperialist politics for, SDS; 2) their confusion about the class nature of racism comes at a time when at SF State racism is being fought in a clear class way, viz. racism is seen by thousands of white students and increasing numbers of workers as being against their class interests, and 3) Coleman-Klonsky and the rest of the NIC have been adamant in their opposition to the SF State Racism Proposal that puts forth a correct analysis of the class basis of racism.

In that the SF State struggle is the most militant struggle in SDS's history (and the longest student strike ever at an American university), the national leadership is now falling behind the real leadership of the movement. The only "leadership" they provide is leadership in attacking genuine anti-imperialist politics. The Madison NIC vetoed my proposal to have the SF State Racism Proposal printed up in pamphlet form. The NIC has the power to overrule the internal education secretary, and the NC has the power to overrule the NIC. Despite the fact that the NC passed the SF State Racism Proposal, the NIC wished to prevent its wide availability for mass work. In view of its own confusion about the nature of racism, perhaps the NIC wishes SDS' potential base to wait until it has made up its mind. If the NIC will not allow genuine anti-imperialist politics be widely presented, surely the membership will demand it.

Three refuse to talk

by Vernon Grizzard

Three movement activists recently refused to testify before the federal grand jury in Chicago which has been investigating the demonstrations at the Democratic Convention last August. Norman Fructer (New York Newsreel), Vernon Grizzard (Boston SDS and the Old Mole newspaper), and Alicia Kaplo (New York National Lawyers Guild) had been subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury on Monday, Feb. 17.

The three filed a motion to dismiss the grand jury or quash the subpoena, charging that the grand jury operates not as a body of citizens seeking to determine justice, but as a rubber stamp for the US Attorney's offices in Washington and Chicago.

The motion was the legal explanation for the political stance each of the three decided to take toward the grand jury: Say nothing about yourself or your brothers and sisters in the movement. Absolutely nothing.

When the legal motion was denied, the three were forced to be sworn in before the grand jury or face contempt charges. Each was sworn in separately. Alicia gave her name only. Norman and Vernon gave their names and addresses. All refused to answer questions about age, occupation, or marital status.

Two grounds for refusal to answer were given before the grand jury. First

the witnesses repeated the political charges that this grand jury was being used as an arm of the prosecution against the white radical movement. Second, all three took the 5th Amendment.

Each witness was out of the grand jury hearing room within five minutes of entering. The grand jury was visibly upset by the witnesses' refusal to testify or cooperate. After nearly an hour of deliberation in private, the US Attorney's assistant came out to tell the three witnesses they would not be recalled before the committee.

Those who know the history of this grand jury, or who have had experience with other investigative arms of the government (FBI, HUAC, the Commission on Violence, etc.) will understand the necessity of not talking about ourselves and our brothers and sisters. Courts and "impartial" investigations are being used now against the white movement just as they have been used against the black movement. This grand jury is one part of an entire judicial system which acts as the background and support for the violence which school administrations, employers, bureaucrats, and police departments use against thousands of Americans every day.

This particular grand jury will deliver its expected indictments very soon. Five or six leaders in the Chicago action will be charged as

conspiracy to use interstate means to incite a riot. (This statute was written for Rap Brown and SNCC, but is being used now for the first time.) A show trial will take place, an attempt by the government to isolate those who are publicly identified and to intimidate those who are new to the movement.

Several policemen will probably be indicted, scapegoats who will serve as "the other side" in an attempt by the

US Attorney General's office to maintain their impartiality and help Daley refurbish his image.

We must remember that this impartial stance is a lie. They are after us. Do not talk to them. You cannot win them over, and they can find out more from you than you can from them. That is their vocation—dig? They are not just doing a job. They are the face of the enemy.

New Left Notes

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Reciprocal support

by Jeff Jones

There has been much discussion around the movement about the significance of the relationship that has developed between the striking oil, chemical, and atomic workers (OCAW) and the striking students at SF State. Whatever the finer points of the different positions toward the "mutual aid pact" agreed to between Local 1-561 OCAW and the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) at State, the experience of relating to this strike has led to many changes and clarifications in the developing politics of the movement out here.

The most complete picture so far has been presented in Robert Avakian's article, "The People versus Standard Oil" in the March issue of the Movement.

Very briefly, what has happened is that the leadership of Local 1-561 and the Central Committee of the TWLF held discussions on the possibility of declaring public support for each other's strikes. The TWLF agreed and the outside support committee from SF State took the responsibility for organizing mass student support mobilizations at the Richmond Standard Oil Refinery. Three of these mobilizations have taken place involving from 150 to 450 students at different times. Discussions with members of the union have taken place on more individual levels as well.

Some members of the local were against the students and the strike at State, mainly because of racist attitudes. Differences over tactics or not recognizing the rights of students to organize a strike have not been a significant problem. The leadership and rank and file members who supported the idea of a working agreement with the SF State strikers organized long and hard and eventually won by 2-1 a vote of the local to give full support to the striking students and teachers at SF State and to organize picket line support when asked to do so.

RULING CLASS UPSET

This arrangement has the ruling class very upset. They have shut down the Standard plant and tripled the guard every time the students have come out. They greatly fear the damage that can be done by this form of "worker-student" move against the picket line made up of students, oil workers, and supporting longshoremen. This morning (Feb. 19) there were only 2 arrests out of more than 200 people who had been involved in fighting scabs, etc. Other labor unions are also upset by this

arrangement and the local will face a rough go from "organized" labor when the strike is settled.

There are several things SDS can do nationally that will contribute to what is being done here, as well as disseminate the information for political education in other communities and campuses.

During the past year there has been talk of having on-campus demonstrations against corporations whose workers are on strike; the strike against Standard Oil gives us this opportunity.

Demonstrations should be organized against the presence of Standard Oil recruiters on college campuses. These demonstrations should provide support for the striking oil workers as well as explain the reciprocal support the oil workers have given the 15 demands of the SF State strike. Besides support for the workers, and indirect support for SF State, research should be done on: (1) the relation of Standard Oil to the different campuses; (2) specifics of its imperialist crimes; and (3) education around its more general role as a part

of the ruling class.

Other actions should center around a national boycott of Standard Oil products which has already been called for by the union but has not been publicized in the press. This would include, for example, returning Standard Oil credit cards. Cards in the West can be sent to the Standard Oil Bldg., 225 Bush St., SF, Calif. In other areas Standard regional office buildings should be located, the address circulated, cards returned, and demonstrations organized in support of the oil workers and SF State.

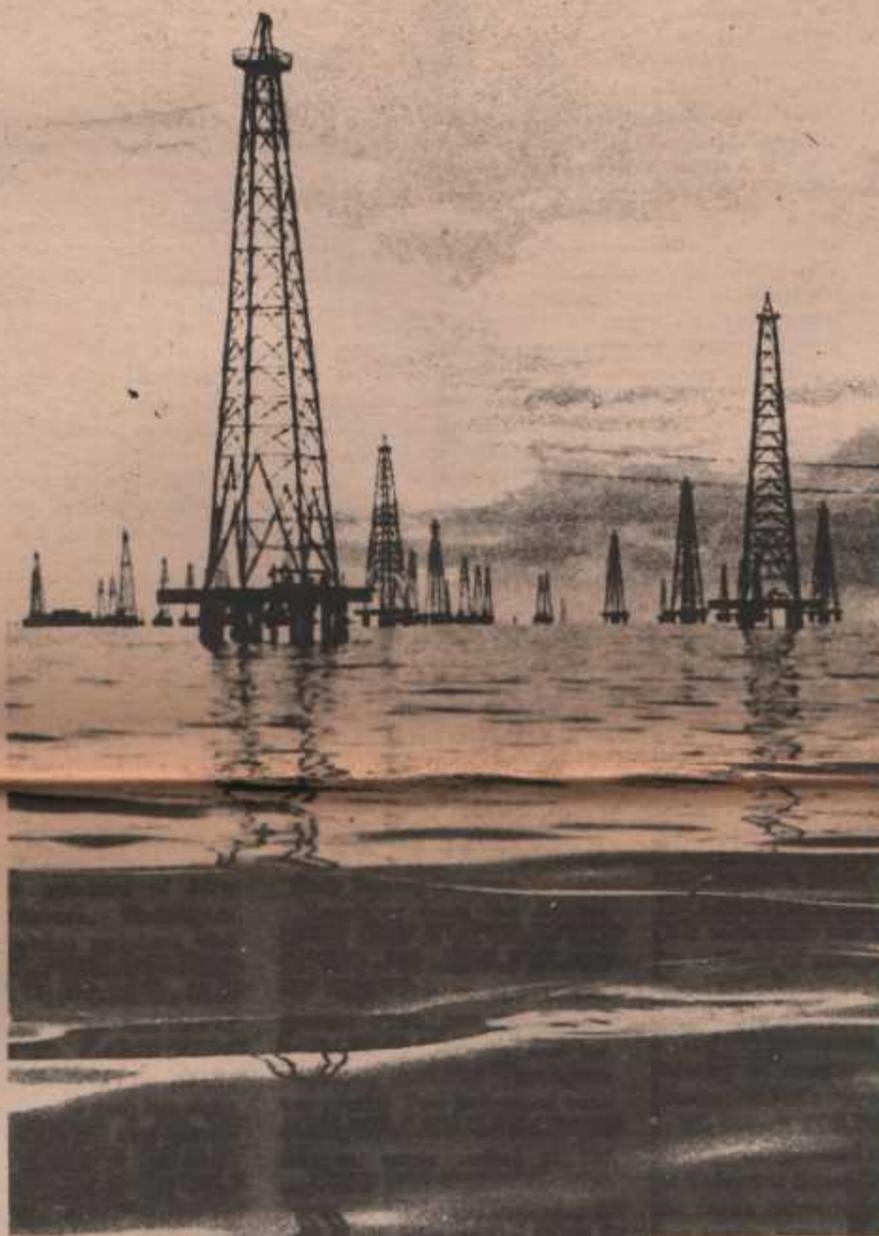
ONLY THE BEGINNING

Out here, this is only the beginning. The students have not "organized" the workers; however, they are not just going to the picket lines saying "We're with you Jack". Every oil worker who walks the picket line with the students knows that the fight at SF State is led by the Third World, that it is a fight against racism, and that there is common oppression from the pigs and the power structure whether the fight is against racism or against an exploitative corporation. They have discussed these things among themselves and with us. When we walk the oil workers picket line it is in a principled fashion—the realization of a common fight.

Addition: Although negotiations are taking place between the union and the Standard execs, it looks like the strike will be continuing for the next few weeks at least. There will be articles sent in to NLN to keep people up to date as to what is happening. In the meantime, watch the bouy press, and try to keep informed.

The Local 1-561 strike is against the Standard Oil Refinery in Richmond, Calif. One local of OCAW settled with Standard at the El Segundo Refinery, however the international has refused to sign the tri-partied contract, so in effect the entire local is now scabbing. Also, there are other strikes in the industry still unsettled, for example, the Shell refinery in Martinez, Calif. is still being struck. We are sorry we are not able to present more adequate information as to the status of the OCAW strikes around the country, statistics on Standard (profits, wages, number employed, what unions in each plant), history of the union, especially its relations with Standard. We will try to send more information to NLN in the near future.

Meanwhile for information write for bulk orders of the March issue of the Movement—330 Grove St., SF, Calif.



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Presidio conviction Gets Pvt 15 years

Pvt. Henry Sood, one of the Presidio 27, has been sentenced to 15 years hard labor for singing "We Shall Overcome."

Sood, along with 26 fellow prisoners in the Presidio stockade in San Francisco, demonstrated last Oct. 14 against the general conditions in the stockade and against the murder of a fellow prisoner three days earlier. Pvt. Richard Bunch, a 19-year-old mentally disturbed GI, was shot in the back by a guard as he walked away from a work detail, "attempting to escape" from the prison. The Presidio 27, most of whom were jailed for being AWOL, were all charged with mutiny for protesting Bunch's murder by sitting quietly on the ground and singing "We Shall Overcome."

The court-martial hearings, like the original charge, have been arbitrary in the extreme. The first hearings, of Pvs. Reidel and Oszczepinski, were moved to be reconsidered by a medical

board after the defense demonstrated that the charge of "refusing to obey orders" was inadmissible since the singing protestors could not have heard the order to disperse.

With Sood's trial, the military review board took 35 minutes to find him guilty of mutiny and an hour and a half to sentence him to 15 years. Anything over 10 years required approval by at least three-fourths of the board.

An appeal will be made to higher military courts, but meanwhile Sood must stay in the stockade. His trial was meant to be a prototype of things to come.

Sometime in March, 17 more prisoners will be processed. According to LNS, two of the leaders of the Presidio 27 have already split the country.

Demonstrations in support of the Presidio 27 are being planned in the Bay area.

Malcolm X on Violence

Malcolm X was assassinated four years ago, on February 21, 1965, just three months after returning from his second trip to Africa and the Middle East. Three men, Talmadge Hayer, Norman 3X Butler, and Thomas 15X Johnson, are now in jail, their convictions for the killing still on appeal. The trial of the three did not settle the question of who killed Malcolm X.

The prosecutor's theory was that as Malcolm stepped up to the center of the stage at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem to speak, Hayer and Butler started an argument on the side of the ballroom to Malcolm's left. The rostrum guards moved toward the disturbance, and then Johnson stood up in the center of the ballroom and blasted Malcolm with a sawed-off shotgun. Hayer and Butler, they say, then ran up to the stage and pumped pistol bullets into Malcolm's prone body. As the three ran out, Hayer was wounded in the leg by one of Malcolm's aides. Hayer was stopped by the crowd and then taken into custody by the police. This is the prosecution's story.

This version does not account for the man who threw a smoke bomb at the rear of the auditorium. Was the smokebomb designed to hide the smell of another weapon being fired? There is a bullet wound of entry in Malcolm's chest, and one of exit in the thigh, that can only have come from a rifle or pistol fired while he was still standing. The two men identified as Hayer and Butler cannot have fired that shot.

And the NY policeman in the room adjoining the ballroom was in radio contact, arranged prior to the meeting, with another cop who had been stationed in the emergency room of the hospital across the street. What were the police expecting and how did they know to expect it?

There is also evidence that two of the three convicted men, Butler and Johnson, were framed. Butler, for

example, had thrombophlebitis on the day of the killing, and he could not walk at better than a limp.

It's clear why the obvious gaps in the record have gone uninvestigated. The threat posed by Malcolm X, particularly with a deeper understanding of class struggle and international revolution on returning from abroad, was a threat to the oppressor—to the Man.

Although his attempts to found the Organization for Afro-American Unity were cut off by the assassination, Malcolm was clearly the historical predecessor to the Panthers and advanced sectors of the black liberation struggle.

The following statements are from four speeches given during the last two months of his life—a year after he formally broke with the Muslims.

ANY MEANS NECESSARY

"We think...it's time for us to organize and band together and equip ourselves and qualify ourselves to protect ourselves. And once you can protect yourself, you don't have to worry about being hurt..."

"That's a shame. Because we get tricked into being nonviolent, and when somebody stands up and talks like I just did, they say, 'Why, he's advocating violence.' Isn't that what they say? Every time you pick up your newspaper you see where one of these things has written into it that I am advocating violence. I have never advocated violence. I have only said that black people are the victims of the organized violence of others. They use their press skillfully to make the world think that I am calling for violence, period. I wouldn't call on anybody to be violent without a cause. But I think the black man in this country, and above and beyond people all over the world, will be more justified when he stands up and starts to protect himself, no matter how many necks he had to break..."

"And when we say this, the press calls us 'racist in reverse.' 'Don't struggle except within the ground rules that the people you're struggling against have laid down.' Why, this is insane, but it shows how they can do it. With skillful manipulating of the press they're able to make the victim look like the criminal and the criminal

look like the victim."

"So it is very important for you and me to see that our problem has to have a solution that will benefit the masses, not the upper class—so-called upper class. Actually, there's no such thing as an upper-class Negro, because he catches the same hell as the other class Negro. All of them catch the same hell, which is one of the things that's good about this racist system—it makes us all one..."

"No! So, we only mean vigorous action in self-defense, and that vigorous action we feel we're justified in initiating by any means necessary."

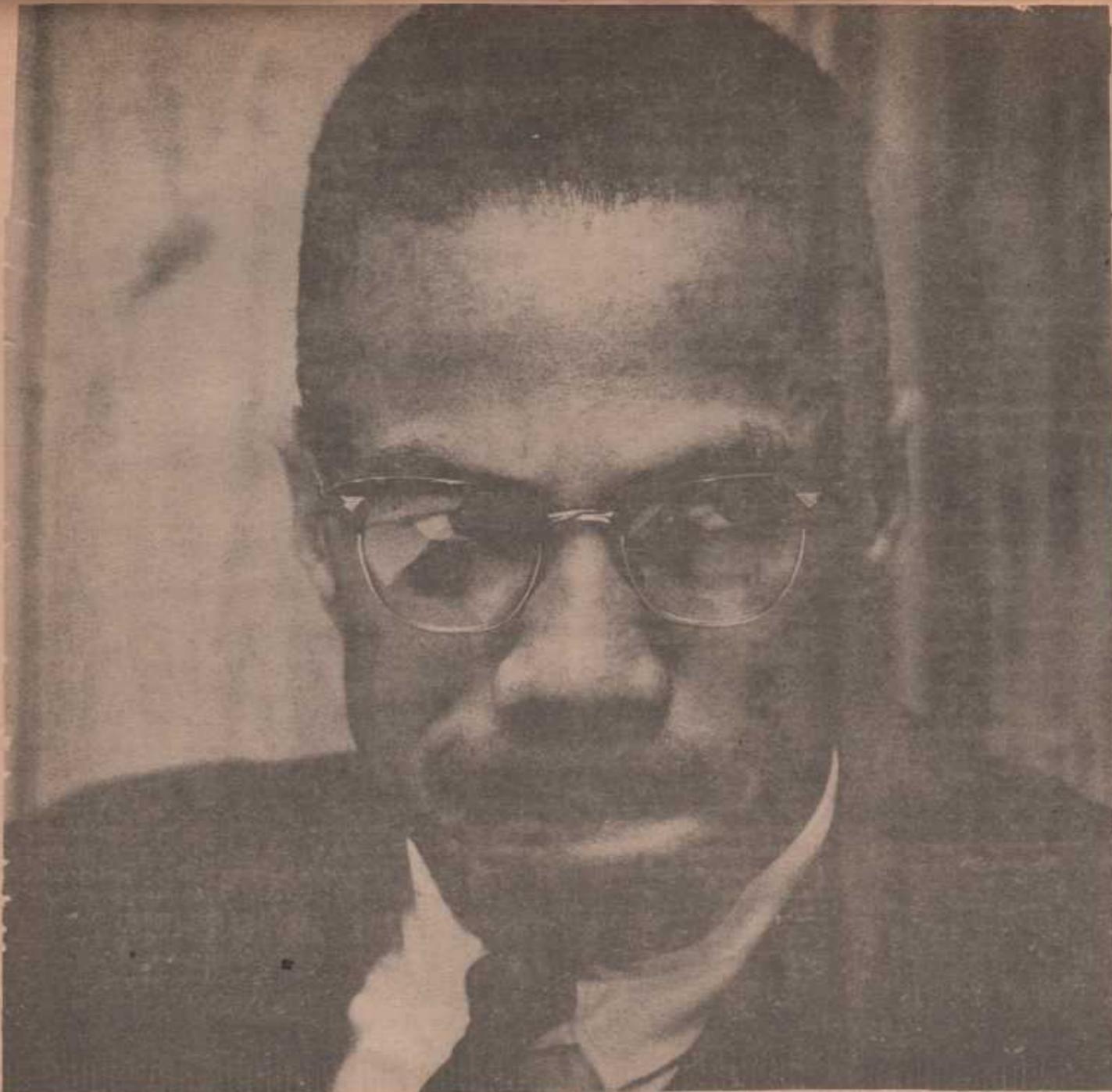
WHITE STUDENTS

"I've even met white students who feel that way. When they tell me that they're liberal, I tell them, 'Great, go get me one of those snake heads.' I'm sincere about this, I think that there are many whites who are sincere, especially at the student level. They just don't know how to show their sincerity. They think that they're showing sincerity by going down there and encouraging our people to be nonviolent. That's not where it's at. Since they're white, they can get closer to whiteness than we can. They can put on a sheet and walk right on into camp with the rest of them.

I'm telling you how to do it: You're a liberal: get you a sheet. And get you something up under that sheet that you know how to use, and walk right on in that camp of sheeted people with the rest of them. And show how liberal you are. I'll come back and shake your hand all day long. I'll walk you around Harlem and tell everybody what a good white person you are. Because you've proved it."

INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE

"Here in America, we have always thought that we were struggling by ourselves, and most Afro-Americans will tell you just that—that we're a minority. We struggle like we're an underdog. We struggle like all of the odds are against us. This type of struggle takes place only because we don't yet know where



Black and White—Together

(Re)

Something is happening in the labor and neither the bo-

union bureaucrats is pleased. Militant black workers are demanding an end to racial oppression in the shops. This development must be given complete support. It is one of today's most significant

The privileged position of the material base of white workers must be convinced. As long as millions of black workers endure double oppression—often with the connivance of the accepted and even defended class will be divided and

Institutionalized racism, only the ruling class in economic and social benefits nonetheless real for many. Privileges are false, not because they lead white workers the boss against the rest of the situations, white workers must establish these short-run self-interests and establish class solidarity.

In conducting militant actions, black workers in Detroit such groups as the Ford Revolution (FRUM), Dodge Revolution and so forth—are striking for solidarity. And if they are organizing against the leadership of the United

One of the UAW locals recently characterized the "black bigots." This is a struggle for their minimum in a racist company in a

White supremacy in the must be attacked as the consciousness and the soul of the ruling class. This is a no such thing as victory—black, as blacks, are

There used to be a solidarity together." This was an act of togetherness, for instance, wage increase, or seniority to the white worker and who is paid less for similar work; first fired; who is rarely to live in a ghetto; who is who is discriminated against.

Black and white will never be smashed in America, until white privilege, until the union. Then and only then will class struggle and only then will the

Violence

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INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE

"Here in America, we have always thought that we were struggling by ourselves, and most Afro-Americans will tell you just that—that we're a minority. We struggle like we're an underdog. We struggle like all of the odds are against us. This type of struggle takes place only because we don't yet know where

we fit in the scheme of things. We've been maneuvered out of a position where we could rightly know and understand where we fit into the scheme of things. It's impossible for you and me to know where we stand until we look around on this entire earth. We don't know where we stand until we know where America stands. You don't know where you stand in America until you know where America stands in the rest of the world. We don't know where you and I stand in this context, known to us as America, until we know where America stands in the world context."

"None of them (African nations) are adopting the capitalistic system because they realize they can't. You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker. He cannot be anything but a bloodsucker if he's going to be a capitalist. He's got to get it from somewhere or someone other than himself."

"We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era..."

It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter.

(The Western industrial nations have been) deliberately subjugating the Negro for economic reasons. These international criminals raped the African continent to feed their factories, and are themselves responsible for the low standards of living prevalent throughout Africa."

"I hope you understand what I am trying to say. The newly awakened people all over the world pose a problem for what is known as Western interests, which is imperialism, colonialism, racism, and all those negative isms or vulturistic isms. Just as the external forces pose a grave threat, they can now see that the internal forces pose an even greater threat. But the internal forces pose an even greater threat when they have properly analyzed the situation and know what the stakes really are."



Forman dis

Black and White—Together?

(Reprinted from The Guardian)

Something is happening in the ranks of American labor and neither the bosses nor the generality of union bureaucrats is pleased.

Militant black workers are on the move, demanding an end to racial oppression in the unions as well as in the shops. This development, mushrooming in Detroit, must be given complete support by the radical movement. It is one of today's most significant struggles.

The privileged position of the white worker is the material base of white working-class racism. The white worker must be convinced to renounce this privilege. As long as millions of black workers are forced to endure double oppression—as workers and as blacks—often with the connivance of white workers who have accepted and even defended white privilege, the working class will be divided and class solidarity unobtainable.

Institutionalized racism, white supremacy, benefits only the ruling class in the end. But the short-run economic and social benefits of white supremacy are nonetheless real for many white workers. These privileges are false, not because they do not exist but because they lead white workers to line up with the boss against the rest of the working class. In many situations, white workers will have to fight against these short-run self-interests to win their class interest and establish class solidarity.

In conducting militant agitation against racism, the black workers in Detroit—forming themselves into such groups as the Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (FRUM), Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), and so forth—are striking a blow for eventual class solidarity. And if they have to do so by fighting and organizing against the "liberal and progressive" leadership of the United Auto Workers, so be it.

One of the UAW locals coming under fire from FRUM recently characterized the militant black workers as "black bigots." This is a lie. The black workers are struggling for their minimal rights in a racist union in a racist company in a racist society.

White supremacy in the unions and the working class must be attacked as the basis for developing class consciousness and the solidarity necessary to battle the ruling class. This is a precondition. There can be no such thing as victory—even a reformist victory—if blacks, as blacks, are kept one degree below whites.

There used to be a slogan about "black and white together." This was an illusion. How can there be togetherness, for instance, when a 20% across-the-board wage increase, or seniority rights, mean one thing to the white worker and quite another to the black, who is paid less for similar work; who is the last hired, first fired; who is rarely promoted; who is forced to live in a ghetto; who is systematically miseducated; who is discriminated against in every aspect of life?

Black and white will never be together until racism is smashed in America, until the white worker rejects white privilege, until the unions are cleansed of racism. Then and only then will class solidarity mean something. Then and only then will the ruling class be threatened.

This is an interview with James Forman of SNCC by Bernardine Dohrn, SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary. The book being discussed, *The Death of Sammy Younge, Jr.*, can be ordered from the National Office at the reduced price of \$4.50 a copy, cheaper in bulk. The second portion of the interview will appear in the next issue of NLN.

NLN: Let's start by asking why you wrote the book on Sammy Younge, and for whom you were writing the book.

Forman: I was basically writing the book, first of all, for Southern college black students, because Sammy Younge Jr. was a black college student and I felt that it was essential to write about him to keep alive the memory of Sammy Younge among Southern students, to hold him high as a martyr.

Secondly, I was writing the book for black people because I felt that too many lynchings and new forms of lynchings that take the form of police shooting black people have occurred in the US, and that people who are lynched or murdered by police or by some assassin become just another statistic. There's no record of who these people are other than the fact that there were some 6,000 or 6,500 black people lynched since the civil war.

Thirdly, the book was written for the general public because I felt what was true about the life of Sammy Younge that would have relevance to Southern college students and to black people in general would have relevance and importance to anyone who wants to try to understand the effects of racism inside the US upon young black people.

The conception of the book also involved many other factors. First of all, I was also interested in trying to record what were the dynamics of the environment in which Sammy Younge lived, which meant that I was interested in showing what was happening in Tuskegee Institute and also what was happening within the civil rights movement in general around this particular period. One could not have written a biography about him from my point of view without dealing with these particular questions.

The book was and will be intended to serve as some form of an organizing tool among Southern college campuses, to give them awareness of what went on within the civil rights movement, what were some of the changes, conflicts that occurred.

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we fit in the scheme of things. We've been maneuvered out of a position where we could rightly know and understand where we fit into the scheme of things. It's impossible for you and me to know where we stand until we look around on this entire earth. We don't know where we stand until we know where America stands. You don't know where you stand in America until you know where America stands in the rest of the world. We don't know where you and I stand in this context, known to us as America, until we know where America stands in the world context.

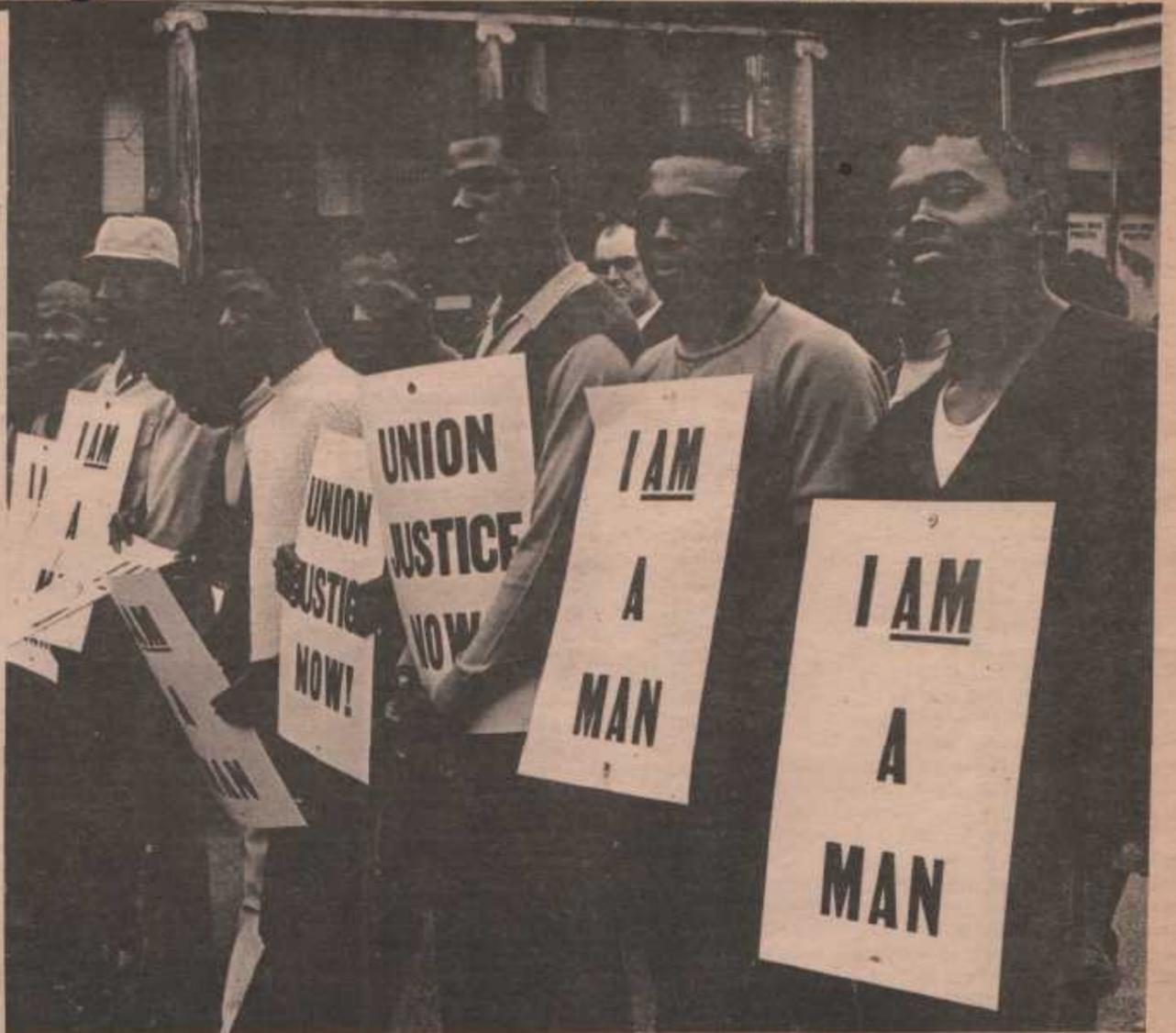
"None of them (African nations) are adopting the capitalistic system because they realize they can't. You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker. He cannot be anything but a bloodsucker if he's going to be a capitalist. He's got to get it from somewhere or someone other than himself."

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Forman discusses book

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The book was and will be intended to serve as some form of an organizing tool among Southern college campuses, to give them awareness of what went on within the civil rights movement, what were some of the changes, conflicts that occurred.

NLN: How do you see the book being used specifically, by organizers, or by people in the black struggle today?

Forman: Well, I think that the book can be used by anyone who is organizing around the issues of anti-racism, anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism if you will. But especially the people who are trying to organize against the racist institutions, and this can be used by any organizer—black, white, Mexican, Puerto Rican—because the book is a work of history and I also feel that it is a work of art in many ways, and I'm not hung up on art for art's sake or anything like that, but I mean it's not just a loosely put-together random collection of material. I mean I think that it has the impact of a novel in many instances.

AN EXAMPLE OF RESISTANCE

But I think that within the context of the black liberation struggle, it should be read as an example of resistance to the colonizing experience which black people are fed inside the US. It should be read as an attempt to portray a black hero who was very involved in that resistance struggle, and who was killed, you know, by white men in Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

It should also be read by all people, incidentally, but especially blacks who are not aware of many historical forces that were operating in the movement during the 60's. And the book in many respects is symbolic of the change from tactical nonviolence to aggressive violence in the resistance period of our history at this particular moment.

WHITES SHOULD READ IT

I think that the book should get a wide circulation and reading among white activists, especially because I think it is in many ways some form of comprehensive history of a case study in the radicalization of a black youth. But the book contains a lot of other things—some tidbits, some detailed information on the black struggle during the 60's of which many white organizers may be unaware. It should be required reading in any kind of reading list of Afro-American history, and I think that whites should also be concerned about

reading the book because it will help to minimize some of the mental rape of all minds which goes on inside the US. This mental rape, of course, occurs by a proscription against reading certain materials in the schools and colleges of this country. And the society does not make available to whites details about the dynamics of a black life, and because this person was a black hero, it would give encouragement in the struggle against racism.

NC

National Council Meeting
March 27, 28, 29

New Lit

Huey Poster

GI Interview

Interview About China and Red Guard

Contact the National Office for complete list and prices

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International Women's Day

by Noel Ignatin

"In no bourgeois republic (i.e., where there is private ownership of the land, factories, works, shares, etc.), be it even the most democratic republic, nowhere in the world, have women gained a position of complete equality. And this, notwithstanding the fact that more than one and a quarter centuries have elapsed since the Great French Revolution. In words bourgeois equality promises equality and liberty. In fact not a single bourgeois republic, not even the most advanced one, has given the feminine half of the human race either full legal equality with men or freedom from the guardianship and oppression of men." (Lenin in Pravda, Nov. 8, 1919)

HISTORY

March 8 is International Women's Day. This holiday originated out of a demonstration of working class, socialist women in New York City in 1908. They were demonstrating for the right to vote, an end to sweatshops and child labor. Two years later, at a meeting of the International Socialist Congress, Clara Zetkin, German Socialist leader and later a founder of the Communist Party of Germany, moved that March 8 be set aside as a holiday of the world proletariat, in honor of women's struggles. Since that time, proletarian revolutionary movements have observed the holiday regularly. In fact, the February 1917 revolution in Russia, which overthrew the czar and paved the way for the Great October Revolution, grew out of a series of factory demonstrations in Petrograd, called by the Bolsheviks in celebration of International Women's Day. (Because Russia at that time operated on the Gregorian instead of the Julian calendar, the holiday fell on Feb. 22.)

REVOLUTIONARY HOLIDAY

In 1845, in *The Holy Family*, Marx and Engels wrote: "The degree of emancipation of women could be used as a standard by which to measure general emancipation." Just as that statement is true of society in general, so it is true of the movement in particular. The seriousness and

revolutionary attitude of any party, movement or group can be exactly gauged by the degree of its commitment to the task of emancipating women, and particularly working class women, from their position in bourgeois society of "the slave of the slave." In the words of James Connolly, Irish socialist leader and martyr of the Easter Uprising. Thus, in China and other revolutionary countries, March 8 will be celebrated as a revolutionary holiday, with a militant tone, a day to rouse the whole people to the task of women's liberation. On the other hand, in the Soviet Union today, International Women's Day has been transformed into a "socialist" Mother's Day, where men buy candy and flowers for their sweethearts, and the wives of Soviet bureaucrats invite the wives of foreign diplomats to tea.

In our own movement, and within SDS in particular, we have seen certain groupings, including some which lay claim to being "Marxist-Leninist" and even "anti-revisionist," attempting to submerge the struggle for women's liberation under the pretext that to oppose male supremacy is to divert attention from what they call the "primary contradiction" in capitalist society—that between the bourgeoisie and proletariat.

ON CONTRADICTIONS

There are no "primary" or "secondary" contradictions in society! That formulation exists nowhere in Marxist literature, nor in real life! What exists are a number of inter-related contradictions, one or another of which may come to the fore in different periods as the principle and most acute contradiction, on whose resolution depends the advance of the revolutionary movement. Just as in the world today the "essence of imperialism," in the words of Lenin, is not the distinction between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, but the "distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations," so it may very well be that at a given moment, the distinction between oppressing and oppressed sexes comes to the fore as the principal contradiction.

To counterpose the struggle against male supremacy to the "united struggle against the ruling class," or even to

deny altogether the existence of male supremacy, as did PL and others who opposed the Resolution on Women's Liberation passed at the Ann Arbor NC, is to uphold, in practice, the subjugation of women. Such a false counterposing of two interdependent struggles can only be an attempt to hang on to the miserable tokens of the male prerogative—the "master right"—and can only hold back the achievement of real revolutionary solidarity within the proletariat and the movement, whose achievement depends on the abolition of all privileges and prerogatives, whether of color or sex.

DAY OF CELEBRATION

International Women's Day is a means to break down such "revolutionary" defenses of female oppression, as well as the more open, bourgeois varieties! It is a day of dedication by the entire movement to the struggles of women. More than that, it is a day of celebration of women in struggle. From the heroic women of Vietnam to the sublimely courageous black women north and south, to the textile strikers of Blue Ridge, Georgia, and the grape strikers of Delano, California, and including the student women at the University of Chicago, who, on a less grandiose scale than their sisters in other places, put forward in a specific way the demand for the equality of women in every sphere of life—March 8 is the day consecrated to their honor!

NIC RESOLUTION

At its February meeting in Madison, the NIC passed a resolution calling upon all chapters and regions to organize appropriate celebrations of International Women's Day. The implementation of this resolution depends on the consciousness of both male and female members of SDS. Literature and other materials will be forthcoming from the NIC in connection with the event. On a local and regional level, SDS should take the initiative to organize public rallies, to focus attention on the need to strive for the emancipation of women, the first subjugated group in human society. Wherever possible, these rallies should involve people from outside as well as inside SDS. In line with the resolutions

on Women's Liberation and on the Revolutionary Youth Movement, both passed at Ann Arbor, special attention should be devoted to the problems of young women of the working class, especially black and brown women, and efforts should be made to bring about the direct participation of young women and men of the working class. Furthermore, every effort should be made to guarantee the participation of men, in both the preparation and speaking. Chapters and regions should regard the rally and the work done in connection with it as a means of hurling people into struggle, as well as a spur to examine SDS internally, in order to correct any tendencies within it to perpetuate the practices of male supremacy of bourgeois society in general.

OPEN THE EYES

"Let the liars and hypocrites, the dull-witted and blind, the bourgeois and their supporters hoodwink the people with talk about freedom in general, about equality in general, about democracy in general.

"We say to the workers and peasants: Tear the masks from the faces of these liars, open the eyes of these blind ones. Ask them:

"Equality between what sex and what other sex?

"Between what nation and what other nation?

"Between what class and what other class?

"Freedom from what yoke, or from the yoke of what class? Freedom from what class?"

STRUGGLE

"Whoever speaks of politics, of democracy, of liberty, of equality, of socialism, and does not at the same time ask these questions, does not put them in the foreground, does not fight against concealing, hushing up and glossing over these questions, is of the worst enemies of the toilers, is a wolf in sheep's clothing, is a bitter opponent of the workers and peasants, is a servant of the landlords, tsars, capitalists."

Lenin: Women and Society

Chicago strikers pass statement

What is obvious should be first. The sit-in ends with no satisfaction on its original demands—in defeat. Marlene Dixon was not rehired, there is no amnesty, we have no guarantee that university employees will be adequately paid, and there have been few strides toward student power of any kind, especially toward the kind that the people who sat in envisioned. And we are leaving the Ad. Building.

It is important to be clear on why we are leaving. We are not leaving to show what responsible militants we are, to reopen rational discussion, or because we have made our point. Our fight and the sit-in were principled and we believe correct, our decision is purely tactical. There will be no rational discourse between those with power and those with none. At best there will be only evasions, generalities and the submergence of all real differences into a smooth pluralism. Worse will be attempts by those in power to split the moderates from the radicals with the suggestion that all action is not only immoderate but mindless as well: further the club of expulsion could be used.

We leave not because power confrontation or coercion is wrong. We must either coerce or be coerced, violently or quietly.

Last night we voted to drop the demand that in principle students and faculty should have equal power in hiring and rehiring faculty. We dropped that demand because in the building we developed an analysis that focused on the political nature of the university, on political suppression and on the oppression of women. Further, we didn't

want a share in formulating the policies of a racist university; rather, we wanted to attack the university's racism. That demand obscured those issues, and we dropped it not because it was impractical or too much for students to ask, but because it was irrelevant.

All this haggling as we leave. Why? Holding the building is no longer tactically useful. But the deeper aim of the Left on campus is to build a mass movement which will attack the university, to help transform it from an elite institution which serves as both a comfortable haven in this racist and exploitive society and as a garden for the cultivation of professionals. Instead, the university should be an institution

that serves the people of this society; it can serve the people only by being an agent of social change. We leave the building because staying would no longer help build that mass movement. We seek new tactics. Monday we will hold a Huey Newton birthday party, next weekend we will hold our own colloquium on how to end white racism, tentatively named the Levi-Levi colloquium. We will launch a fight against UC racism, in particular raising demands to end destruction and bring construction of housing in Woodlawn; increased admissions of working class students, especially black and Third World; a day care center for university employees, students and faculty; and

the creation of a student-run Suppressed Studies Division which will cover working class, black, women and radical movement studies. In courses throughout the university we will launch "struggle caucuses" to raise at every opportunity the issues of racism, professionalism, and suppression of radical ideas. This, hopefully, will be the beginning of a critical university. Of course, the struggle against the suspensions will also continue, focused by a political, collective defense asserting the legitimacy of our action.

Some things have become clearer. The university used every tactic not to negotiate with us, but rather to isolate us, to terrorize us. The machinations of the disciplinary committee, the use of red-baiting, desperation telegrams to our parents, the kamikaze invasion of various faculty and administration cops, the use of moderates and radicals against each other, and the consistent refusal to deal in a real way with the issues we raised. The Gray Committee was an outrageous sham; it defined as irrelevant most of our objections, in advance ruled out the possibility that a faculty could be reactionary, that radicals could be suppressed, that women in a specific case were being discriminated against (though it was indeed a general problem). All our accusations were too unlovely, offended too much dignity, to be worthy of professional consideration. In short, there is no problem of communication, it is clear to us where the faculty, the administration, Mr. Levi, the trustees stand. They stand together in

(continued on Page 8)



David Alley/Chicago New Times

Madison strike in "Uneasy calm"

by Rob Gordon

Madison SDS

MADISON, Feb. 20: Two years ago this month the Dow Chemical Co. first made its presence known here when 500 students blockaded Chancellor Robben Fleming (an ex-labor negotiator and now the president of the University of Michigan) in his office atop Bascom Hill and 14 students were arrested.

Today Wis. is uneasy (an "uneasy calm", university president Fred Harrington said yesterday) as a two-week-old strike whose focus is a black studies department threatens the university with eruption again.

A new chancellor sits where Fleming sat—H. Edwin Young (formerly a professor of economics)—and the heavily-Republican Legislature seems to like him. Young promised prompt disciplinary action including expulsion for any students who "disrupt the normal process of the university". To prove that he means business he asked Gov. Warren Knowles last week to bring on the national guard at \$22,500 a day (some 2,000 troops) to supplement the 400 riot pigs who are unable to quell the strike.

The Movement has increased ten times since Fleming's Dow Days. There have been 31 arrests so far—mostly for disorderly conduct.

The strike has followed a path of militant nonviolence from the start, according to the tactics of black leaders. Classroom buildings have been picketed and obstructed, traffic has been stopped, classes disrupted, torchlight marches to the state capitol (with numbers reaching to 10,000) have put the administration uptight on many sides since the legislature is threatening to cut the budget severely if a quick end is not put to these "outside agitators". At its peak the strike has threatened the university due to the large numbers of liberals whose chief focus is the black demands, and no more. Besides a black studies program—to be controlled by blacks—the demands call for immediate reinstatement of 90 Oshkosh University (a small UW campus) blacks who were expelled during a campus upheaval there in November.

When the strike was failing it was because large numbers of liberals were tired and seemed to think that giving

a week to the blacks was enough. Six-week exams were around the corner. Many see the blacks as the niggers and themselves as the privileged—free from exploitation. Hence, a moral impetus was injected into the masses on picket lines. Freedom chants from the early Sixties civil rights movements ("What do you want? Freedom! When do you want it? Now! or Go, Go, Go, Go, Go for your freedom!") were popularized last week.



Confrontation with pigs and Guard has been kept to a minimum. The largest militant action came at the strike's outset when over 1000 students marched across campus to the UW-Ohio State basketball game in an attempt at disruption. The move was unsuccessful, however, as the group was met at the stadium gates by 150 angry pigs who refused entrance and closed the box office for ticket sales.

A few windows were broken, 1 or 2 heads were smashed, and four were arrested. There were little hard clashes with The Man, as planned by black leaders. "We don't want to get arrested. We want to be around next week and the week after to shut it down if necessary," a black spokesman said.

As the week progressed, the strike grew and gained allies from the SDS-WDRU (Wisconsin Draft Resistance

Union), Wisconsin Student Association (WSA), the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA, which is concurrently under fire from the legislature for funds), American Friends Service Committee (AFSC, which donated its building for strike headquarters) and numerous other groups. (The Afro-American Cultural Center—black strike headquarters—was fire-bombed yesterday morning.)

A steering committee of 15 was

the whole deal (in the vein of scholarship, etc.) to prevent further violence, and today they are no more than a mailing list.

These profs—even the most marxist of them—refuse to join the strike (with the exception of one or two) and at best ignored it. One history prof claimed when the strikers disrupted his lecture that his course was more relevant. The Movement reeked of anti-intellectualism, he said, as he left the room under protest.

Not all in opposition to campus eruption were as silent as the scholars. During a heavy day of classroom building obstruction a renegade band of 50 jocks rammed into arm-linked brothers in front of the social science building. Wearing the blue "H" on the arms—for Hayakawa (the fascist martyr of SF State)—they broke into fights with groups of strikers. The incidents were brief, however, as the Man was on hand to law the order. That night six students, including three black sisters, were attacked by whites—assumed Hayakawas.

The strike was tiring. The strike was tired. It was the end of the week, and the initial excitement was over. It was hard work shutting down a university. And the university had not been shut down. It was evident to everyone that Young the chancellor was not about to let his institution close for a minute—if it took 10,000 troops to keep it open. People wondered. It was the weekend. Friday was a slow day. Only 2,000 or less showed up following the previous torchlight march of 10,000. What to do?

This week the blacks told the tired-disaffected-one-week-liberal-moralists to go back to class—temporarily at least—and discuss the demands with their professors. A petition of 1300 profs had been signed supporting Young's actions. A faculty meeting Wed. saw the defeat of a proposal to admit the 90 Oshkosh blacks by a slim margin. Black leaders see the faculty as an essential ally if they are to win speedily. The problem is how to keep the masses generated as they were early last week. It is difficult when the wheels of academia turn as usual. The strike is quiet now—with nearly everyone in school (except the blacks) but there is more to come. That is promised.

ROUND-UP

DUKE: More than 26 students were injured in a clash with police using tear gas and clubs last Feb. 13. The fight came after a ten-hour occupation of the administration building by black students backing up their demands for special black education programs without grading, a black studies program, money for a black student union building, and an end to "racist policies".

In a rally Feb. 15 Duke's black students pledged to continue their struggle with the school administration and to use "words or physical force" to achieve their demands.

National guardsmen are on alert at an armory two miles from the school.

NY CITY COLLEGE: Over 100 students occupied City's administration building for 4 1/2 hours Feb. 13 demanding a separate school of Negro and Puerto Rican studies. The occupation of the building ended with demonstrators marching silently from a side exit, and refusing to talk with the press.

BERKELEY: Thirty students were arrested after a clash with police Feb. 13 at the striking campus. The violence occurred after police cleared a campus entrance of Third World Liberation Front demonstrators.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA: Over 500 students occupied the administration building Feb. 18 over demands concerning a University-City Science Center being built in the West Side ghetto. The Center has classified contracts and is part of a consortium of about 17 schools in and near Philadelphia. The Center is responsible for the urban renewal of 1200 blacks in the area.

Students are demanding no classified or military contracts at the Center; the U. of Penn. as majority stockholder, and other corporations, should pay for low-cost housing on some land slated for the Center; and this land should be 10 acres.

MONTREAL: Canadian universities are experiencing disruptions similar to those in the US. Feb. 13 the Montreal police riot squad hauled 96 students, about half of them black, out of the wrecked Computer Center at Sir George Williams University. The students occupied the building for two weeks. All but six were jailed without bail. Four blanket charges of conspiracy involving harm to persons and property have been filed; the maximum penalty is life imprisonment.

This action prompted McGill University officials to close off the main entrance to its computer area.

At Windsor students demanded more power in policymaking and occupied part of the administration building.

The events at Sir George Williams are preceded by a 10 month controversy traced to the vocational aspirations of black West Indian students their conviction that Canada is racist and a professor's admission that he failed to

communicate with his black students because he did not appreciate the intensity of their feelings about racial questions.

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO: The Black Students Association has been disrupting classes around demands for a black studies department. They have gone into classes to speak about these demands. Six blacks have been suspended, and there are warrants out for four others on charges of criminal damage. Feb. 20, after a black rally, 150 marched to the president's office and demanded amnesty for the expelled students. When someone tried to call the cops the phone was ripped from the wall. Later cops stormed the campus. No arrests were made, but warrants have been issued.

SANTA BARBARA: Almost 2000 students are occupying the University Center at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

In January, a coalition composed of the Black Students Union, the United Mexican-American students, and SDS presented the administration a list of demands, centering around a call for the creation of Black and Mexican-American Studies Departments. The administration has refused to take any action since then. In the meantime, the leaders of the student groups have been harassed, evicted from their apartments, and arrested on trumped-up charges. 2000 students marched on the administration building on Monday, Feb. 17, and demanded an end to this harassment. When the administration refused to listen, students then seized the University Center.

PARIS (LNS): Student revolt rocked France again last week. Hundreds of students have been arrested and beaten in battles between students and French cops.

Conflict is around the issue of university elections, the adversary has become Gaullist reformism (which was the answer to last May's revolt), and the dominant tactic is a boycott that, if successful, will mean an important political defeat for the government.

AUSTIN, TEXAS (LNS): A disorderly conduct bill, aimed at Texas's more rowdy types, has been submitted to the state legislature.

Actions prohibited by the bill include:

- personal abuse or insult designed to cause a fight;
- indecent, profane, or vulgar language in the presence or hearing of others;
- maliciously obstructing the doorways and halls of public buildings;
- willful or malicious behavior that interrupts a speaker at a lawful assembly or meeting and restrains others present from participating meaningfully in the meeting.

Mission high rebellion

by Jeff Jones and Doug Norberg

(Reprinted from The Movement)

The strike at Mission High School in San Francisco is an important outgrowth of the strike at San Francisco State College. The class basis of the demands, the protracted nature of the struggle, have all led to an increasing polarization of the San Francisco community, and as a result, groups like the Mission High TWLF and BSU have had a chance to develop and mature in their strategic and political understanding of what is to be done.

Not long after the strike at State began, organizers in the Mission District sought to develop support for the strike in the Mission District, especially from students at Mission High School. Several rallies were held after school hours in Mission Dolores Park, across from the school. While the attendance at the rallies was not large, those students who did attend were inspired by the strike at State, especially by the Third World Liberation Front. Realizing that students at Mission were more concerned with their own survival than with the strike at State, they began to look into the scene at Mission High.

THE STUDENTS

Mission High School has about 2050 students: 450 blacks, 680 whites, 750 latinos, and 75 Chinese. Its students come from families with the lowest incomes in the city, averaging \$5300 per family. The latinos are the poorest of the ethnic groups, averaging some \$3500 per family. The unemployment rate for male Spanish-speaking residents of the Mission District is as high as 18%; half of those lucky enough to find jobs are found in three minimal employment categories: operatives, service workers and laborers.

Thirty-nine percent of the students at Mission are bi-lingual; that is, they have learned, or are now learning, English as a second language. There are no programs at Mission to help these students, outside of standard remedial language instruction. The channeling system in the schools, based as it is upon the results of intelligence tests, biased for those of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois white training, leaves little hope to the average student at Mission. The teaching staff, poorly trained and poorly paid in comparison with the whiter schools in the district, offers little encouragement to the student. Those teachers who have sought to develop bilingual programs and programs of ethnic studies have been met with cynicism by other faculty members and indifference from the administration.

BIG BIZ & COPS

Increasingly, the schools of San Francisco, particularly the working class high schools, are balanced by the control of the police on one hand, and the influence of major corporations on the other. The corporate control comes by way of the San Francisco Industrial Education Council, a branch of the National Alliance for Businessmen, locally coordinating the educational interests of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Pacific Gas & Electric, Southern Pacific, and Lockheed, among others. Functionally it works like this: PT&T helps to develop the vocational program at Mission; it "loans" engineers to do demonstrations in electronics classes; it gives presentations on the world of work and how ethnic groups can advance (showing examples: a black lineman, a black long distance supervisor, etc.)

PT&T helps the administration of the school directly, as well. On occasion they loan their public relations staff to the school during times of crisis; when the school administration needs new desks and filing cabinets, they have found PT&T much more effective in filling the order than the Board of

Education downtown. In return for all this, the school administration sets up a job placement center to deliver the goods—cheap manpower—to PT&T.

The police work in and around the school to keep the colony tame. There is a counselor at every high school in the city, who acts in liaison with the Police Narcotics Bureau. The Police Community Relations Bureau develops programs for the recruitment of cops, thereby maintaining a presence on campus for the supervision of "dissident elements". The old hall monitor system, civil service jobs, has been found inadequate to the needs of security in the school, so the Board of Education has allocated and is now training "security guards" to police the schools

and demonstrations were held the next two days, involving greater numbers of students every day. The four-day weekend between semesters gave the latino and black leadership the opportunity to pull their demands together into a more cohesive whole.

THE DEMANDS

The new semester began with the arrest of three latino community organizers for leafletting. The following day, 200 students, a few parents and a group of community people presented 17 demands to the Board of Education, giving the Board a 10-day period to deal with them. The demands included black and ethnic studies



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in a more effective manner. All of which does little to inspire educational zeal among the students. The number of students at Mission has declined by 200 every year for the past three years, as the drop-out rate has exceeded 1/3 of all the students enrolled. Out of the 2050 students, between 450 and 600 are absent daily. The average student at Mission is absent 82 days out of the school year.

THE STRIKE

The tension and the frustration of the students has often expressed itself in fighting among students—black against brown, black and brown against white. The current strike at Mission grew out of a fight between the black and latino students January 22-24.

When the police Tactical Squad was called in, the students rallied under the leadership of the BSU in fighting the cops, demanding that they be pulled off campus. The BSU called a strike for Monday, January 27. The latinos circulated a leaflet, saying: "We got ourselves together last week fighting the blacks. Now it's time to fight the REAL ENEMY."

The administration reacted to this show of unity among the students in two ways. First, they called separate convocations for white, black and brown students, to supervise the drawing up of demands and requests. The immediate result of this was that the black and Latino students showed their unity around a set of political demands. They obviously had their shit together. The white students, on the other hand, reflected their fragmentation and intimidation by coming up with nothing.

Secondly, the administration sought to isolate the radical leadership from the student body by bringing in the police and launching a series of suspensions. While this did take the leadership out of action—its harder than hell to get out of the Youth Guidance Center if your parents are not behind you—the administration had misgauged the new militancy of even the most apolitical students when faced with a line of cops. The police action politicized a whole lot of students and involved many white students who had been only peripherally involved. Rallies

courses, abolition of laminated ID cards, election of hallway monitors, more Third World teachers and counselors, expulsion of undercover and uniformed cops and improvements to the cafeteria and other facilities and services. Of special significance is a demand for abolition of IQ tests which contain cultural and class bias and are used to disqualify and discourage minority group students.

The Board responded with an incredibly complex committee structure for discussion of the demands, leaving the students pissed and calling for another strike beginning 4th period Wednesday, the next day.

Wednesday morning the police busted 24 students on truancy and a variety of other charges. Following a noon rally in Dolores Park, the strikers decided to reenter the building for maneuvers; the police returned and busted seven non-students (community organizers, newsmen, people just passing by) and three students. The students were charged with truancy; the non-students with trespassing and participating in a riot.

U of Chicago

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preserving a racist, suppressive, reactionary institution.

As a collective in the building we had trouble staying together. The waiting game is always to the advantage of the powers that be, especially when they can strike with their disciplinary stick as they wait. Only a movement solidly united around a political program, and willing to see a fight through could last it out. We were not up to that. It was difficult to escalate tactics when only a tenuous confluence of interests around the case of Marlene Dixon tied us together. It was as if our unity could only be defined by our possession of the Ad. Building, not in concrete agreements about what our movement was about, where it was leading. But also it seems the only place a lot of people could have serious political discussion and action was in the Administration Building, and for that reason alone the sit-in was a success. We emerge, hopefully as a mere

The remainder of the week was occupied with low-keyed discussion of the demands among students—constantly interrupted by arrests and suspensions (75 students were arrested during this week alone)—and with the building of parents' and teachers' groups around support of the demands. While community people decided to demonstrate in the Mission High Administrative offices on Monday in protest to the use of the police on and around the school, the initiative was seized by various Tio Tacos (Uncle Toms), leaders of the Mission Coalition (a mix of left and liberal latino community organizations).

These leaders led the group to the Board of Education building, instead, where they were given promises that 1) the Administration would print and distribute copies of the 17 demands to students on Tuesday; and 2) that students would be "given" their home room hours Thursday for discussion of the demands. It appears at this writing that the Administration will try to show that these discussions prove the lack of student interest in the demands, and wash their hands. They'll be washing their hands in glue.

PROBLEMS

A sustained fight in the high schools is a difficult task. Materialist hang-ups (cars, clothes, etc.) are all ways that students are co-opted away from uniting and fighting against their oppressors. Pig repression is swift and effective. On Wednesday (Feb. 5) 27 students were busted for truancy as part of an effort by the pigs to scare off any confrontation as part of the strike. Most kids assume that if you are truant and caught, then you are guilty. There is no concept of self-defense.

We must challenge this acceptance of the system, and offer an alternative. Through a program of juvenile self-defense, we hope to launch an attack on the courts and police, as well as expand political consciousness. Many of the white kids, who are hostile to the TWLF because they don't want to be forced to study black and brown history, etc., are sympathetic to the demands that have to do with cops on or near the campus.

Some say that organizing high-school students is not the most important work to be done. We say the fight against racism is the major fight at this stage, and the presence of 20 to 30% of the white students at Mission High on a picket line supporting the TWLF will contribute greatly to the expanding awareness of the existence of racism in the society, and the forcing of people to choose between supporting it and fighting it, as has been caused by the strike at State. Even more than college students, high school students bring it closer to home.

coherent body prepared to fight the university. The measure of our seriousness will be the extent to which we carry forth the program that has been suggested above; holding on to the building is no substitute for the work necessary to make that program work.

As losers in this specific action, we naturally leave unhappily, educated to the limitation of our tactics, not because they were too coercive, but rather because they did not help us reach out to bring in enough people so that our coercion would be effective. But we also leave educated to a set of principles which we in the building have come to value together and which will form the basis for on-going and long-range struggle, a struggle which we identify with those going on all over the country from SF State to NY's City College. We consider their fight to be one with ours. We have inflicted a Pyrrhic victory on the Administration. They had better celebrate soon.