

—photos by Grover Wickersham/LNS



BERKELEY!

(See page 5)



NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
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Chicago, Illinois 60612

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Fights broke out last week between Berkeley police and students striking to demand a Third World Studies Department. Above, strikers overturn a police paddy wagon, one of four which were upset. Police threw hundreds of tear gas canisters; many were returned by youth in the streets.

Vol. 4, Number 8

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

February 28, 1969

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 West Madison

Chicago, Illinois

Bulletin

The movement in Michigan is under heavy attack. As New Left Notes went to press, we learned that several people have been busted, with more arrests expected Thursday.

Alan Maki, Grand Rapids, was arrested and held, charged with larceny. Alan allegedly stole sandwiches while involved in a seizure of the Administration Building at Michigan State University.

Mike Price, an MSU student, was arrested and released on \$2500 bail; he was charged with "assault with a deadly weapon with intent to commit great bodily harm less than murder," a felony. Bill Ayers, Michigan regional traveler, was arrested for felonious assault and was being held on \$2500 bail. It is thought that the arrests stem from action at the MSU state of the university speech, at which an incident occurred with several pushy cameramen. Someone broke lights and a lens, but the film remained intact, and it's being used as evidence.

Also busted recently was Tony Ladner from Detroit, on a charge of "obscenity in the presence of women": he gave a speech at the state of the university rally. No bail has been set.

For more information on the crackdown in Michigan, see the story about the REP office elsewhere in this issue.

Miners wildcat, seek 'black lung' legislation

The coal mines in West Virginia have been virtually shut down since Feb. 20, when miners went on a wildcat strike over "Black Lung," a disease that cripples approximately one miner in five.

The West Virginia Black Lung Association called the strike; the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA—the miners' union) opposes it. The strikers are demanding that the state legislature pass a bill to install safety devices in the mines and provide workmen's compensation for those who get black lung, a disease caused by the prolonged breathing of coal dust.

The UMWA, which has introduced a bill not too costly to the mine owners into the legislature, says it supports the miners' goals, but not their tactics (the strike). On a local level, however, many union representatives have been sympathetic to the strike.

Strike Growing

Over 16,000 miners are out in the southern part of West Virginia, and about 50% of the mines in the north are closed. There has been talk of a one-day sympathy strike in Kentucky, a state which has a workmen's compensation law on the books that is rarely enforced. (Most of the miners' doctors in Kentucky either belong to or are sympathetic to the mine owners

and so diagnose black lung as either asthma or heart attack, diseases which are not covered by workmen's compensation.)

Clearly, even if the West Virginia legislature passes a black lung bill, the mine owners will find a way to get around it.

Continual Violations

Since the "Mine Safety Act" went into effect in 1952, 5,500 miners have been killed on the job. Violation after violation has been cited since the act became law, but only one penalty has ever been assessed against a mine operator.

The incident that led to the West Virginia wildcat was an explosion in a Farmington, West Virginia mine last November that killed 78 men. That particular mine had been inspected seven times since 1960 and seven times cited for dangerous concentrations of coal dust and gas.

Over 8,000 of the striking miners have gone to Charleston to pressure the legislature, which is scheduled to adjourn in two weeks, to pass their black lung bill. Their methods of influencing their congressmen are expected to escalate in line with legislative inaction. Meanwhile, the strike is rapidly spreading throughout West Virginia.



West Virginia miners have shut down coal mines in a wildcat strike demanding safety devices in the mines and compensation for those getting "black lung."

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

Distortions

This letter is being submitted in an attempt to correct some serious distortions which appeared in the Ayers, Fitch article in the Feb. 5 NLN, titled "MSU SDS takes action, ends in-fighting."

The article begins by pointing out the inactivity of the chapter due to factional struggle. It would be more correct to say that we lacked both clear politics and struggle. Attempts by various factions to rectify the situation were hampered by the commission of opportunist and sectarian errors by EVERYONE in the chapter. This includes both Ayers and Fitch, who played as important a role in the chapter as everyone else.

More serious are the distortions of the contribution to the struggle around the firing of Prof. Garskof by the Worker-Student Alliance Caucus. They are briefly these:

Before the first mass meeting Wed., Jan. 29, the chapter met. There was general agreement that we fight around the demand that Garskof be re-hired and we try to win students to an analysis of the university as a racist, imperialist

ruling class institution, as Fitch and Ayers correctly report. What was left out of the article was the disagreement over tactics. Fitch, Ayers and others called for moving the people into a building on the grounds that the people were ready to move, that this action would build commitment and help us in getting our politics across. This action was opposed by the W.S. Alliance, based on the feeling that it would be at best a tactical dead end, at worst phoney, was premature, and would appear manipulative. Both the demand and the tactic were accepted by the chapter as the position to put forward in the mass meeting. The charges of "SDS manipulation and red-baiting" that came from the students in the mass meeting as reported by Fitch and Ayers were in large part due to the call by the chapter to take a building, combined with the attempts by almost everyone in the chapter to push the politics of a student power situation to a higher level.

Garskof's Politics

It is not enough to say as Fitch and Ayers do that "Garskof is openly radical and a member of SDS." Although he agreed to the radicalization of the struggle, he continued to emphasize

organic learning (Summerhill). He consistently put forward this position in the campus media, and thus emphasized a more effective way for the university to run (Student Power, Ivory Tower, etc.). It was evident that the issues needed to be clarified; the problem was how.

Opposes Occupation

At the second meeting, Sunday night, Ayers and Fitch and others called for taking the Ad building following a mass rally the next day. The W.S. Alliance called for the addition of a second demand: "Open admission for all black, minority, Third World, and white working people." The group voted to overrule the chair and not even consider the addition of the second demand. Due to the fact that the politics of the majority of the group were clearly still at the student power level, the W.S. Alliance opposed committing the group to a tactical confrontation. It did not oppose militancy. The W.S. Alliance position was outvoted, in part due to the fact that it did not argue the politics of the second demand effectively and confused the meeting between strategic politics and tactical opposition in taking the building.

Tactical Dead End

At the mass rally the following day a speaker from the W.S. Alliance got the mike. He called for the addition of the second demand, argued briefly for it, and called for the building of a militant strike instead of forcing a confrontation at the Ad building (a concrete trap) with at least 500 cops standing by. He also called for moving the rally into the building, where both the second demand and the strike tactic were accepted by the rally.

Even more serious than the distortions of the W.S. Alliance positions in the meetings was the assertion that a red-baiting leaflet was put out by the W.S. Alliance. This is an outright lie. A leaflet was put out charging SDS with manipulation and conjuring up the image of outside agitators. It was not put out or distributed by the W.S. Alliance caucus. The leaflet was put out by an individual who (like many members of the chapter) had attended one meeting



of the caucus but who is not a member. It was signed with the name of the dormitory in which that individual resides. The Ayers-Fitch article is correct in characterizing this leaflet as "a vicious red-baiting attack." It was NOT the work of the W.S. Alliance caucus. This was made clear to Ayers and Fitch BEFORE their article was submitted to NLN.

The MSU chapter is involved in building a strike, like SF State; a struggle against the ruling class and U.S. imperialism. Most people in the chapter have contributed toward advancing the struggle in a militant way, around good politics. The attempt by Fitch and Ayers to misrepresent that struggle, by smearing the role of the W.S. Alliance in East Lansing through distortions and outright lies in a national movement publication is not only an attack on the Worker-Student Alliance, but an attack on the movement as a whole.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------|
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New Left Notes

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Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is gonna win!

by Bernardine Dohrn, Inter-Organizational Secretary

There are some within the movement who, at a time when the Vietnamese are facing their toughest attacks from the imperialists, are purposefully trying to distort and misrepresent the position of the NLF and DRV. These lies are an attempt to destroy the faith and respect which the revolutionary leadership of Vietnam has earned from the people during the past quarter of a century of heroic struggle against the French and U.S. imperialist invaders.

Ho Chi Minh has been called a "traitor" and a "revisionist" by some who call themselves Marxists and Leninists. The NLF has been accused of "selling out" the people of Vietnam. These conclusions come from lies about the leadership's position in Paris, saying that they have retreated from their "Five Points." To perpetrate such lies in an attempt to divide the struggle is counter-revolutionary at best, and can only serve the interests of world imperialism.

It should be obvious that the United States government hopes to win at the conference table what they have lost on the battlefield and lost in the minds of the people. The stated U.S. intention to negotiate for "peace" to insure the interests of the Vietnamese people and their right to self-determination is a hoax. SDS demands immediate withdrawal of all U.S. presence and attacks the imperialist interest of the U.S. government in Paris as well as in Vietnam.

At the same time as the Vietnamese are talking on the basis of the original five points, the willingness of the Vietnamese people to fight and defend the revolution has been made clear by the recent offensives. The charges of revisionism are unfounded.

Therefore to now accuse the Vietnamese leadership of being sell-outs is racist and paternalistic—the very attitudes of the oppressor. To imply that the Vietnamese do not understand or are unable to fight in their own interests at the conference table is to reinforce the

propaganda of the colonizer. This position assumes that the great Asian hordes do all right in the field, but can't defeat the tricky maneuvers of diplomats in conversation. The Vietnamese people are waging the vanguard struggle in the world today against U.S. imperialism.

In the past few months, the Vietnamese have carried the political aspect of the war to the Paris Conference in order to rally world-wide support, consolidate their countless victories, and lay out their demands for immediate withdrawal of all troops from the country. The position of the Front and the DRV was again clarified last Friday at the fifth plenary session of the Paris Talks—clearly refuting the lies about their "deals."

Both the NLF and the DRV restated their demands: the United States must "end its war of aggression

against Vietnam, definitively cease all infringements upon the sovereignty and security of the DRV, completely and unconditionally withdraw U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, dismantle all U.S. military bases in South Vietnam, and let the internal affairs of South Vietnam be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the Political Programme of the NLF, without foreign interference." The DRV said, "We fully support the position of the delegation of the NLF and the way it sets the problem on the basis of its five points. We underline that all U.S. and satellite troops must be withdrawn from South Vietnam without any conditions whatsoever."

It is the job of revolutionaries to know, to publicize, and to support these positions. To be intimidated by a counter-revolutionary position which poses as "super-left" is cowardice.



"In the past few months, the Vietnamese have carried the political aspect of the war to the Paris Conference."

There's a man going 'round taking names

by REP staff

1969 will undoubtedly be a year which brings increased attacks upon the Movement; the HUAC hearings, the Chicago Grand Jury, the Oakland 7 trial, repressive actions against GI coffee houses, the McClellan Senate investigation of SCEP (and their records which involve a number of other Movement organizations) are only some of the better-publicized incidents of repression and attack on the Movement.

The Michigan State Legislature has set up its own little committee (as have several other states) to investigate "breaches of the peace and disorders on university campuses." The resolution reads:

Senate resolution No. 8, January 27, 1969 (a committee was set up which) "is authorized...to study breaches of the peace and disorders on university campuses, including but not limited to (1) the influence of any subversive groups on illegal interference by individuals and groups with the enjoyment and use of Michigan educational facilities, (2) strengthening state criminal laws relating to breaches of the peace on the campus and disorders on the campus and (3) the role of the 'Students for a Democratic Society' as related to campus disorders and breaches of the peace, and the need for legislation to correct any abuses which might exist and to report its findings and recommendations to the Legislature...."

Indications are that this committee's intentions are a broad and general attack upon Movement activity in the state; it is likely that the committee will follow the familiar pattern of using closed hearings, manipulation of the press, subpoenaing of Movement people, threats of legal action, etc., to intimidate and harass Movement activities in the state.

On the night of Friday, February 7, REP's office and the Michigan regional SDS office were broken into and several important files and records stolen. We believe this robbery—which occurred just a few weeks before the Michigan committee is beginning its work—is related to the coming witch-hunt in the state, and throughout the country.

Consider what was stolen: from REP —1) address plates from two separate lists—both lists were nation-wide but only Michigan names were taken; 2) financial records for the past eight

months; 3) some outgoing mail; 4) part of a card file listing subscribers to the Racist's in the Profession Newsletter; 5) part of a card file listing people dropped from our mailing list. From SDS—1) contact card file for the region; 2) financial books and records; 3) correspondence and other lists.

The robbery was a professional job. The method of entry into the office was slick and well done (using glass cutters; taking all fuses out of the fuse box, etc.). More important, whoever carried out the job knew what information they wanted, knew where in the office to get it, knew the nature of our address and card file system, and knew what files to not bother taking. Nothing was noticeably damaged,

although most of the desk drawers, etc. throughout the office had clearly been gone through. Other movement offices should take note of the ease with which the pigs gained access to the office. They knew what they wanted before they came in, and knew where to look for it—information that could be gained only from someone who had been in our offices before the break-in. Now that repression is coming down on us, our consciousness of security must increase.

A little more than a week before the robbery REP received notice that we will have to move. The reasons why the landlady chose to evict are somewhat complicated (the building is being sold and will be remodeled) but a change in

attitude of our landlady and the way in which she dealt with us are probably more than coincidental with some of the above events.

An attack upon REP, SDS, and the Movement in Michigan has, of course, much wider implications than repression in just this state. Politically, the repression in Michigan is part of a larger, national picture that is beginning to emerge only too clearly. We know that our best defense is a unified, political attack upon the sources of repression both here and in California, Kentucky, Illinois, Texas, and elsewhere. As Joe Namath says, "The best defense is a good offense." We should see repression and its concrete examples as ways to educate and organize people.



NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING — MARCH 27 - 30

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN

COME EARLY — COME EARLY — COME EARLY



- 1) DELEGATES: ELECT YOURS NOW!
 - Chapters get one delegate for having between 5 and 25 dues-paying NATIONAL members of SDS; 2 delegates for between 26 and 50 paid NATIONAL members; 3 delegates for 51 - 75 members...
 - DELEGATES MUST BE ELECTED BY THE CHAPTER. Names of elected chapter delegates must be submitted to the SDS National Office no later than March 20.
 - You must also send a list of all the chapter's national members when you send in the names of the delegates.
- 2) PAPERS AND RESOLUTIONS to appear in the NC issue of New Left Notes must be received by March 17.
- 3) HOUSING INFORMATION: Write Larry Waterhouse, Box 8279, UT Station, Austin, Texas 78712.

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A DELEGATE TO ATTEND THE NC (but only delegates can vote). Everyone interested should attend the festivities.

Free the Harlem Six!

The case of the Harlem Six, convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964, has been moved to federal court. In addition, the New York State Court of Appeals has reversed their conviction, opening the avenue to a retrial in state court. The case of these six young black men is a symbol of the unceasing day to day oppression of black people in Harlem and throughout America.

Harlem Rebellion

To understand some of the details of the frame-up of the Harlem Six, a brief run-down of major events in Harlem during 1964 is helpful.

1964 was a year of increasing struggle for black liberation in Harlem. Militant rent strikes were growing in the community, fights against the racist school system were raging, and it was the year of Gilligan the Cop. His murder of a 15-year-old black youth in Harlem was the focus of enormous anger, with demonstrations and explosions in Harlem. The murder and Gilligan's subsequent clearing of any responsibility for the death by the police was an important issue in the Harlem Rebellion of '64.

That winter saw a vicious racist propaganda attack on the black community by the New York Times. They ran a series of stories about the so-called "Bloodbrothers" designed to stir up whites against the black community's struggles around housing, schools, and the police. The stories pictured a "secret" society of young black people who ravaged whites on subways, trained in "terror tactics", and were bound by some sort of brotherhood oath to commit all sorts of

vaguely hinted at treacherous deeds. Black organizations blasted the Times for these stories and called it the racist trash it was. Months later they ran a story on the back pages admitting the lies.

This series of stories was an important part of the propaganda campaign waged to justify the clearance of Gilligan the Cop, increased police occupation of the ghetto, and the subsequent conviction of the Harlem Six for murder.

It is hard to pinpoint the beginning of the story of the Harlem Six, but the Battle of the Fruitcart was significant. The campaigns in the black community mentioned above were met by increasing the number of pigs in Harlem, especially the use of the Tactical Police Force. There were numerous incidents with the police, as well as small battles. One day late in the winter of '64 several kids were on the street near a fruit pushcart uptown. There was some spoiled fruit on the street which the kids began playing with. As usual there were plenty of people on the street standing around, doing their business, and sort of watching. Then a squad of the TPF came marching down the street shooting into the air and swinging their clubs at everyone in the street. Young kids and adults were smashed to the sidewalk; one man lost the sight in both eyes as the cops stomped their boots in his face and then refused him medical treatment for almost two days. The number of injured was large. During the police attack many of those on the street tried to stop the cops and protect the small kids. Among those who tried to help and were fingered by the pigs were two of the Harlem Six.

In April a tailor shop was held up on 125th Street; a woman was killed and her husband stabbed. Six young black men were rounded up and charged with the murder. They had no money and couldn't hire a lawyer. So the court appointed a lawyer for the Six in one of the clearest examples of how the courts work against the people. The Six requested their own lawyers, Conrad Lynn and William Kunstler, to represent them; their families requested these lawyers, movement groups demanded that they have their own lawyers. But no: the court said it was not only fulfilling its obligation to provide counsel, but because the Six were "uneducated and indigent" they were "unable and unfit to choose their own lawyers". The court lawyer was exactly that, appearing half drunk in court and not making half an effort to defend the six, who were convicted. They have been in jail for nearly five years.

Since then the two attorneys whom

the Six had originally requested filed briefs to reverse the conviction. The conviction was finally reversed, but the court refused to tamper with the still-existing law under which poor people do not have the right even to choose their own lawyer.

Melonhead Racist

Last week the Six again attempted to get their own lawyers for the new round of legal battles. The judge, Gerald Culklin, replied: "These boys wouldn't know a good attorney from a good watermelon."

It is possible that with continued effort the Six will, at least, gain the right to have their own lawyers for the retrial. It is important as the case reopens that the movement as a whole immediately begin launching an educational campaign about the case, about how the court system works day in and day out to serve the ruling class, and about the black liberation struggle.

Phony arrests hit Panthers

A new round of phony arrests and accompanying high bail hit the Black Panther Party last week in four cities across the country.

George Murray, Panther Minister of Education and teacher at San Francisco State College, was jailed for six months for parole violation. Murray, on parole for a previous conviction stemming from the S. F. State struggle in 1967, was arrested recently on a charge of possessing a deadly weapon. His case

has not yet come to trial. Nevertheless, as with Eldridge Cleaver, Murray's parole board revoked his parole on the basis of his arrest before his case could even be tried. Murray remains in jail while his attorneys appeal the parole revocation.

The punitive use of parole revocation is one of the most often used and most effective weapons of the State since it does not pretend to depend even on any innocent or guilty verdict as determined in the sham court system.

In other words, any kind of phony arrest set-up is enough to have Murray's parole revoked and put him in jail. It is not even necessary for the state to get a conviction to achieve their objective: getting Murray, an important force in the Panthers and the S. F. State strike, behind bars.

Absurd Charges

Similarly, convictions on other absurd charges made against Black Panther Party members last week would almost be a bonus for the State. In these cases, high bail has succeeded in temporarily jailing six men. The bond total: \$135,000—an enormous and continuing drain on the human and financial resources of the Black Panthers.

In Chicago, two Panthers traveling to California were yanked off an airplane and charged with "giving false information about the safety of an airplane," a federal offense. What happened is still unclear. As the dust settles from the incredible press version of the story, it appears that a stewardess overheard the two Panthers supposedly joking to each other as the plane was taking off: If this plane has enough fuel to get to California, it could get to Cuba. The plane was returned to the airport, the Panthers immediately arrested; the FBI tried to charge them with skyjacking—a capital offense—but couldn't even convince federal officials of that. So they were held on the crazy "false information" charge. The bail is \$10,000 each.

In New York, two members of the Black Panther Party were also taken off an airplane and accused of carrying concealed weapons. Their bail was set at \$50,000 each.

While in Harrisburg, Pa., two officers of the local Panther Party were arrested by federal officials for violation of the federal "crime in the streets" bill. The two had previously been arrested on state charges of possession of a gun, convicted in state court, and fined \$100. Since then the black high schools have begun exploding in Harrisburg. So the FBI rushed in and killed the activities in the schools, arrested the two Panthers for the same action that they had already been convicted for months ago, slapped a federal charge on them, and had bail set at \$10,000 and \$35,000.

FREE HUEY NOW!



The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundation of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be perpetual peace for all mankind.

Berkeley strikers battle police

by Lee Davidson
Liberation News Service

BERKELEY (LNS)—The University of California campus here became a battlefield Thursday, Feb. 20, as students fought back against repeated tear gas attacks by club-swinging pigs. Some 3000 strikers abandoned the usual tactics of picketing and running, to remobilize when the cops attacked. When the students counterattacked—hurling rocks, bricks, bottles, and cherry bombs—the police often retreated in terror.

As a result of the day's battle, the University reported 12 students injured, and the Alameda County Sheriff's Office reported 13 cops hurt, including Division Chief Tom Hutchins, who was struck on the shoulder by a rock. Fifteen students were arrested on Thursday, bringing the total number arrested to 133 in the month-old strike.

TWLF Strikes Again

The strike, led by the campus Third World Liberation Front, which is demanding an autonomous Third World College, appeared to be faltering until a week ago, when two students and a newsman were the victims of brutal, unprovoked beatings by the police. On that day, 36 persons were arrested, including 17 informational pickets from the Teaching Assistants' Union (AFT).

On Tuesday, a blood-thirsty horde of pigs cornered black leader Jim Nabors, viciously beat him, and hauled him away to jail. Picket lines swelled to about 1000, and strikers began sporadically throwing rocks at police.

On Wednesday, in a front-page editorial entitled "The Horror," the "liberal" campus newspaper, The Daily Californian, said "We urge you join the strike for the Third World demands and an end to police on campus. We urge you to support the right of peaceful picketing and the right to walk across campus and emerge alive. The reign of terror cannot longer be endured."

The University was increasingly crippled on Wednesday, when many non-academic employees honored the AFT picket line and significant numbers of students boycotted classes, especially in humanities courses. In some fields, as many as half the professors held classes off campus. On the picket lines, after police were unsuccessful in an attempt to arrest the blacks, they started swinging their clubs wildly, and students retaliated

with rocks and cherry bombs. Police countered with their first use of Mace on strikers.

Thus the stage was set for Thursday's battle, which many persons described as similar to last summer's confrontations in Chicago. The day started peacefully as a line of about 1200 strikers marched to University Hall and threw a scare into the Regents, who were meeting there under heavy guard. Twenty minutes later the strikers returned to campus and continued picketing in front of the administration building (Sproul Hall); students were in a quandary, seeing the masses of angry strikers, yet remembering Ronnie Reagan's "state of emergency" orders to keep the campus opened.

Then, at 3 p.m., a tear gas canister exploded next to some cops on the steps of Sproul Hall. Police claim a student threw it, but students and newsmen on the scene saw it like this: someone threw a flower at a cop who freaked and threw the canister before his cohorts could don their masks.

Anyway, police answered with a barrage of tear gas, and the three-hour campus guerrilla war began, involving about 300 students and 300 pigs. The police repeatedly bombarded strikers with tear gas canisters (many of which were immediately thrown back at the cops; the strikers backed off slightly, cleared their eyes, and quickly returned to pelt the cops with a barrage of rocks, bricks, and cherry bombs.

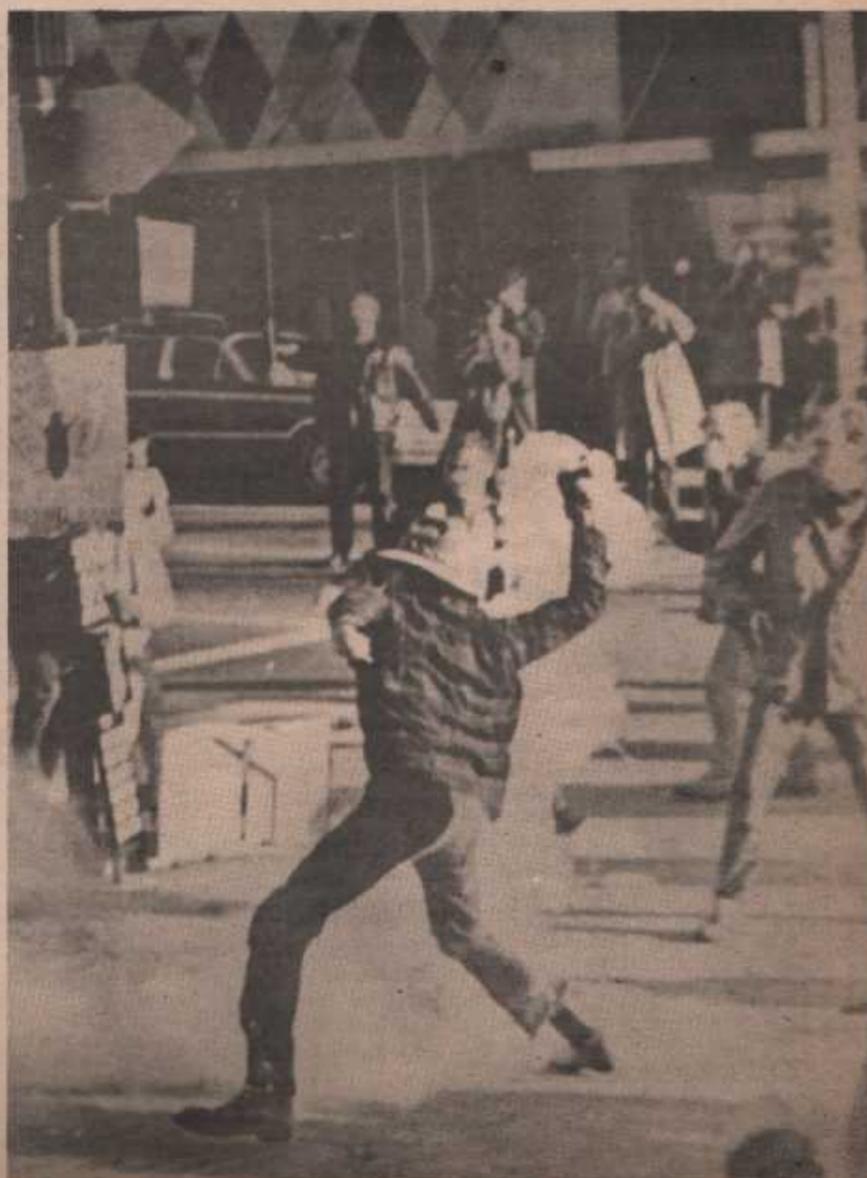
Paddy Wagons Overturned

Hundreds of strikers attacked the cops. No longer was the fear of being caught or beaten holding them back. The cops were picking up rocks and wildly throwing them back (one rock went through a Student Union window).

At one point, the strikers spotted two police paddy wagons. They quickly overturned the first one, and when two pigs tried to rescue the other wagon, they were driven back into the basement of Sproul Hall.

The second wagon was then overturned and hundreds of on-lookers cheered and raised their hands in the clenched-fist salute.

It was estimated that hundreds of tear gas canisters were used by police in a vain effort to rout the strikers. Proud and weary, the people left the battlefield about 6:00 p.m., understanding more vividly where their power lies.



In addition to rocks, bricks, and cherry bombs, Berkeley street fighters answered the cops by throwing back tear gas canisters. —photo by Grover Wickersham/LNS

Berkeley: son of SF State

by Jeff Gerth
Liberation News Service

BERKELEY (LNS)—The strike at S. F. State, led by the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) has given birth to the strike at Berkeley, led by their TWLF. But the child bears little resemblance to the parent.

S. F. State is a commuter school—a fairly radical faculty teaches an older

and primarily working class student body. On the other hand, at Berkeley, a research-oriented faculty provides a training ground for middle class kids who are assured niches in the professional world. It is the jewel of the state university system, while S. F. State belongs to the less prestigious state college system.

The State strike has developed a political framework in which the diverse groups can struggle. But with its history of civil liberties activities, Berkeley has failed to find such solid political footing for its first strike against racism. There has been no clear articulation of a set of demands.

But now, the Berkeley strike, which began as a symbolic boycott of classes, has been transformed by the Chicago style police battle on Feb. 20.

Although the Berkeley student body of about 28,000 is more left-leaning than most, and easily enflamed, it has generally been apathetic or cynical about struggle.

As a result, the strength of the present strike has been erratic. For example: picket lines of 50 on one day, 1,500 on another; 500 snake-dancing demonstrators one day, 400 another; mass meetings of 50 one day, 500 another.

The press coverage of the strike in the Bay Area has been equally erratic. The liberal campus newspaper, whose editorial position reflects the views of many students, has shifted position innumerable times.

A few examples: on Feb. 5, it denounced "mob action" that "leads to nowhere;" on Feb. 14, it headlined, "Stay Away" after the first large arrest; on Feb. 18, it condemned "vandalism" and said, "Now that Chancellor Heys has returned...serious discussions are again proceeding in an orderly way." And finally, after the battles of Feb. 19 and 20, in which the editor of the Daily Cal got maced and arrested for inciting to riot, the paper returned to the side of the strikers.

At Berkeley, as at State, the man

(continued on Page 11)



Pigs blocked off this striker and moved in, clubs swinging.

History of Middle East liberation struggle

by Susan Eanet

(At the last NIC meeting, many persons felt that NLN should distribute information to educate the membership about the Middle East. In the next three issues of NLN we will try to provide some historical background, give some insight into the movement against imperialism in the Arab countries and discuss the Arab revolution. It is hoped that the next NC will draft a resolution stating the SDS position on the Middle East struggle, which outside of Vietnam may be the leading struggle against US imperialism in the world today.)

In Europe, it is true that the Jews served as a historical scapegoat for the ruling classes. As feudalism gave way to capitalism through the 19th century, five million Jews emigrated from the Austrian and Russian provinces to America and thousands went to Palestine. As we will see, the situation in Palestine was analogous to the flight of the early colonialists to America in the 17th century to a land already occupied by an Indian people.

The political thinkers who shaped Zionism were influenced by the growth of imperialism and the development of colonies around the world which were stimulating capitalist development in Western Europe. They represented the commercial interests of bourgeois Jews in Western Europe. Believing in the "white man's burden," coupled with the nationalist sentiments caused by the persecution of masses of Jews in Eastern Europe, they chose to colonize the "heathen" who occupied the Arab lands in order to create a new Jewish homeland.

These early Zionists were sponsored by some leaders in developing world imperialism like the Baron Edmund de Rothschild of France, who initially

invested about two million pounds between 1870 and 1900 to start schools and villages in Palestine. De Rothschild wanted to see Palestine colonized along the lines of the Algerian model. He wanted to use the emigrant Jewish masses as the settlers and colonizers for his own financial interests, which meant the development of an economic base in the Middle East.

The architects of Zionism were mainly bourgeois Jewish intellectuals, like Theodore Herzl and Max Nordau, two Swiss journalists. They completely ignored the existence of the Arab population who have occupied this "chosen land" for centuries. Thus the so-called birth of Israeli "socialism" was founded on the complete relocation of thousands of people of color. This is one of the unique features of Palestine. In most cases the colonizers' goal is to exploit the labor and physical resources of the colonized nation. In this case, however, the Zionists' goal was to create a nation of its own with its own class oppressors.

In the early period of emigration to Palestine, Rothschild bought lands from the feudal Ottoman landlords and continued to employ Arab serfs (fellahin) on the land. However, the phony "Marxism" of Herzl led him to want to create a Jewish working class in the Jewish state. "Jewish Labor" became a Zionist slogan; in order to succeed, Herzl knew that it would be necessary to retain the merchant and bourgeois elements among the emigrants to do manual and agricultural labor. Rather than maintaining the Arab fellahin as cheap labor, the so-called "left-wing" tendencies within Zionism prevailed and the Arabs were driven from their land. The Zionists passed laws forbidding the resale of land from Jews to Arabs, thereby preventing the Arab from ever reclaiming the land

that was his.

Two sectors of bourgeois economic dominance came to exist within the Palestinian economy: the Zionist sector, containing lots of new construction and roadwork, new light commerce and industry, and new agricultural growth. The Arab sector, which had been primarily agricultural, was in the process of having its land stripped away from it. However, the Zionist policy of "Jewish Labor" specifically prevented Arabs from entering the economy once they were driven from the land. So over a period of decades the Arab people lost both their relationship to the land and to the means of production in the cities. The combination of the corruption of the Arab bourgeoisie and the racism of the Zionists forced the masses of Arab peasants into an impoverished and displaced position. Tremendous land deals were made between the Zionists and the major Arab landlords, who sold their holdings for tremendous personal profits, and remained for years as the "recognized" Arab leaders. Publicly, these Arab bourgeoisie made virulent anti-Zionist statements in order to maintain hegemony over the Arab peasants. But privately, they co-operated with the British and the Zionists, and in return they received colonial government appointments from the British.

As fascism arose in Europe, three major developments occurred:

1) Tremendous numbers of new Jewish immigrants fled Europe for Palestine; a great number of these were petty bourgeois or capitalist elements from Germany and other Western Jews who were somewhat better off than the previous waves of emigrants from Eastern Europe.

2) The Muslims and nationalist Arab leaders were looking for a way to throw out the British, and they opportunistically allied with the Nazis, who of course proved not to be allies at all.

3) The struggle for national liberation in the Arab countries was heightening. In 1936 the people of Syria held a protracted general strike against French domination and successfully threw the French out, bringing Syria nearer to political independence.

The example of the Syrian strike so inspired the Palestinian Arabs that a general strike was called in Palestine. However, due to the tight Zionist domination of the economy, and because the masses of Jewish workers did not take part, the strike failed. Not only did it fail, but it permanently damaged the position of the Palestinian Arabs, because the Zionists filled the jobs vacated by strikers with thousands of newly arrived Jews, in shipping, railroad, and government positions. This was the final move to drive the Arabs out of industry in Palestine.

The British imperialists, ruling Palestine from 1918 to 1948, used those thirty years to play off the two national groups against each other, to British advantage. By playing on the racism of the Zionists, the British were able to convince the Zionists that the British presence was necessary, at least for the time being, to protect the Jews from the Arab hordes. By issuing innumerable "white papers" on the national problems, making contradictory promises to both Jewish and Arab leaders, pitting Arabs against Jews in daily situations, and holding endless "negotiating conferences", the British were able to divert the Palestinian working class of Jews and Arabs from waging an anti-imperialist struggle to throw the British out.

The French and the British divided and re-divided their claims within the Ottoman Empire, infuriating the Arab people, and issued in 1917 the famous "Balfour Declaration" calling for the establishment in Palestine of the Jewish national homeland. However, six years later, to patch up relations with the Arab bourgeoisie, the British granted



Guerrillas train in Palestine.

independence to the nation of Trans-Jordan (now Jordan) and promised the Arab leaders that the establishment of the Jewish state was the last thing on their mind. During this entire period of immigration there were constant skirmishes between Jews and Arabs in the countryside, primarily instigated by the lies the British were feeding to both sides. And during this same period the British were laying thousands of miles of oil pipelines, building canals for shipping, and sending in their troops to guard British-owned oil fields.

War Economy

With the Second World War, Palestine became the Allied base in the Middle East. The resulting transformation of the Palestinian economy increased the oppression of the Arab people greatly.

It is a main tenet of imperialism that the colonized country is to be a market for the goods of the mother country. But the commercial aspirations of the Zionists were hampered by the import of British goods. The Zionists were unable to employ enough of their own people in industry because the country didn't need to produce goods. So anti-British feeling grew among the Jewish people. Suddenly, Palestine became a strategic military center, providing the economy with a temporary boom. Even many Arabs were provided with jobs in construction of airfields, camps, and roads, not that this benefited the development of the Arab sector in any way. By 1942, however, the Zionist sector of the economy was fully involved in the web of international industrial growth, with many major chemical and textile corporations building new factories and employing thousands of Jewish workers. So by the time the war ended, the Zionists were economically ready to demand the departure of the British. They were also militarily ready. Over 50,000 Jews had served in the British Army during the war, whereas the Arabs were left at the end of the war with no knowledge of modern organized warfare. And the right-wing Arab bourgeoisie, which had supported the fascists, now found itself with no popular support from the Arab people, and was unable to renew the independence struggle.

At the end of the war, thousands of Jews were waiting in Europe for the chance to move to Palestine. But the Arab leaders were pressuring the British to halt Jewish immigration so as not to become a national minority in their own country. The British therefore tried to curtail Jewish immigration, but world sympathy was now with the Jews, and American support was with the Zionists. The Zionists organized mass clandestine immigration. The Americans supported the Zionist effort because it could see the impending defeat of the British and wanted to insure for itself the new role of economic "protector" of Palestine.



Part of a training camp for guerrilla forces in the Middle East.—photo by Tricontinental

East liberation struggle: part 1

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Thus, the Zionists waged the War of Independence against the British, with the Arabs not constituting a major force due to their own political disorganization.

UN Involvement

In 1947 the British, on the edge of defeat in Palestine, took the problem to the United Nations, hoping to provoke sufficient controversy so that the U.N., unable to resolve it, would renew the British Mandate of Palestine. But the U.S. managed diplomatically to wangle a new divide-and-rule decision to serve its interests: Palestine was "partitioned into two independent but economically linked states." This resolution was supported by the Soviet Union, which put its own economic interest of gaining a base in the Middle East before the interests of the Arab people who were struggling for national liberation. The Soviet Union voted for the partition of Palestine hoping to drive the British entirely out of the area, so that it could then share domination of the Middle East with the U.S.

Following the U.N. decision, Britain tried to provoke military conflict in Palestine to prove to the world that the British presence was necessary if order was to be maintained. They went so far as to organize a military invasion of Israel by the armies of Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt in May of 1948. But the Arab puppet rulers were not serving the interests of the Arab people in carrying out this 1948 war with the

Zionists. They called it a Holy War, and really used it to divert the internal anti-imperialist struggles of their own countries into a nationalist, imperialist sponsored war. The class struggle so escalated in the Arab countries that the United States had to begin an elaborate intelligence and military counter-insurgency operation in the Middle East, in order to prevent any government from coming to power which threatened to nationalize the oil industry in these countries. The 1948 War was ended in a secret armistice agreement by the Arab and Zionist leaders, in which some land was re-juggled and a detente of the bourgeoisie of both sides was arrived at.

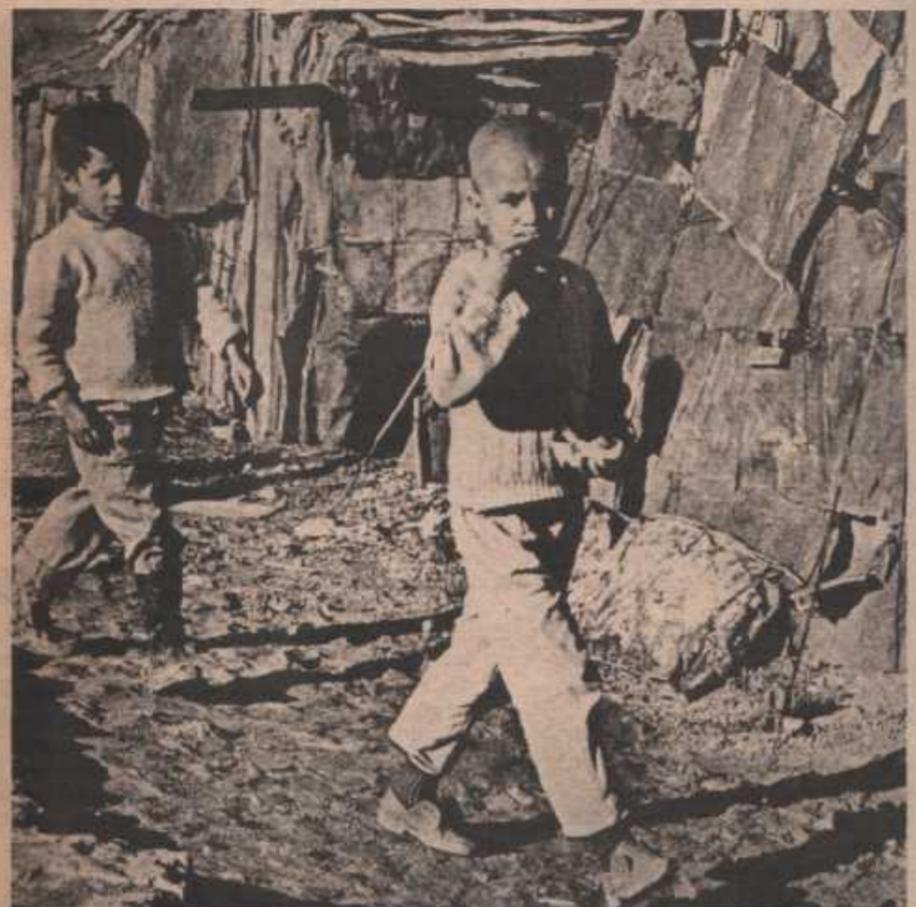
In 1949, there were over two million Palestinian Arabs still within the Israeli borders. Some of these remaining Arabs migrated to Jordan, but to this very day, nearly two million still live in refugee camps in the desert on rocky, non-arable land. These masses have not fled because of their intense desire to remain on their home soil. Since the June War of 1967, over 50,000 Arabs were forced to flee over to Jordan, due to the enormous increase in terror against them.

Throughout the fifties, the U.S., Britain, and the U.S.S.R. continued to jockey for positions of economic dominance in the Middle East. Israel was militarily dependent on the U.S., and waged air strikes against the Arabs at the direction of the U.S. whenever any new Arab defense pact or Soviet arms agreement was made.

On January 1, 1954, the organization Al-Fatah was secretly formed as the National Liberation Front of the Palestinian Arabs. In 1965 Al-Fatah became militarily organized into commandos, and began the actual military raids and reprisals against the Israelis. Al-Fatah has the recognition and support of the Arab masses, and especially of the Palestinian refugees. It has built up a powerful military and para-military apparatus to organize the people and resist the Israeli occupation.

Zionism is an ever-expanding policy. It will not contain itself within any set borders. The metaphysical concepts of the "homeland" and "chosen people" grant the Zionists the right to expand and expand as long as they can win militarily. Therefore the position of the Al-Fatah is that the Zionists must be defeated militarily before the Arab people can have national liberation.

In the next issue of New Left Notes we will deal with the politics and organization of Al-Fatah and the commandos, Al-Assifah, and discuss the 6-Day War of 1967.



Arab kids in Palestine.

part 1



—photo by Tricontinental

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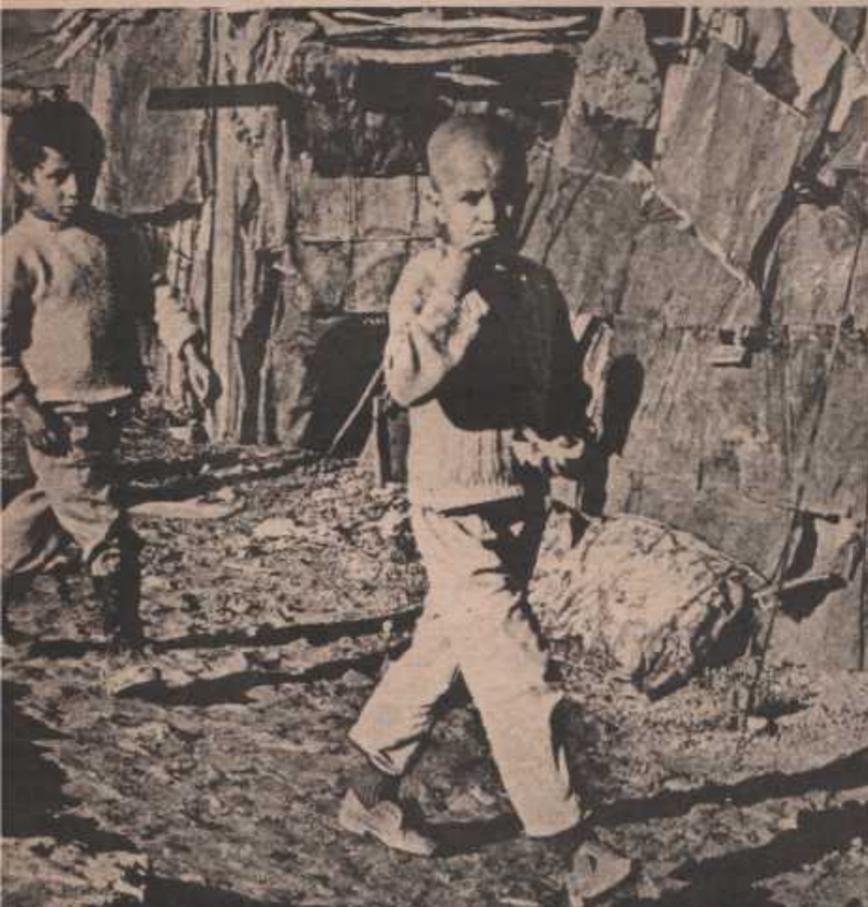
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Ab kids in Palestine.

"A revolution is not the same as inviting people to dinner, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing fancy needlework; it cannot be anything so restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an uprising, an act of violence whereby one class overthrows another."

—Mao Tse-tung

MARSHALL, TEXAS: After sending Texas Rangers, state police, and local cops onto campus at Wiley College to put down demonstrations against the racist hiring practices of the school, President T. W. Cole ordered the school "closed until further notice."

Bringing back memories of Orangeburg and Texas Southern University last spring, Rangers swept through the dormitories of the black college, supposedly searching for weapons. No guns were found.

Students demanded the firing of Cole, a brutal Southern racist, and the hiring of more black faculty, as well as the teaching of black history.

CLEVELAND: The office of the Cleveland school superintendent was seized by more than 100 students from predominantly black John Jay High School on Feb. 25. Demanding an end to racist practices in the school, the students forced their way into the outer office of Paul Briggs, school official. Police were called in and the students split.

Similar demonstrations took place at West High School in Columbus, Ohio.

COLUMBIA: As news of plans to continue work on the gym in Morningside Park reached the campus, demonstrations were held demanding that the administration renounce any plans it may have for the gym.

Demonstrations were also held in Harlem. Columbia's Vice-President, Frederick T. Van Dyck, announced that a letter would be sent to "leaders" of the "Negro community" to poll them on whether or not the jim-crow gym should be constructed within the black community.

ATLANTA: Hundreds of white students demonstrated at the State Capitol to attack the racist treatment of blacks at the hands of the police. One demonstrator burned a picture of Lester Maddox and several people were busted. The primary complaint was the treatment of a 14-year-old girl who was arrested and sent to a state juvenile home for "swearing on a bus."

UNIVERSITY PARK, PENNSYLVANIA: Penn State administrators obtained a speedy court injunction against student demonstrators after more than 600 students entered the campus administration building to seek an answer to nine demands. The injunction, handed down six hours after they entered the building, prohibits "obstructing, hindering, or attempting to obstruct or hinder, in any manner, whether or not overt force or violence is committed or threatened" and applies to the entire Penn State campus.

Support grew at a rally Tuesday (the administration refused to attend) and red armbands are springing up around campus. A hearing is scheduled Friday on whether to make the injunction permanent. The demands include an end to military recruiting on campus, support for the black students' demands, an end to hours restrictions for women, and no credit for ROTC.

ITA BENA, MISSISSIPPI (LNS): Two hundred students who sat in at all-black Mississippi Valley State College were suspended without hearings, according to College Press Service. The sit-in's 15 leaders were arrested earlier this month by state police. The grievances included lack of due process in disciplinary matters and administrative intimidation; students demanded more black professors and courses in black history, control over student fees, better remedial programs, abolition of a 9 p.m. curfew for women, and student representation on policy committees.

SEATTLE: More than 300 demonstrators at the University of Washington drove a United Fruit recruiter off campus this week; following a march from the student union and guerrilla theatre at the UW placement center, all the demonstrators entered the room (one had an appointment). The man from United Fruit was forced out of the room, out of the building, and off campus, where he was last seen talking to a security cop to get his car from the campus. He is not planning to return to UW. Plans are being made for an action against ROTC.

RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA: On Feb. 20, Richard Jones, a member of the Oil, Atomic, and Chemical Workers Union, died of injuries received a month before. The OACWU is striking Standard Oil and has a reciprocal support agreement with the striking students at San Francisco State. Jones was run over by a Standard Oil truck breaking through a picket line on Jan. 19. Although the local district attorney has refused to press charges against the scab driver or the foreman who waved him through, Jones' death can hardly be called an accident. In labor struggles, unlike old Ronald Reagan movies, real people die real deaths.

WASHINGTON, D.C. (A Rose By Any Other Name Dept.): Congress voted on Feb. 18 to change the name of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to the House Internal Security Committee (HISC—just say it). In addition the mandate of the committee was broadened. One interesting new section empowers the committee to investigate "groups or individuals who incite or employ acts of force, violence, terrorism, or any unlawful means to obstruct or oppose the lawful authority of the government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the security of the United States."

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA: 150 students are now occupying a building at predominantly black Stillman College. The liberation of the building stemmed from the refusal of the administration to grant demands put forward by the Black Students Association last week. The demands, 15 in all, range from cafeteria conditions, to the firing of racist teachers, to the dismissal of a campus security guard who shot a Stillman student. In response to a growing student boycott last week, the president of the college announced that it would be closed as of Monday, Feb. 24, and that all students must leave the campus. Those presently in the building refused.

SDS at the University of Alabama, also in Tuscaloosa, has been assisting the Stillman students, both on the university campus and in the community. Two SDSers, who had come on the Stillman campus to talk with black leaders, were busted Feb. 26 on charges of criminal trespass.

Relationships to black and brown movements

Passed by the Southern California Regional Council

A primary problem facing SDS chapters at this time concerns the nature of their relationships to black and brown movements on campus. Movements which to an increasing degree have taken the initiative in, and the leadership of, campus struggles. As a result SDS has found itself in a position of uncertainty and doubt in relationship to the problem of what position to take. Questions have arisen as to how to best deal with this situation and how to recognize and correct certain errors which have occurred, questions which, if not answered and dealt with in the proper manner, could have serious and negative consequences.

In order to accomplish this, however, the nature of the black and brown struggle must be clearly seen and understood. It must be understood, for example, that minority struggles are at once both class struggles against capitalism and anti-colonial struggles against imperialism and racism. That is, not only are black and brown peoples exploited as members of the working class, but in addition they are exploited as a people. As a result of their oppression and exploitation as a national minority they are now engaged, as a people, in a struggle for their own self-determination, a struggle which manifests itself as a black and brown liberation struggle for bourgeois democratic values and political autonomy (as opposed to cultural autonomy). The struggle for national freedom is inevitable, progressive, and revolutionary. As Lenin said, "...all national oppression calls forth the resistance of the broad masses of the people; and the resistance of a nationally oppressed population always tends toward national revolt." (A Characterization of Marxism and Imperialist Economism)

The fact just mentioned that the black and brown liberation struggles have the aspect of a struggle for bourgeois democratic values necessitated a certain way of directing ourselves to it. Demands that deal with basic democratic rights that are cut off to minorities as a result of their colonial status are progressive in the sense that they deal with the imperative of liberation from that colonial status.

Demands for black studies, for example, become revolutionary when they are demands for political autonomy for black people which, in addition to other such demands, move in the direction of national liberation. It must be made clear, though, that national liberation of minorities in this country can only be accomplished by a socialist revolution. But progressive demands for self-determination heighten contradictions within capitalist society, thus bringing nearer the day of its downfall.

The consequence then of a bourgeois democratic struggle is national liberation, and our position must be seen and evaluated toward it in those terms, on the basis of whether or not particular struggles help or hinder that goal.

We must be careful, however, not to see all tendencies in the black and brown movements as progressive, for the movement abounds with opportunists and reactionaries. As Lenin also said, "...to prevent this recognition from becoming an apology for nationalism it must be strictly limited to what is progressive in these movements—so that this recognition shall not lead to the blunting of proletarian consciousness by bourgeois ideology." (Critical Remarks on the National Question)

With this criterion in mind, let us examine the black and brown struggles on campus. At this time there are two primary errors occurring within the national liberation movement which manifest themselves as two tendencies. These tendencies are opportunism and adventurism, and both are two sides of the same coin.

Opportunism most readily manifests itself in reformism which is the struggle (non-struggle) for demands or



grievances which attempt to bring about meaningful changes without structurally altering the system; or seeing "peaceful" changes within the system eventually leading to qualitative change (i.e. peaceful transition to socialism).

It should be kept in mind that reforms are not always reformist if raised in the correct manner, a manner which tends to raise questions concerning the nature of the system, resulting in the arousing of revolutionary consciousness.

The raising of demands around the need for black studies departments can, for example, be reformist, or it can be revolutionary. The attempt by a number of BSU's to use minority studies to gain cultural autonomy and to glorify the role of minority cultural heroes in building capitalism is reactionary, counter-revolutionary, and leads to the "blunting of consciousness by bourgeois ideology." Black Studies programs which stress the study of the anti-colonial struggle against imperialism and the history of the class struggle are progressive and revolutionary.

Black studies programs that are controlled by the ruling class and their allies, black or white, are reactionary and counter-revolutionary.

Anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist minority struggles sharpen the contradictions around imperialism and not only strengthen the black liberation movement, but also develop consciousness among other students.

Many reforms are easily coopted, and readily absorbed into the system along with their makers (why else are so many liberals excited about minority studies?). Numerous examples of this can be seen just in observing and understanding the nature of millions of dollars worth of state, federal and foundation grants to certain organizations and to black studies departments. Once the ruling class gets control of these programs the capitalists have effectively crushed the revolutionary nature of black programs and have turned them into agents for the inculcation of bourgeois ideology.

The road of reformism as such, then, no matter how militant, is the capitalist road, the road of exploitation and oppression. And Black Reformism leads to Black Capitalism with minority peoples merely acting as the colonial puppets of the colonial administrator.

Sometimes reformism and opportunism are disguised under the cloak of so-called "cultural nationalism." At one point the call for awareness of black culture, black art, and the emphasis upon the concept of "Black is Beautiful" was progressive in the sense that it was necessary in the gaining of a black identity. However to limit one's approach to the cultural aspects of the minority struggle has become a substitute for the raising of political questions which deal with the structural reasons behind racism and imperialism and the forming of political



alternatives.

The other tendency which we observe as a primary one is adventurism, which manifests itself most clearly on campuses as terrorism. Adventurism can best be seen as the politics of frustration, which in turn arises out of lack of faith in the masses.

Frustration arises when it appears that one is unable to gain one's objective of building a movement among the masses. If, for instance, one has spent the better part of the school year attempting to build a student strike on his campus and has failed to arouse the interest of the student body, he may very well attempt to blame the masses of students and accuse them of being stupid and uncaring, or oblivious to the world around them; and then saying "Screw them all; call a strike anyway."

This has been the case at a number of schools which have been gripped by "San Francisco State Fever," when groups representing minority students have attempted actions beyond the possibility of success. As Lin Piao has said, "It is adventurism when one insists on fighting when one can't win." (Just as it is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win.)

After this fails, frustration mounts, offices are blown up and buildings burnt down. Adventurism, then, is an attitude which in many cases sees revolution in terms of romantic feeling and daring acts, leaving one with an exalted liberating feeling, but doing little, if anything, about building a movement. And that is what is crucial and primary—building consciousness through struggle. How many new people (apart from agents) show up at meetings as a result of terror? What permanent forms has it built? The answer is none.

What we have to understand if we want to build a movement is that revolution is much more than talking about guns and about seizing buildings. It is instead day to day building and establishing bases of strength among the people.

What people really ought to think about doing when they feel they have to blame someone is examine their own style and method of work, and attempt to correct errors through criticism and self-criticism.

And that leads to SDS. It is our feeling that the primary error committed by SDS people in regard to the Minority Question has been the error of "tallism"—which means bowing to spontaneity at the expense of developing a conscious program.

It means, in effect, uncritically following black and brown students, and subordinating themselves to their program regardless of the politics behind it. The clearest example of this in Southern California occurred in Valley State last November 4. A situation which was a spontaneous reaction (on the part of SDS) to a spontaneous reaction (on the part of BSU).

Tallism also stems over into other aspects of SDS work, in the area of the so-called student-worker alliance, which is no more than bowing to the spontaneity of workers struggles in an attempt (by some form of osmosis) to show workers that our struggles are the same as theirs. Workers will ally with students and recognize them as comrades when they have developed class consciousness as a result of a workers' movement built on a conscious basis within the working class.

The question then becomes: why do we fall after others? Why do we bow to spontaneity? The answer has already been suggested as the fact that we do not have a conscious attitude toward struggle. The fact is that SDS has, for the most part, muddled, unclear politics, and in many cases no politics at all.

Lack of a conscious political program leads to many dangerous mistakes. Some of the most dangerous have been the confusion as to the nature of alliances, inability to clearly recognize our own oppression, and timidity in raising our own demands.

What to Do

What then must we do? Generally we must do the following:

- 1) Develop a clearly articulated revolutionary program that understands that the struggle is for socialism and the smashing of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by all oppressed peoples. As a move in this direction, each chapter should strive to develop a minimum political position on all issues that they deem to be relevant.
- 2) Develop a position on the Black and Brown struggles that sees these movements as both manifestations of working-class consciousness and of anti-colonialism (national liberation), and that sees the latter as a struggle for basic bourgeois democratic rights, as an aspect of the class struggle, with all the implications that that analysis brings forth.
- 3) Develop an understanding of the nature of alliances based upon the idea that they are built upon mutual need growing out of mutual interests and as opposed to seeing them as the subservience of one group to another, an attitude which is rooted in liberal guilt feeling by people who do not recognize the nature of their own oppression.
- 4) Developing that understanding of our own oppression as instruments channeled by the ruling class to serve their anti-human ends, and as working people whose surplus produced by our own labor is expropriated by that same class.
- 5) Developing a more aggressive position which will lead to the formation of our own revolutionary demands which will further expose the imperialist, racist, capitalist class that oppresses and exploits us all.

Penn sit-in challenges urban renewal, expansion

by Joe Mikuliak
Penn SDS

During a 130-hour-long sit-in, a commitment to social justice won out over sore asses and tired bodies to achieve one of the greatest victories for any radical movement at an American university. Until this week, the University of Pennsylvania was an extremely conservative school, where stereotyped frat-men and job-oriented business students defined a campus attitude of social unconcern and bourgeois values. While holding a militant occupation or student strike as a trump card in negotiations with the trustees and with an intense education campaign over the issue of urban renewal equals black removal, we were able to overcome the prejudices of all students toward radical movements and gained the active participation of at least two thousand students and the passive support of an estimated 75% of the 12,000 full-time students at Penn. Many students who came into the building Tuesday night very hostile to the movement left Sunday firmly committed to it.

University Expansion

Our fantastic success, in numbers involved, politicalization, and real concessions won from the trustees, was due to the issue we found lying on Penn's doorstep. The university had consistently pursued an expansion policy into the surrounding black community which caused massive hardship to thousands of people who had their homes destroyed to make way for various institutional buildings. The most obvious example of this was the University City Science Center (UCSC), a service center for government and industry. Any type of research, including military, was to be done there. The injustice of forced removal to make way for a big research complex was compounded by the housing crisis in the city of Philadelphia. A minimum of 29,000 households have been destroyed in this city in the years since 1950 to revitalize the center city area for white executives, to expand white institutions into black communities and to create better physical plants for industry. While this disruption of black communities all over the city increased, the redevelopment authority was spending only 4% of its budget on the construction of low-income housing for displaced residents. The result of this type of institutionally-racist activity was a low-income housing gap of at least 50,000 units, 80,000 substandard units, and at least 56,000 poor families paying more than 35% of their income for housing in Philadelphia. Residents displaced by the university were forced into an already-overcrowded housing

market to pay exorbitant rents for slum apartments.

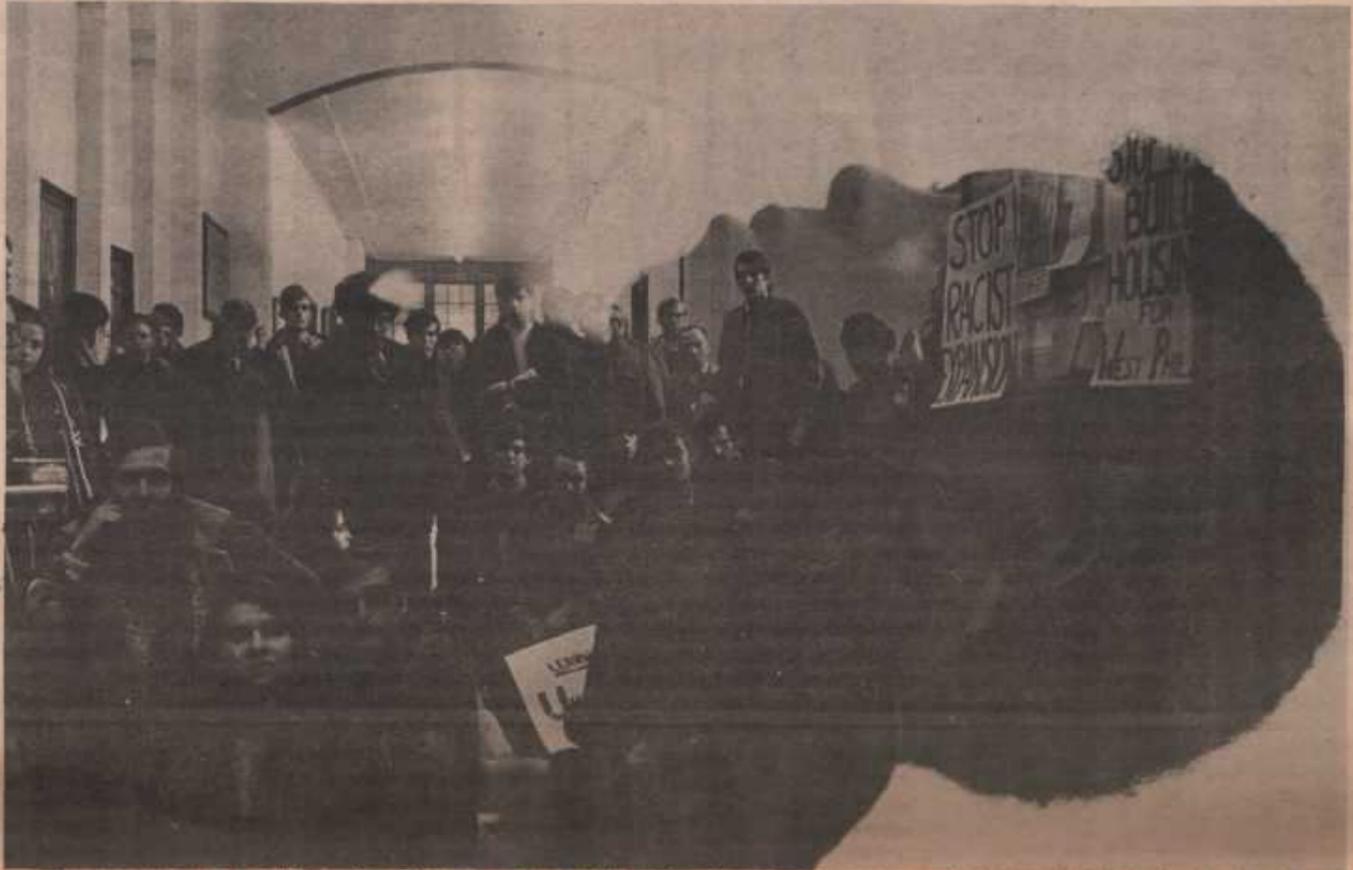
At an extremely important to our victory and the hopes for a continuing strong radical education and action campaign were the ties that corporations, banks, and city commissions had with the university through the board of trustees. It is apparent to us that the operations of the university reflect the common interests of its rulers. Large slum realty corporations, banks, major investment houses, architectural firms, and even the chairman of the

Redevelopment Authority were involved in planning the direction that university expansion would take. It took the road of a giant pork-barrel, with the buying up of large tracts of land by the taxpayer at inflated prices, which was then written down at 3/5 and sold to the university; with the selling of tax-free, high-interest bonds to the banks to finance the construction program; and with the sizable profits made by the firms that designed and are constructing the new buildings. The decrease in the supply of housing, along with the increase in demands for

new housing, forced the rents, mortgages, and market value of the housing to skyrocket.

Building a movement on anti-racist and anti-capitalist critiques with demands for low-income housing and black control had not been too successful at this conservative school. Penn SDS rarely had more than 150 people at a rally and it was often heckled to absurdity. However, we persisted, and our literature went out in the form of thousands of leaflets every week.

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Demonstrators at the University of Pennsylvania sought a university commitment to provide low-cost housing for the people displaced by Penn expansion.

—photo by Paul Schwartzman/Daily Pennsylvanian

Another look at Penn sit-in: "We don't want a Columbia here"

by Kit Bakke (NO printshop)
David Millstone (editor, NLN)

From the New York Times:

*Gaylord F. Harnwell, president of the University of Pennsylvania, commented:

"I concur with President Nixon's view that the governing principle of any university is the dominance and

prevalence of the rule of reason as opposed to force. And I agree that, to insure this, certain principles, capable of being enforced, must be established with the concurrence of all elements of the university community. My opinions in this regard are strengthened by what happened on our own campus this past week. We witnessed an orderly student

demonstration of concern with humane values conducted within the university's approved guidelines, which defined ahead of time the limits of acceptable behavior for open expression of differences of opinion.

"These guidelines were scrupulously observed by the students taking part in the sit-in. No passages were obstructed, no academic or administrative activity was impeded, no violence occurred, no offices were occupied, no property was destroyed, damaged, or even left untidy, and no police were present."

Right on, Gaylord!

We too were at the University of Pennsylvania sit-in; our reaction is far less enthusiastic than that in Joe Mikuliak's article. Granted, the Penn sit-in was the first time that many people have been involved in any kind of action at Penn, or for that matter anywhere in the greater Philadelphia area. For this reason alone it's important that we criticize that action, lest the Penn sit-in set a standard for future actions on previously un-radicalized campuses.

Afraid of Militancy

Joe states, near the end of his article, "Hearing that a group of capitalists capitulated to the demands of a sit-in should make one wonder if we really won anything." That's correct. We're still wondering. The demands put forward by the group assembled in College Hall were admittedly narrow, ones which people felt the trustee could meet. The leadership of the sit-in consciously adopted a policy of watering down demands, even before meeting the trustees to negotiate, so afraid were they of taking any militant action that



—photo by Judy Gordon/Daily Pennsylvanian

The Penn sit-in began after a march on-and off-campus. Students from six Philadelphia area colleges participated.

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UC women protest

New Left Notes: you did it again!

by Natalee Rosenstein
 Judy Clark
 Nancy Stokley
 Louise Brotsky
 Sally Yagol
 University of Chicago WRAP

For the first time in the history of the student movement a campus-wide struggle focused in a major way on the issue of discrimination against women. Women saw in the firing of radical professor Marlene Dixon a blatant case of discrimination against women. Her scholarship and her teaching on women are concerned with two factors, that women are oppressed socially and economically, and that women's movements are organizing to change their society. She teaches and we believe that a political approach to women's problems is the only viable means to change their social position. New Left Notes ignored this aspect of the U. C. movement. Once again...

The issue of discrimination against women involved in Marlene's firing was readily adopted by the movement as a whole because of the existence of an already-strong women's movement on campus. A year ago, male chauvinism in the SDS chapter compelled women activists to form the Women's Radical Action Project, a women's liberation group. The group has grown to include over a hundred women, and to develop programs such as guerrilla theatre and organizing for a child care center to raise consciousness of women on campus. Women saw that a critical issue in the fight to get Marlene rehired must include the struggle against discrimination against women.

In the days leading up to the sit-in, WRAP issued a leaflet on discrimination against women and its relation to Marlene Dixon's firing, held

a two-hour women's picket line in front of the Administration Building, held a forum on the role of women in academia, and WITCH hexed Morris Janowitz and the Sociology Department. WRAP women who were also active in SDS decided to do their canvassing in women's dorms emphasizing the issue of oppression of women.

Inside the building, when a lot of political discussion was going on, the women's consistent attempts to raise the issue of discrimination against women were shunted aside as secondary to student-power discussions and "getting the group together." After several attempts the women found it necessary to caucus in order to find concrete ways of raising the issue in the building and combatting the blatant chauvinism displayed by the group. The women wrote a position paper to be adopted by the group and made demands for a women's press conference and a women's rally, to force the issue into the open.

The position paper and demand were readily accepted by the body as a whole, so readily that many of the women were suspicious that the men were not really confronting the issue. The following day the women's press conference was an enormous success. The demand for only women reporters meant that the women could cover a news story instead of the human interest and fashion news stories traditionally allotted to women. Women reporters understood what we were saying about the oppression of women in the society because they had experienced this in their own lives and jobs. The women's rally was held and over a hundred people attended.

Despite these successes, the women's caucus fell apart after the rally. We never met again as a group, and, with few exceptions, stopped working on women's issues. Several factors contributed to this failure.

The sit-in as a whole was falling apart. Radicals mistakenly compromised with the large minority of moderates in the building who threatened to leave after a majority voted to escalate and take another building. This mistake was crucial and only realized in retrospect. It led the entire sit-in into a period of frustration and desperation as we watched motion die on campus. Women, as members of the sit-in, shared these feelings and carried them into the women's caucus.

Some women, partly out of the belief that motion can only be furthered through escalation, but more importantly wanting to take a decisive action to bring the women's struggle to the forefront, advocated taking a women's building. The argument within our caucus was not between moderates and radicals, but between radical political women. Some were afraid the action would be divisive and wanted to wait until the sit-in as a whole decided on its next move. Their resistance caused the group to table its plan. Motion on campus eventually died entirely.

In a parallel manner, many women were reluctant to push the issue of discrimination against women onto the floor during the mass meetings because they saw it as divisive. Instead, we waited through endless discussions of non-struggle student-power demands, and it wasn't until a women's position paper was written, presented, and passed that women saw the primary importance of their struggle. What we

realized in retrospect, however, was that only in hard political discussion could the politics of the demonstrators develop and newly radicalized students achieve some sense of purpose. That discussion and those politics should have been about the oppression of women.

We saw our mistakes and learned several things. Women themselves were not fully convinced of the primary importance of the oppression of women. We are now sure that the women's issue is one of the most important problems facing the movement, and that it is as political and crucial as any other issue. We should have taken a women's building. Not only would it have furthered the raising of consciousness around the oppression of women, but we suspect it would have provided the motion the sit-in as a whole lacked. Out of our mistakes, the women learned that we should not fear divisiveness, that any women's action which is tactically and politically sound can only help a movement.

Another reason we fell apart after the presentation of the women's position paper was that we were not developing new ideas and analysis. The only research we had conducted was about discrimination against women in academia, as this was most closely connected to the firing of Marlene Dixon. This gave the movement a middle-class reform orientation which many recognize as inadequate and dangerous as a direction for the women's movement in general. Realizing this, at the very end of the sit-in, we intensified our contact with women working in the hospital, talking to them

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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

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1,000 hold sit-in at Penn

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The demonstration on Tuesday, Feb. 18, was almost postponed because of snow. It was a good thing we didn't do that because after speeches from Penn SDS people and black community leaders, guerrilla theatre, and a picket line at a new UCSC construction site, about 350 students, many from other UCSC-related schools, marched back to campus chanting and spontaneously began a sit-in in College Hall, an administrative and classroom building. Our education campaign must have at least convinced students of the injustice, because by that evening 1,000 were sitting in.

The next six days were spent in making the demands more specific, long plenary sessions, educational workshops, leafleting the campus, preparing food, living communally, and negotiating with the Trustees.

The most amazing and positive occurrence was the uniting of the black leaders of the city of Philadelphia over an idea and a set of demands. What that potentially means we have yet to fully realize, but the leaders we had worked with before in West Philadelphia brought together the citywide Black Community Caucus, a coalition of 43 black groups from militants to non-profit housing corporations, and they specified the developer for the land and participants for a commission to review and decide on university expansion when it is near or in the black community. These organizations are to be responsible to the Black Community Caucus. They also set up workshops and a now-continuing education program. By the sixth day, the trustees were very scared; if they had not agreed to our united demands, College Hall would have had a new ball game. In a previous negotiating session, they had agreed to end all military research at UCSC and sit up

a board of students and faculty to review all present and future contracts. Our strength and support in the community and on campus (even the Inter-Fraternity Council supported us) was an unbeatable combination, and they capitulated on all other demands.

Hearing that a group of capitalists capitulated to the demands of a sit-in should make one wonder if we really won anything. The trustees claimed a victory too (PR). The truth is that the trustees were under pressure from all sides and acceded to a four-part commission composed of five demonstrators, five faculty members (two of whom were demonstrators), five black representatives, and five trustees, which replaces the university council (the most powerful group in the university) on all decisions relating to university expansion and community development. They also made unprecedented commitments on donations and land for low-income housing to be built and controlled by the black community.

Our success and a great radical movement was insured when the negotiators and black community leaders came back to College Hall and addressed an ecstatic crowd of 1200 students. At that time, we knew that if anyone sold out the agreement, College Hall would be filled again. We won decisively, but next we put into perspective our first victory in that revolution everyone in College Hall had been rapping about for the last week, then we realized that the first mass movement for social change on Penn's campus had become much much more; the trustees and men like them were the only losers. We ain't stopping, we got a movement now.

THE BOX

R. CRUMB



Berkeley

(continued from Page 5)

In charge has been Reagan. At State it was merely a matter of installing the unpredictable puppet Hayakawa. But at Berkeley, Reagan had to whip up a "state of extreme emergency."

Both the trustees who rule the state college system and the regents who control the university system, including Berkeley, represent economic interests more related to local than to national politics. They are aligned with some of the most reactionary forces in the state.

Chancellor Roger Heyns of Berkeley, a corporate liberal, is somewhat at odds with Reagan. However, Reagan has been able to push Heyns out of the picture and put the campus under the control of the police.

The first step was the leak to the press of a letter written by a local police official calling for less University interference with the "legal processes" of the police. This led directly to Reagan's "state of emergency" and a shift of campus control from Heyns to the police official who wrote the letter.

As a result of the police control of the Berkeley campus, a peaceful AFT picket line was busted. This led to a strike by AFT teaching assistants, during which many students were severely beaten and civil liberties were curtailed.

The police state which exists at UC Berkeley differs in some ways from the one at State, where some 400 to 600 San Francisco police reign, under the direction of Mayor Alioto, a Humphrey-type liberal. The Berkeley campus, much larger than State, is controlled by 150 California highway patrolmen, who answer directly to Reagan.

The Berkeley strike may be Reagan's opportunity to make good his promise to keep the university campuses open at "bayonet point if necessary."

In what has become a Berkeley tradition, a real strike is avoided because teachers hold classes off campus or students enter through one of the many side gates. At State, the strike itself is the central focus—whether to attend class is crucial. At Cal, going to class has been a way to pass time until the battle develops. But as the battle grows, the possibilities of going back to class may diminish considerably.

Women

(continued from Page 10)

In terms of the problems they are facing and their need for a child care center. This work is now continuing.

Sisters, there are some lessons to be learned from our experiences. The first is the danger of letting ourselves be satisfied by tokenism and superficial deference to the issue of women's oppression by the left. Second, for the last year and a half, the women's movement has gone through the necessary stage of analyzing how we, as middle-class women, are oppressed. The movement, in order to go beyond our standstill at the U. of C., must begin to analyze the oppression of working-class women. We must answer the crucial question WHY women are oppressed and what function this oppression serves in this society. We must go beyond the simplistic analysis that sees women merely as super-exploited workers and defines male chauvinism merely as a tool of the ruling class to divide the workers. An analysis of why women are oppressed must deal both with the economic and with the cultural forms of oppression. We must develop an analysis which takes into account both that women's oppression cuts across class lines AND that this is a class society.

Sisters, the real conclusion from our experience is that we have to get ourselves together. None of these directions can be explored until we devote our time and energy to women's problems. There is a women's movement growing in the country NOW. We must build a radical women's movement, to free ourselves, and to free our brothers and sisters everywhere.

Penn sit-in sold-out

(continued from Page 9)

might antagonize the campus and the faculty.

In brief: the first demand called for return to the community of the UCSC land (presumably that which didn't already have UCSC buildings on it); that's now being negotiated between community representatives and the Penn trustees.

A second demand called for the corporations on Penn's board of trustees to donate the money needed to build low-cost housing on the land returned to the community; that demand is also being negotiated.

A third demand called for the UCSC charter to be rewritten to forbid it taking on research harmful to human life. That's been changed, and now we have an advisory committee (students and faculty from member schools) which will pass judgment on contracts.

"Let's Discuss it"

One demand originally put forward by community leaders was for the corporations to immediately pay for rehabilitating 650 vacant houses in West Philadelphia, to turn them into decent low-cost housing. That demand? Being discussed.

The other original community demand was for Penn to grant \$10 million to the community for use in relocating and rebuilding, \$5 million as a direct gift. That demand is being talked about in more general terms.

What do we have emerging from the sit-in? A quatra-partite committee (demonstrators, faculty, community, and trustees) with an office and a phone and \$75,000 to look into problems caused by Penn's future expansion into the ghetto.

That's what happened to the demands which had originally been made by the sit-in. Now a look at what we might have done: the sit-in voted down, at the urging of the microphone-controlling leadership, a demand that in all Penn expansion in the future the community, not Penn, have the major voice in determining how the Penn resources will be allocated. We were told that adding this demand would weaken the first three demands. Better we should fight around the specifics, win a victory, and this would show Penn that they couldn't fool around with us. That hasn't happened. There has been no commitment on Penn's part; instead we have a well-heeled committee which will look into the situation. In short, the sitters-in settled for procedural modifications, instead of intensifying the struggle to force acceptance of their substantive demands.

A few notes on the actual sit-in: the first night, more than 1000 people

were sitting in College Hall room 200. They were presented with the three demands which had been hammered out that afternoon at a steering committee meeting. At that earlier meeting, the "leaders" from Penn SDS kept stressing that we shouldn't make more than those three demands; it's important to get those three approved, and then we can work on more. The plenary was presented the demands, and then they were voted on. Questions from the floor were discouraged. The classic statement came at a steering committee meeting, when the president of Kappa Sigma was reassured by a sit-in leader, "We don't want another Columbia here." The Penn clique dominated discussion and votes, and continually voted down proposals to restructure the steering committee.

Non-struggle Politics

Finally, the tactic of the sit-in. The sit-in was intended not to bother the administration—witness Harnwell's praise at the beginning of this article. The leadership, with its non-struggle politics, was more interested in physically preventing demonstrators from attempting to disrupt classes to explain what the sit-in was about than they were in stopping jocks from beating up demonstrators. Discussions of how to deal with a "chaos" in the building (read: people sitting around discussing politics) and crowd control were topics at meetings, while those people who wanted to expand the demands and discuss the politics behind them were voted out of order.

The possibility of occupying the building, or working for a student strike, was always discounted, and they certainly couldn't have been held as much of a trump card during negotiations. The campus radio station broadcast everything live, including a meeting of the steering committee where it was decided to change the demands: instead of asking for 10 acres of land to be returned to the community, ask for all the land. "That way when we negotiate with the trustees, we can reach a good compromise at 10 acres." Now, it appears that people will settle for two acres.

Incorrect Analysis

From the start, the leadership of the sit-in defined (incorrectly) the college administration and trustees as people sincerely interested in helping the people of Philadelphia. Our sit-in would show that we too are concerned, and they would meet with us and everything would be all right. (Concern for not antagonizing the administration even included allowing security cops in the building, along with the Philadelphia Red Squad—after all, this was an open sit-in, and anyone who wanted to could be there.) We found an unhealthy interest, from the first hours of the sit-in, in trying to arrange the demands so that the trustees would quickly agree to them. The necessary definition of the administration and the trustees as the enemy could have come from serious political discussion; this never took place.

San Francisco State

The administration at San Francisco State has approached the Third World Liberation Front to ask that it enter into negotiations to settle the 121 day strike at the school. On Feb. 24, the TWLF announced the pre-conditions for negotiations:

- 1) That Black Panther Minister of Education George Murray be the spokesman and representative at all negotiating sessions. (Murray was an instructor of English at State who was suspended for making statements about the need for the community to defend itself. He had been on parole for a conviction stemming from a December, 1967, incident at State. Murray's parole was revoked without warning on Feb. 22, and he is presently in jail for six months. Thus, he must either be released, or the negotiations carried out with the Board of Regents at the jail.)
 - 2) An immediate end to all disciplinary proceedings on campus.
- Meanwhile, the administration has settled with the striking American Federation of Teachers. The teachers won a grievance procedure (crucial to collective bargaining), back pay, and no disciplinary measures for striking teachers. Included in the settlement by the teachers was the statement that they would not return to work until there was "peace on the campus." This situation cannot exist until the demands of the students are met. The teachers have thus maintained their solidarity with the striking students.

NLN talks to James Forman

(This is the second part of an interview with James Forman of SNCC by Bernardine Dohrn. Forman's book, *Sammy Younge, Jr.*, is available from the NO for \$4.50).

NLN: Most whites know very little about the civil rights struggle in the South. Many SDS people casually dismiss those years as "liberal" without any information about the strategy or the internal struggles. Many people who read *Sammy Younge*, for example, are surprised at the activity among black students and colleges and their relationship to the community.

FORMAN: SNCC as an organization developed primarily as a student-based organization, but it was involved in community issues—in issues which affected the total masses of black people. Even the attempts to desegregate the segregated public accommodations and institutions involved not just students but mass support by the community. In city after city, there were efforts to support what students were doing by boycotting downtown stores, by participating in marches and demonstrations, by petitions. They realized that this affected their own lives and that this helped to develop consciousness and awareness within the total black population.

For instance, a correct understanding of black history will show that in 1957, there was very little mass activity on the part of black people inside the U.S. And much of what SNCC was doing was to try to create a mass consciousness against racism, against some of the segregated institutions. So that from the very beginning, there was always an extreme amount of community involvement. This became more pronounced in September 1961 when people in SNCC decided that it was important for them to begin working among the poorest element of the black population—and at that particular moment that was in the South, among sharecroppers, among people who were tenant farmers in the Black Belt area. While SNCC has always been a cadre of student organizers, and while it has worked with student populations, it has always related its work to older people, to very poor people.

Now one could perhaps find class definitions or terms to fit this into ideological frameworks—but working with the poorest people was deliberate, by design, because people understood quite clearly that it was necessary for revolutionary activity to involve masses of black people.

BSU Activities

NLN: How do you see that early work in black colleges related to the activities of Black Student Unions all across the country, particularly in the last few months?

FORMAN: There's a direct relationship. I will continue to advocate that black people see themselves within a historical context. That's one of the reasons why we talk about the life and times of *Sammy Younge* and one of the reasons why the book opens up with an analysis and description of how his mother and father reacted during their early youth to racism, because these things cannot be seen in isolation. Now there's a direct relationship to what black students were doing in the South in the early 60's and most of the activity which is going on inside this country at this particular moment.

For instance, the Black Panther Party is a direct outgrowth of the kind of work that was going on in Lowndes County in 1965-6. Much of the student activity among white communities today is a direct result of black students deciding that they had to begin mass action. In 1959-60, there was very little mass activity by white students. One of the reasons why that was true was because the McCarthy era had put a damper on much activity. Even SDS has its history of a totalitarian disclaimer, which was a reflection of this period. One of the things that SNCC did was to consistently insist on its freedom of association and reject all sorts of pressures and demands that it put in a totalitarian

disclaimer in its constitution. We said we would work with whom we wanted to work, and we had to determine the conditions of our own struggle.

We knew that the activity that was going on in those black Southern campuses was going to have a direct relationship to struggles within the communities in the North. Some of it from a positive angle, some from a negative.

Let me explain that. It would be impossible, as was discussed, for people in the North to be unaware of the brutality and suffering that people were undergoing in the South, in colleges and in the streets, without this affecting the consciousness of the person who was observing it. This is even more clearly illustrated by the fact that at the time of the Montgomery bus boycotts, in 1956, there was a prevailing attitude among many black communities that it was impossible for black people, or Negro people, to come together as a cohesive unit and to stick together and wage some kind of struggle against the institutions of this country. The importance of the Montgomery bus boycott was that it was a model, notwithstanding what might have been the tactics or ideology which shaped that particular struggle. All over the country, people were extremely motivated and satisfied with the kind of cohesion that was being exemplified by the Montgomery bus boycotts.

This became accelerated as people saw Southern black students involved in demonstrations. Too often the tactical non-violence which students employed is put down in many instances—but that's a false put-down. It does not give credit to what were the objective circumstances of the moment; it was revolutionary activity for students in 1960, 1961, maybe even up until 1964 to engage in non-violent activity against the institutions of this country—they were creating a consciousness

throughout the U.S. and not just among black people.

So I would see the actions of Black Student Unions as a direct outgrowth of that kind of activity. Unfortunately, we as an organization have not been able to give a lot of direction to the BSUs and Afro-American Societies.

Black Vanguard

NLN: At the end of *Sammy Younge* you talk about the colonial aspect of the black struggle. You raise the question of black vanguard, or at least of black leadership of the revolutionary struggle. The same questions are posed by the BSUs, black caucuses, black high school students—the whole relationship between blacks and whites in building a revolutionary movement.

FORMAN: This has to be understood within a certain theoretical framework. For instance, most revolutionaries will say that revolutionary activity will come from the most oppressed groups of people in society and most admit that this is perhaps a law of revolution. Taking an analysis of the United States society, that obviously means black people. That's because of racism and exploitation and super-exploitation that has been going on—and also the whole history of slavery and the way in which this country was developed as a result of the slave trade, etc. It's incumbent on blacks in the U.S. to give direction to the revolutionary struggle if it is going to protect those things for which it is fighting. Now this is the theoretical basis on which I maintain that it is absolutely essential for whites to be prepared to accept the question of black leadership.

Let me give you a minute way, although not an unimportant way—this has created a lot of confusion. When SNCC back in 1966 voted that the role of white organizers was in fact to work in the white community, there was much misinformation and conscious distortion

in the American press—"SNCC Kicks Out Whites" and what have you. There was much consternation among white organizers, not only in SNCC but in white organizations, of what was, in fact, their role. Even SDS had projects within the black community.

Now, that framework I just discussed was not as acutely articulated as it could have been, and certainly it was not understood. I'm not saying that whites have to accept black leadership in a vacuum. I'm giving a fundamental reason as to why that in fact should be the case. And I think that one of the reasons that we have seen as much revolutionary activity within the U.S. as we have, in the last eight years, is because blacks have been operating on this principle, even though they may not have understood it as theoretically as I've said it here.

There is a corollary to that. This is not always understood among blacks—that we have a responsibility to the total revolutionary struggle in the U.S.

"Lumpenproletariat"

NLN: Can you talk about organizing work among different sectors of the black colony?

FORMAN: If one takes an analysis of black people as colonized individuals inside the U.S., you also have to make a class analysis of the black community, of the oppressed people, and find the most revolutionary sectors within that group. I think that this sector exists in what is often called the lumpenproletariat of the black population. Now what do I mean by this? Unemployment is 25% within the black communities, higher in urban areas, so many people are unemployed, many are so-called juvenile delinquents, many drop-out from high school. Now because very little political education goes on among these groups, many of these people become part of the oppressors. Now that is true with guys who join the army—and that can go either way. This is why the Black Panther Party and other para-military groups who are organizing have to be supported, and why they themselves have to undergo consistent and rigorous political education.

And because a dude is from the street, or what we call a field nigger does not mean that he does not have the potential or the capability to develop into a pronounced theoretician. Hue Newton is one example of a brother from the street who is doing this. Charles Cohen is another, and Brother Rap. Now this does not negate the absolute necessity to work among black workers or black intellectuals or college students. What is necessary is to develop a unity between black workers, and black students, and the lumpenproletariat—because there's much that workers and students can bring to the street brother. I think that Fanon deals with this correctly when he says that in any colonized country the most revolutionary sector happens to be the lumpenproletariat. These are the cats who are hanging around the towns, who are the quickest to follow discipline, and the quickest to in fact slay their oppressors. In many instances, the black intellectuals or representatives of the nationalist parties do not go and do consistent political work among this particular sector of the population. Fanon points out that two of the greatest weaknesses are ignorance and incomprehension, and if black people are not willing to work among this sector, they will in some instances go over and join the side of the oppressors.

SNCC Changes Emphasis

Now I'm not saying that this is the exclusive kind of organizing work which has to go on in the black community for revolutionary activity. But one just has to look at what has been happening within U.S. society within the past four or five years. These are some of the reasons why SNCC has shifted its emphasis from college campuses to doing work and forming alliances in the community.

