In this issue:

- German SDS
- Wisconsin-Dru
- Army Union
- Tuskegee

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

--written on the day of his execution

Mr. & Mrs. Grant Cannon
4907 Etatte Road
Cincinnati, Ohio 45244

THE MOVEMENT PRESS
330 Grove Street
San Francisco, California 94102
To the Editor,

reform, restructuring Col-

munications and Berkeley, to just as Mark Rudd argues (THE MOVEMENT, March, 1969), a waste of time. Students of power in universities who train people for power in government and industry hardly.awear of the uselessness of their work to young workers and other constituencies which hold workers in power, “student power” can only sound like an

to maintain a privileged position.

University reform, however, is a very different thing at San Francisco State and other state and junior colleges which are now replacing the elite schools in training the tenor of the student move-

ments. At these schools Third World students are being trained both students and “expanded participation” by demanding reforms in curriculum (ethnic studies), university governance (Third World self-determination) and open admissions.

The state colleges, and this is the crucial difference, have the job of chan-

neling average middle class and lower middle class students into “occupational training” programs which produce tech-

chers, welfare workers, salesmen, terres-

trialists. At the state and junior col-

leges are important to lower race and

gender differences because they hold out the hope of mobility for their parents and daughters. In addition SF State is attempting to create a college within a college where the question of community access is important because public education is nominally free.

The material to which Matthews objected was a cartoon to NEW LEFT NOTES and a Frank Celders cartoon in the MOVEMENT. The cartoon, of course, that this place standing astride Liberty and Justice in the act of rape, “with liberty and justice for all.”

Another camp rise was the censorship as thousands attended rallies in support of SDS’ right to distribute “bad” (and effective) stuff. Eventually a five hour meeting of the Committee on Student Organizations, Academic Freedom and Activitites climaxd the activity with a ruling in favor of SDS.

William Wierck, a first year assistant history professor defended SDS before the committee, while Dean Matthews temporarily stepped down from his chairmanship to play prosecutor. Wierck argued his defense on the “redeeming social significance” law.

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is EASTERN STANDARD TIME. The above is an instantiation of the fist-button.

Joseph A. Blum, Editor

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PAGE 2 THE MOVEMENT APRIL, 1969
The response of the Chevron Chemical workers to the bosses' 20+ dollars offer is probably best summed up by one guy who told me: "Either we go back with our tails between our legs or we just pack up and go back to Cal. A woman put it only slightly more mildly: "We'll never go back without our union; hell, we'd be fools to do it!"

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

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

The victory of the refinery workers--and especially the fact that they protected the jobs of militant picketers--has given added inspiration to the OCAW workers who are still striking the Chevron Chemical plant in Richmond. Chevron Chemical is a "wholly owned subsidiary" of Standard Oil and part of the same giant corporations, like Standard's attempt to fire three of the most militant picketers, instead of the union shop. This is union-busting, pure and simple. And it raises a number of very important questions about the tactics of student support for working class struggles.

STUDENT SUPPORT

The students have kept up other harassing tactics.

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The students have kept up other harassing tactics.
by Jim Jacobs, Detroit National Organizing Committee

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

PLANTS FOLLOW WORKERS

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

SPLIT THE WORKERS

One of the first companies to hire black workers was Ford. Recognizing the advantages of a cheap labor supply that might be mobilized against union organizing attempts, Ford maintained close ties with many black clerical and was respected by the leadership of the growing black community. Thus, when the UAW began organizing at Ford, many black workers supported management. In 1941, when the union called for a walkout at the River Rouge plant, blacks attacked the picket lines and attempted to break the union. As a result, white against blacks increased. During World War II many work stoppages occurred in protest to the introduction of black workers on the assembly lines in Detroit. Since the early 1950s the proportion of blacks in the urban unskilled and semi-skilled work force has increased as the result of two trends. The first is the movement of unskilled workers to the suburbs. Detroit is now deep with massive white working class suburbs, particularly on the northeast and southwest sides. Warren, for example, is an all white predominance blue collar suburb of 179,000. A majority of the white working class now resides outside the city limits.

WHITE SUPREMACY ON THE JOB

White they are a majority in many plants, black workers are faced with three forms of white supremacy: 1) they are hired for the worst jobs in the plant; 2) they do not have access to the better jobs; and 3) they are oppressed by racial individuals in both union and management. All the worst jobs--foundary work, shop cleaning, assembly, are predominately black. Blacks will be found wherever a job requires hard physical labor or subject to tremendous noise or dirt. This is especially true for black women who are given many difficult jobs. At Eldon Avenue, for example, they are required to line jobs, 40 pound axles. White women, on the other hand are, usually found in the food crib (parts department) or receiving and shipping departments.

More significant in the eyes of the black workers is the fact that they face in gaining access to better jobs, in many auto plants upgrading the ability to switch jobs for more desirable ones is not determined in an objective fashion. The upgrading test is administered by a foreman and marked secretly. The applicant is only told whether he passed or failed. When new positions open in the plant, white workers, with their connections (friends and family) in the local union or lower management circles are the first to know and the first to apply. Locking these connections blacks rarely receive such benefits. Often both management and union pass over autoworkers in order to place white workers in better positions. Finally, there is almost no movement of blacks into the skilled trades, which are the most secure from the threat of automation.

On these jobs blacks are also often faced with specific supervisory staffs both in management and unions. Very few of the management personnel are black and many of these are individual racists. At Eldon Avenue, for example, blacks cleaning jobs over 175 blacks have been fired because of their skin color. Because of this, Claims Manager Larry. To make matters worse, the local union hierarchy is often racist. There are the hands of the union officials. When the UAW has proposed a strike, legislation, and various campaigns against racist discrimination in Detroit, on the shop floor many of the white and union officials are openly anti-black. Typical of liberal institutions, union bureaucracies are always finding some new chink in the armor of black power. In the plants and within its own local structure, for all this talk of making of moderate-militant blacks, to the black workers on Eldon Avenue, the failure to force the center of people like Blanky Larry is more significant than all the pious platitudes to Martin Luther King.

ORGANIZING AGAINST RACISM

Eldon Avenue and Eldon Avenue is a key plant in the Chrysler empire. It produces the sales manager's Chrysler car. It is an old plant with poor working conditions. 60% of its workers are black. Although Local 691 has black stewards and committees the union is controlled by southern white and Polish workers. See Larry Laskowski's article, page 181.

ELRUM was organized in November, 1965, under the name Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement. Its first public activity was the distribution of a four page newsletter--ELRUM--which emphasized various racist abuses and union management personnel. Individual stewards, foremen and superintendents were shamed out as racists, and the union leadership was severely criticized for fighting Production--of the newspaper was organized an organizational form. Its editors are from the race. These were STS and the race. These are often formed to form the community.

Typical of this thrust is the 1969 publication of a book by black scholars. While the book is not a traditional radical work, it is a statement against the threat of assimilation. Controlled by black revolutionaries, it banner line reading, "One Class-Conscious Worker in the Detroit". The editors fill the SOUTHEND WITH articles on DROW and ELRUM, which are passed out at factory gates around Detroit.

As a traditional form, ELRUM is not a radical tradition with a long tradition of organizing black workers. Rather, ELRUM is an effort to hold a perspective that organizing black workers is the key to setting the central principle in the major industry in the United States. In Detroit, and elsewhere. They have emphasized organizing both in the factories as well as in all of those issues that are key to driving the black community. Typical of this thrust is the way in which black have utilized the Wayne State University paper, the SOUTH END. Controlled by black revolutionaries, the banner line reading, "One Class-Conscious Worker in the Detroit. It is published by ELRUM. Where they are, the failure to force the center of people like Blanky Larry is more significant than all the pious platitudes to Martin Luther King.

STRATEGY

The black radicals in Detroit--League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Panthers, Black Students, and others hold a perspective that organizing black workers is the key to setting the central principle in the major major industry in the United States. In Detroit, and elsewhere. They have emphasized organizing both in the factories as well as in all of those issues that are key to driving the black community. Typical of this thrust is the way in which black have utilized the Wayne State University paper, the SOUTH END. Controlled by black revolutionaries, the banner line reading, "One Class-Conscious Worker in the Detroit. It is published by ELRUM. Where they are, the failure to force the center of people like Blanky Larry is more significant than all the pious platitudes to Martin Luther King.
workers set the pace

the questionnaire of grievances. The cumber- some bureaucracy of the UAW has meant that which settles everything as far as the shops are concerned. No more 30-day windows and huge backlog of unresolved disputes. This past fall the problem of unresolved grievances led to a month of wildcat strikes in the Detroit auto plants. ELRUM decided to bring a number of grievances, many concerning the company's racial policies, to the attention of the auto workers. The largest involved the walkout on January 31 by 1200 black workers from the GM assembly plant in Flint. They walked in to demand an end to the practice of assigning black workers to the most arduous jobs. This was the largest walkout in the history of the UAW, but the union leadership failed to give assurance that grievances would be settled. The walkout was called off by white Chrysler fired two work- ers and punished others for missing work while attempting to return to the plant.

ELRUM called for a strike on Jan- uary 6 of all GM workers in the United States. Most deal with racism—the hiring of mostly black workers in the highest-paying, most skilled areas. The only way to win is through control of the local union, they say. That is why they have rejected the settlement for the three shifts that Monday. People from every section of the UAW, per- sons from the black Panther Party, stood on the picket line, waving signs by and union photographers snapped pictures.

Chrysler took immediate action agai- nst the walkout. All white workers were fired and disciplined. All black workers received formal charges of "misconduct." In addition management informed black workers that they had first used against ELRUM last July, which prevented the UAW from picking any contractors. The Chrysler Corporation, after its ex- periences with the UAW, is trying to unionize immediately. A long work stoppage at the end of the month, on the realization of one of the largest corporations in the world, and both ELRUM and management knew it.

ACTION AGAINST THE LAW

To force the UAW to fight against the racist employers, and augment ELRUM the picketing has spread to other companies. Standing in front of UAW "solidarity" signs a small group of black workers held a picketing vigil. "For our People, for our Lives, for our Rights, we will not stop picketing!" They are battle- ready and prepared to defend their "misconduct" charges. The last picket line was at the General Motors plant in Flint, Michigan. The UAW had been processing the picketers and it is now up to any individuals to defeat this.

But in reality the UAW demonstrated little enthusiasm for the strike, harassing and firing union leaders.

The black anti-war movement, which although international, is organized for black workers in Montreal, has not sur- prised. The present union leadership has been behind such actions as black worker groups across the country that are fighting their own battles. Concerning CLC, Douglass Frasier, Direc- tor of the UAW Chrysler Division, and a leading candidate for the presidency, stated:

"Be every picket line is a Union picket line,... it is important for you to know and understand that these picket lines are not UAW picket lines, they are not the picket lines that have been established only after strikable griev- ances have been processed. A DEMOCRAT IS NOT A MISTAKE. ALL MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL ARE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE. To put it mildly, limiting lines to external griev- ances is procedure. A DEMOCRAT IS NOT A MISTAKE. ALL MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL ARE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE. To put it mildly, limiting lines to external griev- ances is procedure.

In developing class consciousness among black workers, there is also a danger in emphasizing demands for black workers. Clearly these demands are tactical, aimed at every day material improvements of white supremacy, and serve to demonstrate the power of groups like ELRUM in their efforts to organize black workers. As John Watson, editor of the SOUTH END and one of the original organizers of black workers' groups in Detroit, wrote: We are no more integrated cap- italism than segregated capitalism. Not one black is composed of a separate state, based on the same class lines as the rest of the country, against a separate state in which all black capi- talists benefit. (SOCIAL AMERICA, 7/8/45)

The demand of organizing a separate black community, based on the same class lines as the rest of the country, against a separate state in which all black capitalists benefit. (SOCIAL AMERICA, 7/8/45)

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During the fall of 1966, when the draft began to haunt students at the University of Wisconsin, five seniors at Madison discussed the situation. After 8 weeks of hard, sometimes bitter rapping, the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union, with 40 members, was born. Today the name, WDRU, is well known throughout the state but is no longer simply associated with draft resistance. "DRU", as the organization is called, is a statewide organizing effort struggling throughout the state but is no longer simply associated with draft resistance. "DRU", as the organization is called, is a statewide organizing effort struggling.
WE'VE SEEN THAT THE NOTION THAT YOU COULD JUST SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM BY GETTING ENOUGH NON-COOPERATORS WAS NOT TRUE. OUR BASIC NOTION IS THAT OUR JOB IS TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH YOUNG MEN CAN MAKE THE DECISION TO RESIST—CAN DECIDE NOT TO GO TO VIETNAM.

In Waukegan, while recognizing the necessity of beginning on a constituency basis, at the same time we realized how embryonic this step is and how larger groupings must be made to realize similar interests and act as a movement. We concluded that the slow pace of building an immediate constituency was insufficient, since the group needed to establish a broader community base. We decided to work through a series of different events to build up a larger movement.

Our building block theory was too mechanistic, issues link up, not constitutencies.
I might get busted if I join the union

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

ANDY: Yes, that was the core of it. On my second court-martial I was acquitted and when I came back to the barracks all the guys were not only not concerned about me but they loved to see a guy get an officer down. Nobody bats court-martialed and then I did it and it gave the men a sense of confidence that we could win and from then on things were pretty much on the up and up. Then the guys had that confidence that we could fight the brass. Organizing against the war and organizing against the officers is really the same thing. You have to be able to take advantage of the class hatred that the men feel toward their oppressors.

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

ANDY: Well for one thing I had a civilian lawyer that came in from Denver. He was very sharp, not like these jagg officers who are really on the other side. The second point in my favor was there was a lot of press in the courtroom. Third, being court-marshaled at the time, I was not guilty.

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

ANDY: Well for one thing the officers are all for the war. The role they play in the war makes it much less dangerous for them. They get much higher pay, medals, awards and glory and all that, while they are indoctrinated with a fascist-militarist education in OCS and ROTC. They tend to be very much for the war. The soldiers are not so heavily indoctrinated and they are scared that they are going to get maimed over there. They don't feel that the Vietnamese are any political threat. There have been very, very heavy prison sentences meted out in retaliation. Bruce Wasser got 7 years at Ft. Hood (he was the subject of the piece in PIERS and they frame him on a marijuana charge; then they threw him into the brig to keep him in line). So the brass don't want to go.

I remember when the order would come down for the men to go to Vietnam it was like a disaster area. Everybody would run to the bulletin boards praying to God that their names were not on the list. The few guys that I knew that actually fought over it were trying to do it to rip away this veil of bullshit that 99 percent of us feel more confident. That's why we have a lot of resistance, just one guy against the Pentagon, so that by the time he actually gets around to organizing an organization that includes thousands of guys and that will give them the confidence to fight against their fear.

MOVEMENT: How would you characterize the struggle inside the army has been intensifying in the last two years. Why?

ANDY: It has intensified over the last several years and the war in Vietnam is, in one of the main reasons. The guys who before undoubtedly had the kind of attitude that they could, take any kind of mess, low pay, poor food, but when Vietnam and army leadership gets escalated at all. We have a large number of officers who say now that they feel more confidence. That's why we have a lot of resistance, just one guy against the Pentagon, so that by the time he actually gets around to organizing an organization that includes thousands of guys and that will give them the confidence to fight against their fear.

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RACISM

MOVEMENT: That raises the question of racism and the army terminology that is flexible enough so that you don't fight against anti-black racism, that you don't fight against anti-Vietnamese racism. Vietnam is a racist war. The GI's are infected with racist terminology and the questions of racism and of anti-Asian racism are to be avoided.

ANDY: Vietnam is a racist war. The American GI, Rodney Oshiro, it was taken because he had failed to address racism. If he had addressed racism, he would have gotten a higher sentence. That was a prime example of why anti-racist politics are so important in the army.

MOVEMENT: And the question of racism is a question of anti-black racism, of anti-Asian racism, of anti-Indochinese racism.

ANDY: The struggle against racism today is a very important struggle, and it is true in the army too. Any GI that is willing to fight against black racism, that is true in the army too. Any GI that is willing to fight against Asian racism, that is true in the army too. We have seen here that the black GI's are willing to fight against black racism, and we have seen that the Asian GI's are willing to fight against Asian racism.

MOVEMENT: The struggle against racism in the army is a part of the struggle against racism in general. The struggle against racism in the army is a part of the struggle against racism in the world. The struggle against racism in the army is a part of the struggle against racism in the United States.

ANDY: Yes, it is. We don't keep racial records, but the men that join the union are to be working class guys who have a record of fighting for their rights. We have had GIs who have been in the infantry, truck-driver, cook, jocks, any kind of job. We have had GIs who have been in the army, the black GI's, the Asian GI's, the white GI's. We have had GIs who have been in the army, the black GI's, the Asian GI's, the white GI's. We have had GIs who have been in the army, the black GI's, the Asian GI's, the white GI's.

RELATIONS WITH MOVEMENT

MOVEMENT: How do you see the relation of the ASU with the movement in general outside of the army? And why are the ASU's and the SDS's and the struggles of the black GI's and the Asian GI's and the white GI's not more closely linked? And why are there so many differences between the white GI's and the black GI's and the Asian GI's?

ANDY: We see the union as just one kind of organization. The black liberation movement, the draft resistance movement, SDS and struggles on campuses, the increasing number of strikes among workers--we see them as all fronts against U.S. imperialism. We don't see the SDS as so much as a kind of organization. We are for maximum struggle against U.S. imperialism. We are for maximum struggle against U.S. imperialism.

MOVEMENT: Has the racist nature of the war made it easier to move the men around the country by taking up issues or has it hindered you?

ANDY: It's a very difficult problem because America is so divided. The racism of the army and the war has generated even more racism in the country. The indoctrination sessions led by the officers and the troopers are nothing more than an orgy of racist terms against the black GI's and the Asian GI's.

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THE NATIONAL GUARD STANDS

by Bill Drew, Alan Hunter, Paul Siegle

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

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

But since King's death, since Columbia, and mostly since S.F. State this has begun to change. Ever since a radically conscious black vanguard has begun to change. Ever since a radical vanguard has begun to change. Ever since a radical vanguard has begun to change. Ever since the recent strike at the University of Wisconsin in Madison as a result of the recent strike initiated by black students.

First it is necessary to discuss the history of the white student left in Madison and the role of the student left in Wisconsin development of an intellectual radical tradition.

In Madison William A. Williams, Hans Gerth, and the 1959 birth of STUDIES in black politics owed much to the Southern civil rights movement and the thinking of C. Wright Mills.

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

More recently the war in Vietnam added an activist and anti-imperialist dimension to the Madison left. But in the rush to a hard anti-imperialism a new isolation was created. If we now identify with the struggles of the Third World and think of the anti-war as we once did of moral cadres we want direct or indirect participation in the movement to end the war.

A history of SDS on the campus clarifies the problems white radicals faced when confronted with the strike early this semester. On October 18, 1967 white radicals sat-in to obstruct Dow recruiters and were beaten by police. Although Concerned Black People had first stated that they would also obstruct, they decided against the action at the last minute. They believed that a sit-in put people in a defensive posture and that the demand for an end to war recruiting did little to help the black man in America. The difference between the black students and white radicals was the difference between fighting for concrete and winnable demands as opposed to abstract and somewhat moralistic ones. The Dow sit-in was rooted with radical rhetoric and a link to Third World struggles, but the link was purely symbolic. Those who sat in were really expressing their imported rage at the University for failing to live up to its professional ideals.

The lesson of Dow, as articulated by white radicals, after a 6000 strong picketing movement surged and faded in two days, was "don't move, organize." The organizing that took place in dorms and workshops was minimal compared to the usual jive about how things take time and consideration, they took things into their own hands and destroyed office furniture and a sign in the American Cultural Center, black courses and a sustained radical presence will emerge.

In Madison this is happening, along with a sense of local grievances, set the white people's alliance into motion. Ever since the Chase incident last spring they had been negotiating with the university's administration, for more cultural affirmative action, for more black studies, and for black students to take courses and work in the university's administration.

The demand of Concerned Black People was the same as that of all the SDS chapters on campus. Black students control the University financial affairs, not the white student body about the course of negotiations. Most students, including leaders could not guarantee that the triumph of student power would mean an anti-racist university.

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

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

There were two further difficulties that hindered the white left from responding well to the strike. White radicals had no peer program around, nor internal education about racism. The SDS students working on an anti-imperialist campaign neglected to make clear the relationship between domestic and foreign oppression by the American ruling class and the racial struggle in creating this oppression.

A history of SDS on the campus clarifies the problems white radicals faced when confronted with the black student demands are erupting across the country. This current has overtaken and engulfed most white radicals. Except for grooving on the style and charisma of the Black Panthers the white left has paid little attention to racism, its place in American capitalism and the necessity to fight it.

THE MOVEMENT Passenger APRIL, 1969

OShkosh

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

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The dispute over black studies is a major national issue with over 55 chapters of national and local SDS chapters. It is a struggle for black students to have a voice in the decision making process of the university. It is a struggle for black students to have a voice in the decision making process of the university. It is a struggle for black students to have a voice in the decision making process of the university. It is a struggle for black students to have a voice in the decision making process of the university. It is a struggle for black students to have a voice in the decision making process of the university.

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AROUND HER DOOR

AFTER the boycott was over, 200 whites during the boycott did they ask for white ing at which the Oshkosh affair was being best noncommital, and at worst hostile, support actions nor did whites initiate any actions. However, a couple of weeks Madison campus by next fall. This semester the black leadership began to make overtures to white radical leaders. Obviously they realized that be won with the support of whites. This is especially true in Madison where there meaningful black demands could only is no sizeable black population in the ghetto bordering on the campus. In fact, Madison is the capital of the state and Thus the blacks could not count on out-troops for the struggle had of necessity the common goal of creating socialist uencies separately but work together for

The numbers of people only slowly de- increased, but the police became hip to the essentially pacific nature of the crocades. One or two cops were able to move 300-300 people from an inter- action. From then on things went down hill. People began returning to classes, and for lack of any other strategy the black leaders called a moratorium on the strike, ostensibly planning their hopes on the upcoming faculty meeting. A word were about the police and the Guard, Calling up the Guard was ob­ viously a political measure by Governor Knowles, a Junior Reagan, but both the police and the Guard worked with great effectiveness, There were plenty of cops and, we were damn well ready to use them, but they were under tight discipline including few slip-ups. They were good at acting for a situation where they could fir­ for us having had the pre- vail­ing, given the situation, that was they spoke much in the same language to get students out to rally and meet­ings and this was of course an impor- tant work of deepening the political consciousness. It is difficult to speak concretely about this, because nothing of the support reached us, and we never be­ came aware of the impact the violence and the legal repression could have been engaged in a dozen other things. The root of the matter was this: the falling that the understanding of racism was already the strongest that it is at least partially due to organiza­ tional factors. Obviously it should have allocated our time for this, but the summer was filled with street action, etc. It was difficult to resist priorities. A deeper understanding of commitment to the demands than a feeling that their efforts were support could not be sustained. While the pro-nuclear movement was potenal for a few days, we never had a real political movement that could so hanper the working of the university as to who the students. If we had spent more time getting out our political message about the necessity of fighting racism not only for blacks but for all of us, we could have deepened and broadened our movement. There was a fanatic fashion in which the strike was called administered, and the lack of a con­ sequence—obviated any chance for a sustained strike by large numbers if students. FACE

As the strike slowly died the faculty furtltered around. The timeliness and self- serving of the faculty is impor- tant for the students to see again and again, it demonstrated its acquiescence to institutionalized racist by standing our decreased the upper administrative levels when the administration veterinarian. The university Office decide to admit three of the Oshkott blacks. A faculty special com­ mittee had been appointed to recommend an equal vote for all students in the proposed Black Studies De- partment.

The weight a that it was ap­ pointed by its chancellor will be placed on the faculty's report. Some of the other demands have been cut in their importance, articles on the topic are being read to get more black students with financial assistance. On Thursday, May 5th, before the last of the faculty meetings, black students met with the university's general frustration and rejection of the faculty before they left. The students are not serve to rejuvenate the strike, but only increased the already existing. Meetings in small groups have continued for some time, but this was the last public meeting.

ON THE DEFENSIVE

For the present time and energy will have to be put into fighting the coming repression. About 40 students were ar­ rested, and a few of others were still out. Some of these arrested and probably some not arrested will be sus- pended or expelled. The Regents are passing repression regulations to better deal with us and the State Legislature is passing a whole raft of bills to con­ tinue what we are doing. Our political consciousness and increase out-of-state university students. The strike will begin unless we can get a federal court injunction to stop the proceedings (as happened last year after the Low all). This is a failure. One reason is not yet strong enough to effectively oppose the class nature of the courts, and the other reason is that we were never able to expand our movement, to reach out to the blacks. When the strike was begun we understood this much of the time. The State Legisla­ ture was going to cut back the ma­ jor surplus to stop the proceedings, but if it had, the T:A.'s would have been at the top of the list. This means as well as their own economic demands. The blacks made it clear that the racist police had been kept from striking on the black demand as long

AUGUST, 1969

THE MOVEMENT

Continued on page 11
bringin' it all down home

by Stephanie Mixon and Phil Frazier

At Tuskegee Institute in 1964, black students staged a seizure for power. They demanded not merely educational reform but a total restructuring of the school in the interests of the black community. The mandate which they issued and the format of their demonstration took on an irreversible precedent in the history of student-university-community relations. In times of extreme flux, it is difficult to make out the historical connections, but it can be said that the Tuskegee revolt initiated trends that were to be repeated again and again across the country.

Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, is historically a private coeducational institution of learning established in 1881. It is well known for its engineering programs, veterinary medicine, nursing, and continuing education. It remains a small, predominantly black university with a population of about 4,000 students.

The students who led the Tuskegee revolt were a group of African American students who were determined to restructure the institution in the interests of the black community. They demanded educational reform and the development of a Black Studies program. The revolt was a significant event in the history of higher education, and its legacy continues to be felt today.

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DEATH OF AN ERA

Tuskegee is no longer the bastion of the segregationist era. The very name of the city is now synonymous with modernity and the achievements of the black community. The city is now a thriving center of commerce and industry, and it is home to a number of major universities and colleges, including Tuskegee University.

SAMY YOUNGE JR.

Sammy is currently employed by the Tuskegee University in the capacity of a public relations officer. He is responsible for managing the university's communications and marketing efforts, as well as developing strategies to promote the institution's mission and values.

TRUSTEES HELD CAPTIVE

The Trustees, including General Lee, have been held captive by the students. They have been forced to accept the demands of the students, who have been demanding educational reform and the development of a Black Studies program.
The strike at S.F. State has been both an extension of a pattern of struggle on campuses all over the country. The strike at U.C. Berkeley should be a reminder of the need for organizers to advise those raised by the Black Studies movement now deepening their struggle.

The Afro-American Students Union (AASU) at San Francisco State (S.F. State) has won a series of victories in the struggle. One of the major victories was the creation of a Black Studies program at the university. This was the result of a long struggle by AASU, which culminated in a sit-in during the summer of 1968. The sit-in was successful in demanding that the university hire so that Third World people could teach on campus for credit, the AASUBlack Studies program. What you need to work on is getting together through cultural programs. More important, it has laid the ideological core of which is racism. The TWLF (Third World Liberation Front) called a strike at S.F. State, base, a step towards countermobilizing the black nationalist tendency of such groups. The fact that the strike was called campus-wide, the TWLF demands for an autonomous campus around Third World demands. The TWLF (Third World Liberation Front) called a strike at San Francisco State University. The TWLF, as a radical group, has done something that MASC (The Mexican-American Students Confederation) did not have the political will to do. The TWLF has won all the at-large seats on the student government. The TWLF leaders do, that the college is a form of student power in itself. They decided to do the black studies program which was then considered by the administration to be a "mock trial" of Huey Newton that clearly dramatized the AASU's isolation from the ghetto community. Seale made no attempt to organize and mobilize the campus around Third World demands. The black community in the Bay Area is relatively well-organized. It is the one black organization that doesn't seem to exist in most high schools. Yet during the first six weeks of the strike, not one community mobilization effort was made. This failure to relate to the community is critical. The strike involves the total power of the campus and can be won on one or two campuses alone.

TACTICS OF STRUGGLE

The weakness in the political perspective of the TWLF is tactical problems. The tactics have often alienated the majority of Third World people. The tactics of dual "terrorism" and opportunism manipulate mass naivete. There is a particular need for education in the issue of the TWLF. The TWLF has often denounced their own supporters as provocateurs.

For example, during the two days before the National Guard was brought on campus, people had responded to police with rocks and bullets, and beat police with their fists. The black students had not used the language of police against police. That is the language of politics. But in order for the internal colony to be broken by the student community, the TWLF leaders must be fought early in the strike; and when they did occur, the TWLF often denounced their own supporters as provocateurs.

The TWLF has a dual nature; they are class struggle groups. The TWLF has been vague in articulating the political content of self-determination. This political fragmentation has created confusion over what the nature of the TWLF stand should be.

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Almost a year of fruitless-fighting with the administration at the beginning of the strike if it couldn't rely on the good will of the administration. The TWLF found that the faculty also rejected sympathy for a black liberation department. In fact, the faculty, feeling within their desperation, created a sit-in challenge, was consistently in line with the TWLF's demands.

The first act of the TWLF was to respond to the administration's proposal to the needs of all the Third World groups: an expansion of student control over the school's financial resources, reevaluation of University California hiring so that Third World people would have positions at all levels, including the Regents; and admission of Third World people on the basis of community mobilization. The TWLF's proposal on community mobilization and Third World people amnesty for arrest.

The major issue of the strike is the struggle of Third World people within the campus of a racist and traditional university structure. But the TWLF has been vague in articulating the political content of self-determination. This political fragmentation has created confusion over what the nature of the TWLF stand should be.

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by Ernest O'Shea

The trial: The Seven are acquitted, the thousands of dollars spent on the case, Defense Sommittee is paid back to the Pen. Anything less is less than "B,"rkeley campus the night before Stop

"battle with the Oakland cops. We're not going down to provoke anything" •

"The same people who were stop The Draft Week defended StOP The Draft. There was no need for the Seven to be the name, a problem and some beautiful collection of people it would be hard to find, than the defense wit­

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"The strong one is central and finds..." 

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

MOVEMENT: What does SDS stand for and how did it start?
KARL DIETRICH WOLFF: It stands for Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—or League of Socialist German Students—and began as the student organization of the Social Democratic Party in 1946. From 1951 on the group moved steadily to the left of the Party. By '58, when the Party halfly wanted to get into the government they started expelling more and more SDS members. In 1959 the entire national council of SDS was expelled from the Party, and two years later membership in the two organizations was declared incompatible.

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

Then the period of economic reconstruction in Germany came to an end. They used up the big reserve of skilled technical manpower that existed and so on. All the discussions about democratizing the university and our endless reform debates were quite useless. We began to realize that the best argument doesn't necessarily win. Then we began to organize and to resist. Hand in hand with this came rising consciousness about political conflicts in the world and in our society.

In 1945 we had the first mass sit-in, at the University of Berlin, over the issue of time-limits on degrees. The same week there was the first demonstration at America-House, where the red flag was lowered, the red flag raised, and eggs thrown. Since that time the movement has grown enormously and is capable of agitation everywhere.

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

MOVEMENT: How do you define yourselves in terms of the international situation?
KARL: We have an anti-imperialist stance against the U.S. Government. We are fighting the kind of influence that the American government has in Europe and the complicity of our own government in support of American aggression in Vietnam. This means that we must understand the structures of our own society, because Vietnam is not a mistake—it is part of the imperialist structure. In the interests of mankind we must destroy imperialism.

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

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

MOVEMENT: We were looking forward to reading about massive demonstrations against Nixon when he visited Germany recently. What happened?
KARL: The mobilizations in West Berlin have always been the biggest. But during the few weeks before Nixon's visit, the West Berlin police were especially brutal. The headlines made a lot of people believe that every demonstrator had to fear for his life, and so we began to organize. Service Guards would shoot unpredictably. About 10,000 police were mobilized for Nixon's three and one-half hour visit. This was the main reason why not much happened.

RESISTANCE STRATEGY

MOVEMENT: What is the general line of your strategy in dealing with the struggle against imperialism?
KARL: Ours is a resistance strategy. We are interested in stimulating conflict in the university and other institutions so that people can achieve radical consciousness. We don't try to tell people that we have the power today to get a free university in a free society, we haven't.

But we can create conflicts in which people actually start to understand that every true move towards self-determination, even at the lowest level in the university, will be met by repression and state violence. If people view the confrontation as political and don't just get morally outraged, then there's a good chance to mobilize more and more people.

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

MOVEMENT: So-called liberal magazines and individuals here are increasingly charging that the movement is "neo-fascist." Have you run into such attacks and if so, how do you deal with them?
KARL: It is more difficult for you to respond than for us, Germany has had the historical experience of fascism, and we have been in the forefront in exposing what remains of the old fascism and its revivals. We also know that if people had been ready to fight a civil war against the Nazis in the Weimar Republic then there would have been no Second World War and no concentration camps.

But the neo-Nazi party in Germany is more and more a problem. It is only a symptom. Both the Christian-Democrats and the Social-Democratic Party have been advocating Nazi laws and Nazi repression, and maintaining close collaboration with the Waffen-SS veteran groups since before there was any student movement.

What we are facing is an institutional fascism, and the American SDS parties tend to violate their own rules and resolutions, or create new ones and bite the bullet. In exact same way that the old Fascists violated the liberal parliamentary forms. Things like preventive arrest and concentration camps are being provoked by the imperialist structures in Germany at the same time they are being promulgated in the West German Congress. Interestingly enough.

By and large, we have the experience of being attacked as fascists by so-called liberals even so, we have been demanding that Habermas who calls himself a Marxist, be shown the door. Our answer is to bring the question down to concrete terems. Are you in favor of young workers in factories having political discussions—discussions which have
not been held for thirty years—or are you in favor of calling the police when that happens? Are you in favor of informing the people, by demonstrations, about American war crimes in Vietnam, or are you in favor of demonstrators who do this being arrested? And so on. If the people are not in favor of it when we do these things, they should not call themselves socialists; they aren't and never have been. And they shouldn't claim that they're trying to protect us, because they're only protecting the police and the state.

APPROACH TO STUDENTS

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

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

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

KARL: After the Murder of Benno Ohnesorg in June 1967, the students became quite aware of the fact that the universities had taught them nothing about the system and how to fight it. They learned nothing critical of state apologists in law school, they learned nothing critical of Keynesian economics in economics, etc. No students organized classes on their own in the university. They stayed inside. But we had to be very conscious of the tendency for these courses to become sterile study groups.

MOVEMENT: How did the courses work?

KARL: We don't have the kind of situation you had in Richmond, because there are hardly any strikes. Almost the only kind of strikes have been wildcats where workers would stay out 5 or 6 hours a day, or have sit-ins and discussions inside the factory, but no pickets. This is not so much because of anti-strike legislation, but because of the bureaucratic control by the unions. For example, last year after the reorganization, the policy of the labor unions has become increasingly reactionary. For example, during last year's strikes against the passage of the emergency laws, the unions expelled people who struck.

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

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

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

KARL: Last year we started organizing among professionals. There are now groups of radical architects and socialists teaching. Some of these people who were lesbian in close contact with SDS. They don't develop as labor unions with narrow interests, but rather as politically conscious organizations in the professions. Some architects and engineers have started to publish inside information about some of the bureaucracies and factories which has been very helpful to us in our educational campaigns.

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

REPRESSION AND DEFENSE

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

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

The first sentences to come-down have been for just participating in the Summer demonstrations—twelve years prison, no parole. The heater charges haven't
The oppression of women has long been a recognized injustice in capitalist America, and the student movement has been aware of this problem. Women's liberation groups have been formed over the last several years and have functioned on several levels—relating to women in terms of personal oppression by male chauvinism, coordinating the struggle for women's liberation to specific programs or issues raised by R.S.D.I. or other groups; demanding certain numbers of women on committees, or as chairman, in the same manner that the student power advocates demand representation on college administration committees; and combinations of these tendencies.

Recent cutoffs of political discussion within S.D.I.S. over the past few months has begun to recognize the limitations of this fundamental problem has been that all of these tendencies have failed to relate the oppression of women to broader social and economic oppression, and to relate the struggle for women's liberation to the larger class struggle. The proposal to fight military fights a good handle and is analysis to attach the institutions that especially oppress women.

Recent cutoffs have also reflected the following: hospitals, schools, poverty programs and welfare services reflect domestically increased demand for services. Social service institutions have increasingly become instruments of class repression, using the limited services available for the purposes of indoctrination and regimentation of the young. This militarization has oppressed working class women, and especially black women, by amplifying the effects of existing male supremacy in capitalist America.

At the point of production: As young men are drafted to fight for freedom, American women are used as reserve labor to fill vacant jobs at substantially lower wages, and we are the noisiest department in the working world. This dirt and grease is on the job and not have to put up with some of the things that the military demands, and that the women who bathe the machine operators are subjected to. Movement organizers should seek to substitute solidarity with working women for their liberal ideals, and should make it clear that they can be sharp performance by supporting struggles against the school, the welfare systems, and the hospitals, from their positions within.

3) Welfare: At an absolute base, the welfare system is a means of class oppression. Debates about eligibility requirements reflect the inability of the imperialist economy to meet the needs of all the people. Insurgents are subject to the vagaries of welfare rolls and women are subjected to humiliating investigations of their private lives. In California, women applying for Aid to Dependent Children are given the "opportunity" to subject themselves to a pregnancy test, which effectively crushes the spirit of the poor, and forces their presence for insurmountability.

4) Health Care for Women: Nationally, new care hospitals and abortion clinics continue to be gynecology departments and clinics of physical labor, since a never new care hospital (County General Hospital) than in private hospitals, local hospitals, under-pay and over-work thousands of female employees. In only a few hospitals in America, the men are a different matter. In many cases women are forbidden to organize as a matter of policy.

5) Public Education: Black and white women often find their own children's self-confidence crushed in the teaching system, and by the racism of the teachers. This is true not only to the teachers and the administration of the system, but to the power to change the situation itself. In many cases, the state is just as oppressive that the school is even acting as a cop, turning young men on the police as a "disciplinary problem" and taking away parental responsibilities, even with very young children.

In a male supremacist society women are supposed to have only responsibility for caring for children. But as that society becomes increasingly more militarized and oppressive, the status worsens more and more of that role.

As the teaching system in the public schools serves the ruling class by providing young men for the army, it also channels young girls teaching them psychologically to accept a self-concept of inferiority that they will later accept as the domination of the economy and structure. In addition, the vocational departments and the tracking system prepare girls for insufficient positions which perpetuate male supremacy, the consumption ideology, i.e., beauticians, secretarial work, and "home economics" (jobs that many of them may never get). These are only a few examples of the ways in which working class women are affected by the ideologues of American society. These examples indicate that women fight for oppression by attacking these institutions, rather than by blindly attacking men and women.

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

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by Larry Laskowski, Detroit N.O.C.

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

ELRUM'S demand that the platform in Department 71 be recognized as a minimal one when the conditions in this department are considered: Department 71 is the most labor intensive department in the Eldon Avenue plant. It also required a great deal of coordination and labor in the making of the small parts and units of the machine operators. This department is an example of the danger of standardized work. The danger is that the work is done way with but Chrysler corporation might have to spend a few bucks and this might cause a decrease in profits. And, while the labor in Department 71 is the most labor intensive in the workplace, the amount of time and energy that is put into the job is not always as easily understood as the oil in Department 71.

1) In the Factory: Get a production job and not have to put up with some of the things that the military demands, and that the women who bathe the machine operators are subjected to. Movement organizers should seek to substitute solidarity with working women for their liberal ideals, and should make it clear that they can be sharp performance by supporting struggles against the school, the welfare systems, and the hospitals, from their positions within.

2) In the University: Three-fourths of all female college graduates who later become housewives and homemakers, and another ten percent become social workers of various kinds. Their college education prepared them for their role as the primary indoctrinators of America's children. They are carefully taught the petty, middle-class ideologies of anti-communism, racism, and imperialism. This indoctrination and more idealistic young women intent on serving the poor, later are required to act as baby sitting cops in the schools. As the main administration and case workers in the welfare system, they are trained men between the rules and the poor. In both cases they find themselves the object of community hatred, for reasons not always obvious to them.

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

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by Juan Gonzalez

Benjamin Franklin High School, on 116th Street and Fifth Avenue, has a population of approximately 3,000 students, 925 Black and Puerto Rican. As of September 1967, Education statistics, 100 are enrolled in the academic (college preparatory) program, 300 graduates of the vocational curriculum, 130 graduates of the general curriculum. Of the 763 students who entered in September 1964, 29.8% of the original unaccounted for students number 60.2% It is Puerto Rican, and white working class kids are systematically miseducated, failure, systematically inculcated with conditions that determine the depth and militancy of the Black rebellions-the victim of the high schools. Over 50% of those who graduate from academic high schools run to college. Meanwhile, in Vocational High School, like Food and Maritime or Aviation, where 60% of the students are Black and Puerto Rican, and where the possibility of jobs awaiting graduates in the area is slight, no one goes to college. The same class society that determines the nature and function of those high schools determines what happens to students when they graduate of the black high school. Some graduates have a higher unemployment rate than white drop-outs, and those Black students who find work average lower pay per week than white drop-outs, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

For the average Black and Puerto Rican high school student, then, the schools are prison, part of the community, an area where the possibility of jobs awaiting graduates in the area is slight, no one goes to college. The same class society that determines the nature and function of those high schools determines what happens to students when they graduate of the black high school. Some graduates have a higher unemployment rate than white drop-outs, and those Black students who find work average lower pay per week than white drop-outs, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

SDS has begun to realize that it can develop into a true revolutionary socialist movement only if it fights with and in the interests of Black and white working people. As present, the best and most organic way to develop that working class passion is to ally with the inherently revolutionary fights emerging among minority working people. SDS has already been drawn into a loosing imperial war in Vietnam, and high school youth who, because of the Black struggle, are becoming aware of the waste production of bombers and rockets, industrial mass movements, and the struggle that is being fought themselves with a striking job potential, find themselves.
WE HAVE TO FIGHT THE BLURRING OF CLASS LINES WHICH OFTEN OCCURS IN YOUTH CULTURE.

We must try to bring basic class issues into the forefront of our consciousness on a large scale. We don't want to be put on the defensive; we must make the defense conscious.

A great deal of our current activity is directed toward two main goals: increasing the understanding of the working class and its role in the overall structure of capitalist society, and organizing for action on the local level.

GROUP ACTIVITIES:

The groups have organized a series of activities which have included: a street meeting in downtown Milwaukee; a sit-in at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; a demonstration at the Wisconsin State Fair; and a march against the war in Vietnam.

The groups have also established a number of local organizing committees which are working on a variety of issues, including: the fight against the war, the fight against discrimination, and the fight for better living conditions.

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In Milwaukee, the new, new approach was adopted. The political structure was grounded in local, not national, organizing. With four full-time and three part-time organizers working in the city's high schools and colleges, and two more organizers coming into the junior colleges and factories, the movement was beginning to reach its full potential.

In the meantime, the groups have continued to organize and to develop their ideas. They have held meetings, workshops, and seminars on a variety of topics, including: the analysis of the current political and economic situation, the development of a new philosophy of revolution, and the organization of a new revolutionary movement.

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

EXPULSIONS
MOVEMENT: Given the loose structure you have, is it possible to kick out people?
KARL: We didn't kick all of them out formally. But we kicked out five very well-known CP people and then waged a propaganda campaign. They were expelled in three-three-quarters of the national convention delegates, which was after twenty years of very successful discussion. They inhibited the Siemens line, we needed in our organization for our practical work. The final decision was only after they changed the demonstration at the world's fund in 1967, in which they worked together with the Bulgarian petit. That was in the explosion a condition was added that any groups which accepted these five as members would also be kicked out. After that they just formed their own CP out of these groups. That's OK. We don't worry about that.

MOVEMENT: How would you characterize the line of the CP people you expelled?
KARL: The German CP line, that means unconditional support of the Soviet Union and parliamentary methods in West Germany. Internally they debated a lot like your PL does, except that internally the party moved towards the external line, internal line, or foreign policy they support the Soviet Union instead of China. Internally the only real thing they always say to the student movement is "support the working class" without saying what that means and how that can be brought about. They are against direct action and against repressive techniques. And they don't have any sort of organizational analysis.

MOVEMENT: What are some of the demonstrations in 76 cities across West Germany. No centralized organization could have effectively organized that. It was done by a mass-conscious movement, decentralized and organized at the base. Of course we didn't believe decentralization is as in itself. We behold the importance of informational communications channels and wave to establish national theoretical debate.

MOVEMENT: Is there much cooperation among the different West European movements?
KARL: We have just quite concrete cooperation, especially on common dates for demonstrations. And on sharing research and information, and having seminars analyzing the French revolts. Now we are preparing for a Europe-wide analysis of the situation. And I think that we realize that the anti-NATO campaign we are organizing is still not as conglutinarily effective as the conspiracy of the NATO bases.

Jeff Sharlet is sick and needs food. Please help a fellow traveler. Who isn't broke these days, especially in the movement, and who hasn't been down with the flu? The difference is that Jeff is very, very sick. He's been in bed for a month and certainly unable to work for a long time after that. Movement people—especially working with CPs—owe a lot to Jeff. He started THE VIETNAM S, which many agree in one of the most important things we had money by be awarded as a Woodrow Wilson academic fellowship after refraining from military service for a tour of duty in Viet Nam. Surely it was the best use of one of those grants ever was to a movement person.

And now he's broke and critically ill. Friends in Bloomington, Indiana, are collecting money to help him out through the next few months. Anything you could send would help. Make checks out to: The JEFF SHARLET FUND, P.O. Box 515, 512 E. Woodlawn Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. The address is: Jeff Sharlet, c/o Veterans Administration Hospital, Rm. 611, Ward C-S, Miami, Florida.
Charles Bursey is a member of the Black Panther Party in Berkeley. After graduating from white, he had been a machinist for many years. Both of them are running for different seats on the Berkeley City Council. Bursey is running as a Black Panther Party candidate, but is being challenged by the incumbent, Roy Coe, who is running as a Black Panther candidate. However, the police and special agents are refusing to be excluded from the conflict.

Bursey is running on the Black Panther 10 point program. He is concerned with the needs and desires of the people. Bursey notes, "Everything happening today relates to our ten point program." The Panther proposal for community control of police would eliminate the police chief and make the Black Panther Party the binding force, not the appointed City Manager. The plan recognizes the three basic roles in the Black Panther Party (black campus and white middle and upper class). Each area would have its own police body. Each police department would be administered by a police commission. The police would be chosen by the people and are elected by all those who live there.

No more beating heads in the name of the mythical "people of California." The Council would have the power to discipline officers for breaches of discipline. Bursey notes, "Our system is based on the recognition of the equality of the black people. They need to be respected for what they are, not for what they are not." The police would eliminate the police chief and make the Black Panther Party the binding force.
OIL STRIKE continued from page 3

phase. Then the focus of student agitation shifted to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. And now the student movement has broadened it's scope, moving beyond the black and third world liberation movements which have developed into powerful components of the global struggle against U.S. imperialism. This shift explains the heightened level of the student struggles.

ANTI-IMPERIALISM

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

The student movement has a very valuable role to play in helping to break the labor movement in this country out of the economist shackles that blind the working class to its exploiters. It would be a real setback if the student movement falls into the trap of tailing behind the economics of the labor movement. The primary contribution that the CAF and S.F. State students have made in the oil strike, more important than heeding up the picket lines and scattering bell out of the company, is the linking up of the oil strike with the struggles of third world peoples. This is certainly not to say that students should run out to the picket lines and throw label this is also in the struggle or start attacking the union leadership, or use language and tactics that are inimical to, or alien to, the working class. But it does mean that they should recognize the political issues, and point up the intersection between struggles against the common enemy.

STRATEGIC PRIORITIES

At the same time, however, it is absolutely crucial for many students and others in the movement to sew their class ties more directly and integrate themselves with the working class. We have learned in the oil strike that the vanguard must realize that it is impossible to preserve the old order of things, but our feeling is that it is necessary to make use of the new order for the mass in the struggle to make it easier for the masses to learn from experience to recognize the inevitability of the revolutionary slogans:

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

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

Our mailing address is 302 10th St. P.O. Box 1282, Richmond, California, and we can be reached by phone at (415) 237-7264.

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THE HORSES OF INSTRUCTION
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