

# sds new left notes



Volume 4, #15

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

April 17, 1969

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# Thousands fight ROTC, expansion at Harvard

(special to New Left Notes)

Members of Harvard SDS got their heads together last week and moved to militant action. Over three hundred students occupied University Hall, the main administration building, last Wednesday, April 9, demanding abolition of ROTC and an end to Harvard's expansion into the surrounding Cambridge and Boston communities.

The ROTC campaign began early in the year with an SDS petition calling for the abolition of ROTC because of its counter-revolutionary function abroad and at home. Support grew, and by the end of the semester the petition had around 1500 signatures. All the expected liberal smokescreen issues were raised. ROTC was praised as a humanizing influence on the armed services, and SDS was accused of depriving students of the "right" to join ROTC. These arguments were effectively countered in leaflets. Support was built through door-to-door canvassing and house meetings.

While SDS was building its campaign for abolition of ROTC, other groups were working on compromises—loss of credit, removal of professorships, etc. These compromise plans indicated the basic difference in the nature of analysis. The groups working for compromise were concerned with the educational issues arising out of ROTC's presence on campus; SDS was concerned with ROTC's military importance in the government's imperialist policies.

No students are allowed in faculty

meetings. Late in the first semester several hundred students arrived at Paine Hall three hours before the start of the faculty meeting scheduled to discuss ROTC. They demanded that the faculty discuss the issue on political grounds and arrive at a decision to abolish ROTC. The faculty meeting was cancelled, and over one hundred students were disciplined by the administration.

Several weeks before spring vacation the administration announced that some of the scholarship students on probation from the Paine Hall demonstration would have their scholarships revoked. Over a hundred and fifty angry students marched on the financial aid office and argued with the dean who had done the administration's dirty work. The students charged that revocation of scholarships was a political move, one part of Harvard's effort to intimidate radical students into inaction. Several days later President Pusey came to answer questions about ROTC at a "closed" meeting of the Student-Faculty Advisory Committee, a bullshit committee set up after last year's Dow demonstration to channel radical protest into parliamentary dead ends. SDS students marched into the meeting, presented their demands on ROTC to Pusey, and walked out. Both these actions of intermediate militancy did a great deal to give the campaign momentum.

Second semester saw the consolidation of the SDS anti-expansion campaign.

## LIBERATED

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June 10, 1968  
Desired Starting Date: July 1, 1968

A special issue of The Old Mole is now available, containing liberated documents from Harvard. Order them for 5¢ from The Old Mole, 2 Brookline St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

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P69

# LETTERS TO THE LEFT

## Greece, Stalin

Stephanie Rugoff and Beth Lyons' article "Greece: profitable land for imperialism," in NLN March 13, seriously distorts the post-war history of Greece and thereby obscures some of the factors which made Greece profitable for imperialism. At the same time, the article exemplifies a growing political tendency in SDS—blindness to Stalinism.

The tone is set as the article refers to the wartime resistance of the National Liberation Front (EAM) and its military arm, ELAS. There is no political analysis of these forces; it is not mentioned that EAM was tightly controlled by the Communist Party, whose cadre in the leading positions were surrounded by fig-leaf non-functioning non-Communists as in other wartime and later CP-led resistance movements up to and including the Vietnamese NLF. In this article, the CP is represented only by a glancing reference to its banning in 1947.

The reason for stressing the role of the CP is not anti-Communism, but exactly the opposite. The reason is that Greece's fate was not settled by British (and later American) imperialism all by themselves. These forces were immensely aided by the cynical Stalin-Churchill deal of November 1944, which Churchill describes in a passage worth quoting at length:

"The moment was apt for business, so I said, 'Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans.... Don't let us get at cross-purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have 90 per cent predominance in Roumania, for us to have 90 per cent of the say in Greece, and go 50-50 about Yugoslavia?' While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

Roumania	
Russia.....	90%
The others.....	10%
Greece	
Great Britain.....	90%
(in accord with U.S.A.)	
Russia.....	10%
Yugoslavia.....	50-50%
Hungary.....	50-50%
Bulgaria	
Russia.....	75%
The others.....	25%

"I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back.... After this there was a long silence. The penciled paper lay in the center of the table. At length I said, 'Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offhand manner? Let us burn the paper.' 'No,

you keep it,' said Stalin." (Winston Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*.)

Within days of this deal British troops landed in Greece, and in less than a month they were firing on demonstrators in the Bloody Sunday massacre.

The results of the Stalin-Churchill deal were twofold. In the short term, the Soviet press refrained from any unkind word about Bloody Sunday, Stalin made no move to intervene, and the EAM in the next several months limited itself to a passive, defensist policy—eventually concluding a truce whose condition was the disarming of ELAS forces. The launching of an

native Communist movements were not strong. The resistance movements which did continue to fight were conducted by forces not controlled by Moscow—the Chinese and Yugoslav CP's, the Albanian CP strongly influenced by the latter, and the workers and local ELAS of Athens. Stalin wanted revolutions he could control, and sabotaged those he could not. In turn the independent CP's were equally hostile to native popular forces which they did not control. Thus Tito, like Hungary's Rakosi, took over trade unions from above, and today's independent Rumania is as undemocratic as the subservient Bulgaria. Thus Mao's "anti-bureaucratic" cultural revolution

containing uncritical adulation of foreign Communist movements and no recognition of these movements' anti-popular features. An example is Michele Clark's report from Cuba (December 11) repeating the tired cliches about workers having no need to strike in a state-owned economy. Another is "Education in North Vietnam" (also in the wonderful issue of March 13) which quotes North Vietnam's Minister of Education as saying: "The students are the true masters of their colleges. They have the right to tell a teacher that his teaching is not very clear." The fact that this gentleman is considered quoteworthy, rather than a blazing idiot, can only make one wonder about the conception of Socialism held by NLN and the National Office.

All these commentaries reveal blindness to the issue of Socialism—from-above versus Socialism—from-below—blindness to Stalinism as a general type. Like the movements they revere, these articles equate the dictatorship of the proletariat with that of the Party. By their silence they do not prepare us to expect the NLF to ban strikes after victory; but more important, they do not ask us to care. One of these days I expect to see the Hungarian revolution characterized in NLN as a Fascist-inspired counter-revolution—and not by PL, but by the N.O.

Christopher Z. Hobson  
University of Chicago SDS

## International

Serious consideration of foreign policy matters and internationalism is one of the tasks which SDS is gradually undertaking. This is good. However, the recent NC resolution on the Sino-Soviet border dispute was a very poor example of how SDS should deal with these matters.

First of all, I will argue that there is sore little information on which to base a condemnation of the Soviet Union on the specific issue of this border dispute. Neither TASS nor Hsinhua have proven themselves to be reliable sources of information; yet these were the only sources of direct information from the conflict area. The NC resolution did not adequately consider the effect that the clash might have on revolutionary forces elsewhere—in Vietnam, Korea, Cuba. In any case, a resolution attacking the Soviet Union and its revisionism must be based on a broad understanding of the general direction of Soviet policy. Since SDS has never developed a critique of Soviet policy, the sweeping statements made in this resolution lack sufficient groundwork. In addition, the resolution was approved in an inappropriate atmosphere marked by euphoria or hysteria or both.

SDS needs to study and to openly criticize many areas of Soviet policy: inadequate aid to Vietnam, excessive collaboration with Western capital, promotion of bourgeois attitudes and economic forms in the Soviet Union and in the rest of Eastern Europe, sale of arms to the Shah of Iran, aid to reactionary governments in South America, opposition to the development of authentically revolutionary armed struggle throughout the third world.

I would suggest that members of the NIC consider the preparation of an NC resolution or perhaps even a constitutional amendment enabling SDS to establish an international commission which would carefully develop ideological and programmatic guidelines for the organization.

There is no excuse for the careless adoption of a resolution prepared originally by people who do not share the political and ideological perspectives of the majority of the members of SDS. That majority must begin to find ways to express itself better. Such an international commission could be an important step in this direction.

Allen Young  
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uprising was delayed until 1947—that is until events elsewhere had scrapped the Churchill-Stalin deal. The long-term result was that by the time this uprising came, EAM had lost much of its popular backing; the ensuing struggle was military rather than popular, fought over the lands of a peasantry which was not involved politically, and thus driving the latter in the direction of the conservatism which characterizes it today.

In other words, Stalin traded off the Greek resistance for British recognition of Soviet hegemony in areas where

denounces anti-bureaucratic groups on Mao's left as well as pro-bureaucratic groups on his right. Thus New Left observers report that before the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the aspects of the Dubcek regime which most disturbed Cuban Communists were the relatively free press and the erosion of "the leading role" of the CP through the toleration of anti-Party socialist clubs.

What is involved is not a matter of Stalin, of subservience to Moscow, of Greece, or of 1945; it is a general political phenomenon, that of Socialism—from-above and its hostility to Socialism—from-below. Rugoff and Lyons' article does not merely omit the role of the CP in the EAM. By doing so, it is able to avoid analyzing one of the reasons for the defeat of the Greek resistance, and thus having to confront the nature of Stalin's policies in particular and Socialism—from-above in general.

The article, however, is important not for its own drawbacks, but for what it reveals about the attitudes of some SDS people and about the editorial policy of NLN. Rugoff and Lyons are not alone. Their silence about the CP in EAM, their repetition of EAM's self-portrayal as simply a patriotic resistance force, exactly parallel most New Left accounts of the Vietnamese NLF, which are silent about the dominance of the People's Revolutionary Party (the CP) and ignore such aspects of the NLF's program as its promise to safeguard workers' rights through compulsory arbitration. Nothing in NLN, including Bernardine Dohrn's "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh" (Feb. 28) has focused on these aspects. Similarly, in the last three months NLN has printed article after article

## New Left Notes

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# Domestic Counter-Insurgency

There's a man going round doing surveys...

(special to New Left Notes)

One of the important jobs we must constantly undertake is discerning and analyzing how the state moves to crush people's movements in this country. Too often we get carried away by our own rhetorical flourishes and do not scientifically study the weapons that are used against us. The first step is getting the information. And one important arena is domestic counter-insurgency research — one of U.S. imperialism's specialties.

A good example of the studies which the Man is running down against the student movement is a "survey" being conducted by the Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. This outfit, with a board of directors including Ellsworth Bunker, George Gallup and numerous other "liberal" pigs, primarily does counter-insurgency research contract work for the U.S. government. This year they have a special contract to study "campus unrest" with the American Council on Education.

The study, a very lengthy and detailed questionnaire filled out in person, is being done at at least twenty campuses this year. Some schools have already been "done." The schools that we know for certain are targets include: Reed College, Grinnell, Mills College in California, the University of North Carolina, Beloit, American University, Northwestern University and unnamed schools in Ohio. The names of the other schools are presently unknown — so we should find out. The American Council on Education, a big money

outfit with a large staff, has an insidious network of connections with the government and various social science research outfits; it is composed of associations of college presidents and high school and elementary school principals. Examples of some of its recent work include assisting General Hershey by sending out memos to colleges across the country about how to handle draft cases and draft problems. They held conferences throughout the summer with school heads on how to deal with "campus unrest." They do briefing stories with the big press and help plant interviews and news stories on the student movement with large publications (like U.S. News and World Report).

Chapters should be alerted for interviewers conducting this American Council on Education "survey." They are interviewing 25 or more people on each campus involved, and the list of students to be interviewed is obtained from college administrations.

There are several important things which chapters should do at once about these and other counter-insurgency projects. First, internal education in the chapter about the nature of counter-insurgency is a requisite. Second, the importance of not talking must be made clear over and over again. Studying the excerpts from the questionnaire here will clearly show how massive dossiers are compiled about people which can be used against them for many years: everything from details about their families, friends,

and personal life to possibly incriminating information about their activities. The Man also seeks detailed information about other people. Just as when the FBI comes knocking, we must educate ourselves to understand that there is no friendly, or innocent, or "objective" discussion with the Man.

Aside from compiling dossiers on hundreds of thousands of people, these "surveys" are part of the basis for the infiltration of the movement. Where does an agent get his information about what to say, how to look, and most important, how to disrupt, divide, and provoke? Straight from this type of material.

The third area of work is mass education and action against the whole gamut of domestic counter-insurgency programs on the campus: from these "studies," to the President's Commission on Violence, to the pig institutes. We should remember that in some universities SDS people are answering questions when these "surveyor-pigs" come around, but are still participating in these studies — under the most liberal rhetoric imaginable about aiding the people, learning about "grievances," etc. A good example of how those studies about "bad conditions" work is Wayne State University, which sponsored a study of ghetto areas which asked about housing conditions, garbage collection, and, incidentally, if the resident had a gun. When they were done with the "survey" they had pinpointed every single gun in the neighborhood.

Our goal must be to put an end, once and for all, to these counter-insurgency programs which are used to finger and destroy individuals and whole communities.

The questionnaire, some thirty pages long, is divided into sections as follows. The first part asks for complete background material on the student, including details about his family, schooling, income, and other demographic material. The second section, misleadingly entitled "Education and Occupation," asks questions like:

"I would like to know what organizations or clubs you belong to." Specifically mentioned are SDS, Black Student Unions, and other political groups as well as fraternities, etc.

"What things do you like best about this school?" Probe fully and record complete response.

"What things displease you about this school?" Probe fully and record complete response.

Then follows a series of questions about which teachers influenced you, how, and details about how they may have helped shape your views.

The third section begins to get into the heart of the matter further. Entitled "Protest Behavior," this is a good sampling of the questions asked:

—Did you participate in any protest activities while in high school? If yes, how many? What were the protests about? (Vietnam, free speech, labor problems, black studies, faculty, etc.)

—Since entering college have you personally been involved in a protest activity? If yes, how many different protests were you involved in?

—I'm going to read you a list of protest issues. For each issue please tell me whether or not there has been an actual demonstration about it on your campus. The issues are: instruction; faculty; free speech; student power; black studies; civil rights; Vietnam war; campus recruiting; labor problems like exploitation of the poor, low wages, poor working conditions, etc.; police brutality; tuition charges and other fees. Were there any others? Please record.

—I'd like to ask you about the most recent protest on your campus. When was the most recent protest here? Record the month, the year, and the time.

Description of recent protests. First tell me briefly what were the issues, what were the goals or changes hoped for? Who was involved? What was the sequence of events? What were the precipitating factors? What were the resolutions or outcomes?

—Were there any people from outside the campus actively involved in this protest? If yes, who were they? How did they influence the course of the protest? Record complete response.

—I'm going to read a list of some of the kinds of roles people can take during protest activity. Please tell me which one comes closest to describing your role in this most recent protest.

Organizer: helped to plan and organize it

Leader: ran actual demonstration

Participant: actively participated in the demonstration

Active Supporter: openly in support of the goals of the demonstration

By-stander: non-participant observer

Active opponent: openly opposed

Mediator: was object of attack, was not involved

Other, please specify

Then ask those who had only active roles: Was there any action, legal or otherwise, taken against you as a result of your role in this protest? If yes, what kind?

Then follow a series of questions about what have been the opinions of your friends regarding your role in protests, etc.; what about your parents, etc.

I'm going to read you some examples of student protests. For each example I'd like you to tell me how you would have handled the situation if you were the administrator in charge.

1) Demonstrators sit in front of the administration building, completely blocking the entrances of the building.

2) Demonstrators burn down ROTC building.

3) Students heckle a guest speaker, thereby preventing him from presenting his speech.

What forms of protest are least acceptable to you? Record in full detail.

In your opinion, what will be the protest issues in this country during the coming academic year?

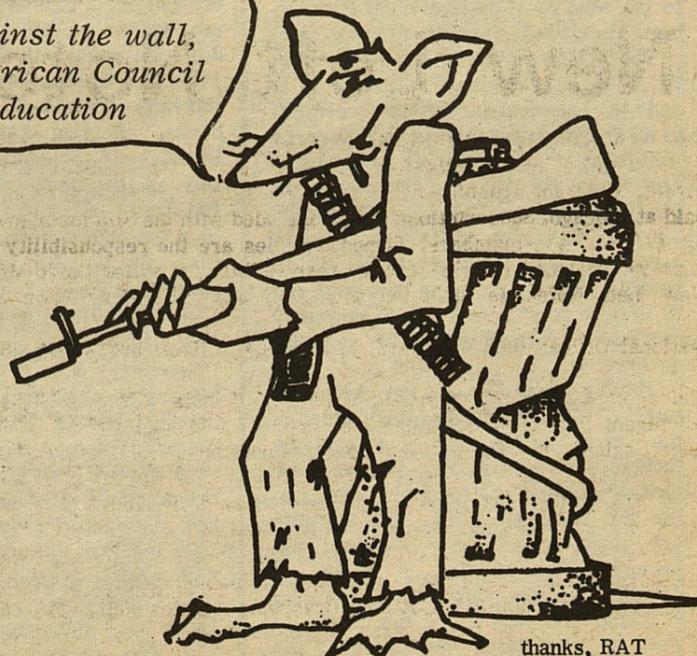
What factors in your life had the greatest influence in developing your present attitude?

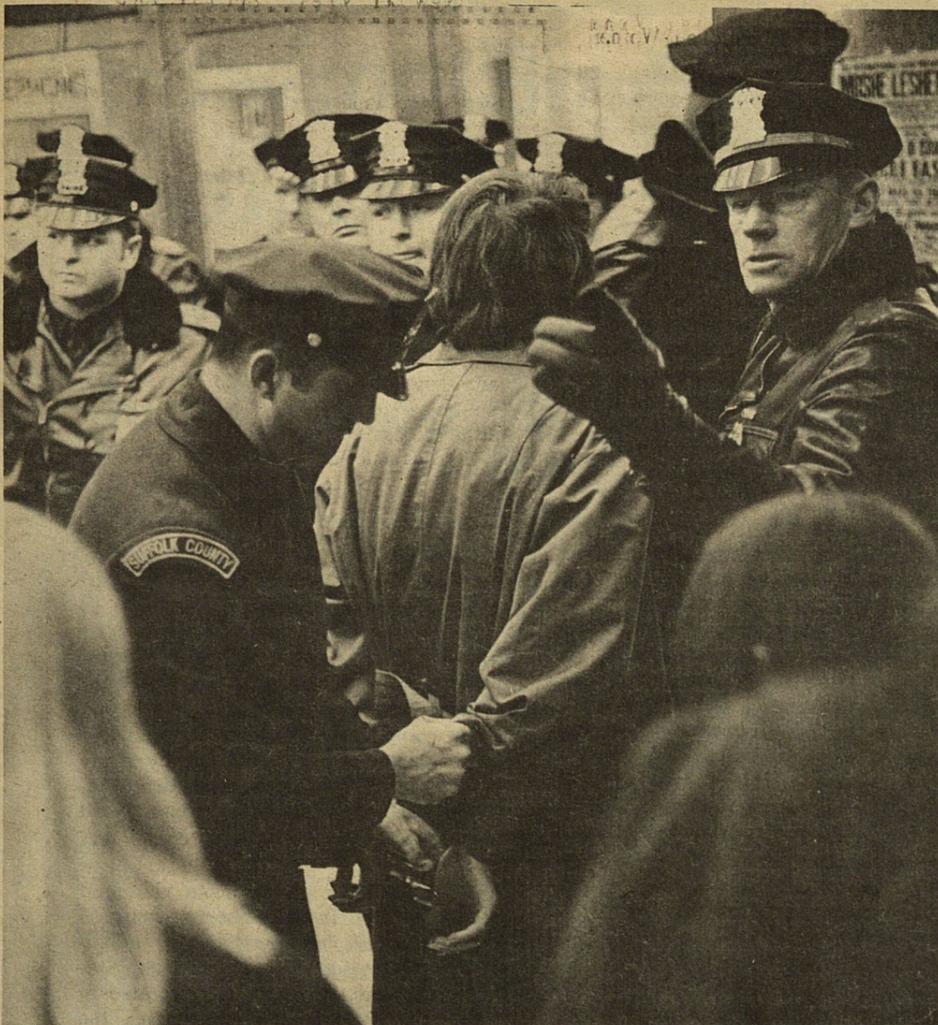
Section IV. This is another round of personal questions, including details about family relationships, sex, and a long section on drugs which includes questions about whether the person has ever used any drugs and which kinds, with instructions for the interviewer to "probe."

The questionnaire finishes with a list of questions which the interviewer must answer about the student.

Was he defensive? What kind of clothes was he wearing? What was his attitude toward the study?

Up against the wall,  
American Council  
on Education





STONY BROOK, LONG ISLAND: Last month, after the arrest of two SDSers and the seizing of research files, a sit-in was held at the library, home of the administration offices. The six demands included amnesty for those arrested, opening of research files for public viewing, and abolition of war-related research and military recruitment. At the height of the sit-in there were 400 people inside and about 600 supporters outside. Moderate leaders negotiated with the administration and people left; when the cops were finally called in, all of the remaining 250 persons left, except for 21, who were arrested.

One week later, after copping a plea, the 21 were sentenced to 15 days in jail for loitering. The original charge was criminal trespass, third degree, and people expected suspended sentences—the judge wanted to make an example.

The first day back from vacation, students passed out a newspaper put together by the moderates, which included liberated documents about the State University of Stony Brook and Project Themis. The paper's editorial talked about university complicity with the military; SDS is talking about the integration of the two under capitalism.

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN: Three major disruptions shook Western Michigan University in the past few weeks over questions of student rights and student power issues.

Two thousand students took over the student center April 1 for more than three and a half hours after its closing time. They left when police invasion of the building seemed imminent.

Two days later, after a student rally with a band, students left a building and took to the streets, some 4-6,000 strong. A small band of cops tried and failed to disband the students, and more than 200 state and city riot cops came, forming a line across campus. Students were informed that theirs was an illegal assembly (later declared a riot), and that no one was to fall behind the line. The cops advanced slowly, then began running, attacking students in small groups. Thirty-seven students were arrested during the three-hour battle. Cops broke into the Canterbury Center, which had offered sanctuary to harassed students, and pulled people out for arrest. Throughout the night, students trying to return to their dorms were chased, ambushed, and beaten by the pigs.

The third incident was the fire-bombing of the university housing office, causing extensive damage to the building and causing the loss of many university records. University control over where students live was one big issue throughout all the disturbances, and authorities suspect a connection.

QUEENS COLLEGE, NEW YORK: Almost 150 students confronted General Electric recruiters here and escorted them off campus, shouting "Racist G.E. must go!" Three persons have been on trial by the student court for disrupting college functions.

The students blocked G.E. to show solidarity with the super-exploited black workers at G.E.'s Hotpoint plant in Cicero, Ill., who went out on a wildcat strike last October. In a series of leaflets, SDS laid out the material basis of racism to make the action understood by the student body. The leaflets pointed out that students, both black and white, have a direct interest in opposing racism, which not only prevents their unity (thus weakening progressive campus struggles), but because "racism prevents white students from supporting progressive struggles off campus, both now and when we leave school to become (in most instances) workers of one type or another."

EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN: MSU SDS (Michigan State) returned from the National Council meeting and found the Oakland police scheduled to recruit on Monday, April 7, one year and one day after the murder of Black Panther Bobby Hutton by the same pigs.

SDS decided to stop the recruiting for several reasons: it would be a direct attack upon the racist oppression of the black Oakland community; it would be a good way of organizing students around racism; it would continue militant action around the demand for open admissions issued last term, because the two would demonstrate the actively racist nature of the university; it would support the resolution passed at the NC supporting the Black Panthers.

Organizing included leaflets about the Panthers and their oppressors, posters of Bobby Hutton behind bullet-shattered glass, a showing of the Newsreel film on the Panthers, and dorm organizing. Two hundred people showed up, moved inside to join the Black Student Alliance (which had been picketing), and began singing, chanting, and generally disrupting. The president of the university gave a rap about free speech and nonviolence; people moved on into offices, blocking passages to and from the offices.

## STANFORD

(special to New Left Notes)

Five hundred students under an umbrella coalition—the April 3rd movement—occupied the Applied Electronics Laboratory at Stanford University last week. The action was part of a campaign to end the university's extensive classified research.

A few examples give the magnitude of Stanford's research operation. \$8 million counter-insurgency research programs on Thailand, Peru, and Oakland, Calif. (headquarters of the Black Panther Party), and \$6 million worth of similar research on Southeast Asian countries alone, with a special office in Bangkok. The research is done under two administratively separate sections of the university. Some is handled directly through the school and some is handled through the Stanford Research Institute—a Stanford-controlled counter-insurgency research outfit. The Stanford Board of Trustees is heavily tied in to the west coast defense contractors—e.g., Lockheed, Hewlett-Packard, etc.

The Stanford students are demanding: 1) an end to classified research; 2) an end to chemical-biological research; 3) an end to counter-insurgency research—foreign or domestic; 4) no research related to the wars on the peoples of Thailand, Vietnam, or Laos; 5) that the Stanford Research Institute be brought under the control of a university review board according to these demands; and 6) an open decision-making meeting with the Board of Trustees on the demands on April 21.

The occupation of the buildings stopped work in the laboratory, which is the main office for the systems techniques laboratory (center for classified work) and the main print shop for the research outfit. The students are using it as a base of operations, occupying the building in shifts and spending the rest of their time leafleting, rallying, and canvassing the dorms as well as organizing employees at the university and the institute.

## HARVARD

Harvard was exposed as one of the main culprits in a plan to drive out working-class families from Cambridge and make the area a community devoted to university needs and imperialist research. Much of the research effort was carried out by the Cambridge Peace and Freedom Party. Many Harvard students had come in contact with the effects of Harvard expansion and landlord policies on working-class families through canvassing for Peace and Freedom's rent control program, which demands that rents be rolled back to their January 1968 levels.

After spring vacation there was almost unanimous sentiment among chapter members for militant action around both ROTC and anti-expansion demands. At a meeting on Tuesday, April 8, after a bitter fight among the 500 people present, it was decided not to take a building that night, but rather to act in the near future. Over 80% of the meeting was in favor of a building occupation. A consensus on demands was reached to include the anti-expansion demands along with the ROTC demands. After the meeting students marched to Harvard President Nathan Pusey's house, chanting "Abolish ROTC, No Expansion!" Students pushed past the cop at the gate and went right up to the house chanting, then left and went on a march around the residential houses that swelled to an estimated eight hundred people.

It was time to move. At 12:00 Wednesday 300 students took over University Hall, with hundreds of baiters, supporters, and curiosity seekers looking on. Nine deans were quickly ejected. The demands were:

- 1) Abolish ROTC immediately by breaking all existing ROTC contracts and not entering into any new ones.
- 2) Replace all ROTC scholarships with university scholarships.
- 3) Restore all scholarships to the Paine Hall demonstrators.
- 4) Roll back rents in Harvard University-owned buildings to the level of January 1, 1968.



5) No destruction of black workers' homes around the Medical School.

6) No destruction of University Road apartments for the construction of the Kennedy School.

During the course of the afternoon the number in the building increased and the surrounding crowd grew more sympathetic. At 4:30 the administration announced it was closing the Harvard Yard, where University Hall is located. Only freshmen, who live within the yard, were to be allowed to enter and leave. All others would only be permitted to leave the yard. The attempt to isolate the demonstrators failed, since students were able to scale the walls and join the protest.

The move bolstered suspicions that cops would be called in fast. Hundreds of students manned a vigil outside the building in support of the several hundred students inside the building. During the evening sentries were posted at all gates watching for cops. At dawn, five hundred cops came into the yard and charged the building. Swinging clubs and spraying MACE, they were able to break through the crowd outside the building. They then moved into the hall where the demonstrators had linked arms and were chanting "Abolish ROTC, No Expansion!" The demonstrators had voted to meet the police with nonviolence, and few were prepared for the brutality. For some time after those

inside the building had been arrested the pigs continued fighting with the supporting students outside the building. Students were isolated, pulled to the ground by four or five pigs, and hit repeatedly. Around two hundred arrests were made.

Most of those arrested were charged with criminal trespass, though there were several trumped up charges. During the long morning in jail—most people weren't released until about 2 p.m. Thursday—significant political developments were occurring back on campus. SDS held a strike rally of 1500 people at 7 a.m. It was followed several hours later by a meeting called by a "moderate coalition" (student government leaders) at Memorial Church. Over two thousand people attended the meeting, and voted overwhelmingly to stage a three-day strike against the university. Students at the meeting voted to condemn the Administration for calling in police, and demanded partial amnesty, a restructuring of the university, and a binding referendum on ROTC. It was also demanded that Nathan Pusey resign if all demands were not met. The meeting was almost evenly divided between students concerned with restructuring the university and students concerned with the SDS six demands.

SDS also called for a strike, but based on the six demands plus a seventh

## CHICAGO

by Jane Spielman  
University of Chicago SDS  
and WRAP

On Wednesday, March 19, 500 members of Local 1657 of American Federation of County, Service and Municipal Employees at the University of Chicago Hospitals and Clinics (a primarily black local), or 95% of the "subprofessional employees" at the hospital, began a three-day wildcat strike. The main demands of the strikers were for training programs with guaranteed promotion, 75¢ wage increase, grievance board made up of elected employees with power to fire, written job descriptions, auditing of union books, re-election of union officers, and an end to the political harassment of workers organizing to fight for these demands.

In relationship to these demands, which fundamentally attacked the oppressive racist nature of the university, the strike was settled with few real gains for the workers: they got, in effect, a 15¢ wage increase, a 3¢ increase in shift premium, an added step in the longevity scale and vacation increases. But this did constitute a victory and did organize the workers into a hard political organization which is continuing the fight against racism and male chauvinism in the hospital employment practices.

Impetus for this particular action came originally from organizing initiated by Women's Radical Action Project and supported by SDS in the hospital around a demand for a free, client-controlled child-care center for employees.

WRAP had raised the issue of discrimination against women in the Marlene Dixon case. But while obviously correct to raise, because of the nature of the case (a teacher firing) it was difficult to go beyond a middle class issue of professional equality. But a day care center demand spoke to the needs particularly of workers at the university, and enabled WRAP to begin to approach the issue of male supremacy from a class perspective.

After the sit-in at the U of C raised anti-racism and anti-chauvinistic demands and support for these by the workers (in particular the day-care center demand) became evident, the university began politically harassing and threatening workers.

### Institutional Racism

The "subprofessional" employees of the hospital receive poor wages, are controlled by mostly white supervisors who have arbitrary power over them, and are trapped in a rigid hierarchy of professionalism with little hope for advancement. The pay at Billings Hospital is very poor, and in many cases much lower than at other Chicago hospitals. The hospital can get away with these poor wages because it takes advantage of the large number of unemployed blacks as a source of cheap labor. Virtually all the nurse's aides, orderlies, dietary and housekeeping workers are black. Furthermore, the barbaric welfare system forces women who are on welfare into hospital jobs by threatening to take them off welfare. Consequently, the hospital has a captive slave market and can pay wages which are sometimes less than welfare payments. Black employees are confronted by racist supervisors (the job of one woman who cut her hair in a natural was recently threatened) and separate "professional" dining rooms for doctors. The lack of training programs maintains this racism in the name of professionalism. This all ties in very neatly with what has lately been termed the "mission of the university": building a great university through urban renewal in Woodlawn, manipulating funds for Hyde Park High School, admitting mainly white "life of the mind" scholars (2.8% of the college is black) and developing a "great research" hospital rather than a community servant.

In addition to the racism, oppression against women is very evident in university policies. Most of the "subprofessional" employees in the hospital are women. Often they receive 20 cents per hour less than men in the same jobs. Because of the lack of a child care center, many women spend a third of their salary to provide some

kind of care for their children. Women employees at all levels are denied promotion because they are considered job risks: women get married and have children. Thus they must often prove that their qualifications are better than those of men in order to be promoted, or even to be hired. On the whole, women going into medicine become nurses while men consistently become doctors.

### Student Support

Students supported this strike not only by walking the 24 hour a day picket line (keeping it going—particularly at night), providing food and blankets, and raising money, but also by writing leaflets and participating in meetings, introducing hospital workers to other groups in the black liberation struggle. Students linked the struggle of the hospital workers against racist and male chauvinist employment practices to the systematic policies of the university in relationship to its students and the surrounding community.

The experience of the strike was not only important because people dug walking picket lines. People saw that student support actually was helpful and not just symbolic. Furthermore, the concreteness and seriousness of the union meetings in comparison to the often abstract haggling at our own meetings during our sit-in cut into a lot of our own racism and elitism. But also SDS people and WRAP people helped broaden the issues of the strike from a healthy wildcat to an attack on U of C racism.

People on the picket line dug a leaflet on the trustees, began to talk about our sit-in, rap about the Panthers, as well as raise non-traditional union demands against male supremacy and for community responsibility by the hospital. And when the "university-union" man tried to exclude an SDS-WRAP woman from a union meeting, the workers voted unanimously to allow her in, recognizing not a worker-student alliance, but rather that our struggle was one with theirs against the University of Chicago's racism and male supremacy.

demand of total amnesty for all involved. Over the course of the next several days SDS made a concerted drive to win students over to its demands as the two strikes achieved almost 100% effectiveness. Blatant lies by the administration about the housing situation were exposed by both SDS and the "Boston Globe," as support for the demands quickly grew. Files liberated from the university and published in special editions of the "Old Mole," Boston's radical paper, have dramatized links between faculty members and the CIA and also the administration's desire to keep ROTC's status on the campus intact despite a faculty resolution, the sense of which was to deprive ROTC of academic credit.

An eighth demand has been added. At a Sunday night mass strategy meeting of 1200 students it was voted to add the Association of African and Afro-American Students demand for a black studies program to the list. AAAAS has also declared its support of the seven SDS demands. The alliance is significant, since there had been frequent antagonism and little cooperation between SDS and AAAAS in the past.

The meeting unanimously reaffirmed our commitment to fight till we win.

On Monday, April 14, the "moderates" called a mass meeting in the football stadium to conclude their 3-day strike. The meeting was attended by over 8,000 people. To the dismay of its "leaders," the majority of those present voted to continue the strike around a teaching fellows proposal which calls for abolition of ROTC, rent control in Harvard-owned buildings and some additional bad housing and restructuring demands. In just one week's time, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS had turned a long, base-building, educational campaign around ROTC and expansion into a real movement on this campus where it couldn't happen.

## KENT STATE

After a rally and demonstration demanding an end to ROTC, the Northeast Ohio Crime Lab, the Law Enforcement School and the Liquid Crystals Institute, the Kent State SDS chapter in Ohio was banned from the campus, seven people were suspended from school, and warrants were issued for the arrest of five on charges of assault and battery.

Kent State SDS led a rally of about 400 people to post their demands on the door of the office of the Board of Trustees. The pigs blocked the marchers and a hassle followed as the students sought to complete their action.

The administration had been well aware of the necessity to check the SDS group at Kent, which had an important action against the Oakland pig department recruiters on campus last semester. Last month a vice-president of the school had stated: "We've got to stop treating student radicals like students

and start treating them like radicals." They moved hard and fast after last week's demonstration.

The suspension notices included an injunction against the seven from even going on the campus. But the following day a larger rally was held on campus, addressed by some of those suspended. At the rally SDS called for a march to the Asian Affairs Conference, a State Department anti-communist propaganda affair. The disruption of the Asian Affairs Conference was a good action, and clearly demonstrated that the chapter would not be intimidated by the university's attempt to suppress them.

Intensifying their dorm canvassing and leafletting the campus, the chapter drew 150 folks to their next chapter meeting, involving lots of new people and setting up work committees to insure that the momentum was maintained.

The chapter's response to the ban and the busts was "Our choice is to fight. Join us."



## COLUMBIA

by Peter Clapp  
Columbia SDS

On Monday morning, April 14, black freshmen at Columbia University, with the support of other members of the Student Afro-American Society, seized the college admissions office. The action, coming after six months of working with the admissions office in an attempt to implement a non-racist admissions policy, was to press their demands for black control of black admissions.

Throughout the day, as negotiations proceeded, hundreds of students mingled in the lobby and outside the building while others went in teams into the dorms to organize more support. That evening at an SDS general assembly 400 students voted overwhelmingly to give full support to the demands and to continue with the chapter's own anti-racist, anti-imperialist program. The worker-student alliance group urged the chapter not to support "black student power." It was pointed out by many speakers that student power struggles, essentially struggles of the privileged for more privileges, were completely different from the struggle of black people for self-determination and control over those institutions which oppress them. Such struggles not only help build and maintain links between black students and the black community, but also in the most fundamental way attack the racism of white students. After the meeting the chapter marched to Hamilton Hall, picking up hundreds of students along the way, and held a support rally outside. Several hundred stayed in the building for most of the night.

All day Tuesday students stayed in Hamilton Hall. At 3 p.m. it was learned that the administration had broken off negotiations. At the same time, the black students raised a new demand for a black interim board, whereby black students, black faculty, and the black community would establish and control a black studies institute. As evening came, hundreds of students again came to Hamilton Hall ready to fight if there was a bust. At 3 a.m. Wednesday, however, the black students left the office after receiving a court injunction.

SAS, split internally into moderate and radical factions, has had difficulty getting itself together, and during the year relations between it and SDS have often been very tense. But it seems that the radical faction is now prepared to take action on its own with the support of SDS. SDS itself sees its support in two ways: 1) organizing masses of students around the black demands and fighting alongside the black students for the just demands of self-determination, and 2) continuing the fight around its own program against Columbia's racist expansion policies, Columbia's and the city's urban removal scheme, and the ROTC war research and military recruiting programs. The chapter has also demanded freedom for the 21 New York Black Panthers framed by New York City's ruling class, of which Columbia trustees—particularly N.Y. District Attorney Hogan—are an important part.

Perhaps the most crucial development, however, is the movement which has been growing all year in the city's high schools. Organizers within the four Columbia area high schools, whose students are 80 per cent black and Puerto Rican, plan to raise the demand for open admission to Columbia for all graduates from these schools. (A similar demand was raised by the students at high schools near NYU.) At a press conference Tuesday, the chapter announced full support for this demand. If the radical black students at Columbia support this demand as it appears they might, the level of struggle at Columbia may far exceed that of last spring.

Black high school students are planning to come onto campus Thursday to raise their demand for open admissions. Saturday a mammoth march through the community is planned in support of the demands against expansion and urban removal. Monday is the deadline for the meeting of the demands.

THIS IS ONLY THE START!  
WE CONTINUE TO FIGHT!

# Smash the National Parks monopolies!

by Mike Spiegel and Cathy Wilkerson Washington, D.C. Region

While travelling across the country last summer, we spent a few days in Yellowstone National Park. As we were driving through, we picked up two girls and a guy who were hitchhiking. It turned out that they were working in the park for the summer. They were all high school students—two were 16, the other 17. Interestingly, all three came from families where the father was a

unionized worker. They were laying down some heavy shit about their "wonderful summer working in the Park."

They held jobs as clerks, waitresses, maids, dishwashers, etc. in the stores, restaurants, and other services in the park. These concessions are franchises given out to companies by the Federal Government. As anyone who has been through the parks knows, they charge incredibly high prices.

The young workers, on the other hand, suffer an incredible oppression and

exploitation. They are required to live in separate dormitories with "house mothers." They have curfew which are strictly enforced. They work long hours, sometimes as many as 60 hours/week. The well-spread rumor among the kids is that the penalty for causing trouble or breaking too many rules is "deportation" to the edge of the park so that you were off Federal property. Their pay is so low that two of the three kids we had picked up figured that after the cost of their transportation back home, they would come out in the hole. The third figured she would break even—but she didn't smoke like the other two.

A company official showed up and scared the kids into silence with the threat of firing the whole lot of them, while proceeding to fire the four instigators of the meeting immediately. All the kids in the park knew of the incident, and were angry, but didn't know how to respond.

### Good Potential

It seems clear that a cadre of organizers moving into such situations could do a lot of good work. They could provide the leadership for an experience of struggle and collective action with which the kids could return to their schools and communities. The kids from Yellowstone thought that almost everybody would be in favor of a union—they just didn't know how to do it, and there was the widespread fear of firing or "deportation." Criteria for jobs people should seek this summer were laid down at the NC in Austin. Two critical ones were a high concentration of young people on the job, and no union—the situation in the National Parks fulfills these criteria.

### Boycott Possibilities

Cadres of junior high, high school, and young college organizers moving into that kind of situation would be capable of producing incredible results. The visitors to the parks are a very high percentage of traditional working class people. Thus, were a boycott of park concessions, or some other action, called, there would be a good chance of a positive response. Picket lines and leafletting at the gates of the park would request that people not patronize the franchises in the park, but bring in as many provisions as they could. Such an action would probably get spread by the media. If our analysis of the mood of the kids in the park is correct, if one park like Yellowstone went, others would not be far behind. The kids are angry about what they feel is a cheat—they have been promised one thing and received another. When they figured that they weren't even returning home with any money anyway, they were willing to take risks to organize for better wages and conditions. All they need is some help and leadership.

### No Unions Allowed

Park jobs such as those described above employ thousands of young people every summer throughout the country. Most of the kids in the unskilled jobs are 16-20 years old. They were drawn to Yellowstone—as kids are drawn to other state and national parks—by appealing posters on the high school bulletin boards. They advertise a young people's paradise working in the open spaces of nature—what the young workers find is something else, and they know it's a shuck.

The most interesting part of our conversation was a discussion of the history of spontaneous organizing attempts which had taken place. The companies made clear from the start that they would tolerate no talk of a union. The summer we passed through the park, the kids told of an open meeting which was called to talk about grievances and grievance procedures.

# Great Moments in Revisionism

(from the Evans and Novack report, April 13)

An example of highly unofficial, highly secret contacts now in progress between U.S. and Soviet officials came during the Eisenhower funeral here when a leading Soviet defense official conferred with American policy-makers in the Pentagon.

Marshal Vasily I. Chuikov, Assistant Minister of Defense and an official Soviet representative at former President Dwight D. Eisenhower's funeral, slipped across the Potomac for a long visit at the Pentagon. Accompanied by the military attache

of the Soviet Embassy, Chuikov conferred at length with Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird and General Earl P. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Although what was said is top secret, the Russian marshal and Laird did more than engage in small talk. It is known that there was cordial, if not wholly productive, conversation about the intentions of Moscow in its present build-up of offensive missiles. In fact, the question of intentions was first raised by Chuikov.

The marshal also discussed substantive issues in an hour-long conversation with Wheeler.

# Arabs

(continued from Page 8)

special stake in this struggle. We also expect support from all those who believe in the justice of our cause and in the struggle against imperialism and fascism. As a matter of fact, we do have some European supporters. We welcome them, along with all who believe that ours is a just cause.

Q. Do you see your movement as part of the third world's revolution against imperialism and for self-determination?

A. The tragedy of Palestine is a human tragedy as well as an Arab and Palestinian one. We feel that the battle for freedom is one all over the world. The defeat of colonialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is regarded as a victory for the struggle of freedom in Arab Palestine. We stand with all peoples struggling for freedom and feel that a close cooperation with all the liberation forces in the world is necessary.

### Sources of Weapons

Q. What are your sources for weapons and supplies? Are you getting any aid from Arab governments or from the Jordanian and Iraqi armies?

A. One of our main sources for weapons is the enemy, as well as other possible sources. We have captured many American weapons. We are not getting any support from Arab governments—our support comes from the Arab people. We are getting support from individual Arabs in meager sums; many poor people walk in and give us or send us small donations. The Arab people are giving us their support since this is their battle. There has been some coordination with the Jordanian army, as in the battle of Karameh, where we fought side by side and the enemy suffered heavy casualties. We share the same goals and aspirations with the Jordanian and Iraqi armies since we share the same destiny. However, our actions are independent of any Arab government.

Q. What is the difference between you and other liberation organizations?

A. The difference is that we believe in action, and we depend on the masses for our revolution. We do not have any ideology—our goal is the liberation of

our fatherland by any means necessary. Anyone who is willing to work for this and this alone may join us. Some of the other organizations have done a good job in the political arena, and we are trying to unify our forces and work with other organizations to this purpose.

### Need for unity

Q. Are there any plans to unify the various liberation organizations, or at least to unify their military activities?

A. We have come to an agreement with the Popular Liberation Front on the necessity of unifying our military activities, and it is already under implementation. We have also discussed this possibility with the Palestine Liberation Organization and are on our way to implementing it, since the need to unify the Palestinian fighting forces is essential to our victory at this stage of the struggle. Abu Ammar was elected president of the PLO this past February at the Cairo conference.

### Arab Governments

Q. What was the attitude of the Arab governments prior to the June War toward the Liberation Movement, and has there been any change since then?

A. Our activities were hampered by some governments and our movement was restricted prior to the June War, but at the moment there is little opposition from Arab governments. The war itself has brought a greater commitment and participation of the people in our struggle. This would make it very difficult for any government harassing us. However, we do not deal with the internal affairs of any Arab country and thus we have no conflict—rather, we have the same goals. Our aim, the same as that of all Arabs, is Arab unity, social justice, and the liberation of Palestine. After the Israeli attack on Karameh, King Hussein said, "We may all become fedayeen," and the UAR supports us. Any Arab military action would benefit us. We would like to see a unified Arab command.

Q. Do you think the coming American elections are going to bring any change of American policy in this area?

A. Our aims, goals, and tactics are not dependent in any way on what happens in America. We will continue to fight for the liberation of our homeland regardless of what anyone may say or

do. The recent statements by candidates Humphrey and Nixon are further examples of the importance of this colonial outpost in the heart of the Arab homeland—however, we hope that the American people will inevitably realize that their real interest would not be served by supporting this aggressively racist and insatiable state. Some are already realizing this, especially among the students, intellectuals, and the Afro-Americans, with whom we sympathize for the achievement of their rights.

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# Police frame Philadelphia Labor Committee

by Steve Kuromiya  
Liberation News Service

PHILADELPHIA (LNS)—The police have stepped up their campaign of harassment against the movement here. They are attacking the Philadelphia SDS Labor Committee on phony charges.

Eight members of the Philadelphia Civil Disobedience Squad entered the apartment of Steve Fraser and Dick Borgman on April 8 and arrested them and two visitors on charges of illegal possession of explosives, illegal storage of explosives, and conspiracy. The two visitors were released on \$1,000 bail, the remaining two being held on \$10,000 bail each.

## TV on the Scene

Arriving a few minutes after the police was a television crew, which proceeded to film the "discovery" of a can of gunpowder, 3 capped pipes about 6 inches long, a piece of wire, and a can of what the police claimed to be plastic explosives.

To anyone who is familiar with the Labor Committee—which rejects

militant tactics—the charges are patently absurd. The police tried to prepare the city for the arrests by falsely claiming two weeks previously that the Labor Committee was circulating a pamphlet about making Molotov cocktails and pipe bombs.

At a press conference the Labor Committee accused the police of planting the evidence in an attempt at framing the Movement. Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, at his press conference, denied the charges of planting the evidence and displayed 18 police photos taken inside Fraser's apartment. He said, "Just look at the filthy conditions in these pictures—they're self-explanatory." The photos show blankets used as makeshift partitions in the apartments, unmade beds, and wine bottles hung from the ceiling by string.

Rizzo said "People like this should not be permitted to roam the streets. It's just too dangerous."

The Labor Committee has been very active in two recent sit-ins at the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University. Its program is to build a broad-based movement to institute a tax

reform that would pay for jobs, housing, and better education. It is possible that the failure of the Labor Committee to gain substantial support at the Temple action earlier in the week indicated to city officials that it could be the weak link in the movement. On this presumption, the city hoped it could eliminate the Committee and intimidate the rest of the movement into impotency.

## Typical Rizzo Frame-up

The type of action taken against the Labor Committee is typical of chief pig Rizzo. (He's known for his famous statement, "If Philadelphia ever has a riot, it'll be the shortest one in history.") Rizzo and his cohort Fencil, head of the local red squad, have followed the same pattern of frame-ups many times in the past. By picking out the Labor Committee as a representative of the movement, they hope to silence not only the Labor Committee activists, but all other political groups throughout the city of Philadelphia. In 1965, when the local chapter of SNCC was in confusion, the city arrested SNCC leaders on charges of illegal possession

and storage of explosives, and conspiracy. They were jailed with exorbitantly high bail, but later released on condition that they would leave the city. In 1967, the Revolutionary Action Movement was busted in Philadelphia for possession of dynamite. In 1968, Black Revolutionary Front leaders were arrested on the absurd charge of conspiring to poison the city's water supply. In every case, despite the seriousness of the charges, the people arrested were never brought to trial, but forced to leave the city.

There have been rallies on campuses throughout the city to protest the recent arrests and an ad hoc committee of city-wide organizations is organizing for mutual protection against repressive actions from Philadelphia police.

The New York regional and national SDS organization acted a few months ago to officially deny "committee" status to the labor group, but they still insist on using the SDS name. The disaffiliation was ordered after the labor committee supported the teachers in the New York City strike against community control.

# Wildcat at Sterling

The wildcat at Sterling is over, but the fight continues. For eight days workers at Sterling Stamping Plant carried on a wildcat strike over safety conditions, which idled over 35,000 Chrysler workers in the Detroit area. The strike did little damage to the Chrysler empire. Indeed, there are strong indications that the auto-makers were pleased with the wildcat for its inventories were at record heights (in the auto industry 1.7 million cars are stockpiled—the highest in the industry's history), which would have forced them to lay-off workers (paying them sub-benefits up to 95% of their base pay). What the wildcat did was to expose the growing inability of the UAW—to maintain industrial discipline over its members.

Sterling Stamping is a new plant, but typical of the auto industry, that is the working conditions are very poor. The presses leak oil, making the floors slippery, hi-los often break down, aisles are cluttered with razor-sharp scrap metal and machine parts, and the conveyor belt, used to take metal scrap from the presses to the bailing room, often breaks down. In the past five years, many workers have been injured. A few of them have even lost their fingers, or hands under the huge presses. On Wednesday, April 2, when workers were ordered to clear out 12 feet of scrap metal which had piled-up, because the conveyor belt had broken down. The metal was razor sharp, and with the floor slippery from spilled oil, the job was clearly a dangerous one. When local union officials advised workers that they did not have to clear out the basement, Chrysler fired all the stewards, committeemen, and union officials on the spot. The walkout began, as workers learned they hadn't any representation against management. Picket lines were established, and until Thursday, April 10, no production was turned out at Sterling Stamping.

During the first night of the Walkout, scabs driving through the picket lines were attacked, and cars smashed. Thirty-four workers were arrested. After that, except for a few isolated incidents, the lines remained firm. Solidarity between the plant workers and Chrysler truckers was strong. none of the big blue trucks crossed the picket lines.

On the line, workers were militantly anti-Chrysler and anti-UAW International. They were pissed off at the arrogance

of management for the poor working conditions and continual mistreatment. They were angry at the UAW International for not supporting their actions. Workers supported their local officers, and most sought to build a strong local union. It should be clear that the workers were not radicals. Their consciousness was primarily a union consciousness, as opposed to class consciousness. The wildcat was a spontaneous, unorganized effort to strike back at the forces opposing them.

The wildcat could not have come at a better time for Chrysler. Chrysler is in the worst shape of the big three, with its inventory proportionally highest, and its profits the lowest. If sales continued at their low rate, Chrysler would have had to call one to two week layoffs in June to cut back on inventory. During these layoffs, the corporation would have had to pay 85-95% of the base pay to its workers. With the strike, which shut down Detroit's Hamtramck, Jefferson, and Lynch Rd. plants, Chrysler did not have to pay any lay-off benefits to the over 35,000 workers who were idle for eight days.

The wildcat was a golden opportunity for management to harass the union militants. Chrysler moved quickly into court to get an injunction against picketing and blocking access to the plant. However, arrests were held off until the local leadership had the time to rush a counter-injunction through federal court. Intimidation was the main tactic used by the corporation against the Sterling workers. Chrysler officials took large numbers of photographs and foremen were escorted out to the lines by plant pigs to identify picketers. During the wildcat sixty-nine workers were fired for strike activity. Some firings were made arbitrarily; most, however, were against the most militant workers.

The International union played a more subtle role in forcing the wildcat to end. In the beginning of the strike the international pressure was absent, however as the wildcat continued the UAW applied greater pressure for a settlement. On Monday, five days after the strike began, the UAW summoned the local union leaders to the Solidarity House, the UAW headquarters. During this meeting, the UAW bureaucrats told local 1264's union representatives, that if they did not order their men back to

work, the local would be taken over by the international. That afternoon, the local was put into receivership and Douglas Fraser, executive board member and head of the UAW's Chrysler division, ordered all of the workers at Sterling Stamping back to work.

The next morning, to the surprise of many, they refused. Many were confused and started to go to work, but when they saw the militant pickets they turned around and went back home. Fraser's response was to call a mass meeting for local 1264 members.

At the meeting, the UAW used all of its traditional ploys. The vast majority came into the meeting, feeling angry and militant. Fraser and others, who spoke about ending the strike, were booed and heckled. When Fraser first called for a strike vote, only a handful of workers voted in favor of returning to work. Fraser monopolized the microphone, and dragged the meeting out for two and a half hours. Many workers left disgusted. In essence, Fraser said that the only way to get the 69 fired workers jobs back, was to go back to work and let Fraser, as the UAW representative, bargain with the corporation. He said the only alternative was more firings, and more people laid off at other plants. He then, introduced a fired worker, who got up and told the rest of the workers to go back. The meeting was controlled by the careful selection of speakers, and by the refusal to let militants effectively question him. Fraser finally, won on the third vote by promising to allow a regular strike vote in the plant next Monday. Many workers, however, were confused and did not vote at all.

The membership had been led into a position, where they had to defy the local as well as the international union leadership, something that many were unwilling to do. The wildcat had lasted a week and the workers were under economic pressure. Many were being further pressured by their wives.

Lacking rank and file leadership, discouraged by the meeting, never having been properly organized by their leaders, and finally faced by this leadership, the workers returned to the plant. The wildcat had ended in the traditional fashion.

The ending of the wildcat has not terminated the struggle. On Monday, a strike vote was taken to see if Local 1264 wanted to officially strike over local conditions. The vote was 2,111 to 180 in favor of a strike. Negotiations

have begun with Chrysler, and the struggle continues.

The wildcat was important for two reasons, first, it indicated the willingness of workers, particularly young ones, to accept radical student aid. When students from Wayne, U. of M. and the University of Detroit came to the picket lines, their help was readily accepted. At the Wednesday meeting with the international, Fraser was booed down when he referred to the presence of "outside agitators," at the wildcat. Workers shouted back, "the students helped us more than the international." The openness on the part of the workers was important for it provided the "bridge" by which some radical politics was interjected into the militant action.

On the other hand, the workers continually emphasized their distinctiveness from the students. They were unswayed by the rhetoric of the student movement, as they demanded concrete alternatives to their present position. They knew that the union was a sell-out (many predicted just what would happen at the international meeting), and that Chrysler screws them, but they continually asked, what can you do about it. Their willingness to become revolutionaries rests on the ability of the movement to provide real alternatives to the issues effecting them. Given this, it is necessary to formulate concrete programs to build a working class movement in this country.

In Detroit, the wildcat was particularly important for it indicated unrest among the white ranks in the UAW. For the past year the UAW has been plagued by revolutionary black worker organizations (DRUM, ELRUM, FRUM). At Sterling Stamping where 70% of the workers are white, the wildcat leadership and almost all the people on the picket lines were white. The majority of these workers however, were racists unwilling to deal with the effects of white supremacy on their shop or union. Yet through the struggle young guys saw a need for some organization that would push radical politics in the shops after the wildcat was over. If they can also see that to build working class unity, it is necessary to fight white supremacy, then black and white worker groups can build a revolutionary movement that will shake the UAW and create a real struggle against American capitalism.

# NLN talks to Abu Ammar

by Edmund Ghareeb

The name of Abu Ammar has become well-known in the Arab World since the recent war in the Middle East. It is the military alias of Yasir Arafat, who has been associated with El Fatah, the Movement for the Liberation of Palestine, whose military arm—Al Assifa—has created fear and tension in Israel. El Fatah, however, is not led by one man; it has team leadership. Abu Ammar stressed that he was not speaking officially for El Fatah.

Many Arabs, including Palestinians, believe that guerrilla warfare is now the most effective means of "weakening and unnerving the enemy." El Fatah, operating clandestinely in the "occupied Palestinian territories," started in 1965 to sabotage Israeli military and strategic installations. Prior to June 1967, El Fatah activities were mostly waged from outside. However, the effects of the catastrophic war created new conditions; due to the Israeli occupation of new territory El Fatah is confronting the enemy within its boundaries. Due to a new situation, El Fatah's effectiveness has increased tremendously.

El Fatah has been effective in unifying the Palestinian people and encouraging them to resist by all means—strikes, boycotts of Israeli goods, denunciations of Israeli repressive measures... etc.

El Fatah operations have risen from an average of 4 or 5 a month in 1965 to an average of 95 operations this past summer. Al-Assifa has struck at military camps, electric power plants, railways, industrial plants, printing presses, administrative centers, and at the paramilitary communes being implanted in the newly occupied zones.

Abu Ammar is a 39-year-old Jerusalem-born Palestinian, who has been active in the resistance movement since 1948. He fought against the Israelis during the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956. At this point he recognized the need for an underground Palestinian organization and helped found El Fatah. Afterwards he worked as an engineer in Kuwait and there helped to further develop this movement.

The following interview, held last summer, was conducted mostly in Arabic. Abu Ammar refused to allow it to be taped, as he doesn't want his voice on record.

Q. What is El Fatah, and when was it born?

A. The idea of El Fatah was born in 1956. The idea of a Palestine underground organization began when the tripartite aggression against Egypt took place. This idea spread through refugee camps scattered all over the Arab countries. In 1958 the first Palestine secret organization was formed under the name of El Fatah, and in 1958 its first publication was issued, called Palestine. Our military activities, however, started in 1965 with the formation of Al-Assifa (The Storm).

Q. What are its goals and strategy?

A. Our goal is the liberation of Palestine through armed struggle, which we believe is the only means to achieve our goal—through action and not words. Our struggle is spearheaded by the Palestinian people and its base is the Arab people as a whole. Liberation cannot be achieved through an army or armies that are divorced from the people. Armies will decide the final conflict, but only after we have unified the energies of our people and unified their ranks to effectively use these energies for the armed revolution. Palestine was forgotten for 20 years. Zionist colonial aggression and the creation of the Israeli state have deprived us of our right to live as a free people. Israeli expulsion of one million Arabs from their ancestral homes has created this highly explosive situation. Tell me, do we have to pay for the crimes of Nazism? The past 20 years have taught us to depend on ourselves.

Q. Why haven't you formed a

## An interview with a leader of Al-Fatah

government in exile?

A. There is one in existence now within the Arab League, but it is useless. We will succeed only if our revolution succeeds. It has been our victories that have brought attention to our cause and not the political demagoguery.

Q. Do you expect to liberate Palestine alone, and what if you fail?

A. We are the nucleus around which the Arab people of Palestine will unite, and with the help of the Arab peoples we hope to win and in the end form a democratic Palestinian state in which all can live. We do not expect to fail, but if we do at least it would be better to die fighting than rotting away in refugee camps.

### War Is Not Our Goal

Q. Do you object to any peaceful means of ending the dispute?

A. We do not object to any political way of trying to end this dispute. War and violence are not our goals in themselves. Our goal is the liberation of our father land and restoration of the lost rights of our people. We seek security, justice, and peace; we have been attacked, terrorized, and thrown out of our lands, and now we are merely exercising our right of self-defense. We want everyone to know that we are not seeking war for war's sake; we will fight and are fighting because war has become a necessity.

But if political action becomes effective enough to restore our lands and safeguard our rights, then we would welcome such a political solution. It is our lost lands and the rights of our people which are at stake. Israel does not want a peaceful way of solving this problem. When she continues to block the way to a non-military solution and makes political actions to safeguard the rights of our people impossible, then we are left with no choice except to resort to the way of armed struggle—a path which has been followed by every oppressed people.

Q. The Zionists claim that El Fatah and the Arabs are waging a war of extermination against the Jews and in the event of their defeat will be "thrown into the sea." How do you respond to this?

A. The goals of El Fatah and Arab nationalism are humanitarian goals in principles and methods, unlike Zionism, which uses Nazi-like tactics in achieving its ends. Our revolution is aimed at the liberation of man from all kinds of discrimination, and we reject the techniques of brutality and murder used by the Zionists. Arabs have never discriminated against the Jews; historically, many Jews found a haven in the Arab homeland when they were being persecuted by Europeans. We also sympathize with the suffering of the Jews under the Nazis, but this sympathy does

not mean that we ought to pay the price for Hitler's crimes. Why do we as Palestinians have to suffer terror, hunger, and deportation for what someone else has done? Our aim is to bring an end to the concept of a Jewish-Zionist state, a racist, expansionist state. Our aim is to destroy this state, this concept—but not its people. We want a democratic Palestinian state. We will not force anyone out who is willing to live under the banner of this state as a loyal Palestinian. It does not matter whether he is Christian, Moslem, or Jew.

Q. Israeli propagandists claim that your war is useless. Do you believe that it is?

A. Our war is aimed, at this stage of the struggle, toward bringing down the social, economic, and political structure of Israel, through a war which might be long and bloody, but which will succeed inevitably. We want to act in the occupied territory in order to harass the enemy continually, cut his communication lines, sabotage his installations and industries, and fight him on difficult ground. We are applying the principles of revolutionary war. We have faith in the power of our people when organized and armed.

Q. Are there any women in El Fatah?

A. Yes, many women have joined our organization. This is nothing new—Palestinian women have been active in the resistance movements since the thirties. Many have participated in missions—sometimes very delicate ones—in occupied territory. The Palestinian woman—like her Algerian sister—is very active in this struggle for liberation. The devotion to our martyred Palestine is not limited by age, location, or sex.

### In Occupied Land

Q. Are you at present operating from bases in the west bank, or are you dependent on infiltrating commandos?

A. At present we have forces on the west bank, in the mountains of Galilee in Northern Israel, in the Negev and in the urban centers where we have few men and intend to grow stronger. Israeli occupation of the west bank has helped to move most of our bases to it, and thus unwittingly we had Israeli help.

Q. The Israelis claim that most of the attacks are committed by infiltrators from neighboring countries who later withdraw to Arab havens.

A. The Israelis are always claiming that our bases are outside occupied territories. However, the recent clashes deep inside the occupied land have proven to the whole world the falseness of their claims, as well as their anxiety and concern over our activities. Their brutal reaction to the recent activities in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv in the beating of Arab civilians

and the wanton destruction of their property which was quietly allowed to take place by the military authorities has also served to shatter the myth of coexistence which they are trying to portray. The Israeli claim that our bases are in Arab territories is only a pretext to justify their aggressive designs against the East Bank, and is merely an extension of their imperialist design on the Arab world. The Israelis used the same argument before June 1967 to justify their attack on the Arab countries and went on to swallow more Arab territory. She is doing the same thing now with Jordan in order to implement her designs of expansion against the East Bank.

### Strategy Towards Israel

Q. What is the strategy you follow toward the weakening of Israel?

A. Our primary goal is the weakening of this experimental state, which was planted in our midst and on our lands by imperialism—very much as the British did in India with the East India Company. We mean to exploit the contradictions within Israeli society and to make the foreign Zionists think twice before they venture to Israel. For instance, in Israel itself there is a great deal of discrimination and persecution, not only against the Arabs—Christians and Moslems alike—but against the Oriental Jew as well. The East European Jew is a symbol of discrimination and arrogance.

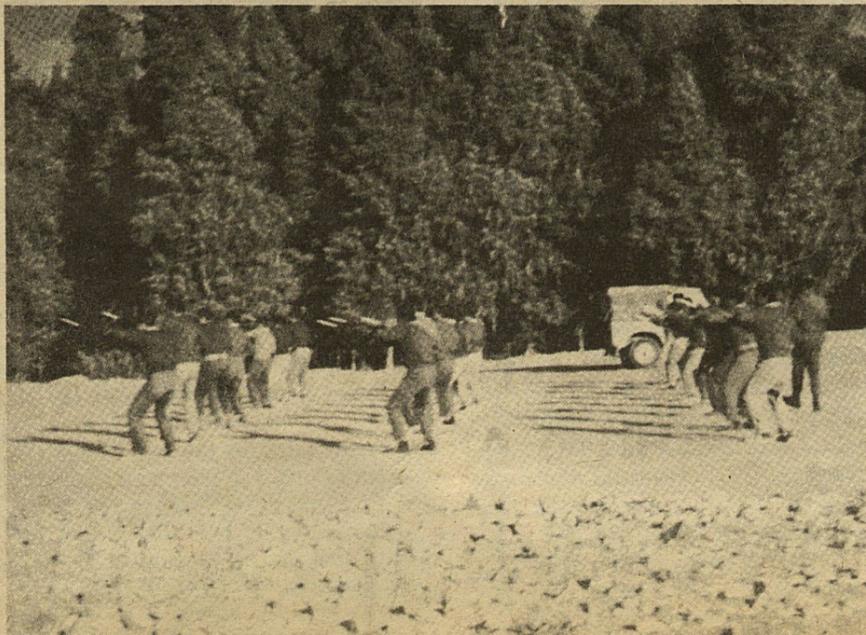
Q. Do you have any men training outside of Palestine?

A. Yes. We are training our men for guerrilla war, especially in areas where people's wars have been or are being waged. The experience of our Algerian brothers in their struggle against French imperialism has been a very useful experience from which we have learned a great deal. However we can only adapt the specific experiences of other people to our specific conditions. The natural conditions here are not the same as those in Algeria or Viet Nam. We must not overstep the limitations imposed upon us by the military, material, and natural conditions, but we can and will overcome within those limitations if we adapt our strategy to them.

Q. Do you receive any support from non-Arab sources?

A. Our revolution is not merely a Palestinian or Arab revolution, but it is a part of a world-wide revolution for human liberation, for freedom, social justice, dignity, self-determination and unity. We expect and receive support from Arabs and Moslems who have a

(continued on Page 6)



Al-Fatah training camp scenes

