



Harvard - Radcliffe NEWS

FIGHT TO BUILD A CAMPUS WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE

The fight to promote the painters' helpers at Harvard and the cooks at Radcliffe is part of a more general program to build an alliance of students and campus workers, as a step in building a broader alliance between all workers and students. This alliance must be built. The student movement has made very positive steps in the last few years; but students alone can never get the U.S. out of Vietnam, end oppression of black people, or make any other important changes. Only the working class has both the strength and the need to make these changes.

Moreover, the main obstacle to social change is that the handful of big businessmen and bankers who benefit from the war, racism, etc. control the state -- i.e. the army, police, courts, bureaucracy, etc. -- and use it to protect their interests. These men's wealth comes entirely from exploitation of workers in the U.S. and abroad, so it is the working class which most needs to overthrow them, and set up a new system free of exploitation. The present ruling class has the state on its side, so workers, and those allied with them, will have to organize and arm themselves to destroy this state apparatus, then use their own armed force to overthrow the exploitative capitalist system, and replace it with a socialist system run by and for the workers. Only by such a socialist revolution can the power of the big businessmen be destroyed, and their policies

THE OBU DEMONSTRATIONS

The OBU actions in December show that most black students want to fight on the side of black workers against the Harvard administration and the rest of the racist U.S. ruling class. However, the actions themselves had several strong bad features, and represented temporary success of the OBU leaders' efforts to misdirect this pro-working class militancy. The OBU leadership used the device of a strategy committee which made all the tactical decisions privately (with no way for the membership of OBU to overrule them) to control the political positions taken during the demonstrations, and turn the actions in a bad direction.

1. Most important, in the December 10 demonstration, the painters' helpers demand was effectively dropped. It was left out of the list of demands, and statements to the press. The membership of OBU was told by the leadership that the issue was settled, although this was clearly not true. The demand that all helpers be promoted to full journeymen, with no lay-offs, provides a way of fighting both racist ideology (in this case, the idea that it is impossible to find capable and qualified black workers) and the concrete ways that black people are hurt by racism (the use of blacks for cheap labor). Helpers get \$2000 a year less than painters. At the time of this demonstration, the administration was openly attacking the painters and painters' helpers, claiming that the issue was phony, that the helpers category was justified, that any unfairness was only due to the racism of the white workers, the union, or the foreman, etc., and that those who had fought for the demand were to be punished. At a time when the administration's position was so blatant, for the OBU leadership to claim that the issue was settled was an attack itself on the painters and helpers. The demand for 20% black and third world construction workers is good - but it means nothing unless we also fight for equal pay for those black workers already employed by Harvard.

2. No workers, either painters, helpers, or construction workers were consulted about the actions to be taken. The only way these demands can be won is if the workers and students form an alliance to fight together around these issues. The OBU leaders' approach is the

HARVARD MOVES TO BRING BACK ROTC

Recently, the Harvard administration has indicated that they are going to try to keep the ROTC program. Reports have appeared in the Crimson of a 'groundswell' of support from the cadets for keeping ROTC. The head of the ROTC program, according to the Crimson, is behind this campaign. While only a few right-wing students are involved, and the affair looks pretty ridiculous, a major effort to reinstate ROTC at Harvard may yet come - not from students, but from the Harvard administration and ROTC-pentagon forces. Harvard never agreed last year to abolish the program. At last spring's ROTC commencement, Pusey said that he still hoped to keep ROTC. Given the fight he put up to save ROTC last year, Pusey's statement should not be ignored. Pusey and the Corporation have money, cops, courts - local and state, and federal government on their side. The Harvard Corporation and every other corporation will never cease to fight to take back concessions they make when they face mass opposition.

One argument made for keeping ROTC is that middle-class white students should stand up for their rights as a "minority" since black students are fighting for more blacks to be hired on construction sites. Most people know that the just fight of black people for decent jobs can't be compared to a fight for extra privileges by white students. Another argument is that because of the supposedly more impartial draft laws, students need more protection than ever from the draft, and that they merit the "privilege" of serving as more highly paid, better-treated officers.

However, the "privileges" of ROTC are pretty shallow - like the privilege of serving in Vietnam, where 85% of all junior officers come from ROTC. The war is not in the interest of the young people who die there. It is a war that directly attacks the struggle of Vietnamese people for a better society, free from American exploitation. Hard-working Americans pay for the war, while their sons die in it. The result of a U.S. victory will be lower wages and more unemployment there and wherever American imperialism extends. American bosses are relying on anti-communism, racism, and a false 'national interest' to justify using American troops to fight the Vietnamese people in a war that hurts both, and profits only a tiny handful of millionaires.

America's world prominence is very important to the businessmen who run the country. They want to maintain and expand profitable markets and find more cheap labor. The Harvard administration and Corporation have no quarrel with this foreign policy; they profit from it too. Pusey has repeatedly said that he supports America's foreign policy and that he thinks that Harvard should support the 'national interest'. He spoke of the U.S. military as "our" arm. Thus, it isn't surprising that he and the rest of the administration fight so hard to keep ROTC.

The administration's strategy is to attempt to divide the people and set them against each other. To get support for ROTC, they push the "privilege" and "right" that bright middle and upper class kids have to be officers. This argument and the ROTC program itself build elitism tremendously, emphasizing the intelligence and sensitivity of college-trained men. ROTC trains cadets to believe that their education and rank separate them from draftees. This separation becomes invaluable to the bosses in situations like Vietnam, where most draftees quickly realize that they are risking their lives in a war which only helps big business. GI's returning from Vietnam report that conflict between GI's and officers often reaches the point that men shoot their own officers rather than follow them into battle, while officers sometimes execute their men in order to "keep order". The argument that college trained officers are more "humane" and "sensitive" is totally phony. It is college graduates like Bundy and Rostow and McNamara who plan the war, staff the CIA and give the orders in Vietnam.

The basis for all the divisive attitudes is that each person should seek to get ahead by himself, and that his interests are separate from, or opposed to everyone else's. This false idea is used everywhere by the ruling class. It is this idea that they use to justify their own exploitation of working people, on the grounds that they just used "initiative" and "ambition" to get to the position they are in, and that anyone else who did the same could have "made it" also. These ideas have to be defeated for people to fight successfully for better lives. People must see that it is a class of big businessmen and bankers that have all the power and wealth in the country, and that they can use the army and national guard, if they need to to maintain their position. Only by uniting to fight this class can real gains be won.

It is in the real interest of all students to defeat U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and elsewhere, and all other wars like it. Students should repudiate the false privileges that are used to turn them against the people they need to ally with to end imperialism. Instead, students should fight to kick ROTC off every campus, and then fight it when it is set up off campus. However, the history of ROTC here shows that it can't be kicked out for good. People like Pusey and the Harvard trustees will break promises and take back concessions whenever they can. Pusey himself says he hopes things will change so he can get away with bringing ROTC back. And he is trying to bring about this change by expelling or jailing as many radical students as he can. As long as the big businessmen who run Harvard also control the army, courts, etc. they will be able to take away any gains made by workers and students. The only way to win permanent gains is to take power away from the rich, and set up a state controlled by working people. Only a revolutionary movement that smashes the state can win real victories against ROTC and against imperialism.

John Dyck SDS

REPRESSION - HARVARD'S ATTACK ON THE MOVEMENT

SDS has led a pro-working class movement this year, attacking Harvard for its racism. The Harvard administration had responded with increasingly obvious political repression. Last summer, 18 students were kicked out for their participation in the April building takeover. Carl Offner (SDS) was convicted of assault and battery on Dean Watson during the same event. Early this fall, six SDSers were arrested for putting up anti-war posters, charged with disorderly conduct and fined \$200 each. Now 16 SDSers have been kicked out for participation in the November 19th obstructive sit-in at Dean May's office and two more SDS members, John Berg (PL) and Jamie Kilbreth have been charged with assault and battery on Dean Watson during the April takeover. Thirty-six members of OBU are presently facing disciplinary action, and several OBU supporters have been charged with violation of freedom of speech for shouting down Dean May at the time he was delivering the court injunction against OBU. All these students have been or will be punished for fighting to get ROTC off the campus, to end Harvard's expansion into working class and especially,

Harvard.

The intentions of the Harvard administration have become increasingly clear. It does not want to promote the painters' helpers or to hire 20% black and third world workers on all Harvard construction sites. It is attempting to destroy support for these demands through intimidation -- by kicking out sixteen of the students who raised them, by harrassing workers who talk to students, and by firing ex-students who work at Harvard. The Code on Rights and Responsibilities, the work of last year's liberal-seeming Committee of 15, has provided a speedy method of punishing students who fight Harvard's policies, but certainly no way of punishing or even investigating administrators who violate the rights of black and white workers to equal wages for equal work. The Committee on Rights and Responsibilities has dropped the liberal pretense of the Committee of 15 and revealed its true nature as a firing squad. This committee refused to grant the appeal for all except one of the sixteen expelled students even though some pointed out that they had been convicted of "offenses" they had never been charged with.

The Committee of Rights and Responsibilities is not, however, Harvard's only weapon against those who fight its policies. The interests of Harvard and other corporate institutions in this country are protected by the courts and the police against workers and students who challenge them. This has been proved over and over again. When workers stay out on strike to win better wages and working conditions, injunctions are served against them, National Guardsmen sent to bust up their picket lines, because it is not in the 'national interest' that they get wages they can live on. The Panthers are being wiped out by the police because big business finds it dangerous when black people, a major source of cheap labor and 'necessary' unemployment in this country, demand good jobs, housing, etc., and are willing to fight back to get it.

During the last year Harvard has used the courts and the police regularly against students. Four hundred riot police and local cops were sent on campus last year. Over 100 students were convicted on trespassing charges. Harvard got an injunction against the OBU students in one hour, and at the hearing, OBU was not even allowed to present its case. When Jamie Kilbreth testified at Offner's trial that he and John Berg, not Offner, escorted Dean Watson out of the build-

ing, they simply arrested John and Jamie, and sentenced Carl to four months. When the six SDS poster-hangers were being tried, Judge Viola told the defense lawyer not to make a summary because he had already decided to find the students guilty. It is the clear intent of the courts to protect the Harvard Corporation against the just demands made upon it.

Even when demands are won from corporate institutions they are neither secure nor permanent under capitalism. With the power of the state behind them, the bosses take back what they concede or turn it around so that it hurts those it was supposed to protect. Concessions won from the bosses under capitalism will only be made permanent when the profit-makers are smashed and a new state is set up under the control of the workers.

This year, Harvard had been increasingly open in its repression. The threat of an alliance between students and workers had forced them to this position. However, they have not entirely abandoned efforts to appear liberal in certain areas. The new apprenticeship program is intended to look like a response to the demand for the promotion of the painters' helpers. This program is basically the same as the helpers program (See the article Build Campus Worker-Student Alliance). Another effort to prevent students from responding to repression had been to set up Dean Watson as a scapegoat. Watson, who has been actively involved in almost every court case against students is now retiring. This could be construed as an attempt by Harvard to purge its only reactionary element from the administration. However, Watson, like the rest of the administration, can only act in consultation with the wishes of the Corporation.

The only way to fight this repression is by building a stronger movement to fight for the demands. The movement can and will become stronger if students see that the Harvard Corporation, like other bosses, fights for its interests (despite all the rhetoric of abhorring violence) and it is necessary to fight back. And students must be won to seeing that the courts and police are tools of the bosses in this fight. When the movement is attacked, it cannot turn to the courts for protection. The courts too, have to be fought. Clarity on this question, among both workers and students, will increase the strength of the movement, and bring it closer to winning the demands.

Emily Huntington SDS

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of racism, international aggression and exploitation be finally ended.

From this point of view, it is crucial for the student movement to begin now to ally itself with the working class. They can best do this by building an alliance with the workers on their own campuses. Campus workers are not as strategically placed as workers in steel, auto, or at GE -- and students should try to ally with the latter too. But being right on the same campuses creates the most favorable conditions for forming an alliance of workers and students. Once a campus worker-student alliance is formed, it can be broadened to include other parts of the working class -- and other students too.

There has been progress toward this alliance at Harvard and Radcliffe, but also many problems. On the positive side:

* Several hundred students now see a need to ally with workers against the way Harvard exploits its own employees. In particular, many black students have shown their willingness to fight militantly against Harvard's racist exploitation of black workers.

* Many workers now see that the student movement is not just a bunch of rich kids tearing up the country for the hell of it, but that some students really want to support workers fighting for better conditions. Despite years of anti-communist propaganda from the press, government, and schools, many workers have proven willing to unite with radicals and communists to fight their bosses.

* The use of reactionary ideologies of racism and male chauvinism to hurt all workers has been shown in practice, and many workers and students won to fighting both these ideas and the practices they "justify". To a lesser extent, the connection between the exploitation of campus workers and the war in Vietnam -- being waged so the same bosses can also exploit Asian workers and peasants -- has been shown. This work must continue. More and more workers and students must gain the political understanding that we are fighting a class of big businessmen and financiers, and that we must unite with all workers, here and abroad, to defeat that class. Any ideas which hinder that fight must be defeated.

Harvard's rulers are threatened by these developments, so they are counter-attacking on several fronts, with various tactics.

SMASH 'EM: Their basic strategy is to exercise their class dictatorship over workers and students by forcibly suppressing those trying to fight them. Recently, 16 SDSers were thrown out of Harvard, 2 other hauled into court on assault and battery charges, and 2 other long-pending court cases involving SDSers suddenly called up. Further suppressive measures are now being considered against many black students. The rulers hope that if enough SDSers can be locked up or otherwise kept off campus, maybe the attempts to form a campus worker-student alliance will die out. Many SDSers have also been fired from campus jobs, and workers warned to stay away from SDS, in order to make forming an alliance more difficult.

CONFUSE 'EM: Meanwhile, various supposed "representatives" of the workers are helping confuse the issue by indicating that they're satisfied (on the workers' behalf) with things as they are, or with one or another insignificant change.

* The leaders of the Buildings and Grounds union agreed to set up an apprenticeship program which is just more of the same with a new name and a token raise. "Apprentices", like "helpers", will still do the same work for less pay. The union leaders are now pushing the story that this program is good for the helpers while telling the helpers that they shouldn't fight it because nobody will back them, and it's the best they can get.

* Meanwhile, the leaders of OBU say what the workers really need is not more wages, but a committee to study the issue and decide which of the helpers to promote. At the same time, the OBU leaders are trying to detract attention from the demand altogether to promote the helpers -- e.g. in the last OBU sit-in this demand was not mentioned at all in the press releases. Fighting for more black construction worker is good -- but refusing to fight for equal pay for black workers already employed by Harvard makes the demand a hollow joke.

* At Radcliffe, the bosses are spreading the idea that SDS wants to replace the union as the workers' representative. This is an outright lie. SDS has made clear that it does not want to replace the union, but to ally with workers who are fighting their bosses.

The only way to answer these attacks is to bring workers more actively into participation and leadership of these struggles. The workers directly affected have the best understanding of how the fight must be waged in order to win. And only participation and leadership by the workers themselves will make it impossible for various phonies to set themselves up as spokesmen for the workers' "true" interests. If this is done, Harvard's attacks can be turned around into their opposite, the demands can be won, the repression can be defeated, and we can go on to build a broader alliance of campus workers and students to win more gains from the Harvard bosses.

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fighting for. The result is to make these workers less willing to ally with students - since an alliance requires that each side know what the other side is doing.

This is true not just in theory, but in fact. Some students have discussed the helpers campaign with some of the painters and painters' helpers, and worked out with them questions of tactics, etc., and the willingness of the workers to become involved with students on this issue was seriously set back by the fact that the OBU actions came as a complete surprise to them.

3. Despite the militancy of the actions, and the willingness shown by many students to really fight the administration, the OBU leadership continually stressed negotiations with the administration as the way to win the demands. For example, the result of the first demonstration - two negotiating committees - was presented by the OBU leaders as a great victory. Many partially saw through this, so they called a second action - but this action was never described in any of the press statements by OBU spokesmen, as part of a fight to defeat Harvard, but only as an appeal to Harvard to negotiate in better faith.

This emphasis on negotiations plays right into the hands of the administration. The administration has shown that it is willing to fight to maintain its racist but profitable policies, by evading ques-

and written public statements, and finally, by throwing people out of school. These negotiating committees provide them with more opportunities to procrastinate, provide phony solutions, etc. But they won't be forced to back down in committee meetings. The only way the administration will be forced to change these policies is by building a large movement that will fight militantly around these issues.

Some other aspects of the situation furthered the efforts of the OBU leadership to lead it in an anti-working class direction. The demand to hire black subcontractors is a demand to build small capitalists. The demand to hire more black and third world construction workers is good. Black construction workers have been kept out of construction unions because of racism, and consequently have been forced to work for much less pay. It is very important that more black and third world construction workers be hired, but the demand should include that they be recruited preferentially into the unions at equal pay. Demanding black subcontractors just builds the subcontractors. It does nothing to guarantee the jobs, and especially the pay of the black construction workers.

The demonstration at the Gund Hall site, where the gates were chained shut and the workers told to go home, was an effort on the part of the OBU leadership to focus the attack on the white construction workers, instead of the Harvard administration. While it is true that many white construction workers have racist attitudes, this hurts them, and they can and should be won to fighting racism and to recruiting black workers into their unions. But antagonistic confrontations designed to increase the racism of the workers can do no good. Fortunately, such a confrontation was avoided, and the attempt to get black students and white workers fighting each other, rather than uniting against the bosses, failed.

Racism is one of the most useful tools the bosses have. It keeps the work force divided, cutting its strength and thus hurting all the workers; and it allows bosses to give black people the worst jobs at the lowest pay and to pay them less for doing the same work, thus especially hurting black workers.

NATIONALISM MISLEADS FIGHTS. The OBU leaders try to justify their misleadership by appealing to Nationalism, i.e. the idea that all

matter what their position, are allies in a fight against white people in general. In its more obvious form, this ideology leads to such ideas as black cops are better than white cops in the ghetto (although all cops serve the interest of the same ruling class). But it also says that a committee made up of all black people, even if they are bosses, is guaranteed to help the painters' helpers. Nationalism leads to the belief that white construction workers cannot be won to fight to open up unions to black workers, and therefore black construction workers should unite with other blacks, the black bosses to fight the white workers.

Nationalism misdirects fights against racism because it confuses who the real enemy is. It is true that many white workers have racist attitudes, but it is not true that this benefits them. In fact, it hurts them. Because this is true, white workers can be won to fighting against racism. Generally, attempts to use racism to get white workers to fight back, have failed. The only group that benefits from racism and will fight to maintain it is the bosses and their lackeys.

It is the duty of revolutionaries to oppose nationalist ideology. But in doing so, we have to bear in mind that nationalism is a response to racism; it is easy to conclude that white people are the enemy if the vast majority of white people show themselves willing to go along with racist attitudes and practices. Only if we fight first and foremost against racism can we show in practice that all white people are not necessarily enemies.

To fight racism at Harvard, we must focus at all times on the group that benefits from it -- the Corporation and their lackeys, the administration. This is the group that can make changes, but which will fight hard to maintain policies that benefit them. Workers and students, black and white have to be and can be won to engage in this fight, following the leadership of black workers. White painters and painters' helpers have already shown willingness to fight for the helpers. If white construction workers were won to fight for more black construction workers, this would be a terrific victory against racism. White students and workers have to be won to follow the leadership of black workers; black students have to see that this is possible, and that to rely on the black bosses is to attack their own best ally -- black workers.