

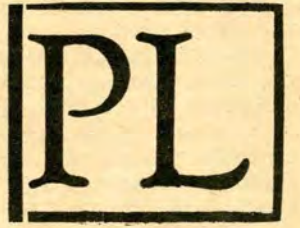
CHALLENGE

The Revolutionary Newspaper

Free EXTRA

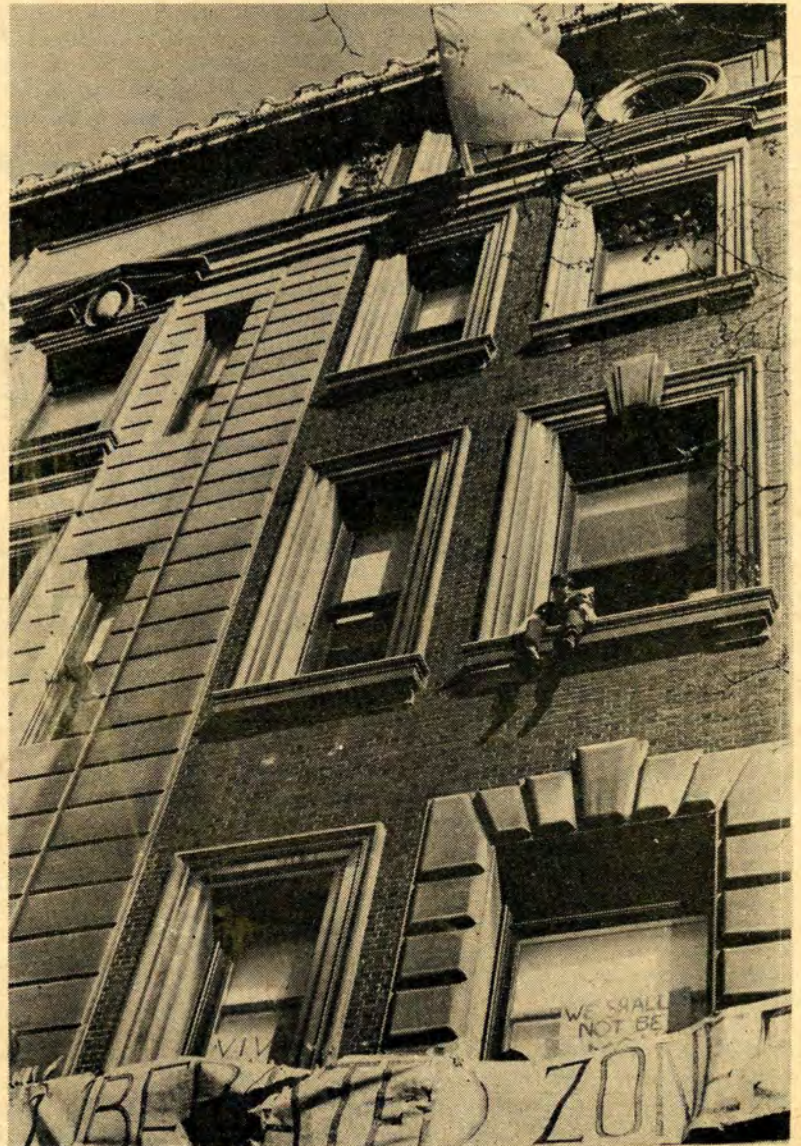
May 1968

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**Progressive
Labor
Party**



LESSONS FOR THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

THE COLUMBIA REBELLION



New names for Columbia buildings, as red flag flies above, right.

Learn from Columbia

Columbia students have led the sharpest, clearest, and best struggle of the student movement against racism and U.S. imperialism in recent years! They have raised the ante on the people's side. The U.S. ruling class—as it steps up its terror in Black ghettos; expands its suppression of liberation movements throughout Southeast Asia; increases its draft, raises taxes and prices while using strike-breaking to try to stop workers from even keeping up with these rises—will now have to face a large, more radical, and more militant student movement. The lessons of Columbia will not go unlearned in campuses across the country.

Columbia points the way for students to fight on their own campuses and form an alliance—based not on fancy rhetoric, but a common fight against the common enemy—with the Black liberation movement and the whole working class. Columbia shows again that the university is no island unto itself. It serves imperialism—it deserves the people. If our fight links up with the broader struggles in the nation and world we can win.

Columbia shows that if white students are willing to put themselves on the line, they can forge an alliance with Black students.

Columbia shows that a conscious student left can use sharp militant tactics—when the issues are clear and prior base-building has been done—and win over many honest liberals and some not even liberal. This confirms that we can build a mass anti-imperialist student movement. When clearly confronted with a decision, many learn and join us.

THESE POSITIVE LESSONS WERE MOST FEARED by Columbia—and by New York professional liberal Mayor Lindsay who worked out much of their strategy. That is why they called in their cops. They hoped to terrorize the students and impose a lesson of defeat. But they only made us firm in our convictions, and exposed their own ruthlessness.

Students learned more clearly that the U.S. ruling class has its liberal, moderate and conservative facades. They sometimes differ as to style and tactics.

These facades complement one another. If you don't go along with us, say the liberals, you'll get the evil conservatives. But in times of crisis we get them all—they unite to fight for THEIR basic CLASS interests.

When it came down to it the liberals (Vice President Truman, Mayor Lindsay), the moderates and conservatives (President Kirk) all joined to call the cops and try to crush the students. The arrest of more than 700 students and the vicious police attack on both rebel students and supporters was a clear expression of state power.

STATE POWER IS WHAT COLUMBIA is fundamentally based on. Police brutality per se is not the issue. Police terror is an instrument of bourgeois state power used against all workers and their allies whenever they rise against the ruling class and refuse to be bought off or to negotiate a surrender. The police violence against Columbia students was a necessary expression of that state power, because the rebellion was a sharp attack on the very guts of the system as it confronts us at Columbia.



ward. There were some scuffles and one arrest. We marched back to the Sundial and regrouped. SDS and SAS decided to march to Hamilton Hall, which is both the main classroom and administration building of Columbia College. More than 400 students occupied Hamilton Hall. The rebellion was beginning.

Dean Henry Coleman of Columbia College came to Hamilton Hall quickly, to negotiate our leaving. SDS and SAS formulated the now well-known "six demands," with amnesty for protesters to come first. Coleman entered his office and was kept there for twenty-four hours before being released by SDS. He came out once, to present another offer from Truman: Truman was willing to discuss the issues with the body, in Wollman Auditorium. The body rejected and denounced this offer.

Within Hamilton (at that time held by both Blacks and whites) a number of white students wavered on whether to barricade and hold the building. After long debate on this among the whites, the Black students asked the whites to leave, not wanting that kind of discussion in the ranks.

One hundred white students then marched to Low Library, smashed the door down, went upstairs and seized the President's office. THE REBELLION WAS ON.

REBELS FAN OUT

Those honest Architecture students who oppose the gym took their own building, Avery Hall. Graduate Social Science students, radicals and left liberals took Fayerwether Hall, Thursday morning April 25. The fifth and last building, Mathematics, was seized by a force from Low on Thursday night. Barricades went up immediately in Math. Low erected tighter barricades and so did Fayerwether.

The six demands were: no gym, get out of IDA, no punishment of the "IDA Six," drop charges against anti-gym demonstrators previously arrested, form a student-faculty review board for all future decisions on discipline, and amnesty (no punishment) for rebel students. With the seizure of Mathematics, Truman bluffed a bust early Friday morning, and then settled into a war of attrition against the rebels.

We learned from his bluff how the enemy uses the carrot and the stick in rapid, alternating succession. Several Columbia College Deans came to Mathematics to 'negotiate' at 2 a.m., after the administration had released its lying word that the cops were coming into the buildings to arrest students at 2:30 a.m. Friday.

Truman's tactic offered a three-part (administration-faculty-student) committee on discipline to the rebels, without amnesty. By doing this he hoped to capitalize on some students' fear of cops and violence. He was counting on disunity and fear. Time was on his side, tactically, as the hours went by, but strategically time was and is on our side. We didn't budge from the demands.

THE SLICKEST TRUMAN-INSPIRED TACTIC was next. The faculty began doing his dirty work; the administration "disappeared"! The faculty formed a human blockade around Low Library, ostensibly to "keep the peace" and protect us inside. "We are completely disinterested parties," said faculty-committee leader Melman. But this "neutrality" culminated in the faculty helping to police the campus gates, keeping out all but "bonafide Columbia members." Who were the hundreds who were trying to come through those gates? Almost entirely our supporters—from the neighborhood, from Harlem, from other schools. Thus does "neutral non-violence" serve the enemy.

Most faculty members are scared of their comfortable nest being torn up—scared of their boss Grayson Kirk. Most of their "reasonable" stance was to build them up as a fifth column. Unless they support the demands (our politics) and the strike (our attempt to win those demands), they are objectively on the side of the enemy no matter how fine and noble their sentiments, no matter how much they abhor the violence done to us, and no matter how much they sympathize with our

Black Students Link with Harlem

By JUANA

On Tuesday night, April 23, the Black students of Columbia SAS (Student Afro-American Society) barricaded themselves in Hamilton Hall, renamed it Nat Turner Hall of Malcolm X University, and challenged the white students to prove their seriousness by occupying other campus buildings.

From the beginning the occupants of Nat Turner Hall were tightly knit, highly organized and unwavering in their determination to make the university meet their demands or tip its hand by using police action to force them out. The atmosphere inside the Hall was one of high spirits, good morale and a steadily increasing sense of purpose and commitment to the Harlem community.

The spirit of the group was most evident in a song that grew out of their protest, that was mimeographed and distributed on the campus and in the community:

To the tune of "Breaking Rocks on The Chain Gang"

"I've been sitting six days at Columbia trying to make them obey six commands; I've been sitting six days at Columbia and there's just seven ways it can end; They can meet our demands one by one or Come in here take me out with a gun
If they do it
Either way now
Well I guess I'll be strolling along home.

I've been sitting six days at Columbia and they tell me I haven't a chance; But I'm still sitting here at Columbia Feeling strong in my brand new romance; They can move me by force if they want But, they'd best to just admit I'm a man
If they do it
Either way now
Well, I guess I'll be strolling along home.

A steering committee of four students organized a cafeteria, a clean-up squad, a group of marshals, and prepared to defend the building against right-wing students who tried to attack it. At one point they drove out invaders by using high-pressure hoses.

MOST SIGNIFICANT WAS THE DEGREE of participation by the usually silent Black students, and the slant of their demands. At least half of the Black students at Columbia participated in the occupation of Hamilton Hall, either through their physical presence or by helping to get food, money and equipment for their brothers and sisters. For the first time these Black students showed by their actions rather than their words that they see themselves as a part of the Black community. They were willing to risk career

HIGHER AND STRONGER UNITY BETWEEN BLACK and white students came about here, on Saturday, April 27—a unity born of struggle against a common enemy. Hamilton wired us—on the walkie-talkie set up through the liberated buildings—a two-point message: 1) cool it; 2) we'll get food through. They were correct on both scores.

Cool it meant sit tight and hold firm on the demands: don't unnecessarily antagonize the student blockade. Truman would have loved nothing better than to have turned a major political debacle for him and Kirk into an intramural brawl between students.

We in Low prepared to avoid such a brawl by sharp and rapid defense. We stationed squads of four at each of the seven windows in order to physically repel any hostile students attempting to climb up on the ground floor window-gratings to the ledge outside the windows, and thus to politically repel any last-ditch attempt of Truman to get us out of there short of exposing himself as the gendarme that he is.

ON BREAKING THE FOOD BLOCKADE, the Black students again were as good as their word. A number of them joined a contingent from Math and Fayerwether in a quick charge of the anti-SDS blockade. They momentarily smashed through, but were repulsed. Then, after one of them then set the example, many supporters began to lob individual articles of food up to the Low rebels on the ledge from distances of 50 to 150 feet: loaves of bread, packages of meat, cans of juice, boxes of rice, etc.

This went on through Sunday and Monday, April 29. We began to tape the window panes to cut down on shattered glass in case the police hurled tear gas through them to gas us out, and we were prepared to barricade the windows if the Tactical Police Force chose that route.

Although approximately 100 students occupied three rooms in Kirk's office for six days, blockaded for the last two, the spirit rose as the struggle went on. We ate two meals a day, morning and evening, which were prepared in Kirk's office kitchen and served at a counter, cafeteria-style. The first few days we had dinners consisting of beef stew, meat sauce and rice, salads. Toward the end we ate bologna sandwiches and citrus fruit. Food ran very short, but no one complained.

Clean-up, with brooms and a vacuum cleaner, took place each morning, and after each dinner meal. There



What are the issues at Columbia? What was the political and tactical character of the rebellion? Where can and should the struggle go? What lessons for the future can we draw from it?

THE ISSUES

FIRST, THE GYM. Columbia insists on continuing its racist policy of destroying one of Harlem's few parks by building a gym on it. The University's answer to protests from Columbia students and from Harlem over the past months has been a racist insult: "community people" (i.e. Black people) can enter the gym through a rear door only and have access to 15% of the facilities of a gym built in their own community.

Columbia is one of the biggest slumlord and urban removers in New York City. It is evicting and taking parks away from Black people, while running a school with only a minimum number of Black students. Columbia and all other colleges should admit Black and Puerto Rican students in proportion to their population in the general area. When Black and white Columbia students seize buildings and organize a strike, we are fighting against racism and in the interests of the entire working class and all enemies of U.S. imperialism.

Bill Epton, Harlem Progressive Labor Party Vice-President, said at a meeting at Columbia a few days before the struggle began, that if white students want to fight racism, they must directly oppose the Columbia gym being built in Harlem. They can take direct action right here on their own campus—close down this campus. The Columbia administration is the enemy of Black people and of its own students. An alliance, he said, can have meaning only when it is backed up with the common fight against the common enemy. OUR DEMAND IS, NO GYM IN MORNINGSIDE PARK!

SECOND, THE INSTITUTE for Defense Analyses (IDA). Columbia refuses to cut all its ties to the IDA, a "private" corporation working for the U.S. government and making detailed plans on how best to suppress Black rebellions, strikes, etc. at home and revolutionary wars (like the Vietnamese People's War) abroad.

It is no accident that Columbia is so closely tied to the government's counter-revolutionary plans. Columbia is run by and for the U.S. ruling class—those who own and run the giant corporations and trusts which control the riches of America. The ruling class also runs the government and the police force which brutalized us—their enemy.

Columbia's President Kirk is not only on IDA's Board of Directors, but also on those of Socony Mobil Oil; New York's billion dollar air polluter, Con Edison; IBM; etc. Most of the rest of Columbia's trustees are similarly placed: like Thomas F. Watson, the head of IBM. It is not an accident or quirk of one individual that makes Columbia's trustees use the University to plan the smashing of any struggle that may shake the profits of their corporations. OUR DEMAND IS THAT COLUMBIA GET OUT OF IDA.

THIRD, AMNESTY FOR ALL PROTESTERS. This is the precise point on which Kirk and the trustees refuse to give in. They want to punish us and make an example of us for the future.

Clearly we took militant action. We seized buildings.

How Rebels Did It

By Roger Taus
(Columbia Progressive Labor Party & SDS;
Alternate Member Strike Steering Committee)

We held a dean for one day. But we held that these actions were absolutely necessary and justified. We should not be punished because we are right! We are fighting for the best interests of the working people and students.

Long protest against Columbia's racist gym and against its planning of the suppression of the Vietnamese and American people had caused no change. Peaceful protests at Columbia and at the gym site by Black people and by Columbia University Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) brought only arrests, and an arrogant, racist response from the administration of Columbia (see their brochure entitled "Partners in the Park"). When SDS presented Kirk with petitions containing 1,700 names calling for disaffiliation with IDA, his response was that the petition had no return address on it! This corrupt and shameless contempt for students and Black people helped define the character of the rebellion and helped to bring it about.

We are right. We are fighting for a just cause. We are doing what has to be done to WIN it. It is the ruling class and its deputies at Columbia who should be punished.

WE DEMAND AMNESTY. This is key. Otherwise, the administration will try to wipe us out by kicking out the rebels and locking out the strikers, to "cleanse" the campus of all meaningful debate and protest.

Rebellion: Politics and Tactics

The rebellion was an offensive against racism in its concrete forms at Columbia.

Columbia University SDS had fought for some time against both IDA and the gym. Petitions and peaceful protests were not merely ignored. Six SDS leaders were threatened with arbitrary suspension or probation for an anti-IDA protest.

SDS Chairman Mark Rudd followed this up with a sharp political attack on President Kirk during a memorial service for Martin Luther King. Kirk was eulogizing King for his pacifism in the face of violent oppression of Black people. Rudd broke in, attacked Kirk's phony liberal position by pointing out the racist character of the gym and of the IDA, and led 40 students out. He was then "indicted" on two counts, but he and the other SDS-ers were turned down by the administration in their demand for open hearings—i.e., due process under the University's own statutes.

SDS appeared to be cornered, isolated, and in serious danger. The chapter was essentially fighting for its right to exist. SDS correctly and courageously decided to fight back by attacking the administration on the issues, by hitting them where they deserve to be hurt: 1) to demand open, accountable hearings on the issues, in order to force justice from the administration; and 2) to wage struggle among the student community on the issues themselves. The spirit was "an injury to one is an injury to all," and "dare to fight, dare to win."

THE ACTION STARTED ON APRIL 23 from the Sundial, the traditional rallying point in the center of the campus. More than 300 students gathered. The Student Afro-American Society (SAS) joined the rally. SDS rejected Vice President David B. Truman's eleventh-hour "discussion" offer as a phony bribe, and we marched up to Low. It was locked. We then marched to the gym site and tore down the storm fence surrounding the construction area. The cops arrived soon after-

and personal injury, not for the usual narrow campus-oriented demands, but for demands that would benefit their community and affect the entire society.

Because the students waged a serious struggle on behalf of the community, they got terrific support from the people of Harlem. Money was contributed from the bars and restaurants of Harlem and from workers in the hospitals and community organizations. There was a constant community presence on Amsterdam Avenue just outside of Hamilton Hall in the form of picket lines and candle-light vigils.

Three Harlem organizations—the West Harlem Community Organization, the Harlem Committee for Self-Defense and Harlem CORE—which have been involved in the recent controversy over the integrity of the Harlem community, organized community support. But Black people from all walks of life, and from the Bronx and Brooklyn as well as Harlem, helped out. One Harlem caterer contributed hot food daily.

THE MOST DRAMATIC DEMONSTRATION of the community response generated by the actions of the Black students in Hamilton Hall took place on Monday night when about 100 supporters were joined on 116 Street and Amsterdam Ave. by about 150 young men from Harlem who came because they were told that "the brothers at Columbia were about to be messed over by the cops." A moving interchange followed, between the students in the windows of Hamilton and the supporters in the street—two elements of the Black community that rarely meet in serious talk. All understood that the brothers from the community were there to help prolong the protest and to forestall police action by the university against Hamilton Hall.

The University and the police also understood the importance of such an alliance. When the students in Hamilton rejected the inadequate university "final offer," William Booth and Charles Kenyatta were sent out to disperse the crowd outside of Hamilton Hall. The crowd wavered back and forth, with many protesting that they had promised the students to stay all night. Finally the police moved against the crowd, cleared the streets and threatened to arrest any Black person who chose to remain on the block.

Two hours later, "after Harlem had gone to sleep," the police raided the occupied buildings. Hamilton Hall was cleared first and the Black rebels removed through the tunnels under the building. The white students were brutalized and many were savagely beaten by the police, but because of Columbia's fear of Harlem retaliation the cops avoided injury to the Black students.

THE STUDENT REVOLT HAS SO AFFECTED Harlem that since the police raids there have been continuous rallies, marches and protest against Columbia. The Black students have vowed to continue their activities with the community to prevent any further expansion of Columbia into Harlem.

was a constant, but patient, line waiting to use the one bathroom. Anyone was free to leave anytime, although in the last two days that became both difficult and dangerous.

THE UNITY OF THE LIBERATED buildings, based on the political demands, held firm through many intra and inter-building debates. These debates centered first on the question of dropping amnesty as a precondition, and next on how to resist the police for maximum political effectiveness and minimum suffering for our forces. Since many people new to radical politics entered Fayerwether, and since it had the largest turnover and was constantly the most populated (300-350), it put forth a proposal to drop amnesty as precondition for negotiations (to the Liberated Buildings (Strike) Steering Committee). Math briefly veered toward this position in one internal vote, and it was discussed again and again in Low. It was beaten back by our growing political conviction that to fight Columbia's racism was correct and just, which was earnestly put forth and struggled for by the SDSers and PLers in the communes. The administration's refusal to concede, its growing resolve to smash us, also educated us in the necessity of our "fight to win" position.

Many sit-inners were McCarthy supporters. But Eugene McCarthy vehemently opposes such actions: he's for getting everyone lost within the system, under the leadership of the government. This contradiction had a radicalizing effect much more powerful than any verbal argument. In a few days of sharp struggle, lessons are learned quicker than in months and even years of normal activity. "We only really learn about things by trying to change them," as Mao says.

Math really stole the show on defenses: they barricaded every room in the building, some as ruses, some to protect people. They were the last to be cleared out. Throughout the rebellion Math flew a red "liberated zone" flag from the roof, and displayed a picture of Karl Marx in the front window of the building.

In Fayerwether, a couple got married during the occupation. Hamilton, renamed Malcolm X University, was a firm partner throughout the rebellion. SAS and their Black community supporters elected not to resist the police. The cops cooperated because of community pressure.

The constant support from the Harlem community

Build a Base-Strike Hard

was a tremendous moral and physical boost to the whole strike. At the end, the cops waited until 3 a.m. to bust the strike—an hour which showed their fear of retaliation from the Black community.

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

In the first hours of the morning of Tuesday, April 30, 1,000 police made ready to clear the buildings and hold the campus. The liberated buildings made ready too. From Low, we heard an announcement on a police bullhorn, and saw the anti-SDS blockade remove itself to the steps of Earl Hall, directly opposite the windows of Kirk's office. THIS WAS IT!

We made a very good estimate of our strength and that of the police. We elected to neither fight it out with them, nor sit or lie down. Either of those courses might have proven suicidal. We chose to stand, link arms, and sing political verses to the chorus of "We Shall Not Be Moved." "Get out of IDA, we shall not be moved; No more gym crew, we shall not be moved; we're fighting for our brothers, we shall not be moved, etc."

It took the TPF 40 minutes to crash through the barricades, using giant hammers and pick-axes. Our last verse was "we're not afraid of cops, we shall not be moved," as they finally cracked into the room and surrounded us. We were flung or dragged through a gauntlet of TPF out into the rotunda and handcuffed. A middle-aged doctor who was with us the last days received a severe clubbing in the head and was bleeding badly. So were a half-dozen other students. But this was nothing compared to the devastation wreaked on many students outside.

THE FORCE USED ON OUR FELLOW students was supposed to terrify them, but it only served to bolster their support for us. Some of them, including women, even attempted to stop the police vans out on Broadway with their bodies. They were routed by mounted police and one student was stomped by a horse. More than 100 had to be hospitalized, 728 of us were arrested from the liberated buildings. The charge: criminal trespassing, and in some cases, resisting arrest.

Hands raised in fists and V for victory flashed through the Tombs (NYC House of Detention) all day Tuesday, April 30.

Those V's for victory can now come true through organizing a mass strike to fully shut down Columbia—regardless of any administration-faculty maneuvers.

BACK ON THE CAMPUS, TUESDAY AND Wednesday May 1, support flowed in. Fifteen hundred rallied on campus to support the 728 arrested. On Wednesday, an SDS rally of several hundred moved to Amsterdam Ave. to join thousands of supporting students from colleges and high schools throughout New York and Black high school youth from Harlem. The entire area looked like an occupied colony. Police prevented one rally from forming by clubbing Columbia students back into the campus. NONE OF THEIR BRUTALITY IS ACCIDENTAL, but rather aimed at stopping our struggle and preventing us from uniting with other schools and with Black youth.

At Princeton, 1,500 students confronted their President on IDA ties to Princeton. Seventy Black students at Northwestern seized the administration building to demand a Black dorm. Students battled police at the Sorbonne in Paris. And so it went.

Where Can the Struggle Go?

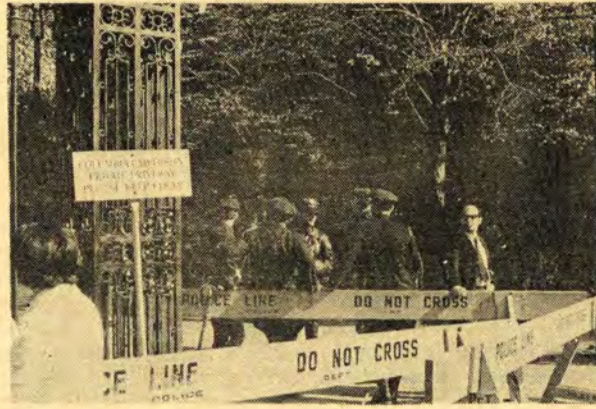
The strike can win. To win we must stick to the political demands.

This strike was fought around clear and concrete material demands of the students and the Black people of Harlem. It wasn't for any low level abstract rhetoric of "we want to make the decisions that control our lives." It was these concrete demands the University couldn't co-opt, as they could an abstraction. It was these demands that thousands could understand and unite around. It is these demands that point the way, with revolutionaries to point it, to higher forms of struggle and the need for, finally, state power.

Like in any strike the first thing is to close the place down. Mass picket lines, etc. must be formed. An ADMINISTRATION LOCK-OUT (ending of all "formal" classes, though "informal" ones may continue) must be fought. The school can't be allowed to get out from under the demands of the students and of Harlem.

OUR DEMANDS CU'1 ACROSS ALL THE 'craft' divisions of the University and enable virtually all Columbia students to unite in a mass strike against the administration. The situation is not the same as it was before the rebellion. People have changed. Many students now want to fight and defeat Columbia's racism. More of the faculty can be forced to our side. We must place ourselves squarely on the side of Black people in Harlem, the Vietnamese people, and all working and oppressed people in our own country and throughout the world, where we belong. We must serve the people, not imperialism.

This is not a fight for "structural reform." NO 'NEW', 'FREE', or 'DEMOCRATIC' COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY CAN EXIST UNDER IMPERIALISM! The class nature of the University is imperialist. Its liberal facade has been temporarily shattered. It will grant us nothing that we do not organize and fight for. Student Power, the elitist theory of the "new" working class,



plays into the hands of the administration, who would much rather buy us off with a few more "Student Life" committees and 'experimental' classes than take us on in the struggle—against the gym and IDA, and for no punishment for freedom fighters.

To opt for "Student Power" in a University owned, structured, run, and now policed to produce technicians and apologists for imperialism is to serve and prolong imperialist domination of Black people, students, and all working and oppressed people. It is to fight for a University still controlled by imperialism—but with a more concealed liberal facade, better able to fool students. Student Power depends on favors from U.S. imperialism, and in turn must serve it. It does not serve the people.

Lessons We Can Draw from the Fight

1) THE REQUISITE FOR WAGING A SHARP STRUGGLE IS PROTRACTED BASE-BUILDING, PROTRACTED POLITICAL WORK AMONG THE MAJORITY OF STUDENTS TO WIN THEM TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SYSTEM. WITHOUT THIS, ANY TALK OF CHANGE OR REVOLUTION IS A HOLLOW JOKE. Columbia SDS has a large base, which is reflected in the number of students who seized and liberated the five buildings. The issues of the gym and IDA had been fought over before; education had gone on. SDS had agitated and demonstrated on campus against CIA, Marine, and Dow Chemical recruitment of students. It led and organized a struggle against the sending of students' class rank to draft boards, and won it through an overwhelming campus vote and the threat of a strike to enforce that vote. Kirk gave in. The SDS Labor Committee supported the unionization of Columbia's cafeteria workers with a boycott of the food service.

All this involved time, analysis, and hard work with many people. The lesson is: build a base among people and increase its quality and quantity through successively higher levels of struggle.

2) BY FIGHTING AGAINST COLUMBIA'S RACIST GYM WE ARE INITIATING A WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE: this alliance provided the tremendous moral and physical strength of the rebellion. Students all know the tremendous struggle Black people have been fighting for liberation. They have admired this and supported it in various small ways. But the rebellion at Columbia is a qualitative leap for students, because it shows the way toward a real alliance with Black people by going over to their side in sharp struggle against a common enemy.

If white students want to fight racism, they can start, as Columbia students have, by taking over their schools and fighting to change them. Words aren't nearly enough. Action must back them up. By holding firm in Low and other campus buildings and not having given in to police and administration threats of terror or their even more dangerous trickery, the Columbia white students showed the only true support they could for the Black students and Harlem residents who were holding Hamilton Hall. An alliance can have meaning only when it is backed up with a common fight against the common enemy.

The community support for the struggle showed that it wasn't a fight for student power. The running of Columbia concerns the people and must be in their interests.

3) WE CAN STRIKE SHARPLY WHILE STILL RELYING ON THE PEOPLE. If you've built a base over a period of time, a sharp confrontation on clear issues can work. This is opposed to sharp, but anti-base-building, crazy, isolated "resistance" actions, where the enemy is strong and we are weak, which just lead to more frustration and unclarity.

Some SDSers were sceptical about our ability to lead this struggle, because they lost sight of our achievements, lacked confidence in the people, and believed in 'spontaneity' rather than planning. Thus, some wanted to cool it even after the battle was clearly on. They feared sharp struggle. But because our action was sharp, and the groundwork done, new people were able to move closer to us and share the leadership.

The Columbia sit-in confronted tens of thousands of students with a question they must answer: which side are you on? The side of racist exploitation and imperialism? or the side of the liberation movement? CAREFULLY PLANNED CONFRONTATIONS LIKE THIS CAN SHARPLY EXPOSE TO THOUSANDS THE REAL IMPERIALIST AND RACIST NATURE OF THIS SYSTEM AND WIN THEM TO FIGHTING ON OUR SIDE AGAINST IT.

Many times people are opposed to us or neutral or apathetic until faced by a sharp confrontation. This changes the ball game; and because we are right (i.e., we are fighting not for just our own interests, but those of the people) we will win many of them over. But that can't always be known until the confrontation jars people. It must be carefully planned, the issues crystal clear, a base of support built before through careful work.

This is a key lesson to be learned from Columbia. The student movement musn't be timid. Learn and do likewise!

We must defeat the right-wing line within the movement that fears sharp struggle when we can win thousands over (as versus crazy "resistance" demos downtown which win over no one). Defeat people who fear the people!

4) TREACHERY. While rebellion was on at Columbia, Sat. April 27, the NYC "Peace" Parade Committee (controlled by the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the official pacifist organizations) sponsored another so-called anti-war parade, with Mayor Lindsay as the main speaker. Lindsay had spoken previously that day at a 'Loyalty Day' parade. Two days later he sent 1,000 cops into Columbia to crush the anti-imperialist rebellion.

The Parade Committee had tried to get Senators Kennedy and McCarthy to speak at their rally, thus revealing openly their unity with the ruling class against the American and Vietnamese people. They also tried to prevent SDS supporters among the people from trying to lead people up to Columbia in a support march. The lesson is that these forces are treacherous, and that to work with them is to work with the enemy. Whatever healthy forces they lead can be won over by exposure and struggle.

5) THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION IN MASS POLITICAL STRUGGLE IS: WHO HOLDS STATE POWER? State power in our country is held by a class dictatorship, the DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE. This class has its differences, but it is strongly united to defend and preserve itself, and will use both bribery and coercion to do so. It will never give up voluntarily. Its enemy is the working class.

As intellectuals, we must stand with the working class. We have a common enemy. We both seek and need power, but not separately. We need revolution and socialism, and the only way we will get it is through a total reversal of state power: state power in the hands of the working class and its allies—THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. This, and only this, is the power and freedom we are struggling for.

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