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ON THE INSIDE

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

A Good Wildcat Strike Is Best Weapon Workers Have

There were some leaflets passed around my plant stating that the UAW International was set to call a strike at the Sterling Stamping plant of the Chrysler Corporation on 10 a.m. Wednesday, May 7, if pending grievances were not settled. This brought a round table discussion among workers. Most of the younger workers were wondering how long the strike would last and felt certain there would be a strike. The older workers seemed less concerned, and doubted very much that there would be a strike unless the workers at the Sterling plant jumped the gun—that is, walked out before the deadline.

UAW LEADERS RUN TO TV; ORDER WORKERS BACK

Some older workers said that there would be some minor promises by the company to the UAW leaders that they would correct the problems. Then the UAW leaders at the bargaining table would run to the press and TV yelling that they have settled the dispute, and that all Sterling employees are to return to work on the first shift starting tomorrow morning (this is exactly what happened, as it turned out).

Another older worker said: This union is so much a part of the company today that it is impossible for any plants in the UAW to get any production grievances settled where it will mean any changes to those workers having a grievance. If those workers do not jump the gun, then on Wednesday morning at 9:30 or ten minutes to ten, the UAW and the company will come out saying that they have reached an agreement. When the workers at Sterling ask what was in the agreement, the union will tell them all the things the company has agreed to. But ask any workers there the next day, the next week or the next month and they will tell you they are working under the same hazardous conditions or worse.

The worker continued: Wouldn't it seem logical to you, if the union meant to settle this issue, that they would have settled it when those workers were out a month ago. Do you want to know why they didn't? They have us in this straight jacket called grievance procedures. Before they will do any talking, the company yells, the union must get workers back on the job. Where the workers say the condition is unhuman and impossible, the union says you have to go back and work until you can have a legal strike vote taken.

MUST WORK 30 DAYS AFTER STRIKE VOTE

After the strike vote has been approved by the majority of workers, which takes time, the union has to give the company a notice of the intended strike some 30 days in advance. While all this is taking place, these workers with the grievances against hazardous conditions are still working under the same conditions which they had walked out against.

The settlement is always minor, or nothing is changed at all, because the company can always point to the fact that those workers have been working under those conditions for 30 or 60 days, whatever time has expired between the time the union forced them back to work and the strike deadline.

The younger workers began to look amazed at what was being said. One older worker said, "What we did when we had a say about those kind of conditions was quite different. We had a union. A good wildcat strike is the only and best weapon workers ever had to protect their conditions in the shop. This business about the company not talking until we return to the job is just a lot of hot air. If they want to continue to build cars, they will talk, and not only talk, they will settle grievances as they should be settled, and try like hell to avoid having another one about the same thing."

STERLING GRIEVANCES OVER A YEAR OLD

One worker told of talking to some friends who work at the Sterling plant. They told him that the complaints we read and heard about are not one-third of the grievances and complaints that have occurred at that plant.

"They have not even settled those grievances that caused a walkout a year ago," the worker continued. "Those bastard union leaders have the production workers so tied up in that damn contract. You go back after a walkout and the conditions are supposed to be changed and you find out that they are not and start yelling about the same conditions. But we are the ones who always have to wait before we can ask for another strike vote. All the time our union stewards, committeemen and local officers are faking and lying to us about what is being done.

"Sterling Stamping is just the latest example," he added. "We need a revolution against those union leaders, and if this keeps up, I feel it is coming just as those students are doing it in colleges all over this country."

Student Revolt Hits 100 Schools; Black Students Are In Forefront

By Michael Connally

In the four short weeks that followed the occupation at Harvard, more than 100 schools across the U.S.A. were hit with student revolts. Black students demanded black studies programs under their control; whites demanded the abolition of ROTC and other military groups on campus. But everywhere it was clear that the student movement had transformed itself from an attack on the computerized multiversity to a radical critique of this racist society.

At Harvard University, America's most elite school, nearly 500 students seized the administration building on April 9. The occupiers demanded the abolition of ROTC and a halt to Harvard's destruction of homes in the surrounding community. Inside the building, they discovered and copied secret files showing Harvard's connections with the CIA; 10,000 joined them in the strike that followed.

FLOOD OF REACTION

On April 29, President Nixon opened the floodgates of reaction against the revolt in a speech, appropriately to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He called for school administrators to "have the backbone to stand up against this kind of situation." His speech had been preceded by a widely quoted statement by Richard Kleindienst, an assistant Attorney General, and former Goldwater campaign manager: "If people demonstrate in a manner to interfere with others, they should be rounded up and put in a detention camp."

Two days after Nixon's statement, his Justice Department appointees were busy interpreting just what "backbone" meant. Attorney General John Mitchell called for prosecutions and arrests.

Congress quickly jumped to the attack. Five different committees, three in the House and two in the Senate, argued over who had the right to investigate the student movement for "subversive influences."

This new crackdown, accompanied as it is by the hysterical, racist and reactionary McCarthyite statements of Administration officials, shows the seriousness with which they view the campus demonstrations. Their fears are well-founded. The past month's demonstrations have been new, both in their numbers and in their demands.

AT CORNELL

Black students have been in the forefront of many of the demonstrations. In the last two years, nearly every campus has seen the organization of a black students' association.

At Cornell, over 100 black students, men and women, occupied Willard Straight Hall for 36 hours. The occupiers demanded that charges against five students arising from an earlier demonstration be dropped. They pointed out that the all-white student-faculty board which judged the five was not qualified to sit in judgement on black students.

The news media and the Nixon administration have done a lot of yelling about the guns that the blacks took into "the Straight" during the occupation. No one, however, has been looking at the white terror that started it.

One of the black students at Cornell pointed out: "Guns, guns, guns. That's all they can talk about. Don't they understand that we're talking about the legitimacy of black students on a white college campus; our survival as an entity in a hostile environment."

At 2 a.m., on April 18, a cross was burned in front of Wari House, a black women's co-op at



Black Workers Wildcat At Mahwah Ford; Ask Support

Editor's Note: A wildcat strike at the Ford Motor Company's assembly plant in Mahwah, N.J. has been on since the last week of April. It is being run by the United Black Brothers of Mahwah (UBB), a black rank and file caucus at the plant, and has attracted the support of the Panthers, News & Letters Committee members and SDS. Following is an account of the wildcat written by a black worker at Mahwah. For a report by an N&L student picket, see p. 6.

Mahwah, N.J.—The United Black Brothers bulletin describes the incident of Wednesday, April 23, that led to the walkout: "One of the newly hired brothers went into the body shop office to find out where to work for the night. Ray Eskew, the supervisor, told him he had no business in the office and used abusive language to the worker. The brother told Eskew that he was just there to get his assignment; then he told Eskew... 'Don't talk to me like an animal.' Eskew ended up by saying, 'Get out of here, you're fired you black mother—'. Local 906 was nowhere to be found!"

At Mahwah, the watchword is production; the essence is production; every thing is sacrificed for production. The company doesn't care about human beings, just units (cars). To them, you are just a number.

The worker's only tool against management is the union. But under the last contract the local union officials' salaries are paid by management — so who do you think they represent, the workers or management?

The UBB is a black organization, but it represents all workers: black, white and Puerto Rican, because all workers are sacrificed equally for the sake of production. As the white and Puerto Rican workers join the struggle, the name of the caucus will change.

UBB FORMED

We know we have no representation; we have no redress within

the UAW structure. If a worker has a grievance and he goes to the union, they just write it up and it goes first to the local, then to the Regional, then to the International, and by that time two years have passed and the worker is still inside sweating.

When our last local president left office, there were 2,000 unprocessed grievances. This is why the UBB was formed, because we felt we were not getting proper representation by Local 906 of the UAW.

The union structure was not designed to effect change so we had to separate ourselves from the union to deal effectively with the company. We went out on this racial issue. But we did not want to repeat the mistakes of walkouts that had occurred before. So instead of immediately

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Labor Government?

British Workers Now Face Move to Outlaw All Strikes

GLASGOW, Scotland—Harold Wilson's Government has something in common with the Tories. They desire that the workers be deprived of the right to withdraw their labour. To them, there should have been a commandment saying, "Thou Shalt Not Strike."

Barbara Castle hopes to remedy the omission of Moses. If she has her way, it will be an offense punishable by law for anyone to take part in an unofficial strike. In addition, the trade unions will be compelled to observe certain rules laid down by the Government before calling their members out on strike.

TIGHTER CHAINS

Contracts are sacred in this system of commodity production. The aim is to bring the most important commodity of all, Labour Power, in line with all other commodities. It just happens that the workers cannot be separated from their labour power and, consequently, legislation of the kind proposed would bind the existing chains more tightly.

What makes the proposal more objectionable is the suggestion that workers who go on strike will be fined, and the fine will be deducted from his wages by his employer. Could cooperation between employers and the Government be closer than that?

The campaign behind the White Paper must make the duller of

the men and women in industry realize how important they are. The fate of the country rests on their shoulders. Unless they keep working, the rich and powerful will go without.

WHITE PAPER PROPOSAL

There is the snag that they must produce for a wage rate low enough to leave a surplus. That is, and always has been, the basis of capitalist production. The proposals in the White Paper together with the Prices and Incomes Board give that the force of law.

It is also proposed to make money available for education. What kind of education? This sounds like a plan for the indoctrination of the men and women in industry. Like other proposals in the White Paper it would make the trade unions instruments of Government policy.

The Tories would be grateful to the Labor Government if they came to power. It must be obvious if the trade unions became tied to the State by financial strings we would be well on the road to a system of an authoritarian character.

Harold Wilson says that the legislation is going through. The need to stop it is clear to all, but there is only one way to do it. The masses can determine policy. They have every right to do it, particularly since nothing was said about this kind of legislation in the general election campaign. Industrial action can solve this and many other problems.

Welfare Mothers Challenge Congresswoman on Aid Bill

Detroit, Mich. — Some 60 to 75 ADC and Welfare mothers held a protest demonstration at Central Methodist Church, when Michigan Congresswoman Martha Griffiths spoke on a new bill she had just introduced in the Legislature.

The bill has been introduced as one to "feed more hungry children." But we mothers showed what we thought of it with our signs: "You are a Grade

A Nut" and No Soup Lines for Us."

MOTHERS' VIEW NEEDED

While we were waiting in front of the church for the speaker to arrive, Mrs. Griffiths entered through the back entrance. Several of us, from various groups, decided to go inside to discuss the bill with her and give her a mother's view. Mrs. Griffiths was already speaking.

She stated that she was there to testify why she favored her bill. Her point was that a child needs a well-balanced diet of three meals a day and most ADC parents and Welfare families cannot feed their children properly. Her bill would amend the Social Security Act to furnish these three meals a day, five days a week, to all children under 16 who are eligible for aid to families with dependent children or whose families are below the poverty level.

She estimated that it would reach 11 million children at a cost of \$4.5 billion a year. Nearly \$2 billion of this would come from repealing or reducing federal expenditures for the food assistance program now in existence.

THE NEW PLAN

Under this new plan the meals would be provided at public schools, summer camps or other child-care places. It would abolish the existing school lunch, milk and breakfast programs and reduce 75 percent of the federal funds now paid in cash to ADC recipients for food purchases. The other 25 percent would go to feed children on weekends or when they are home because of illness.

What the whole idea amounted to was that they feel we mothers are not capable of feeding our children a well-balanced diet on our own.

We mothers strongly objected to the whole idea. If Martha wants to buy the food, we will cook it for her. We do not intend to stand in line with our children holding meal tickets in our hands, in front of some school. This is not the 1930's.

We have pride even though we may be poor. We want to sit down at our own tables with our children at home, to relax and eat like human beings. We have ahead of us a long-range goal of dealing with the future, not the past.

Mrs. Griffin is a Democrat, but she acts just like the Republicans. She does not speak for the poor. She does not know what is needed because she does not even bother to listen to our views. She doesn't have to because her constituents do not come from the poverty areas.

NO TIME FOR POOR

At the end of her speech Mrs. Griffin answered only two questions from the audience because she said her time was limited. Then she was on her way out.

We also left to try to discuss the matter with her — but she didn't have the time to listen to us. She brushed us off rudely, and left by the back stairs.

Taxes for War; Hunger for Kids

The fatality rate spirals, now showing a total of over 33,000 Americans killed in Vietnam. This is but another in the never ending list of horrors facing the American people.

As if to add obscenity to indecency, the perpetrators of the war have dealt the workers and workless another savage insult: in the coming years an additional 10% of our annual incomes will go to pay for the capitalist's class war.

TAXES FOR WAR

Not satisfied in sending our wage-earners and sons to the bloodbath, (the former already scarred by the jungle-like struggle called "earning a living," and the latter, already the victim of class discrimination because of their inability to buy a college deferment) the war mongers have even more cruelty to inflict.

It is not enough, they say, that every single cent of income taxes go for wars and for "defense" projects; that the Tax Bill's \$24 billion cut in government spending (over the next three years) will act only as an even greater depressant upon those of our peoples who already suffer physical malnutrition due to improper diets and actual starvation (over 10 million). No, they say, this is not too much of a price for our liberty and "democratic way-of-life!"

PROFITS FOR WAR-MAKERS

Sadly enough, there is one more weight to be added; one more insult we must bear. Testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee has revealed that while America's exploited people (workers & workless) scrimped and saved to exist, lost sons and fathers to the war, the beasts of profit (defense contractors) bathed in the champagne of a 25% rise in war profits during the last two to three years . . . the escalation years in Vietnam!

It might be inspiring if we could inquire of one of those children found to be supplementing their daily starvation diets with "laundry starch and clay," (*) if the price he is paying is not a just, and an honorable price for the liberty and democratic choice of alternatives supposedly offered him in America.

Unfortunately, we are not afforded the opportunity; yet, let every man and woman think in terms of a young relative sitting upon a filth-ridden floor; setting to a meal of laundry starch and clay fresh from the roadside! All the while, never forgetting for a moment that a feast takes place elsewhere.

Watch as the war profiteers and their vulture-like lackeys spread the icing of overblown profits upon their proverbial feast of patriotic cake!

—Michael Maguire

*Testimony from the Citizen's Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States.

Workers Poisoned On Grape Farms

Cesar Chavez, head of the striking United Farm Workers Organizing Committee announced a full-scale intensification of the California Table Grape Boycott, centered around the issue of what Chavez calls the "economic poisoning" of grapes by harmful pesticides.

Chavez stated that several cases of dysentery, lead poisoning and other harmful effects of the pesticides have been reported to the Union clinic.

Chavez told the growers: "We will not tolerate the systematic poisoning of our people. Even if we cannot get together on other problems, we will be damned . . . and we should be . . . if we will permit human beings to sustain permanent damage to their health from economic poison."

PARATHION KILLS

Boycott leaders reported the use of the pesticide parathion to spray the crops. (parathion was used during World War II by the Third Reich to exterminate Jews.) They said that the union has seen records indicating that ninety-five cases of poisoning by parathion had been reported by farmworkers in 1967. The union is still compiling the number of cases during 1968. The effects of parathion are respiratory depression and a closing of oxygen passages.

Less than one sixteenth of a tablespoon of parathion will kill a human being. Parathion concentration can build up in a person's system over an extended period of time as a result of continued inhalation of the pesticide, or through an overconsumption of sprayed fruit.

The union has tried to obtain access to public records showing how economic poisons are used in the grape industry. These efforts have been thwarted by a court injunction stopping the union from viewing these public records. "We are asking," stated Chavez, "what do the growers have to hide?"

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Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Old Laws Used in New Ways

How can people go on and on trying to mislead others when so many people throughout the whole world are trying to make a complete change everywhere? The old die-hards are trying harder than ever to hold on to the old hate-filled world and their old hate-filled ways. They can't seem to see that the old laws cannot be used to keep people from getting a new way of life.

TOO MUCH JUSTICE?

Judge Crockett in Detroit has been showing everyone how to use the old laws fairly. But the race-haters say that if that is the way the law reads, then the laws will have to be changed, because the way Judge Crockett interprets them, they give the black people too much justice. Up to now many have taken for granted that the laws should be used against only one race.

People are angry all over the world. Black soldiers are angry just thinking about having to fight in their country's wars and then coming back to be treated like slaves. Some are beginning to wonder if they need to fight

a war against their own country, before they can have peace.

The white people may be afraid to walk the streets at night for fear of what other people may do to them. But they have forgotten who started all the crimes.

SOW AND REAP

How can they forget about the burning of black churches in Birmingham, Ala., and the murder of small children there? How can they forget how black people were beaten for trying to march from Selma to Montgomery? Don't they remember how dogs were set on black people? Have they forgotten about reaping what they have sown?

Is it too late to have peace in America?

When white people get through telling black people what they can and can't do, where they can and can't live, what they can and can't say, they should sit down and start to read some history books. They will find that people have always fought to change their lives. All of history is a story of man's fight for freedom.

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From The Auto Shops

Black Workers Wildcat at Mahwah Ford

(Continued from Page 1)

walking out, we got the workers together, got our program down, and then began our demonstration.

APPEAL TO ALL

We issued a leaflet and appealed not only to black workers:

"Why we ask your support . . . Because the same thing can happen to you . . . You know what's been going on. The company has been laying off men by the dozens. But the lines have not slowed up a bit. You have been given more work. And if you can't do it, you lose your job or get time off. The supervisors are harassing the men and calling them all kinds of names, such as 'Dirty Guinea Bastard,' 'Black Son-of-a-Bitch,' and 'Stinking Spick' — to name a few . . . We the United Black Brothers, demand an end to this now and that those guilty of these charges be removed . . . We ask all of you to stay out and support us in this fight!"

The demonstrations have continued on both shifts from Friday, April 25 to Friday, May 2, and the UBB has managed to shut production down completely twice on the night shift. Normal production is 800 cars a day for Mahwah, but on Monday production was only 500 cars, on Tuesday 350, on Wednesday 270, and about 400 on Thursday and Friday.

To keep the line moving and keep production up, the company threw foremen and supervisory personnel on the line in violation of the contract. The company also forced the day shift to work double shifts of 16 hours on two of the days. The day shift workers were not even paid time and a half, although, under the contract, the men are entitled to double time.

UBB'S DEMANDS

For the first three days of the demonstration, Local 906 officials could not be found and locked the UBB out of the union hall. On Wednesday, April 30, the workers met with the union to present their cause to the leadership as well as Regional and International UAW representatives.

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—There is a new general manager at the Fleetwood plant who has developed a new policy to sweat more production out of us.

Many foremen were men from the line who moved to supervision. They get a lot of hell from the general foreman in order to make them push the workers harder. The workers fight back against the foremen.

A lot of the foreman have in the past been unable to take this double pressure. It used to be that they could go back on the line if they couldn't take it.

But now the general manager has laid down a policy which says if you can't get production out of the workers, if you can't take it, you are fired. Now since the foremen are afraid of getting fired, they really are pushing the workers harder than ever before.

Maybe this is why we've been getting so many new young foremen in the plant — the old ones couldn't stand it anymore.

But the new foremen only make things worse. They don't know their job and they are really making a mess of things.

—Fleetwood Worker

The meeting was called by the union, but UBB took it over and successfully presented its case to the 500 workers present.

Our demands were the following: 1. Removal of Ray Eskew (the abusive supervisor) from the Mahwah plant. 2. Removal or transfer of supervisors with records of repeated acts of discrimination and abuse of workers. 3. Reinstatement of workers who were provoked into action and were fired by their supervisors for these actions. 4. An end to the kangaroo court tactics used by the company with the union's approval when a man comes up on charges. A man must be considered innocent until proven guilty—not the other way around like it is now. 5. We as workers will protect our human rights at all costs. 6. We will not be held responsible for any acts taken against the Ford Motor Co. due to its racist oppressive policy. 7. The UBB be recognized as the spokesman for black workers.

Ford agreed to the first six demands and promised to reduce all firings during the walkout to suspensions. But we have dealt with the company before, and we know what the company's word means.

When we went in on Friday night to collect our checks, the company would not even let us leave a small area which they had protected by security guards. If they can do this to their own workers who have stated again and again that this is a non-violent demonstration, we know we can't trust them.

UNION REPS

We also know what the union is about. The union local, regional and international reps have tried to split the leadership of the UBB: they have tried to get the men back to work; they

Ford Rouge

DETROIT, Mich. — The grievance procedures at Ford are too slow and unequal. If a worker commits what the foreman thinks is a violation, he is penalized right on the spot. This is done on the foreman's word alone. It can be a week off or being fired.

But the worker, on the other hand, cannot get any type of immediate justice when he sees a violation of the contract. If he thinks a foreman has done something wrong, piled work on him, used racist language against him, nothing can be done on the spot.

The worker has to go through a long grievance procedure which may last for months before it is taken care of — if it is ever taken care of.

A dishonest, racist foreman can mess up the lives of a lot of workers. And because he is protected by a long procedure, even if he is finally gotten rid of, it takes so long that he can mess up still more workers.

A worker who makes what the foreman considers a mistake does not have control over many other workers. He cannot affect them if he is late to the job, or does something else wrong. He is the one who is immediately disciplined — instead of having a grievance filed against him to be studied and see if there really was any wrong doing. It seems that the whole procedure ought to be reversed. Immediate discipline is needed against foremen, not against workers.

—Assembly Line Worker

have told us to "go through channels," but they have failed to put the fire out, to pacify the uprising, to make the natives happy.

Therefore, they are out of the picture, they have gone underground. Since their job is to pacify us and we won't be pacified, they can't go back to Detroit. Since they have been "exposed" to the workers here, they can't face us, so they are staying holed-up in their motel room.

We are standing together facing the company alone. This position has been thrust upon us by the union. We know we have to compromise, but we will not sacrifice our manhood or our dignity. We are determined to continue our demonstrations until our demands are met.

We have demonstrated in a non-violent manner and we don't want to hurt anyone, but if we are not listened to soon, the UBB cannot be held responsible for actions which the workers might take against the company.

We will be continuing our demonstrations until we win and would appreciate any support which would be forthcoming. We especially need money to support the families of all the brothers. Send the bread to:

United Black Brothers
156 Valley Road
Mahwah, N. J. 07430

UMW Election Worries Boyle as Miner Opposition Grows

Uniontown, Penna.—President Tony Boyle of the United Mine Workers says that he isn't worried about the union election next year. Well, maybe he's not, but for a guy who isn't worried, he sure is doing a lot of campaigning.

At a campaign rally in Pittsburgh called by Boyle a couple weeks ago, he practically blamed the coal miners for everything that goes wrong in the mines, and said that the miners don't back him up when he wants to do something. The guys were really mad at that one, but laughing at the same time.

AGAINST MINERS

Like they said, Boyle ought to be backing them up in what they are trying to do to make the mines safer to work in. Instead, he was actually against the miners in West Virginia who were trying to get compensation for black lung. We already have a law covering miners with black lung in Pennsylvania, but this is something every state ought to have where there are coal mines.

When are we supposed to back him up? When it's contract time, the first we hear about what is negotiated is when we read about it in the papers after Boyle has already signed the contract. I can tell you this much though, there have been plenty of times we wanted to go out on strike but it would have been against Boyle and what he didn't get in the contract.

Or maybe he wanted us to back him up when he made the deal with Consolidation Coal Company, got caught in a government anti-trust suit and had the union fined about a half million dollars. He's supposed to be fighting the coal companies, not making deals with them. Come to think of it, maybe this hanky-panky with Consol is why he said that you have to accept explosions when Consol's Farmington mine blew up last year. Is this what he wants us to back him up in?

On the Line

Membership Turns Tables on Scheming Officer Clique

By JOHN ALLISON

Local union officers at Chrysler Highland Park plant tried to play some politics with workers' representation, but got caught in their own trap. It all started when the corporation made the announcement of the last move of the production lines from Chrysler Highland Park to the Perrysburg plant in Ohio. This moving process has been in the works for the past few years, and will all be finished by next year according to present plans.

Anyway, when the company gave the final notice of the move, the Local 490 officers panicked, and rushed the local executive board into voting not to hold the elections slated for local officers and committeemen this year. However, the executive board decided that chief stewards would have to face elections.

This action set off a lot of workers, and letters were written to the International officers to protest this discriminatory move by the executive board. The result of these letters was a reply from the International advising that the membership would have to give approval on this matter.

As the rank-and-file workers know, the International Constitution and Local Union By laws both state that all local unions must hold elections every two years. Only this really wasn't the heart of the issue, because we all know about a lot of things that have gone on in the plant during the move that are anything but according to the book.

If everybody had been treated the same way and the rank-and-file workers did not see any injustice in the proposition, they would have gone along with the issue but they saw it was a raw deal for their stewards, and that the union bureaucrats were acting in the same way they always act: They look out for themselves, and the workers can all go fly a kite so far as they're concerned.

The workers just weren't going to have any of it at all, and when the local union meeting was held to vote on the matter, the rank-and-file turned the executive board down flat. The debate was hot on the floor, and the rank-and-file really tore up the officers. They told them that they lost their plant, but that they still had their representation: that they suffered injuries because of unsafe conditions of work, but they still had their right to vote, and nobody was going to take any more away from them than they could help. They had too much taken away already.

HEADS WILL ROLL

What it all boils down to is that the election will be held this year, and for all of the officers. There appears to be little doubt that those who tried to engineer this little deal are going to get their verdict from the rank-and-file after they cast their ballots on election day. Heads will roll before this execution is over.

The fact is, the workers at Chrysler Highland Park plant know they can't escape from the speed-up of the production line, from the inhuman treatment by the bosses who are out to squeeze the last drop of blood and production out of the workers. The Corporation did not announce any change in the production quota when it announced the move. If anything, they will try to get more production out of the workers.

But the workers know this, and they are making sure that those who are going to be representing them in the union will not be lame duck representatives, but fighters who will keep on fighting for them as long as they have to go into that plant to work.

There are also many remarks heard from Chrysler officials, company stooges and even some union officials who use the threat that if black militants (like DRUM) keep on affecting production, more plants will be leaving Michigan. But the fact is that Chrysler decided to move our Highland Park plant long before there was anything like DRUM around.

It's the old company trick of trying to intimidate workers; of trying to shift the blame for their own inhuman action of moving onto someone else.

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Editorial

A Young Black Worker Looks At MAY DAY, 1969

On May Day, hospital workers in Charleston, S.C., were fighting for union recognition as they had been for over a month. The members of Local 1199B of the Hospital and Nursing Home Workers Union are striking against two state-run institutions, the Medical College of South Carolina Hospital, and Charleston County Hospital. Since they have been on strike, over 500 people have been arrested including high school students who have been boycotting school during the strike. In spite of mass community support for the striking workers including that of SCLC, South Carolina's racist governor Robert McNair, has refused to either recognize or negotiate with Local 1199B.

This struggle by unorganized workers is taking place almost 80 years after the first May Day, which itself was born out of a workers struggle. In 1886 the workers of this country declared May 1 as their day and hundreds of thousands went on strike from Chicago to Washington and back again to St. Louis. By 1890 they sent delegates to other countries asking them to strike on May 1 also. Thus May Day became international.

The labor movement has become big business in those 80 years and yet there are countless workers still unorganized, especially among black and other minority groups in this country. The union big-wigs won't make a profit in dues and benefits from their initial investment in such an organizing drive and so no drive is made. In addition, many of the workers are black and many of the industries are in the South. The big unions have forgotten the radical traditions they came from, and are unwilling to use radical methods to upset the Southern racist practices which divide workers and defeat unionization drives.

THE IDEA OF MAY DAY

The idea of May Day was really born out of the struggle for the eight-hour day. Workers have been waging a fight for a shorter working day since capitalism was born out of the industrial revolution. It is a sad commentary on the labor movement of this country, that the struggle for an eight-hour day is still being fought today.

The irony is that not only are the vast numbers of unorganized workers fighting for it, but those already organized into the big labor unions like the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and UAW, who are fighting against nine, ten and eleven hour days in the form of compulsory overtime.

Just recently, a big UAW official, Douglas A. Fraser, testified at a hearing of the Labor Committee of the Michigan House of Representatives on the Maximum Hours Act of 1969. He said, "the time has come . . . when excessive, compulsory overtime . . . must be controlled for reasons of health, safety and dignity. And for reasons of morality and economics as well." He further said: "Many workers must work under extreme conditions and handle heavy materials. If compelled to work overtime under the same conditions they understandably rebel."

Yes, they do. Against both the company and the union—as shown by the numerous recent wildcats, including one at Chrysler Sterling Stamping plant, which Fraser personally put down.

LABOR MOVEMENT SPLINTERED

May Day was created to be the worker's day, all workers in unity and brotherhood. But again the labor movement has forsaken its heritage, and today, in 1969, stands in disarray, broken and splintered before the enemy of the working class, with even worse enemies in its own ranks.

Not only is there a division between the leadership and the rank-and-file, and between skilled and unskilled labor, but also between white and black labor and between the organized and un-organized. It is one reason we are now at a stalemate with the capitalists in the war for a better and totally new society.

As has always been the case in this country, the black masses, especially black workers, are showing us the way out of this dilemma. Black caucuses are springing up in all industries, encompassing the unskilled and rank-and-file black workers into one fighting unit. Black unorganized workers banded together several years ago in organizations like the Mississippi Freedom Union and the Maryland Freedom Union, and are fighting together in Charleston now. At the same time they recognize that they are a part of an overall movement with other allies in it.

WHITE WORKERS

White workers, unskilled, rank-and-file, and unorganized are beginning to band together also. Things are happening in the coal fields of Appalachia.

The students are becoming inspired as well, to seek out the workers. A good example of this type of alliance are the wildcats at Chrysler Sterling and Mahwah Ford where students came to support striking workers.

Black and white from the rank-and-file of the union, from the unorganized, from the student youth, are beginning to realize that their interests and goals lie in the same direction. To do away with capitalism, root and branch, that unity is needed.

— R. F.

News & Letters

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Readers'

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN — AS READERS SEE IT

IRELAND

Isn't Bernadette Devlin, the 22 year old civil rights activist from North Ireland, the first student radical leader elected to any national parliament?

It was great to see her handle all those pro's in the British House of Commons the first day she took her seat. She flouted the unwritten tradition of the House by making her maiden speech on the first day of her arrival, and on a controversial issue at that. "The situation," she said, "merits the flouting of such a tradition."

Prime Minister Wilson laughed along when she scoffed at Belfast Prime Minister O'Neill as "the white liberal of Northern Ireland." But he wasn't laughing when she said, "A Socialist government with guts would have got rid of them long ago."

Reader
Boston

* * *

The religious exploitation in Ulster is catastrophic. The fact that the ruling class there is Protestant and the oppressed are mainly Catholic is important because that is how it is. But if you take away the veil of religion you see that the oppressors are the property owners and the business men and the oppressed are the expropriated people. And that puts it in a better perspective. Religion takes the role of further mystification.

Britain was forced to quit Ireland and held Ulster for investment and trade and as a placed where all the Orangemen, who are Loyalists, gathered. The Ulster clique along with Paisley and his mob constantly bring up the omnipresent voodoo of Law And Order. They'll have to find something else soon.

The reason that William Craig, the former Home-Secretary was fired was because he really wanted to kill all the demonstrators and was giving a free hand to the groups of armed fascists who were attacking them.

Activist
Britain

* * *

NETHERLANDS

As in the U.S., there is an ever-increasing opposition here from students and youth against the authoritarian behavior of the government. However, a lack of study of Marxist literature gives rise to all kinds of political sectarian groups among the left.

Our Communist Party has severed relations with the CPSU and leans more or less towards Rumania, but has little support among our workers. The pro-China monthly "Red Tribune" makes some effort to revive the Marxist debate in Holland, but even this organization is restricted to a very small number of mainly intellectuals and "defroques" from our Communist Party.

As a melting pot of former Communists, pacifists, Bellamyists, Trotskyists, anarchists and Marxists, we have the Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP). The heterogenous composition of this party restricts its activities to that of a debating club. (The PSP and the Communists

are both represented in the parliament opposition.)

In the meantime, there is a process of "radicalization" in our Socialist Democrat Party (not in government at present) and in almost all parties based on some kind of religion. This radicalization has been forced upon them by the growing chaotic conditions under this capitalistic system: militarization, very bad housing conditions for the population, unemployment, inflation and ever-rising prices, as well as an insufficient educational system. I am 40 years old, studied law, know six languages, but cannot find a job because of "my age."

Historic remnants like religion in its various organizational aspects still play a dominant but decreasing role in this country. In a certain way, the radical forces make use of these pre-capitalistic contradictions. This is illustrated in the relative freedom of debate and opposition on the TV and radio corporations that are under control of the forementioned religious groups.

At present, we are under the rule of a Liberal-Catholic combination, favoring big business to an extent that it soon will be replaced by another, probably social-democrat/neoliberal, combination.

New Correspondent
Amsterdam

BRITAIN

Capitalism hies from one daily crisis to the next. You may have more overt daily acts of violence, in the streets and cafes in your country, but our institutionalized violence and repression is an omnipresent factor in our daily existence here. Yet it seems something that the majority of our Left don't want to come to grips with.

Anguilla is brilliantly representative of the way Britain has always had the face of carrying out its policies quietly and calmly, while in fact it is directly and unequivocally repressing a whole population by force.

The PR job on Anguilla here was fantastic. They made it sound like an "exercise". They showed the landing live — "as they ploughed through the gleaming water as the sun climbed up onto the seas," like a romantic novel — and said there was no violent reaction to the peaceful entry of the troops. It was presented as dramatically as a program on gardening.

Reader
London

* * *

CUBA

To each his own. While the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia just plain banned the May Day parade there, and in France called it off after the Gaullists banned it, the Cuban confederation of labor unions announced: "Every worker should make a heroic effort to salute this date." Guess how. By not celebrating it as a traditional holiday, but by working instead — in fact, making a "redoubled work effort" on May 1!

Reader
New York

In our country those who want to change our system are often accused of being Communists. In this way dissent is often stifled. I am sure that there are those in Communist countries who are afraid to speak out because they will be called pro-American.

I hope the two of us can get together and show the rulers that there are other ways to run the world than the way that America and her allies, and Russia and China are now running it.

Graduate Student
Ann Arbor, Mich.

War Resisters

The Montreal Council to Aid War Resisters is a non-partisan organization formed in 1966 which acts as a counseling service to those who are considering coming to live in Canada. We offer information and advice on immigration laws, and try to assist the immigrant in finding employment and emergency housing.

We need your help to publicize the new edition of our pamphlet "Immigration to Canada and Its Relation to the Draft". We have completed a mailing to all the anti-draft groups in the U.S. and Canada, but many of the people who need the information in our fact sheet never get to the counseling groups.

Please announce that single copies may be obtained free from the Montreal Council to Aid War Resisters, Case Postale 5, Succ. Wsmst., Montreal 214, Quebec, Canada.

Ed Miller
Montreal

Student-Labor Revolt

Please send me 20 copies of N & L for the enclosed check — I will try to find readers for them. Your paper needs circulating. It is the only publication I get which has a real meaning — meaning to take power from exploitative rulers and put it in the hands of the people where it belongs.

We can expect anything bad to come from our money-power-mad rulers with their hired killers and other subsidized henchmen. A world revolution is on, and needs a solidly organized liberation body that never quits . . .

The poorest of the peace demonstrators and demanders for reform know more about what a human society should be like than any who are in the present military-industrial establishment — the greedy rich. Those of the poor masses who have average intelligence know more, have more reason.

We must learn to respect humanity, not wealth. This is what the student-labor rebellion is all about. They know and respect this principle. Most of the masses feel the same, though they are saying nothing. The luke-warm stragglers need to be aroused.

B. T.
New Mexico

Any one who is skeptical about workers and students uniting or about workers being revolutionary ought to drop by a workers' picket line the next time they wildcat.

Views

I dropped by the Chrysler Sterling Heights Stamping plant and was really amazed at what I saw.

I talked with workers on the picket lines and in the union hall and they told me about the conditions in the plant and why they walked out and why they weren't going back in until everyone does. Chrysler had fired 69 men who had been active in the wildcat and refused to re-hire them.

The morning after the local was ordered to go back to work by the UAW, the workers were standing around near the picket lines, refusing to go in. Many students from Detroit and Ann Arbor also were there.

The Sterling workers thanked us for coming to their lines and being concerned with their strike . . . this despite the fact that the press had talked about us as long haired anarchist-communists.

High School Student
Detroit

I remember how puzzled I used to be when I was a kid

WHAT IS NEWS & LETTERS? A unique combination of workers and intellectuals.

ORGANIZATION—We are an organization of Marxist Humanists—blacks and whites who are seeking to change our conditions of life in the shops, the schools, the society as a whole. To do this we feel that all of us—workers in the factories, students in the universities and high schools—must come together and talk about how we can end speed up and racism in the plants, miseducation in the school; how we can build different human relations, by abolishing the division between mental and manual labor.

PAPER—This is the only paper anywhere edited by a black worker, Charles Denby, who works in an auto plant. The only paper written by working people, youth and black people fighting for freedom, in the U.S.A. and in other countries.

The only paper that features a regular column, "Two Worlds," by Raya Dunayevskaya, chairman of the National Editorial Board, and author of *Marxism and Freedom*.

We invite you to write for the paper, and to join our organization.

about why workers went out on strike. It seemed they always lost so much money that they would never get back, that I could never figure out why they went out.

I remember my parents explaining that it wasn't money that was really the point at all—but other things, like human dignity and decent work-

ing conditions.

Now it seems that all Reuther thinks is important to workers is money. Everything else goes out the window. When they count up what workers have gained or lost, it is always in terms of dollars and cents, never in human terms.

Student
Detroit

ON TOUR WITH RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

From Los Angeles

Three new elements distinguished the tour here:

(1) **The Black-Red Conference**, organized by a black reader, which opened new lines of communication to the black revolutionary movement here. There is no sense in denying that "black capitalism", rechristened "self-determination", is cutting into parts of the Movement. Many, however, are aware of how corrupting will be its effect. The same is true with the Chicano movement. The blacks and Chicanos who attended were much excited about the idea of Black-Red Conference, and wanted to know whether we could arrange a regional or national one . . .

(2) **The meeting, organized by a high school youth**, where 100 students showed up on their lunch break to hear Raya speak on the "World Wide Student Protest", showed that here, too, youth are interested in the theory needed to find one's way about.

(3) **The campus lectures** were also permeated with new features. At Pitzer, there was good attendance by black students at the main lecture, and at the seminar later one black student who led a high school strike here became so interested in theory that was separate from Communism that he very nearly spoke like one of us. Out of a small college of 600, over 300 attended the main lecture on *The Challenge of Mao* and enough Maoists were in the audience to make it quite a peppy discussion.

At Cal. State about 200 attended the lecture on *Czechoslovakia*. When a Birchite announced that "his" friends would "like to slit the speaker's throat," Raya's expose of him as one who knows nothing—neither of Czechoslovakia nor the forces in the revolution, much less of Marxist-Humanism—was welcomed by the students, since he has been a thorn in their side and this is the first time he had been put down, but good.

A public meeting was held on the Middle East, where everyone contributed \$1 though no admission was asked. There was, in addition, our own all-day philo-

sophic conference around the draft chapters of the new book, *Philosophy and Revolution*. The exciting thing was how many of those who attended the lectures were interested in our organization, News & Letters Committees.

From San Francisco

The meeting of the Philosophy Club in Berkeley, where Raya spoke on *Marx vs. Sartre* was excellent—about 50 to 60 students and faculty attended, and Raya dealt profoundly with questions from every tendency from Sartre-supporting CPers, to any radical orientation you could name . . .

We will be attending the Black-Red Conference being organized by a black friend here, and tomorrow we will all attend the Peace March in San Francisco. Raya will speak on the campus at Berkeley and at Santa Cruz next week . . . The literature sales have been phenomenal on the West Coast, over \$100.

From Chicago

Raya arrived from California Wednesday, April 9, at 4 p.m. and by 8 she was speaking again—on *Communism and Marxism: The Russian Revolution to Czechoslovakia*, before 200 people at the University of Chicago. The sponsors were amazed at the turnout.

The next day a lecture on *Women's Liberation* was sponsored by WRAP and SDS. About 50 people were present, the majority women, including some black women. The talk was taped and I want to transcribe it for those who missed it and a group in Madison who have already asked for it. The first part of the lecture about how capitalism degrades the most fundamental of all relations, that of man and woman, to one of possession, speaks to many of the new women's groups. Her discussion of the lack of women theoreticians speaks to all women revolutionaries.

On Sunday, the IWW sponsored a lecture on *Race and Class* at a Coffee House on the near North Side. The audience ranged from

old to young, wobblies, hippies, students and teachers—about 75 in all.

All the lectures were well-attended and well-received, and lit sales totaled \$75 for the five days. Best of all, I think the tour here showed that the New Leftists are getting interested in philosophy in a more serious way.

From Madison

About 100 turned out to a meeting sponsored by the Student Union, where Raya spoke on *Philosophy and Revolution*. The discussion was lively and several want to attend the News & Letters Committee Conference in fall . . .

From New York, New Jersey

The first lecture here was at New York University. The second was at Columbia . . . When Raya spoke at our own meeting on Columbia campus, on *Youth Revolts*, we discovered that SDS was holding their General Assembly at the same time, and on top of that a wildcat had broken out at Mahwah and the workers sent a call for student support on the picket lines, which most of us answered. Nevertheless, over 50 people attended the lecture and the discussion was very good. An all-day *Philosophical Conference* showed how deep were the interests and concerns with theory.

The discussion at Rutgers the next week, where Raya spoke on *Philosophy and Revolution in East Europe* was also excellent.

From Oberlin

The fact that the date of Raya's lecture at Oberlin on *Lenin and Trotsky as Theoreticians* was May 5, made it possible to celebrate Marx's birthday in a very fine fashion . . . 100 attended and the discussion was not merely theoretical, but very concretely on the state of youth revolt. It was obvious they wanted to discuss the organizational consequences of both the black revolution and the student revolt . . .

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Excerpts from a Lecture

HUMANISM AND MARXISM

Marx's theory of liberation was unique in a way which illustrates why this discoverer of what has been called the materialist conception of history insisted on calling his philosophy a new Humanism which, as he put it, is "distinguished both from idealism and materialism and at the same time constitutes their unifying truth."

On Religion, Alienation and Science

Take the question of religion. No doubt all of you know Marx's famous statement that religion is the opiate of the people. But how many know the context in which the expression appeared? It is one of the most beautiful passages in Marx's writings which discloses how human was his materialism, how majestic the historic sweep of his demand "to unmask human self-alienation in its secular form now that it has been unmasked in its sacred form." Here is the whole passage:

Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of men, is a demand for their real happiness . . .

Religion is only the illusory sun about which man revolves so long as he does not revolve about himself . . .

Man makes religion; religion does not make man. Religion is indeed man's self-consciousness and self-awareness so long as he has not found himself or has lost himself again. But man is not an abstract being, squatting outside the world. Man is the human world, state society.

This Humanist view is what compelled him not only to separate himself from the religious view but also from the "vulgar" atheists. Instead, it was "the human world, state, society" that preoccupied him. Naturally, the human world is, primarily, concerned with, engaged in, material production. This is what Marx meant by "material"—the basic and primary conditions of human existence. Rooted in material production, in the relations of men at the point of production, are the legal property relations as well as its philosophic concepts.

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence," wrote Marx in the most often quoted, and most misunderstood statement of his position, "but, on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness." Far from there being anything mechanical about this materialist conception of history, the truth that social existence determines consciousness is not a confining wall, but a doorway to the future, as well as an appreciation of the past, of how men molded history. Humanizing the Hegelian dialectic which, though openly declared to be the "source of all dialectic," seemed to limit itself to thought alone as if thoughts were something "outside" the human being. Marx wrote that same year, regarding the Silesian weavers' strike: "The wisdom of the German poor stands in inverse ratio to the wisdom of poor Germany."

PIVOTAL TO the Hegelian concept of dialectical development through contradiction and to the Marxian concept of the materialist conception of history is this: the more degraded the worker, the more oppressed, the more alienated, the greater is his "quest for universality." In this "quest for universality," in this striving for freedom and the reconstitution of the wholeness of man, the proletariat transforms reality itself.

Marx's insistence that this was a scientific philosophy was backed up not alone with factual data, but, above all, with historic movement. Thus, in contrast to utopian socialism and to mechanical materialism, Marx's view was that there is neither anything "automatic" about the inevitability of socialism, nor "glorious" about science; it all depended on the human subject, on the revolutionary compulsions of the proletariat to transform reality by undermining the existing order and creating the new one.

Marx's vision of the pluri-dimensional in man as well as the creativity of his energies and passions—"the energizing principle," he called it—came from the historic concept that masses in motion, not individual genius, are both passion for freedom transformed into energy and manifestation of universal "Reason." Reason and Revolution are the inseparables in the transformation of reality. Never, for a single instant, did he take his eyes off the actual class struggles that would decide the fate of men. Just as it was men who made religion, not religion men, so it was they who developed science, not science them. The human being, not science, was the stuff of revolution.

LONG BEFORE Einstein formulated the principle of transformation of mass into energy and showed that all elementary particles are made of the same stuff, energy—as against the 19th century concept of matter, the 20th century holds that "Matter exists because energy assumes the form of elemental particles" — Marx warned against the direction science had been taking. A century before the atom was split, and out of it came not so much the greatest energy force on earth as the most destructive, Marx, in 1844, wrote: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie."

We have been living this lie ever since with the result that Man, not just figuratively, but literally, faces his own destruction. The destructive forces come not only from science, but from the class structure of society. Indeed, it is the class structure which determines the direction of science, even as it is this class structure which spews out of its dying self racism.

The American Roots of Marxism: Against Racism

Truth is always concrete, wrote the most idealist of bourgeois philosophers, Hegel. In practicing that principle, the most revolu-

(Continued on Page 7)

**SUBSCRIBE TO AND WRITE FOR
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**End the Division Between Mental and
Manual Labor**

Doing and Thinking

Many GI Protestors Join L.A. Easter Anti-War March

By Bernard Wendell

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—There was a greater seriousness and significance to the anti-war march here on Easter Sunday than is usual for Los Angeles. As in San Francisco, the march and the rally that followed emphasized the vital struggle of the American G.I. against the war.

This was in sharp contrast both to last April's march through downtown L.A., which left many of the participants wondering why they were attending just another peace march where nothing new was accomplished, and to October's MacArthur Park rally, where many demonstrators seemed to be more interested in brawling with the cops up on street than in listening to the speakers down the hill.

THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE

I witnessed a humorous incident. Many people waiting for the march, mainly students, covered the outside wall of Liberty Savings. One group was sitting higher up on the bank's sign. A guard came out of the building and motioned them aside. He smiled, "You can't cover the word 'Liberty,'" he said. The amused protesters moved.

At about 2 p.m., after vigorous chanting and drumming on the wall, the march began down Wilshire Blvd. It was led by soldiers carrying the "G.I.s Against the War" banner and the American flag, followed by the black flag and the red flag. The soldiers were out of uniform but wore white caps with red lettering to identify themselves.

The first 40 minutes of the march were quite peaceful; we chanted, "Hell no, we won't go!" and invited the people watching us on the sidewalk to join us. A few of them did.

When the vanguard of the march reached Lafayette Park, however, there was trouble. A fairly large group of Cuban emigres threw stones and attacked our line. We were also attacked by some members of the "Iron Cross Motorcycle Club," who charged, screaming obscenities and trying to provoke a fight.

When we at last reached MacArthur Park, we were greeted by Airman 1/C Floyd Hof of March Airforce Base, who told us that he had informed his commanding officer, his psychiatrist, and his chaplain that he would never support the war in Vietnam.

SOLDIERS SPOKE

Many soldiers from the Air Force and other services spoke against the war. Some of them had already been to Vietnam where they learned to hate the war and then returned; some had not yet gone and promised they never would go.

Their experiences with the Army, both in Vietnam and at home, and their emphasis on the fact that since the Paris negotiations began, one-third of the American soldiers killed have died and more bombs have dropped on South Vietnam than ever before, shattered the fairly widespread American fantasy that "the war is over."

The soldiers stressed how isolated the Army tries to make them feel and how desperately it tries to prevent them from getting together to oppose the war, either with fellow-soldiers or with civilians. They were very enthused by the solidarity of the marchers behind them and with them.

PRESIDIO 27

They also talked about the Presidio 27, military prisoners

tried for mutiny because they had a sit-in to protest intolerable conditions when no one would listen to them and when a suicidal prisoner was shot to death trying to escape. One of the prisoners' lawyers also spoke on this subject.

Bishop Pike, the rebel Episcopalian priest, delivered a fiery anti-Vietnam war speech. He plunged the rally into laughter when he compared the U.S. involvement in Vietnam to that of a virtuous man who goes to a brothel, where he first feels guilty, then finds he is impotent, and then discovers that he can't even pay. "We shouldn't do it, we can't do it, and we can't afford it. I think that's a good enough reason not to do anything," said Pike.

MAO OUT OF PLACE

Finally, just before the rally broke up, a Black Panther spoke. His comments on America were correct and non-racist. However, he then brought in a completely unnecessary and exaggerated reference to Mao, whose Little Red Book he called "The invisible and invincible weapon of 700 million Chinese."

There was relatively little response to this and many of the demonstrators, myself included, felt sure that it was entirely irrelevant to our march and our struggle.

On this ambiguous note the return march began.

WSU Student Assistants Organize

DETROIT, Mich.—Student assistants at most universities are being messed up by the administration. Wayne State University in Detroit is no exception. The difference is that the student assistants on this campus, particularly those working in the library, are not standing still.

A group of the library workers have banded together and are organizing to form a student assistants' union.

The Library Workers Union Organizing Committee (LWUOC) is now engaged in a struggle which may ultimately affect all students on campus. This fight is the ever-present battle for better conditions at work. These fall into three main categories — 1. wages, which are far below what is needed for a decent standard of living. 2. The need for a grievance procedure. 3. A guaranteed minimum number of hours per week.

WAGES

In the area of wages, any other part-time campus worker receives at least \$1.45 per hour as starting pay (already too low) as opposed to \$1.35 for the part-time library worker. Part-time workers at the Detroit Public Library, who are at the university level academically, as we are, receive \$1.85 per hour to start. After three months they automatically receive a raise to \$1.90, and three months later to \$1.95.

Many library workers do not work as many hours as they would like to. Working ten or 15 hours a week, these workers are, faced with the ridiculous



Students at Wildcats Talk About Unity of Action With Striking Auto Workers

Mahwah Ford

Columbia Univ., N.Y. — I never sensed any feeling on the part of the workers at Mahwah that we were "outsiders" and shouldn't be there. Only two workers publicly questioned our presence there, early in the strike, and several other workers immediately got up and defended us.

There seemed a natural feeling of mutual alliance between white radical youth and workers. The workers had asked for our aid. And the support groups—so far—have been good about following the workers' lead, instead of trying to shape the struggle in their own image. They were especially important in helping to get the wildcat off the ground, and breaking down the isolation of the struggle that otherwise might have developed.

A LOT TO LEARN

Few of the whites, however, have gone over and tried to talk to any of the workers — N&L members excepted. I think it reveals a failure on the part of white students to realize how much they could learn from talking to the guys in the plant. But students at Columbia have been coming up to me and asking about the wildcat and Mahwah. The interest is definitely there. From the very beginning of the

wildcat there seemed no animosity towards the white workers in the plant, but rather a persistent recognition of the importance of white/black solidarity on labor issues. At the union-hall meetings I attended, it was the rank and file that first started to talk of the "struggle for human rights" and "our white brothers," though the initial interest of the UBB leadership was in the specifically black aspects of the conditions in the Mahwah plant.

NEED FOR SOLIDARITY

These are workers, not students, who are engaged in a struggle where to fight means to risk losing one's job, where the necessity of "winning" and the immediacy of the "repression" (a word student radicals use a lot, but have scarcely experienced) should they lose, brings home the

Chrysler Sterling

Detroit, Mich. — SDS received a call from one of the wildcat strikers on Monday night asking for our support. The wildcat had been going on since the Thursday night shift had walked off over unsafe working conditions. The chapter voted to support the wildcat and went down to the picket lines.

One of the first reactions I received from the workers was mistrust and laughter. (Here were the students to right old wrongs.) However, after consistently being on the lines, morning, afternoon and night, as were other students from Ann Arbor, the laughter and mistrust changed.

LINES OF COMMUNICATION

As a safeguard to the wildcaters, we sometimes manned the picket line for them because the company was trying to take pictures of all the strikers. By Tuesday evening there were real lines of communication opened between ourselves and the workers. Talks were ranging from racism, to students' feelings as opposed to workers' feelings, to what your favorite beer was.

realization that solidarity is an absolute necessity.

There was no talk of adventurous tactics, no romantic quasi-masochistic desire to get arrested, and a consistent concern to reach the white workers, in order to counter the rumors that both the union and management were spreading inside the plant!

The fact that hundreds of workers will risk their jobs and stay out of the plant for a week (so far) over this issue entirely belies that oft-quoted assertion by the intelligentsia that workers are only interested in money. None—absolutely none—of the demands put forth by the UBB brings up the issue of money. All revolve around the question of the right to be treated as human beings on the job. The black movement as a whole is very important to this particular struggle.

The men I talked to seemed to recognize the significance of the black caucus movement in Detroit. (The Sterling strikers were mostly white.) They all seemed to realize who their real enemy was.

Each one gave his personal feelings about the Doug Fraser's (head of Chrysler section of union who had ordered men back to work), and Walter Reuther's sell-out of their local for the last three years. Each recounted bitterly exactly how "democratic" their local was.

After one more uneventful night (there were no busts as there had been previously) the International called a meeting of the local. The men on the picket line invited us to come. The local voted to go back to work on the assumption that the 70 men fired would be reinstated to their jobs through the force of the International.

Some of the strike leaders felt that the International would probably back down during negotiations, and also had a firm belief that the local must have autonomy. They hoped to continue the strike. However, the next morning, the workers did go in and the wildcat was over for the moment.

—N&L Student Picket

THE

MARYLAND

FREEDOM UNION

WORKERS DOING AND THINKING

by Mike Flug Price: 15c

Order from: News & Letters,
415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201

—LWUOC Organizer

Berets Are Organizing Chicanos in Detroit

Detroit, Mich. — The Brown Berets is an organization of young Chicanos who are no longer accepting the role that white America has assigned Chicanos to play. Our main purpose here in Detroit is to organize the Chicano community around getting a more equal share of what this society has; to exchange this society for a better one.

The motto of the Berets is to serve, observe and protect: to serve orally or physically in the interest of the brown community; to observe all government agencies, national or local, especially the police, to see that Chicanos get fair treatment; and by protect we mean to protect our community by any means necessary. If possible non-violently, if not, any way the establishment will have it.

GONZALES' CASE

The Detroit chapter is an outgrowth of the main chapter of the Brown Berets in Los Angeles, which was organized during the high school blow-outs about a year and a half ago.

At present we are deeply involved in the Fernando Gonzales' case. He was a 16 year old youth who was arrested at a party where he had been drinking. Witnesses say he was hit by the police with a black jack, although the police claim he fell and hurt himself. Three days later he died.

On April 10th, the Brown Berets held a demonstration at police headquarters, at which 125 people took part. We met with the police

commissioner's assistant and asked that there be a Civilian Review Board investigation into the Gonzales case. He said he would give us an answer, but we haven't got one yet.

We are now in the process of passing around a petition asking for the Civilian Review Board and leaflets in the community letting people know what type of justice a brown man can expect in this city.

OTHER PROGRAMS

At the same time we are also involved in other long range programs, such as educational ones in which we are trying to educate the Chicano community both on a cultural level and a political one. We have a program around the high schools. Already half our organization is high school students.

We later hope to get with brothers in the plants and build caucuses like the black brothers are

doing. At present we actively support the farm workers' grape boycott and their efforts to get decent wages and working conditions.

We also later hope to get into programs more basic to our community such as rent control, welfare, consumer protection etc. But we are still a young organization and still have to grow.

We are looking for and will accept dialogue with the black community and whites, as long as they too are after the same goals we are. But as stated before, we are more interested in organizing the brown community first.

The Detroit Chapter of the Brown Berets is located at 2500 Howard on the west side. We welcome all, especially Chicanos to come down and find out more about the Berets.

Minister of Information
Brown Berets

Wilkins Hits Young Blacks; Forgets Where Fight Is At

Detroit, Mich.—Roy Wilkins spoke in Detroit recently at the NAACP Freedom Dinner. His whole talk was on black people. He called the ideas of the young blacks wild. At the same time he said that the world needs young people with ideas. However, he wants young blacks to do like he has been doing, to adopt his ideas—to

wait for a change like he has been waiting.

But it was not until young people, black and white, started with their "wild ideas" that any change came. He forgot to mention this. Mr. Wilkins said that old people have been fighting for years. But what did they receive until young people joined in the fight with their ideas to get what we have today?

\$50,000 VS. \$2,000

Mr. Wilkins makes about 50 grand a year and goes around the world with all expenses paid. He lives in a fine home. But Mr. Wilkins forgot to say that there are poor people in America. They have to watch him and others enjoy life and hope one day everything will be ok. But young and old people realize this will never happen until you force this white man to share the pie.

Mr. Wilkins said that guns should not be used on the university campus. But it is the whites who first have had guns on campus to keep the blacks from attending.

Mr. Wilkins didn't say why there was so much trouble. He didn't speak about the people in America who make less than \$2,000 a year and support a family on it.

These people pay the same price for food as he does, and he makes \$50,000. He forgot to mention the vast majority of black people and the many many white people who make less than \$10,000 a year but still pay the same for clothes, foods, car, gas, electricity and so on. Some of these people pay more taxes than a man who has millions of dollars.

POOR WON'T WAIT

The poor people are realizing what is happening. They are the people whose money runs the country but who have been treated like dirt. And they want this to come to a halt. They will no longer listen to people like Mr. Wilkins who want us to still believe everything will be ok if we just wait and don't do something for ourselves.

Mr. Wilkins forgot to say that there will be trouble in America, and the world, until justice flows like a mighty stream of water and shines like the sun from the heaven on man; until we are all treated like people no matter what the color of our skin.

I think he should have been trying to unify the people who are struggling for freedom and liberation from the hands of their oppressor instead of hitting out at young people's "wild ideas."

—John Hanson

TWO WORLDS

HUMANISM AND MARXISM

(Continued from Page 5)

tionary philosopher, Marx, appeared "non-materialistic" to the self-styled American Marxists who tried evading the actual Civil War by covering themselves with the abstraction that they were opposed to "all slavery, wage and chattel."

Marx's reply to these would-be adherents was that, if this was Marxism, he was not a Marxist. Truth is always concrete. The greater affinity of ideas turned out to be between Marx and the American Abolitionists, both regarding their total opposition to slavery and their recognition that what defaced America could only be regenerated through association with black revolutionaries. Or, as the great New England Oppositionist, Wendell Phillips, put it, Oppositionists were 10 feet tall because they stood on the shoulders of the Negro slaves following the North Star to freedom.

Long before the civil war was in the offing, Marx argued that intellectuals were held in tow by the ruling class in their unawareness of the origins of language itself and use of certain words. Thus, they used the word, Negro, and the word, slave, as if they were synonyms. "A Negro is a Negro," Marx argued. "He only becomes a slave under certain conditions." Conditions created, not by them, but their exploiters, who, furthermore, exuded the racist language as rationale for continuation of slavery.

* * *

THE YEAR was 1847. By the time John Brown led the attack on Harper's Ferry (on January 11, 1860), Marx wrote Engels that the biggest event in the world was "the movement of the slaves in America started by the death of John Brown." When, the following year, the Civil War finally broke out, Marx threw himself into the battle spreading the words of the American Abolitionists in England and in Germany. The British proletariat had self-mobilized itself to stop their bourgeoisie from flirting with the Southern oligarchy. Under the impact of the Civil War in the United States and the strikes in Britain and France as well as the Polish rebellion, the first International Working Men's Association was established, with Karl Marx in its leadership.

Nor was the International's support of the North limited to writing letters to President Lincoln, or even extolling Abolitionism. No, it transformed, that is to say, made more concrete Marx's concepts of labor's self-development, by extending them to the question of race: "Labor in the white skin cannot be free so long as labor in the black skin is branded." This wasn't mere rhetoric. Marx proved its truth by showing that it was only after the abolition of slavery that the first national trade union was established in the United States. And this National Labor Union headed by Sylvius soon joined the International Working Men's Association. Deep indeed are the American roots of Marxism. Their long burial can no more exorcise them from American history than the exorcism of the true history of black revolt could withstand today's tidal wave of revolts.

* * *

MARX LIVED at just such a time of crisis as we are witness to today. That is what makes him so contemporary. He has something to say to us. Let us listen. Marx was asked why had he broken with bourgeois society into which he had been born; what need had he to become a radical? His answer was that no man is whole when the social order is so alien, and to end alienations, one must become a radical, for "To be a radical means to grasp something at its root. The root of mankind is man."

It still is.

Administrators Disrupt Education

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—There is something about the whole school system that makes a teacher feel he is being caught in a wedge that gets tighter and tighter with the passing of years. The more a teacher conforms to the status quo the happier he will be and the less resistance he will get. I find that there is no place for individuality and less for creativity.

Last semester during the Mexican student walk-outs and the resulting polarization of the east-side faculties many liberal and radical-minded teachers were afraid to voice their opinions as a result of the high-pitched atmosphere of reaction.

This shaky feeling of losing one's job for taking a radical stand is a result of the reactionary administrators. The system is top-heavy with administrators. It seems that the larger the school system becomes, twice as many administrators are needed to tell the teacher and students what to do. This is becoming unbearable for the classroom teacher and deadly for the subject matter he must teach.

As it is we have the students for forty-five minutes a day. The constant interruptions caused by the administration in the form of shortened schedules, roll call, monotonous assemblies, athletic events, etc., etc., all cut the class period down to a minimal

period in which we are to teach our subject matter.

The antiquated system of home room with roll calls, senseless bulletin reading, making out registration cards by the dozens for every office in the school is a waste of time and students know it.

During the course of the week there are constant mimeoed reminders from the counselor's office . . . not to mention the piles of trash that stream in from "downtown." These reminders, of course, originate from the administrator's desk as he sits in his easy chair divining methods for his next promotion which will ensure a boat for his next vacation.

High School Teacher
Los Angeles

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by
Raya Dunayevskaya

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Revolt Hits 100 Schools; Blacks Are In Forefront

(Continued from Page 1)

Cornell. Bomb threats were made against black students. Black students decided that they had to take action. They entered the hall at 6 a.m. on April 19, unarmed.

A few hours later a large group of frat boys attempted to break in and attack the demonstrators. It was at this point that the black students felt that they had no choice but to arm themselves in self-defense. No black student was violent at any point; only the defenders of "law and order" were.

BLACK STUDIES

The faculty at Cornell who resigned, complaining about the "violence," were trying to obscure the real demands of the black students, not only at Cornell, but at the scores of other schools where black student protests have begun. Two demands have stood out across the country: black studies and open admissions. The demand for black studies was raised in both the North and in the South, and college administrators quickly proclaimed that they were all for it — on their own terms.

Black students, however, demanded that they control the programs, because they know all too well that there is not a single educator in the United States who has not been brainwashed by white society. This the administrations could not accept.

Radicals for years have called for the teaching of the true history of the black people in the United States, and have gotten nowhere. But the mass activity of the black students in just a few weeks has forced every school to face this demand. The power of this demand to mobilize thousands of black students makes clear both the complete failure of "liberal" education, and the importance of understanding black history to the movement today.

Just as the demand for black history controlled by black students has infuriated the college administrations, so has the demand for open admission. Whether the demand has been for admission of "all black, Chicano, and Third World Students" who apply, or for "all working class students," the college presidents and boards of trustees have been absolutely opposed.

The result has been to make even more obvious the elite and racist nature of the American universities. At Cornell, for example, the black students number 250 out of a total enrollment of 14,000 — less than 2% of the student body. This is not unusual.

APRIL REVOLTS

Student revolts in April have shown the beginnings of a new relationship between black and white on campus. At Cornell, a massive sit-in by thousands of white students turned the tide of faculty opinion in support of the black demonstrators, after a previous faculty vote had called for a hard line. At Harvard, the demonstration called by SDS was joined by black students who added a student-controlled black studies program to the original demands.

And even where there wasn't actual unity, the combined actions of black and white students made the offensive much stronger than it could have been otherwise.

A new and sometimes conflicting relationship was also begun between the activists and the "moderates," about whom the Nixon administration is always talking. At Harvard, the sit-in begun by a few hundred was turned into a massive strike of thousands, as moderates joined

to act against the brutality of the police raid, in which 50 were hospitalized, and against the revelation of Harvard's CIA ties in the documents captured and published by the demonstrators.

Nixon, however, has not given up on the moderates. His administration has been trying desperately to revive a mood of old time McCarthyism, by encouraging the worst and most racist elements on the campuses. At a few schools he has had some success, but for the most part even the moderates don't want him. He has done nothing but alienate youth and blacks since he took office.

The moderates have not been the only new group which has failed to go Nixon's way. The revolt has reached down into the high schools and even into grammar schools. In New York City, black, Puerto Rican and white high school students have staged hundreds of separate walkouts, demanded new courses and new teachers, and published scores of underground papers.

WORKERS, STUDENTS

Another headache for Nixon is the appearance of new links between workers and students. At Michigan State University, black students occupied the cafeteria for two days and won the demotion of racist supervisors who had discriminated against black workers. They demanded promotion not only for the black workers who were harassed, but also for the white workers who supported the blacks.

This new relationship has extended to workers outside the university as well. Students supported auto workers, wildcats at Sterling Heights, Mich., and at Mahwah N.J. (See stories on pp. 1, 6). All of these actions have driven more nails into the coffin of the university as it used to be.

There was a time, not too long ago, when despite the class nature of the institutions of higher learning, they remained a preserve of free thought, at least when it was encased in ivory towers. Thus, a Dr. Pusey of Harvard, at a high stage in the Cold War, still knew how to keep the doors of his school closed to Senator Joseph McCarthy. Now, he is the one who brings the cops onto his elite campus to revenge himself on the SDS students who would expose Harvard's CIA connections.

OLD UNIVERSITY

The presidents, the boards of trustees and regents, the senior faculty — all those who are determined to preserve the old, elitist and racist concepts of a university — are engaged in an even more frantic rearguard action. Seven state legislatures have in recent months passed new laws to punish student rebels. Police have been brought onto campus after campus where they have never been before. Several schools have taken to the old anti-labor tactic of getting an injunction from a friendly judge to oust protestors from campus buildings.

All these measures will, of course, harass the movement. That is what they are designed to do. But the tide of history is just not on Nixon's side.

The police who have been sent rampaging over campuses large and small, black and white, Ivy-League and city college — will soon realize that the Movement has gained a great momentum of its own. The bourgeois institutions of education have been so thoroughly shaken up already, that they can never return to "business as usual." At the same time the Movement will, of necessity, develop Reason far beyond campus borders.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

The Fall of DeGaulle

The first to cushion the shock of De Gaulle's fall was his alleged opponent who became acting President, Alain Poher. Instead of dismissing, he maintained the Gaullist Cabinet headed by Premier Maurice Couve de Murville who had been the very one to threaten "chaos" if the electorate dared vote "No" to De Gaulle's demands for authoritarian "reforms" of the Cabinet.

The second shock absorber was provided by the Communist Party and the unions led by it who had willingly consented not to go through with the traditional May 1 celebrations "in order not to provoke the Right." And while the so-called Left were "preparing for 1972," Gaullists promptly rallied around Pompidou.

As unceremoniously as De Gaulle had dismissed Premier Pompidou just as soon as he showed he could put the reins on the restless French proletariat last May with promises of concessions, so the cynical bourgeoisie tipped the scales against De Gaulle now that they were sure there was going to be no revolution.

It is true that the Left likewise voted against De Gaulle's move to further arbitrary rule. And, just as soon as the "No" vote of the electorate was known, many took to the streets to celebrate. The greater truth, however, is that once the near-revolution of last May was aborted, those

elements led, and could only lead, not only to a new lease on life for the bourgeoisie, but to also infuse in it a new confidence of being able to do without the strong man who twice saved them from revolution, but now had become an impediment in the way of "free enterprise."

Thus, the cost of "20 year indicative planning" and "force frappe" only proved that France was but half the economic power of Germany.

Thus, maintaining French glory included France devoting 1.64 percent of national revenue to French Africa where super-rich America would not even give anywhere near 1 percent of its national income to the Third World.

Thus, the May events which had truly shaken up France meant that now De Gaulle would have to go through with his "profit sharing plan" with workers whereas, as Paul Huelin, President of the National Council of Employers, euphemistically put it, what was needed was "restoring the competitiveness of our enterprises." Of course, this is its illusion that it can both do without De Gaulle and without mass support, but the bourgeoisie is ready to play Russian roulette. Trade, tourism, and investment will surely come back—they hope, especially if they make the proper obeisance to NATO, the Common Market, and "European unity."

It will first now be seen,

however, that it wasn't De Gaulle, but continental Europe, who opposed Great Britain's entry into the Common Market while maintaining its own "Commonwealth." It will first now be seen that capitalist Europe is as little prepared for "unity" with itself, as China is for unity with Russia.

As for the seeming sudden softness of West Germany that says it is now ready to revalue the mark—something it refused to do when there was the run on French gold after last May — the liberal New Statesman was right when it wrote (May 2) that "another summer of money chasing short-term profits from country to country could put a far worse strain on the international monetary system than an end-of-term revaluation would put on the West German Government."

The truly new in De Gaulle's fall is not so much that he has lost out to the class he has so well represented till now, but that France, as a whole, has lost out to West Germany that will now begin to assert its superior economic strength throughout Europe. It has ever been so when a revolutionary situation has been missed as was the case last Spring.

The point now is: can the unity of student and labor, achieved briefly in France last May, be recaptured and extended in Europe, especially West Germany?

Soviet Anti-Semitism

Trofim K. Kichko writes dirty anti-Semitic books which are published in the Soviet Union. To do this he must have the permission of the Government, which controls such matters. Since they permit it, they must endorse his views.

In 1963, Kichko wrote "Judaism Without Embellishment." 12,000 copies were published. It was universally attacked by clear headed people in the "West" and even by leading European and American Communists. In 1964 even the Soviet Communist Party attacked him for his anti-Semitism, but he is back in favor.

His new book, "Judaism and Zionism" is now published in Ukrainian by the Enlightenment Society of Kiev, a government-sponsored agency for the advancement of knowledge.

The first edition of 60,000 copies signifies this crudely anti-Semitic work as having the government seal of approval. The reasons are obvious. The Soviet support of the feudal Arab oil kingdoms demands that the Arab people devote their energies toward the destruction of Israel, rather than overthrow their own Arab theocratic feudal regimes. Without a word of criticism of the reactionary Arab governments, the book, instead, makes Zionism and Jews synonymous, seeing theocracy only in Israel: "Judaism and Zionism have become the ideological foundations of the militaristic semi-theocratic regime in Israel and its aggressive actions directed against the Arab peoples in the Near East."

It would be interesting to

hear from Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, and Luigi Longo, who holds the same post in the Italian party, both of whom condemned Kichko in the past.

Irish Revolt

Open conflict between the Catholic minority and the Protestant Government of Northern Ireland has been raging for weeks. The demonstrators, demanding full civil rights—one man one vote and a radical revision of the housing laws—have brought about the resignation of Premier Terrence O'Neill and the election to the British Parliament of Bernadette Devlin, a 21-year-old girl, a civil rights worker from Mid-Ulster.

In this day and age, only property owners are permitted to vote. And for the poverty-stricken Catholics, home ownership is almost impossible.

Miss Bernadette Devlin came on the political scene through the struggle for civil rights. A seat in Parliament opened up through the death of the member from Mid-Ulster. Her campaign started only 11 days before the election when Kevin Agnew, the Republican candidate, withdrew, leaving the field open to the Unionist government candidate. Running as an independent, she appealed for unity and justice and won the election by 4,300 votes.

She took Parliament by storm and made her maiden speech on the day she was seated, an act unprecedented in the House of Commons. "There never was born an Englishman who understands the Irish people" she exclaimed. "I came here to speak for the poor people, Protestant as well as Catho-

lic, all oppressed by the society of landlords who, by ancient charter of Charles II, still hold the rights of ordinary people of Northern Ireland over such things as fishing rights and the paying of the most ridiculous and exorbitant land rents, although their families have lived for generations on their land."

She had taken her seat fresh from the rioting in Bogside, the Catholic slum of Londonderry. "I was building barricades to keep the police out of Bogside," she told Parliament, "because I knew it was not safe for them to come in. I saw that night on the Bogside with my own eyes, 1,000 policemen come in a military formation to that economically and socially distressed area, six, then 12 abreast, like wild Indians screaming their heads off to terrorize the inhabitants."

Under the Special Powers Act of Northern Ireland, the police are permitted to arrest without warrant; imprison without charge or trial; enter and search homes without warrant at any hour; declare curfews and prohibit all meetings; permit punishment by flogging; deny trial by jury; deny legal advice to prisoners; prohibit inquests; prohibit circulation of any newspaper; arrest any person on suspicion alone.

Although Premier O'Neill made some attempt to have his ultra-conservative Unionist Party grant some of the demands of the Catholic minority, his party would not concede that anything was wrong and he was forced to resign. His successor, Robert Chichester-Clark, is a spineless unknown politician who is not likely to change conditions for the Catholic minority.