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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Negro Mayors Face Vital Issues

Many Negroes were holding their breath during the days before the mayoralty elections, in Cleveland, Ohio and Gary, Indiana. Many had their doubts that either Carl Stokes, the Negro candidate in Cleveland, or Richard Hatcher, the Gary candidate, would win. Some felt Hatcher didn't have a chance after his white Democratic Party leaders refused to support him or give him financial help, throwing their support to the Republican, instead. They felt that this alone was enough to defeat him, and when those same white Democratic Party leaders began both a vicious red-baiting campaign and a campaign to pin the Black Nationalist tag on him, his chances seemed zero.

NEGROES JUBILANT OVER VICTORY

In Cleveland, the racial tension was not as great, at least it was not so much out in the open, as in Gary. But there, too, many of the white Democratic Party leaders rushed over to support the Republican opponent instead of the Negro Democrat. The publicity and the support of the press, however, seemed to indicate he would win, maybe even in a landslide. But Negroes, knowing the slimy deals and maneuvers that white politicians always make, felt there was a good possibility that Stokes could be defeated also.

The day after the election, many Negro auto workers in our plant came in saying, "Did you hear the good news? Stokes and Hatcher won!" Others said they couldn't believe it. One worker said, "Man, we have two mayors, and they're not fake—like those appointed by some city commission or big shot." He called Stokes and Hatcher "Soul Brother Mayors." There was also happiness over the defeat of Louise Day Hicks in Boston. One worker said, "This proves that all whites in his country haven't swallowed that old white backlash."

BLACK AND WHITE VOTES BOTH NEEDED

Some workers were wondering how the election would affect the preaching of the Black Nationalists. One worker brought a paper into the plant the next week and read out the statement of a black nationalist leader from it. It stated that Negroes in America should not look to the election of Stokes and Hatcher as some great progress, or to the 20% of the white votes both claimed they received as proof that good whites had helped elect the Negroes. It stated that Stokes and Hatcher were elected only because the Negroes (or Black People, as they prefer to put it) put them in office.

This worker said, "They must not have heard of the small margin of votes that both Stokes and Hatcher won by. It would have been impossible for either to win without those white votes." Another said, "I've tried hard to understand the black nationalist position, but the more I try, the more I'm confused. There are many things they say that I understand, and agree with—especially when they point out the actions of race-hating whites, and the Uncle Toms among most of our leading Negroes, who are always ready to sell their birthright to the Whites and keep the rest of the Negroes in line. But I get confused when they start talking about separation."

"Take the question of Negroes in athletics," he went on. "If you point out that before the late forties, we had a Negro baseball league and a white baseball league in this country and you ask them whether they want to return to those days, they will say no. They say what they want is for Negroes in all fields of athletics to control that sport. It takes millions of dollars to own and control most of the leading sports. Where is the Negro who has those millions? What are the black nationalist leaders saying? That the system should stay as it is, but the white owners should give the parks to the Negroes to control?" He shook his head and then said, "You know, I can understand the KKK and the race-hating whites, and I know what they are after—but I just don't know what the black nationalists are after."

WHAT IF NOTHING CHANGES?

As glad as workers were to see Stokes and Hatcher win, because they are Negroes, some nevertheless wondered how much more individual freedom people would have than they had before. If nothing changes under their administration—or if it gets worse—their happiness could easily change to resentment. One worker said, when he read that all of Stokes' appointments to leading jobs so far have been whites, "I feel he is doing this to show he is not a black nationalist, and to get more white support for himself. But he could wind up losing his Negro support, especially what they call 'grass roots' support, if Negroes find there is no difference in having a Negro for mayor, insofar as their own conditions of life go."

"What Negroes want is freedom and human justice," said another worker, "the same rights that whites have, the same opportunities that whites have. Let's face it, man, the crime rate is awful among us today—just as bad, if not worse than it is among whites. I'm as afraid of a Negro hoodlum as I am of a white. Every day or night I'm told of some Negro getting shot or killed by another Negro." He said, "I am against the stop and frisk law, because I know the police will abuse it, and use it against Negroes especially. But something is needed badly to stop the robbing and killing that is going on among us today. It is a dreadful time for society."

"What we need," I said, "instead of so many laws, is a totally new society, the kind that will let us have the individual human freedom and justice you spoke of."

"Yes," he replied, "We need it badly. And we need it now."

Auto Contracts Don't Touch Most Important Issue: Work Conditions

Never before in the history of the United Auto Workers were the rank-and-file forced to vote on a contract that no worker—not even local union officers—had seen in complete form. Yet this is exactly what President Walter Reuther and his bureaucrats demanded of the 103,000 Chrysler workers. Never before in the history of the UAW were workers asked to ratify a contract inside plants—with the company's blessing and even on company time—or at plant gates, instead of at a regularly called union meeting where workers could openly and freely discuss the provisions of a contract before voting on it. Yet this is exactly what the top to bottom union

bureaucrats approved and even helped to set up to steamroller the Chrysler workers' votes.

Past procedure had always been that the contract was printed and distributed to the rank-and-file in plenty of time to study it. Then a special meeting was called by the local union just to consider the contract and then vote on it. This did not happen, but more than that, the workers also did not know what local plant agreements dealing with local grievances had been made between local officers and plant management.

WORK CONDITIONS

Local grievances are working conditions, however, and are national issues. Nobody knows this better than Reuther and the auto companies. This was conclusively demonstrated in 1964 when the GM workers went out on strike after the national contract had been negotiated because the hundreds of thousands of GM local grievances had not been settled.

The power of local grievances was again clearly shown in the recent two-month Ford strike that began on Sept. 1. Whereas the national Ford agreement was signed after five weeks of the strike, local grievances had been settled in only about half of the plants at that time.

Workers simply refused to go back to work until their local grievances were settled. It took fully three more weeks of negotiating around the clock between Ford plant management and local union officials (with Reuther also putting pressure on the locals) before grievances were settled and production could start again at Ford.

At Ford, neither the company nor Reuther could force the workers to go back to work. They were already out on strike, authorized by the international union, and could effectively oppose both Reuther and Ford management.

LEARN FROM STRIKE

That both Chrysler management and Reuther learned much from the Ford strike can be seen in the changed strategy they used. Both were anxious to avoid a strike, and whether he knew it or not, Reuther's demands were actually far below what Chrysler would have been willing to meet. It was therefore easy for Chrysler to play the game to the last minute and then agree to Reuther's modest demands.

It didn't work. The power of workers' grievances over working conditions upset these plans because Chrysler workers went out on wildcat strikes across the country over local grievances and shut down Chrysler production.

And then the real Reuther stood up. To some 600 Chrysler truck drivers in Detroit who went out on a wildcat strike over 200 unsettled grievances, Reuther roared, "We're not going to tolerate anarchy. They're wrong. When people are on unauthorized action in violation of the UAW con-

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EDITORIAL

THE MOUSE THAT ROARED

On Nov. 27, at his 16th semi-annual press conference since he returned to power in 1958 and mutilated the French Republic to his authoritarian demands, de Gaulle, the head of a technologically advanced land, rich in history and culture, strategically situated at the very heart of Western Europe, began his well-rehearsed eloquent discourse against "the outside element, artificial and unilateral, weighing on our patrimony." From his self-styled Olympian heights, de Gaulle aimed to dethrone the American dollar and enthrone the king of metals, "the immutability, the impartiality and the universality that are characteristic of gold" and refused "even to negotiate" England's entry into the Common Market.

Above the din of de Gaulle's exhortations to turn back both the American "invasion" of the West European economy, and the British "degradation" that would "toll the Knell for the community," could be heard the moan that "the voice of France went unheard" in Israel. He failed to take note, however, of the fact that on this question "the voice went unheard," not only in Israel, but everywhere, including, above all, among the French people themselves. Just as they opposed the General's following the Russian Resolution reiterating the Arab line on the Arab-Israeli war in June, so now they detected an underlying anti-Semitism in his description of the Jewish people as an "elite people . . . sure of itself, domineering."

But the full descent from the sublimity of challenging "American hegemony" in world affairs to the bellicose but farcical attempt to detach Quebec from Canada became manifest as the clarion call for "independence" began to sound imperialistically paternal. He promised "the submerged peasants" (at Expo '67?) that France would never again "abandon her children."

No wonder people refused to take the mouse that roared for a lion!

GOLD AND THE STATE PLAN

De Gaulle should, however, be believed when he says it was not France that caused the pressures on the gold market. First, France doesn't have the gold with which to challenge the American \$13 billion gold bullion in Fort Knox. France couldn't even seriously upset the British pound as it contributed only nine percent of the gold pool—some \$63 million as against the \$700 million the pool was to have lent Britain to back up the falling British pound. Secondly, the "gold lobby," the speculators who have the ready bullion to shake the world exchange, are the

(Continued on Page 4)

Season's Greetings
to all our readers and friends

Milwaukee Commandos Give Court View of High Code

MILWAUKEE, Wisc. — It was a day of "judgment" for our Commandos, when they appeared on Oct. 31 before Judge Seraphim for past crimes in self-defense. In the words of Fr. Groppi, the judge acted like his usual jackass self, and for this reason the Commandos called a TV press conference in the basement of St. Boniface Church, inviting all of us marchers to come down to listen.

Here it was disclosed that the judge had told them to stop marching and to start working; he had been so maganimous, in fact, as to offer them jobs. The Commandos replied to him that you cannot pacify a man by offering him a job or by shoving green paper into his pocket. The judge did not seem to realize that we have definite aims.

It was further disclosed that he had ordered the stripes removed from the shirt of one Commando, and that he had then ordered the Commando to take off his shirt altogether. Now this Commando stood up in front of the TV camera and said that no judge could tell him to take off his shirt, whereupon he put on a new shirt, stripes included.

COMMANDO CODE

Then another Commando read off the indoctrination code of the Commandos, which must be understood by every youth who wants to become one:

1. To children the Commando must become the ideal and the hero.

2. To parents a Commando must represent someone who can be trusted.

3. To marchers a Commando must represent protection.

4. To other Commandos a Commando must represent brotherhood and support.

These four points are the ideological essence of this group; yet, the judge has called them hoodlums and criminals. As for myself, I have never come into contact with a greater group of people in this or any other city.

The judge has a particular grudge against them; he belongs to the Eagles Club, that abode of lily-white ignoramuses which originally caused the Commandos to be formed when it was picketed last year.

BARGAINING FAILS

He tried to bargain with them: If you stop marching I won't slap two years probation on your back.

What he does not realize is, that the Commandos are a moral group of human beings, who have attained a higher philosophy of life than his own dirty dealings in the gutter.

At the press conference the Commandos stood together in the defiance against all of his edicts and sinister dealings. They made crystal clear that they would pursue the road that had been started, because there simply was no turning back; the commitment was too solid to be shaken by bigotry.

Editor's Note: The marches have continued, daily, since August 28 and as we go to press are still going on.

Loud and Clear: Philly Police Brutality

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—A flying wedge of 200 uniformed police charged into a large mass of peacefully demonstrating black high school students, outside the offices of the Board of Education, while on the inside a delegation of 30 students was conferring with the highest officials of the school system.

When students tried to run from the police, the cops followed them right up the street, beating them. The unprovoked brutality of the attack was so self-evident that not only was the black community incensed, but the president of the Board of Education, former Mayor Dilworth, and the superintendent of schools, Dr. Shedd, who was meeting with the student delegation at the time, made a joint statement condemning the police action and the maneuverings of police commissioner Rizzo.

NO DISORDER

Dilworth said that the police commissioner "saw fit to loose a couple of hundred men, swinging clubs and beating children." He added that the opinion of the school clerical staff, who watched from the windows above, was "unanimous that there was no threat of disorder at the time the police charge took place."

The demonstration at the Board of Education building was the culmination of several weeks of demands by students at several

high schools for more attention to African and Afro-American history in the schools and more power by students over school policy.

But those demands are only the tip of an iceberg. The black students are questioning everything: leaders, goals, means, possibilities, and existing society in general.

They have much debate among themselves. They have no blind obedience to any leader. A student in one of my classes had an election poster touting Cecil Moore for mayor. Where the poster said, "All for Moore; Moore for All," he had changed it to say, "Some for Moore; Moore for None."

SEEK CHANGE

What these youth have is a great desire for change. Hatred for whites is not their dominating characteristic. At the same time they have a love for their own people.

It is shortsighted to contend, though, as have some of the black students' leaflets, that police brutality is something reserved for Negroes, though Negroes have long been its main victims. The history of this country and this city are liberally bespattered with instances of police brutality against striking workers of all races and nationalities, and against anti-war demonstrators.

What counts here are the thoughts and wishes of the black youth themselves. After a cop had rudely ordered three Negro youth off a street corner, cursing

them, a common enough event in the Black Ghetto, one of them wrote: "Things like this have got to be reported to as many of us as we can find and get them done away with or something. We cannot have this any more, never again, no more, not again, nope!"

This is the spirit of the whole movement. Together with others they have the power to change the world.

Admit Plan to Force British Joblessness

GLASGOW, Scotland—The cat is out of the bag. It is now admitted that the Government wants a permanent pool of unemployed workers.

The Tories, during their term of office, were often charged with having this aim in view. The last thing anyone expected was that the Labour Government would confess to such a crime.

ADMITS PLAN

The admission came from Mr. Callaghan, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. He said, of course, that the number of unemployed would drop next year but did not conceal his desire for a reserve army of unemployed. It was a damning admission, almost certain to lead to more defeats for Labour in future bye-elections.

A reserve army of unemployed would tend to reduce the bargaining power of the workers. The efforts of the Government and the employers to keep wages down have not been very successful. Unemployment, they think, might help them in their efforts.

Tories, pretending to be shocked, hope to use the situation for electoral purposes. The 'Lefts' in Parliament cannot ignore such a position. They are more critical of the Government than ever before.

NEED ACTION

The Government is in a difficult position, but nothing serious will happen unless the workers move into action. They are hampered by rules decided on by trade union bureaucrats and opportunist trickery on the part of make-believe revolutionaries.

Those who thought a Labour Government would take the workers to Socialism are meeting with one disappointment after another. The needs of capitalism are being met by Wilson and his colleagues.

Students Prepare Protest of CIA on U. of Wis. Campus

MADISON, Wis. — The CIA is coming to this campus and there has been talk about the National Guard being called in. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that there will be violence.

People no longer will passively let a policeman hit them over the head. They will no longer dress up and try the "proper" ways to get change.

What happened here on Oct. 18 is only a sign of what is to come. That day all the students on this campus were betrayed. We realized that education was not the main goal on this campus.

(Editor's Note: On Oct. 18, students demonstrating against Dow Chemical Company recruiters on campus were viciously tear-gassed and beaten without warning by the city police riot squad, called in by the dean of student affairs. A student strike followed the next day.)

REAL EDUCATION

Many of us realized for the first time that the Legislature is what runs this campus and applies all the subtle pressures at the right times. Forgive me for being trite, but the education we received that day was worth more than four years in these ivy-covered halls.

What many of us also realized was that sitting outside and obstructing the interviewers was not doing any good. There have been other attempts to threaten the Administration to stop interviewing on campus such as burning down Bascom Hall, which is sort of the symbol of authority around here, but of course it was hushed up.

NO DIALOGUE

Last night I attended a forum where our chancellor was one of the speakers. It was supposed to help open a dialogue between the students and the Administration, but there was no dialogue since Chancellor Sewell refused to answer the pertinent questions on the issues.

The question keeps coming up, "Even if the obstruction was all wrong, why is the Administration going to allow violence to occur when they know that is exactly what is going to happen?" They have no answer.

WHERE TO NOW?

They also have no answer when the war in Viet Nam comes up. They all say they are against it but they dare not speak too loud or the legislature will cut our budget or fire 400 teachers who dared to speak out. As a university we could do much to protest the war.

I really don't feel that it will do any good to obstruct the CIA, but I don't know what I should do. They have no right on this campus, but there is no such animal as student power, there is no longer freedom of speech, so where do we go from here? —Student

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Return Downtown May Be Surprise

The long delay in the struggle for a black man to become some kind of leading official in the United States is over at last. Finally we have two Negro mayors, as well as a Negro Senator and Supreme Court Justice. But who knows how long the victory will last?

If God is a black man, as some people say, I am wondering why God made all the odds against his own race of people for so long? The black man has been controlled and dominated for so long by the white man that he has been afraid to take the lead in anything. No matter how well he knew about United States law, he was afraid to tell the white man about it when he was picked up just for trying to run in an election in the state where he was born.

SOUTHERN NEGRO ACTS

Nothing changed much until ordinary Negroes in the South — in Montgomery, Ala. — began to look back and think: why is it that the black race of people have to pay the same fare as the white race, but must sit in the back of the bus, instead of any seat that was empty?

That was in 1955, and the black people began to think about how crazy it was to let white people hold them down for 100 years.

After the bus boycott in Montgomery, other Negroes in other cities began to realize what it could mean to stick together to gain a little freedom. The black people began to organize in the South. A group of black students were organized into a Student Non-Violent Organizing Committee — and they were joined by some white students who came down to help.

They went into the courthouses

to find out how the whites could be forced to accept Negroes as voters. And then how they could be forced to count the votes right.

And by today the fight for equal rights has grown so much that the black man is even getting to be an official in the government, too. But it all started when the Negro in the South decided it was time to put an end to the white man ruling the black man.

MORE KEPT TALKING

It has not been an easy fight. Negroes are still arrested just for letting other Negroes know how dirty the white rulers are.

In the old days, when Dr. King first started to talk to Negroes about winning their freedom, they tried to stop him from talking too much. But more and more kept joining the movement.

There were more and more leaders out talking — from the NAACP, and CORE, and SNCC. The whites threatened to put the leaders in jail — but once the Negroes found out how the law was used to keep the Negroes down, they found a way to fight back. And even to run for office.

FIGHT MOVES NORTH

In the North, the Negroes began to realize how many gains the Southern Negroes were making. And now the Northern Negroes have begun to do something about it, too. The whites didn't mean to, but they gave the Negro more strength when they decided to move out to the suburbs, and leave downtown to the Negro. They figure they are safe in the suburbs because the Negro can't afford to live in their neighborhoods there.

When they decide they want to move back into town, they may find that the Negroes have taken the lead in everything.

Quebec Students Find New Strength in Unity

QUEBEC, Canada—Nov. 11-17, the International Students Week on Vietnam, was a very important step in the building of an anti-war movement in Quebec.

The General Union of Students of Quebec (U.G.E.Q.), an organization of some 80,000 college and university students across the province (except for certain English-speaking types who haven't yet gotten "the message"), coordinated informational programmes in all of the Quebec colleges, followed by demonstrations in the major centers.

HEAR PARATROOPER

In our own college (the Seminaire de Ste-Therese), the week was highlighted by the visit of a former U.S. paratrooper. Despite the difference of language (the school is French-speaking), a dialogue was established very quickly.

To hear an individual talk from his real experience instead of some academic type talking out from intellectual Disneyland makes quite a difference.

Above all, he told of how he and many of his buddies counted

the days before coming home, and how fear ruled in the military. His talk attracted a large number of hitherto uninterested persons to the demonstration in Montreal the next day.

The demonstration was, again, quite an education for many of the students who were participating in a political manifestation for the first time.

It is quite a sight to see the "knights of the Night-stick" leading a glorious charge on 16-year-old French-Canadian girls. The press, of course, praised them for saving Montreal from disaster.

SUPPORT STRIKES TOO

But student activity here is not limited to the Vietnam war. For example the Thursday of the week before, two scab drivers

from the 7-Up Company were most warmly received by some 50 demonstrators and at least that many "fans" in the 2nd and 3rd story windows, as they attempted to make a delivery at our college.

They ended up towing their truck away. When the police arrested one student, the rest forced his release by jamming the station and asking to be arrested also.

Though this particular action was by a group of more militant students and not an "official" action, our student syndicate actively supported the strikers at the 7-Up Company, as it has supported other strikers in the past. More and more students are coming to recognize the need for this participation.

Two Chicken Puller Groups -- One Gung Ho, One So So

HEINZVILLE, U.S.A.—I know people who would love to have the chance to make as much money as they pos-

sibly can. Well, I have worked on two shifts. That means with two different groups of chicken-pullers. I will call them group one and group two (This is piece work).

Now group one works real hard to make all the money they can. Group two doesn't care if they don't make so much money. They just slow up when they think they are pulling too many chickens, especially the younger girls.

NO HELP

We have four tables and if three tables are finished before lunch or before the time to go home, no one wants to help the fourth table finish their chickens. If they help them, it puts more money in their pockets, but they don't want it.

We are not supposed to talk while we work. One day a girl was talking and this slows up the work. The floor lady told her to stop talking and work or stay home.

The floor lady was leaning over on another girl who was working in front of this girl. She was in this girl's way so the girl stood there. The floor lady told her to get to work, and the girl told her she couldn't because she was in her way, and if she moved she would work.

WORK PILE UP

Well this did it. The chickens were piling up in the tubs on the floor to be pulled. She took some of the chickens and put them on the table next to us and walked away. She was fuming. It was about 1:15 in the afternoon and we were supposed to get off at 2 p.m.

She came back in about five minutes and told us to go home, she wanted us out of there at 1:30. We were all surprised but too tired to care and we all went home.

We have a policy at work that if they change your work time they always call you. Well, the floor lady told us all we would pull the next day, but the next morning she was telling girls at 6 a.m. they were not going to start to work until 6:30.

SPEED-UP CREW

The floor lady brought women in off the other shift and put the girl that was talking at this table. She had to work hard to make money because these women had been here for 15 and 20 years. We can't pull with them because they pull too fast and they work the young pullers to death.

All the girls wondered why we were not informed of the change in our working hours, but no one bothered to ask. In fact, we all laughed about it for a couple of days.

When she put the four tables back together to work, she did get a little more work out of some of the girls, but not very many.

ON THE LINE

'We Know We Don't Know Anything About the Contract'

By John Allison

We know from all of the news and from what we have gone through that we have a new contract, but we also know that we don't know anything about the contract. And it looks like nobody can really say anything for sure, including the top union or management officials. Everything seems to be in a state of flux, and like always, the workers are the victims of this situation.

For example, Chrysler is playing games with the retroactive back pay that workers are supposed to be getting. The new contract states that all production employees will have a 20c per hour increase, on the first pay period after ratification.

Now the workers at Chrysler Highland Park plant have ratified the national contract and local grievance agreement, but they have not received the 20c per hour increase they're supposed to get dating back to Oct. 16.

The excuse the corporation gives is that there are some local unions that have not signed their local grievance supplement agreements. It is perfectly clear that the company is violating the contract before the ink is even dry on it.

MONEY BLACKMAIL

But what it all amounts to is that the company knows of the many local unions where there are pending strike votes authorized by the rank-and-file, and the company is using this retroactive pay raise to back these locals in a corner and get them to sign local agreements without striking.

Nobody knows better than the rank-and-file how the company tries to squeeze them for every ounce of work and every dime it can steal. The company won't give the workers their raises already set down in the contract, or give that extra 10-minute relief time also in the contract.

It is clear that there is a big difference between the word and the deed. Like that 10-minute relief period workers are supposed to have. The fact is that they don't. They might get it when Walter and the corporation finally work out all of the details, but until that time, you can just forget it.

DETAILS UNKNOWN

Workers are all asking for it, because they need and want it. The joker in this is that there are certain conditions that a worker has to meet before he will be entitled to the relief period. It doesn't apply to all workers at all, and so far the old conditions are still being forced

on all of the workers by the company. So far as the workers are concerned, there is not a bit of difference—even though there's supposed to be under the new contract terms.

And this is the way it has been since the negotiations. All of the reports from Reuther and the corporation say how great the new contract is, but to the workers on the line, it hasn't made any difference at all. And what is even more important, the whole question of working conditions is going to get worse instead of better.

The company is going to be bearing down on workers like it never has before to get every cent of that contract back out of our hides in production. That's where all of the past raises have come from, and where any new raises will come from.

WOMAN FIGHTS

We've already caught the company trying to speed up the line, and the company is bearing down heavy on workers. We have a woman worker who was sent home one day because she came to work in pantaloons and the company said it was for being wrongly dressed. She went home, but filed a grievance and won her pay for the day.

Recently she became ill, and was off for a couple of weeks. Her work record was absolutely clean, but now we know the company wanted to get revenge by trying to fire her and also to intimidate other workers to scare them from filing grievances for back pay.

Every worker who worked with her knew exactly what the company was trying to do, and they all raised plenty of hell. In any case, her union representative made the company change its decision, and she won't be bothered by the corporation on that score.

This could be fought because more than enough was known to fight and win. But nobody can say the same for the many provisions in the new contract. Even the company officials don't know what most of them mean.

HELP GRAPE WORKERS WIN STRIKE

Delano Grape Strikers of the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO) are fighting against starvation wages, sub-human conditions on the job, deplorable living conditions for their wives and children in the labor camps.

You can help them win their strike against Guimarra Vineyard Corp. of Delano, California.

DON'T BUY THESE SCAB BRANDS

GVC	Royal K	Silver King	Antone's Qualit
ARRA	Normandie	Tudor	El Rancho
Grape King	Prosperity	Blue Jay	Pow-Wow
Sall-N-Ann	Hi-Life	3 Brothers	Porky
White River	Mother	Hi-Style	Ar-Cal
Uptown	Del-Ora	Sage	Rich-Pak
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Some Benefits Are Coming But Most Are Far Away

Much publicity has been given to the "historic gains" in the auto contract negotiations. What has not been made clear, however, is that many of the reported gains will not go into effect for years. The following list indicates the spread and effective date of some of the major provisions. Most provisions are qualified by a number of unknown factors, with many details still to be worked out.

PROVISION	DATE EFFECTIVE
Wage Increases	Oct. 16, 1967
Cost of Living	'68, '69, '70 (mostly '70)
Guaranteed Annual Income	Dec. 1968
S.U.B.	Dec. 1968
Short Work Week Benefits	Feb. 1968
Pension Improvements	Feb. 1968, but tied to social security pension levels to go into effect on Jan. 1, 1969
Surviving Spouse Options	Jan. 1, 1969
Canadian Wage Parity	June, '68, Dec. '68, June '69, Dec. '69, June, '70
Disability Benefits	Nov. 15, 1967 and Oct. 25, 1969
New Drug Plan	Oct. 1969
National Health Benefits	Nov. 1, 1968
Doctor Fee Payments	Nov. 1, 1968
Improved Medical Benefits	Nov. 1, 1968
Additional Relief Time	Unknown

EDITORIAL

THE MOUSE THAT ROARED

(Continued from Page 1)

Middle East potentates and the extremely wealthy from India and "the West," not excluding the greedy American "free enterprisers" who hoped to make a killing if they could compel the American government to devalue the dollar.

There is much truth also in what de Gaulle says about U.S. imperialism. The American balance of payments internationally is inflationary and lopsided. The American investments in Europe are due more to "big capital eating little capital" (to use Marx's expression) than to technological superiority.

Above all, the American private investors are totally irresponsible both in their disregard of the national state plans and the state of employment and unemployment.

It isn't that de Gaulle's heart bleeds for the workers, employed or unemployed. His success in bringing "order" into the French economy when he returned to power was done by a drastic devaluation of the franc plus a substantial reduction in real wages. But European capital has learned what the more affluent American capital keeps forgetting. The State Plan—in France it is called "indicative planning"—can keep depression recession size, the unemployed army "manageable," and the "international cartels" forced to show some responsibility to the "nation" rather than indiscriminately following the road of highest profits globally.

THE AMERICAN BEHEMOTH

From 1959 to 1963 de Gaulle tried to restrict American investment. In 1965 he rediscovered gold. He then found that if France converts its dollar holdings into gold, he can exert a pressure upon American gold reserves and hence the whole economy. His attack on American capitalists helped LBJ do what he was unable to do previously—get them to voluntarily restrain their flight of dollars abroad in search of higher profits and cheaper labor—while de Gaulle's "partners" in the Common Market leaped at the chance to invite the limited American investments to their countries instead of to France. And since it is America, not France, that has the bulk gold, the Behemoth, American capitalism, didn't move over either for the State Plan or for the world market.

Because de Gaulle's France had automated its industries, centralized its capital, statified its plan and, through the Common Market, at least kept England out of its monopoly, de Gaulle is under the delusion that he can change the hard facts of the post-war world: that in place of the several big powers that divided the world between themselves, two, and only two super-powers—U.S. and Russia—remained standing. Just as Mao tries his best to undermine Russia's predominance in the Communist world, so de Gaulle tries to undermine America's predominance in the NATO world.

Because the American economy in the late 1950s was stagnant while the European economy was booming, de Gaulle thought that he could "prove" to European powers their "superiority" over the American Goliath—particularly if they followed him. Toward that end he first tried creating a new world axis—Paris-Bonn—and then went after the American dollar.

Thus, he finds "quite remarkable" that the total of the American balance of payments deficit, over a period of eight years, equals the total American investments in Europe over that period. U.S. capital does get away scot free, freed also of the "risks" involved in investing in industrializing the underindustrialized world. But, far from this proving that Europe could "balance the enormous U.S. power," it only proves that Europe pays for American investments in Europe!

But between 1965 and 1967 LBJ escalated the Vietnam war and with it came fat war contracts, swollen profits attractive enough even for greedy American "free enterprisers" to expand plant equipment in America, and the American economy was again booming. So de Gaulle now imagines himself as the "Third Force." He lets his imagination go wild as he blames the Middle East war on the U.S. war in Vietnam. He thereby only shows that what preoccupies him is neither the Middle East nor Asia nor Africa, for that matter. His one obsession is the U.S.

The Behemoth, American capitalism, will not move so long as the militarization of the American economy means spending \$30 billion annually on the Vietnam war (as against the mere pittance of \$200 million as America's "contribution" to "Asian development"). It is upon this, and not upon West European capital, that American capitalism gorges itself. This plus the dead, the maimed, the spoliation of the land, the savagery and barbarism of modern warfare.

THE MILITARIZATION OF THE ECONOMY

It is not de Gaulle, who is himself a participant in the militarization of the world economy, who can reverse the trend. There is no country in the world, be it France or China, the Middle East or Russia, not to mention America, that doesn't spend impossible sums on the militarization of the economy, including "The Bomb," be it of minor proportions like China or capable of being dropped from outer space like Russia.

Concretely, the world is spending over \$130 billion annually toward these destructive purposes. Of this the U.S. alone is spending \$70 billion. In the two decades since the end of World War II, U.S. capitalism has spent no less than \$850 billion for what it dares call "defense." And this is the time when there were no "major" wars and we avoided the nuclear holocaust!

De Gaulle has discovered the Achilles heel of the super powers—that all the contradictions are thereby so intensified that the super power becomes the most hated throughout the world. But though De Gaulle thinks he has discovered the Achilles heel of America, in truth he himself has become vulnerable, if not in the heel then in the head. His intellectual chauvinism, France's strategic position, has led him to play for the highest stakes, and he thinks he can make the United States play power politics according to his tune. It does not, and will not work.

Because the crisis is rooted in relations at the point of production, and these human relations with exploitative capital extend over those left out of production over whom Behemoth rules, the working people alone can destroy it at its root. No one else will, not only because they themselves have vested interests but also because no energy source on earth, including atomic, can substitute for the energizing force of the enthusiasm of people bent for freedom. Just as in the first part of this decade, the newly-created third world performed miracles in wresting political freedom from imperialism, so now they will, with the workers and youth in the technologically advanced countries, move to total freedom.

Raya Dunayevskaya

Readers'

BRITAIN'S DEVALUATION

All the talk—since the devaluation of the British pound was announced by Prime Minister Harold Wilson's Labour Government—has been about Britain's "export - import" problems, and the effect on the stock-market throughout the world. Not a word is being said about the effect on the workers, who are the real victims of the slash. Yet it seems to me that the cut in exchange value of the pound from \$2.80 to \$2.40 means nothing less than an automatic 15% cut in salary and a sharp decline in the standard of living for the workingmen.

The other victims of the devaluation are the underdeveloped nations, particularly the new African nations, who—dependent on what is left of the British empire—hold sterling, and have suddenly found all their assets slashed.

Reader Detroit

Wilson says the decision to devalue that he announced on Saturday, was taken on Thursday. But Lord Chalfont was saying in Europe on that Friday that the Government was not considering devaluation. What can you believe? ...

Observer Britain

This blow to the British workers comes at a time when unemployment in Britain is up to 55,000, the highest it has been in years. Plans are afoot for the imminent closing of still more mining pits, and the National Coal Board Chairman, Lord Robens, has just announced that mine employment will drop another 80% in the next 12 years.

The miners are already in revolt against the closing of the pits, threatening to pull out of Labor and start a new political party. Protests have been mounting everywhere against low wages and growing unemployment. I wonder what the British workers will do now in the wake of this new blow?

Observer West Virginia

BLACK MASS REVOLT

The disturbance at Oliver High School happened because a Negro girl went trick-or-treating in a white neighborhood and a group of white boys beat her up real bad. They kicked her in the stomach. This got back to a group of Negro youth.

These kids all went to the same school. The Negro boys didn't know who did it, but they were attacking every white boy trying to reach the right ones, the next day in school.

It was never mentioned in the white news what started this riot but the Negro news told why it started.

On television they had a handpicked young student who stated that the trouble was because the student couldn't get through to the principal and they were having misunderstandings with him. They said it wasn't a race riot.

Negro Mother Pittsburgh

I agree with what you say in your newest pamphlet, Black Mass Revolt, but I still cannot quite see what role I or any other white person can play in bringing about the unity of black and white right now.

I reject Carmichael's position of "you stay in your community, and I'll stay in mine" completely. I certainly don't see working only in the white community. But I don't have the answers I'm looking for as to what I can do.

Displaced Civil Rights Worker California

Black people are sincere in wanting to bring about a change for black people. But they will sit down and talk to whites, and have a "dialogue," so long as they know that the whites are not out for reforms, but also want a total change.

Black Militant California

My wife and I thought the last chapter of your new Black Mass Revolt was absolutely great. We can't wait to get it into the hands of others in the movement.

Activist New York

WHAT WE GIVE...

I wake up in the morning at six, not only to the sound of trucks on Kenmare Street, but the sound of the six Delano pickets stirring around getting their breakfast in the apartment upstairs.

They spend no time reading news or listening to it. They are here for one thing, to go from the big market at Hunts Point, to the piers where the grapes come in from the west coast, to the stores where table grapes are sold retail, and to ask them not to buy while agricultural workers in the vineyards of California are getting starvation wages and no benefits which all the other workers enjoy under the National Labor Relations Act.

These are dedicated men with one thought in their minds, to work for better conditions for their fellows, and they work with love and faith and hope, doggedly day after day.

They have not read the

Popes' encyclicals Mother and Teacher or The Development of Peoples. They live them.

It is such work as their's which has brought workers the five day week, the eight hour day, workers' compensation and unemployment insurance. Such work as this must be done, and everyone helping, to bring justice, not charity, to the workers. It is certainly part of justice to share what you have.

Meanwhile our soupline goes on, seven days a week, and Chrystie St. is open from seven to seven . . .

We all know what we give will surely come back to us, heaped up, pressed down and running over. So please help us once more.

Dorothy Day, Editor Catholic Worker, New York

Editor's Note: Readers who wish to help The Catholic Worker group, may send contributions to St. Joseph's House of Hospitality, 175 Chrystie Street, New York, 10002.

I was interested in the article in the Nov. issue about the new boycott against Guimarra which the Delano workers are asking for. But how can I stop buying the scab brands when I don't know what labels to look for?

Reader Chicago

Editor's Note: A list of scab brands is printed on page 3.

CHE'S DEATH

To many, Che Guevara is a revolutionary hero and in part he certainly should be. But why should his idea of guerrilla war be the only way for social revolution in Latin America?

Rosa Luxemburg and even Lenin thought that the General Strike was the method for Russia. But the Russians did it by way of the Soviet.

Lenin did not condemn this as not being his way, but instead hailed the form that the workers themselves created. What is most important is that the workers and peasants of Latin America be allowed to create their own forms for a social revolution.

Student Detroit

The elections here yesterday voted against the present government and in favor of a more conservative party, so we don't know what the repercussions will be on rural development programs.

This, what with the devaluation of the sol (from 26.50 to a dollar to 40), may mean the end of any pretense of development, since these programs are the easiest to cut (the poor have no vote, so no one has to listen to them).

Poor Che: it seems that not until the end did he realize that he was in Bolivia and not Cuba.

So many people think that the peasants must be as frustrated as they are and will identify immediately with any gun fire—when in reality the peasant is discontented with immediate things—the local teacher, the lack of rain, no roads, etc.—and has no idea why this "gringo" is blowing up perfectly useful bridges (as the Peruvian guerrillas did).

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor O. Domanski Managing Editor

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Views

and if anything, resents it.

If there is to be a revolution, it must be led and supported by the peasants or it can have no value. Otherwise the haciendado will be replaced by the state and the peasant won't benefit, at least in rural areas.

Development Worker
Peru

Most of the left-wing commentary on Che's death was eulogy. It was very moving to read yours, which pointed out the double tragedy: (1) that a brave revolutionary had been murdered, and (2) that what he will unfortunately be remembered for is his concept of guerrilla warfare, which is nothing more than a substitute for the social revolution he wanted.

Reader
New York

WAR AND PEACE

McNamara has always been against increasing the bombing of North Vietnam and against land invasion as well. His resignation will probably be followed by a step-up in the war.

No bleeding hearts for him however. The only difference between him and Johnson seems to be that McNamara wants to kill the last South Vietnamese, while Johnson wants to kill them all, North and South.

Isn't it wonderfully appropriate that McNamara's new job will probably be head of the World Bank? Who says militarism and capitalism don't make a fine team?

Student
New York

It's true that the "peace vote" in San Francisco didn't win... but, especially considering that is was worded in the strongest way possible, the fact that no less than 40% of the voters were for it, is really something!

Secretary
New York

OPEN HOUSING

The common council again refused to vote on the open housing question entrenching itself in a barricade of legal confusion. A "valid" petition with 20,000 signatures against the open housing bill was presented, the implication being that our own petitions are apparently invalid.

Many questions were asked, the answers to which will be presented in written form, another time evasion. It was in great sorrow that Vel Phillips viewed these proceedings. She may find herself in the unique and ironical situation of voting against the bill 18 to 1, because the bill which is now being considered has been reduced to a resolution and is so weak as to make it almost non-existent.

Marcher
Milwaukee

The "New Detroit Committee" was formed by the mayor to eradicate the causes of last summer's revolt. Joseph Hudson, Jr., owner of Detroit's largest department store, heads the committee.

Because he advocated state and city open-housing bills his store was picketed the day after Thanksgiving by a group of Wayne State University students called "Counterthrust" — part of the extreme right-wing Breakthrough group.

News & Letters Committees not only publishes this monthly newspaper and the provocative pamphlets you will find listed on page 2, but is an organization whose members, workers and intellectuals, Negro and white, are active in all areas of freedom struggle. We invite you not only to write us your comments and share your experiences with our readers—but to come and meet us and browse in our library, as well. In Detroit, the office at 415 Brainard St., (corner of Cass) is open Monday through Friday from 9:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. and Thursday evenings from 7:30 to 9:30.

They were few in number, but plenty loud. I'm glad to say most passers-by ignored them, and the store was filled to capacity.

Two days later, Breakthrough picketed a Detroit cathedral because the archbishop had reinstated a priest whose dismissal they had demanded because he condemned the Vietnam war as immoral.

The leader of this fanatic group is a city employee who took time off from work to attend and disrupt a Common Council hearing on open and low-cost housing, that same week.

McCarthyism by any other name still smells the same.

Taxpayer
Detroit

FROM ISRAEL

Raya Dunayevskaya's Perspectives Report, "It Remains to Be Done," has been fast changing hands around here. People may have their own political or other bags, but they are hungry for (even if sometimes frightened by) fresh thinking.

What we are trying to do is confront people with new ways of thinking... Your literature is much appreciated by quite a number of people.

I have always approached Israel with a Buberian outlook, with a universal perspective. I've always been a "cultural" Zionist, though I'm more and more alienated from political Zionism. Cultural nationalism, I feel, is necessary for man to create and transcend his roots into the universal and let the universal be constantly fed by these roots. But I fear political nationalism of any sort...

Correspondent
Israel

LEADERS AND RANKS

The taxi settlement in New York is just another example of a sell-out by labor "leaders". Van Arsdale takes phony "votes", miraculously turning a minority into a majority, and leads the men back to work.

But there was discontent among the men and Van Arsdale's position is not as strong as it once was. The men have a right to be angry and confused when it's their own union leader that "leads" them to defeat.

Reader
New York

A teacher we know here said that reading the Workers Battle Automation pamphlet was like opening a new world to her that she knew nothing about. She said she read sections from it to her class on "Industrial America," which generally deals with statistics on how advanced we are. With one sweep "dismal economics," as Marx called it, became human relations at the point of production to her.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

TWO ELECTIONS

A new party has made its appearance on the Philadelphia political scene. And for a minor party, it made a respectable showing in this election. The Consumers' Party was an outgrowth of the Consumers' Educational and Protective Association which for more than a year has been fighting the abuse and exploitation of the poor by banks, finance companies, magistrates, police, and retail outlets selling on the installment plan.

The party's candidate for mayor was a Negro minister who pointed out how the American war in Vietnam prevents any governmental help to the masses of the poor. Among other Negro candidates, a Jew and a white gentile were also represented on the party's ticket.

Observer
Philadelphia

The victory of the Scottish Nationalists at Hamilton seems to have frightened Labour MPs with narrow majorities. They are now pandering to the Scottish Nationalists. The Scottish Nationalists have become very arrogant.

They want a Scotland ruled by their own party, though they claim they want nothing more than to make Scotland a more prosperous country. There is nothing in their aims about ending capitalism, however. We could have our own economic crisis under the Lion Rampart.

Many workers, meanwhile, are completely bewildered by the failure of the two big political parties to do more than talk about the problems that confront them. It is not surprising that many workers in Scotland have turned towards the Scottish Nationalists.

Marxist-Humanist
Scotland

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Editor's Note: To conclude our centenary celebration of the publication of Marx's Capital, and to sum up the meaning of that great work for our age, we print below excerpts from Part III of Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom.

The Impact of the Civil War in the U.S. On the Structure of Capital

On January 11, 1860, Marx wrote to Engels: "In my opinion, the biggest things that are happening in the world today are on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America started by the death of John Brown and, on the other, the movement of the serfs in Russia..."

From now on he will not only keep his eyes glued to the mass movement; he will participate in it. The decade of the Civil War in the United States is also the decade of the Polish Insurrection, the strikes in France, and the mass demonstrations in England which culminate in the creation of the International Working Men's Association headed by Marx...

Between 1861 and 1867 the manuscript of the Critique, now become Capital, underwent two fundamental changes, one in 1863, and the other in 1866. We can trace the changes both by comparing Capital to the state the manuscripts were left in, which Engels describes in the Preface to Volume II of Capital, as well as from Marx's own letters. As he puts it in the letter to Engels on August 15, 1863, he has had "to turn everything around."

BY THE TIME, three years later, that he has finally prepared everything for the printer, he informs Engels about yet a new addition: "Historically I developed a part about the working day which did not enter into my first plan." (February 10, 1866)

It sounds fantastic to say that until 1866 Marx had not worked out the seventy pages on the Working Day. Yet so inherent in theory itself is its own limitation that even when Marx turned the monographs for the Critique entirely around, and wrote the first draft of his new work Capital, even this work at first had no section on the Working Day.

It seems even more incomprehensible when we realize that Marx had already written the "Primitive Accumulation" of Capital, which describes the "Bloody Legislation against the Expropriated," in which he dealt with laws that made the lengthening of the working day compulsory. The concept of the theory of surplus value includes the division of the working day into paid and unpaid labor. But that still leaves the exact analysis of the working day, for the most part, undetermined. As he was to put it later about his adversary, Duhring: "One thing in his account has struck me very much. Namely, so long as the determination of value by working time is itself left 'undetermined,' as it is by Ricardo, it does not make people shaky. But as soon as it is brought into exact connection with the working day and its variations, a very unpleasant light dawns upon them."

"The establishment of a normal working day," he wrote, "is the result of centuries of struggle between capitalist and laborer."

He who glorifies theory and genius but fails to recognize the limits of a theoretical work, fails likewise to recognize the indispensability of the theoretician. All of history is the history of the struggle for freedom. If, as a theoretician, one's ears are attuned to the new impulses from the workers, new "categories" will be created, a new way of thinking, a step forward in philosophic cognition.

MARX'S SHIFT from the history of theory to the history of production relations gives flesh and blood to the generalization that Marxism is the theoretical expression of the instinctive strivings of the proletariat for liberation. More than that. He says that ultimately the fundamental abolition of inequality lies in the shortening of the working day. In 1866, he made this the historical framework of capitalism itself. The struggles of the workers over the working day develop capitalist production. The ultimate creation of freedom rests upon the shortening of the working day. The philosophy of the shortening of the working day, which arose out of the actual struggles, embraces all concepts inside and outside of it. Thus, the thinking of the theoretician is constantly filled with more and more content, filled by workers' struggles and workers' thoughts...

The Humanism and Dialectic; Logic and Scope of Capital

The historical and logical in Capital are not two separate movements: the dialectic contains them both. It is not that Marx has interrelated them. It is the very nature and life of the one to contain the other. What Marx has as his underlying assumption is that history has not discharged theory from the need to transcend the given society. With Marx, theory is not kept above the earth, but rather takes its departure from reality, which is also its point of return. It is the reality out of which the movement comes, and what Marx does is to see that object and subject are kept as one. The two together, theory and practice, make up the truth at any moment...

Capitalism develops according to these two fundamental laws: the law of centralization of capital, and the law of the socialization of labor.

The end result of this relationship of capital to the lot of the working class is the great, the insoluble contradiction which is wrecking the entire system—the unemployed army. Marx calls this "the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation." The greater the use of machinery, or constant capital, the lesser relatively the need for variable or living labor power. There may now be 30 million workers where formerly there were half as many, but the investment of capital is sevenfold. And with it will always come unemployment. Thus, on the one hand, capitalism keeps reproducing the wage-laborer; on the other hand, he throws him into unemployment.

"Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. The integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

(Continued on Page 7)

Attention Detroit Readers

Raya Dunayevskaya will speak on

"Marx in the Mid-20th Century"

Sunday, Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m.

Place: News & Letters Office
415 Brainard, 2nd Floor

Free
Admission

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

K. Marx—From Student to Revolutionary

Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society, Easton and Guddat Editors, 506 pp., New York: Doubleday Anchor Book \$1.95.

The political atmosphere at the University of Berlin in the late 1830's bore little resemblance to that of the University of Calif. at Berkeley of the 1960's. The Prussian monarch was efficient in marshalling his police, his censors and his supporters in the Diet. Open expression either in the press or in meetings was impossible. In general the intellectual atmosphere was stifling.

Despite this, the intellectual development of one of the world's great thinkers had its roots here. The young Marx (18) had come to the University to study law. By the time Marx left German soil six years later (1843) he was a doctor of philosophy, an Hegelian who had both absorbed Hegel and had turned Hegel's dialectical method into a criticism

Black Youth To Boycott '68 Olympics

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — The western Regional Black Youth Convention held in L.A. during the Thanksgiving weekend was, unlike some other conferences of its kind, a success.

The Conference was attended by about 700 delegates, some as individuals and some representing different groups from all of the western states. Unlike Newark, it was held in a Black Church in the black community, and only cost two dollars for the whole three days.

A WORKING CONFERENCE

The plan was that this be a working conference, in that most of the time would be spent in workshops, which it was.

There were workshops such as communications, war resistance, education, culture, and politics and economics.

The first day of the conference was geared toward registration during the day, then a general session in the evening, in which we were welcomed to the church by the pastor and given an introduction to the goals of the conference. We then listened to the keynote speech by James Forman, who spoke in place of H. Rap Brown.

OLYMPIC BOYCOTT PROPOSED

Also on the first day there was a special workshop on Black athletes in which it was decided to boycott the '68 Olympics. The next day was taken up entirely in workshops which lasted from 10 a.m. to 11 p.m. with breaks only for meals. The last day was also taken up entirely with workshops with a final session in which resolutions were voted on.

The best part about the conference was that resolutions were not made just to be made and acted upon later, but groups were made up, to carry them through, right in the workshops they came out of.

Also, all resolutions and discussions were made available to delegates before they left so they would not have to wait for them in the mail.

It is because equipment was set up to start moving as soon as the conference ended and because it was truly a working one, that I consider it a success.

and transcendence of Hegel's conclusions.

WORLD CHALLENGE

In the next several years he studied classical economics and met with prominent socialist thinkers of his time. The culmination of the dozen years as University student, editor and contributor to newspapers, exile in Paris and Brussels, was the writing of a world challenge to capitalism entitled *The Communist Manifesto*.

It, at one and the same time, anticipated the actual 1848 Revolutions, and became the theoretical battle cry of the proletarian revolution ever since.

These 12 years prior to the *Manifesto* are the most controversial in the development of the intellectual life of Karl Marx. Established Communists of the Russian and Chinese variety have dismissed the writings of this period as that of an "immature" Marx. Other writers excerpt his openly stated humanism but ignore the revolutionary impact of the philosophic totality, including his study of class struggles that this humanism was built on.

FIRST TRANSLATION

Now Drs. E. D. Easton and K. H. Guddat have brought out the most comprehensive English translation of the young Marx to date. While some portions, such as the *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* have already been published in English, other portions, especially Marx's *Notes to the Doctoral Dissertation* have been made available in English for the first time.

The introductory notes for each extract are valuable in giving the historical and intellectual setting. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said for their introduction to the whole of the book.

Thus, while they, more or less, adhere to the content of the works by Marx in the first part of their Introduction, they become propagandists for the status quo as soon as they confront the author of the *Communist Manifesto* as a revolutionary.

WRONG CONCLUSION

What passes for Communism these days—state control of life—Drs. Easton and Guddat read back into the Marx of the late 1840's. How does an unfounded conclusion like Marx being "more congenial to totalitarianism than to the emphasis on the individual person and his self-direction which characterizes liberal democracy" differ from the type of rewriting of history that is popular both in the Communist and the private capitalist world?

Marx, it is true, was never a "liberal democrat," but that is as true of the Humanist Essays he wrote in 1844 as of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847. In both instances of his development he was the founder of a new world view of history that was humanist, and because it was a thoroughgoing humanism, it was as revolutionary in life as it was in theory.

Fortunately, there is Marx's own text. It is to this we now turn.

PIVOTAL POINT

Of the heretofore unpublished writings, the *Notes to the Doctoral Dissertation* are pivotal to Marx's intellectual development. Here is a work by Marx before he was a "Marxist," that is to say, before he openly broke with bourgeois society.

Moreover, though still part of the circle of young Left Hegelians, Marx challenges Hegel on his strongest ground: the evaluation of other philosophers, especially the Greeks.

Above all—and it is here we witness Marx's emergence as both revolutionary thinker and revolutionary activist—he takes up the whole movement of philosophy in relationship to the development of the actual world.

Marx notes that as there are "nodal points in philosophy that in themselves rise to concretion, form abstract principles into a totality, and thus interrupt a straight-line continuation, so there are moments when philosophy turns its eyes to the external world." Then he develops the idea that "the world is self-divided as opposed to a total philosophy, one in itself."

CRUCIAL QUESTION

What follows this division between the actual world and the philosophy, which though a totality, no longer reflects the philosophic foundation for its world, much less creates the transformation into a new world?

The allusion to new foundations, a call for a new unity of theory and practice, the philosophic and the real, is clearly an anticipation of what his own theory will become. In a word, the task for new world beginnings Marx set for himself as he prepared to leave the college world and enter the real one.

The realization of the Idea, freedom, will bring about the transcendence of philosophy. The challenge is to abolish philosophy by making it a reality in the world.

ALL EDITORS: NOTE
He begins with the Prussian state and its censorship of the press. In a magnificent series of articles he challenges the government's censorship in so basic a manner that they should be read by all the college newspaper editors who find themselves under direct and indirect censorship pressure by their administrations.

"The question of whether philosophical and religious matters are to be discussed in newspapers resolves itself in its own emptiness.

"If such questions already interest the public as news, they have become questions of the day. Then the point is not whether they should be discussed but where and how—whether within the family circle and the homes, within the schools and churches but not by the press, whether by opponents of philosophy but not by philosophers, whether in the clouded language of private opinion but not in the clarifying words of public rationality. Then the point is whether what lives in actuality belongs in the realm of the press, and it is no longer a question of the particular content of the press but the general question of whether the press should really be the press, that is, a free press."

SETS OWN CONCEPT

Marx here distinguishes himself from Hegel whose idealism abstracted him from the reality of his own society. But at the same time he does not embrace the Feuerbach concept of materialism. "The standpoint of the old materialism is 'civil society'; the standpoint of the new is human society . . ."

For Marx, "Consistent naturalism or humanism is distinguished from both idealism and materialism as well and at the same time is the unifying truth of both."

Here is not merely the heritage of Marx, but the need of the day. What Marx did for his time we must do for ours. Otherwise the chasm between actuality and the Idea will remain.

Wayne University Student Paper Faces Suppression

DETROIT, Mich. — The South End, a new student newspaper at Wayne State University, is being pressured by the university administration to change its policy of being an open forum on the serious issues confronting society.

In its first editorial of the school year it stated, "To be relevant, the medium that is the student newspaper must first of all perceive the issues which burn in the veins of our generation; the recurrent problems of young people as well as the moral, psychological and social issues generated by our rapidly transforming society."

IMPORTANT PRIORITIES

In its succeeding numbers it tried to promote discussion on all issues confronting the student body — from the role of education, through black power, to the Vietnam War.

Priority was given to anti-war demonstrations on campus and integrated housing for students, rather than to football scores and fraternity-sorority activities.

So incensed was the administration that they began a campaign to get rid of the South End. In opposition to the editorial policies of the South End, the business school at Wayne started the Phoenix.

The administration did what it could to help the new paper along

(if it did not actually create it) by taking out large ads for its centenary celebration. If anyone ever had doubts about the need for the South End, they were abolished as soon as they read the Phoenix.

The next move by the university was to try to fire Editor-in-Chief Art Johnston. At the same time they issued a directive that 17 members of the staff be removed because they were not students, even though the rule had not been previously enforced.

The university limited the paper to eight pages, and has denied additional money for publication costs.

A new business manager was arbitrarily appointed to the South End and the paper was not informed of the change until he had been installed in his position.

ABSTRACT FREEDOM

University President Keast said there should be open and free discussion of ideas, however controversial. "The principles of freedom are needed most when the temptation to abandon them is strongest in those who would substitute passion for reason and conformity for controversy."

But the truth is always concrete. President Keast has shown that his phrases only apply in the abstract.

The students are discussing means to continue the paper as an instrument of free expression, even if it means going independent.

Procedures Paralyzed H.S. Youth

BEVERLY HILLS, Calif. — Events of the last two months require me to revise the glowing report on the Beverly Hills High School Underground as of September, which made the mistake of taking the claims of the Underbround "leaders" at face value.

Most of the time has been wasted in repeatedly rewriting the articles, mainly to pacify the liberal parent supporters, who considered some of the material "irresponsible" and the articles on the whole "too heavy."

GOING THROUGH CHANNELS
But then we finally finished everything to the parents' satisfaction, decided to move and made an appointment with the administration, and felt we were finally getting things done. Our strategy has been to try to go through the administration.

A few of the "big-name" but less-radical members of the Underground actually want to be published, distributed, or at least financed by the school.

GO TO THE BOARD?
But most of us consider this whole method just a ritual to avoid being accused of causing unnecessary trouble by not trying to go through "channels."

I'm sure this all sounds pretty ridiculous, and it probably is, even considering the peculiar conditions of Beverly Hills—a white, upper middle class, politically liberal ("dissenting Democrat") though socially reactionary suburb, which unlike the poor communities, really has community control of the schools. The danger of being absorbed by the administration and transformed into an official organ of "establishment dissent" is still too great.

But to get back to what is actually happening, the administration performed a total "about-face," with the principal, F. Willard Robinson, claiming that he had never heard of our group and telling us to take it up with the Board of Education!

What now? The more radical segments of the Underground are getting impatient, for a quarter of the school year has been wasted playing games with the parents and the administration. We're either going to go to the Board of Education, or, much better, publish our own paper within the near future. It is not yet possible to determine which.

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MARXISM: The Unity of Theory and Practice

(Continued from Page 5)

THE POSITIVE side of all this is that "it brings forth the material agencies for its own dissolution. From that moment new forces and new passions spring up in the bosom of society but the old social organization fetters them and keeps them down. It must be annihilated. It is annihilated."

Thus the development of capitalism itself creates the basis of a new Humanism—the "new forces and new passions" which will reconstruct society on new, truly human beginnings, "a society in which the full and free development of every individual is the ruling principle." It is because Marx based himself on this Humanism, more popularly called "the inevitability of socialism," that he could discern the law of motion of capitalist society, the inevitability of its collapse. The Humanism of Capital runs like a red thread throughout the work. This gives it both its profundity and its force and direction.

It took the crash of 1929 to open the skulls of the academic economists to Marx's analysis of the breakdown of capitalism. It then became a popular pastime to say that if Marx had only shed his "Hegelianism," taken off the "mysticism" with which he enveloped the concept of value, and begun instead with Volume III where he deals with "real life," that is to say the surface phenomena of competition, profit, rent, etc., his "prophecies" of Big Business and cyclical crises would have been easy to see and they would have learned "much" from him.

The third volume, which presumably best meets the taste of the academic economists, analyzed life in the capitalist market as it really is. We learn that commodities sell, not at value, but at price of production; that surplus value is not an abstraction, congealed unpaid labor, but that its real form is threefold: (1) profit for the industrialist; (2) rent for the landlord; and (3) interest for the banker; that capital is not only a social relation of production, but that it has a bodily form of money-capital. Here we study the role of credit and even get some glimpses into swindling.

And what is the grand result of learning all the facts of life? How have they changed the laws that arise from the strict process of production which the academic economists call "abstract"? Not at all. Not at all. At the end of all these intricate transformations of surplus value into ground rent, interest and profit, as well as the conversion of values into prices, rate of surplus value into rate of profit, etc.—at the end of it all, Marx takes us back to that on which it is based: production of value and surplus value. He shows us that in the final analysis the sum of all prices is equal to the sum of all values. Where the worker has created nothing, the capitalist manipulator can get nothing. Profit, even as surplus value, comes not from "ownership" but from production . . .



This contemporary cartoon on the suppression of the paper Marx edited, "Rheinische Zeitung," shows Marx chained to the printing press while the royal Prussian eagle gnaws at his vitals. The original lithograph appeared in 1843 without any accompanying text, since printed comment was forbidden by the censorship.

THERE ARE theoreticians who are willing to say that the analysis holds for Russia, but not in the exceptional soil of America. If it wasn't the American frontier that made America different, it was the American pragmatic character; and if not that, it is that the American workers "aren't class conscious." Be that as it may, the economists now do give Marx credit for understanding "history." Some even admit that economic theory has indeed been running a losing race with history, except in the case of Marx. One has even gone so far as to "admire" Marx for his "idea of theory" and his ability to transform historic narrative into "historic raisonne." But none have the slightest conception that Marx's "idea of theory" is as profound as it is only because he had broken with the bourgeois conception of theory and placed the worker in the center of all his thinking. There is no other source for social theory.

It isn't that Marx "glorified" workers. It is that he knew what is their role in production. Just as history has not discharged theory from its mission

of criticizing existing society, so the workers, on whose back all the exploitation occurs must—throw all this off their backs and therefore can criticize it and overcome it and see ahead.

It isn't that Marx vilified capitalists and their ideologists. It is that he knew their role in production and how limited, therefore, their outlook. Because they were satisfied, they couldn't grasp all of reality, and therefore their ideology was false.

Marx, when he began, didn't know all the implications of his materialistic conception of history. Thus, although he saw the mode of production as determinant for ideology, he thought all that needs to be done to demonstrate the bankruptcy of bourgeois thought is to show that the bourgeoisie can no longer be scientific and that with the development of the class struggle their economic science has become "vulgar" and their ideologists "prize fighters." He, on the other hand, would show the decline, and then the workers as changing the world which had long had its interpreters. It was only in the 1860's, that he changed the very structure of Capital and placed theories at the end of all volumes.

On April 10, 1879 Marx writes the Russian translator of Volume I not to wait for Volume II because "a tremendous mass of material received by me not only from Russia but also from the United States, etc., gives me a pleasant excuse to continue research instead of definitively working over for publication.

"The United States at present have overtaken England in the rapidity of economical progress, though they lag behind in the extent of acquired wealth; but at the same time the masses are quicker and have greater political means in their hands to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense. I need not prolong the antitheses."

IT IS CLEAR that Russia and America were to play the role in Volumes II and III that England played in Volume I. Lenin filled it out for Russia. In their attitude to Automation, the American workers are concretizing this for America.

There was no difference between Marx the Hegelian and Marx the revolutionary, nor between Marx the theoretician and Marx the practical organizer. He finished Capital and turned to the Paris Commune not merely as "activist" and "materialist" but as idealist. As we saw, he himself summed up most profoundly the fact that the ideal is never far from the real when he wrote that the Communards "have no ideals to realize but to set free the elements of the new society."

From the Archives of Marx: First English Translation

ED. NOTE: Despite the fame of the phrase "the expropriators are expropriated," which appears in the final chapter of Vol. I of Capital, many seem surprised to find that Marx did not accept the concept that what the capitalist owns is "private property." The development of that thought is found in the first English translation, below, of individual pages found in Marx's Notebooks on Capital, from the Archives of Marx, Vol. II, Moscow, 1933.

This winds up our publication of hitherto unpublished translations from these Archives (see also News & Letters, December 1966, and October 1967) with which we have been marking the centenary celebration of the publication of Capital.

The formation of capital and the capitalist method of production rest essentially not only on the abolition of the feudal method of production, but also on the expropriation of the peasants, artisans, and in general on the abolition of the private property of the direct producer on the historic conditions of private production. The capitalist method of production, when it appears, develops to the degree that this private property and the method of production based on it is abolished and, as a consequence, the expropriation of these direct producers in the form of the concentration of capital has already taken place.

This process of expropriation, repeating itself systematically as a consequence of the "clearance of property," is a violent act. It is the introduction to the capitalist process of production.

But the theory of the capitalist method of produc-

tion (political economy, philosophy of right, etc.), like the capitalist himself, in his imagination, confuses capitalist views of property and appropriation (based in its development on the appropriation of alien labor, and in its basis on the expropriation of the direct producer) with that method of production which, on the contrary, presupposes private property of the direct producer on his conditions of production. This is a supposition under which the capitalist method of production in agriculture and industry would be impossible. Therefore, the capitalist also pictures every infringement on the latter form of appropriation as an infringement on this earned property, in general on every property.

UNDER this circumstance there, of course, always results a great difficulty when it is necessary to describe the expropriation of property from the toiling mass. (By the way, under private property in this form there always exists, in any case, the slavery of the members of the family of whom the head of the family makes use and exploits.) Therefore the general juridical presentation from Locke to Ricardo — a presentation of petty-bourgeois property at the same time as the production relations described by them—relates to the capitalist method of production. This is possible precisely because this relationship of buyer and seller is formally the same in both forms. In all these writers we find the following duality:

- 1) Economically they are against private property based on labor and demonstrate the superiority of the expropriation of the mass and the capitalist method of production.
- 2) Ideologically and juridically the ideology of private property based on labor, without further circumlocution, is carried over to property based on the expropriation of the direct producers.

As soon as his labor actually began, it ceased to belong to him; consequently, it cannot be further sold by him.

The peculiar nature of this specific commodity, the capacity to labor, leads to this: that only with the conclusion of the agreement between buyer and seller does the sold commodity actually go over into the hands of the buyer as a use value. The exchange value of this commodity, as every other commodity, is determined before he enters into circulation, since it is sold as a capacity, as a force, and demands definite

labor time in order to produce this capacity, this force. Thus the exchange value of this commodity exists before its sale, but the use value is completed only in the following manifestation of force. Therefore the alienation of the power and its actual manifestation, i.e., its being, as a use value, do not coincide in time . . .

MEANWHILE the character of the commodity exchange does not at all change from whether money functions as buying means or paying means. The price of capacity to labor is established by agreement at the time of purchase, although it realizes itself only later. This form of payment also changes nothing as to whether this determination of price relates to the value of capacity to labor, and not the value of the product and not value of labor, which, as such, in general is not a commodity.

The exchange value of the capacity to labor, as was revealed, is paid for if the prices of the means of existence which ordinarily are necessary under the given condition of society, are paid for in order that the worker uses his capacity to labor with corresponding degree of force, health, and in general in order that he should eternalize himself, creating substitutes for himself. . . .

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Auto Contracts Don't Touch Important Work Conditions

(Continued from Page 1)
stitution and UAW collective bargaining strategy, they're wrong."
REUTHER THREAT

Far from honoring his "pledge" that local grievances would have to be settled before the workers would return to work:

First he announced that no workers on strike would be able to vote on the new contract. This is exactly what management says: that they will not negotiate with workers while they are on strike. Then he ruled that no Chrysler worker on strike would get a penny in strike benefits (these same Chrysler workers were kicking in an extra \$20 a month assessment asked by Reuther for the UAW strike fund), and then Reuther threatened workers with having their locals taken over by the International if they did not go back to work. To top it all off, he declared that striking workers would be fired by the company and that the union would not defend any workers fired for striking.

To the 4,300 wildcat striking Detroit area Sterling plant Chrysler workers, however, threats meant nothing. They started their strike against working conditions on Nov. 7, a day before the Chrysler agreement was signed, and stayed out until Nov. 14.

The Sterling workers charged that filthy and unsafe conditions and oppressive attitude of management were unbearable. Careless management, they said, was responsible for a young worker losing his arm in a machine — and then management didn't even shut down the machine, but immediately put another worker on the job.

IGNORE SAFETY

On another machine, management removed two safety buttons to cut down the seconds it took to punch them so production could be increased, and a worker lost his hand. Only then did management put the safety buttons back on the machine. There was also a constant layer of oil in one production area that the workers called "Sterling Pool."

A special meeting of the local called by Douglas Fraser, head of the UAW Chrysler Division, and Ken Morris, regional UAW director, resulted in the workers rejecting their demands to go back to work and throwing them out of the meeting. The next night Reuther called a meeting of the local, but sent Fraser and Morris to again try to get the men to go back to work.

At this meeting, Fraser and Morris ordered TV and newspaper reporters who were present to get out of the meeting hall. But the workers, insisting that the reporters be allowed to stay, overruled Fraser and Morris — and the reporters stayed.

WORKERS ANGRY

The attitude of the men could be seen in an exchange between Fraser and rank-and-file workers from the floor. When Fraser said the Sterling workers would get "the same economic gains" as the Ford workers, the workers yelled back, "You mean the same losses!"

Fraser was smart enough not to call for a vote, but the workers won a first anyway, forcing Fraser and Morris to agree to be at the Sterling plant the first thing in the morning to check the working conditions and to insist that management correct conditions. It probably was the first time that Fraser and Morris had been in an auto plant to see what working conditions are like for many, many years.

There wasn't much known about this contract. All the workers had was an information sheet that dealt mostly in generalities

on important questions like working conditions and work standards, and went into a little more detail on some of the other major provisions.

The younger workers especially were opposed to the contract. Most of the benefits will go to older workers. While younger workers are the first to agree that older workers need security and protection, they also know that they will be moved around like pawns by the company and get nothing but a few crumbs.

And the young ones are astute. They are the ones who immediately pointed to the new contract provisions that if you go on national guard duty, you'll get paid your regular wage rate.

WAR PROVISION

It was Vietnam and the Johnson administration that negotiated that, the young workers said, not Reuther — and the company would naturally go along with this bit. But if there had not been the protests and draft card burning and young men quitting the reserve and national guard wholesale, this would have never been negotiated.

Now the Chrysler workers are finding out what the Ford workers learned after their two-month strike: Reuther took part of the money you had in one pocket and put this in a pocket where you didn't have anything and then said, "Look at what I got for you that you didn't have before!"

One particular TV performance by Reuther in putting pressure on the workers through their wives to accept the Ford contract made Ford workers very angry. On an hour-and-a-half daytime program, Reuther explained in detail all of the benefits workers' wives and families would get if a worker died, and listed all of the economic hardships wives and their families would suffer if the workers did not approve the contract. One Ford worker's reaction summed up what many felt when he said, "I want to take care of my wife and family, but I don't want to hear about what's going to happen if I die, I want to know what's going to happen to me now when I'm alive. And he hasn't done or said a thing to help me when I'm on that production line."

MAIN ISSUE

That is the key issue for all of the rank-and-file, but Reuther did not touch working conditions in negotiating "the greatest contracts in history." Nor will he touch them with GM, even though GM is the most hated of the big three by the rank-and-file auto workers because of its known speed-up and completely inhuman working conditions.

As one Chrysler worker said, "We give to the union the will and power to protest and revolt. But in the process of negotiations, our union negotiators let the company bend the will of the workers to their own convenience. We authorize our negotiators to go and get us a tub full of water. But our negotiators immediately say to themselves: We can't get a tub of water, but maybe we can get a bucket full."

REJECT SPOONFUL

"When they come back and offer us the teaspoon full that is not enough for anybody and we ask why, they say: you didn't have this teaspoon full before; we'll get more; we've got the stopper loose and in 100 years we'll get you a tub full of water."

The workers know all of this. They know that Reuther won't change working conditions, but they have got to be changed, and the workers are the only ones who can change them. This fact becomes clearer every day.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

BRITAIN

Our British correspondent writes:

Wilson, who said he would oppose devaluation, has devaluated. It is all done in the interest of British capitalism. It is clear from his broadcast that everything possible will be done to curb the right of the workers to strike.

The two largest unions in the country have made demands for higher wages but while saying that they will continue to press their demands, they avoid real fundamental issues.

Devaluation had to come sooner or later as a means of trying to improve Britain's position in the capitalist world. Only those who stand for the new society can criticize it. Labour and Tory politicians may quibble with each other but their approach is fundamentally the same.

The case against capitalism was never stronger than it is now. Devaluation will not solve the problem that faces class conscious workers. It might ease the position of British capitalism for a little while, providing the workers submit to the inevitable lowering of their living standards.

PHILADELPHIA

The police brutality used to break up a demonstration of 3,500 high school students in Philadelphia (see story, page 2) has raised nationwide wrath and an investigation by the Federal Dept. of Justice.

Spencer Coxe, executive director of the Philadelphia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, was at the scene and said, "I saw children who were fleeing from the police repeatedly struck over the head from behind by the police using nightsticks. I saw two children lying on the ground, each with three patrolmen beating them unmercifully with nightsticks." One reporter said, "I got sick to my stomach."

An Episcopal Minister, Rev. E. Marshall Bevins, reports he was trying to stop four policemen from beating up a 14-year old Negro girl. "I told a police official, 'don't let your men use billyclubs on that girl,' and he ignored me. Then I ran up to the four policemen and told them, 'Don't hit that girl.' Then another policeman pushed me from behind and I fell to the ground."

The Minister was arrested along with 42 juveniles, William Mathis, head of the local chapter of CORE, and Walter Palmer, an official of the model cities program.

TV cameras recorded Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo at the scene saying, "There is no police brutality here" while the camera panned from him to a prostrate Negro girl being beaten up.

Police brutality always goes unpunished. In the Detroit riots, with 42 dead, no policeman was punished despite evidence of outright murder.

FREEDOM PLACE

A street in New York City has been named Freedom Place in honor of Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney, who gave their lives in the civil rights struggle when they were slain

by klansmen and police officials in Philadelphia, Miss., on June 21, 1964.

The two white and one Negro youth were passing through Philadelphia, Miss., when arrested and turned over to a lynch mob of southerners who brutally killed them and buried them at a construction site. One of the gang talked to federal officials, however. In the trials which followed, clear evidence showed that the vicious affair was planned by a white Baptist minister, and that both the sheriff and his deputy were involved in the klan murders.

A more enduring monument to these courageous young people, however, will be the achievement in life of that freedom and justice for which they gave their lives.

INDIA

Three governments have fallen in what appears to be a squeeze by the Congress Party of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The 14-party United Front in West Bengal fell apart when it was dismissed from office by the governor. The new Chief Minister, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, is 76 years old, and in his 280-man assembly, has only 17 votes through the new Popular Democratic Party he hastily put together.

In the States of Haryana and the Punjab, the United Front Governments also fell. The major source of weakness in all three governments has been their inability to solve the problem of food for the masses.

This year has seen the worst food crisis in West Bengal since the famine of 1943, and the prospects for improvement under any government seem dim.

The fall of the West Bengal government was followed by three days of street fighting in which 10 died and 2,500 were arrested by new Chief Ghosh.

The Congress party, soundly defeated in the last election, seems incapable of effective leadership.

MISS. TERROR

Until the bombing of Rabbi Perry Nussbaum's home on Nov. 21, the "reign of terror" that continues to mount in that Magnolia Jungle called Mississippi apparently had not been considered "news fit to print" by the press of this country. Yet it was the fifth bombing in the state within the last two months, and the fourth in the Jackson area alone.

A few days earlier, on Nov. 18, the home of a divinity school graduate, who had opened his doors to Negroes, had been bombed. On Sept. 18, Rabbi Nussbaum's synagogue had been dynamited. It was termed a "miracle" that no deaths have resulted from any of the bombings so far.

Rabbi Nussbaum, who has been active in the freedom movement ever since the Freedom Rides to Mississippi in 1961, when he ministered to the Freedom Riders in Parchman Penitentiary, put it well when he called the bombing acts of desperation by the die-hard white segregationists. The desperation is the result of the increasing momentum of the freedom movement.

While there is scarcely anything new about a "reign of terror" for Mississippi, the

current bombings have intensified since the recent trial in which an all-white Mississippi jury finally found seven of 18 white men guilty of charges of conspiracy in the deaths of the three young civil rights workers, Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner, in 1964. It was during that trial that arch-Southern-segregationist Judge Cox accused Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price and Alton Roberts of even threatening to bomb him.

It can scarcely be called "justice" that killers like these face a maximum of ten years in jail, but the fact that they were found guilty at all was undoubtedly a sign that a new day is dawning, even in Mississippi.

The fact that six black candidates backed by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party won in the general election on Nov. 7, along with another Negro who ran on the Democratic ticket, must have fanned the desperation of the white racists still more. Robert Clark became the first Negro elected to the state House of Representatives since Reconstruction, and together with the 16 candidates who won in the Democratic primary, brought the number of Negroes who will now hold political office in the state to 23.

The terror has always been the greatest when the promise of real change is the greatest. But the freedom movement has already proved that it will not be stopped until it has won full freedom for all. The new "reign of terror" proves nothing more than the increasing strength of the black revolt.

G. I. ON VIETNAM

A body thought to be that of Pfc. John W. Guinn was buried by his mother, who learned a few days later that her son was alive and returning from Vietnam.

Asked how he felt about the war on his return, he said, "When my three years are up I'm coming out, and I ain't going to re-enlist and I hope we bring all of the United States boys out." Asked why he felt that way, he said, "Because its no war of ours—It's just tragedy."

"Don't you think we ought to be there?" he was asked. "No, sir," was his reply. "How many others feel as you do?" was the next question. "I guess all of them," he said.

SOUTH AFRICA

While those who are fighting segregation have been calling a boycott of South Africa's products because of apartheid policies, the U.S. Army is lending that government a helping hand.

The Army has placed an order for \$1.26 million worth of South African-made electronic equipment to be used for artillery survey work. The order was placed with Plessey South Africa Ltd. for equipment known as the Tellurometer, designed to U.S. Army specifications. The equipment will be manufactured in South Africa and assembled in New York by another branch of the firm there.

It's another case of government hypocrisy they thought would go unnoticed in a world where "military security" covers a multitude of sins.