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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Who Doesn't Have a Lemon?

Several years ago, when Ralph Nader began to expose the automobile companies on safety, pointing out the defective way they were building cars, many workers were very glad about the exposures. But many workers also said it would all end up with no improvement in the safety of cars so long as the rat race for production continued. Nader could yell all he pleased about more safety features for the cars being built, but until something could force the companies to slow down the automation machines, slow down the production lines to a pace where a worker could turn out quality work instead of quantity of jobs, workers knew that safety would not improve, but only get worse.

Nader now seems to have forgotten his campaign for safety qualities in automobiles, and has turned his attention to drugs and food, which is also very important. But if his exposures there don't do any more good than they have done in the auto industries, Nader would do better to save his breath and his time.

#### QUALITY NEVER WORSE

I have been an auto worker for nearly 30 years, and I feel sure that never before in history have cars been manufactured with such little quality as they are being produced today. Many workers in GM are saying that they are afraid to buy GMC cars, Ford workers won't buy Fords, and Chrysler workers complain just as much as Chrysler products.

The reason is simple. Workers in each of these companies see how these cars are built where they work. They know what is missing. They see the defects first hand. But because they don't see the other factories, they feel it can't be possible for conditions to be as bad elsewhere as where they work. Nader was talking about safety belts and padded dash boards, but the workers are talking about the other parts of the car, that are far more important for safety than any belt or padded dashboard could ever be.

One worker I know was going to Alabama with his family to visit his parents for the holidays. He has a new GM car, and after getting packed up and driving two blocks from his home, the motor dropped from the frame onto the street. When he looked down and saw it lying on the pavement he said, "Thank God!" His wife thought he had gone crazy, but he said, "If we were on the highway going 70 or 80 miles an hour, and this had happened, we could have been killed. And when they took our bodies from the wreckage they would have said the driver was probably asleep or drunk, or just lost control." Workers are convinced that many of the wrecks that kill people are caused by defects like this in the cars.

Another worker, who had just bought a new Mercury, with less than 500 miles on it, came to visit me and was cussing the whole time about how many times the motor went dead on the expressway, and the car stopped, before he made the 15 miles to my house. When he was ready to go home, he asked me to drive behind him because he wanted to be sure he got there. (He didn't take the expressway!) The car stopped several times, but he finally made it.

#### PARADE OF LEMONS

Some years ago, when a worker bought a car that had defects, he would put cardboard signs in the window with a lemon drawn on it, and drive around the dealers' lot and through the streets to warn others away from the dealer and the company. It was a very effective weapon. But today the companies have become smarter. They now have a 25,000 to 50,000 mile, or five year, warranty, so that if your car is a lemon you will just bring it back to the dealer and get it repaired. "If, that is," as one worker put it, "you don't get killed in it before you get it back to the dealer." If you do make it back, the agreement is usually written in such a way that you wind up paying for the repairs, anyway.

If we began to use the cardboard signs with the lemons again, we would have long caravans of cars parading around every auto dealer in the country. We are working in the Frame Department. Every day the defective parts get worse than the day before. Nobody in supervision seems to care about it. Sometimes when a frame is loaded to be put on a car, a worker will say, "Man, I hate to think who will get the car with that frame." Another will say, "And to think of all the money people pay to buy scrap!" The part of the car that used to be the biggest lemon was the motor. Today the cars are lemons from top to bottom, inside included.

No wonder they are always reporting more people being killed on highways than in planes, or in the war. When will the public begin to demand quality instead of quantity? How can the mad rush for production be checked, so workers can produce the kind of cars they want to, cars they know will be safe, cars they will have confidence in buying themselves? Probably not until the workers themselves can control production. That is when the public can expect safety—when something is finally done about the automation machines and the production madness.

## Of Arms, Men and Racism

### NIXON, New, Old and Napoleonic

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Chairman National Editorial Board

On Jan. 3, in what he billed as his last public dinner speech before inauguration, Nixon proposed a toast to the President and the presidency. Far more precisely than the intellectual jibes that stress Nixon's nonentity—"When Nixon is alone in a room is anyone there?"—Nixon's own toast centered attention on the most fantastic imperial power the world has ever seen. It was clear that, in toasting President Johnson, he was toasting the presidency which he would wield for the next four crucial years.



NIXON'S BRAINTRUST: THE MINDLESS DOZEN

The 12 grey-suited, nameless, faceless, mindless, rich WASPS that Nixon named to the Cabinet disclosed still another facet of the old Cold War warrior who had first sprung to fame during Joe McCarthy's witch-hunting heyday, that of little Napoleon dreaming to be a big one, "alone" setting foreign and domestic policies.

Designated for the number one job in the Cabinet, the Secretary of the State, William P. Rogers, had one thing to say in praise of himself: "I have never said or written a word about Vietnam. I am very happy about that." Allegedly, this proves how uncommitted the new administration is to old policies.

Instead, it discloses computer-oriented mindlessness of the new Cabinet regarding the barbaric Vietnam war that is tearing this nation apart, that brought down the Johnson Administration, and is sure to do the same for Nixon.

In any case, neither Nixon nor his Defense Secretary, Melvin Laird, from Joe McCarthy's home district, can lay claim to a record that is quite such a blank sheet of paper as that of William P. Rogers. On the contrary. Not even the white-heat desire to win the election and, therefore, the need to appear like a critic of the Vietnam war, could quite turn the hawkish Senator Laird into a dovish Secretary of Defense.

#### "Nuclear Supremacy"

Nixon himself was the one who delivered the most irresponsible speeches of the campaign. In its final lap, he suddenly discovered a "security gap," thereby expanding the Vietnam war to a possible nuclear confrontation with Russia!

Our new little Napoleon promised to close "the security gap," to restore "our nuclear superiority," build up "air supremacy" and give greater weight to the military as opposed to the top civilian administrators in the Department of Defense: "I intend to root out the whiz kid approach."

This speech, made on Oct. 25 over CBS, was followed the next week by the promise to revive the costliest, the most dangerous, in fact the greatest fiasco of that "whiz kid" former Defense Secretary, McNamara—the controversial and notorious TFX or F-111. Nixon chose Fort Worth, Texas, where General Dynamics (the largest weapons producer in the U.S.) built the F-111 to announce: "the F-111 in a Nixon Administration will be made into one of the foundations of our air supremacy."

As the close election results showed, this type of nuclear-powered sabre rattling very nearly lost the presidency to Nixon. He never did get a majority of the votes, and he got a plurality only because the bomb-away General Curtis LeMay made it look as

## Editorial

### S.F. State College Rebellion Challenges Entire System

The thousands of student strikers at San Francisco State College have begun some very new and important stages in the freedom movement. The strike, which is continuing into the new year, is the longest student strike ever held in this country. Even the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley had not succeeded in drawing in the black students in an independent role. At S. F. State, on the other hand, the black students were the spark and have been playing a leading role in the strike. Most important, the strike is at one and the same time a rejection of the whole educational system and a confrontation with the state.

Because California Governor Reagan is the outright reactionary he is, and thus chose to confront the students with his billy-club swinging cops, the white students, who are a majority of the college, became very much a part of what began with a series of Black Students Union demands. In great numbers they have chosen to unite with the non-white students. Thus black students, Third World Liberation Front students, (Mexican, Chinese, Latin American, Japanese, and Filipino student groups) and white students (not just Students for a Democratic Society and other radical whites) finally came together.

#### CRISIS REFLECTS U.S. DISSOLUTION

How were there so many firsts in this student strike of 1968 as against the Berkeley movement of 1964-65? The answer lies in the crisis of American society, nationally and internationally.

Internationally, it has been the Vietnam War that has made a whole new generation of youth into revolutionaries. The intense activity since 1965 of American youth opposed to the war has been unprecedented. If the college campus was safe from the draft, thousands upon thousands of college youth chose, not ivory tower education, but active opposition to the war, from draft counseling to resistance, anti-war demonstrations and marches. American youth, white as well as non-white, were asked to kill and be killed and the largest number in history were saying: No, we won't.

But above all was the critical stage which has been reached within the country. The black question—never more critical since the Civil War—was never more disregarded than by the campaign of Richard Nixon. Where all have been saying that Nixon is uncommitted on the great issues such as race, the black population of this country, who voted against him by eight and nine to one, knew that nothing could be further from the truth. He is very much committed—to his own white "philosophy." It is this racism in the United States which the black people are determined to tear out,

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## Interview With Theodorakis

"My Songs Are For The Free Greeks" — Theodorakis

Mikos Theodorakis, the composer of *Zorba the Greek*, was the first public opponent of the Greek Junta within Greece. His name appeared on the earliest statement of the underground, and his voice was heard on its tapes.

Until his capture in August, 1967, Theodorakis was the public leader of the Patriotic Front. A Marxist, he has been a prisoner of right wing governments several times, but he is probably the most popular individual in Greece. The colonels released him from prison early in 1968 following a world campaign in his behalf, but Theodorakis was kept under strict surveillance.

Renato Bucci, a reporter for *Novella 2000*, and Al Banno, a singer of Theodorakis' songs in Italian translation, visited the composer last summer at his new home in Vrahati near the Corinthian Isthmus. They saw Theodorakis a few days after the unsuccessful attempted assassination of the leader of the junta, Col. Papadopoulos.

"Are you happy to stay in Greece?"

"Who does not stay in his own country happily? Theodorakis answered. "Only, I feel the desire work; lately, more and more. For instance, I would like to live in Italy."

"But are you free? Can you speak freely? Move? Write music?"

"I am never free. Do you see this villa in the middle of the fields? It is surrounded by police. I can't even walk a hundred meters without them knowing it. That's why your visit has left me speechless with surprise. Greeks are afraid to come visit me. They'd be immediately black-listed."

Theodorakis was visibly upset. The Italians were embarrassed. Theodorakis took them into a large room where the builders have left steps unfinished. At the corner, under a black cloth, there was a piano. Theodorakis began to play. The music was torrential. It rolled from his fingers like inspiration. The ivory notes reflected their white light in the acetylene lamp.

"Get the tape recorder. Tape these songs. They have never

been published before. I wrote them in prison. Do it for me, and for all the free Greeks who are abroad."

"What are your songs talking about?"

"They speak of the people, about the Greeks, about the Greece that has been waiting for centuries and is still waiting without despairing... Greece is a nation of slaves, a nation of old people. Yes, old people. The youth has left for other lands. More than 600,000 are all over the world. It is for them that I write my songs..."

"Ah! I wish I could go away, leave everything and relive the joy of freedom. Everyone listened to my music. Even Constantine. Now the king is at Capri. A vacation. Better this way. Greece was never free."

"When I was in jail I kept thinking of the sea. I still remember how it felt the first day, after the first moments of anxiety and agony. I knocked at the wall of my cell... tock-tock. And my comrades answered the same way: 'All is well.' They were alive. What a joy that minute. Then the long wait, without knowing what to expect. And the sea coming to your thought, the night, the darkness, dreams. Then you awake and your hands are wet with perspiration."

Theodorakis arose. He walked two steps, stopped, calmed himself. He smiled, "Tonight" he suddenly shouted. "Tonight we will go eat at the village. We'll eat like free Greeks. We'll drink and touch glasses. There is nothing else we can do."

The interview ended. The Italians went home and when their article appeared, Theodorakis was exiled to a remote mountain area.

In December of 1968 he was again taken to prison to be held for trial on a pre-junta charge of insulting the king. He was taken to court on the appointed day in chains only to be returned to prison without trial, for the prosecution had not been able to find a single witness who would testify against him!

—Dan Georgakas and Eleni Paidcussi

(Two long-playing albums of Theodorakis, proceeds of which will go to anti-junta struggles, are available through Smyrna Press, Box 418, Stuyvesant Station, NYC, 10009.)

## Italian Peasant Strikers Die; New Worker Groups Forming

Genoa, Italy—It is difficult to have a clear prospect of what has happened here recently and its meaning for both the Italian working class, and the world proletariat. It may be easier for you, who will analyse the facts from outside.

During the entire month of November, university and especially high school students held general assemblies, speeches, demonstrations, meetings with workers.

Many Italian workers were also on the move, fighting against the division in the country into several "wage areas"; the difference between wages in the first and the last area is 25 percent. There was also a great strike of all state workers — railwaymen, government clerks, etc. — with considerable tension over the government's solution for the pension problem.

Finally, toward the middle of November, there was no more government, since Socialists, Christian Democrats and Republicans were preparing a new edition of the center-left.

**PEASANTS STRIKE IN SICILY**  
On Monday, Dec. 2, several hundred peasants blocked one of the principal roads in Sicily, after a two week strike for better conditions and against the wage area system. Barricades were built and some 80 policemen arrived, armed with machine guns.

They marched toward the peasants and started throwing tear gas grenades, but the wind blew the gas back, while the peasants answered with a rain of rocks. When the police began a retreat, the workers descended from their barricades and surrounded the armed forces, who ran across the fields, followed by the demonstrators.

Then someone lost his head (or remembered the orders given before leaving the barracks) and fired. Machine guns started shooting, and the peasants began to burn some of the police cars. When it ended, two peasants lay dead, three others severely wounded, with scores of bullets in their bodies.

These murders took place during the same time that 10,000 students were marching through Turin, 30,000 in Rome and tens of thousands in many other Italian cities, great and small. The police did not attack them — not yet.

**ALL ITALY EXPLODES**  
On Tuesday, Dec. 3, the left wing parties and the trade unions called for a six hour — yes, six

## 20,000 Electrical Workers in N.Y. Strike; Is First in 42 Yrs.

New York, N. Y.—On Dec. 1, 20,000 workers at Consolidated Edison went out on strike for the first time in 42 years, after having rejected a contract negotiated by the union leadership. The rank-and-file upsurge was spearheaded by young workers, who were not so accommodated to the "too cozy" union-company relationship, as one outside man described the years without a strike.

The men turned down a contract with no cost-of-living allowance; with wage provisions—7½ percent per year—not likely even to match New York City's rising prices; and minimum premium for night and Sunday work.

**NO TIME STUDY**

Men starting work at Con Ed now work with up to 324,000 volts, a far cry from the low voltage or even DC current of a generation ago. The greater danger adds to the self-assertiveness of the workers: they have not permitted the company to establish time standards for jobs on high-voltage installations. Their self-assertiveness was manifest within the union as well.

What might have been a close vote if only young workers opposed became an overwhelming rejection when workers approaching retirement joined with them.

Opponents of the contract informally organized against it by taking up contract issues in the shops. The pension provisions galvanized the opposition of older workers — Con Ed had been given the right to reduce the pension by half the men's social security benefits.

**MASS PICKETING**  
When the strike began, Con Ed tried to maintain minimum services with 4,000 supervisors on long shifts. Against them, strikers engaged in mass picketing, in some cases blocking access to the scabs, several workers being arrested in the process.

They encouraged friendly people in the city to use all their electrical appliances in order to tax the generative facilities and put pressure on the company, which had admitted that the supervisors manning the plants were ill-equipped to handle anything out of the ordinary, especially extra power requirements.

Naturally, the newspapers were asking people to cooperate with the company and hold down power usage during peak hours.

**CONTRACT RUNAROUND**  
It soon became clear that, despite the militance of the men on the picket lines, the union had no intention of negotiating a better contract. After the strike had continued for a week, the leadership announced that it was "still too early" to issue strike benefits.

The next day the company and union negotiated a second contract, with minor improvements in pensions, vacations and premium pay — but workers were to pay for those tidbits by laboring three months longer at the same wages.

Young workers seemed as suspicious of this new contract as they were of the first one. But this time they were less successful in generating broadbased opposition to it. The financial pinch, from having neither wages nor strike benefits two weeks before Christmas, contributed to the changed mood at the next vote: only one-fourth of the workers again rejected the contract.

**CON ED WOOS UNION**  
Con Ed, with some connivance from the union, had kept the opposition of the workers in bounds. But the company does not wish to see an unexpected strike like this one repeated.

Therefore, Con Ed officials began pushing in the press for a new law to make contracts negotiated with the union leadership binding on the rank-and-file — guaranteeing them that the union would be an instrument to control its workers, not to defend their interests. As one worker said, "If they pass that law, the union won't be ours."

**NEW CRISIS**  
MILAN, Italy, Jan. 2, 1969—On New Year's Eve a student, 16 years old, was shot and will probably die or be paralyzed for the rest of his life. New demonstrations have broken out.  
(Ed. Note: We will carry further news from Italy next issue.)

hour — strike in Sicily — just Sicily — and 15 to 20 minutes in the rest of the country.

But the Italian workers and students, already near the explosion point, rose up everywhere spontaneously. It was not a general strike, but started discussions and prepared the road for shop assemblies not under the direct control of the trade unions, but on the contrary, against their organization of the struggles.

Demonstrations were held all over Italy. While they were mainly prepared by the Movimento Studentesco, at least half the demonstrators were usually workers.

**TURNING POINT**  
Looking back, one can easily see that we have just gone through a very critical period for Italian capitalism — not a revolutionary moment, but one that marks a turning point for the working class, the official workers' parties, the student movement, and the various left wing groups.

The student movement has reached a very wide influence. In each of the major cities (Rome, Milan, Naples, Turin, as well as Genoa, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Palermo, Bari and Trieste) the movement can count on 100 to 300 activists or more, fully occupied with the struggle. In each of these cities there are from one to three thousand more students and workers who take part in most of the demonstrations.

In addition there are smaller cities like Pisa, Savona, Udine, Alessandria, Catania, Ancona that take part. One day there were more than 5,000 high school students in the streets in Udine. On another, as many in Alessandria. The next day, 10,000 in Catania.

**WHAT NEXT?**  
But the student movement has three main limitations: 1) there is no precise political line, and there are often clashes between different groups regarding both tactical and strategic questions. This is because most of the small old left-wing groups have entered the student movement. 2) It is impossible to reach a national organization, even if vague and with a great political elasticity. 3) Even locally, the student movement has not been able to express an alternative form of organization other than the general assembly, which is OK until it has to choose among two or three possibilities.

The point is: are we ready for a new revolutionary organization? Will the student movement give a real contribution in this direction, with all of its class bonds with the bourgeoisie, and with all of its extremisms?

Meanwhile, nothing new has happened in the last few weeks. There have been some local "general" strikes — but they have been completely under trade union control. The new year will see if the reforms that the new government has prepared will be enough to stop the struggles.

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

### Where Are Human Values?

This world is getting to be so crooked that nobody seems to care about human values any longer. People are killed, burned, beaten, just for a few pennies because others have gone crazy trying to live without working for that living.

They have become just like the old rich whites used to be, and doing just like they used to do. The black people and the poor white men worked so hard, and then the big fat rich white men collected all the money, and gave the poor just enough to almost get by at the end of the year.

This is the real reason the poor black and white people are stealing and killing to try to live half-way as decently as other human beings.

**POOR PAY MORE**  
Many can't understand why these people are acting as they do, but I think it is because the big leaders are trying so hard to stay on top, by paying the poor working people the lowest wages they can.

In the black neighborhoods, grocery stores have raised the prices of food three times higher than stores in the white neighborhoods. If you don't live in a black neighborhood, and don't believe it, take a visit to one and see for yourself.

Over the holidays, a 12-pound turkey in white neighborhoods cost only \$3.75, but in the black neighborhood it cost \$7.85. The daily papers claim that the reason for this is the riots of 1967 — but the white man was robbing the black people long before the riots broke out. In fact, that's one reason they did break out.

The riots will never stop as long as more young black people are born, because the young are just not going to take the same things black people used to take.

**INSURANCE CHEATS**  
Anyone can see how the rich man is trying to take advantage of the poor people, including the white poor. Take car insurance. It has become hard to get because the companies want to beat people out of all the money they can.

They will take your money for years, but if they finally have to give you back a little, they will throw you out of your insurance and claim you are a bad driver, or that you live in the wrong neighborhood — even if you are not in your neighborhood, but out on the highway somewhere, when you get hit.

This whole world is in a terrible state, and it will take a complete change to straighten it out.

# From The Auto Shops

## Ford Rouge

DETROIT, Mich. — The Ford Motor Company is really a two-faced hypocrite. The company sends out a letter to many of its salaried people telling them not to discriminate because of color. The letter tells the supervisory people that they should judge people on merit, not on skin color. This is the face which they try to show the public.

If anyone ever asks if there is discrimination at Fords, all they have to do is pull out the letter and show everyone what they tell their managers, supervisors and foremen.

### RACIST FACE

But talk is cheap. In action there is another face to the Ford Motor Company — a racist one. One example is in so-called labor relations — which is supposed to be neutral between the company and the union.

One labor relations man, Fisher, has risen from step six to step nine in less than six months. How has he done this? By his record of settling with black people who are protesting against racism in the plant. He settles by working with foremen to fire black workers who protest too much.

Before the election Fisher had bragged about how Wallace would be the best man for President. Now he talks about how none of those black people he has fired are going to get back in the plant.

His mentality is that of an overseer on a plantation or of a prison warden. He is supposed to be qualified for his job because of some degree he received in school, but to us he is not qualified to understand human beings in the plant. It is time for him to go and we intend to see that he does.

### REVOLTS

Foremen are getting busted up by young workers in the plant all the time. Ford tries to blame it on leaflets and stories in News & Letters and FRUM.

It is not the leaflets and stories, it is the exploitative and racist practices of labor relations, foremen and the whole Ford Company. And the union officials have too long looked the other way. This is what must be stopped.

## Chrysler Mack

DETROIT, Mich. — The company finally got rid of the poisonous smoke which we wrote about in News & Letters, but they replaced it with harder work.

The old arch welder holder which produced the smoke weighed around half a pound and we would be carrying it around all day. Now they put in the new C2 welder, which doesn't produce smoke, but must weigh five or six pounds and so now we have to carry them around all day.

### HARDER WORK

We have to produce the same amount of material as before, but now we have a heavier piece of equipment and it takes longer to weld because the holder is so big and awkward. The company says that this new machine gives better quality. To the company everything is production. If in the change to new equipment no smoke is produced, the workers are lucky.

If the change means the workers have to carry around an extra five pounds, that's the way it has to be. Everything is production and the workers be damned.

We can even see this occur in

workers who become foremen. All of a sudden life doesn't mean a thing, production is ahead of life. The foremen think about the company instead of about the men. Production rules because of the \$12 or \$15 more a week that they make.

### BLACK FOREMEN

The company is getting smart on the question of foremen. We have been hollering about having some black foremen on the line and now the company has put lots of black foremen on the lines where there are a majority of Negroes. Now the white bosses are really pushing the black foremen hard to see that they push the black workers hard.

We have to understand the exploitation is both by race and class and that in fighting it we must unite race and class. A black foreman who makes us sweat for the company is no different than a white foreman who does the same.

If there are supervisors then they should be black as well as white, but we can't forget that the supervisors work for the company, not for the men.

The union is supposed to work for the men, but they have been falling down on this. One example is the age of our representatives.

The company has been hiring a lot of young foremen. But the union doesn't have many young representatives. There are many young workers in the plant and

we think that one way to get better representation would be to have younger officials in the union.

## Fleetwood

DETROIT, Mich. — We struck at Fleetwood because the company kept piling on work after the model changeover. Now the company is trying a new tactic—piling the work on newly hired workers who don't have union protection. It was the strike that made them hire more men, but now the company is really pushing them. Fleetwood is putting these men in certain jobs where standards are not set and all types of extra work can be added on.

The new men can't do anything about it because there is no union protection for sixty days. By the time sixty days comes around the company will have set whatever standards they see fit and there will be nothing the worker can do about it.

We just finished a strike concerning all the work the company has been forcing us to do and now they are trying to do the same thing through the back door. Why shouldn't workers be protected during the first sixty days? The union should move in faster to protect a job before the company builds it up to an almost inhuman task.

—Fleetwood Worker

### On the Line

## The Sprinkler that Failed — A Holiday Tale By Chrysler

by John Allison

When production was being run in Plant No. 3 at Chrysler Highland Park plant, management installed a sprinkler system for fire protection. During Christmas season, the office workers and management personnel were home having a nice time with their families.

There's nothing wrong with that, except that maybe all workers should have the same opportunity. But at any rate the heat in the office building went down: the sprinkler system froze; and the result was a nice flood descended upon Chrysler's gold-plated offices.

I was also told some offices in Townsend's Temple got wet while he enjoyed Christmas.

### HAPPY HOLIDAY

The truth is, the way things were going in the shop, the bigshots really needed that sprinkler system to cool off.

Just to show that management's heart was in the right place, the bosses on the night shift on the day before Christmas holiday really got into the swing of things. As it so happened, the workers on day and afternoon shifts had pretty much worked up all of the production material at hand, which meant that the midnight shift workers had to get their own stock.

It also meant that production

had to stop, and as every worker knows, this is a cardinal sin against the corporation. In addition, it was also the Christmas season, the workers were showing the proper spirit by wishing each other a happy holiday season, shaking hands with each other and in general having a jovial time.

Well, it may have been a time for wishing happy holiday for the workers, but it sure wasn't thought to be so by the bosses. And they made this clear by taking down the names of workers who were not working like the foremen wanted them to. The net result was that some 78 workers' names were turned in for disciplinary action.

### PRODUCTION JITTERS

The workers, of course, knew what the corporation was mad at. It was the lost production from the three days' holiday time workers got off for Christmas and the two other days they got for New Year. This meant production time lost forever. And the bosses had production jitters. How were they going to make up the production time lost unless they pushed the workers as much as they could?

As they found out though, it was a bad time to push. Instead of getting out more production, the workers slowed down even more. This added to the bosses' anger, and they called higher and higher supervision to try to threaten the workers. This didn't work either.

At any rate, the original 78 names that were turned in were later cut down to 28, and these are being negotiated. The management tried to accuse three workers of being ringleaders of the trouble, and at first wanted to fire them. They were kept on, finally, but the company tried to give one of them ten days off, another five days off, and the last three days off. The remaining 25 were docked for three hours work.

### TENSION GROWS

This isn't over yet, and there is arguing between the company and union representatives over this whole issue, and things are expected to get a lot worse before they get better between management and the production workers.

Adding to the friction is the tension that is felt about the moving out of the plant workers to Ohio and to other Detroit-area Chrysler plants. With the new year, more layoffs are in the cards, and the recession the workers fear from the Nixon administration is making a lot of them feel pretty edgy.

If management starts to throw its weight around in the plant, it can find it is mixing a real explosion that can blow up in its face. Things aren't exactly like they used to be—especially between the older workers and the young black militants. There is already handwriting on the wall that the experience of the older workers mixed with the energy and determination of the young militants can produce a very happy marriage for the workers, and mean bad medicine for management in the future.

## Dynamite Poverty Workers' Home

PIKEVILLE, Ky. — Alan and Margaret McSurely have asked for a federal investigation of the dynamiting of their home near here December 13.

The McSurelys and their year-old son, Victor, narrowly escaped death when the dynamite bomb missed their bedroom window. It hit the side of the house instead.

### BLAME COAL OWNERS

The McSurelys charged in affidavits filed with the U.S. District Attorney that the dynamiting was a part of a conspiracy against them on the part of coal operators and politicians in Eastern Kentucky. They said the conspiracy, designed to prevent organization by the poor, started with their arrest under a state sedition law in 1967; the law was later declared unconstitutional.

The dynamiting came a week after the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC) held another in a series of hearings here. The McSurelys are field workers for the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), which has been under attack by KUAC.

Mrs. Anne Braden, associate director of SCEF, sent telegrams of protest to Gov. Louie B. Nunn and State Sen. Scott Miller, Jr., chairman of KUAC.

### KUAC STIRS HATE

She charged that "this criminal act (the dynamiting) was provoked by the fear and hatred generated by your Committee. In Eastern Kentucky, this Committee is serving only the interests of the coal operators . . .

"When a society attempts to kill ideas by force and fear, it always ends up killing people. In the name of human life, we call on you to suspend activities of KUAC before it is too late — and a real tragedy descends on Kentucky."

The McSurely bombing was the latest in a series of dynamiting and violence against black and white residents of Kentucky. Five churches and a pharmacy were bombed in the summer and fall in various parts of the state. The pharmacy bombing resulted in injury of four persons, including the pharmacist, a leader in the NAACP.

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## Editorial

# S.F. State College Rebellion Challenges Entire System

Continued from page 1

root and branch. And it is especially the young, articulate, black people at S. F. State who have begun to do it.

Their call for a Black Studies Program challenges the educational system. While previously only a few Marxist-Humanists have stressed the black man's vanguard role throughout American history, the demand by the Black Students Union puts the struggle on a whole new level. The black consciousness which groups such as the Black Panthers have achieved since the assassination of Dr. King, has moved further in months than the decades of Negro History Week that black intellectuals founded to fight the total exclusion of black people from the history white society has practiced.

## DEMAND HISTORIC ROLE OF BLACK AMERICANS

If the demand for the history of the black man is a mass demand, then it cannot be dealt away by appointing one black administrator at one school. All of the academic community will have to be shaken up, beginning with the historical societies who have perpetuated our present misconceptions of American history. The African Studies programs which have been in existence the last few years will not do. We must come to grips with the true historic role of the black man in America.

This revolutionary black consciousness will hopefully lead to a demand by white students that the real history of America—the history of its revolutionary peoples, black, brown, yellow, red and white—be taught in all the schools. It is not just black people but most especially white people who need to know the history of this country. This is not "educational reform" but part of a revolutionary movement.

The strike at State has not only brought black people to leadership, but has given voice to many new creative forces. Here is an excerpt from a leaflet of the "Intercollegiate Chinese For Social Action" at San Francisco State:

"SF State has a Chinese language department that isolates the 'Chinese Experience' as a cultural phenomenon in a language that 83% of the Chinese in the United States do not speak. Realistically, we can expect that a Chinese woman, living in the ghetto, who speaks Cantonese cannot explain to the scholar that she is dying of tuberculosis because she speaks a 'street language' while the scholar mutters a classical poetry in Mandarin. SF State College does not teach Cantonese.

"Chinatown is a ghetto. In San Francisco there are approximately 50,000 Chinese of whom the vast majority live in Chinatown . . . There are no adequate courses in any department or school at SF State that even begin to deal specifically with the problems of the Chinese people in this exclusionary and racist environment."

## ALL ALIENATED GROUPS PARTICIPATE

Latin-American and Mexican-American student organizations are also active in the strike.

Besides new elements finding a voice in the student community, others joined in. On campus the American Federation of Teachers chapter went on strike both to support the students and to get recognition for their union. Their strike was supported by the San Francisco Labor Council. As a result, the food handlers in the cafeteria left their jobs. There are other unionized employees on campus who may refuse to cross picket lines.

Off-campus, we cannot say whether the strike will act as a springboard to an alliance with workers, though some groups within unions have issued support leaflets and urged workers in their union to go to San Francisco State and join the students.

We can say that black labor, the black community, is very much behind what the students are doing. Community people have come to the campus. The students have moved off-campus to leaflet and explain the strike in the community. The emergence of the Third World Liberation Front is an indication that the support is not limited to the black community, but includes other minorities in multi-racial San Francisco.

Other campuses in California have had rallies in support of S.F. State. Some state colleges have indicated that they may walk out also.

The current reactionary President, S. I. Hayakawa, says all would be normal except for a small handful of militants and revolutionary communists. The thousands of black, brown, white and yellow students on strike give short shrift to this old lie. They have clearly shown how widespread the strike is.

## REVOLUTIONARY REORGANIZATION

On the other side, certain "radical" groups have claimed that it was precisely their politics which led the movement at State to where it is. They, too, fail to see the vastness of the movement, all the elements which set it in motion, all the new ideas and forces coming to the fore. They cannot all be summed up in the "vanguard party" with the "right line." Instead these forces must be allowed to grow to represent a real philosophy of freedom.

What the black students have begun at San Francisco State is the first act of revolutionary reorganization—the uprooting, at one and the same time, of the educational system and the racism that has put American civilization on trial.

## News & Letters

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# Readers'

## THE YEAR PAST—PRESENT AND FUTURE

I note that an "expert" in the U.S. State Department refers to 1968 as a year of retrogression. How wrong he is.

It was a year in which the Czechoslovakian Communist leaders had to make a partial submission to the masses. Also we had the mass revolt in France, followed by a similar movement in Italy. The spark of revolt has been seen in Poland, and evidence shows that there is also a spark in Russia.

The recent demonstrations in London showed progress despite some weaknesses even here.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow

It has become almost a cliché—no matter how true—to decry the insanity of spending billions on space exploration when we haven't solved the problems of our own earth yet. So I put the cliché aside and got all wrapped up in following the trip to the moon.

Then came the night the news of the fantastic success of the flight was followed by the news that people were dying in New York City because there was no heat in their tenement buildings. And I came crashing back to reality with a thud. It's no cliché. It is insanity.

Secretary  
Chicago

The race to build the first supersonic transport plane has been won by the Soviet Union and has received as little publicity here as the flight of the Apollo 8 did in the Soviet Union. The United States, after working on the project for the past six years, is a poor third in the race, with the joint French-British plane scheduled for testing in January. The American Boeing SST will not be completed until late 1970.

The \$2 billion cost of developing the American version will come out of the taxpayer, while the profits from its manufacture and use will go to the stockholders in American aircraft industries.

Observer  
Boston

In our shop we began to work shorter hours in December. Nobody was surprised. We've been waiting for it ever since Nixon got in. We have been told that there has been a six percent decline in car orders already since the election. And this is just the beginning. It looks like it is going to be a pretty grim new year for the working man.

Ford Worker  
Detroit

## THE BLACK REVOLT

The history of the black past has never been put into a book where black children could see and read how the older black people have fought here, and died, just as the black people are getting killed today for trying to be free. It would be a good thing if the white race would write a true history for their schools, a history that would show how the black race has come its long way through the injustice and oppression it has had to face.

Some whites like to change the truth around. They don't

mind saying that black folks can do some things — but not as well as the whites. When they tell history in their way, they list all of the bad things they can find that a black man might have done. All the good things that have been done are credited to the whites. None of the bad things done by whites are mentioned.

There was a TV special recently about the city of Boston. It proved once and for all that Negroes are not going to be fools any longer, saying yes to everything a white man says against them, because they are black.

The black man is standing up to tell the white man what the black people want, and what they mean to have without any more waiting. One hundred years is long enough to become a free citizen of the United States.

It has been the black man who has had the troubles in this country, all his life. Now the white man is beginning to know what trouble is. When black power gets a little stronger still, things will have to change — for the better or the worse.

E. Dunbar  
Detroit

Some people are advocating things like five states for Negroes. This is contrary to what American citizens want.

It is ridiculous even from the standpoint of the five states that are being asked for. What could we do with them if they gave them to us? Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and the others . . . those states are so poor that when the rabbits go across the fields, they carry their own lunches!

DPW Union Man  
Detroit

Workers of both races must realize the reality of a system which is seeking to draw attention away from a shaky economy, dangerous military-industrial collusion, and a quiet campaign against organized labor, by appealing to white fears and racism.

The "law and order" slogan is not only the excuse for anti-riot, anti-strike legislation, but also a bold attempt to justify a campaign of genocide at home at the same time as Americans are rejecting a similar campaign against the Vietnamese.

Student in Exile  
Canada

## PUERTO RICAN TRIALS

Jose del Carmen Garcia Miranda went on trial in San Juan, Puerto Rico on Nov. 12 for refusing induction into the American army. He was the first of over a hundred induction refusers to stand trial. By Nov. 12 the draft trials had been scheduled continuously on into April, 1969.

On Nov. 18 Garcia was acquitted. The government's case was reportedly airtight. The draft resistance trials were expected to last about an hour apiece. Instead, the very first trial dragged on in court for four days. And the government lost — on a technicality. Defense attorney Michael Standard introduced evidence to show that Garcia had been issued his induction order out of turn.

On Nov. 20, Colonel Luis Torres Massa, head of the Selective Service in Puerto Rico,

held a press conference. He denied that Garcia's local board did not follow the prescribed order of call when it drafted him.

Torres stressed repeatedly during the press conference that the local boards did not discriminate against anyone because of his political beliefs. Many Puerto Rican induction refusers are COs primarily for political reasons. They want independence for Puerto Rico and argue that application of the draft law to Puerto Rico is illegal.

The trial got a lot of attention from the newspapers, and ran a lot of pictures of the judge and the colonel smiling. And that's pretty much the way things stand. At one time or other lately everyone has been smiling. But no one has yet had the last laugh.

Thomas Dorney  
Puerto Rican Peace Center  
San Juan, Puerto Rico

## MINE DISASTER

At last—an article on the mine disaster in West Virginia that put the blame where it belonged—on all of them: the government, the companies, and the Union. How true it is that only when the mining conditions are controlled by the miners themselves will such tragedies be ended.

Reader  
Philadelphia

Your article on the mine disaster was really excellent. Not another paper or magazine I have read, whether "radical" or "bourgeois" came anywhere near touching the facts and the essence as yours did. I cannot help but feel that it had to be written by someone who knew the mines and mining conditions, from inside, not from the outside.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

Editor's Note: Andy Phillips, the author, was a miner for ten years in West Virginia, and has lived through an explosion, several roof-falls.

## THE BLINDING DOLLAR

People from all walks of life have talked of love for their children, but I wonder how much sincerity is involved since we still tolerate systems of government that enslave all children. It is not the intent of the rulers for their children to come into this category. But they can't help suffering all the corruption of the price system—except the deprivation of slave labor.

Slave labor constitutes something like 75 to 90 percent of the world population, the great masses in India and Asia, Africa, Central and South America and Europe. Some everywhere. All illiterate victims of the price-profit system, imposed on the masses since early history. Now it's the world bank with "Free World" military government . . .

Labor organizations, peace movements, student rebellions, and the many do-good societies are not going to work for the liberation of the mass . . . but in the ranks of all of these movements there are people who will.

The Negro is the only people who have a purpose. They

# Views

need leadership and a plan of action that will organize individuals of all nationalities, suffering victims of the system. In this movement there can be no discrimination against any. A strong labor organization can stop all production for war, and profits. They need a plan to replace the military-industrial establishment.

Can we get away from the idea of the dollar, that mysterious power which is blinding the mass?

B.T.  
New Mexico

### FIRST DROPOUT?

I never thought I'd see the day I would applaud George Romney. But the day he made his speech about ending the parochial schools was it. He marched in where even a "radical" would have feared to tread.

I suppose that when you find yourself in a job where you have to face reality in order to solve your problems, you suddenly find yourself forced to face the truth.

I'm sorry to say that I predict poor Mr. Romney will be the first one of the cabinet to be fired from his brand new post.

Engineer  
Michigan

### PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

I have heard that various pro-Chinese or semi-Chinese groups in France have organized themselves into a new, more or less underground group, called "At the Service of the People." This is a quotation from Mao.

Certainly the intellectual ought to be at the "service of the people," but this is an indication of how far these people are from having roots in the class struggle.

The discussion of organization in Raya Dunayevskaya's "The Missing Link" was extremely good. I think it is the most important question we have to deal with today. Just think of what might have happened in France and perhaps in Italy now, if there were a group tied to the people and capable of analyzing the situation in terms of class struggle.

Observer  
Milan

**Editor's Note:** Copies of "The Missing Link" are available for 35c from News & Letters, 415 Brainard St., Detroit, Mich. 48201.

Not only did Marcuse's theme on "new class organization," his seeking of a revolutionary base in the "outsiders" fall flat, but with the near-revolution in France, I think a great many of the New Leftists found themselves totally re-evaluating their class thinking.

It is not easy when one is in the movement to remain "objective," instead of getting caught up in the movement's rush towards "revolution," thus losing sight of reality and the counter-revolutionary seed existent within adventurism and bourgeois tactics.

I think a new day is coming as regards the class battle of workers and other oppressed peoples.

New Reader  
California

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

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

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

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

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

The Maosts have come out with a pamphlet called "Czechoslovakia: the Counter-Revolution." (I guess they hadn't got the word from Mao before they rushed in to print.)

But it isn't a laughing matter. Because there are hardly any in the so-called "New Left" who seem to appreciate, in the sense of understanding, what the Czechoslovakian events are all about. They dismiss it as "certainly no revolution."

Their conception of revolution is so distorted that it has been reduced to meaning "guns" instead of "ideas": The Czechoslovak people did not shoot down the Russian invaders (who came in with tanks) so how could they be revolutionary? The history of what preceded the invasion, why the Russians felt they had to invade—all that is lost on them.

You are left wondering if the New Left is not really just the "Old Left" in new clothes? Then you realize that it has to be more than that. But that you have to confront these young people with some truly revolutionary ideas, i.e. Marxist-Humanist ideas, in order to keep the Old Left from absorbing them completely.

Student  
Ann Arbor

I find the workers in my shop have been able to relate to the Czechoslovakian events very easily. They have been fighting against their masters all their lives.

Workers are with the underdog almost always. They certainly give the Czechoslovak people credit for the ingenious ways they have been fighting the Russians ever since the invasion. It takes a pretty smart human being to resist and still not get himself killed with all those tanks in his country!

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

### TELLING IT LIKE IT IS

When the last issue of News & Letters was sold at our plant gate, I saw workers reading it all day. Not a single one was put down anywhere. Guys would read a bit when they could, then stick it in their pockets to read more later on.

I've noticed a difference in the attitude of workers in our shop to "radical" papers, in general. In the old days Reuther red-baited so much that workers were sometimes afraid to read radical papers too openly. But now they don't care what Reuther or the

company thinks. If they think a paper tells the truth, they show it to everyone.

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

### TO HELP KEEP N & L GOING . . .

Here is a dollar from a black worker who is a member of the IWW. Thanks for your invitation to the "Black-Red conference;" I'm sorry, but I can't attend.

I don't like the all black theme. Black youth and black workers must work with all classes of workers, including the whites. All workers should participate in any movement on an equal basis. But you are on the right track. So, comrades, good luck to you.

Wobbly  
Chicago

The Christian Democrats triumphed in the elections in my country, over the ruling AD party. It is possible that it will mean less repression for the people, and for the revolutionaries here.

The vote is obligatory, and you cannot abstain, but the revolutionaries voted "null." (Those who have the "Peking line" did, too. This is the MIR group. Before they were Fidelistas and now call themselves "Che Guevaristas.")

The Communist Party participated in the elections and gave help to the MEP candidate, Dr. Prieto, who came in last. The Communists got less votes than in 1958, and their party is sick. The vote for the CCN, the party of ex-dictator, Juan Perez, was four times greater than theirs.

We are at the dawn of a world revolution, what with Paris, Genoa, Mexico—and Venezuela will also be heard from. That is what we are working for.

I send you the enclosed contribution as my greeting to all the editors of News & Letters for informative work about Czechoslovakia you have given the world, and to help keep N&L going.

Correspondent  
Venezuela

We just received a \$5 bill to buy a gift for our infant son. I can think of nothing he needs more right now, than a new world. So here is the \$5 to help keep News & Letters going.

Angela Terrano  
New York

**Editor's Note:** We thank all those readers, here and abroad who gave what they could to help keep N & L going. It's not too late to send in your contribution if you've forgotten.

## Nixon - Old, New, Napoleonic

Continued from page 1  
if Wallace would, indeed, be the spoiler of this election.

### A Repeat of the Eisenhower Days?

The facelessness of the Nixon Cabinet notwithstanding, each has shown a special talent for putting his foot in his mouth each time it is opened. It all began when the new Secretary of the Treasury, David Kennedy, set off a minor international monetary crisis with his very first press conference. Considering his arch-conservatism and concentration on internal, not external problems, that was quite a feat.

The irony was that Kennedy is of the old, old corporate capitalism school which thinks that, "to stabilize the dollar," lower wages and higher unemployment are needed at home; playing with the gold standard abroad would only divert from primary goal. The whole notorious "Chicago School of Economics" is famous for preferring a good deal of unemployment to a little bit of inflation.

Nixon is busy staffing the administration with successful businessmen in the Eisenhower tradition. The formula of the then Secretary of Defense Wilson was, "What is good for GM is good for the country." This business philosophy brought about recessions enough in the 1950's. At the end of the 1960's, it can lead to nothing but utter catastrophe, especially since the added ingredient of Nixon's businessmen is racism—a total insensitivity to the Black Revolt.

Thus, even the "moderate" Robert Finch, the new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, proposed, in his first conference, to "rationalize" the sprawling 435 separate domestic programs that are in operation now. Obviously unaware that at least some of them reach into the rural South, his computerized mind bumbled as the efficiency expert bent on eliminating "boondoggling."

Immediately, Andrew Young of the SCLC stated that what is now going to the poor blacks in the South is the very barest minimum, is in local hands, and cannot be tampered with whatever. "We Blacks will tell it to Nixon like it is." White racists assassinated Reverend King. They showed disdain for the Poor Peoples March to Washington. They will not be allowed to practice "economy" at the expense of the already impoverished.

### Stability—for Profiteers

Where Eisenhower attempted to have at least one plumber in his Big Business Administration, the mindless Nixon Administration appointed, as Secretary of Labor, George P. Schultz, the Dean of Chicago University's Graduate School of Business Administration.

Nixon is so concerned with the stability of the dollar for the profiteers that, along with attempting to slash the 435 domestic welfare programs, he intends to wield as big an ax in foreign aid. With the help of the Southern Democratic reactionaries in Congress, the Republican ax-wielders have already cut by a full third the miserly help the United

States gives to the third world, especially Africa.

The richest country in the world ranks seventh in this field. Gloating in the downfall of Sukarno, they think that NEFO (New Emerging Forces) is only an administrative figment of Sukarno's imagination. It is not hard to prove that that collapsed with Sukarno's downfall. What delusion, however, to think this means that the actually emerging new forces abroad, as well as the revolutionary forces at home, had been silenced. All such delusion proves is that Nixon's Achilles heel is in the head.

### The South Rides Again in the North

Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew is not the only nameless one who, overnight, became a household word for racism. Nor was the racist character exhausted with the addition of a Cabinet member from the Deep South — Winton Blount of Montgomery, Ala., who, as Postmaster General, acts as dispenser of patronage jobs and political organizer for the Administration.

The lily-white Nixon Cabinet also contains one Walter Hickel as Secretary of the Interior. In his very first press conference, Hickel not only promised to give away most of Northern Alaska to the oil and natural gas interests; he also found it necessary to vent himself of this racist diatribe to explain why he did so: "Just to lock it up and throw the key away would be unreasonable when there is only one white person for every million acres." Thus does the new Secretary of Interior talk of people and the huge federal wildlife reservation, about the last great unspoiled territory in America.

To round out the breed that must deal with labor unrest, racial strife, youth revolt—social unrest in general that parallels the Civil War days—we get John Mitchell as Attorney General. It was he, who wrote the winning jingle for the racist election — "Law and Order."

Judging by the manner in which the very first session of Congress saw the reactionary Southern Democrats and the Republicans gang up together against Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Nixon may feel he can depend on this unholy alliance to see him through the period ahead. What he doesn't know is that Congress is not where the decisions of the next period will be made, and that this first act of Congress is sure to do nothing but incense the black community more than ever.

Nixon may think that, since the blacks did not vote for him, he "owes" them nothing. But his good friend, Governor Reagan of California, could inform him how badly fares the policy of the big stick, the fastest gun on the street, and the bayonet in the universities (see Editorial on Black Students Strike at San Francisco State College, p. 1).

### "The Big Decisions"

Organization, organization, organization — it oozes out of all pores of Nixon's aides. For them, the presidency begins and ends

Continued on page 8

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## Doing and Thinking

### Student Revolt in California

By Bernard Wendell

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—December, 1968, witnessed the greatest mass student revolt in the Los Angeles inner city schools since March's blowouts. As in March, the movement centered around the struggle of minority students against racism in the schools, and once again there were sympathy demonstrations in peripheral white high schools. A new stage, suspended temporarily by the Christmas vacation, has opened.

March's blowouts were primarily due to the new militancy of Mexican-American students, and brought the Brown Berets to the fore; December's battles have been waged mainly by black students and have shown the power and support that the Black Students' Union (BSU) commands on the high school level.

#### GENERAL CRISIS

Another factor which did not exist in March is the general crisis in the state colleges and universities, particularly in California. San Francisco State College is the center of the student revolt in California today, and it is there that the name BSU sticks out above all others, as it does in the other state colleges and in the high schools.

Thus, there is a direct link between the student opposition to the miseducational system and its role in our society on both levels of the so-called "higher educational" apparatus.

The backbone of the revolt, of course, was Fremont High School, which is 90% black. At a Dec. 10 faculty meeting attended by many students, four BSU leaders accused certain teachers of inadequacy and insensitivity and demanded open hearings to determine whether or not some of the teachers are racists. Malcolm, the white principal, suspended the four leaders, and the revolt was on.

#### STUDENTS RALLY

In the days that followed, students rallied against the suspensions. Hundreds of students held a meeting in the auditorium rather than attend classes.

While the administrators debated with community leaders, police and security officers moved in with drawn pistols and arrested three students. The rest fled before the police advance, shouting, "The pigs are coming!" as they abandoned the auditorium.

The Board of Education met on Monday, Dec. 16. The first item on the agenda was a proposed school bond, which allowed an East L.A. parents' representative to demand action on the horrible shape of Mexican-American high schools.

#### STATE DEMANDS

Fremont came up later. A student representative expressed the students' solidarity behind the BSU. Then Rick Ivie, BSU president, spoke. He said that Browning, another white administrator who in the interim had replaced Malcolm, was unsatisfactory, and demanded that Mrs. Barrington, Girls' Vice Principal, a black woman, take his place.

He also demanded that the next principal be selected by a governing board made up of students, teachers, and parents, and that the board also be empowered to review the conduct of teachers and administrators in order to weed out racists and incompetents.

Other BSU demands were courses in Afro-American culture, Swahili, and the problems of the black community, as well as more black teachers, relevant educational materials, and a student-parent association.

#### BLACK PRINCIPAL

Later the Board went into executive session and appointed Donald Bolton, a black administrator, the new principal. However, the color of the administrator was not the only question; as Ricky Ivie said, "It doesn't make any difference because you picked him." The walkout began, and was 80% effective the next day.

Disturbances continued through Dec. 23, on which day the BSU and the community decided to accept Bolton as principal IF he implemented their demands. Meanwhile, Bolton had the flu and the acting principal was Mrs. Barrington.

There were partial boycotts in such inner city schools as Jordan High, Jefferson High, and Crenshaw High. The situation created by the high school students also allowed black students at Los Angeles City College and brown students at East Los Angeles City College to demonstrate with great effect.

#### BLACK AND WHITE

There was action in such West Los Angeles schools as Hollywood High and especially Hamilton High, where a black-white (i.e., BSU-SDS) students' alliance was very effective, culminating in sit-ins and teach-ins.

Further developments all over Los Angeles can be expected to begin when school reopens Jan. 5.

## Mexican-American Unity Wins Fight For Teacher

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—The reinstatement of Sal Castro to the job at Lincoln High School has been a big victory for the entire Eastside community (predominately Mexican-American). During this struggle he had become a symbol for better education for the children of the Eastside.

The people have become aware of their power as a united force in form of demonstrations of dissent and sit-ins at the Board of Education. The people will exert this force in the future to shape their own destiny. This becomes apparent with the unification of the many splintered groups of the Eastside into one unified organization exemplified in a meeting held Sunday at Hazard Park, not unlike the Black Congress of the Southside.

#### TRANSFERS NORMAL

A misconception being capitalized upon by the press and the reactionary elements is the fact that 40 members of the faculty at Lincoln High School have submitted their requests for transfer, according to them, as



## High Schoolers Stun City of New York

New York, N.Y.—For weeks, complacent New Yorkers were stunned by what was happening in their city. The newspapers were filled with incredible stories of tens of thousands of high school kids battling cops in the streets, jumping onto subway tracks and pulling emergency cords, even setting off home-made bombs in school auditoriums.

After the battles, the streets from Ocean Hill-Brownsville to the Lower East Side were littered with picket signs, broken bottles, bricks, even apples and tin cans that had been thrown at police cars.

There were hundreds of arrests, on charges ranging from arson and incitement to riot (explosions hit a white-middleclass Queens high school and also black Haaren High in Manhattan) to the arrest of 20 Bronx students for burning their program cards.

There was a huge confrontation on 34th St., one of New York's largest shopping centers, and thousands of shoppers in Macy's and Gimbel's watched through the windows as screaming 14 and 15-year-olds ran through the streets pursued by mounted police.

#### STUDENTS MARCH

One of the most effective demonstrations was that of the first day back to school after the ten-week teachers' strike. Students from John Jay H.S. flooded out onto the streets and marched through their community picking up students from other Brooklyn schools.

As a mass they ran to the Board of Education and then, tying up traffic, crossed the Brooklyn Bridge over to City Hall. They demanded a hearing of their

grievances but were faced by solid lines of helmets and raised clubs.

Part of the settlement of the teachers' strike was an arrangement allowing teachers to receive their back pay lost during the strike. Schools would be kept open during Christmas vacation and students would be required to remain an extra 45 minutes a day for 14 weeks. The students realized they would be used, and refused to comply.

In high schools and junior highs, particularly in ghetto neighborhoods, students, with the help of sympathetic teachers, formed student unions to further their demand for an end to the authoritarian school procedures.

They were very successful organizers. During Christmas week only 20% of the students showed up (including grammar school students, kept home by sympathetic parents), so few that the Board of Education was forced to close the schools, ostensibly because of the danger of the fuel shortage.

#### COMMUNITY FERMENT

Although some students began to put their demands in a political context, linking them to community control and SDS, most were only beginning to become aware of the implications of their movement. Poverty program officials were on the scene, trying to manipulate the students, particularly the blacks, in order to keep the demands on a student

power level. They haven't succeeded.

People are beginning to realize what public schools are really for. One black sophomore in Haaren said, "We demand that our schools cease their role as assembly lines for producing mindless slaves for a country we find morally corrupt."

One million public school students in NYC have to literally fight it out among themselves, by taking competitive tests, to place into vocational, regular, or "special" high schools. The specialized schools are for middle-class white students who get comfortable paper-shuffling jobs in air-conditioned offices or laboratories. Skilled factory jobs go to "regular" high school graduates.

But the vocational schools, filled with poor blacks and Puerto Ricans, hand their graduates commercial or general diplomas, guaranteeing them jobs as rack pushers in the garment center, or, more likely, that they will never be employed.

These kids are tired of being pushed around, tired of being told they're worthless because they're poor or because they're black. Black and white, radical teachers, parents and students, are learning that if they fight together they can open and run their schools. They can teach children to discover their own value and dignity as very important human beings.

## Italian Student Movements Start Uniting with Workers

(Ed. Note: The following article, from an Italian student, was written on the eve of the Dec. 2 shooting of the Sicilian peasants, which resulted in mass demonstrations throughout all of Italy. See article, page 2, for the report on what followed the shootings.)

Turin, Italy—The most important thing which is happening in Italy is the high school students revolt.

High schools in Italy are five years for students from 14 to 18 years old. They are divided into three sections: (1) "licei" for the richest people, which give no professional skills but just a general culture and the right to go to the university; (2) technical schools for technicians and cadres; (3) professional schools for qualified workers. The class division through the three types of high schools is very clear.

Last year the impact of university students' revolt was felt only in the "licei," in which some strikes and occupations occurred all over the country. But this was still a sort of sporadic movement.

This Fall we had a real generalized explosion. The fight began in October in several towns in the north and in the south of the country. Even in small and traditionally peaceful towns the pupils had general strikes.

#### MOVEMENT SPREADS

Everywhere the strongest schools have been the technical ones, not the "licei" as before. The highest points of the struggle have been in Rome, Palermo, Napoli, Venezia, Forli, Bologna and Torino.

In Bologna all the high schools were on strike for ten days, with rallies of 10,000 people every day. In Turin the movement began

later, on Nov. 14 when two technical schools had a strike spontaneously. Since then the movement spread to all the other schools, and on Nov. 19, 30 schools were involved.

This movement created also a new confrontation with the university administration. On Nov. 20, 10,000 striking pupils, while trying to go into the faculty of architecture to meet, were charged by the cops and many were wounded and busted.

Later, 10,000 people marched toward the main building of the university and compelled the administration to open it. From then on, students have been able to have their assemblies in the facilities of the university.

The strike spread to the evening schools (the schools where the workers study during the evening after the working day). This fact opens great possibilities of linking the student and the pupils struggle with the working class.

#### THE ISSUES

The issues of the movement are the right to meet inside the schools and other kinds of free speech issues; the authoritarian relationship between students and teachers; against the exams and the class selection. Our perspective is to open a general fight against the whole educational system, as a class system.

P.S.—I add a very serious news note. Tonight, Dec. 2, in Sicily, near Syracuse, during a demonstration of peasants, two of them have been killed by the cops, and 40 seriously wounded. We have worked the whole night to organize strikes and demonstrations against the police for tomorrow.

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# Czech Students Strike; 'Spirit of Fight Is Alive'

*Editor's Note: Students and workers in Czechoslovakia continue to find ingenious ways to show their resistance to the Russian occupation. What has been forged is "a wonderful unity between university students and workers in the big cities" in the words of one Czechoslovak Freedom Fighter, following the strike in Prague at the end of November. After the strike, a 20-year-old student at Charles University in Prague spoke about the strike and his country:*

"People who ask why we are so different from Western student radicals seem — if you'll excuse me — a little bit thick.

"We are an occupied country—do I have to remind you? We know if we make a mistake the whole country pays, not just us.

"You should have seen how much time, how much energy, was devoted to making those small placards that we hung up on faculty buildings. The energy went into words, to finding the precise nuance of expression, and not to brawls with cops.

### STRIKE DISCIPLINE

"The discipline of the strike was amazing — there was nothing of the chaos I saw at Columbia. We had action committees in every local student union. We were in constant communications, and everything was decided more or less democratically.

"I was at the meeting the night when we were debating whether to extend the strike for another 24 hours. Some factory workers were there who said they were prepared to turn on the sirens for half an hour and give us support if we wanted it.

"There was also a member of the party central committee. He told me that the leaders backed us, that they understood exactly what we felt. But he begged us to consider everything, because, please, our so-called friends might not understand.

"So there was a compromise. We extended the strike for 12

hours, until Thursday. It was a very Czech outcome.

### ALL SOCIALIST

"There's another thing. You know that when we drew up our list of ten points, few of us thought for a moment that we'd ever get them. We wanted to keep the spirit of fight alive, to stop the drift to passivity.

"All of us are more or less socialist. We don't want to return to capitalism. Instead, we want to make the system work better. Anarchists, we have hardly at all, though maybe we will as time goes by.

"Our heroes, our gurus, if you like, are different from those in the West. Older people who influence students here tend to be theoreticians, not romantic revolutionaries.

"To some new left students it might all sound very conservative. Maybe some day we'll have our Cohn-Bendits here, but not for a while. Still, you know, when I talk to American kids I wonder whether they have really decided which is more important, revolutionary looks or revolutionary ideas.

"I told some of them they should be more like insects, less like bulls. Let them get inside organizations, and transform them with their ideas, not try only to make the big gesture and get beaten by cops. Maybe my point of view is very Czech. They didn't seem to understand."

## Book Review

# Of Society, Students and Universities

*The Closed Corporation: American Universities in Crisis* by James Ridgeway (Random House, N.Y., 1968). 273 pp. \$5.95.

This book should be required reading for all college teachers, especially those who still retain illusions about the American academy being some kind of "oasis" in an increasingly materialistic, manipulative, and anti-human society.

In page after page of anecdote, case-history, interview, and statistic, the author documents the phenomenal growth of a "university industry" consisting of 2,200 institutions with an annual revenue of ten billion, a growth rate of ten percent, a half-million instructors and 6.7 million students.

The activities of this super-industry include weapons development, real-estate wheeling-dealing, investment brokerage, publishing, counter-insurgency, lobbying for high drug prices, unsafe cars and the bracero system, cigarette filters, rat poisons, poison gases, espionage, comic-books and parlor games.

**SOMEWHERE** along the way the ostensible humanistic goal ("educating the whole man" was the phrase used when I was a Freshman) gets lost. What does emerge is the impression of a "kind of data-processing center: part bank, to provide the money for the activities of the different subsidiaries; part brokerage, for arranging deals among quarreling faculty members or between

a faculty group and the government."

What disturbs Mr. Ridgeway about this state of affairs, is that this industry is largely paid for, directly or indirectly, out of our tax dollars . . .

After reading Mr. Ridgeway, the American university system begins to look like an enormous Teapot Dome scandal. You wonder why the public has not heard of it before.

**MR. RIDGEWAY** is a first-rate journalist (he works for *The New Republic*) and a muck-raker in the highest sense of the word. As a result, his book has all the defects of its qualities.

First of all, it is too anecdotal. After the seventeenth or seventeenth case history of a shady real-estate deal, a conflict-of-interest scandal, a secret military contract or a professor making a fortune setting up a computer center or electronic "spin-off" factory, you get bored. One realizes that the university industry is no different from any other big capitalist enterprise and loses the power to become indignant.

Mr. Ridgeway's second, and more serious journalistic defect is the absence of a theoretical framework, for which his admirable sense of outrage is no substitute.

He sees the multiversity as some kind of dreadful deviation from an ideal norm. Since he is unable to comprehend this phenomenon historically, his own point of view is basically contra-

dictory. On the one hand, as a reporter, the evidence of his eyes forces him to conclude (p. 215) that "The idea that the university is a community of scholars is a myth." Yet, four pages later, when he attempts to formulate a solution, he can only retreat on to a restatement of the pious myths of the liberal academy: "One may hope that the country will pursue the idea that the university is a place where great teachers and students are brought together."

Part of his confusion stems from his false dichotomy between "teaching" and other activities, in which he sees "teaching" neglected for the production of systems and hardware. In fact, the universities do teach: they teach young people to become good CIA agents, good IBM managers, and good advertising executives.

Mr. Ridgeway thinks that students are merely tolerated as a pretext, "providing the rationale for financing the university." In fact, as Mario Savio put it four years ago, they are the "raw materials" from which the university-industry works up another product, equally as important as the new computers or non-lethal gases: technicians and managers to perpetuate the system.

**TO HOPE**, as Mr. Ridgeway does, that control of the university industry will somehow be turned over to students and faculty is like hoping that the directors of General Motors will turn the auto industry over to the auto workers. Both of these transformations may some day take place, but they will only occur as part of a process of total social revolution.

The radical students of SDS clearly understood this when they refused to get involved in a phoney "dialogue" with university officials who are only the pawns of the trustees, and instead put forward the slogan of "a free university in a free society." A frustrated Columbia professor, who had wasted his summer on one of the myriad committees that have sprung up at Columbia since last spring's rebellion, came to the same conclusion when he asked: "How do you reason with a trustee?"

Only in the context of a totally new society based on new human relations can the university actually be democratized or humanized. Meanwhile, in the process of this struggle (which has already begun) the university will produce not just new systems, hardware, managers, and technicians to replace the existing ones as they grow obsolete; it will also produce its own grave-diggers — that significant layer of rebellious students whose actions this spring at Columbia, as well as in Paris and Prague, point the way toward a new society.

—Richard Greeman

## Participatory Education Needed In High Schools

**DETROIT, Mich.**—Ever since I began high school and became stuck in a curriculum I have been thinking about getting out of it because it is so limiting to my quest for knowledge. All of my courses have been planned out for me until the time I graduate, leaving me very little room for elective courses I might want to take.

The subjects that I am taking will give me little help in later life except to prepare me for a job that the curriculum is designated for.

**CURRICULUM**  
It is difficult to transfer out because if I get out of this curriculum, into what other can I go? Nearly every curriculum is designed to teach you only what you would need to know for the job you're going into. As students we shouldn't have to decide what we are going to be before we have a chance to decide if we like the job, or for that matter this system.

In order for me to get an education and understand more about the world and its current state, I have to go outside of school, to libraries, newspapers and even political groups. The news media and other informative sources are oriented in the same way as our schools, away from thinking.

By outside thinking and meeting other people who think the same way, I realize that this school system needs a complete change, not just a few small reforms.

### WRONG CONCEPT

The whole concept of school has always been that there's a teacher who presents the information, and pupils who learn it. In this way the teacher can slant the information in any direction he or his board of education wants you to learn it. Also, some teachers become almost the dictator of the classroom and can impose their will

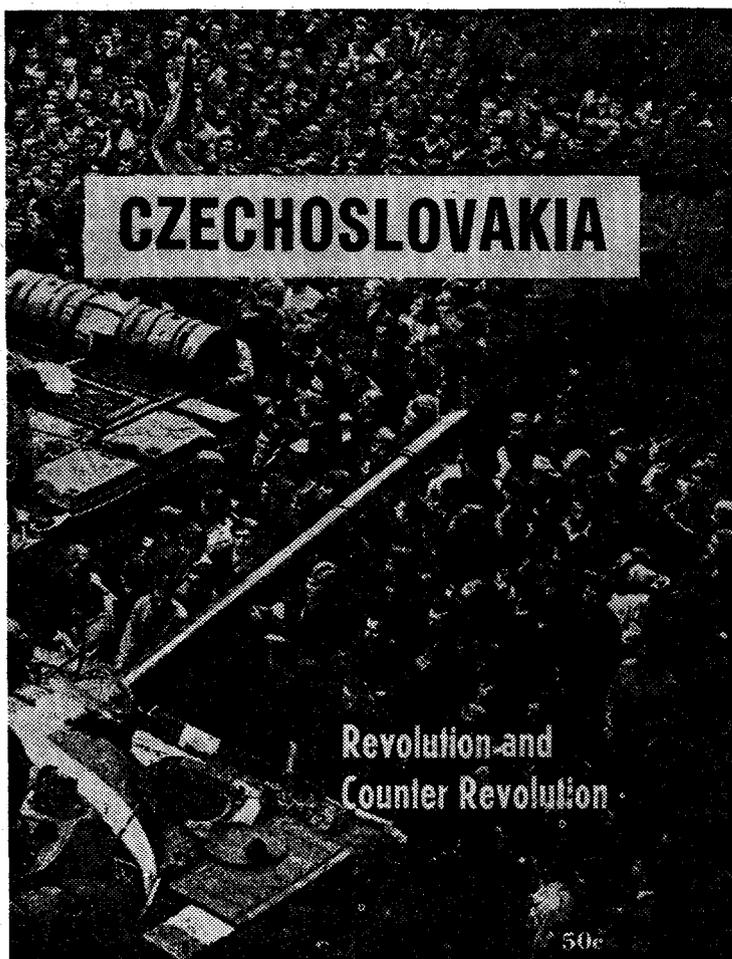
on everybody. This is the reason most kids hate school and don't want to come.

Back in the days of Greek philosophers, Aristotle and others used a method of teaching which we can call participatory education. This method is most like a discussion group with the teacher as the moderator. The teacher presents some information or ideas and the students discuss it, improve it, and come out more educated than if the teacher just gave it to them. The teacher also benefits from this, and the students are interested in learning more and thinking for themselves.

This was the method used during the liberation of Columbia University and in the Sorbonne in France where students had a real opportunity to discuss rather than just learn by being filled with information like a hollow container. We are not hollow containers, but thinking individuals.

This is one small idea for overcoming our current education shortage. Do you have ideas for improving the present educational system?

—High School Student  
Detroit



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# Nixon - Old, New, Napoleonic

(Continued from Page 5)

with the organization and rationing of the activities of their Man. Toward that end, you first delegate authority to others: ideas can go hang. Nixon's energies must be conserved.

Like the "deliberate speed" of the 1954 Supreme Court decision which allowed the South to nullify, and the North to disregard, desegregation, so "the dignified pace" with which Nixon is inching into the White House allowed the underlings to sound off, thereby disclosing, in the raw, the racist character of private corporate capitalism, what "the dignified" would disclose only when dressed up in the proper democratic language.

A comparison of the two sets of policies would, however, show their deep kinship in both hawkism and racism. They are of the same flesh and blood, or, more precisely put, profit-making nature as conglomerate capitalism.

Thus, Nixon, his energies "left free for the really big decisions," announced as his first international assignment a special trip by Pennsylvania Governor Scranton to the Middle East. (Heavily financed by investment bankers and the oil interests, the Nixon campaign had early been told that oil was in the Arab Middle East, not in Israel.)

Upon his return from the Middle East, Governor Scranton announced that the policies of the Nixon Administration would be more "evenhanded." To what extent this led to the perpetually reheated situation there no one can tell, but one point is clear: "the really big decisions" were being dictated by the interests of conglomerate capitalism in general, not by little Napoleon in particular.

## The World's Policeman

Thus, the latest, and more important appointment, was the naming of Henry Cabot Lodge to head the Vietnam "peace" negotiations in Paris. An admirer of that notorious admirer of Hitler, General Ky, this latest addition to the Nixon high command sets the stalled "peace negotiations" off on a course as far away from the reality as possible. Right after the announcement, the stock market went down.

It would be hard to conceive of anyone being able to harden the Johnson line, but little Napoleon managed it. The true continuity of imperial America is seen in

the views of that modern Rudyard Kipling, W. W. Rostow, who speaks of the nuclear titans as "the trustees of the human race." When it comes down to brass tacks "trustees" becomes a single world policeman - United States of America:

"When we get the really big planes, we shall see in other parts of the world as well the positioning of forward equipment, with more of our forces maintained in the center but capable of quick movement." (The New York Times Interview, 1/5/69).

## Power in the Streets

There are those who have rationalized the vote for Nixon to mean that he would more quickly "disengage" from the Vietnam war since it is not only the majority of the people who oppose the war, but there are even sections of the capitalist class that no longer find it "profitable."

Thereby these self-deluders not only forget the class momentum of the war, but they are putting blinders on themselves to shut out from sight the far more important objective compulsions of an imperialist world in crisis, an imperial nuclear world whose foundations are threatened by the social unrest tearing at the vitals of class society.

To protect themselves from any possibility of a social revolution, the sky would be the limit for social repression and continuing war.

If there is to be an end to the Vietnam war, it will be from a continuing and expanding anti-Vietnam war movement, not from a Nixon. If there is to be a stop to the fatal goal of "nuclear superiority," it will not come from the leaders of either nuclear titan - the U.S. or Russia.

They can be depended on only to push their own imperialist aims. The signs of revolt within Russia, on the other hand, reveal that the true opposition is within each country.

Crucial to the whole development in the immediate period ahead in this country is the black revolt which is the Achilles heel in the theme sounded by Nixon as soon as the election results were known - "bring us together." Nixon better forget the homilies and face reality. The key to the situation lies neither in the Executive Branch nor in the legislative halls of Congress, much less the Supreme Court decisions. It lies in the city streets.

# Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

## Miners Organize—to Fight Own Fund Officials

An organization calling itself "The Association of Disabled Miners and Widows" has been formed in Madison, W.Va., to obtain justice from the United Mine Workers' Union pension fund. They describe themselves as, "an organization of living dead men trying to help each other."

Their complaint is that the UMW operates on the same standards as other capitalist institutions; one set of rules for workers, and another set of rules for the bosses (in this case, the union officials).

Hundreds of aged miners and widows are denied the miserable \$1,300 per year pension which is standard for workers retired under the \$180 million pension fund of the UMW.

One worker, Duffy Raines, 68 years old and still working as a watchman at \$75 a month, complains that he paid dues to the UMW for 31 years and his request for a pension has been denied by President R. R. Humphreys of UMW District 17 in Charleston. Humphreys wrote him, "There is nothing we can do for you in this matter." There is no appeal from the rule of a UMW president.

By way of contrast there is a \$16 million fund set up to take care of 400 union officials who retire at 50% of their \$20,000 to \$30,000 salaries. The three top UMW officials look forward to retirement at full salary (\$50,000 in the case of UMW President Tony Boyle).

The trustees of the UMW Pension fund are John L. Lewis, 88, former president, retired on full salary, Josephine Roche, 82, a former coal operator friend of Lewis who draws \$60,000 a year in salary from the fund, and Henry G. Schmidt, chairman of North American Coal Co., who draws \$35,000 a year from the fund in addition to his \$75,000 a year from the coal company.

The Fund is managed by the National Bank of Washington, owned by the UMW, and includes \$67 million in cash belonging to the fund, kept in the bank in a checking account interest free, costing the miners \$3 million a year in lost interest. Another \$50 million of assets of the fund is deposited with the bank in "time deposits." Union members or pensioners have no control over their money.

Policy declares that full dis-

closure of financial affairs shall be made, but aged director Josephine Roche will grant no interviews, hear no appeals nor answer any questions.

Union and pension funds, through the union-owned bank in Washington, are used primarily to assist coal company management as it suits union purposes—stock deals and direct loans to coal companies. One deal in 1963 saw the UMW selling for \$6 million, stock in the West Kentucky Coal Co. which cost the union \$13 million. The coal company formerly owned by Josephine Roche, was bailed out by John L. Lewis.

All the old miners are asking is a voice in their own affairs, decent pensions that they are entitled to, the right to appeal the decisions of the management-union officials.

The union bureaucrats show about as much sensitivity to the "living dead men trying to help each other" as management's safety rules that cause the live burial of miners who had not been lucky enough to retire and be cheated out of the miserable pensions they have worked for all their lives.

## APOLLO 8

The remarkable flight of three American astronauts from the earth around the moon and back to within three miles of their target on earth was no doubt a feat of courage and daring.

The utilization of this flight, however, to indulge in Bible reading only demonstrates that, while we live in a society capable of flying to the moon, its "heroes" are of the same ilk as "the educated" who till yesterday considered the teaching of Darwin's theories "heresy." Someone should tell the astronauts the earthly problems of poverty, unemployment and discrimination will take more than reading the Bible in outer space to solve.

Because the same kind of effort that went into the Apollo 8 program will not, in a capitalistic society, be devoted to the problems of ending wars, unemployment, poverty and human misery, flying to the moon has convinced no one anywhere in the world that U.S. imperialism has changed its color.

## IRELAND

The never-ending struggle between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland was escalated once again as 5,000 civil rights demonstrators conducted a four-day march from Belfast to Londonderry in support of the civil rights of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. A thousand bigoted Protestants threw stones and fire bombs at the protestors, 111 were treated at hospitals for their injuries.

The demonstration was conducted by the Peoples Democracy, a student group at Queens University in Belfast. The Royal Ulster Constabulary used water cannon and baton (billy clubs) charges to keep the groups apart, but 12 were

sent to the hospital by the Protestant extremists.

The issue, "one man-one vote," is based on local election restrictions which give the vote only to property owners.

The reactionary Protestants are led by Presbyterian Rev. Ian Paisley and Major Ronald Bunting of the Loyal Citizens of Ulster. Londonderry is a city which is predominantly Catholic with a Protestant government. The real issue is not Catholicism vs. Protestantism but self-determination vs. authoritarian rule.

## UNION RACISM

Racial inequality is a well-known fact of life for black Americans in American trade unions. In Detroit, Negroes have banded together to form a union in the construction trades to combat the discrimination found in the AFL-CIO construction trades unions.

In Birmingham, Ala., a group of 14 workers (eight Negro and six white) who work for the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway are suing both the railway and the Railway Carmen of America on the contention that their opportunity to move-up has been blocked by a discriminatory sub-rosa agreement between their union and the management. Their case has gone through the courts and will reach the Supreme Court in spring.

The law, in this case, permits unionists to go over the heads of both union and management. That they have to take recourse through the courts tells volumes of the degeneration of the union leadership. If Meany spent half the time breaking discrimination in the trade union movement that he spends haranguing union members to vote for the Democratic Party, the union movement wouldn't be in such a sorry state. As it is, union

men, black and white, must work outside the union movement. At this moment, only the black caucuses can save union organization.

## RED CHINA

While the regime of Mao Tse-tung is able to brag about the explosion of a hydrogen bomb in the air, conditions in China indicate that the heavy cost of the nuclear arms race is being borne by the suffering and dislocation of the Chinese people.

Recent reports indicate that millions of youth are being moved out of the cities and into the remote provinces to serve the needs of the regime. The total disruption of the economy caused by the "Cultural Revolution" and the "Red Guards" in the major cities of China over the past few years, is being diverted to the countryside now that winter is setting in and food and fuel shortages threaten the cities.

Sending the youth to the remote provinces is supposed to bring education and assistance to the peasants. The real reason is to get the troublesome youth out of the cities in time of crises and to regiment the provinces by spring and assure more food from next season's harvest.

Clues to the pending fuel shortage can be seen in reports that soldiers are employed sifting over piles of ashes to seek small lumps of unburned coal on which they are to live for the winter. An army company in Tientsin brags that they gathered 16 tons from a factory and will use it to boil their water and cook food this winter.

Other reports indicate that Red Guards, who have spent the past two years seeking to "reform" the army, are being sent to provincial army camps to get "re-oriented."

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