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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### There's No Safety in Any Industry

There was some discussion among white and black workers concerning work hazards and health conditions of workers in all industries. One white worker said that safety and health hazards are just the same today as they were before the union was organized.

He told about what he had heard from his father—that most non-union industries 30 or 40 years ago seemed to be stricter about safety hazards than those same leading industries are today. He felt that the reason was that industries in those days did not have the capital investment they have today. "Today they have billions of dollars profit stacked away. If a worker got hurt or disabled and sued the company in the old days, other workers would say, 'Well, that worker is getting a few dimes of the company's profits.' Today, all industries' profits are so huge that if a hundred workers got hurt and sued, and won their cases for \$40 or \$50 apiece, they wouldn't hurt the company's profits at all."

#### COMPANY MAKES PROFITS EVEN ON OUR TAXES

The worker went on: "Did you know that the Federal Income Tax that is deducted from our pay each week only has to be paid to the government every three months? They loan and invest that money, and in the time they have it, the interest on it is more than the taxes deducted from us.

"These companies do not care a damn about a worker, only about what he can produce. And the unions care less. All they care is that we stay healthy so that we can work and pay dues so that they can compete and associate with company officials."

Then he picked up a box of arch welding rods and asked, "How many of you have read all the writing on some of these boxes?" Surprisingly, none of the workers had. On the bottom side of the boxes, in very small print, was the word "caution." Then, in smaller print, it read, "Welding may produce fumes and gases hazardous to health. Avoid breathing these fumes and gases. Use adequate ventilation."

He asked, "How many workers in this place use these rods welding where they do not have any ventilation? Hundreds and hundreds of them. Sometimes there is so much gas, fumes and smoke that you can just barely see the man welding. If we take this to the company they say there is nothing they can do. If you tell your union representatives, they say there's nothing they can do. They tell you if you don't want to work you can always quit because the company can get someone else."

#### SAME DISREGARD FOR SAFETY IN MINES

Another worker said, "You're right. I saw a demonstration on TV several weeks about the conditions mine workers have to work in. After the government sends investigators into the mines, and after they report the safety hazards, the company never corrects them. The union never tries to force the company to correct them either. That was how all those human lives were destroyed in West Virginia several months ago, and hundreds of thousands of mine workers in the years before.

"But the thing that was more sickening was when this doctor was demonstrating the effects of coal dust that causes silicosis in the lungs of miners. This has caused the death of thousands and thousands of mine workers. He held up several lungs taken from miners who had passed away because of this coal dust, and the lungs were as black as jet black ink. Then he ground them up in his hands, and nothing fell from his hands but black dust.

"The doctor said that this is what happens when you work in a mine 10 or 15 years in coal dust. The TV camera moved to several different hospitals where in every ward there were miners suffering and gasping for breath from this coal dust."

#### GIVE THE BIG SHOTS A TASTE OF IT

This worker said, "Anger began to boil up in me, just to think how one or two rich beasts can destroy the lives of so many poor workers, white and black. There should be a way to make all those inhuman beasts go down into a mine and stay there until some of that coal dust settled into their lungs. There should be a way to send the Presidents, all the Presidents of the United States, down—and all the union presidents and officials. They should stay there for a period of years. Then, I am sure they would begin to eliminate all safety hazards, and the lives and health of the working people would be longer and safer."

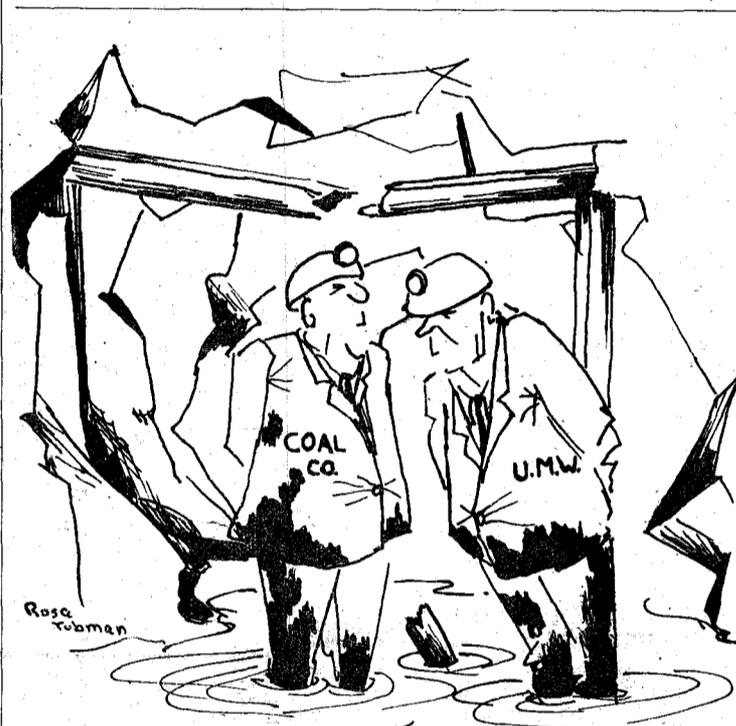
In the national news today, there was a report of about a dozen miners who just escaped death in a mine near Pittsburgh. The mine was owned by the same company where those others were killed several months ago. They said that government inspectors had just reported safety hazards in the mine to the company but again, as always, it fell on deaf ears.

College students all over the world are revolting against the old way of life in school and government, and it did not take the younger generation any 20, 30 or 40 years to discover what is wrong in their society. How many more years will it take until workers discover what is wrong in industry, what is wrong in the bureaucratic unions, what is wrong in government, and begin to revolt to make these needed changes so that younger workers to come can work in safety as full, free human beings.

## Spanish Students Intensify World Revolt; Fight Franco Repression

by Michael Connolly

On Jan. 24, Spanish Information Minister, Manuel Fraga announced a "State of Exception." Throughout Spain, full censorship of the press was re-imposed. Police were given the power to arrest, question, and banish to other parts of the country anyone without a hearing. Freedom of speech and assembly were suspended. The massive repression in Spain was in response to a new, and world-wide student revolt which, in the month of January alone, appeared in no less than 20 countries on four continents. From Japan to Kenya, from France to the U.S.A., from Ireland to Czechoslovakia, students were in the streets.



"Let's go, a guy could get killed down here . . ."

In Spain, the repression followed new activity that united students and workers, and threatened the very existence of Franco's fascist government. Franco's government claimed that the measures were necessary because of student disorders, including the occupation of class rooms at the University of Madrid and the blockade of the rector's office at the University of Barcelona.

#### THOUSANDS IN JAIL

The proof of the depth and breadth of the revolt lies in the mass arrests that followed Jan. 24. Thousands of workers and students from Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia — everywhere across Spain — were arrested in lightening night raids by Franco's security police.

The proof lies also in the mass student demonstrations of Jan. 21, protesting the murder by police of Enrique Ruano, a University of Madrid student, and in the sit-ins in churches in four cities by wives and mothers of workers jailed last year for activity in the illegal "workers commissions."

Even more frightening to the fascist government was the activity of students in Madrid and Barcelona in support of the workers' commissions. It was for this activity — leafleting outside a factory — that Enrique Ruano was arrested and murdered.

Three years ago, when workers in the Madrid area went out on strike, and students demonstrated in Barcelona and Madrid, the response of the Franco government was liberalization — limited freedoms of press and assembly. Franco also began talking of what kind of government in Spain would follow his regime.

But while the Franco government was debating which of the pretenders to the Spanish throne could best re-institute the monarchy, Don Juan or Juan Carlos, the students, workers and Basques were acting for a total restructuring of Spanish society.

#### THE SPIRIT OF '36

Against this demand, Franco's arch-reactionary Interior Minister, Camilo Alonso Vaga, called for a return to "the spirit of July, 1936" — the mailed fist of fascism. The repression of Jan. 24, shows that his position has prevailed in the government. The movement away from liberalization and toward the rule of the jail cell and the firing squad shows the desperation of the Franco government. It is desperate because there is another spirit of 1936 alive in Spain — the spirit of the workers' councils in Barcelona, the peasant uprisings in Asturias, and the Basque freedom fighters.

Franco's regime evidently believes that new totalitarianism can kill the forces of revolt in Spain. He need only look to Czechoslovakia, another country under

## EDITORIAL ARTICLE

### U.S. AND RUSSIA ENTER MIDDLE EAST COCKPIT

BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA  
Chairman, National Editorial Board

The barbaric act of hanging 14 men from their necks in the public square in Baghdad has riveted attention, not so much on the alleged "Israeli spies," as on the degeneracy of the Iraq revolution. A decade ago it seemed to herald a new world. Today it has nothing to hang on to, except enmity to Israel. And even this "unifying force" failed to unify the Arab world.

#### IRAQ, EGYPT, AND NIXON TOO

The present Iraq government, the newest in a series of military coups and counter-coups, embarked upon the "discovery of Israeli spy rings" soon after it came to power "to clean up corruption." Obviously it was harder to achieve clean government than to unleash propaganda against the remaining 2,500 Jews in the country whom it promptly designated as "Fifth Columnists." Although other Arab countries, especially Egypt and Syria, suspected the virulent anti-Semitism was but a coverup to move against "Arab socialists," they at first could say little against the military junta headed by General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr because they themselves held most adult Jewish males in prisons, and find anti-Israel propaganda almost the only unifying cement of their crisis-ridden countries.

After two months of "interrogations" and trials, however, one former high official of the Iraq Government, a left Ba'athist, was declared dead "while undergoing interrogation." Others, still held in jail, are feared to be among those marked for future hangings. Even foreign diplomats were not exempt from violent physical attacks. Indeed, on the very day of the hanging of "Israeli spies," a Syrian diplomat was wounded on a street in Baghdad.

The last straw, insofar as Egypt was concerned, was thrown by al-Bakr, a notorious anti-Nasserist, when he demanded that the Arab press laud his actions "for the Arab cause." The main Egyptian daily wrote that the gory spectacle was "not a heart-warming sight nor is it the occasion for organizing a festival and issuing invitations."

Consider, then, the sensitivity of the new Nixon Administration which announced that the President was looking for "new approaches" to the Middle East turmoil "insulated from decisions on the untidy rush of events in Iraq." All this is preparatory to plunging into a "Big Four" conference which will attempt to impose

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### Black-Red Conference Brought Together

# People, Ideas Dedicated to Reconstruct Society

Detroit, Mich.—The Black-Red Conference held here on Jan. 12 brought together 59 participants who represented not only black and white, but Mexican-American and Japanese activists in the freedom movement, as well. Young and old, workers and students, members of at least a dozen varied organizations, they all discussed for a full day every vital issue facing America and their very lives.

Charles Denby, black worker-editor of News & Letters, welcomed the assembly, noting that this was "the first time such a conference of black youth, workers, women, and intellectuals will have a chance to discuss with each other as well as with Marxist-Humanists, who lend the red coloration not only for the sake of color, but for the sake of philosophy, a philosophy of liberation."

Raya Dunayevskaya, author of *The Afro-Asian Revolutions and Marxism and Freedom*, presented the relationship of the black revolt to Marxist-Humanism, specifically as it related to "The Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation," Part III of her new book-in-progress, *Philosophy and Revolution*.

Six full hours of discussion followed, probing almost every question discussed in the black community today. Only the black participants spoke in the morning session. All present took part in the afternoon.

### On Black Caucuses

A black auto worker felt that "too much of the activity of the

black caucuses is pointed to getting on supervision rather than elevating labor on the line. Nixon and the companies are only too happy to talk about 'black capitalism,' as if the way to solve our problems is with a piece of silver. The power structure wants to buy off people who might cause them trouble."

Another worker reported that when management in one auto shop was willing to agree that there should be a black plant manager, foremen, and so on, one worker had asked "What will they do about production?" Told that production standards would stay exactly the same, he had replied, "The company doesn't care whether it's a white man or a black man as long as they get the production out. The company is getting very expert at using black supervisors to fight black workers."

### On Black and White Workers

A black steel worker from Pittsburgh said that the company was constantly working to destroy the unity among the men. "They are telling the men if they have troubles to bring them to the company, not the union. They have been able to downgrade the union because the union has already downgraded itself. But every time the black man has managed to better his condition, everyone in the shop has found out he also benefitted from it."

A younger auto worker felt that "trying to get a coalition with the white workers is practically impossible because they are hung up in their racist bag. The man next to me in the factory is an



Raya Dunayevskaya Speaks on Philosophy and Revolution at Black-Red Conference

equal while we are on the line, because we suffer the same consequences. But the system tells him that he's my enemy. We can't wait. We have the three S's to guide us: self-determination, self-identity, and self-defense."

A young white steel worker described the special Committee organized in his mill by black workers who decided not to work as a caucus through the union, but outside of it, taking advantage of the fact that the government had multi-million dollar contracts with the company, to demand withdrawal of the contracts. He felt that "dual unionism" was unavoidable in this case, because "it was the only tactic by which they could shake everything up, the racist union as well as the racist company."

"The important thing," he continued, "was that they were effective in ending some of the racist practices there, and it was recognized by a lot of white guys who hadn't been able to get their problems solved through the union, either. When the black workers invited a group of white workers to come with them on one of their marches, the same white workers who hadn't wanted to associate with these raving black militants out to destroy everything, suddenly decided maybe that wasn't such a bad idea, after all. Now they can't wait for the next march."

### On "Crime"

It became clear during the discussion that the "crime in the streets" issue is a trap that the power structure uses to try to divide "good" Negroes from "bad," and to make them forget that unemployment may be getting lower for whites, but is still double for blacks. As one participant put it, it was not a question of denying that there is "crime in the streets," but of telling the power structure that it came from their system, and cannot be solved until that system goes.

One youth charged that "the police actually help in perpetuating crimes like dope peddling, and especially in the ghetto." Another pointed out that when the Italian people were the exploited minority, "every Italian used to be a criminal. Now all black people are criminals. It seems as if this system has to have a scape-goat. It has to go."

### On Philosophy

One of the Mexican-American participants agreed that "Capitalism exploits not only black people, but white and Indian and Mexican-American, too." But she questioned the need for philosophy and wanted to know when theory ended and action began. She felt the problem was how to start planning to take over

power, because "power is never given, but always has to be taken."

A black youth said he thought the whole point was that there must be a unity of both the action and the theory. "It's easy to get a cat's body. Uncle Sam does that every day and sends it to Vietnam. It's something else to win a man's mind. If you get his mind, you'll get his body with no problem at all."

Everyone had liked the three S's that the young black worker had mentioned: self-determination, self-identity, and self-defense. Another youth later added a fourth: self-development. What he meant, he said, was that "everybody has a tremendous amount of potential, energy, creativity. And the Man's job is to stop it. They don't want you to think." He described the activities in which he had participated in the Maryland Freedom Union to show what he meant by saying that theory to him was not abstract, but very real.

### On Young and Old

A black woman spoke of her 19-year-old son who "wouldn't be caught dead at this meeting," and the lack of communication she felt existed between the generations. "He's got an Afro, and a chain around his neck," she said. "He's doing his thing. He's trying to change something. I try to listen. I think black people had better start listening to what their children are saying."

A young black militant, who was wearing an Afro, added, "There are a lot of people wearing Afros that would sell you out in a minute. It's not what you wear that counts but what you think and do. And it's not enough to just listen. You have to listen and then act."

Another youth described how the Black Panthers in Seattle go around and talk to young people because "if you just talk to young people on the streets, you can learn a lot." He described a place where once a week several hundred young black people from high school age up come to carry on discussions with each other and said that young people would come to any meeting "if they thought it would do them any good."

### On Black and White Students

A black woman activist felt the movement was at a standstill because "the leaders don't want to hear criticism, don't believe in anybody's ideas but theirs. I feel we need all the revolutionary groups we can get together in order to change this society. The black students and white students on campus both want revolution. Why don't they get together?"

A young veteran of Chicago described a recent SDS conference he had attended. He felt there had been no real breakthrough there because there was no real contact with labor or with blacks. He felt that this was the first conference he had ever attended where there was true contact and dialogue among all the layers that are important to reconstruct society.

The feeling was shared by a black steelworker whose motion that this conference be followed up with another within a year, was passed unanimously. Another motion to send out a summation of the discussion not only to all participants, but to other groups who might wish to try similar conferences, was also passed unanimously.

The greatest evidence of success, however, was the fact that by the end of the day, nobody who had attended left with exactly the same ideas he had come with.

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

### The Power to Change Society

It looks bad for the black people to get anything from the White House since the Republicans have taken over.

Everyone is saying that President Nixon is angry with the black people because they didn't vote for him, and if it had not been for the way you get to be President in this country through the Electoral College, he would not have made it. (He is a little wrong. I know some older black people who are Republicans, and no matter who is running, will not vote for any other party.)

What I think the important question to answer is: why is the black race so hard to run? Why can't they be treated as Americans? Why have the history books hidden what black people have done to move this country forward?

#### SOURCE OF ALL VALUE

Why do so many white people forget that the working man's hard labor is the source of all value in the world? If that is

true — and it is — the black man has certainly done his share in the hard-labor department.

The white man stood over him with a whip and watched him while he did all the hard work during his slave days. Today white men stand over him and watch him do the hardest work in the factories.

#### WHAT KIND OF POWER?

The white man doesn't want to try to understand what the black people are talking about when they say that they must have power. They mean they want the power to change this kind of system we have.

You need only look at the world around you to see that men are destroying each other, and destroying the very things they have labored so long to build. What the black man wants to destroy is the power that the rich man has held on to for so long. It is the power to do that which the black man is trying to get.

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# From The Auto Shops

## Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—The number one topic at the Mack plant has been the layoffs which Chrysler has announced for February and March. In our plant Department 9760 afternoon shift has already been laid off completely.

What really got guys hot was the fact that the blood drive which usually comes to the plant in March came the first week in February. And sure enough the first department they went to was 9760. It seems like the company arranged to get the workers' blood and then throw them on the street.

The layoffs have raised the whole question of which workers get laid off in terms of seniority. Priority in layoffs is now in such a mess that the company can use it to its own advantage.

With supplemental unemployment benefits a lot of the older workers wanted to be laid off because they could make 85% of their pay. They raised hell because they had to work when younger workers didn't. So Reuther and his machine implemented new procedures to keep workers quiet. Now they canvass

older workers to see if they want to work during the model change over and when do they want their vacations.

But this has now resulted in younger workers not having any choice of working or not working during model change over. If enough older workers don't want to work during model change over then the younger worker has no choice. The company tells him he has to work.

Now they are trying to make the system even more confusing and complicated. Some union officials, stewards and committee men get priority on layoffs, that is they get a choice of working or not working. Now it is proposed or rather assumed that the executive board of the union should also be given preference in layoffs. Since some of the executive committee have very little seniority, it will further confuse the situation.

Many of the rules for who gets laid off are not in the contract and have never been discussed by the men. The result has been some bitter feelings between older and younger men, between those who are in special categories and those who are not. The union is allowing the confusion to grow and the company takes advantage of it to get more production out of the men.

## Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—We have begun to get short days and short weeks at the Rouge plant. It's going to get worse before it gets better because Nixon is going to stop inflation by increasing unemployment.

The workers who have been at Rouge a while won't be hurt too much. They have Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB). But the new young workers are really going to be hurt. They will be the first to be laid off. And on the short days and short weeks they don't get any SUB. If they only work two days a week, they will have to live a week on two days' pay.

The Ford Motor Co. made a big deal out of hiring people from the ghetto after the revolt in Detroit. But these are the workers who will face short or no pay days in the next few months. These people only represented a labor source when the company needed it; now that they don't, it will be back to the streets.

Human labor power is all the company is interested in. And the cheaper the better. Workers have been hired who are on parole from prison. These workers have no protection or fringe benefits. Their wage scale is \$1.75 an hour, half or less of the regular wages. The company claims they are doing the worker a favor. Maybe they are, but what really matters to Ford is a cheap labor supply.

The company is always proclaiming what they are doing to promote race relations. But inside the shop it is a different matter. There have been some newly hired black labor relations men. They have made an effort of trying to communicate with the workers. But the company is getting mad because in their view there is too much communication. So the company begun pulling them off the floor.

These labor relations men were giving the workers a fairer hearing on complaints. The racist foremen have not been able to get away with all they have liked against the black workers, and they wanted these labor relations men off the floor.

## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The speed-up at the Fleetwood Plant is greater than before we went out on strike. One of the agreements to end the strike was to hire around 180 men to ease the work load. But a lot of these men have quit after being ridden by the company and many of the others have been put in the pool to replace absent workers.

The company isn't bothering to rehire after workers quit. Instead they are killing jobs in all departments. In one they cut down enough jobs to eliminate a relief man. There is supposed to be one relief man for every seven and a half jobs. Thus, the company has gotten rid of seven or eight jobs.

In short, the conditions are worse then before the strike. And to top it off the company has been giving two weeks disciplinary layoffs to workers on the cotan job who they claim instigated the wildcat. They are giving them two weeks off, two at a time, so that production goes on as ever. What has the union done about this?  
—Fleetwood Worker

## On the Line

# Work 7 Days in December, Get Laid Off in February

by John Allison

Chrysler workers are always receiving the bad news about their own company from the daily press. We are never told by our own management. Chrysler keeps well hidden what it does not want its own employees to know. And the layoff is one thing they wanted to keep a secret.

## Walkout Honors King at GM Plant

Tarrytown, N.Y.—On Wednesday, Jan. 15, 1,600 workers at the GM plant in Tarrytown took the day off to pay tribute to the late Martin Luther King, who would have been 40 that day. The workers returned Thursday to find themselves facing discipline ranging from firing to layoffs and reprimands for what a company spokesman called "absence without reasonable cause." "They said I didn't have a reasonable excuse," said one worker. "I went to services to honor Martin Luther King."

## PRODUCTION SHUT DOWN

The workers were so outraged at learning of the disciplines that they stood at the plant entrance on Friday morning shouting "No Work! No Work!" Although they did not attempt to stop cars going into the parking lot, the protest action was so successful that management had to shut down both production lines. The action was led mainly by black workers, who make up about half of the plant's 5,500 hourly employees.

In spite of the walkout, management refused to drop the charges against the first 25 workers who were disciplined on Thursday, and by the end of Friday the total had risen to 425, including 44 layoffs and one firing. But they did not dare talk about disciplining anybody for Friday's protest. "I won't stand for this laying off and firing," said one young black worker. "I'm going to get our rights if I have to go to the Pope in Rome."

Only after the mass walkout did the union see fit to do anything about the workers' grievances, and then all Local 664 President Calore could find to say was "It was an illegal work stoppage without a doubt." He did, however, agree to talk about it on Monday with the Company.

## WORKERS' SOLIDARITY

On Monday, the company and union met to discuss the situation, but neither would issue a statement. On Tuesday, there was still no resolution, but a company spokesman admitted that he hadn't moved to discipline any more workers. "We intend to review each case individually," he stated, but he wouldn't say when. Clearly the workers, through their solidarity, had taught him a lesson.

I knew about it the day after Nixon was elected President. New unemployment offices began to be open for business. We knew that the bubble was soon to burst.

## MORE LAYOFFS

Now some 32,000 workers in auto factories are due to be laid off when the parts plants are hit. There will be more layoffs to be sure.

Management's excuse for this fast action of layoffs is that they have too many cars in inventory. Yet two months ago there was a manpower shortage and workers were being penalized for not working seven days a week.

Skilled help was needed all over the place. Even older workers, whom the company has been trying to get rid of for years, were being hired. Now skilled and non-skilled workers can go home and sit until they are needed again.

## WORKER SLOWDOWN

A strange thing is happening at Chrysler and Axel. DRUM, a black auto workers' movement is slowing down production. This is what Chrysler wants to do themselves to help solve their inventory problem. Yet they have gone to the courts to try and stop the DRUM movement.

They don't mind laying off workers to cut production. But when they are faced with a strike, for whatever reason, they scream murder.

It's all a real rat race, and you can't make any sense out of it because there is no sense to it. Everything is twisted out of shape, and at Chrysler Highland Park, it is getting worse by the day.

## NO PLACE TO GO

On top of the layoffs, we have our plant being phased out of production. While the corporation was working pretty good, the workers being turned out of the Highland Park plant could be transferred to some other Chrysler plant. But with this layoff, there is no place to put these workers.

One of the results is the foul-up in seniority, where you have some guys with 25 years seniority out of a job, and some younger ones with but a few years still working. Another madness is that there are still plenty of workers who are working six days a week, and overtime every day, too. That can really get to you: a guy with a few years in the plant working all that overtime, and the other with 20-25 years out on the street.

It is the same old question of who controls production. The company wants to be able to work you seven days a week in December and lay you off in February. No matter if it's irrational, they control it. What they are most afraid of is that the workers will take control of production out of their hands.

## Editorial

# Layoffs: Preview of More to Come

On the heels of the announcement by Chrysler Corp. at the end of January that it had scheduled layoffs of up to two weeks for 32,000 workers, came Ford's report that its Wixom plant, employing 7,000 workers, would be closed for several days. Now being awaited is the word from GM on how many workers will be affected in their layoff, and for how long. Steelworkers, who have been working short weeks since last summer, will obviously be cut back even more, since autos take most of the steel produced. And the same holds true in other industries supplying parts for auto production: rubber, aluminum, copper, plastics, glass.

This, however, is but a very brief preview of the main feature which the state of the national economy will show for the rest of 1969. Economic forecasters who were three months ago proclaiming that 1969 would see continuing growth in the economy are now hedging; a few are even suggesting the possibility of a slight recession.

.....They need not be so timid; they will be joined by others who will begin to see what was clear even before Nixon's election: that the gathering economic forces were moving to capitalist recession.

Nixon's election will certainly speed the recession. Nor should it come as a surprise. Nixon had proclaimed during his campaign that he would curb inflation. To be sure, he didn't say how he would do this any more than he said how he would do anything else he promised. But the American and European capitalists understood him very well, and knew that he would move decisively to solve inflation by adopting national policies deliberately designed to create unemployment.

## LIVING STANDARD WILL DROP

To a Nixon in the White House making a salary just doubled to \$200,000 a year, a "little bit of unemployment" is nothing. For the worker thrown out of his job, making \$30-90 a week take home pay (if that much), it is not a recession, it's a depression; it can easily mean loss of car, home, and certainly means a serious decline in the standard of living for the family.

Furthermore, "a little bit of unemployment" will positively be much more than "a little." But what is far more critical is the fact that the ones who already make up a disproportionate share of the unemployed will be hit harder than ever — the Negroes. Many blacks in jobs that were financed by the government to try to keep the lid partly on the black revolt, will be the first to be thrown out of their jobs. We don't have to speculate about this either: Nixon has said he would be cutting down on these programs, and he will keep his word on this one, too.

While every worker knows the Republicans have always fought against the goals of the working class, many others were surprised at the quick blow-up between George Romney, past governor of Michigan and now head of Housing and Urban Development, and George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO. It must be remembered that Meany is the poorest excuse in the world for a labor leader, and has consistently supported programs of the administration in power — any administration — whether that meant going directly against the wishes of the working class or even against his own members in the AFL-CIO. This attack against Meany was deliberately designed to deliver the administration's message to all labor leaders: you're out in the cold, and we're going to see to it that you stay there.

Unlike the labor leaders, who knock on the back door of the White House in hopes of getting a few crumbs, the workers know they're in for a real battle. They don't need leaders who will go crawling, they need leaders who will fight alongside them to change this whole mess into a decent world for them and their families. They will certainly have to look to their own ranks, because they won't be able to find the needed backbone among their union bureaucrats who are now in power.

"Dunayevskaya's book goes beyond the previous interpretations. It shows not only that Marxian economics and politics are throughout philosophy, but that the latter is from the beginning economics and politics."—From Herbert Marcuse's Preface to Marxism and Freedom

## MARXISM AND FREEDOM

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
(preface by Herbert Marcuse)

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EDITORIAL ARTICLE

U.S. AND RUSSIA ENTER MIDDLE EAST COCKPIT

Continued from page 1

"peace" on the Middle East without either Arab or Israeli having a say in the determination of their own fate. It is not hard to imagine the "objectivity" which will result from his Westernization of the Middle East crisis.

TWO OF A KIND: RUSSIA AND THE U.S.

Russia stood altogether mute during the savage executions. No doubt, part of the reason is the spontaneous affinity it feels for Iraqi anti-Semitism. But that is only part of the story. A more important reason for the lack of criticism, at a time when Egypt and Syria did attack the hangings, is the orientation of the Iraq military junta's questioning of the granting of concessions by the former administration to France to exploit 10,000 square kilometers of Iraq territory for oil development. Russia's interest in the same project overshadows the inclination to go along with De Gaulle's proposal for "Middle East peace," or to line up with "Arab socialists."

Outweighing both considerations is the possibility of the U.S.-Russia "detente," that is to say, U.S. recognition that Russia is in the Middle East to stay.

This doesn't mean that Nixon is walking into a "trap." On the contrary. Precisely because the U.S. does see further Russian expansion in that strategic area as signifying a shift in the world balance of power, it is anxious to re-establish its own role in the Arab Middle East before a confrontation with Russia. The U.S. sees as one with Russia — little powers must not be allowed to set the time for the nuclear titans, even if it is the lives of the little ones that are at stake. In a word, the see-alikes consider the Middle East an arena for a world power struggle, not for an Arab-Israeli confrontation "ahead of time."

Before the Arab-Israeli War in 1967, when both Russia and the U.S. thought they could control their "spheres of influence," the two super-powers could disregard the French proposal for a "Big Four" conference. They now know differently. Hence the present readiness to accept the junior partnerships of France and Britain and even the "world body, the UN", to dictate "a settlement."

The stage is all set for the deal. The substitute actors are in their respective places. But what about the real actors, the peoples whose lives are at stake? What has happened to that new, third world that it can now be ignored?

THE ARAB REVOLUTIONS

There was a time when getting rid of Western imperialism and internal feudalism in the Arab Middle East took priority over an Arab-Israeli confrontation. It is true that the setting up of the independent state of Israel in what was formerly Palestine brought about the first Arab-Israeli war. But the very success of Palestine's freedom from British imperialism set in motion truly independent Arab national revolutions. A dimension other than oil, a new human dimension — freedom — entered the Middle East.

By 1958, when the Iraq revolution overthrew the Hashemite monarchy, the whole Dulles strategy of anti-national revolutions, for a new type of colonialism, and the creation of SEATO, a euphemism for American imperialism, fell apart. By knocking the kingpin out from under neo-colonialism in the Middle East, it became possible to start on an independent road.

Iraqi nationalism refused also to follow either Nasserism or the bastard socialism called the Ba'ath Party\* in Syria. As against the tendency to single party rule, Kassim, who headed the first republic of Iraq, allowed the activities of political parties, from moderate to Communist. (Now only in Israel is the Communist Party a legal party.) The unfinished state of the revolution, narrowness of mass base, however, made it impossible to fight the entrenched feudal landlords. The agricultural reforms were not implemented and when the Kurds demanded autonomy, the revolt was bloodily put down. A further political vacuum was created with Kassim outlawing all parties. The isolation from the masses was completed with the increase in unemployment and poverty. By 1963 Kassim rule was bloodily overthrown by a Ba'athist led military coup.

The most recent two-stage coup — on July 17 and again on July 30 — brought to power a right-wing Ba'athist retired army general. The young colonels who aided the coup were soon scuttled. The new junta moved against the "French faction" but did nothing to get the country out of the deep economic crisis into which it had been plunged by the disastrous Arab-Israeli war in 1967.

The country is in chaos, and yet it is, precisely, the total disarray of the ruling classes and the military, on the one hand, and, on the other hand the dissatisfaction of the great masses, (rural and urban,) with their conditions of life as well as the armed resistance of the Kurds that has, in fact, created a pre-revolutionary situation in the country. It is fear of revolution that has compelled the al-Bakr clique to rely solely on the enmity to Israel and pure anti-Semitism to get it out of the ever-deepening crisis.

It is this which discloses yet another aspect of anti-Semitism — especially Russian anti-Semitism.

RUSSIAN ANTI-SEMITISM, ANTI-REVOLUTION

Had it not been for the hangings in Iraq and the Russian silence about them in face of the attacks on them by the Arab countries closest to Russia, one may not have felt compelled to take a second look at the existence of anti-Semitism in the Russian orbit, dating back to Stalin's reign. Because, in theory, Communism stands opposed to anti-Semitism, it was so shocking to find it in existence that it was all too easy to attribute it to Stalin's paranoia, rather than to the objective conditions which had produced the transformation of a workers' state into its opposite — a state-capitalist society. Inside Russia the opposition to Stalin's rule could be seen even as the people defeated Nazism.

For one thing, the heroic Russian masses refused to labor under the same exploitative conditions as they had done during the war. To get a sufficient labor force, all penalties for violations of Stalin's Draconian "labor laws," were cancelled.

Secondly, there were the returning veterans who had seen "the West" and failed to bow to the "superiority" of Russian "socialism." Thirdly, the youth and intellectual opposition grew.

It is because the revolutionary opponents grew, that Stalin un-

(Continued on Page 5)

Readers'

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Workers in our shop have done a lot of talking about Czechoslovakia since that young lad burned himself to death. Most workers thought of Vietnam when they first read about it. But this death produced more shock, because Jan Palach was so young and full of life.

Workers felt that Russia's cruelty was on a par with Hitler's during World War II to have produced something like this.

Anytime someone sacrifices his own life so the rest of the country will be free, it is a very great act.

Auto Worker Chrysler

\* \* \*

The immediate aims the working class is ready to fight for do not seem worth fighting for, but the most important thing is the spirit proper to the fight.

Correspondent Prague

\* \* \*

I just saw a great demonstration in Prague on television. The idea of individuals setting themselves on fire does not find favor with me but when it stirs the masses as in Prague I hesitate to differentiate. It is a deplorable thing that a young person should think that kind of action necessary.

Much more important is the fact that despite the appeals of the Czechoslovak Communist Party the people are showing their opposition to the Russian occupation. We, in my opinion must not allow anything to make us forget Czechoslovakia.

The "Morning Star," the British Communist Party paper, has little to say now about Czechoslovakia. Today one page and half carried advertisements about towns in Russia. The British Communist Party supported the Bratislava and Moscow Agreements, both of which were made under duress.

Harry McShane Glasgow

\* \* \*

I cannot stop thinking about the courage of Jan Palach and Josef Hlavaty, one a student and the other a worker, who made their bodies beacons of the unquenchable desire of the Czechoslovak people for freedom.

Their fire has shown around the world, uniting them with those Vietnamese Buddhists and American Peace fighters who also immolated themselves, again proving the essential oneness and worldwide character of the causes for which they lived and died — peace, human brotherhood,

and the right of peoples to determine their own destiny.

Seldom in human history have any people given such noble witness to these ideals as are now the people of Czechoslovakia.

Student Milwaukee

\* \* \*

Jan Palach's immolation is not akin to the immolation of the Buddhist monks in Vietnam, though both were great acts of political protest against tyranny.

Immolation in the Buddhist religion almost guarantees salvation—but suicide in a Catholic country is the very opposite. It is completely alien to this part of the world.

The fact that young Palach's death brought almost the whole strata of the Czechoslovak people out on the streets in mourning and solidarity of defiance, is a very great thing.

Russia cannot fail to recognize the depth of the opposition to their rule. Their fear of what is still to come is more than evident.

Czechoslovak West Virginia

\* \* \*

ACTION AND REACTION IN ITALY

A few days before the new year, a pamphlet went around Tuscany and Liguria calling on students and workers to demonstrate at a night club near Pisa on New Year's Eve. Why? Because the Italian capitalists and middle-class not only exploit the workers but throw away their money, while workers are sacked and peasants are shot in the roads.

No one expected the masses that night. Less than a thousand demonstrators showed up. When the battle ended two hours later one boy was seriously wounded and may be a permanent invalid, several scores of students and workers were arrested.

Immediately radio, TV and newspapers started a campaign that shots had been fired from the barricades and that the police had not fired.

The most reactionary groups called for the creation of armed civil forces as in the days of Mussolini and his Black shirts.

There was little reaction immediately after the battle among the students and the workers anywhere in Italy. Some reaction is coming now, with occupations of high schools and university buildings all over the country.

There have also been attacks from the fascists. At the end of January, about 100 fascists entered one of Naples University buildings, beat up a few students who didn't es-

cape in time and put the building to fire.

But the most important consequence is the attitude of the Communist Party and the evolution of its position through some kind of debate which has gone on during the month inside the party.

The Italian CP will have its national congress in the first half of February, and has just had its provincial congresses. There were many attacks against the official line on Czechoslovakia, the student movement, the role of the young workers, etc.

Very little of all this will get to the national congress, but all depends on what the workers will do. If their pressure continues, the CP will be compelled to push more to the "left" and away from the possibility of entering an "enlarged" center-left government.

Correspondent Genoa, Italy

Editors note: For more in Italy see article p. 6.

\* \* \*

STUDENT REVOLT

Hayakawa may be a noted professor of semantics—but he sure must have stunked math, if his estimate that the troubles at San Francisco State are being caused by "a few hundred" students is any indication.

Auto Mechanic Detroit

\* \* \*

I have had the depressing experience of talking to the head of the curriculum committee about getting students on it (we are forming a student group to try to get some poverty law courses) and finding out what a b----d the guy who will be teaching me labor law is!

It is so painful to learn about the capitalist system from its own institutions. The more I learn about the law, the more I feel like becoming an anarchist, when I start to think about re-doing it after the revolution.

Law Student Illinois

\* \* \*

The five-year lull in open persecution of all liberal thought in fascist Spain has come to an end. The student protests that have been sweeping the world found counterparts in the Spanish students.

The Dictator Franco answered these demands by full restoration of the fascist regime that one reporter said reminded him of the days in the '30s when Franco conducted wholesale arrests after his counter revolutionary victory.

The United States, which maintains friendly relations with the fascist dictatorship, does not plan to send troops, nor cut off foreign aid or anything else rash which might possibly be interpreted as disapproval of military fascist dictatorship in Spain.

Observer Boston

\* \* \*

I never thought I'd live to "appreciate" a remark of LBJ's—but getting out of the White House has apparently been "hurting so good," he actually made some sense when a reporter recently asked him what he thought of the youth today. He said that since they were

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board

Charles Denby O. Domanski

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# Views

in revolt all over the world, there must be something serious they were trying to do, but in all honesty he had to admit that he really didn't understand them, and hoped being out of the Presidency would give him a better perspective to figure it all out.

I have my doubts about that—but it certainly was a better answer than anything I ever heard him say while he was in the Presidency!

Reader  
Illinois

## THE NIXON REGIME

So Nixon is going to Europe. I think he should be told that the little girl who held up the sign "Bring Us Together" didn't mean with De Gaulle.

Black Reader  
Ohio

I read your article on Nixon in the January issue and it scared me stiff, because I knew it was all true. It has been getting so bad with me lately that even Johnson looks good by comparison! And that makes everything seem like some sort of surrealist nightmare.

At first I was so angry with Nixon's victory that I caught myself thinking that those who voted for him deserve him. But as soon as I said it to myself, I knew that they would not be the ones to suffer at his hands.

Working Woman  
New York

On the day after Nixon's victory we got a cablegram message of sympathy from one of our friends in England. It was heartfelt at both ends.

Reader  
Detroit

Some friends of ours from Japan were visiting with us the week of Nixon's inauguration. We didn't realize what audible sounds of grief we were making during the newscast that day until they turned to us, and said quietly, "Please accept our sympathy."

Reader  
New York

## MOOD OF ASSASSINATION

The mood of assassination that exists in this country is stifling. I was just getting over the murders of Rev. King and Robert Kennedy, and now the two black students in L.A. have been murdered. It forebodes a more horrible situation when the killing begins to reach down into the masses.

White Mother  
New York

If the killing of those who have different ideas from yours as to how to gain freedom goes on — Panthers in California, Urban League leaders somewhere else — the counter-revolution won't have to bother. The job will all have been done for them.

Alarmed  
Chicago

## BLACK HISTORY

I liked very much the emphasis in your January editorial that no matter how great was the battle of the Negro intellectuals (for decades) to get a Negro History Week recognized in February—the young black militants have moved the whole question to an en-

### 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.

tirely new stage with their demands for Black Studies programs.

The whole key to me was your analysis that once the demand for black studies has become a mass demand, it cannot be "tokenized" away by appointing one black school administrator somewhere.

Your pamphlet *American Civilization on Trial* remains, for me, the only study I have ever seen that showed black history as the history of black mass revolt—not black leaders—which moved this whole country forward. When that becomes the American history that is taught in our schools to both black and white, the true history of this country will first become known.

Journalist  
San Francisco

May I suggest the following as a fitting line for inclusion in your February issue: "... the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those they oppress."

—Frederick Douglass.  
Reader  
Chicago

## TWO THANK-YOU'S

I appreciated the article in the January issue on Theodore Rakis—especially in light of the Kennedy-Onassis marriage. I guess I'm not the only American that began to think that some "rich" ones like "Jackie" might actually feel something for the poor, the blacks, the working class. What a laugh, when she marries a man who is in cahoots with the junta!

Worker  
New York

Charles Denby's article in the January issue surpassed any fragile expose Ralph Nader has ever made. It was superb. I am frustrated only because I wish everyone in the country could read "Who Doesn't Have a Lemon?" As it is, I will have to content myself with the enclosed check to ask that you mail that issue to those whose names and addresses I enclose.

Reader  
Nebraska

## THE MIDDLE EAST

Anti-Semitism is once again "out in the open" in the U.S. due to the Arab-Israeli situation in the Middle East. Whether it takes the course of outright repression as in the Hitler era of the 1930's is not as far-fetched as it may sound for the 1960's.

What is new this time,

though, is that the appeal is being made to the blacks to the anti-Israel and anti-Jews, and to condemn the Jews as being their only oppressors.

But the black man knows the white racists who try to split and conquer, and also knows that these racists are not concerned with human interests but only with oil interests to fatten their capitalistic hides.

An incident in a demonstration held in Detroit Jan. 31 by Students for Israel to protest the hangings in Iraq defied these racists. One black man joined the picket line and with this act bespoke a thousands words for the dignity of all people all over the world.

Marcher  
Detroit

At a recent demonstration of protest against the hangings in Iraq, participants were being urged to wire Nixon. One young high-school student apparently didn't think much of the idea. His only comment: "To the electric chair?"

Observer  
Detroit

I never did understand the black nationalist accusation that the U.S. administration under LBJ was supporting Israel in the Arab-Israeli war because of the oil interests. First of all, what support? Second of all, what oil?

Your point was well taken in the January lead article that Nixon had early been told by the oil interests that backed him that oil was in the Arab countries, not Israel. Moreover, if the aftermath of Scranton's trip to the Middle East is any indication of what good effect the Nixon Administration is going to have on that Middle East situation, heaven help us!

Office Worker  
Pittsburgh

Whenever anyone gets too radical in Israel they hang over him the "threat to the national security" bit, and even the strongest can grow faint-hearted, especially when all he sees, smells or hears around him is revisionism.

This is why the concepts and platforms of the Marxist-Humanist movement have a tremendous possibility in Israel and the need for them is great.

The time is late and the Middle East today is the showcase of the clashes of nationalism and socialism.

Observer  
Israel

## U.S. AND RUSSIA ENTER MIDDLE EAST COCKPIT

(Continued from Page 4)

loosed the anti-Semitic campaign that he euphemistically called the struggle against "rootless cosmopolitans." Anti-Semitism had nothing to do with the birth of Israel (which, at first, Stalin voted for, as none but the Jews had then successfully fought British imperialism). It had everything to do with internal conditions in Russia—the restlessness of the Russian masses with Stalinism.

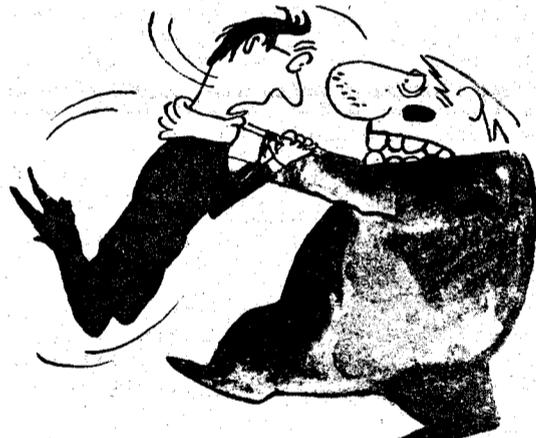
Anti-Semitism had nothing to do with "rootless cosmopolitanism." It had everything to do with stifling the emergence of new revolutionary forces that were struggling to come to power and be independent of Russian domination, be that in Yugoslavia or France. The notorious "Doctors Plot" was not a struggle against "Zionism" in Israel but against revolutionary opponents in Russia and in the satellites. How quickly old radicals forget, once a new situation arises and a "new" enemy is discovered.

Of course, imperialism, whether Western or Zionist—or, for that matter, Communist or Russian or Chinese variety—has to be fought and destroyed. But how does that excuse the Left (from all the varieties of Trotskyism to the most "non-ideological" would-be revolutionary) for designating all the Arab lands, including even the feudal monarchies, as "representing the progressive forces"? What accounts for the designation of Israel, from its birth to its most persistent anti-Zionist manifestation, as representing "Western imperialism"?

Of course, internationalism must replace narrow nationalisms, but how does that get to equal "the annihilation of Israel?" Shouldn't self-determination guarantee Israel's right to exist even as it holds for all sovereign nations? Marxist-Humanists refuse not only "to take sides" in Big Power deals but categorically refuse to violate proletarian internationalism and the class struggle within each existing power on the dictates of the Stalinist-Maoist-Castroite "two camp" theory of the world. There has to be an independent way out. There is.

Of course, anti-Semitism is but one manifestation of capitalism. But when a "socialist" country like Poland in 1968 carries on so virulent an anti-Semitic campaign against its revolutionary opponents as to ape the Nazis in establishing a special "Jewish Department," it is high time both to recognize the class nature of present-day Communism, which is but a euphemism for state-capitalism, and to recognize that, in this epoch, it signifies anti-revolution as well.

To the extent that Israel is now an occupying force, resistance against it will, and is, emerging. It is this, and not commandos from without that serve as a beacon also for the Jews who are opposing



Vladimir Hlavin

„Kdo je u tebe antisemita, ty kluku židovská!“

“Whom are you calling an antisemite, you Jew-bastard!”

—From Dikobraz (Prague), July 23, 1968.

Zionism. It was the threat of genocide that unified the nation. Commandos from without, led by exhorters of the "annihilation of Israel" cannot, however, be anointed as a "revolutionary force," not even when Mao\* adds his blessing to those of the fascist Al-Shukary.

In any case, the new mass dissatisfaction in Arab lands, disclosed in Iraq, is against their ruling classes, not against Israel. It is this the Left is in danger of strangling by tailending Communism.

### SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The danger now is to force a false "Arab unity" against Israel, or "Zionist unity" against Arabs, thereby not only giving the Big Powers an excuse for intervention, but actually stifling the new emergent revolutionary forces throughout the Middle East even as Stalin crushed every revolution in the path of the Red Army as well as every revolutionary movement that dared aspire to power outside of the Red Army orbit.

We have seen the same role reenacted in Paris last Spring. Are we now to have it reappear in the Middle East? That would be greatest crime any revolutionary could commit. For, note this, the restlessness of the Iraq masses and the demand of the Kurds for autonomy there is directed, not at Israel, but Iraq. The opponents in the jails in Syria oppose Ba'ath rule; the very narrow mass base speaks loudly enough of the Ba'athist leaders' total isolation from the masses. And the student demonstrations in Egypt, as all over the world, are directed, not against a "foreign" enemy, but against the native rulers.

Nationalism is not the beacon it was a decade ago when it seemed to be the way to fight both imperialism and native class exploitation. New forces are emerging who are searching for a more comprehensive theory of liberation that would release these new revolutionary passions and transform the pre-revolutionary situations into social revolutions.

This is no longer a question of pointing to a theoretical void. The practical consequences of the void cry out loud for a philosophy of social revolution. If we only open our eyes, we will see new forces of liberation emerging. Do not stifle them.

\*For an analysis of the Ba'ath Party, as well as of Mao's ventures into the Middle East, see "The Arab-Israeli Collision", A Political-Philosophic Letter, June, 1967, News & Letters.

## Doing and Thinking

### Teacher's Union Adds Greater Depth to SF State Strike

by Bernard Wendell

Los Angeles, Cal.—The three-month struggle for a new kind of education and a new type of society is not over at San Francisco State College. The black, brown, yellow, red and white students, along with their allies from the American Federation of Teachers (A.F.T.), are still fighting for their demands.

Due to the ban on rallies, brief, shadowy confrontations between the police and the students have recurred whenever meetings are attempted. This pattern was broken on Jan. 23, when hundreds of students (mainly white) and supporters (including the head of the embryonic black studies program and five A.F.T. members) were arrested at a strike rally.

#### SCHOOL SHUTDOWN

Due to the combined student-teacher strike, formal miseducation in the classrooms, as this society would like to see it, is at a standstill. Estimated attendance is 20 per cent. The best of the teachers and the students are out on strike.

The campus cafeteria and the dormitory dining halls have been shut down by the workers in support of the teachers' strike. The library is being severely strained by the rapid check-out and check-in of books.

Thus, though the police have kept the campus "open," nothing has been able to keep it functioning. You just can't have much of a school without teachers and students, just as you can't have production without workers. The administration had better learn this lesson.

While in New York, the A.F.T. and the black militants have long since been turned against each other, across the country in San Francisco, they are working together in a close alliance which includes students of all races.

#### STRIKE SIGNIFICANT

The teachers' strike at S.F. State is one of the most significant aspects of the revolt, for the teachers are striking, not just for better conditions within the present academic process (which are essential), but for a different kind of education. They are not mere opportunists trying to execute a "power grab" as Haya-kawa accused; they have consciously committed themselves to a transformation both of the school and of the system.

It is true that the A.F.T.'s members comprise only about 25 per cent of the faculty at S.F. State. Considering how long the teachers have been paralyzed by carefully implanted myths of their so-called "professional" status, this is a very promising beginning. The courage and determination of the A.F.T. in this struggle will greatly further the movement to organize the teachers, not into state-run company unions or into racist rear-guards, but into a progressive movement.

The A.F.T. has shown to what degree the teachers are now beginning to view themselves, not as petty-dictator "professionals" who are "above striking," but as workers who can improve their lot and transform this society only through collective action, including strikes and collective bargaining.

This lesson has been lost on no one, and it terrifies the government of the state of California immeasurably. If the college teachers can organize, any group of state "civil service" workers can. Nothing is more threatening to the system than when workers

view themselves as workers, and reject the illusions about their status that they once had.

#### CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS

Thus, the strike of the A.F.T. represents the spreading of class-consciousness among white-collar workers. It has also shown that a teacher can be more than a "brain policeman."

The teachers have shown great militancy. They ignored an injunction against them. They have picketed continually despite arrests. When offered amnesty at S.F. State in return for ending the strike, they declared that there could be no returning to work without their right to collective bargaining being recognized: they also scheduled their state-wide strike for the next day.

It must be noted that the state-wide teachers' strike called by the A.F.T. to support the battle at S.F. State failed, not because the teachers as a whole were against it, but due to a dispute about when to call it.

#### RELATED TO COMMUNITY

The teachers' strike has had a great effect on the community. For example, according to the Los Angeles Free Press correspondent, a coed was distributing leaflets explaining the revolt outside a supermarket in the Valley district of San Francisco.

A retired welder, an old unionist, discussed strike strategy with the girl.

Just as the teachers are beginning to see themselves as workers, other workers are beginning to see them as such. Thus the teachers' strike helped to relate the student strike to the problems of a working-class community.

Milan, Italy — The police have accused 150 of the Sicilian peasants involved in the December strikes of aggression against the police, and they may very well be condemned. At first, the accusation left even the government speechless, but now the rightist press, as well as the government, is defending the police.

(For particulars on these events, see NEWS & LETTERS, December 1968, and January, 1969.)

The next drama took place at Viareggio, a tourist town on the Mediterranean coast. On New Year's Eve, a group of students gathered to throw eggs at the well-dressed customers as they entered the most expensive nightclub of the city. For a moment, the situation must have had its amusing aspects: women in long gowns fainting all over the place.

#### STUDENT SHOT

At a certain point, the police opened fire. One student was wounded and will probably be paralyzed for life. The question of who was responsible for wounding the student has become a political question.

The government has taken the



### At U. of Chicago

## 'Doors of the Occupied Administration Building are Open to All the Students'

Chicago, Ill.—At the time of this writing, the student sit-in at the University of Chicago is in its sixth day. The doors of the occupied administration building are open to all students. The approximately 400 demonstrators divide their time between mass meetings and small discussion groups inside, and politicizing their views on campus by holding rallies, talking with people, and attending supporters' meetings.

The university, terrified of the repercussions of calling in the Chicago cops, has taken no action, but has suspended 61 students involved and has refused to negotiate with the others.

Outside the university, however, Mayor Daley is strongly denouncing the sit-in, and reactionary Congressman Pucinsky is calling for a Congressional investigation of the event, and prosecutions by the federal government.

#### STUDENT DEMANDS

The students' demands center around the firing of Marlene Dixon, a radical sociology professor who is active in the Women's Liberation movement. The demands are 1) rehiring her, 2) accepting in principle equal student-faculty power in the hiring and firing of professors, 3) recompensing pay loss suffered by employees as a result of the sit-in, 4) amnesty for student demonstrators.

In addition, the several days of intense political discussions have produced proposals designed to fight the political suppression and sex discrimination implicit in the original issue.

These include the establish-

ment of a "Suppressed Studies Division" of the university to include studies concerning working class, black and third world peoples, women, and radical movements; the end of secrecy in faculty and administration meetings and files; the opening of a day care center for children of employees, faculty, and students; having 51% women in the faculty and student body; and the ending of the "nepotism" rule used to prevent wives from advancement in the university

Two more principles formulated by the demonstrators concern the university's "most oppressive — racist — policies": urban renewal destruction of housing in the adjoining ghetto must stop and construction of low-rent good quality apartments begin, and admissions of black and third world students must be greatly increased.

#### EMPHASIS ON WOMEN

Student sit-ins over the firing of radical professors have become common. What is new in the University of Chicago movement is the emphasis on women. The take-over of the building was precipitated by the protests and demonstrations of two women's liberation groups active on campus.

The sit-in, which includes a large number of women, produced a position paper on the women question which says in part:

*"The refusal to rehire Dr. Dixon is a specific example of the University of Chicago's consistent policy of discrimination and exploitation of women. She was the first woman to be hired as regular faculty under the aegis of the sociology department in 19 years. She taught about women as an oppressed group in our society, with a radical per-*

spective. Her work is openly critical of the prevailing views on women of the sociology dept., and the university as a whole . . .

*"Women's oppression is a qualitatively different kind of oppression. Women are oppressed in every class. It is a fact that the median income of white women, employed full time, is lower than that of black men, employed full time. The median income of black women, victims of race, sex, class discrimination, is the lowest of all."*

#### SPONTANEOUS CHALLENGE

The students sitting-in are a spontaneous coalition of people with divergent politics, ranging from those who see the oppression of workers, blacks, women and youth as inherent, elements of capitalism, to those who are only interested in getting a popular teacher rehired.

The University of Chicago has no history of movement activity like Columbia's. But, inside and outside the building, through continual dialogues, students are challenging the university's avowed desire to be a "community of scholars" devoted to research, rather than a place for teaching youth to relate to the outside world.

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## Peasant, Worker and Student Strikes Sweep All Italy

Milan, Italy — The police have accused 150 of the Sicilian peasants involved in the December strikes of aggression against the police, and they may very well be condemned. At first, the accusation left even the government speechless, but now the rightist press, as well as the government, is defending the police.

(For particulars on these events, see NEWS & LETTERS, December 1968, and January, 1969.)

The next drama took place at Viareggio, a tourist town on the Mediterranean coast. On New Year's Eve, a group of students gathered to throw eggs at the well-dressed customers as they entered the most expensive nightclub of the city. For a moment, the situation must have had its amusing aspects: women in long gowns fainting all over the place.

#### STUDENT SHOT

At a certain point, the police opened fire. One student was wounded and will probably be paralyzed for life. The question of who was responsible for wounding the student has become a political question.

The government has taken the

position that it was not the police, but a customer at the nightclub. The Communists say that it was the police that wounded him, since Italians usually do not go around armed. Since no one seems to be interested in finding out who this aggressive customer is, it seems that the Communist version is correct.

It would be useless to enumerate all of the events that have been going on. Almost every day there are strikes in various cities for a law proposed by the CP for equal pay throughout the country for the various categories of workers. (In the South workers are paid much less than in the North. Everywhere, one earns much less working for a small company than for a large, international company.)

The principal unions have agreed upon another pension strike in which probably even the kindergarten teachers will take part; while lawyers and police magistrates have been demonstrating at Rome for a complete reform of the judicial system.

#### WEAK GOVERNMENT

The important question is: why should all of this happen now?

The first thing that becomes clear is that a minority or weak government cannot function in Italy. Thus, the police, the army and the bureaucracy get the upper hand. The other side of the coin is that the people, either because they sense this weakness spontaneously or because they consciously go against the authoritarian power of the police, begin to rebel.

The alliance with the Socialist and Republican parties gave the government a slight majority, and it seemed for a few weeks that things would quiet down even though these parties were not only not completely in agreement with each other but were also dealing with internal disputes.

The most important dispute between the three parties and within the Christian Democratic party is whether or not to make some sort of an agreement with the CP. The Christian Democrats are divided because a part of the party would like to make an agreement with the Communists; if not letting them take part in the government, at least having their support for the program of the government. The Socialists and Republicans are against any alliance with the CP. The Communists would clearly

like to participate in the government, and they have a strong position at the moment and know it. They are holding out for disarmament of the police on "public duty" (whatever that means) and for equal wages in all of the regions of the country — something similar to a minimum wage law. Equal wages mean that small companies (that is, high cost industries) go out of business.

#### CP ROLE

It also means a greater unity and strengthening of the working class movement as well as a strengthening of monopoly capitalism. Probably the CP has been forced into these positions by the spontaneous demonstrations of the masses, the workers' unrest, and the loss of members to Marxist groups outside of the party, as well as the youth's disinterest in the CP simply because they do not see any reason to belong.

What will be the outcome of all of this is impossible to predict. An alliance with the Communists would undoubtedly save the system as it is for the moment. Lacking this, almost anything might happen.

(For more on Italy, see Readers Views, p. 4.)

# Czechoslovakia: High Stage of Struggle

New York, N.Y.—I am increasingly disturbed by the fact that so few of the kids around SDS and the other radical youth organizations seem to identify with the struggles of the workers and students in Czechoslovakia.

When students and workers strike or occupy buildings in France, Italy, Mexico, or Japan, everybody seems to know it is all part of the same fight. But when the subject of Czechoslovakia comes up, if it ever does, people around the movement just shrug.

## POSITIVE CONTENT

It's not that any of them think the Russian invasion was justified. Most of them protested against that, and practically everybody around considers the Russian Communists and their supporters to be "revisionists," "sell-outs," or "Stalinist creeps." But very few see the positive content of the Spring movement and the continuing worker-student protests in Czechoslovakia.

Yet you would think the identification would be obvious. The Czechs have been using the same kinds of tactics as our movements, from mass demonstrations, student sit-ins, underground papers, and screwing up traffic to the recent wave of self-immolations, which are in the tradition of the Vietnamese and some U.S. martyrs.

Moreover, the solidarity between workers and students is greater there even than it was in France last May. And if some of us have been busted or worked over by the cops, we should surely be able to imagine what happens to kids over there when the Russians get them.

The answer you get from some of the movement people here is very curious. They consider the Czech demands for free assembly, an end to press and radio censorship, better living and working conditions, national independence and more workers' control in production to be somehow "too bourgeois." This shows a lot about what these kids think socialism is about.

Evidently, for them, socialism is supposed to mean poverty, grim determination, and stark dictatorship combined with hours of "voluntary" labor to "build up the country." If some of these things may have been terrible necessities in Civil War Russia or blockaded Cuba, they are surely not the things that any worker in his right mind would fight for.

## CLASS STRUGGLES

Moreover, this attitude is romantic, hypocritical, and basically petty-bourgeois itself. To begin with, whatever freedoms of speech, assembly, or the right to strike we may have in the U.S. or Europe were won in bitter class struggles over decades

against the bourgeoisie themselves. Moreover, we still have to fight for them.

Every American worker knows how cops and troops are used whenever a strike gets serious. Every radical knows our press here is controlled and our demonstrations broken up by cops when they are too militant to be simply ignored. Every black American knows what it is to yearn for national freedom.

There is only one real bourgeois freedom: the capitalist's right to exploit "free" labor and control his own private property. Aside from this, there are no "bourgeois freedoms," only "freedom itself."

The American or European radical who yells about "police brutality" and the "bourgeois media" here, but thinks that a police state and censorship are good enough for people under "socialism" or in another country is either crazy or a hypocrite. It is

frenzy of the alienated petty-bourgeois rebel who will fight like hell to smash the system, but who, unlike those who are actually engaged in production, cannot envisage the positive side of working-class democracy and struggles for a better life.

It is this positive content of socialist humanism the Czech workers and students are fighting and dying for. Let no one think for an instant that there is a single soul in Czechoslovakia who wants to go back to working for the capitalists.

Their struggle against the Stalinist bureaucrats at home and the Russian invaders from without is a struggle to achieve the positive conditions for human self-development within socialism. As such it is the highest historical stage of struggle and one which we must learn from.

—Dick Greeman, Columbia U. SDS and N.Y. "News & Letters"

## Discussion article

# SDS: A NEW DIRECTION?

New York, N.Y.—One of the few encouraging things to emerge from the SDS National Convention held at Ann Arbor last month was a resolution by Mike Klonsky entitled "Towards A Revolutionary Youth Movement."

This resolution, with its call for alliances between students and young workers, represents a laudable attempt to broaden the perspectives of the student movement. It appears that SDS is beginning to recognize the importance of the working class and, in particular, the importance of black workers, "the most oppressed sector of the working class."

The resolution condemns struggles around issues of "student power" as "economism"; but it also tends to confuse student interests with working-class interests rather than attempting to clarify the role of radical students vis-a-vis the working class.

## YOUTH OR CLASS?

Perhaps this confusion is due to a mix-up between the category of "youth" and the concept of class.

The resolution states that youth is a valid category for a group oppressed by capitalism, and that young workers and students have a "common enemy." Students drop out of school "as a response to a dying capitalist culture," and young workers are "being forced out of industry that no longer has any room for the untrained, unskilled and unorganized."

"Both the drop-out and the forced-out youth faces the re-

pressive nature (sic) of America's police, courts and military, which act to physically and materially oppress them."

On one level, this might be considered an insight. On another, it is an equation that facilely ignores the real differences between working-class youth and college drop-outs.

This theoretical confusion engenders further difficulties when it comes to suggesting practical activities for building a "revolutionary youth movement." Of the 14 concrete suggestions the resolution sets forth, 11 involve work at schools: alliances with "non-academic employes," attacks on "police institutes on campus," a fight against racism in the classroom, etc.

These suggestions are, in short, a compendium of struggles presently being fought at schools across the country. They do not represent a new departure, save for the fact that they are considered within the context of class struggle.

## STUDENTS IN SHOPS

Of the remaining three suggestions, one reaffirms the struggle against the war, one suggests "moving into the liberation struggles now being fought inside the armed forces," and one states that students should "move into factories and shops as well as into working-class communities to better understand the material oppression of industrial workers as well as to eradicate prejudices against workers."

The last is undoubtedly the most original suggestion in the paper; however, it is not elaborated.

These limitations are, alas, abundantly in evidence. Elitism is condemned. The resolution, however, is at least overly-optimistic about the abilities of the student movement. It asserts "because we (i.e. SDS) can organize—as a student movement—around the contradictions that affect youth specifically, we can organize young working people into our class-conscious anti-capitalist movement."

Thus youth, so organized, "can expose war, racism and the oppression of labor and the oppression of youth," by taking "exemplary actions (which) lead to higher consciousness and struggle among other people." (My emphasis.)

We'll see.

—A. Peters  
N.Y.

## IN MEMORIAM

### Dr. E. Mondlane, African Revolutionary

We mourn the assassination of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, an African revolutionary who was president of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), and dedicated to the fight to free Mozambique from Portugal. Dr. Mondlane was murdered on Feb. 3 by a time-bomb explosion in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where Frelimo was based. Judging by the jubilation of Portugal following the assassination, the Zimbabwe African National Union was correct in charging the murder to "agents of the enemies of Africa." The assassination of such leaders, though a terrible blow to the revolutionary forces, cannot stop the fight for freedom in Africa, America, nor anywhere else in this world in revolt.

## Worker-Student Revolt Worldwide

Detroit, Mich.—The student revolts all over the world have shown people one thing, that human needs are essentially the same everywhere.

The students who liberated Columbia last year showed that they did not want racist policies at their school. The students at San Francisco State are showing their protest of miseducation and racism in their school. The students in Japan are demonstrating against the role their government is taking in support of U.S. imperialist policies. The Italian students are supporting the workers and peasants in Italy by working to change their oppressive government. The French students are revolting against bourgeois French society.

The same is true for English, German, African, Spanish, Mexican, Czechoslovakian, Canadian, Pakistanian, Vietnamese, and U.S. students.

## NO MORE

Students are not the only people who are revolting against oppressive society. Workers all

over the world are revolting against their dehumanizing working conditions. Poor people in all countries, who are getting the worst of society, are also speaking out and saying "No more!"

People cannot continue living under oppression. Which all goes to prove one thing: Freedom is the same all over, or in other words, no matter who a person is, or where he is, he will fight to have his freedom, or he will die trying.

A worker will fight just as hard to gain his freedom as a student will, and a student will fight just as hard as any other oppressed person.

Since we're all being oppressed we should all fight for our freedom, and the best way to do that is to do it together.

When we students, workers, poor people, and other oppressed people, unite to overthrow our oppressors and gain freedom and justice for everyone, there will be no way the governments will be able to stop us. They will either all have to fail or will have to destroy the world to destroy us.

— High School Student

## Walter Reuther Flunks Questions

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—It is too bad that Detroit auto workers couldn't have heard Walter Reuther when he journeyed to the University of Michigan this month to speak to law students.

His speech was full of all the correct generalities about how he was for civil rights; how he marched with Dr. King, how he was for fighting poverty and for improving the quality of American life. He spoke of water pollution and air pollution and rebuilding the cities. All was said in sweeping rhetoric.

## QUESTIONS

But during the question and answer period people wanted to know more specifics about what he was doing in the auto union. They wanted to know why he had done nothing in his own union to fight the racist foremen at the Ford Rouge Assembly plant. Why he marched with King, but when his own black workers wanted to honor King by walking out, it was his union

officials who threatened the workers with being fired.

They wanted to know about improving the quality of American life on the Fleetwood assembly line, where workers who tried to fight speed-up were told by the union officials to keep working. It was only after the wildcat that the union did anything.

They wanted to know why the union had joined with the company and the Hamtramck police to fight black militants at the Dodge Main plant.

## NO ANSWERS

To these questions Reuther had no real answers. He spoke in generalities of how we must all fight racism, and in falsehoods about the Fleetwood wildcat which he claimed was caused by ten hotheads.

It would have been great if workers from all over Detroit could have been there to ask him more questions about racism and working conditions in their shops. Reuther is forever talking about the problems of the world. Why doesn't he talk about the problems of workers in his union?

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# Spanish Students' Revolt Fights Franco Repression

(Continued from Page 1)

dictatorial rule, to see how mistaken he is.

## CZECH STUDENT UNREST

On Jan. 16, Jan Palach, a philosophy student at Charles University in Prague, committed suicide by fire. He carried a letter which identified him as a member of a group ready to burn themselves in protest against the destruction of Czechoslovak freedoms since the August invasion. The letter stated two immediate demands: 1) The immediate abolition of censorship; 2) Prohibition of distribution of Zpravy (the Russian occupation newspaper).

His sacrifice was followed by others, and by massive demonstrations nearly as large as those of August. Students held all-night vigils in Wenceslas Square. Workers in Prague factories stopped for moments of silence. Jan Palach's funeral on Jan. 25 was attended by a half million people, who marched through the streets in absolute silence. Students came from every major city in the country, and workers' delegations were present from hundreds of factories and trades. The crowd overflowed Red Army Square, which was renamed Jan Palach Square by the marchers.

The policy of the Czech government to enforce the Russian counter-revolution in bits and pieces was attacked by students in the days following Jan Palach's death. Philosophy students at Charles University wrote:

"We accuse the Soviet leadership for adding by its policies yet one more victim of the 21st of August. We accuse the political leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist party of dragging in the name of so-called political realism, the people of Czechoslovakia into this situation by the smallness of its policy and by treason of the previously proclaimed ideals.

"We accuse ourselves, that up to now we did not find enough force in ourselves for such actions that would force the political leadership to become the real representative of the people's opinion."

The students took this position to the streets after the funeral. The next day students trying to hold a vigil in Wenceslas Square were attacked by police using tear gas and clubs; 200 students were arrested. For the first time, students denounced Czech police as "Gestapo" and "Russian stooges." Other students were clubbed when they tried to march on President Swoboda's palace.

## WORLD-WIDE REVOLT

The student revolt in January crossed every boundary. It was East and West, advanced countries and Third World. Spanish fascism and Czechoslovakian state-capitalism were shaken, but the so-called democratic countries erupted as well.

In Japan, Jan. 19 marked the end of a student strike and sit-in at Tokyo University that began one year ago. The force required to end the strike included 8,500 police who laid siege to the university buildings with helicopters, high pressure hoses, tear gas cannon, axes and clubs. Over 600 students were arrested in the two-day battle and hundreds more were injured.

In the U.S., the student revolt reached a new stage of development at San Francisco State College. The strike there, begun on Nov. 6, is already the longest strike in any American school.

The students' 15 demands, challenged not only capitalist education, but the whole system. The answer to the demands came on Jan. 23, with the arrest of hun-

dreds of students for "holding an illegal meeting on the campus." Outright police brutality has solidified the strike: Black and Third World students have been joined by most of the white students; only 20-30% of the students were attending classes.

A new statewide relationship was begun between students and labor. The American Federation of Teachers joined the strike with their own demands, and maintenance and food service workers honored the picket lines. Sympathy strikes of teachers at other California schools followed.

At San Jose State College, 28 teachers striking in sympathy were fired; new strikes were called to support the 28.

Meanwhile student demonstrations, many of them led by black student unions, hit more than 50 different schools in the U.S. during January.

## ACTION AND IDEAS

The world-wide revolt of students is both in action and in idea. If the barricades of May in France inspired other youth, so did the idea of an active alliance between workers and students which the French tried to practice. In today's world, the idea within an action can spread with incredible speed. If anyone was still unconvinced, for example, that Russian imperialism in Czechoslovakia was as oppressive as American imperialism in Vietnam, the suicide by fire of Jan Palach made it all terribly clear.

What form and what direction these revolts in the first month of 1969 will take in the rest of the year can not be predicted. But globally there is as never before a groping for the unity of thought and action which can once and for all rid us of exploitative class society. On one side of the globe a Japanese student speaks: "I am in this struggle because I see so many inconsistencies in society itself. In so many instances, I feel that however honestly and energetically I may be working, society goes in a direction contrary to my inclination, a direction over which I have no control.

"I want a humanistic society in which the individual can see that his own efforts have meaning, that they count toward the enrichment of society as a whole. Yesterday, my specific involvement was with Vietnam. Today it is to bring down Tokyo University, not as an institution of learning, but as a training school for the elite. Tomorrow it may be something else. But my basic commitment is to the kind of humanist society I've been talking about."

On the other side of the globe, Cohn-Bendit, a student leader of the French Revolt, speaks: "In the present system, they say: there are those who work and those who study. And we are stuck with a social division of labor, however intelligent. But we can imagine another system where everyone will work at the tasks of production—reduced to a minimum, thanks to technical progress—and everyone will be able to pursue his studies at the same time: the system of simultaneous productive work and study. To start with we must reject the distinction between student and worker. Of course, all this is not immediately foreseeable, but something has begun and must necessarily keep going."

This simultaneous searching for new human beginnings is no accident. Freedom is in the air, everywhere. None of the unfree societies where we are all living are immune from human beings empowered with the idea of freedom.

# Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

## Irish Fight Discrimination; Rock Britain

(The following report was received from HARRY McSHANE of the Scottish Marxist Humanist Group. — P.M.)

Two members of the Government of Ulster have resigned and the position of Prime Minister O'Neill is said to be in danger. That is only the froth on top of something more real and substantial underneath. It is deserving of a little attention.

Faulkner, who has just resigned his position as Minister of Commerce, has surprised everyone by his declaration of support for "one man, one vote." This man has done more than most men over the years to fan the flames of bigotry. He has resigned because he is opposed to the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the turbulence in Ulster.

This is the most serious split to take place in the Government of Northern Ireland since it was set up. Faulkner sees himself as the next Prime Minister. He has great influence in the Orange Order, the body which bases itself on anti-Catholic hatred.

The most dangerous man is the Rev. Ian Paisley, who is now out on bail pending an appeal after being sentenced to three months imprisonment. He is using his present posi-

tion to make things even worse than they were.

His influence has spread to certain elements in Scotland where Glass is preparing to organize a march from Glasgow to Edinburgh. The "Protestant Telegraph," an organ of hate printed in Belfast, is sold outside the grounds of the Glasgow Rangers football club. The supporters of this club are mostly Protestants as against the Catholic supporters of the Glasgow Celtic. Pastor Glass was ordained by the Rev. Ian Paisley whose own ordination is suspect.

This religious rivalry has been a hindrance to the development of the Labour movement in Ireland for many years. The political issues have been given a religious coloring with the aim of keeping the workers divided. In Ulster it has kept the Unionists in power. The Catholics have been victimized in every possible way.

It is interesting to recall the fact that many Presbyterian clergymen were in the forefront of Ireland's fight for freedom in the past. There was the Rev. John Glendy, one of 30 ministers accused of supporting the 1798 Rebellion. Finding refuge in the United States, he was invited to Washington by Mr. Jefferson where he made a speech. He has cho-

sen as chaplain to Congress in 1806 and to the Senate in 1815.

Then there was Henry Montgomery, who in late years praised the United Irishmen. He fought for Catholic Emancipation. He stood for Federation rather than separation from Britain. On this, he crossed swords with Daniel O'Connell.

There were many more, but from the time when Gladstone was playing about with his Home Rule Bill the reactionaries of Britain built up the Orange opposition. The weak-kneed policy of the Irish M.P.s, who numbered more than 80, helped the process which we now see fully developed.

Even if the principle of "one man, one vote," is established it will make little difference to the position of Catholic workers; but the struggle against discrimination is very important. The spirit underlying the struggle should be kept alive. By keeping three of the Ulster counties out of the present set-up, the Catholics under Stormont rule are only one in three.

It is important to all of us to note that after 48 years the die-hards in politics have been shaken by the resistance of all who stand for freedom in Northern Ireland.

## CBW

Television viewers were treated (Feb. 4.) to films of American Chemical-Bacterial Warfare (CBW) potential and preparations that were both revealing and frightening.

The most secret U.S. Army installations are the CBW stations, test sites and manufacturing establishments at Pine Bluff Ark., Rocky Mountain Arsenal, Dugway Testing Center and the Desert Testing Center in Utah. At these sites various nerve gases are manufactured and tested and killing disease germs of plague, anthrax, Q-fever, Rocky Mountain spotted fever and various viruses are bred and tested on animals.

At Dugway, Utah last year, the death of 5,000 sheep on the range caused an investigation in which the U.S. Army denied all responsibility but later paid \$400,000 damages to the owners of the sheep. There is no doubt that the sheep were killed by nerve gas accidentally released.

At Rocky Mountain Arsenal the huge piles of nerve gas containers and nerve gas shells, clearly visible to air travelers to Denver, became so objectionable that the Army moved them to a site near Salt Lake City, where they would be out of sight.

The fumes of a single drop of the nerve gas killed a rabbit in two and a half seconds.

At Porton Down, England, a germ breeding center is maintained to produce germs of any type, in vast quantities. Orders are accepted from the U.S. Military. A similar germ research center is maintained in Canada, the Sufield Experimental Station near Alberta.

Anthrax, a disease which spreads among cattle, then humans, and for which there is no cure, was spread on an island off the British coast during WWII. Twenty-eight years later the germs are still

active and it is estimated they will survive there for another 100 years.

Colleges and universities throughout the United States are engaged in bacteriological warfare research under military grants. Dozens of American manufacturing firms, chemical companies and drug firms are profiting from military grants for research in the field.

The Hayes Corp. has developed the military hardware for the distribution from the air of the gases or germs the military chose to use.

The equipment is being field-tested in Vietnam where chemical agents are used to defoliate large sections of the country. Like the H-Bomb, the "wet-dry biological bomblet" now being manufactured awaits only the trigger finger of some mad military mind to test it on human beings.

## FORD LOCAL 600

Four office girls, employed by Ford Local 600 UAW have successfully fought and won their case against dismissal by Local 600. The Union fired the girls after they had been through the usual rounds of bargaining with the UAW as the employer through their own union, the Office Employees Local 42 (AFL-CIO). The girls took their case to the NLRB.

The UAW fired the girls eight months ago and refused to sign a contract with their union. Then, in typical capitalist style, they farmed out their work to a non-union firm, a practice they have fought the auto companies for doing.

The NLRB ruled that the UAW must rehire the girls, pay them eight months back pay with six percent interest and recognize their union.

Typical of capitalist bosses, the UAW is expected to appeal the decision.

Good luck, girls!

## PUEBLO CASE

Lloyd M. Bucher raises questions that the U.S. Navy Dept. wishes had never been asked. The Admirals suffered great embarrassment when the Pueblo was seized by North Korea along with sensitive spy equipment, code books and masses of classified documents.

It was further embarrassed when the skipper, Commander Bucher "confessed" to violating territorial waters of North Korea. The case was further compounded by the documents handed over by U.S. Officials as a condition to Bucher's and the crews' release.

The fact that Bucher came up through the ranks to make his grade makes him a likely scapegoat for the Annapolis-educated brass to throw the book at.

The main question facing the drafted military personnel is how far they are expected to "resist" when faced with certain death in a situation where the military brass has no intention of backing up their sacrifice. "Military tradition" may be a sacred cow for the desk Admirals, but it is quite another thing when it is your own life at stake.

General Wainwright at Corregidor surrendered his command and received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Is the average drafted G.I., involved in a war not of his own choice expected to do more?

Those who should be on trial are the men who send others into combat on an imperialist venture with divided orders and no military back-up. They are human "guinea pigs" for the spy missions that the two nuclear titans are playing against each other—at the expense of the small nations and the forcibly drafted GI's.