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NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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(See Two Worlds, by Raya Dunayevskaya)

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

'They All Get A Piece of My Check'

There was an interesting discussion this week among the workers in the auto plant where I work. It began with the question of increased salaries for those in power, and lower wages for working people, and extended to the world-wide student revolts, to the question of inflation, and to starvation here in America.

Willie Williams, the discussion leader, said that, after our last union contract settlement with the auto companies, the union said that we would get a twenty cent raise in wages. This would have brought my pay up to \$3.65 an hour, and deep down in my heart I felt this wasn't bad. I thought I would be taking home somewhere around \$125 a week. As we all know, we were working six days a week then with a nine hour day. Our take home pay was \$165 a week for those hours. But, for the past three weeks, we have been working five days a week, eight hours a day, and my take-home pay is less than \$100 a week. When I compared this with a stub from a paycheck I took home fifteen years ago, I found that there was less than ten dollars difference between the two. I was taking home \$85 a week then.

THEY SAY WE CAUSE INFLATION

Man, this made me so mad that I cursed until I was sick. Oh yes, our gross earnings are \$150 a week, but then the Government gets \$23 first, then F.I.C.A. gets \$7.50, the union \$8.00 — that is two hours work — the State gets \$3.00, the City \$2.55, and charity gets 50 cents a week.

He said, "Man, this makes me think of a joke I heard years ago. A man was telling a woman that her brother was stealing his clothes. She seemed very insulted. 'My brother does not steal. He is educated; his specialty is arithmetic. For your information, that consists of subtraction, addition, multiplication, division and fractions.' The man answered her by saying, 'That fits him. When you see your brother again tell him that if he doesn't stop coming to my house, subtracting my clothes, adding some to his back, dividing the others among his friends; I am going to take my shotgun and multiply so many holes in his body that there will only be a small fraction of him left.' Maybe that's what wage earners should start telling those who are robbing us."

Ezeke Robeff said, "Every time workers ask for a few pennies raise, they say this causes inflation. They even sway public opinion against us for asking for higher wages. But not a damn word was said when the Congressmen down in Washington raised their own salaries by 40%, man that's nearly double what they were receiving before, and they get their expenses paid too. And the President's salary was raised too. One hundred thousand dollars a year wasn't enough for him. Now he gets \$200,000."

OFFICIALS RAISE THEIR OWN PAY

"Then there is this guy, Zak, the head of the Wayne County Supervisors. When I first heard of the job, it was without pay. All the supervisors had regular professional jobs. Several years ago, they gave themselves a salary of some \$4500, plus their professional salaries. Now they want to raise it to \$25,000 a year. Only public pressure and threat of recall forced them to cut their salaries back to \$10,000."

Nothing changes the attitude of those in power towards the poor and the wage workers, he said. Just think of Mayor Hubbard and his racist, all white city of Dearborn. He loves the citizens of that city — as long as they help him keep black people out. But the minute that wage earners in that city, the garbage collectors, ask for a little raise, Hubbard says, "Hell no!"

The garbage collectors have been hitting the bricks ever since. Now the garbage and filth are piled so high, you can see it and smell it for miles. Hubbard is offering scabs a high wage to break the worker's strike. And I'm sure he is appealing to black scabs — instinctively I feel this, I don't know for sure.

Then we hear those people in power yelling about "what's wrong with the youth of today," especially attacking the college students. To me, these adults have warped minds; they're living in the past. The students seem to know that the world in which they live is a big fraud, and they're rejecting that fraud.

He concluded by paraphrasing some words from Eldridge Cleaver's book, Soul on Ice: If there is a God, men do not know him, therefore all religion is phoney, all preachers and priests are fakers. They can put in a good word for you with the Almighty Creator of the Universe, but they can't do anything for you on this earth. They can usher you through the Pearly Gates after you are dead, but they can't get you out of those prison gates while you are still alive, and kicking.

Everyone has heard how much it cost this country to kill one North Vietnamese soldier. Every Vietnamese I have seen on TV looks like he has malnutrition, just like the people starving in the American South. Many of those congressmen who just raised their own salaries, are eager to spend our money to kill poor people in North and South Vietnam, but are opposed to helping starving people in the North and South, U.S.A.

Deep Problems at Home and Abroad Shatter Illusions of Nixon's Trip

by Andy Phillips

The sign greeting President Richard Milhouse Nixon when he stepped off of his plane in Brussels, Belgium, blazoned the message: "Nixon Go Home." Paradoxically, while the sign was carried by a leftist student, it proved to be the same message, but for different reasons, he got from rightist and moderate leaders of the countries laid out for his consultation tour designed to achieve "conquest through humility." Conquest, however, meant re-establishing U.S. domination over Europe, and this was no longer acceptable. It was not acceptable because European leaders know very well that U.S. foreign policy of necessity is first and foremost riveted to the Vietnam war, and also because the capitalists in England, France, Italy and Germany know the U.S. capitalist as an enemy who continues to increase, not decrease, his domination of European economic life.

As for the masses of the people, the continuing working class and student opposition to their own governments also precluded any possible basis for breathing life into a NATO so long dead that rigor mortis had irreversibly set in. This Nixon saw clearly in Wilson's economically tottering Great Britain, in Premier Rumor's strike-ridden Italy, in arrogant President de-Gaulle's explosive France.

FAILURE GUARANTEED

Actually, General deGaulle's much-publicized "secret" offer to Great Britain had guaranteed that Nixon's trip would be a failure. DeGaulle's stunning success in this maneuver stands in sharp contrast to his impotence in the face of the students and workers in France who last May destroyed the myth of deGaulle's invincibility, from which he can never recover. Clearly, he had a much easier time in his cat-and-mouse games played against leaders of the capitalist countries.

How easy it was he demonstrated with the stacked hand he dealt Great Britain's French Ambassador Soames by proposing his "secret" alliance. This same deGaulle, the one who for many years single-handedly blocked Britain's membership into the European Common Market, now offered to dump the Common Market for a more restrictive pact between France, Great Britain, West Germany and Italy.

More than anyone else, deGaulle knew the British government could not possibly afford to keep quiet about the offer . . . and could not afford to openly report it. It was simply a case of Britain losing if she did, and losing if she didn't.

SQUEEZE ON BRITAIN

The price deGaulle set on the new alliance was simple, yet damning: that Britain show its independence of America and its allegiance to Europe by pulling out of the U.S.-dominated NATO. If Britain accepted the deal, deGaulle could claim this action to be proof of what he had always contended in opposing Britain's entry into the Common Market: that Britain could not be trusted. Obviously, if Britain would accept the deal, she would not only have to betray pledges made to the U.S. regarding NATO, but, far worse, would be making a secret deal behind the backs of and at the expense of Belgium, Norway, Sweden and Luxembourg — the other members of the Common Market.

On the other hand, if Britain exposed the terms of the offer, as she did, deGaulle could claim, as he did, that Britain's true interests were not in Europe, but



W. Va. Miners' Political Strike Demands 'Black Lung' Clause

A political strike by 43,000 coal miners in West Virginia ended with state legislation for miners to be covered by compensation if they get the disease called "black lung," or pneumoconiosis. All of the coal miners in the state, which produces more soft coal than any other in the nation, went out on strike Feb. 24, and gained support from thousands of other coal miners who have gone out on sympathy strikes in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky.

For the first time since shortly after World War II students actively aided the miners.

"Black lung," a disease caused by breathing too much coal dust, has killed and disabled tens of thousands of coal miners. It is a disease which slowly clogs the lungs, changing them from naturally soft and easily working organs of the body into a brittle substance, producing much difficulty in breathing, and often resulting in serious disability and death. It is estimated that over 100,000 miners suffer from black lung.

GROUP ORGANIZED

An organized group of miners, called the Black Lung Association, is spearheading the state-wide movement, and is openly critical of both the coal operators

and the United Mine Worker union officials.

A key provision calls for a miner who worked 10 of the past 15 years in a mine, and showed symptoms of black lung, to be eligible for state compensation. If the coal company disputes a miner's claim, it would then have to prove that the miner got the disease elsewhere.

The coal operators and their senate lackeys opposed this. They claimed the miner should have to prove he got the disease in the mine, and that the disease has to show up as evidence on an X-ray.

Every miner knows, however, as do the operators, that a miner doesn't have a chance against the powerful and rich coal opera-

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Urban Renewal Means Misery on Hobart St.

Detroit, Mich. — About seven years ago, when I first moved to Hobart St., it was a beautiful street. It was like living in a small town, where everyone knew everyone else. There was just something about that street that everyone who lived there liked.

The people were more friendly than anywhere I ever knew. If one family got sick, everyone pitched in to help. The boys played baseball and football together. It was an integrated group and everyone got along fine. There were families from Ireland, German and Polish families, Southern whites and black families.

PANIC BEGINS

In 1965 they began to come through everyone's home to make appraisals, and told us that the land was going to be used for a medical center.

It wasn't a run-down area. Everyone had fine lawns and their homes in good repair. Only a few houses that were rented dwellings weren't freshly painted all the time.

There was a panic in the neighborhood, but we got everyone together and had a meeting, to try to get people to stay in their homes and stick together. We didn't want the same thing to happen to us that happened to other "urban renewal" areas.

I was a renter, but I wanted to help the others the best I could. The owner of the house where I was living didn't even tell me when the house was sold. A man just came around and told me I would be paying my rent to the Housing Commission until I got something else. It was a shock because houses are very hard to find. The city is tearing up around all kinds of areas.

JOINED WCO

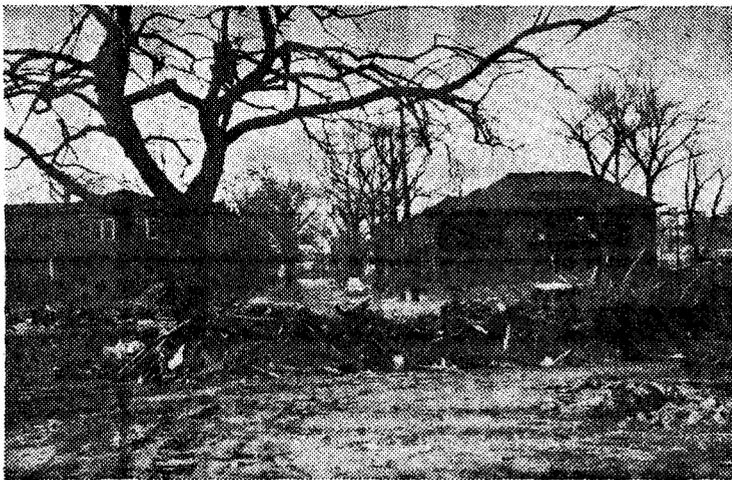
The neighbors decided to join with WCO (West Central Organization) to try to fight it. We went to Common Council. We were told we'd be paid moving expenses and be relocated in adequate housing. They gave us places to go look at—but after I looked at five places I made up my mind to stay right here. All of us were living in homes that were far better than what they showed us.

Homeowners found out the same thing. The down payments were all too high, and they would have to start paying on another house again, after they had thought they had already gone through all that. Many of these people were just too old to start all over again.

Many of the families have moved out. They were harassed pretty badly. People always coming to find out if they had found somewhere to go yet, and to show them places they said were available. But hardly any of the families that moved were satisfied with what they had to take.

One man had to go to work again after he sold his house and moved, in order to pay the higher rent. He hadn't worked for five years, and he had a heart attack and died. We feel all this moving was responsible for it.

Another old woman who sold her home became ill because she didn't like her new neighborhood and longed so much for the old



HOBART STREET: "Everything has been torn down for blocks and blocks all around us. Our one block is left standing."

one. She finally got so ill she had to go to the hospital, and when she was released they told her son to bring her back to Hobart St. once in a while just to drive up and down the street and look at her old home. She lived there over 50 years.

ONLY STREET LEFT

Everything has been torn down for blocks and blocks all around us. Our one street is left standing. There are ten families left who are sticking it out. We are supposed to be paying rent as long as we stay to the Housing Authority—but the homeowners are refusing to pay because they feel that these are their homes, and they won't pay rent to live in their own homes. If they have to pay rent until they can find something suitable, they won't have anything left to put down on something if they find it.

Because we've stuck together

and are sticking it out, we continue to get our trees sprayed, our streets cleaned, garbage collected. They make repairs on the houses that are left. We got a playground built for the children. Only the mail is late.

WAITING IT OUT

So we're just waiting it out. They are supposed to be building some houses on land they gave us during our fight. But there have been lots of delays. The architect has completed the plans for 96 co-ops. Our ten families will have first preference. Our group still meets to go over questions with the builders and the commissioners.

They're not harassing us or pushing us right now — because now that they've torn everything down 'all' around us, they don't know whether they're going to be able to build the medical center or not.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

No Escape — Even On the Moon

The big question today is "Which Way Now?" according to the whites. The Blacks say the question is "What Next? What can we do to better our conditions and win freedom?"

There is not much time left for people to try to better their ways of living. One race cannot destroy another race because of hate, without destroying itself, too. There is not much time left for men to realize that all races are born the same way. No matter what color they are, they are all made of flesh.

RACE AGAINST RACE

Yet many men who are trying to do what is right to make a better world for all are wiped off the face of the earth. Whole races are pitted against each other for trying to bring about peace.

Many so-called leaders get together in secret places to talk over how they must get rid of people who are for justice. What is going to happen to the people of the world if things continue to be left up to the leaders?

So many people are trying to keep this nation divided. They try to keep us in separate places where we live. There was a time when the black people could not live downtown because that is

where the white people lived. Today the whites want to live on the outskirts of town, and the black people are not supposed to live anywhere except downtown.

Who, today, could pretend that the whites in the North are any different in their attitudes towards blacks than the whites in the South?

YOUNG WHITES JOIN BLACKS

Young white people, the young "hippies", the young students, are trying to join with the black people to march for their rights. The older white leaders have tried to stop the young whites.

First, they tried to tell them that the blacks would overturn the government and the whites would no longer have the power. But the young people would not listen to this talk. They don't believe the older white leaders should keep their power. They are for a new kind of world just as the black people are.

LIVE TOGETHER, OR NOT AT ALL

And they know that the black man will not be kept down. The black people have learned how to make living as hard for the white man, as the white man has made it for the black people all these years.

The white man is learning how to land on the moon just as the black man is learning how to destroy white supremacy on earth. By the time the white man gets to the moon, the black man will be there, too.

It is impossible to destroy the black race and save the white race. Black and white will have to live together on this earth, or they will not live on the earth at all much longer. This world is for all people. But it will have to be an entirely new world before it belongs to all.

Wilson: Working Class Enemy

by Harry McShane

Glasgow, Scotland — It is necessary that we enter the struggle against the coming attack on the trade unions and the right to strike.

Harold Wilson, despite his apparent calmness, is frantic because of his failure to perform the much-promised miracle and, like all of his predecessors in times of crisis, seeks to retrieve the position by the introduction of legislation detrimental to the interests of the workers

CURTAIL LABOR

The resistance shown by the Government to decisions made at national conferences of the Labour Party in constituencies throughout the country killed the illusion that the Labour Party is in power.

Mr. Wilson is now setting out to curtail the power and authority of the trade union movement. He seeks to destroy the trade unions as a fighting force for their members.

Attempts to punish unofficial strikers will not deter men and women workers from withdrawing their labour to settle a grievance. It will simply lead to tens of thousands of workers breaking the law, and that will hardly meet the needs of the Government.

CLASS LEGISLATION

Legislation such as that proposed would be a big step toward the Corporate State with consequent slavery for the workers.

There is certainly nothing original in the proposals. The Tories had the same solutions. The leaders of both parties are united behind the class legislation now proposed.

Harold Wilson doesn't give a damn about the movement now

that it has served his purpose. He is still chasing the elusive miracle and in his pursuit is prepared to destroy what the workers have built up over many years.

We Marxists want to see drastic changes made in the movement, but always with the aim of making it more effective against capitalism. Our immediate task should be to stimulate opposition on the widest possible scale to the new anti-strike legislation. It must be defeated.

If the level of the struggle is high enough the Bill might never be introduced. The masses in action can be more powerful than Members of Parliament. To defeat the proposals a prolonged and ever sharpening struggle will be necessary.

As a matter of fact the Government is in a weak position. Harold Wilson cannot pretend that he is mandated to introduce this kind of legislation. It wasn't even mentioned at the time of the General Election.

DEFEAT PROPOSALS

What is more, many members of the Government are uneasy about doing anything to antagonize the trade unions. It looks as if some members of the Cabinet have been browbeaten into acceptance of the proposals.

Almost every section of the Labour movement has come out against them. Only fear of the Tories is holding some of the M.P.s together.

Enough has been said about the nature of the proposals—the immediate job is to defeat them. The movement now afoot should be regarded as only the beginning.

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From The Auto Shops

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich. — Ford has thought up a new way to turn workers into their property at the Rouge plant. For years every worker had to carry a badge in his pocket or wallet at work. You had to show it to the company if they asked.

But now they have a new system starting this month. Every worker has to wear a card on the outside of his clothes, pinned to him. This card has your name, birthday, social security number, and your signature on it. This is just too much, when you have to go around with personal information pinned to the clothes you wear, like you were a dog.

But that's not all. In the next few weeks, they are going to start taking pictures of each worker, and they will put your picture on the card too. If you lose the card, you have to pay \$5 to get a new one, and you can't come to work or even get into the building without it.

Ford is saying, "We own you, and don't forget it." Every minute of the day you have to wear their tags. Older workers said that in the thirties you were just called by a number at work, not by your name. Well, this new card system is even worse than

being called a number — your number is tagged right on you. Ford has gone so security mad about unauthorized people in the plant or the parking lots that they have even installed TV cameras in the parking lot. They say they are concerned about crime, but a lot of workers think it is really because of literature they dislike.

While there is more and more security, there is less and less work at Rouge. In February, we worked three and four days a week. In March, we are scheduled for short weeks and short days every week.

Ford is always saying, "We take good care of our workers." This is nonsense. Last Fall, when they needed a lot of cars, we had to work overtime every week—sometimes seven days a week. Now that Nixon is in and production is down, we get short paychecks and nothing is said.

Ford Production Worker

Mahwah Ford

Mahwah, N.J. — The company is using every trick in the book to squeeze militant workers out of the shop here, and the union isn't doing a damn thing about it. Everybody can feel that the pressure is really on.

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — The only way to get anywhere is if we stand together — black and white. We should make it better for each other. We have to do the same job. Why fight each other?

The grievances we all face are numerous. There should be a set plan for how long we should have to work. Now we don't know until the last 15 minutes how long we are going to have to work.

UNION NOT BEHIND US

The union is taking our money, but not standing behind us. Instead they stand with the foreman. When a grievance comes up they talk with the foremen and not with the workers. The answer is always the same: they take out the rulebook.

We have had a lot of discussion on the strike. Some feel it was a senseless move because the union sold the workers down the river. As one guy put it: "I thought we settled it, but I still got the same work load."

But others feel differently. We feel strong that we stood together and shut the plant down. This was the one time we got together and really did something.

YOUTH REBELLION

It was sort of a youth rebellion—the young workers were in the forefront. But now we are again not getting together. We have to unite to win.

Take up on the fifth floor. We united against that true down-to-earth dog, foreman Tackett. It was his actions that really made us walk out. He doesn't ask you to do anything, he demands that you do it. He forces people into things. He is bad on all workers, white as well as black. But he is worse on black workers. There seems to be a conspiracy among fifth floor foremen against black men.

But we all have to fight him. We can't let him divide whites from blacks. He is the enemy of all of us and we must unite to fight him.

—White Fleetwood Worker

forever changing them and adding on new things.

The workers are mad, but also frustrated. The International didn't want the last strike and only had it when we wildcatted and forced it. Now they won't authorize another strike.

A lot of guys see that the union isn't really backing up what the workers got from the strike. They have families and obligations and don't feel like going out again if all the union is going to do is to work with the company against the workers.

—Black Fleetwood Worker

They fired eight men without a hearing or even a day's notice. One guy had five years' seniority and was two days away from getting his vacation benefits. All the union does is write up grievances, and everyone knows where they end up: right in the waste-basket. Our new leadership has become invisible: they're never there when something happens.

It's hard to tell what's really happening, but a pattern is getting clear. They're not producing too many cars, and they don't need that much production. We're working eight hours or less, yet they're hiring new men. Obviously, they're trying to replace the "troublemakers" while they have a chance, to prevent another big walkout like last year's.

They're shifting workers around to break up the solidarity in the body shop among the black brothers, and they're hitting at the militant whites too.

The union isn't any help at all, and it looks like they're right in there selling us down the river. The situation in the plant is red hot and ready for action, but guys have got to get themselves organized.

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — Chrysler Mack treats its workers differently depending on what color they are. Not long ago two white workers were told by a black general foreman to do a certain job. They refused to work the job and the foreman told them to go to the office.

No sooner did they get there than the phone rang. A white foreman who works under the Negro general foreman was on the phone. He told the two white workers that he had a better job for them and they should go where he was in charge.

In contrast to this a black worker was fired by a general foreman because, according to the foreman, he was acting too big. This worker was not afraid to tell the foreman when he was doing something wrong. So he was fired.

I am not saying that the white workers didn't have a right to fight the foreman if they thought he was wrong. All I am doing is pointing out how the company is dealing differently with white and black workers.

The company doesn't want any trouble started by black workers. You could see this in how they reacted against any walkout on the anniversary of Malcolm X's assassination. They went around to black workers telling them that they would be penalized if they took off. We have no rights to our own holidays.

All the company wants from us is to get their production, smell their smoke, hear their noise, throw their steel, tote their pail and say yes sir, boss.

But this is all over. We black workers are going to change this whole thing.

—Chrysler Mack Worker

On the Line

Chrysler Injures Workers— Then Won't Let Them Work

by John Allison

PQX is a term used to describe the condition of a worker who has received a disabling injury in the plant. Sometimes the PQX is temporary and sometimes it is permanent. When you get a PQX, it means that there are only certain jobs you can do—you are limited, you are physically qualified, except . . . Since the auto companies don't care about worker safety, there are lots of PQX's in the shops.

Columbia Library Workers Organize

New York, N.Y. — On March 4, about 500 non-professional library employees of Columbia University won a union, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union, following seven months of intensive organizing.

The main disagreement was whether or not part-time employees should be included in the election and in the bargaining unit. Library employees wanted part-timers to be included, since they receive much lower wages (but do the same work as full-time employees), and get no paid sick days, holidays, vacations or health benefits.

Part-timers make up over half of the non-professional library staff because Columbia saves money by hiring them. In past months, library workers staged sit-ins and work slow-downs to force the university to include part-time employees in the election.

The final battle occurred when about 60 workers went to talk with the university's business manager. They met club-swinging campus guards, and two workers were taken to the hospital with serious head injuries, while many others were less seriously injured.

But the workers stood fast in the building for ten hours—until they won written agreement that all workers would take part in the election.

The library workers have joined in union brotherhood with employees of Columbia's Central Mail Room, Computer Center, School of Social Work, and Cafeterias. A union election for Comp-troller office employees is seen as the next step toward making Columbia a "Unioniversity."

In the Highland Park Chrysler plant, the company is using PQX against workers, particularly women workers. The plant is closing down bit by bit, and the company is trying to get rid of all the workers they don't want.

They want to keep workers who are young the most, and they want PQX workers the least. There are no jobs for half a worker, even if his injury was caused by unsafe conditions.

NO JOBS FOR PQX

In Highland Park there are more women workers than in most plants. Over the years, quite a number of these workers have had PQX. I talked to one woman with PQX today. They tried to lay her off. They said, "You go home until you are well enough to work. It's for your own good." Well, she didn't go home because she knew that if you agree to it, you'll never get back to work, the way they are cutting out jobs in the plant.

Let me further explain that men who have PQX are treated the same. If a new worker doesn't have his 90 days in yet and gets injured, he's finished. They will lay him off so he never gets 90 days. They will not let a new worker with a PQX get seniority.

DOUBLE JEOPARDY

PQX is used another way by the company. If you are disabled, and you apply for Social Security benefits, Chrysler will oppose you, because they have to pay for part of it. They'll say that you're not totally disabled; they will say, "You can work, come in and we'll find something for you." Then they won't be able to find a job that fits your PQX. You'll have to wait till one comes up—but it never comes.

I wish I could say that Chrysler was the only one that ignored safety and caused workers to be hurt, and then tried to get rid of them. But Ford and G.M. and American Motors are all guilty of the same act of aggression against the working class.

W. Va. Miners' Political Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

tors in a court where the miner would have to try to prove his claim. Furthermore, the miners, coal operators and the medical profession also know that black lung, often does not show up in an X-ray, and when it does it is advanced to the near fatal stage. Miners are therefore demanding that other pulmonary tests be included as evidence, and not only X-rays.

As the miners claim, the only way the company wants proof is after you're dead, and a doctor can examine the lungs. The fact that a miner did indeed die from black lung makes no practical difference to the company then of course, since a dead miner can hardly collect disability compensation.

The walkout by the miners was opposed by the United Mine Workers Union, which labeled the strike as being "unauthorized," and has tried to force the miners to go back to work. The miners solidly refused. They pointed out that they gave the union officials a chance to take positive action at their convention held in Denver in 1968, but that the union officials did nothing about their demands for safety and bet-

STATEWIDE SUPPORT

Actually, the UMW was supporting a more watered-down bill that never got to the floor. The pressure the miners exerted, in addition to the strike itself, included caravans of coal miners from all over the state who packed the legislative halls to make their demands known.

In their latest move, the Black Lung Association has asked President Nixon to declare West Virginia a "disaster" area because of dangerously unsafe mine conditions; stated that miners would leave the state if the law was not passed; petitioned UMW President Tony Boyle to use a contract provision enabling him to declare a 10-day national mourning period to commemorate the 78 miners killed in the Farmington, W. Va. mine disaster.

State compensation is at best very inadequate, being based on average state wages, and varies from a minimum of \$16 to a maximum of \$43 a week. This obviously can't begin to provide a decent standard of living for anyone — let alone a coal miner who has to almost literally give his life to a coal company to become eligible for the payments made to black lung victims.

"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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WORKERS THREATENED

The young guys quit, are laid off, or transferred and the job is given to another guy with seniority. He can't do anything to lighten the job because the company says it is set. The only way you can fight it is to go into a hole. When you do this the company threatens you.

Jobs which are created around guys with seniority who have some protection are somehow never settled. The company is

Editorial

Crackdown On Campus

"Curbing campus violence" has joined fighting crime in the streets as a cornerstone of the Nixon pledge to bring us together.

The Nixon administration, faced with explosions at more than 40 campuses since taking office, has begun to set a line in dealing with student demonstrations. The vehicle used was the president of Notre Dame University, the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh. It was he who, three days after a chat with President Nixon at the White House, issued an open letter to Notre Dame students and faculty warning of on-the-spot expulsion for any who disrupt normal campus operations.

THE NEW POLITICS ON CAMPUS

Rev. Hesburgh said that this is what must be done to confront what he calls the new politics on campus. His definition of new politics: "1) Find a cause, any cause silly or not; 2) in the name of the cause, get a few determined people to abuse the rights and privileges of the community so as to force a confrontation at any cost of boorishness or incivility; 3) once this has occurred, justified or not, orderly or not, yell police brutality . . ."

There is a new politics on campus, but it is not the three point fantasy Rev. Hesburgh has created. This is not what he nor the Nixon administration truly fears.

No, it is the new politics of the black students who have rejected the college bleaching process, and the white students who have supported the blacks and have fought against the university as the private poaching ground for big business and the Defense Department.

After trying the route of negotiations and discussions for many months at places like S.F. State, the black students have found that the only way to get a meaningful education, to get black studies departments, is to take matters into their own hands. At times this means disrupting the workings of the white university, or for that matter the black university. Other minorities and many white students have joined forces with the black students.

A CHANCE TO BE HEARD

On campus after campus, students concerned about the war in Vietnam have found that their own campuses were connected with that war. Research was being carried on for the Department of Defense. Recruitment was being carried on for the CIA or companies that produce war materials at the government's bidding. Here, too, the students found that negotiations only mean business as usual.

Only disruption of the daily practices of the university, the practices which meant continued war research, continued white-oriented education, seemed to offer a chance to be heard.

This is the new politics, the politics of white and black youth on the move, that Nixon wishes to stop. Hesburgh's letter was followed within a week by an open letter from Nixon to the president of Notre Dame in which he praised the stand of expelling dissenters and promised to discuss what action might be taken at the federal level to cope with "the growing lawlessness and violence on our campuses." Nixon directed Vice President Agnew to bring the subject up at the National Governor's Conference which was to occur a week later.

PREPARATION FOR CRACKDOWN

Whether the entire exchange was arranged by Nixon, or came at Hesburgh's suggestion, or was arrived at "independently" by each, or even "using" Hesburgh's letter, is of no importance. What is crucial is that the climate for "curbing campus violence" has now been created.

The Governor's Conference caught the mood in its meetings which had campus disruptions as a central theme. While moving away from the outright reactionary resolution of right-winger Reagan of California, the Governors passed a milder resolution only after Vice President Agnew told them that the Justice Department through the FBI was already keeping an eye on campus disturbances.

The Attorney General, John Mitchell, said that a call for a campus investigation was superfluous. In short, the investigation was already going on.

A SERIOUS CHALLENGE

The Nixon administration is not the only one seeking to create the proper climate for a possible crackdown. Reagan in California has been busy sending his troops onto campus after campus of the California colleges and has been calling for elimination of dissidents from the university for months.

The House Un-American Activities Committee has changed names (House Committee on Internal Security), but not jobs. The first target to be investigated will be the Students for a Democratic Society.

To these watchdogs can be added a dozen state legislatures which are beginning to investigate "anarchy on the campus."

It is these forces, on the national level and on the state level, that the campus youth now face. It is a serious challenge. It can be met only if the campus movement develops, at one and the same time, a comprehensive theory of social change, and a way to relate itself to the labor and black movements off the campus.

Readers'

THE STUDENT REVOLT: HERE . . .

Did you note the exodus of famous professors from California going to colleges in the East? No doubt it is unpleasant to teach at a university run with the storm troop tactics of Reagan and Hayakawa. But isn't it characteristic of the professor-mentality that just when the black and white students' revolution in education is meeting up with strong opposition, these liberals are running off to find quieter ivory towers?

Reader
San Francisco

The editorial in your January issue on the strike at S.F. State College was excellent because it pointed out the vanguard role of the blacks, unique so far in college strikes. However, the Latin-American students in the Third World Liberation Front have been playing an equally important role. It is probably easy in Detroit to forget that the Latin-American minority in California is much larger than the black minority.

The article on the strike in your February issue however, seemed quite out-of-date. The most significant development in the strike in this last month has been the pact formed among the TWLF, the AFT and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, Local 1-561 — the first occurrence on the national scene of an alliance of students and teachers and the organized labor movement.

Last month the S.F. Peace and Freedom Party initiated the formation of the Community Conference to support the S.F. State strike, which now has affiliated to it about 150 organizations, mostly churches and labor unions. In a struggle for power (and that's what the students call it) such as the one going on at S.F. State, information that is current is essential to N&L. If you let me know the deadline, I'll send a story in time for next issue.

D. A.
San Francisco

Editor's Note: We welcome on-the-spot reports, for which there is absolutely no substitute. Our deadline is generally the last Friday of every month. Unfortunately the fact that we are a monthly permits the lag you mention, especially in fast developing situations such as S.F. State. For more on the new alliance you note see article, p. 6.

The main burden here at Rutgers now is to enlarge upon black student grievances and to force the administration, and black and white students to see that the racism everywhere is institutional.

Charles Engelhard, who has enormous mining interests in South Africa, is the major patron of the University. Several of his lawyers sit on the Board of Trustees, and he has just given a million dollars to Rutgers Newark campus — where black students make up only one percent of the student body in a city over half black — for the purpose of setting up a Graduate School of Business Administration.

SDS has proposed a minimum wage of \$100 per week

for university employees, and preferential hiring of black workers, among its demands.

If the University doesn't make some real moves, anything can happen. They have tried to write the script by means of "hostility" sessions and token concessions, but they can't predict our improvisations, and more will come.

Rutgers Student
New Brunswick, N.J.

. . . AND ABROAD

I heard a German SDS student on tour here. It was a good talk and he ended by saying we are "learning French" — he was, of course, referring to the French working class joining the students.

When I asked him what else he thought had to be added, besides "learning French", given what happened to the near-revolution last May, he spoke only against the "party" concept instead of speaking for theory. The most interesting part of his answer, however, was that this is the same question he is asked everywhere he speaks.

Activist
Los Angeles

It seemed to me a great display of international solidarity, and certainly an original one, for Daniel Cohn-Bendit to change his name to Kuron-Modzelewski when those two Polish opponents of the Communist regime were jailed once more last month.

Writer
New York

A newspaper report on a sit-in by Glasgow University students said only two were left at 2 o'clock next morning. In actual fact, all the others left to distribute leaflets to workers at the factory gates. An interesting feature of the sit-in was a proposal that the Adam Smith Hall be renamed the John MacLean Hall.

Supporter
Glasgow

NIXON'S TOUR

I read a translation from the New York Times on Nixon's "visit" here, and it was absolutely ridiculous. These last few days here in Italy have left me feeling so down, in fact, that I am taking out my rage by writing an article for you.

Correspondent
Milan

Editor's Note: See article p. 7.

I dare say there was never so good an example of a managed press as the coverage of Nixon's visit to Europe. The carefully planned "warm" receptions along his route were a facade for the real demonstrations of opposition everywhere he went on the continent.

Reader
France

I wonder if the reported mild demonstrations of opposition mean that the European masses just haven't had enough time to learn to "hate" Nixon as they did LBJ? He really hasn't done anything yet. Wait until he meets his first real test. Heaven help us.

Office Worker
Chicago

Three was much talk of peace while Mr. Nixon was here, but the drive towards war will continue. The Russian leaders with the same degree of hypocrisy, talk of their great desire to halt the arms race.

Meantime, Nixon is meeting with opposition in the U.S.A., to the plan to build sites for what is known as the Sentinel anti-ballistic system estimated to cost a fabulous sum of money. That will do more to halt the race than all the talking.

Correspondent
England

WAR AND PEACE

It may be that more attention will be directed to the threat of nuclear warfare during 1969 than we have seen in recent years.

The aim is to have demonstrations at Holy Loch and Faslane against U.S. and British bases and at Flyingdales (Yorkshire) against the early warning system.

An all-British march will start in Scotland and Wales and snowball its way to London on Easter Sunday, April 6. A demonstration will be held in Trafalgar Square.

This announcement coincides with the publication of a book by Robert Kennedy on the Cuban crisis. We have not read the book as yet, but we can never forget the occasion when the world was brought to the brink of disaster.

Marxist-Humanist
Scotland

I found the TV show on Chemical & Bacterial Warfare which Peter Mallory wrote about last issue so "frightening" that night I saw it, and I have been thinking about it ever since.

They don't seem to care about the H-bombs anymore, and can go through all the grandiose displays of disarmament talks and this treaty and that because they really have a far better weapon — one that only kills living things — doesn't destroy buildings, factories, cities, etc.

What is especially frightening is that "someone" has even thought of doing this, that "scientists" are willing to work on it, and that it has gone so far. More important is what it does to the ordinary person who just thinks about all this.

Woman Worker
New York

WHERE IT'S AT

Because I don't have much time for reading, when I get N&L, I pick out the "special" articles — the most current world or national happenings.

The February issue made me realize I should always start with the workers' articles on the shops. They bring things back into perspective. That is where it's at, so to speak, right there on that production line — from which all of capitalism seems to flow, and (if I recall correctly what Marx said) from which come the grave diggers of this fantastic world we live in.

Reading the last issue of N&L has done more to dispel my despair for the future than Czechoslovakia, France, Italy

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

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Views

or the student revolts were able to do.

If a group of black steel workers can work outside their union, get things done, and move some white workers — and in so doing, forge a greater union — then there must be hope.

I am not equating a caucus to a near-revolution, but the fog of capitalist trappings, the ugly anti-Semitism, the horrible war, the hideous anti-Negro and anti-Puerto Ricanism that infects the Jewish community as well as the non-Jewish community, made me lose sight of the day-in-day-out struggle at the point of production.

Reader
New York

ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

After I read Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the Middle-East, I submitted a letter to our campus paper, *The South End*, which has been running a series of editorials and letters on the Arab-Israeli conflict, and on anti-Semitism. I tried to express some of the ideas that struck me hardest.

I've had some pretty curious comments since it appeared. One came from an Italian language professor who purports to "know" Hegel. He wanted to argue with me about my syntax, instead of the content. I am convinced what he really took issue with was my conception of the second negation, or how we will finally get to a new human society.

The majority of the students I talked with seemed to find some identification with the political analysis. The most important to me was one Arab student who saw something very meaningful in the point that "the ruling classes of Iraq, Egypt, and Syria have used the anti-Israel propaganda as the only unifying cement of their own crisis-ridden countries."

Wayne State Student
Detroit

ED. Note: For more on this, see p. 7.

PERU

When South American Generals seize a government, it usually means the new government will be one friendly to U.S. capitalism. Thus little or no protest comes from Washington, D.C. The gang of Generals who seized power in Peru last October are playing a little game that they think will bring them greater dividends.

They seized the properties of Standard Oil of N.J., shot up some U.S. fishing boats within what they claim are their territorial waters — no less than 200 miles off the coast! — and have refused to pay for anything. To make matters more confusing they have negotiated a two-year trade pact with the Soviet Union and exchanged ambassadors with that country.

The U.S. threatens to revoke \$79 million in aid and preferred sugar purchases.

It is doubtful if any South American country can place complete reliance in the Soviet Union as a source of economic aid to replace the U.S. But the Soviets have opened three new embassies in the last two years in Peru, Chile,

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.

and Columbia, and are recognized in six Latin American countries. Soviet trade with Latin America now amounts to \$260 million, twice what it was two years ago.

The Generals apparently hope that their overtures to the Soviet Union will bring them even more abundant U.S. aid, and so fearful of "another Cuba," that the rightist Generals are no doubt right.

Journalist
Boston

IRELAND

The struggle against religious discrimination in Northern Ireland has created a division in the ranks of the Unionists. The important thing to note is the fact that action by the progressive people of Ulster has forced the issue of discrimination to the forefront for the first time since the Ulster Government was set up 48 years ago.

It is to be hoped that the people, both Protestant and Catholic, will see the value of mass activity and put an end to the influence of professional bigots.

Observer
Britain

I find your material on the Irish Civil Rights movement a great help in discussing the Civil Rights movement and even the Black Nationalist

movement with prejudiced Catholics here—not the Italians yet, but at least the Irish.

Italian Descent
New York

THE ITALIAN SCENE

The situation here is sharpening steadily since June 1968 as it has in other areas of Southern Europe after the French May. Strike after strike, university occupation after university occupation, the class cohesion has increased consistently.

On the other side of the barricade, they are trying to slow down the pressure by creating some one million more unemployed in the next four or five year plan. On this clash, the class relations in Italy in the next years are going to be played.

Student
Padua, Italy

Certainly there was more controversy at the Communist Party Congress held here last month than in the last one held three years ago — at that time they seemed a group of Catholics trying to find a political relationship with the church. There is probably a Left at the basis of the party, but the Old Guards won, electing a young Sardinian as vice-chairman and Lango is still the Chairman.

Writer
Milan

I am enclosing a drawing. Perhaps you can use it. It is supposed to be a Biafran child, but it looks less and less human the more I look at it—as do the Biafran children themselves . . .

Angelo Terrano
New York



TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Nigeria: A Retreat, Not A Victory

Editor's Note: We received the following note from a reader in New York: "I have lost my copy of an article you published in Raya Dunayevskaya, about a year ago, on the tragic events in Nigeria. (It was a letter that had been sent to the NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS, in response to an article they had published by Conor Cruise O'Brien, as I recall.) In all the months that have passed since, the tragedy has grown deeper, but I have not seen another analysis to match Dunayevskaya's. Would it be possible for you to reprint it?" The article appeared in our January, 1968, and we reprint it below:

Conor Cruise O'Brien's brilliant article (NYR, 12/21) does much both to correct the one-sided press coverage of the tragedy of Biafra and to undermine the spurious reasoning by analogies. Mr. O'Brien has turned away the blanket of abstractions about "Federation" vs. "Balkanization," "nationalism" vs. "tribalism," and laid bare the ugly reality of Northern emir-dominated, neo-colonialist Nigeria where some 30,000 Ibos were massacred last July and two million more driven back to the Eastern Region only to be invaded by genocidal-minded "Federal" troops soon after the Region declared its independence under the name of the Republic of Biafra.

Just before the fall of Enugu I received a letter from a friend there who fully confirms Mr. O'Brien's statement that, for the Ibos, the choice concerned, not ideological abstractions, but a matter of survival or extermination. The writer of that letter had always called himself a Marxist-Humanist. At the time of the July 1966 massacre he had been a trade union organizer in the Middle Belt, and barely escaped with his life. This young man in his later twenties, though an Ibo, had not previously lived in the East Region. Yet he now wrote: "I shall never move outside the Eastern Region so long as I live." This letter is representative of what had been Nigerian nationalism.

WHY, however, must Mr. O'Brien turn the tragic situation into a virtuous one by transforming the forced compulsion to secede into still another abstraction — "Now that they (the Ibos) have in very truth formed a nation on their own soil under the pressures of history" — and pit the Ibo "nation" against the "mystique of 'Nigeria'" as if Nigerian nationalism was only something the Ibos "invented" in the 1950's? "The irony," writes Mr. O'Brien, "is that the mystique of 'Nigeria', under which they are now being crushed, was in large part their own creation. The Ibos were once proud to call themselves Nigerian nationalists although there was no Nigerian nation and although at that time — some years before independence — no one else thought in such terms."

Now, it is true that the Ibos were in the forefront of the struggle for the freedom of Nigeria from British imperialism. They began that struggle for the freedom in the 1930's, not in the 1950's. In the full tradition of African nationalism which had always been universalist, Nnamdi Azikiwe (Zik), who can rightly be called the father of Nigerian nationalism, at first condemned territorial nationalism.

WHETHER he propagated for Nigerian independence from his self-exile in Accra in 1935, or from Lagos (1937 and thereafter), the spirit that animated both his activity and the papers he founded was that which he first comprehensively expressed in his book, *Renascent Africa* — the freedom of the continent of Africa from European colonialism.

The uniqueness of African nationalism was not lost when the realities and complexities of the freedom struggle made it necessary to conduct the actual struggles within the "national" boundaries erected by Western imperialism. And it did not change its character when, from an idea propagated by small groups of intellectuals, African nationalism became a mass movement. This is especially true of Nigeria where Zik, from the start, concentrated his attention on the multi-tribal militant youth, the new generation that, under the impact of World War II, wanted "freedom now."

BY 1945 a new force — organized labor — swept onto the historic stage with a general strike. Of all the leaders of Nigerian nationalism, including the Yorubas who preferred "cultural nationalism" and regionalism, Zik alone came out in support of the general strike, thereby imparting a new, a proletarian quality to his Nigerian nationalism.

He at once became a national hero. Needless to say, it was not because he alone or the Ibos as a whole "invented" Nigerian nationalism. The truth is both less magical and more powerful. The alignment with labor disclosed a new unifying force in Nigerian nationalism present within the colonial entity called Nigeria.

ALTHOUGH only a few Northerners had participated in the general strike, it was the beginning of a Nigerian nationalist movement in the North, one not led by the conservatives only in order to oppose militant "Southern" nationalism, but one led by Northern militants. It was aided in its work by the fact that one page of Zik's paper was written in Hausa. It was, naturally, not a question only of language, but of the nationalism propagated in that language — a nationalism that opposed both British imperialism and their own ruling class.

It is true that Nigerian nationalism in the North never had the mass support it had in the South and especially the East. It is true that when the North "as a whole" embraced "nationalism" it was only because it was sure that it was favored by British imperialism to be the rulers of an "independent" Nigeria, and that, once in power, Zik worked hand in glove with Balewa to deny democracy to the Midwest, to the Yorubas.

IT IS not true that that is all there was to Nigerian nationalism. One event of my 1962 trip to Nigeria stands out especially in my mind — a mass rally called by the National Trades Union Congress,

(Continued on Page 7)

Doing and Thinking

Solidarity of S.F. State Students With Oil Workers

by Bernard Wendell

Los Angeles, Cal.—The four-month-old student strike at S.F. State, the longest yet, has set off a mass struggle involving all of the elements of a new society in the Bay Area. The strike of minority students and their white supporters was deepened when the militant A.F.T. teachers joined it. The student strike then spread to U.C. Berkeley, Merritt College, the school with the model Afro-American Studies program, had a three-day sympathy strike, authorized by the administration.

Then, at the request of the union, the students allied themselves with the striking Standard and Shell oil workers, whose picket line had been attacked by the cops. Thus white students, the oppressed minorities (represented by their students), and the workers (both white-collar and blue-collar) were all involved.

STRIKE CONTINUES

The S.F. State strike has continued throughout the month. It was interrupted temporarily at the beginning of the new semester so that students could register (and thus not lose their legal student status) and new courses could be organized.

A provisional settlement between the A.F.T. and the trustees seemed to have been reached on Feb. 25. The settlement included implicit recognition of the union as a bargaining force, no return to work until after the settlement of the student strike, and no reprisals against the striking teachers.

Signed by representatives of the trustees and Hayakawa, the settlement was attacked by Reagan, Rafferty, and Dumke, who claimed that the negotiating committee had not been appointed by the Board. On Feb. 27, the Board of Trustees rejected the settlement. What happens to the teachers' strike now is a question of endurance.

The Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) strike at U.C. Berkeley grew dramatically from a small-scale, non-disruptive picketing to a mass movement capable of shutting down the university and keeping would-be student scabs from crossing the picket line.

On Feb. 20, cops and highway patrolmen attacked the thousands of striking students that rallied on the Berkeley campus. The battle lasted for hours. More than once the cops were forced to retreat at the students hurled back tear-gas cannisters and volleys of stones and bottles. This, of course, was not the end.

The strike continued, supported by the Berkeley A.F.T. which had voted not to strike by an extremely narrow margin (two votes short of the required two-thirds). The teaching assistants, however, did go out, and the teachers agreed not to scab on them.

As usual, every time the "authorities" use violence to restore "order," large groups of previously neutral students join the strike, and pro-administration students are silenced. A new feature, however, is characteristic of these strikes: the concept of the Third World.

OPPRESSED MINORITIES

The black, Chicano, and other minority students who are pro-

testing in order to make schools help their communities in a real and not a token way, have decided that they are not members of isolated oppressed groups, but that they are all members of one oppressed group comprising the people of every oppressed minority.

The decision of local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers' Union to strike Standard and Shell for 72c an hour more and fringe benefits was a bold one. The union isn't that strong. Standard Oil has successfully kept the men who work for the corporation divided into many company unions. Thus, while the Chevron Chemical subsidiary was united for the strike, the giant Richmond refinery is not.

When 1-561 struck, the other workers felt they could only sympathize: either their unions wouldn't support them if they joined, or the unions had signed no-strike pledges. The ships kept sailing and the trucks kept coming.

A few students joined the picket-line in mid-January and the cops attacked and arrested several workers and students. Two weeks later Jake Jacobs, Secretary Treasurer of 1-561, was beaten up by the cops at the Richmond station where he was inquiring about an arrested striker. He was angry enough to call upon the revolutionary students to join the picket line at the refinery. On Feb. 3, 500 S.F. State and U.C. Berkeley students showed up. Together, the workers and students held the line, "persuading" trucks not to cross it.

Students and workers lost their conditioned hatred and fear of each other. They struggled together, discussed strike tactics as well as politics with each other, wore the same buttons and read the same literature. In short, they came to respect each other. A student-worker alliance is no longer an abstraction: on the Standard picket line and meetings that have followed, it is a reality.

LINE HELD

On Feb. 19 a thin oil worker-student picket line was being forced into the street by the cops, who were about to charge. Just then a busload of longshoremen disembarked. The police did not charge. The line held.

The Bay situation is full of promise. All the elements of the struggle are developing; they are fighting together, talking to each other, learning from each other. The beginning of a student-worker alliance, united with the struggle against racism can be seen, if only on a small scale. Small? Yes. Like every beginning.

Richard Jones, Oil Striker

Richard Jones, Local 1-516, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, was at the strike headquarters in Martinez when he received a call from the picket line for help. Arriving at the line, he found a Standard Oil truck ready to plow through the line. Brother Jones was trying to get out

of the way of the truck. He fell down and a Standard Oil supervisor waved the truck through while Jones was on the ground in front of it. He was run over by the truck and taken to Kaiser Hospital in Walnut Creek. He died at 6 p.m. Thursday, Feb. 20 in Kaiser Hospital.



→ YOUTH

C.U. SDS Launches Spring Offensive

New York, N.Y. — Columbia SDS pulled off its first successful mass action since last April's week-long rebellion on Feb. 28, during a week when a huge wave of student revolts, both black and white, swept the entire nation from New England to California and the deep South to Wisconsin. After nearly ten months of isolation, bitter faction-fighting, abortive actions, and depression, the Columbia Left again showed its vigor and ability to mobilize mass sympathies.

The action, designed to present our SDS Spring program to the campus, began Wednesday with a short rally, after which we split up into teams of three to go into classrooms and raise political issues as a preparation for a bigger action.

CLASSES "DISRUPTED"

For the first time, students overcame their fear of being put down by smart professors and hostile students and actually en-

tered the sacrosanct classroom with their politics. These so-called "disruptions of the academic process" will probably bring harsh penalties down on many students, but the de-mystification of classes as places where politics is "taboo" was an important step for us.

The fact that these were not "disruptions" but serious attempts to get political discussion going has won us enough sympathy to make it difficult for the authorities and offended professors to crack down hard despite the breach of academic etiquette.

In any case, at the beginning of today's rally we had a crowd of 500-800—more than we have had all Fall and Winter. Our rally was technically "illegal", since the right-wing Students for Columbia University had cleverly reserved Low Plaza, the Hyde Park area on campus, for their own counter-rally of about 50-100.

They showed who the real "violent disrupters" were by moving across the Plaza and trying to start a fight. We responded by keeping absolutely silent and refusing to be provoked, and they made asses of themselves.

When we moved over for a march around the campus, you could really see who the majority was. Our close-packed lines stretched for 100 yards, and the so-called "silent majority" so touted by Columbia's administration was left behind, a handful.

We then occupied two buildings and held teach-ins for two hours before leaving to hold a short final rally. The teach-ins were the most important part, because there we could really talk politics; but the mass dialogue would have been impossible without the action.

SPRING PROGRAM

Our program, which we have been haggling over all winter, is a good one: (1) end university expansion which drives minority and poor white families out of the neighborhood; (2) abolish

ROTC and secret weapons research; (3) open enrollment to all graduates of neighborhood high schools so that the university will begin to serve the community instead of oppressing it.

It is really a moderate, minimum program, but the politics behind it—that the institution should serve people's needs and not those of the military, big business, and the state—are revolutionary and show the university's class nature. It contains attacks on racism (in admissions and expansion policy) and imperialism (since we attack ROTC directly as a suppressor of freedom struggles and an instrument of the ruling class)—the two issues we fought on in a symbolic way last Spring when we attacked the racist gym-in-the-park and the Institute for Defense Analysis.

It is precisely because we are revolutionaries that we fight for this minimum political program and treat university reform as an illusion. We can never have a "free university" until we have a free society, but we can attack the existing class university and try to make it begin serving people's needs. And in the process, we can raise the whole issue of class society with its racism, wars, and exploitation in a concrete struggle.

This action was just a start. Moreover, it was nothing compared to the big battles at Berkeley, San Francisco State, Duke, and Wisconsin this week, from which we drew inspiration. But we remember that Columbia was the first school to have an openly political mass rebellion in this period, and it will be important to see if we can dig-in for protracted struggle or if campus revolts are one-shot affairs.

We just learned on the radio that Columbia has finally agreed to cancel all plans for the new gym in Harlem's Morningside Park, the main demand we fought for last Spring.

Dick Greeman
Columbia SDS and
News & Letters

H.S. Paper Banned, Students Picket

Recent events at Seaholm High School, in the white suburb of Birmingham, Mich., have once again illustrated just how frightened the establishment is of any free expression by youth. Two weeks ago the president and vice president of the student body senior class issued a newsletter called *The Spirit*, a bi-weekly journal of opinion. The paper consisted of just that, opinions about the high school and how they as elected representatives felt about conditions.

Along with these two students there were 17 others who were distributing the paper, all of whom were suspended. The grounds given for suspension were that the students were clearly breaking a school law prohibiting any publication other than the official school newspaper. There never was a more obvious violation of freedom of speech and press.

STUDENTS PICKET

When the remaining student body heard of this outrageous act they immediately demonstrated their support for those suspended by picketing outside the school, and by wearing black arm bands inside the school. Half of the teachers also showed their support by wearing the arm bands.

It was evident to all that this was a clear suppression of human rights. This time the administration could not fall back on the worn out line of obscenity and irresponsible journalism. There were no "dirty words," there was no talk of overthrowing the principal's office, there was nothing more than the greatness of new ideas being expressed.

It truly seems that what really puts any administration up-tight is when people begin to express their own ideas about the things they're involved with — such as work, school and just living in general. Youth, today, are really getting the message of the Czechoslovak philosopher Ivan Svitak, when he said "THE END HAS COME FOR MARTIAL LAW OVER THOUGHTS AND MEN."

COME — THE END

*From where did the forgotten sun descend,
across the thicket streets with octopus structures;
"once there was grass, and wild flowers, and birds!"*

(Come Closer —)

*Where is the sun of yesterday,
the gilded gold role of energy,
it left moratoriums in the sky
dangling across opaque drawn shades,
(the ice has just melted — the fertile moth is of age — the
brine must be taken)*

*I can't remember seeing the sun!
"once there was grass to play on, and strawberries to pick
and wash and eat!"*

*was it woven branches on iron stiff walls?
(there the city is DARK — there the city is A FOREST)*

*I can't remember the sun!
was it a water image on white marble?
while today, my cough laughs at me, my face is blottered on
the mirror, as I remember the shiver, the black of the
sharp field before dawn,
"once I played on the grass, it was early and cold, so cold!"*

(Come Closer —)

*(the coffin is night — the coffin of night, covered with witch
spelled green snakes)*

*"In the grass, there were snakes and I was afraid because
they might bite!"*

*Please pray for the buds of little girls with natural hair, pray
that they never leaven the shade of trees where they play
especially for the boys; pray they never leave the lake,
whether dirty or not.*

*Before the fates, the trinity
roll them down the street with
a drum;
a fife;
a flag,*

FOR WAR.

— Bill

TWO WORLDS

Nigeria: A Retreat, Not A Victory

(Continued from Page 5)

the Nigerian Youth Congress and the Lagos Tenants Council to protest the government's austerity budget. The speaker who got the biggest applause was a Hausa youth who described the conditions of life and labor of the talakawa (peasant masses) in the North where conditions were "no different than when we were a colony" because now, "with Zik's help" the stranglehold of "our emirs" over the talakawa is anointed as "nationalism." "What we need," he concluded, "is a real revolution. We need to get rid of the scoundrels in Parliament."

It is true that, along with the "new" military junta in Lagos (who now get aid also from Russia) British imperialism wants Nigeria intact for what Marx in his day called "order mongering" purposes. It is not true that neo-colonialism emerged out of Nigerian nationalism. The truth is that by the 1950's the Cold War had reached the shores of Africa and the global conflict between the two nuclear titans affected drastically the character not only of Nigerian nationalism but the whole of African nationalism.

UP TO the fifties, even when a founder like Zik moved away from the high point reached in 1945-48 and began to play the game of nationalism according to the rules set by British imperialism, this did not affect the Zikist youth movement which continued to function without him. Indeed the revolutionary activity at first intensified so that when the Zikist movement was banned by British imperialism, it simply renamed itself the Freedom Movement and continued its struggle against "all forms of imperialism and for the establishment of a free socialist Republic of Nigeria, fighting in and out of parliament, employing non-violent revolutionary tactics."

By the end of the 1950's, on the other hand, the pull of the objective forces (both of the vortex of the world market and the new stage of imperialist struggle for world mastery politically) became irresistible to the nationalist leaders who moved away from dependence on the spontaneity, the self-activity of the masses that had made political independence a reality, and instead, began "choosing sides" — "the East" or "the West" — as a substitute for the deepening of the African Revolution.

UNDER the circumstances, to date the movement for Nigerian independence to the Fifties is not only an historical inaccuracy, but, what is far worse, blinds us to the historical distinction between the independence movement "As Reason" and its regression into state power, and thereby makes it impossible to draw any lessons from history for today, which was, rightly, Mr. O'Brien's pre-occupation.

There has always been a dualism in "the pressures of history" and it will not do to cover up this dualism with phrases like "in very truth" and "on their own soil." In coming to the support of Biafra — and world opinion must be mobilized to stop the slaughter and the cowing of the Ibos in the name of a non-existent "Nigerian nation," in the name of "order mongering" — let's not, for heaven's sake, elevate the new nation of Biafra to where we forget that it is a retreat, a necessary, an imperative retreat, but a retreat nevertheless, and not a victory for African nationalism, for the African Revolution that remains unfinished.

Detroit, Mich.
December 19, 1967.

Raya Dunayevskaya

Italian Police Riot As Nixon Talks

Milan, Italy — While Nixon was talking to his Italian "equals" in some luxurious room in a government house at Rome, a student died, all of Rome was paralyzed for hours, and the number of wounded, arrested, or "stopped" by the police it not yet known.

Similar events took place throughout Italy — above all at Milan, Bologna and Reggio Emilia. While I am writing there are no estimates on the number of wounded or arrested, but one can be sure that the number is not in the tens but in the hundreds and probably more. (The newspapers give data only on the number of police wounded, and this shows that the demonstrators were not completely inert.)

DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUE It seems that the student that died at Rome (the facts have not been clarified) climbed up from the fourth floor to the roof while the fascists are throwing home-made bombs at the occupied university; then he fell down on the street. The police were sitting around in jeeps to observe the whole scene and picked up this student a half hour later, already almost dead.

The fight is still going on. Nixon's car was held up by demonstrators while he was leaving for Paris around noon today. At 2 p.m. a group of youth at Rome tried to invade one of the headquarters of the federal police, but they were naturally dispersed or arrested. The students at the

University of Rome are holding out, and the demonstrations throughout the country are going on.

ALL EUROPE A U.S. COLONY?

If it were possible that the U.S. government sent its President here because it wanted to create a new, democratic unity in the West and avoid a Russian invasion similar to that in Czechoslovakia, one could condemn these demonstration on the grounds that the Italians are insane. The fact is that only a few paranoids think that the Russians might invade Western Europe.

One the one hand, Nixon, et al. want to show the Russians that the U.S., with its European allies, is stronger than the U.S.S.R.; but this concerns the Middle East and Vietnam more than Western Europe. On the other hand, the U.S. government wants European unity so that England, if not the U.S. itself, can get into the European Common Market.

England is already an economic colony of the U.S. so that through England, U.S. companies with their capital investments and trade in Europe, on the privileged conditions that the Common Market offers, could make an economic colony of all of Europe. This may seem a pro-DeGaulle position, but the author realizes that Gaullism is a question of capitalist competition.

The tragedy in all of this is that so many must suffer for the personal, selfish interests of a few people.

Three Letters On

Anti-Semitism and the Middle-East

I was very positively impressed by Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the Middle East in the February issue. My position is very similar: 1) viewing the situation as the combination of activities of Soviet and American imperialisms (plural) in the context of a national conflict; 2) opposition to all big power intervention in principle and practically, since they only add fuel to the fires (Berlin, Vietnam, etc.). Some people in Israel's Old Left view the prospect of great power intervention here positively, and we have sharp debates around this issue.

There is only one stylistic issue I would like to object to. That is equation of Zionism with Western imperialism. Many Zionists favor Western imperialism. But some oppose it resolutely.

Whatever one's views on Zionism as a nationalist movement, it is important to bear two things in mind: 1) Anti-Zionism is the contemporary form of Anti-Semitism (in Hitler's time anti-Semitism was racist; in the Middle Ages, it

Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the Middle East really cut through to the heart of everything. She is able to grab history that most people have forgotten or never knew—and certainly never understood — and jam it up against the present to bring out what the truth really is.

You suddenly see that Iraq is not just a horrible country where men are hanged in public display, but a country where the revolution has failed and the masses — the Iraq masses—are suffering.

I also appreciated greatly the section on anti-Semitism which is becoming a fantastic thing in New York if one believes the news reports. I would like to believe they are wrong, but it is hard not to feel that some of the Black Nationalists have a horrible sense of history.

It is one of the reasons I was impressed with what the "young black militant who

From the moment I began to think politically, my international socialist world-outlook was marked by anti-Stalinism of the orthodox Trotskyite variety. The world-wide political events of the last few years, and especially the Czechoslovak tragedy, have caused me to begin to revise my political thinking as far as the different varieties of Trotskyism are concerned. The basic analysis of your Marxist-Humanism appeals to me strongly.

Anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism has taken on the terrible, distorted, and gruesome forms in Russia and Poland, due to the Stalinist nature of these countries. But the anti-Zionist and anti-Israel stand of the various Trotskyist groups and even the New Left in my country has its roots in the original denial of the various Marxist thinkers of the existence of a Jewish nation and its right for self-determination. This is

was religious in form.) Anti-Zionism is a very convenient mask for anti-Semitism.

In Poland, veteran Communists (Jews) who have fought Zionism all their lives were accused of Zionism and persecuted under this pretext. When they were left with no other choice but going to Israel, they thereby "proved" the point.

2) The State of Israel has been established and most of its populace have been brought into the country by a series of acts of the Zionist movement. Israel is, in fact, Zionism historically accomplished. Such are by now objective facts. Therefore, Arab Chauvinists mask their plans to destroy Israel under the less obvious disguise of abolishing Zionism (i.e. Israel's political sovereignty) and driving its people back to the countries they had to leave due to anti-Semitic persecution.

We are now engaged here in hard political debates on the question of the occupation of the Arab territories. Until now

was wearing an Afro" said at your Black-Red Conference, as you reported it in the last issue: that it is not what you wear, but what you think and do that is important.

There are too many who think they are for freedom and sport an Afro to prove it, but at the same time can yell "Hitler didn't burn enough of you" to Jewish teachers, and don't realize that by doing so they have really lost much of their blackness and have become stark white.

I want to make it clear I was and am for the Ocean-Hill-Brownsville struggle, but the black teacher who read that horrible anti-Semitic poem on the radio did the most hurt to the child who wrote it. He had a beautiful opportunity to show the history not only of the Jewish people but of the black people. I don't even think I was as much against the reading of the poem as

our stand was to return them in exchange for peace. But it looks like peace is far off and this becomes an insufficient formula.

The Left is now discussing proposals for the encouragement and establishment of a Palestinian State as a solution even before general peace. The difficulty is our power elite is extremely flexible on this issue and speaks in many tongues.

Some would grab and annex all they could, others are ready to compromise on everything in exchange for peace. Things can't come to the point of final choices and public struggle because of continued war, general intransigence, and a state in which everything is temporary though little is changing.

When you criticize Dayan it is aiding Abba Eban—and vice versa. It does not give you a chance to present a clear leftist position. If there only was a free Arab left to cooperate with!

Socialist
Israel

the fact that it was read and read just for the shock value, and not to prove or disprove anything.

What has been remarkable about the black people I have worked with in the shops is their fantastic humanism. Despite the 200 years or more of oppression the blacks have suffered from white society in this country, so long as you had no racist hang-up, they accepted you as another human being, and you started from there.

I am not saying that every black person who works in a shop is wonderful. We all have our hang-ups.

But they didn't hang white society on my shoulders because of my white skin — which is a wonderful human quality to have. I wish I could say something as good for the whites.

Woman Worker
New York

to the Arab world and the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle.

The basic problem still to be elaborated concerns the ways and means of bringing about a settlement of the present bloody conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors. This problem includes the general trend of development of the class forces within the Arab states as well as Israel, the question of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs, and the problem of unity of the Arab world.

Assuming that the Marxist-Humanist approach to world problems makes it possible to find, ultimately, the right answers to these problems, I think it would be a good idea to publish Raya Dunayevskaya's article as a separate pamphlet.

New Correspondent
Israel

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Nixon's Trip Shattered

(Continued from Page 1)

were tied to the U.S. By deliberately timing his offer just before Nixon was to leave for Europe, deGaulle made sure that there would be no mistaking to whom he was making the point that he was the King in Europe: he was talking to Nixon, and even using the U.S.'s strongest ally as his mouthpiece.

The one possible exception to the coolness towards Nixon's trying to breathe life into a defunct NATO was West Germany. Unlike the other Western European nations, West Germany directly faces the armed power of a hostile Russia. And despite the relatively stable strength of the West German economy, Chancellor Kiesinger knows well the value of a powerful ally — especially when that ally is the only one which has a nuclear deterrent to Russia's imperialistic goal of world conquest.

WEST GERMAN VIEW

West German capitalists, riding the wave of spectacular economic growth, have rejected deGaulle's bid for a Franco-German alliance designed to restore deGaulle and France to 19th century pre-eminence in Europe.

Chafing under the nuclear armament restrictions placed upon it by the Allied powers following Germany's defeat at the end of World War II, menaced daily by Russia and East Germany, West Germany desperately needs the protective military umbrella provided by the U.S. But even here, the critical influence exercised by Russia over Berlin and the very fate of all Germany reduces the posturings between Nixon and Kiesinger to empty exercises in futility.

This fact was unmistakably brought home to Nixon just as soon as he left Berlin — when Russia ordered the new confrontation through harassment of West Germany. This action ordered by Brezhnev and Kosygin is significant because it is the first time they did not masquerade under the guise that East German Communist puppet Walter Ulbricht had a degree of autonomy.

RUSSIAN STRANGLEHOLD

Whether this latest move by the Kremlin rulers is designed only to create a nuisance or may become preparation for a nuclear confrontation with the U.S., the Russian leaders have let Nixon know that Germany is the key to Europe — and that Russia controls that key. Nixon rightly believes that deGaulle is the key to NATO, and might try to bolster the divided European community; but Germany remains the heart of Europe, and the disposition of Germany will require agreement by Russia. This was the fact Brezhnev and Kosygin drove home to Nixon — and Europe — with the latest moves against West Berlin and West Germany.

And Nixon also received this message loudly and clearly. That is why he ordered his foreign affairs adviser, Henry Kissinger, to stay in Berlin to man the Moscow communication lines while he, Nixon, went on to Rome.

In Belgium, West Germany and England, the well-managed news reports beamed back to the U.S. showed only the groups applauding Nixon; but in Italy, they could no longer hide the truth (see Italian report, p. 7).

NO SOLUTIONS

What those anti-Nixon demonstrations revealed in Europe was simply that although he could grab paper headlines, he could not long postpone the harsh realities the European rulers would be facing when he left their shores. Likewise, when Nixon returned to the U.S., he learned

that not one of his problems at home had been solved during his flight to try to escape them.

Thus do the "untidy rush of events" at home and abroad confound and thwart the plans Nixon set to establish himself and his administration firmly in power before a crisis exploded in his face. Nor did he fool either the European leaders or the masses of people in the countries he visited. In contrast to the headlines declaring the success of a mission that could not possibly fail because Nixon made sure he would ask nothing of the European leaders he met, the more sober review of the trip reveals the complete sham of the "humble Nixon."

The president of the most powerful nation on earth does not go with hat in hand to visit leaders and nations whose very existence is virtually dependent upon continuous economic and military support from the U.S. This fact alone is enough to expose the total hypocrisy of Nixon's "pilgrimage", and is why the expression "Tricky Dicky" is once more being used by many serious journalists as they assess his European tour.

The term will no doubt become increasingly apt as Nixon faces the reality at home. His friendly approach has already fallen flat.

OPPRESSION TO GROW

He has in fact already moved in enough areas to hurl the lie into the teeth of those who hope to maintain the illusion he is only marking time for now. His steps to bolster his "law and order" pledges have ominous implications, as emphasis is placed on increasing police repressive power and weaponry. His clear intent to suppress student revolts against arbitrary miseducation has already been formulated (see editorial, p. 4).

But there is no holding back of the deepening crises which neither Nixon nor any other patchwork-oriented effort can set right. The central national issue remains the Vietnam war, and the more than half million U.S. soldiers are still in Vietnam — dying at a faster rate now than in any time during the past six months — with that insanity draining the nation of both its youth and resources.

Facts revealed by the Urban Coalition and the Census Bureau survey one year after the Kerner Report show conditions of the poor and black unchanged — if not worse: welfare costs rising from \$6.9 billion in 1967 to \$8.8 billion in 1968; whites leaving inner city areas at the rate of over one-half million a year, compared with 140,000 a year before 1966.

Other reports disclose legal tax evasion by the rich (155 persons who got over \$200,000 income a year, including 15 with over \$1 million income, did not pay one cent in taxes) while the poor and others least able to pay are squeezed mercilessly; unemployment on the upswing and threatening recession generating fears for the future — and especially among blacks who will be the first and hardest hit; wildcat strikes throughout the nation by workers protesting unsafe, if not deadly, conditions of work.

TOTAL CRISIS

The crisis is total, and deepens with each passing day. This is the scene on which President Nixon stands front and center, and where he will be tested. As he sets himself to confront the growing forces moving to totally reconstruct society, the old "tricky Dicky" who has merely been kept in the background for political expediency will begin to emerge with unmistakable clarity. That face of oppression will be easily recognized by those who stride towards freedom.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Profit for the Rich; Hunger for the Poor

Middle class whites are becoming overwrought about the increasing taxes they must pay, and put the blame on ever-increasing welfare costs. This is not the problem.

Thousands exist on sub-standard welfare payments. The celebrated case of Mrs. Louvenia Day, who, with 9 of her 12 children, left Mississippi where she was getting \$10 a month per child, to come to New York City and apply for welfare, points up the plight of the poor in the South.

Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi is also on the welfare rolls. In addition to his salary of \$42,000 as U.S. Senator, he drew \$157,930 last year for not planting crops, \$439 a day!

The scandal that rocked South Carolina showed that poverty and the disease that accompany them created conditions among the back country Negroes comparable to the worst sections of South America and Egypt.

A study of 178 Negro preschool children showed three out of four were suffering from intestinal parasites. A number of children were treated for Kwashiorkor, a Ghanaian word meaning "the disease that takes the child after it leaves the mother's breast." It was thought that the U.S. was completely free of this disease since it is usually confined to the most backward areas of the world. Rickets and other diseases associated with malnutrition and poverty are, of course, common among the poor in the South.

While thousands suffer from lack of proper food, five farm operators were paid over \$1 million each for not growing crops; 15 drew from \$500,000

to \$1 million; 388 drew between \$100,000 and \$500,000; and 1,290 farmers drew from \$50,000 to \$100,000.

Which class is putting a drain on the public purse? The starving blacks or the millionaire-farmers?

While one branch of the government is spending millions to discourage smoking, another branch is spending millions to increase the profits from tobacco growing!

While there is justification in complaining about the increasing tax burden that the worker must pay through payroll deductions, the tax loopholes of the rich permit them to get away with murder. The ten largest oil companies had an income last year of \$44 billion and were able to skim 27 percent of this off the top before paying taxes to "encourage them to look for more oil."

Less than \$10 billion was spent last year on all of the combined welfare costs of every agency in the U.S. This is less than one-fifth of the yearly cost of the war in Viet Nam.

The federal government has a strong welfare program for the rich farmers, the railroads, the airlines, the steamship companies. It guarantees the profits of shipyards, defense contractors and countless others. Yet, it allows starvation to exist among U.S. citizens.

Tax loopholes permit Mrs. Horace Dodge of Detroit to live off the income on \$35 million invested in tax-free bonds while a Detroit auto worker must pay out 20 percent of his income in taxes.

The multi-million dollar Ford Foundation and hundreds of others like it pay no taxes while the welfare recipients pay taxes even on the loaf of

bread they eat, the soap they wash with, the miserable shacks they live in, and the medical aid they cannot afford for themselves.

Now that the scandal of hunger and starvation have reached the affluent American through headlines and the T.V. screen, the federal government, with the kind permission of the local Eastlands, have allowed some free food stamps to be distributed—but not to everybody, only in one county, and only to those who can prove they are utterly destitute. The rest must buy them with whatever miserable welfare allowance they are given (\$10 per person per month).

The federal government, which owns so much surplus food that it is running out of warehouse space and paying the Eastlands not to grow more, cannot find a method of getting food into the hands of the poor without somebody in the county making still another profit on the deal.

The Nixon administration, that thinks unemployment is a "healthy thing" for the economy, does not even count people like Negroes in the back-country of South Carolina because they have never been in industry and cannot be considered unemployed since they never held an industrial job.

A society that tolerates poverty in the midst of plenty, sickness and starvation among welfare recipients, "black lung" and unsafe mine conditions among coal workers, is indeed a sick society. A society that can waste \$50 billion a year killing in Vietnam and other billions to send men to the moon, but cannot feed, clothe and take care of the health of the workers who produce all its wealth needs a thorough overhauling.

RUSSO-CHINESE BORDER CLASH

As we go to press, news flashes report the crossing of frontiers between Russia and China along the Manchurian frontier. Moscow and Peking each accuse the other of having violated national borders.

It hardly matters who is telling the truth. In both cases it can be proof of one thing and one thing only — the degeneracy of Communism. This indulgence in the worst practice of capitalism only goes to demonstrate the state-capitalistic nature of the totalitarian regimes that call themselves Communist.

The two Communist giants began feuding openly in 1960 — ideologically—for leadership of the Communist orbit. By 1965 they refused a united front on even so elementary a question as aid to a fraternal ally, North Vietnam, at the very moment when U.S. imperialism was raining bombs on it.

The so-called Cultural Revolution in China, 1966-68, brought the Sino-Soviet conflict to a near-diplomatic breakup and to the siege of the Soviet Embassy in Peking by "Red Guards."

What is new in the latest border incident is that it is the first to have been officially reported, with contradictory charges handed to each embassy.

One border incident does not make a war. Yet such an extreme possibility cannot be excluded in the future. (See "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" chapter in *Marxism and Freedom* for a theoretical analysis of this question.)

U.S. IS SOUTH AFRICA'S PARTNER

The boycott of South Africa to protect its segregationist policies and inhuman treatment of the black people whose country has been stolen by the whites, has been a failure. The failure has been due, in a large part, to the reluctance of white capitalists to abandon a source of rich profits.

The exploitation of black Africa has gone on for the last two centuries. The natural riches of Africa which are the heritage of the black people have been drained from them by the Germans, the Dutch, the British and now the Americans.

The major city is Johannesburg, with a population of

over 60 percent non-whites who are prohibited by law from owning their own homes or any other real estate. They do all the work while the white capitalists reap all the profits, estimated to be 17 to 20 percent on invested capital.

U.S. companies are investing millions in new plant and equipment to defeat the paper blockade of the country. Chrysler has a new \$30 million plant. Ford and G.M. are heavily invested. Singer Sewing Machine, General Electric, Minnesota Mining, Firestone, Chase Manhattan, Otis Elevator and other U.S. corporations have poured \$700 million into the economy of South Africa, which the U.S. government is officially "boycotting."

The profits from this U.S. help have enabled South Africa to withhold \$1 billion in newly-mined gold from the gold market, defeating U.S. monetary policy.

The lack of any effective international policy to give black rule to black Africans in South Africa makes a mockery of any official policy of boycott by either England or the U.S. Black Africans may not be able to influence U.S. policy but it is about time that U.S. citizens, black and white, did.

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