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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Detroit's Black Community Unites Behind Judge Crockett's Justice

Many black people are saying that the shooting up of the New Bethel Baptist Church by Detroit policemen on March 29 was one of the most disgraceful attacks against blacks that this country has ever seen. There were some 150 people inside, including small children and women, some of them pregnant. They were at a convention of a militant black organization, the Republic of New Africa.

No one seems to know what provoked the killing of a policeman and wounding of his partner which preceded the shooting up of the church. But one black worker in our shop said: "In the South, if a black man killed a white man, the mob would go kill his entire family. Whites felt that one white life was worth more than a hundred black lives. And that seems to be the same thinking of the Detroit police force."

There seem to be two societies in this country. Not two societies in the sense that the RNA or the Black Muslims propose. But two societies everywhere throughout the country. One is for blacks and one is for whites. After seeing and listening to the statements of the city officials, commending the Detroit police for their inhuman attack on innocent people and riddling of a house of worship, the two societies in this country look very real. The feeling is deepened by the white-controlled press and TV media—who have called for an investigation of the shooting of the police, but not of the shooting of the black people in the church.

#### "JUDGE CROCKETT IS OUR MAN"

Judge Crockett, the only black Recorders Court judge in Detroit, ordered the release of those who had been placed under mass arrest when the District Attorney, after having held them for hours, could not produce evidence against them to charge them with anything. He has been under vicious attack ever since.

But the talk that is going on throughout the black community is that "Judge Crockett is our hero." After his appearance on TV to answer those who criticized his handling of the case, many said we should have ten black leaders in this city like him, who would stand up and speak out against white racists who want the law applied to black and poor whites in one way, and to wealthy whites another way.

Judge Crockett has welded the black community around him tighter than anyone has ever done in Detroit. Many blacks who said they did not know of him before, now say that if he ever runs for office again they will vote for him with both hands. When he said that if a black policeman had got killed by a white man, and the suspect had run into a white church among white women and children, you could not have paid the police department to shoot into that church, every person in this country, black or white, knows it is true.

#### ATTACK HAS LONG HISTORY

The vast majority of blacks are opposed to the separatist philosophy of the Republic of New Africa, but they know that this is being used by the officials hoping to divide the black community. We also know, through years of bitter experience, that racist police would have done the same to any black church.

The attack on Judge Crockett did not come just from the incident at the New Bethel Church. It started before he was elected. The city officials, the police department, Reuther and his UAW officials (especially the black leaders who have to follow Reuther's line to keep their jobs), all found themselves on the same side as the fascist organization, Breakthrough, in attacking Crockett when he ran for office. Today they are again trying to defeat him by pinning a Communist label on him, but they have not heard what the masses of the blacks, and some whites, are saying and thinking about him. It took a week before the great white champion of justice, Reuther, said a word—and then he only pleaded for calm among the black community.

A black policeman said that the division between the whites and blacks in the city, especially between the black community and the church. But one black worker in our shop said, "In the South, about how the action and attitude of the white policeman towards black people has never come out as openly as it did last week. What makes it worse are the white, so-called liberal leaders and city officials who do not speak out against the police when it relates to the black community. Those that do not line up against the black community become as quiet as a stone."

#### "SAME RIGHTS UNDER LAW"

It is regrettable that the officer was killed. But when officials and white leaders come out and praise the department for shooting up a church and wounding innocent people, it is something else. What do those white people think black people are?

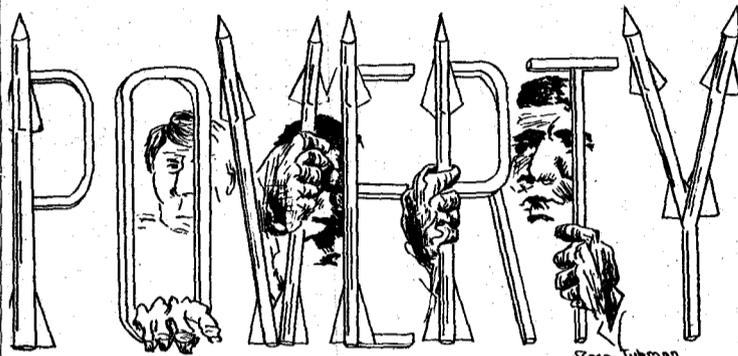
As one black worker said, "The surprising thing was that the papers reported that those people were not violating any law by having rifles on the streets. That is why they are so damn mad at Judge Crockett. He is letting the poor people know they have the same rights under the law."

If Judge Crockett stays, they will probably try to rewrite or amend the entire Michigan law and Constitution.

## G.I., Black Revolts Challenge American Military War Plans

by Eugene Walker

Tens of thousands of Americans, including many G.I.s, marched on Easter Weekend in numerous cities to state their opposition to the continued involvement of America in the Vietnam war. The new element—resistance coming from within the armed forces—is a major one for the anti-war movement. In most cities G.I.s participated in the marches and spoke at the rallies.



In San Francisco, the focus of the march was the Presidio, site of the headquarters of the Sixth Army. It was here that the army brought charges of mutiny against 27 soldiers for staging a sitdown at the stockade to protest conditions there, including the murder of an army prisoner by a stockade guard. The over ten thousand San Francisco marchers walked to the Presidio both as a protest of the war and in support of the imprisoned soldiers.

#### G.I. OPPOSITION

In bases across the U.S., G.I.s have been acting out their opposition to the war. The anti-war newspapers written by the soldiers themselves, the petitions to obtain the right to speak out against the war while in the army, the escape to Canada or Sweden, the participation in anti-war demonstrations both on and off base—all show the intense movement within the army for an end to the Vietnam war. The Easter marches were the anti-war movement's first statement to the new president.

### WVU Students Aid Miners, Striking State Road Workers

Morgantown, W. Va.—When the miners went out on strike over the black lung issue they came to the students at West Virginia University for help, because we had been talking a lot about supporting workers, and getting students involved in radical activities. They asked us for specific information on the power structure: who actually owns and controls the natural resources of West Virginia.

#### WANT TO PIN LIES

They wanted to talk to Jay Rockefeller, our secretary of state and feudal lord, and to the Governor of the state, and they said they knew they would be lied to. What they wanted was enough information so they could pin the lies. We came up with a lot of embarrassing information for them to use against the Governor and the coal companies.

Then they told us they needed people to help picket—so about 70 students from the university went out to picket with the miners. About 300 have been active in other work, and over 4,000 students signed petitions supporting the black lung campaign.

There was no need to picket at the mine portals, of course—they were all out 100 percent. But for three weeks miners were camped in the rotunda at Charleston. And up here we picketed the limestone quarries, glass factories and brass works—where the workers have the same problems and would have been covered by the same compensation. All the glass factories and limestone quarries in Monongalia County told us that if we formed a picket line they wouldn't cross it.

#### STUDENTS LEARN

The miners asked us for support to show there was another segment of the population with them. Supposedly the students have some influence in this state because the university is a re-

spected institution. But the miners ran the entire thing.

We wrote our own papers and circulated publicity to give the student viewpoint on the campuses and among the communities. But as far as the actual activity was concerned, they told us when and where they wanted picketing done. If anybody wanted answers while we were picketing, we referred them to the miner who was in charge of the line. Students in the past have made the mistake of wanting to run the show—they talk too much and try to preach their ideologies to workers.

We were there to help. But we found out that we learned a lot. What we found out was that the miners were a heluva lot more radical than the students. They knew what they were doing. And they had a lot more history in radical thought and action than the students have ever had.

#### 3,500 SRC WORKERS FIRED

The miners made a lot of statements to the papers about the student support, how great they thought it was, and how much their idea of students had been changed. As a result, when the State Road Commission (SRC) workers went out on strike and the Governor fired 3,500 state road workers at one stroke, they came to the students for support, too.

The SRC people have no job security whatsoever. They get to age 50 or 55 and get fired. They get no pension. They get

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In the face of the continuing protest against this longest war the U.S. has ever been engaged in, the Nixon Administration has been whispering loudly about its "secret" program on the diplomatic and military fronts to get the U.S. out of Vietnam. No details about the "new approach" have been revealed. Instead there are vague references to "gradual changes."

#### PREPARATION FOR WAR

There is nothing vague, however, about the preparations for an even greater holocaust—as the specter of World War III has reappeared in the form of the ABM controversy.

So warped is the military mind of the administration, that the nuclear-tipped anti-ballistic missile system is called "Safeguard," and is termed "a building block to peace."

The ABM is a weapons system in search of a mission. The reasons for its deployment have constantly changed, but never the fact that it would be deployed. First there was supposed to be the Chinese missile threat. It turns out that they do not have an ICBM capacity. Next came the Russian deployment of their own ABM system around Moscow. This was shown to be an obsolete system. This was followed by a report that the Russians were building a missile defense throughout Russia, but then it was learned that this would not have significant capacity against missiles.

We were told that it was necessary to build the system around 25 or 50 cities to protect the population. But due to widespread opposition in many of the cities, especially in those where construction was begun, the idea

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In Detroit

# Black Student Strike Supports Crockett; Hundreds In March To Recorder's Court

Detroit, Mich.—On Thursday, April 3, the eve of the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, there was a walk-out and rally by city high school students, both in honor of Dr. King and in protest against the Vietnam war.

On the same day that this walkout and rally (held at Wayne State University) was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) of Detroit, the United Front, a coalition of black organizations in the city, had called for a march on the Recorder's Court in support of Judge Crockett for his handling of the New Bethel Church case (see Workers Journal, P. 1).

On the day before the rally, Wayne-SDS worked on getting students from Wayne State to walk out of their classes, both to commemorate King's assassination, to protest the Vietnam war, and to join in the demonstration for Crockett at Recorder's Court.

Then, on Thursday morning, while the high school students were arriving for the rally, some SDS'ers went through campus buildings, speaking to classes and in the halls, calling for a walk-out. Others circulated among the high school students with copies of the student paper, South End, which had a large center fold picture of Crockett, trying to pull together support for a march to the Crockett demonstration downtown after the rally.

### H.S. STUDENTS ARRIVE

When I got to the rally there were already hundreds of students milling around. We got a good response from the black students who were already there, but most of the white students were pretty indifferent. We also ran into opposition from YSA, who only wanted an anti-war rally which they could claim credit for sponsoring.

Around 12 noon, when there were around 500 students present and the rally had just started, the contingent from Cass Tech arrived with 200, predominately white, students. The black students from Cass had marched straight to the Crockett rally.

Then, at 12:30, the long awaited group from Malcolm X High and Junior High arrived, about 200 strong.

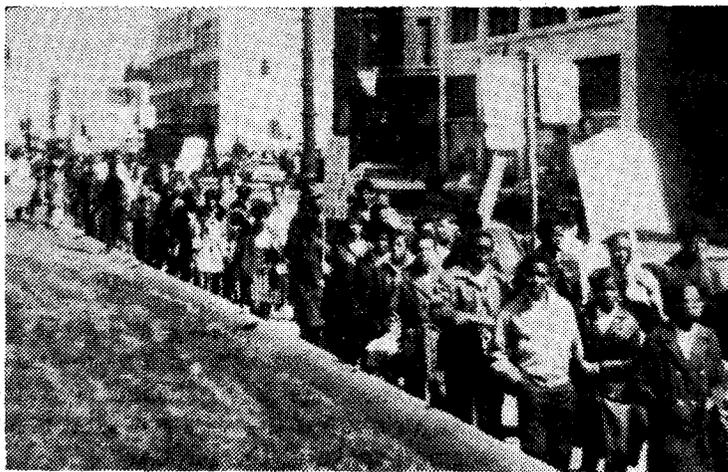
### TO RECORDER'S COURT

The Malcolm X spokesman marched to the speakers platform and told the crowd: "We are not staying here. We came only to ask you all to go with us to where the real fight is—down at Recorder's Court with the black community to support Judge Crockett."

Leaving a few people behind to muster more support, they marched off again, carrying with them most of the other black students present and some of the white students.

Those who stayed to get more support had to physically fight YSA people for the mike because YSA wanted nothing to upset their anti-war rally.

When one of the speakers said: "Those of you who want to go, go. But this is an anti-war action and we here don't like or support what Judge Crockett did," a black student got to the mike and called them a bunch of racists, no better than the



—Photo by Eddie

Detroit high school students march to Recorder's Court in support of Judge Crockett.

bourgeois ones. He walked off, taking more students with him and leaving only about 100 of the original crowd.

### INJUNCTION ISSUED

Those who left to support Crockett, marched from Wayne down to Kennedy Square, about 20 blocks away, stopping traffic and shouting "black power," as we went. At Kennedy Square we were stopped by some older black militants, who explained to us that we couldn't go to Recorder's Court because an injunction had been issued against picketing there earlier in the day.

They suggested that the students go back to Wayne State, home or to the DRUM office to pick up some leaflets and distribute them. But the students said they were going on, no matter what, and began to argue with the "militants." At the end it was

decided that the march would continue—but to the police headquarters instead of the Court-house.

So off we went again, several hundred of us, to the police headquarters, where we joined about 300 already there. We completely surrounded the building and marched for a half hour, yelling "black power," "Racist cops must go," and "If Crockett goes, Detroit goes." Then we marched at the city-county building.

The events of the day showed that the revolution truly lies in the hands of the young. The students knew what they wanted, and not even a so-called revolutionary organization or their own so-called leaders could turn them back for any reason.

—Acidi

# Black Panther Shootings

On Jan. 17, 1969, Alprentice ("Bunchy") Carter and John Huggins were shot to death on the U.C.L.A. campus. These high officials of the Black Panther Party were personal friends of mine.

Booker Griffin, in an article in the Los Angeles Sentinel (Jan. 23, 1969) says that "the whole Black community is guilty of the deaths of these two young men." He goes on to say, "We all pulled the trigger, you and I, and all of those around us."

Mr. Griffin, the history and future of the black man necessarily has a relationship to the white oppressor and to the red, white and blue institutions that shape black lives.

I should like to suggest that in any community where oppression is evident, resignation to that fate seems inevitable.

Racism, as it relates to black people in America, is simply today's expression of the oppression under which we have lived for the past centuries here.

John Huggins was a poor man. John, however, saw the question of the black man's role in America as having a basis in what his relationship is to the "means of production" in this country. John was not just concerned with local politics of the black community in Los Angeles.

John was a Vietnam veteran who openly opposed the American policy of war in Vietnam.

I am getting at the facts. John Huggins was concerned with all people who made, make, and will make decisions that affect the lives of black and other oppressed people in America, and over the world.

Fred Hoffman, in an article in the Los Angeles Free Press (Jan. 31, 1969) said, "It is not only the Black community which is to blame for the double murders. The pistols used were 357 magnums, the kind supplied to the California Highway Patrol, we are told. The White community is responsible for what its police do, since the White community also pays Maulana Karenga for what he does, which makes us all to blame for these racist political assassinations."

The fact that the pistols used in these murders were 357 magnums has little to do with the Black community being responsible for the deaths of John and Bunchy.

Tax money is what pays the police department and while this may condemn the white community, the whole damn argument is irrelevant to the issue at hand.

How is the black community to be blamed for "racist" political assassinations, when black people are both the accused assassins and the victims? Hoffman's statement is absurd!

Mr. Hoffman is much "too generous" in his statements about who is to blame for these murders. Thank you, Mr. Hoffman... but, No thank you!

Mr. Hoffman offers no analysis of just what this black community is about. He instead "uses" Booker Griffin to explain it to us, and then adds irresponsible statements to this, as seen in the above quotes. These distortions will be used to confuse people as to what the important questions are.

The black community Hoffman refers to, is left as an abstraction. This kind of thinking is characteristic of the way most "liberals" have historically "related" to oppressed people.

Booker Griffin in his article says, "The business of this community is not a toy to be played with according to the selfish motives of children. The business of this community is not a trump card to be played by politicians at a strategic point of a game.

Making decisions about the direction of a community is serious, adult business, that must be met fairly, squarely, and effectively."

The situation that the black leadership finds itself in is grave because that leadership has not yet learned how to consult with, and learn from, and mobilize the masses of black people.

There can be little doubt that whole new perspectives are needed to dramatize what people in the black community are about.

"Bunchy" Carter loved and hated black people—but he hated The Man more. Bunchy did not indulge in empty rhetoric. He shaped his feelings with words that describe the hell that we, as black people, experience daily. Bunchy said:

For a slave of natural death who dies

Can't balance out to two dead flies

I'd rather be without the shame  
A bullet lodged within my brain  
If I were not to reach my goal  
Let bleeding cancer torment my soul.

Bunchy Carter wrote these words in Soledad Penitentiary in a greatly restricted space. Black people are now moving to control the space they occupy. There is no turning back.

Respectfully,  
Levi Kingston, Chairman  
Freedom Draft Movement

## Sterling Wildcat

Sterling Heights, Mich. — On Thursday, April 3, the 3,500 UAW Local 1264 workers at Chrysler's Sterling Stamping Plant went out on a wildcat strike over unsafe conditions and the firing of union representatives.

The walkout started when foremen asked about 150 press operators to remove, heavy, jagged and razor-sharp stamping scrap from the conveyor pit. The conveyor hadn't worked properly in four months, and there was a back-up of scrap four feet deep. Just handling the scrap was dangerous, but on top of this, the pit floor was covered with oil and very slippery. The workers refused to do the job.

### MASS WALKOUT

They went to the steward, and he backed them up. When management saw that the men wouldn't pick up the scrap, they fired the steward, and then later suspended 11 other union representatives who agreed with the men. At that point, the mass walkout began.

Chrysler constantly tried to break up the picket lines in the first two days of the strike. They had police harass pickets, and tried to bring parts out through the picket line. At one point, 17 pickets were arrested while trying to keep scabs out, and over 80 workers got telegrams that they had been fired.

The pickets manned the line 24 hours a day, rotating shifts, and organizing all the strike activity themselves. The response at Solidarity House was "Go back to work!"

### TAKE OVER UNION

The workers answered that they could not go back when so many men had been fired and the unsafe conditions remained. So, on April 7, the UAW took over Local 1264 and placed it under Douglas Fraser, Chrysler department head.

Fraser's very first action was to order a return to work. The members of UAW 1264 ignored Fraser's order, and were joined by students on their picket lines. Fraser called another meeting, and the workers agreed to return to work on condition their demands be met. As we go to press, the situation is still far from settled. (More picket line stories and discussion on Sterling next issue.)

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# From The Auto Shops

## Chrysler Mack

**Detroit, Mich.**—I have just received a Chrysler Company paper called **Mack Ave. Views** in the mail. It is put out by the Mack Plant management and is full of lies about what is happening at the plant.

The lead article is called "1968—A Good Year For Mack Stamping . . ." It tells about how good a year the Chrysler Corporation and its workers had in 1968. Here is a half truth if there ever was one. The company to be sure did O.K. They had more money than ever before.

But what about the workers, are we better off after another year at Mack Stamping? No. In terms of money, inflation has taken away everything. And because of getting rid of cost of living increases, every worker has lost \$401.

In another article the company talks about William Ambrose being given a new job. But many people are wondering if Ambrose

has been kicked upstairs by the company because they did not like what he was doing on the floor. Ambrose was a foreman who treated workers like human beings. He wasn't always on your back. This cannot be said for many of the foremen at Mack. Maybe it was a good idea to make Ambrose work with newly trained "hard core" employees, but is this what motivated the company, or was it to get a guy who did not treat workers as dirt off the floor?

In a third article workers are quoted as saying how much they owe to the company for letting them work. But workers don't owe the company anything. They aren't doing something for us, we are doing something for them.

The company wants us to cut our unexcused absences and feels it can do this by making us feel loyalty to them. I suggest that a better idea would be to make Mack a human place to work. Maybe then a worker wouldn't feel that he had to stay away every once in a while to retain his sanity.

Chrysler Mack Worker

## Fleetwood

**Detroit, Mich.** — At Fleetwood certain foremen have been double-teaming the black workers. An example of this is the team of foreman Bruno and general foreman Tackett. These two foremen keep watching black workers to check if they are late, miss a day or have missed a job. They have been coming down hard against any black worker who violates one of Fleetwood's concentration camp rules.

In fact Fleetwood seems to be run more and more like a concentration camp for all workers, white and black. In certain jobs people are so tied to the line that they can't get away for a few seconds for a smoke. There seems to be a heavy police-like action by the company if one drops a cigarette butt or piece of paper.

Maybe we should be more careful in this, but the crackdown by management isn't confined to this. It is in everything we do in the plant, especially work on the production line.

To the regular jobs they are continually adding new pieces of work. The grievances on these arbitrary work additions are piled a mile high. If they are settled it is only between the company and the union officials. The workers on the line don't seem to hear about it.

Fleetwood Worker

## Mahwah Ford

**Mahwah, N.J.** — The company seems to be trying to sweat all they can out of us. Two nights last week, the merry-go-round was moving so fast that the men could not keep up and had to let a lot of unfinished jobs go down the line the way they were.

Some of the men are saying that it looks like Ford might be trying to get the work done so they can have a big lay-off. That way, we would be out before we could fight back. But it might be too late.

All around the shop you see men wearing buttons which say "UBB of Mahwah" (United Black Brothers). They mean that the brothers here know that things won't change unless we change them ourselves.

Then there's the fires. For the last two weeks, fires have broken out in the plant. Sometimes two a night. They never happen in the same place. The other night there was a fire in cushion and the smoke was so bad in the body shop that you could hardly breathe. The foreman told everybody to keep working anyway.

All the company brass are running like crazy—trying to get to the bottom of it. I even heard that they had a top bureaucrat from the UAW headquarters in Detroit out here trying to fix things up.

I heard a company man say that the fires were being set by the UBB, but I wear my button to work every day and I don't know who is setting them.

None of the UBB members know. But the company wants people to think that we are doing it.

One thing is sure — that the line is too fast for anyone, black or white. When things are as bad as they have been here, there isn't a man in the plant who hasn't wanted to burn it down one time or another.

UBB Member, Mahwah

## On the Line

# Answer to the UAW Board Letter Exposes Real Issue

By John Allison

The UAW International Executive Board letter sent to 350,000 rank-and-file auto worker union members goes lower and deeper than the crisis caused by the action of black militants (DRUM, ELRUM) at Chrysler plants. The greater question is how the labor movement will deal with both black and white labor when the workers move on their own to correct inhuman working conditions—whether that's out-and-out racism and discrimination against blacks, or striking against company speed-up, harassment and intimidation.

By now it is clear that workers are getting sick and tired of trying to get the UAW and Walter Reuther to correct the injustices they face every day in and out of the shop. This is the force that Reuther fears more than anything else, and it is this force that he moved against in the Board letter sent to the rank-and-file.

### HITS AT MILITANTS

When he dared to say that "The UAW . . . will not protect workers who resort to violence and intimidation with the conscious purpose of dividing our Union along racial lines . . .", what he did in effect was to tell the company that it would have a free hand in dealing with plant militants—both black and white. And what this also does is invite company violence on all the rank-and-file workers.

It now seems like the UAW has forsaken the "One for all and all for one" solidarity in the early days when all workers were fighting against the corporations to win the union. The union was born in a period of violence, and there is still much violence done against the workers in the shops every day. This is the violence that Walter Reuther should be hitting at, not at the ones who are trying to correct it and calling them racists.

The truth is that Walter is reaping what he has sowed by winking at all-white skilled trades, by permitting Jim Crow departments in shops, by a policy of rejecting even as much as a single black UAW executive board member until as late as 1963. He never did fool the black workers with his empty words of freedom and democracy, because they could always see the lie in their own union.

### EMPTY WORDS

Now it is too late for just words. Only action will speak, and Reuther still remains the master of substitution. He says the UAW has a Public Review Board that workers with grievances can turn to if they're not satisfied with actions of the International union officers.

But every worker in the UAW, both black and white, knows that the Public Review Board can't put a single Negro on the UAW executive board or anywhere else. And Reuther can't substitute the Public Review Board for his own failures to correct his own house.

Another case in point is where Reuther admits in the letter that "Each of us must work . . . to right the grievous wrongs of the past. For centuries, the black man in America has suffered exploitation and discrimination everywhere he has turned. He has been robbed of his dignity as an individual. He has been denied his natural right to participate fully in the society in which he lives. Many times the hiring office was closed to him completely. When it was open, he generally was offered work that no one else would take, the hard, dirty, low-paying job."

### NO ACTION

But where there is this admission that this is all wrong, there is nothing about action to change this in either the union or the plants or society. It's like a man condemned in a court of law, spends a life-time in prison and then is found to be not guilty. He is patted on the back and is told it's too bad it happened—but then gets nothing for the unjust punishment he has suffered.

It is past time to say it was all wrong to discriminate against black people. Now it is time to do something about changing society to make sure unjust treatment will never be allowed to happen again, and to make amends and restitution for past wrongs.

But instead of this, Reuther's letter is declaring open season on all radicals fighting against the corporation and Reuther: he's saying that if you get bad, we'll throw you to the alligators. It's a green light for the corporations to do anything they want to do against all fighters.

Everything is out in the open now, and it gets clearer every day. Black workers accuse the UAW of racism; and they also accuse the auto corporations of racism. In a very real sense, this puts the UAW and the corporations in the same bag.

Chrysler corporation, we all know, is guilty of exploitation of the working class: black first, then white. Together, they both catch hell. Now, the UAW exacts the same dues from black and white on an equal basis, but where it comes to rewards for doing union work, there are some 900 whites on the UAW International staff—and about 30-40 blacks.

Neither Reuther or anyone else living in the glass house of the UAW staff can afford to throw stones at the corporations or society as a whole for segregation or discrimination policies. It's a case of the pot calling the skillet black—except it's more a case of the sheet knowing that the pillow case is white.

### WORKER UNITY NEEDED

It is not black labor which has divided the union. GM, Ford, Chrysler, their racism, speed-up and disregard for safety on the one hand, and the failure of the union to support the workers in their battles on the other, is what is at the root cause of the division in labor.

Brotherhood and unity is the watchword now that the flames of passion are blowing the wind of change. The house of labor will see no peace until "all for one and one for all" becomes the reality in life, and in the factory especially.

## G.M. South Gate Leaflet

(The following are excerpts from a letter sent to vice-president Leonard Woodcock of UAW and distributed by workers at South Gate, Calif. GM plant.)

Brother Woodcock:

The rank and file members of Local 216 U.A.W. G.M. South Gate, Calif., read with interest, the statement you made in Washington D. C. before the Federal Trade Commission on Monday, (February 10, 1969) in regard to new Auto Warranties.

By newspaper accounts you are "quoted" as stating: "Many problems of car buyers are traceable to the unfinished condition in which many cars leave the factory. The blame lies with Management. If some tasks on the line are not properly completed, the reason, in the overwhelming majority of cases is because the workers have not enough time to do so. In the past six years, the Union has issued seventy-one (71) notices of strike intent against General Motors, with most of the disputes involving production speed up. The Union's experience with other auto manufacturers is comparable to that of General Motors".

The headlines of Thursday's papers (February 27, 1969), gives further proof to the poor quality of U.S. Autos. It states: "General Motors Corp., Wednesday, Feb. 26, 1969, announced the most massive recall campaign in the U.S. Auto making history—4.9 million cars and trucks for correction of hazards of exhaust fumes and sticking throttles."

According to the director of the National Highway Safety Bureau, within the first year of their existence, 3.3 million American and foreign vehicles were recalled by the manufacturers for check and repair of potential defects.

One major American company had to be "scolded" eight times before it recalled 78,000 cars of a popular line.

Each and every auto worker can subscribe to the article that appeared in the January 1969 issue of *News & Letters*, written by an auto worker, entitled: "Who Doesn't Have a Lemon?"

Now we come to the question: Who is responsible for the poor quality of American automobiles? In your statement, you lay the blame solely at the feet of Management. Here the rank and file auto workers disagree. The leadership of U.A.W. must share in the responsibility for the poor quality of automobiles now being manufactured.

For 20 years, the American auto worker has been saddled with a worthless and unworkable contract, in regards to speed-up. The grievance procedure is as obsolete as high button shoes. The rank and file auto worker has no control over the speed of the production lines.

As a good example of how worthless the grievance procedure is, take the case of Local 216 during Contract negotiations of 1967.

From July, 1967 our local shop committee met with local management, almost on a daily basis, trying to resolve the 400 speed-up grievances that had been filed. Finally, in December 1968, some 17 months after negotiations had begun, an agreement had been reached. The rank and file had a choice—accept the settlement, or face the possibility of a long strike during the Christmas and New Year holidays. What a choice! The rank and file accepted the settlement, because they knew that if they had gone out on strike, not only would they have lost their holiday pay, but more wisely—they knew that the issue of speed-up would not have been resolved.

The local leadership is powerless to act. Over the last 20 years, the International Union has stripped locals of their autonomy. They have concentrated all power in Solidarity House. A local can do nothing unless it has the permission of the International.

Management will continue their mad rush for production, because it knows that the Union is powerless to combat it. Until such time as Paragraphs No. 8, No. 115, No. 116, No. 117, No. 118 (Strikes, Stoppages and Lockouts) are eliminated from our Contracts—and until such time as the workers have some say over the speed of the assembly lines—the poor quality of American automobiles will continue.

(This leaflet paid for by Local 216 Rank and File Members.)

## Editorial

## One Year After the Assassination

An integrated march in Atlanta, Ga., led by Ralph Abernathy, to mark the anniversary of Rev. King's assassination on the eve of his planned Poor People's Campaign, ended with a call for the very same goals that Rev. King had called for last year. Nothing had changed. "You spend \$52 billion a year to get a man on the moon," said Dr. Abernathy to White America, "but you won't spend \$52 to stand one man on his feet. You burn people in the Mekong Delta, and starve people in the Mississippi Delta."

One month before Rev. King was shot to death, leading a garbage men's strike in Memphis, the Presidential National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders had reported that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal." Last month, a study entitled "One Year After" concluded: "We are a year closer to being two societies, black and white, increasingly separate and scarcely less unequal."

In the week of black revolt that followed the assassination last year, 46 were killed, 2,600 injured and 21,270 arrested. A year later, in Chicago, where the revolt had been one of the most violent, not a single building had been restored in the ghetto, 7,000 National Guardsmen patrolled the streets to crush a new outburst, 79 people were injured, and 275 arrested.

In Detroit, the week had begun with the shooting up by police of the New Bethel Baptist Church, where a black separatist meeting was taking place, a few blocks from where the Revolt had erupted in 1967. (See *Workers Journal*, P. 1.) In New York City, the week began with the decision by Governor Rockefeller and the State Legislature to slash \$128 million in state aid for welfare and Medicaid; and an interfaith group of clergymen immediately warned of an uprising to come—which they promised to support.

## WHITE RACISM'S CONSPIRACIES

Just before the year was up, white racist America had rushed through a charade which it called a "trial" of James Earl Ray, and quickly convicted him alone, for the murder of Rev. King. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, long before Ray had even been arrested, the nation's top enforcement officers were assuring the public that no conspiracy existed.

Despite his own protestations later, in the courtroom and out, that a conspiracy did indeed exist, Ray pleaded guilty; the prosecutor accepted the plea; the judge brushed aside the defendant's protest; and the jury — sworn in advance to find Ray guilty and impose a 99-year prison term rather than the death penalty — did their "duty."

The contrast to the long-drawn-out, painstaking trial "for history" of Sirhan Sirhan, made this conspiracy to hide the conspiracy all the more bitter to swallow. The more serious conspiracy which black America faces, however, is the attempt of white racism to keep the forces for freedom from finding and allying with each other.

## THE BLACK REVOLT IN SCHOOL AND FACTORY

The black revolt has not stood still in the year since Rev. King's assassination. On the campuses, the student rebellions have been distinguished by the activity of black students. The black consciousness which has been achieved this year has moved the demand for Black Studies Programs into a mass demand.

The strike at San Francisco State College, where the black students were the spark and the leadership, marked a new stage for the freedom movement by drawing together not only the black students, other minority groups, and the white students — but by joining together students with striking teachers, unionized employees on campus, and striking oil workers off campus.

The year has been distinguished also by the appearance of black caucuses in shops all over the country, demanding an end to discrimination by union and company alike. At the same time, the capitalists have been trying to use the "black power" slogan against this revolt from below, by buying off whomever it can. The Nixon Administration talks about "black capitalism" as if setting up a few black businessmen will solve the problem. The companies have become expert in using black foremen and black supervisors against the workers, both black and white. The UAW thinks that by putting a few more hand-picked blacks in Solidarity House, they have answered the attacks against them.

A few so-called leaders may be bought off easily enough, but the black masses cannot be bought off. Because racism is the very fabric of American "civilization," black America has always been in the forefront of all struggles for freedom, and not only for itself, but for moving humanity forward — from the Abolitionist Movement and the Civil War, through the Populist movement, to the creation of the CIO, and the upheavals today.

It was no accident that Rev. King was murdered while he was leading a strike of garbage workers in Memphis, and preparing to lead a Poor Peoples March on Washington that would combine the poor — black and white, Indian and Mexican American — in a massive effort that would coincide with the days of protest against the Vietnam war, and disrupt the whole white power structure. Everything was in flux. Masses were in motion. And they still are.

What is crucial at this point is the free flow of communication between black and white revolutionaries, between labor and black revolt. At the moment, those lines of communication to the black workers and students are open only through the white youth precisely because their color is not so much white as "red." It is the "red" philosophy of freedom that is the bridge between the pivotal forces of labor, black masses, and students that alone can destroy white racism, by constructing a totally new humanism.

## News &amp; Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
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## Readers

## DETROIT SHOOTINGS

Dr. King was trying to tell white people something before he was killed. He wanted to tell this nation something about his dream before America is destroyed. But too many white people just don't seem to understand that black people are human beings. They think they have to carry guns to keep Negroes from fighting and killing them without a cause.

The shooting that took place at the New Bethel Baptist Church on March 29 happened just because black people were having a meeting there. How can black people get out from under all the pressure that white people put on them for nothing, just because they are black?

White people have killed more Negroes than they have killed mad dogs. They have killed many of their own race just because they speak a few good words for the Negro. They even have killed any President that has talked good of the black people. And nothing can be done about it. But just let a Negro kill a white person, and he will be dead in short order.

In the old days they could shoot a black man down and nothing would be done about it. But the days of the "little white lies" are gone. Negroes are finding out just how to use the white man's law against the white man himself.

Do they expect Negroes to go on letting the white man destroy the whole black race? It can't be done. We have learned to fight back. If war is declared against the black man, the black man is going to try to win that war.

And all the black people really want is justice.

Ethel Dunbar  
Detroit

If the two policemen who were shot saw 10 or 12 blacks on the streets with rifles, and because of their white faces they thought they could just go up and arrest them, they were damn fools. The young blacks today are not about to run like the blacks of 40 or 50 years ago used to. But it is too late now, at least for one of them, to learn that.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

City officials were quick to yell that the people at the church were from out of town. The KKK can have conventions anywhere in the country, with whites coming from all over. Do people still have freedom of movement in this country, or not?

Black Reader  
Detroit

The police department wants to control this city. They want to be prosecutor, judge and lawyer as well as executioner. They resent any criticism. I don't believe all policemen are the same, but every time someone tries to separate the wheat from the chaff, somebody cries that he is trying to run the department.

The police department hates the Mayor. The head of the Police Association attacks him every chance he gets. But Cavanagh seems to have forgotten how he became mayor of this city. He promised to

stop police brutality against black people. By now he doesn't have the votes of either the police, or the people who put him in office.

Black Worker  
Detroit

## THE BLACK REVOLT

The whites who don't follow a racist line are treated the same as blacks. Take the white woman who was in the Algiers Motel when the three young black youth were killed. One police put her in jail for 80 days under a \$50,000 bond while the white killers were put under \$5,000 bond.

Any time they mentioned her name, they made sure to say she was a prostitute, as if that meant she was not a human being. Or take the white youth who are in rebellion against this society. They call them hippies to keep from identifying them as whites.

Worker  
Detroit

Talk about the black movement having a sense of its own history! Last month on the 199th anniversary of the Boston Massacre a ceremony was held here to honor Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave who was the first to die in the Revolutionary War. It was attended by thousands . . .

Reader  
Chicago

There are still 16 Black Panthers being held on "conspiracy" charges in connection with the alleged bomb plot here. No less than \$100,000 bail has been posted for each one.

The Panthers are asking for funds for defense and for bail. I think your readers would want to know that funds can be sent to: Black Panther Party Legal Defense Fund, Box 1224, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202.

Student  
New York

## WELFARE RIGHTS

Members of Detroit Metropolitan Welfare Rights Organization have presented special diet forms to the Wayne County Department of Social Services Director to show that ADC Mothers are unable to feed their children a nutritious well balanced diet on the few pennies allowed by the Department.

Hundreds of Detroit children are improperly fed and yet the Department peddles the same old line "We sympathize". Sympathy doesn't protect from the cold or rain.

Several Detroit doctors have diagnosed children and mothers as being undernourished. The Department doctor, not having seen the patients, disputes this diagnosis.

Members of Westside Mothers (ADC) WRO, Myrtle Mothers WRO and Family Crusade Against Poverty have stated that their children will not be deprived of adequate food.

They are also demanding spring clothing because the ADC budgets do not include funds for clothing. The Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare has issued regulations urging states to make Welfare grants reflect the current cost of living. We want to know:

When does Michigan plan to comply?

For further information contact:

Detroit W.R.O.  
2361 Woodward Ave. Rm. 408  
Det. Mich. 48201.

Every report in every media indicates how much higher and higher the cost of living is going daily. So Governor Rockefeller decides that the Welfare people are getting too much money, an decides to cut their already pitiful checks by 30 per cent!

It would take a multi-millionaire like him to think like that.

Burned Up  
New York City

## WAR AND ANTI-WAR

The April 5 Chicago Anti-War March had, as a new element this year, active duty personnel of the armed services. They were featured at the front of the marching contingents, and were backed up by the Veterans Against The War.

Black and white, students and older people, mothers with their children, were among the many thousands who participated in a more serious, perhaps even desperate vein, than in other years, to protest against the hideous war which America seems to be waging to destroy Vietnam.

The memory of August 1968 was still vivid in the memory of many of the marchers and created an atmosphere both of hostility and caution toward the city and its special psychologically - tested - for - the - March cops. One mother was heard telling her two year old: "Don't get out of the stroller or you'll get busted!"

Marcher  
Chicago

I must live in one of the most prejudiced neighborhoods in the world, let alone Queens. My daughter came home crying one day because her eight year old friend's sister (who is all of 12) was discussing how Israel is going to bomb the U.S. (!) She wanted to know how do they drop the bombs, what happens to the houses, etc. The fear was fantastic.

Then this week there have been pictures of Vietnamese children running from the bombing or being killed. (I realize it's propaganda against North Vietnam but that isn't what comes across.) The same fear was in their faces but they are tragically living it.

White Mother  
Queens, N.Y.

## ANTI-ANTI-SEMITISM

It was wonderful to read a report in the Jewish press that the attempts of the hard-line Communists to infuse Czechoslovakia with anti-Semitism in the guise of anti-Zionism, has met determined resistance from the Czech people.

The tactic apparently worked in Poland, but the Czechoslovaks have apparently not been cowed either by the Soviet-led invasion of their homeland, or the Soviet attempts to accuse Czech Jews of conspiring to

# Views

Overthrow socialism in Czechoslovakia "in the interests of Israel."

The degree of Czech resistance to this type of propaganda was seen in recent ceremonies at a 15th century synagogue in Prague, where government leaders, Jews and non-Jews, officially honored the memory of the 3800 Czech Jews murdered by the Nazis at Auschwitz 25 years ago. According to the report, the anniversary of the death camp liquidation on March 8, 1944 had always been officially ignored before. This year, the Czechs went out of their way to condemn anti-Semitism of the Hitler and the Stalin eras.

The leading Prague newspaper Svobodne Slovo, said that the memorial proved "that a new spirit of democracy and humanism reigns in our country, and that in a country with such profound democratic traditions there is no place for anti-Semitism."

Reader  
Detroit

## KROPOTKIN PAMPHLETS

A group of young Anarchists in Minnesota is planning to publish a series of pamphlets written by Peter Kropotkin. These pamphlets describe the various theoretical, tactical, and constructive aspects of libertarian socialism.

Anyone who would like to receive these pamphlets free of charge should send name, address, and zip code to:

Jim Cain  
323 Fourth Street  
Cloquet, Minn. 55720.

## STUDENT REVOLT

A white oil worker at Standard Oil for 12 years, who had never joined the union though he was on the picket line to support the strike at Richmond, made his decision to join the union as a result of the activity of the students from S.F. State and Berkeley who joined the workers on the line. The union is The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW).

Here are some excerpts from his letter: "I must say I was sceptical of leading these people into a fight like ours . . . but while watching the eyeball of the 'Robot of the Establishment' (the TV set), and watching the Big Three (Reagan, Hayakawa and Akioto) in their usual TV spots, it became evident what a miscarriage of justice is being carried out against the young people of America in their fight for fair enrollment in higher education . . ."

"I believe in a basic and very true American way. I would fight to the death if necessary to preserve this type of society . . . I was rudely awakened from my complacent attitude by the things that have come about on the picket lines in this strike. I have seen people aware of injustices to workers, concerning the greedy company I work for but never thought I could do anything about. . ."

"What made me join the OCAW was the stand we union members took in the matter of admitting the college people to our picket lines and promising to reciprocate in like manner. We have realized

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

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

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

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

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

we are fighting a common enemy . . . Our real challenge is learning to understand each other and not getting into a position where we fight our brothers . . . Solidarity Forever!"

This letter is typical of the reactions of the striking workers. Their local union membership voted by a 2 to 1 majority, approval of the AFT-TWLF-Oil Workers Alliance, and to join the students' picket lines whenever they called.

Activist  
San Francisco

It took two to three weeks to determine that the S.F. State College strike was really over, and now I am trying to draw conclusions from it. It appears to me that from its inception by the TWLF (Third World Liberation Front), the strike was a miniature insurrection, and within the struggle itself there was control from below.

Total questions were involved — from the fact that the striking students were explicitly rejecting the state-capitalist vocational training that is being foisted on them, to the fact that if their demands had been won the state would have been forced to redistribute the California tax burden.

I will try to write an article on this for next issue

Participant  
San Francisco

The Berkeley activists are certainly numerous and courageous — but there are times when they act as if wisdom, and even all wisdom, were incorporated in the slogan "power comes from the barrel of a gun." So many of them, too, are less than critical of the "socialist" third of the world. Bobby Seale has even taken to quoting "Comrade Stalin". And misquoting Comrade Marx.

Visting Professor  
Berkeley, Cal.

The students who are fighting against the Huber Committee in Michigan can take heart from what has happened recently in Kentucky. The Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC — which many people called "Quack") is about to go out of business.

The Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF) was the main target when it was set up by the General Assembly about a year ago: Seven organizations in Louisville

joined forces to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to curb the Committee, but the court refused to take the case. But as a result of the public outcry against the committee, four days later, the governor announced that he had cut off KUAC's funds.

Activist  
Kentucky

## TAXES FOR PROGRESS?

Nebraska's thousands of shack-dwellers who have repeatedly paid for their makeshift lodgings, realty-wise and tax-wise, will have no relief during Gov. Tiemann's regime. He says the expanding university-needs these taxes.

Education is a costly treadmill piper students into school to study industry, research and practical techniques of business. Processing our youth into an expensively trained labor force for manufacturing, the research lab, or the corporate suite is paid for by bleeding the American taxpayer white. The paper-juggling necessary to transfer these tax credits is performed by the bureaucrats: governors, legislators, congressmen and county trough-sloppers. This is "progress" . . .

Worker  
Columbus, Nebraska

## BRITISH UNEMPLOYMENT

About 550 employees of Britain's biggest computer group, International Computers, are about to become redundant under a scheme to rationalize production. The factories affected are Kidsgrove, Staffordshire, and Winsford, Cheshire. International Computers was formed last year by the merger of International Computers and Tabulators, and English Electric Computers. The redundancies will take place between March and September.

Those who imagine that the problems of capitalism will be solved by the introduction of the new industries should think again.

Observer  
Glasgow

The IWW has called for a special conference on organizing the unorganized, to be held on May 2, at the IWW Hall, 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. We urge all who can to attend. In Chicago, phone LI 9-5045 for further information.

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,  
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

## Hegel vs. Mao: From Culture to Philosophy to Revolution

In a muted form, Czechoslovakia has been showing all over again what the supreme elemental outburst of proletarian revolution in Hungary had revealed in 1956: that the struggle for freedom involves, among other things, a breakthrough in the field of ideas against the entrenched ideology—what Marx called the Fetishism of Commodities, or private property and "equality of exchange and Bentham." These fetishes of capitalistic culture, in its private form, had been replaced in state-capitalistic Communism by State Property and the Vanguard Party. It is these the Hungarian Revolution demolished and Czechoslovakia is again challenging. In their place the Hungarian Freedom Fighters had established Workers Councils, many parties and such a free flow of ideas that the Humanism of Marx saw its first direct historic re-establishment. It is this which has never stopped haunting Mao to this day.

Despite the opportunism and pure anti-Russian chauvinism which has led Mao presently to oppose the Russian invasion, Mao has not changed one iota from 1956 when he urged Khrushchev—not that Khrushchev needed much urging—to lead a counter-revolution against the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

It is true that in China itself, for a brief few weeks, Mao had opened a new road called "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let One Hundred Schools of Thought Contend." But the hypocrisy was clear from the start, in the insistence that, under all circumstances, one and only one Party remains the "leader." The moment the voices of revolt began contending vigorously against Mao, stating that what they had in China was not genuine Marxism, freedom, that freedom to speak out was ended, and, instead, China embarked on the so-called Great Leap Forward. Mao was sent retracing the stages of alienation described in the *Phenomenology* as if he were being stage-directed by Hegel from his grave.

## HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY AND "THE DISCIPLINE OF CULTURE"

Marx considered Hegel's *Phenomenology* "the birthplace of the Hegelian dialectic," which contained "all the elements of criticism frequently worked out in a manner far beyond the Hegelian standpoint," that is to say, very nearly Marxist. Marx insisted that Hegel's abstractions were, in fact, criticisms of "whole spheres like religion, the state, bourgeois life, etc." The part that directly concerns us here was the one Hegel entitled "Spirit in Self-Estrangement, the discipline of culture."

Note, please, that self-estrangement, alienation, has not been overcome though we have now reached the part on Spirit which is the cornerstone of the Hegelian "system." Remember also that Hegel was himself a bourgeois, and wasn't out to destroy bourgeois society. Nevertheless, so devastating was his criticism of its beginnings in the Enlightenment that very nearly nothing has to be added by Marxists provided, of course, they understand that in Hegel, the critique is "standing on its head," that is to say, is dealt with only in its thought forms. What saved Hegel was his profound, comprehensive, objective historic sense. Thus he praises the Enlightenment's struggle against superstition. "The Enlightenment," he wrote, "upsets the household arrangements which spirit carries out in the house of faith by bringing in the goods and furnishings belonging to the world of the Here and Now . . ." (p. 512)

In our day, the positive feature of a new culture "upsetting the household arrangements"—in our case by the dominant prejudices which constitute white culture's "faith"—"by bringing in the goods and furnishings belonging to the world of the Here and Now," is seen in such slogans as "Black Is Beautiful." First, because it is true, and secondly because such separation from the dominant superstition is a step toward a new revolution, even as the Enlightenment was a step toward the French Revolution, and the Chinese did away with the comprador bestiality of Chiang Kai-Shek.

What happens the day after the positive features, which are but beginnings, is what Hegel was tracing and criticizing. First what Hegel called the spiritual life of "pure culture," which is always just on the surface, "is the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought, their entire estrangement the one from the other . . . each is the opposite of itself." (p. 341) This is so because, to begin with, the here and the now was a "self-estranged reality." It must therefore be negated again, but the limitations of culture make this impossible for by now "the noble type of consciousness" finds itself "related to state power." (p. 526) The inexorable, next stage is that "in place of revolt appears arrogance," unless one sees it as but a "shrivelled skin" and is ready to slough it off.

## MAO'S ALIENATION FROM THE MASSES

Once freedom is the goal, then nothing, culture included, will be allowed to stand in its way. Only then, to repeat the expression Hegel borrowed from Diderot, "will, one fine morning, it (spirit) give its comrade a shove in the elbow, when, bash! crash—and the idol is lying on the floor." But this "bash! crash!" can't just be destruction—which is what attracts all—it can come only when a new road to freedom is open before you. It got open in the *Phenomenology* because it was Mind, Spirit, the Dialectic of Theory and Practice which did the shoving, made Reason see that Culture was but "shrivelled skin" that must be sloughed off if the road to revolution (the French Revolution in Hegel's case) was to be open.

If religion is the opiate of the people, culture is the "rum and coca-cola" come on. In the case of Mao, once the alienation from the masses possessed him, he engaged in such a "giddy whirl of self-perpetuating disorder" called "Great Leap Forward" that it brought the country to near-famine. Having failed to create a revolution in production relations, Mao had no choice but to go in for the epiphenomenal.

At first he had tried to escape the relegation to the cultural sphere. What gave Mao a second chance was the rise of the Third World in the early 1960's. He then attempted to mask his opposi-

(Continued on Page 7)

# Doing and Thinking

## New Wave of High School Strikes Hits Los Angeles

By BERNARD WENDELL

Los Angeles, Cal.—The Los Angeles schools, generally quiet since late December, have erupted once more. A new stage of the continuing revolt of black and brown students against the vicious, incompetent and in every way inadequate farce that is education in the Los Angeles ghettos, has begun.

The key features of March's student strikes were the effective co-operation of students from different educational levels, the extreme youth of the participants and the readiness of the students and the community to begin to recognize the school system when given a chance.

### CARVER IS SPARK

The strike was touched off by a meeting at Carver Jr. High on Friday, March 7, to which the administration had invited students and parents to discuss their grievances. Joseph Jones, a BSU member from the Southwest Junior College, tried to join the meeting of the Carver students as an act of support. The administration panicked and Jones was arrested by security guards.

When the news spread, angry Carver students filled the corridors of the administration building where Jones was being held. At the suggestion of the principal, the students began a sit-in, agreeing to stay in the administration building and not to cause a disturbance. But the only way the cops could remove their prisoner was through a crowd of nonviolent protesters.

Reinforcements arrived. The LAPD fought its way through the sit-in, brutally clubbing 11 to 15-year-old kids in front of their horrified parents. When the cops had passed six students lay prostrate on the floor.

A mass meeting of students and parents was held at the Victory Baptist Church that night. A city-wide school boycott was declared.

Students at Carver and Southwest formed an alliance that soon included many black student groups around the city. It was the first time that schools on different levels have worked together in a really unified way, as Joseph Jones remarked. It was no longer just a question of sympathy; it was a functioning alliance, working for the acceptance of the same demands.

### STRUGGLE AT SOUTHWEST

The struggle of black students to get the power they need to improve education had been actively waged at Southwest before the cops' brutality at Carver. On Wednesday, March 5, the principal of Southwest was replaced as a result of student protest. On Friday Southwest was supposed to be closed for negotiations. Robert Brown, BSU negotiator, was arrested at his home at 3 that morning. The school remained closed as the strike began.

Months ago, the students at Southwest demanded a better education. The administration acknowledged the legitimacy of their demands but claimed it lacked the money to implement them. Confrontations resulted, and were followed by oppression: cops called on campus and 21 students were arrested.

At Southwest Jr. College, built in response to the Watts riot, it is possible to acquire basic industrial and office skills, but it is very difficult to get much of a background in history and social science; and knowledge is isolated from life, a situation that black students who want to help their communities will not tol-

erate.

Another good reason for the Carver-Southwest alliance is that those Carver students who get any farther in the miseducational system will probably go to Southwest.

Walkouts at Markham Jr. High, Locke Jr. High, and San Fernando followed. On Tuesday, March 11, the strike spread to L.A. High, Taft High in Woodland Hills, Berendo Jr. High, Manual Arts, Los Angeles City College, East L.A. Jr. College, Dorsey High and Crenshaw High. Wednesday, March 12, Carver and Southwest were still closed. Action spread as far as schools in San Fernando Valley, West Los Angeles and Venice. From eight to twelve thousand students were on strike across the city.

Wednesday evening, 15 year old Larry Kimmons, a black youth, was shotgunned to death while playing basketball, by a paranoid security guard at Pepperdine College. Though the administration met the students' demands and tried to atone for the shooting, the students closed the school.

The climax of the strike occurred on Friday, March 14, when the community occupied Carver. All week the students and parents had been holding their own classes; these classes, the embryo of a new kind of education, moved, for a few hours, on campus. "The symbolic Liberation," declared the Black Panthers, was "a demonstration of things to come in the future not far off." The students moved beyond mere opposition to the existing; they began to concretize what they were for—to create it.

### PARENTS PICKET CARVER

The schools re-opened largely without incident on Monday, March 17, except that parents were picketing Carver in protest to the police brutality there and the teachers refused to cross the picket line. Carver re-opened on Tuesday, March 18. On that day negotiations also re-opened at Southwest.

Another wave of strikes has ended. The struggle continues by other, quieter means. That is, until the next explosion.

### Poem to 1969

Dedicated to Diane di Prima

let them know  
there are women  
making this  
revolution . . .  
not just a  
used when  
needing comfort  
or a  
keeper of house  
clothes and  
babies  
a worker like  
you or I —  
with  
a gun or typewriter  
who can kill  
as well as  
kiss with her tongue  
in your mouth

—Micha Maguire



# YOUTH

### 137 Arrested

## H.S. Students Fight Racist Education

Malverne, N.Y. — Thursday, March 13, 400 students of Malverne High School sat in in the main lobby of the school and along the second floor blocking the office. Black and white students, together, demonstrated from 9:30 a.m. until the cops threatened arrest at 5:30 p.m.

Having been under the highly conservative school board's thumb for years, some concerned students had long felt that the burden of obtaining a better education for the younger students lay with them. These students organized themselves and requested educational improvements which were submitted properly to the Malverne School Board in early December.

Two months later, already growing impatient for some response, the students contacted Dr. Carnrite, our superintendent, who graciously accepted the requests and then disappeared from sight.

### STUDENTS IGNORED

SAN (Students Acting Now) was formed, and at the school board meeting of Tuesday night, March 11, approximately 100 students and several adults attended. A student who questioned the lack of definite action by the board was ignored. The adults fared no better.

The board mumbled among themselves and got up to leave. This was an insult not only to progressive education, but to human beings as well, both black and white.

Friday, March 14, things got hot. It started off with marching in the halls, leading to chants of "Black Power" which really got people up-tight.

### BOYCOTT

A boycott of school followed and the day got hotter. Some whites donned white armbands and scattered fights broke out. A young black girl was knifed; a young white boy was threatened. Confusion was rampant.

We wanted to show the press that this was not a black-white issue, as they were representing it, but a student movement. It was also felt that the high school should not be allowed to follow its normal schedule. We were not going to be brushed aside lightly.

Monday morning, March 17, the school was overflowing with cops. We were denied entry into our own school, but a student already inside pushed the door open. We walked into the school and took over the public address system. As we proceeded to list our demands and their importance to the school, the power was cut on us.

### FREEDOM SCHOOLS

We then went into the cafeterias where we set up freedom schools. Since we had been told to leave and refused to do so, a general suspension was declared and we were ordered out of the building. We left.

Meeting on the football field, we decided that school could not continue as normal. We again went to the front doors, now again locked and protected by police.

Lincoln Lynch (of CORE and now vice president of the Urban Coalition) made a rush at the door from the inside, and soon

we were inside, but suffered three casualties at the clubs of the Malverne cops.

### MARCH THROUGH HALLS

About 300 students marched five abreast through the halls shouting such subversive slogans as "Freedom Now" and "We Shall Not Be Moved." We were given the choice to return to class, leave school, or be arrested, but many of us congregated in the main lobby.

Then the cops started pushing and herding us out—for a voluntary arrest, no less. So 137 of us went, and were abused, and mistreated, and humiliated, and treated like hardened criminals.

Realizing that we could not afford to be arrested again, we met Tuesday in front of school for a stare-in and left for a rally. As foolish as it may seem, it is quite an awesome and even frightening sight to see 300 people standing quiet, staring and pointing at you. Wednesday, there was similar action. The fright of the other students made them stay out of school, dropping attendance as low as 25-30 per cent.

Thursday, we announced that we would return to school as an act of good faith in order to open talks with the school board and superintendent. Nothing materialized and we left. Friday we were promised that a response to our demands would be given. It never happened during the school day and we again left in disgust.

### VAGUE REPLY

Late Friday the response was publicized as having approved eight of the 14 demands. This is totally illusory, and the next day SAN issued a statement saying that these "positive" responses were vague, inexplicit, and promised nothing definite.

Boycotting has continued for a few days, but SAN has now stated that all demonstrations will temporarily cease—at least until the next school board meeting in April. In the meantime, we have all been faced with suspension and failure if we miss school illegally or disrupt normal class procedure.

So we wait. We wait for the board to speak; we wait for the board to act; and now we wait for our trials. But we will win.

## Demands of Malverne Students

We, the black and white students of Malverne School District #12 have protested the lack of action of the School Board on the demands we presented to them.

1. Black history courses in the curriculum of all schools.
2. A black instructor to teach the black history elective in effect at Malverne High School.
3. The inclusion of black literature in the English courses at all district schools.
4. Black personnel in all phases of the educational systems, including teachers, guidance counselors and secretaries.
5. Use of the word "Black" rather than "Negro" in the school newspaper.
6. Swahili courses offered in the foreign language program.
7. Changing the name of the Howard T. Herber Middle School to the Malverne Middle School. (Herber represents 30 years of racist policy).
8. Cancellation of the school musical, "Wonderful Town," because of racial discrimination.
9. Abolition of the School Honor Society. (Elitist and without constructive purpose.)
10. A student advisory committee to the Board of Education.
11. Closing of all district schools on the birthday of the late Rev. Martin L. King Jr.
12. Resignation of Dr. James S. Carnrite.
13. Signed, written statement regarding decision on demands.
14. A formal public apology from the Board of Education to the students for their (the board's) actions on March 11.

## WVU Students Aid Miners

(Continued from Page 1)

no overtime pay. They have very low wages.

They wanted us to help do research for them as we had for the miners, and to help them picket. For the last three weeks we've had people out at 6 o'clock every morning to help on the picket lines. Some of the students get up at 4 o'clock. A lot of the students may wind up getting F's in their courses because we've missed so many classes.

The SRC situation is different from the miners. The miners could exert real pressure, because mining is the main industry of the state. Their strike hurt the state economically. The State Road people are not in that position, and without help from somewhere else, there doesn't seem much hope left for the strike, but the morale here has been higher than any place else in the state, and the workers say it is because of the support the students have given.

### ALLIANCE CONTINUES

The strike appears by now to have been broken, though the mechanics are still refusing to go back, and the garages can't operate without the mechanics. Eventually they may be able to get mechanics from somewhere else. But as long as there are some men out, the students will be there helping them.

The miners didn't get what they really wanted, either, and may have another strike in July when the next session of the legislature meets. The legislation they got this time was specifically for black lung compensation. In July, they would be asking for general mine safety enforcement, on a federal as well as a state level.

If a strike is called in July, the students will be there again. And the miners have told us that if there is ever trouble at the university, they will help us.

Student,  
West Virginia University

# N.Y. Pickets Back Irish Rights Struggle

New York, N.Y. — This year, like every other, the streets of New York were clogged by the St. Patricks Day parade. Thousands of Irish-Americans turned out to march and all the candidates for mayor were dressed in green, posing for pictures. But that was not all that happened this St. Patricks day.

As the struggle for freedom goes on in Northern Ireland, Irish Americans once again showed the whole world where they stood. Over 200 picketed the British Consulate in protest of the brutal repression which is currently going on in the six counties of Northern Ireland.

They marched in solidarity with the broadly based civil rights movement which is currently sweeping the six Irish counties.

The cameras are snapping pictures of Lindsay in green on 5th Ave. but we're going to sing the songs of our revolution, a revolution which is not yet completed.

### REVOLUTION NOT COMPLETE

"It's just like the civil rights movement here," one woman told me, "Catholics don't have a chance in the six counties in the North, no more than a black person has in Mississippi." A man broke in, "What do you mean a Catholic doesn't have a chance? An Irishman doesn't have a chance—and that is the same if he is an Episcopalian, a Jew,

or the Pope himself. The British have no right in Ireland. We kicked them out of Dublin, but what about the six counties?"

Another man stood on a car and shouted, "Get John Bull out of the North and get his turncoat counterparts out of Dublin. Bad as things are in the North don't forget that in all the years that England has stayed in the North, the government of the so-called free South hasn't lifted a finger." Some were shocked at this indictment, but many cheered.

After we picketed for about 15 minutes, someone pulled a car up next to the line and asked Tommy Maycom and several others to stand up and sing. They quickly obligated and we all stopped walking, gathered around and joined them.

After singing several Irish revolutionary songs, they sang "We Shall Overcome," the song they are singing now in Ireland.

### ALA.; CHICAGO; IRELAND

The demonstration was called by a group called the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association of America. The leaflet they passed out said, "You saw it in Alabama, you saw it in Chicago, now look at it in Northern Ireland." Many of the people at the demonstration had never heard of this group or of the half dozen other groups who were represented. They came because they knew what was happening in Ireland and they didn't like it.

"They expected the same ten old men who have picketed out here every year, but this year it's different." A man of about 50 agreed, saying, most of the people were Irish, many from Northern Ireland and most of them were young.

"They see their struggle as the same as the black liberation movement in the United States; and some of them see that their enemy is not only the British imperialists, but the government of Southern Ireland, which not only does nothing to free the six counties, but is as oppressive as any other capitalist government to its own people. I am sure we will hear from these young people again."

# 6,000 March on McGill Univ.

Montreal, Quebec — Over 6,000 demonstrators (mostly CEGEP, French Junior College students) marched on McGill Univ., where they were met by over 1000 well armed police. Flood lights and police cameras were scattered across the parapet tops. This police preparation was the culmination of weeks of effort in which 500 plainclothed police roamed the McGill campus.

The riot trained para-military police watched a huge crowd listen to a few speeches and disperse. The battle of McGill was won by the Establishment—sanity triumphed and Premier Bertrand beamed in victory.

### ENGLISH MINORITY

McGill is by far the best staffed, best-equipped, best-financed, and most prestigious university in Quebec. It receives 30 percent of its budget from the people of Quebec and is entirely the university of the English minority. CEGEP attention, Raymond Lemieux's Movement Pour L'Integration Scolaire and the activity of McGill radicals (led by lecturer Stanley Gray) combined to hatch and carry out "Operation McGill."

Two months ago, a small group of demonstrators led by Lemieux occupied the computer center at McGill. The action focused the attention of the French community and in particular of the CEGEP students on McGill.

### FRENCH ARGUMENTS

Their argument was simple: 1) McGill is operated by and for the English elite of Quebec, 2) the whole population of Quebec finances this university, 3) McGill has refused to consider itself responsible to the needs of the French majority and has entirely ignored the fact of its location and support, 4) McGill has refused to modify its program and administration or to adopt a bilingual direction, 5) Thousands of French-speaking students are suffering from inadequate and insufficient education, while McGill closes its gates to any significant number of these CEGEP students, 6) therefore McGill must become a French McGill responsible to the majority of the people of Quebec.

### McGILL RESPONSE

The McGill response was immediate and violent. "McGill has a 150-year tradition that a few mad communists and anarchists want to destroy in one day. . . . McGill has always been English, is now English and will always be English. . . . McGill refuses to become bi-lingual — this is one step toward destruction. . . . Mc-

Gill is one of the world's great universities, and this great tradition would be destroyed by any change in the status quo. . . .

"We are aware that some of our students and staff are in league with the enemy (i.e. the French activists) . . . McGill will protect itself by every means at its disposal. The enemy will not be permitted onto the McGill campus, our 'independence' will be preserved. . . ."

In the fall of 1968 thousands of CEGEP students initiated a series of demonstrations, strikes and occupations designed to publicize their sense of betrayal and their anger against the Quebec Establishment.

The CEGEP system was begun in 1966 as a crash program in order to raise French educational opportunities and academic standards to a level comparable to that of the English in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. What this meant, in effect, was that the ancient, obsolete Catholic classical colleges were renamed and given slightly revised programs.

The answer of the Government of Quebec was to open a few more inadequate CEGEPs and to promise to rename a few more colleges as the second French-language university in the Montreal area. The farce of these actions was obvious to the CEGEP students, who despite the wholesale purges of student leadership and the reign of terror in their schools, continued to agitate against the Government.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the present situation in Quebec: 1) Quebecois nationalism is rapidly growing in both numbers and respectability.

2) Leftist politics has to a large extent been subordinated to the goal of French assertion and nationalism.

3) McGill has decided to fight the attack from "outside" by suppressing internal divisions. Democratization will be reversed, troublesome students and staff will be purged and all those who refused 100 percent support for the administration will be silenced.

4) This leads to my final conclusion here that the battle of the young French-speaking Quebecois against the English establishment and the French Quislings will continue to escalate.

There will be no peace in Quebec until either autonomy or independence is achieved and the overthrow of the present economic and social system is complete.

# TWO WORLDS

## Hegel vs. Mao: From Culture to Philosophy to Revolution

(Continued from Page 5)

tion to proletarian revolution by declaring the new, third world of underdeveloped countries to be the "true storm centers of world revolution."

Thereby he hoped to win this new world and challenge Russia's leadership of the Communist world. It almost worked! U.S. imperialist's attack on South Vietnam in February 1965, however, made clear the need for united actions—and when Mao refused such a united front with Russia to aid Vietnam, it brought about new opposition both within his own Central Committee and on the part of other Communist Parties who previously had taken the Chinese side in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

### THE PULL ON YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES

It was then, and only then, that Mao dropped the other shoe—revealing the true revolutionary character of his thought. You could say that, though Mao didn't recognize philosophy, philosophy recognized him so long ago it predicted his coming. The fetishistic character of the so-called cultural revolution struck out, not against exploitative production, but the bland "four olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits). All sound and fury and no class content. Only he who has no future is so scared of the past! By any other name, including that of Red Guards, the elitist character of Party, Army, Red Guards and what now merged into the one and only "helmsman at the ship of state" is as unmistakable as was Louis XVI's "L'etat c'est moi."

It is not Mao that concerns us. The only reason we spent so much time on him is because in this year of transition, when genuine freedom movements are arising very nearly daily, we have to answer: what can possibly be the pull of Mao—or, for that matter, Castro—upon today's young revolutionaries, black and white, who are neither tied to state power, or elite party and/or guerrilla band, much less hunger for single world mastery?

The genius of Hegel, his relevance for today, is that he summed up what he called "the experiences of consciousness" in so comprehensive, so profound a manner over so long a stretch of man's development—from 500 B.C. and the Greek city-states to 1800 A.D. and the French Revolution—that the tendencies in the summation of the past give us a glimpse of the future, especially when materialistically understood in a Marxist-Humanist, not vulgar economist, manner.

Briefly, it is this. There is a dialectic of thought from consciousness through culture to philosophy. There is a dialectic of history from slavery through serfdom to free wage labor. There is a dialectic of the class struggle in general, and under capitalism in particular—and as it develops through certain specific stages from competition through monopoly to state, it in each case calls forth new forms of revolt and new aspects of the philosophy of revolution.

Only a Marx could work out the latter. What Hegel had shown were the dangers inherent in the French Revolution which did not end in the millenium but in Napoleon. In a word, the dialectic disclosed that the counter-revolution is within the revolution. It is the greatest challenge man ever had to face.

In our age of state-capitalism, totalitarianism, and transformation into opposite of the proletarian revolutionary party to the Single State Party, philosophy is not only the abandoned orphan for whom no one cares, much less cares to develop and labor at and with. It is the missing link everyone seems determined will never be found. Time is so short, yes. But without such "labor, patience, seriousness and suffering of the negative" the danger is that you fall backward, just when you are on the threshold of high new adventure, into one of the existing world societies, rather than move forward to a new society.

# Controller's Office Employees at Col. U. Win Union

New York, N.Y.—It's taken a while but Columbia University is finally recognizing the humanity of its employees. In the past, Columbia has been accustomed to treating them as machines or at best naive children. Now the people in several branches of the University are unionized and they demand recognition of their rights as human beings.

Columbia's offices are so spread out that it is very difficult to communicate between departments. Hence no one ever got together to talk over the treatment they received. If someone got fed up with the low wages, bad treatment and inadequate benefits they would just quit, which didn't help the situation any.

### ANTI-UNIONISM

In late August of '68 a management supervisor came around to the employees of the various sections of the controller's office and tried to "warn" us of an attempt to unionize Columbia. He called the union (Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers' Union) Communist and said it was run by a lot of "shady characters".

He tried to co-opt the workers by telling them that they were white-collar workers and that unions were for blue collar work-

ers, who weren't as intelligent as they.

When the non-union snow job seemed ineffectual they tried to pull a fast one by bringing in one of Meany's management do-nothing unions.

On Oct. 1, 1968 this union (Local 153) announced to the Controllers office that they would soon start negotiations. The people were outraged. A few of us had the idea to call Local 1199. We demanded from the assistant controller an explanation of how 153 was designated bargaining agent without the people's consent or consultation.

When faced with a group of angry employees he was very shaken and left the office. We became determined to stay and demand a repeal of the edict and to have a free, secret ballot, democratic election.

The sit-in ended (like many others to come afterwards) with the University agreeing to hold an election and then finding an excuse later on to break their promise.

In February however, when Columbia U. had promised an election for the Library employees the part-time Library workers were cut out of the bargaining unit because they knew that since this was about half the work force of the Library the people would postpone the election again to talk things over.

About fifty employees of the Libraries & Controller's office went to the administration

building to speak to the Business Manager of the University. We were met by locked doors and clubs. This shows how far this so-called "liberal institution" will go to maintain the shameful status quo of poverty wages and oppression. This caused a long, heated sit-in by the 50, who were later joined by students in sympathy with the union cause.

After about five hours the sit-in ended when a judge called the university to tell them that the Local 153 contract had been found invalid, so that now the Controller's office could have their election.

Columbia said they would give us an election date in mid-April, because on April 1 the Labor Board took jurisdiction over the university and it would have to spend months or maybe years investigating all the dirt under the rug.

The employees wanted a March date so as to avoid all this delay. We got it, by sitting-in, demonstrating, walking out and by showing the management in every way that we were no longer going to be pushed around.

The union won, 101-37, and we're on our way to decent wages, dignity, strength and pride. We have learned a lot and we are still learning. We are waiting for, working for, and fighting for the day when oppressive, brutal capitalism will be a cured disease in the medical annals of history.

# G.I., Black Revolts Challenge American Military War Plans

(Continued from Page 1)

of protecting cities was suddenly dropped as being impractical and impossible. Finally we are told that we have to protect our deterrence — the ICBM system. We are told that the Russians will soon be able to overwhelm the ICBM system. The new excuse was so thin that Senator Fulbright asked Secretary of Defense Laird whether he was employing "a kind of technique of fear to precipitate acceptance of a large program." The search for a "reason" for the ABM goes on and on.

## MILITARIZATION

The anti-ballistic missile is just the latest stage of the militarization of the economy. It may be the military's way of keeping a healthy economy while preparing for war, but it is having a devastating effect on the economic well-being of significant sections of the population. The most affluent countries are so militarily swollen that there is practically no normal capitalist growth. The American economy is becoming more and more tightly tied to the war effort, both towards World War III and today in Vietnam. Some 15 per cent of all finished products of all U.S. industries are purchased by the Defense Department. The bloatedness of the U.S. military is matched by the deprivation of millions of people. Black America, rural and urban, is the touchstone of this.

Congressional hearings have shown the widespread starvation in much of the rural Southern United States. To this starvation among black people can be added scattered daily hunger among white and Indian peoples across the country.

The deterioration of the cities is nationwide. While militarization has brought total unemployment down, average black unemployment is two and a half times white unemployment, and inner city black unemployment is now over 20 percent in most cities.

The necessities for rebuilding the cities are becoming impossibilities with the war in Vietnam and the planning for the next war. The cost of lumber has risen 100 per cent a year as lumber goes to Vietnam. Thus the cost of housing rises. The seven billion for the first ABM sites (90 billion may be the figure for all sites) would build hundreds of thousands of low cost homes.

The price of the ordinary necessities of life has risen and risen. Items that the government is using in Vietnam, such as nylon for clothes, sends certain items skyrocketing. People are stunned by the cost of the ABM system and are looking to see if there is going to be anything left over.

## NO HUMAN PRIORITIES

In truth even if there was no ABM system, the money would not go to the needs of the people, especially the black people. The black man is disregarded by this white, machine oriented society. Secretary of Defense Laird talks about missiles as a number one priority, but the needs of the people are not on any list of his priorities. Only the missiles seem to be getting bigger and better.

Preparation for war goes on

no matter who is in power. The current proposal for an ABM system is quite similar to one put forth by Secretary of Defense MacNamara when he was in office. And it goes on among the leadership of the other super power, Russia, as well. They, too, have an anti-ballistic missile system in the works together with a full complement of land based and submarine based missiles. Kosygin, LBJ and Nixon are indeed three of a kind.

## PARTICIPATION IN WAR

Meanwhile the longest war in which the U.S. has ever been engaged has now surpassed the Korean War in the number of Americans killed — more than 33,000 in eight years. Despite all that is said about the secret talks, de-escalation, withdrawal of 50,000 troops by the end of the year, the fact remains that:

1. U.S. destruction of South Vietnam is greater than ever. More bombs are being dropped on South Vietnam today than were dropped on South and North Vietnam before the bombing halt.
2. U.S. offensive ground actions have increased in South Vietnam over the last several months and may well have forced the new Tet offensive of the National Liberation Front.
3. U.S. bombing of Laos has been increasing. There is military pressure to extend U.S. operations into Cambodia.

Nixon has inherited all of this from Johnson and his only response thus far is to continue destruction as usual. If anything, his warning to the North Vietnamese during the Tet offensive that there would be no more warnings—only action, out-Johnsoned Johnson.

Thus the possibility of not de-escalation, but escalation is still with us. If further escalation is not in Nixon's cards, it will be because the opposition to war at home and abroad is still a growing force.

## THE BLACK MOVEMENT

The crucial opposition to the war is in actuality centered away from the anti-war movement as such. In America it is the black movement which is the real key to what happens in the war. If anything has tied the hands of the past and present Administrations in its conduct of the Vietnam war, it has been the struggle for black liberation at home.

The drive towards World War III, the participation in the Vietnam war, cannot be done without stepping on the lives of a significant segment of our population. Black America is a major part of that oppressed segment and has served notice that it will not stand idly by as America moves down the road toward further oppression and the real possibility of nuclear destruction.

The black struggle is also the testing ground for other forces in America seeking freedom. The anti-war movement must see the key role of the black movement in its fight. If they do so and do not separate the two struggles by saying we must end the Vietnam war and then solve the race question, there will be the opportunity for a coalescence of forces whereby a real leap forward can be made.

# Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

## ANTI-WAR G.I.s ORGANIZE

Opposition to the war in Vietnam and to the draft within the U.S. Armed Forces is at an all time high.

At least seven underground newspapers are being secretly published at Army installations across the country. At Fort Jackson, S.C., there is the "Short Timer"; at Fort Gordon, Ga., the "Last Harass"; at Fort Hood, Texas, the "Fatigue Press", and at Fort Dix, N.J. a new paper has just appeared called "Shakedown."

They are wholly written by enlisted men, and distributed in and around camps across the country. There are underground post reporters who look for signs of military harassment and check rumors.

Political activity by soldiers is legal if carried out under rather stringent conditions. He must be off duty, out of uni-

form and outside the military establishment. Anyone who has been in the military service knows just how little time that allows.

Part of the demands of the G.I.s is that they be allowed to conduct political activity on the base while in uniform and have the same rights to express their opinions as any citizen. They complain that even when they follow the military rules they are subjected to constant harassment, long hours of extra duty, denial of leave time and court martial charges for insubordination.

Army regulation 600-20 permits troops to participate in orderly public demonstrations, but not in uniform. However there is nothing in regulations to stop officers from attending these demonstrations, photographing the demonstrators

and making life miserable for them when they return to base.

If the G.I. is convicted for some infraction of the military rules and thrown in the stockade, his life as a military prisoner is far worse than anything to be found in any regular jail in the country. I have seen men forced to sleep in barracks with the lights on all night, run back and forth to their meals guarded by machine-gun-armed marines and forced out of bed at 3 a.m. to do "push-ups" until they dropped of exhaustion. The next day they were expected to put in a full day of extra hard labor.

The lot of the black man and the Puerto Rican is, if possible, even worse. Is it any wonder that the seeds of revolt are sprouting throughout the military establishment?

## ANGUILLA

(We have received the following letter from Curacao, Netherlands Antilles.)

Anguilla — Thursday, Feb. 6 was a great day for the Isle of Anguilla near St. Marten in the Caribbean.

On that historic day 1,743 Anguillians went to the polls to vote for complete independence or not.

The result of that free and democratic referendum: 1,739 voters in favor and four against. The Anguillian leader, Mr. Ronald Webster, was humble and happy. That was a bigger percentage of any people to ever cry out for freedom.

The Anguillians once more showed their determination to be free, severing all ties with St. Kitts and Britain. The Anguillian Declaration of Independence signed by Mr. Webster and the other members of the Council made Anguilla one of the smallest republics in the world.

Anguilla broke away from St. Kitts in May, 1967, and at a plebiscite held on July 11, 1,813 Anguillians voted for secession from St. Kitts, and requested Britain to take them as loyal subjects but were refused.

Another great "bastion of freedom," Canada, also refused to become involved in the freedom of black people on an Isle in the Caribbean. Anguilla, standing alone in a make-believe world, went all the way. On Oct. 14, 1968, Chief Executive Ronald Webster met with Premier Bradshaw of St. Kitts, and representatives of the British Government, but failed to reach a solution.

They decided to have an interim period. That period to decide on the very serious matter on independence. Only the Anguillians had the right to decide, he said.

A constitution along the American pattern was drafted and thoroughly explained to the people in many public and private meetings throughout the island.

The people were given ample time to study the new

Constitution, and they have decided in a free and very democratic referendum for complete independence, making little Anguilla the only really free island in the Lesser Antilles.

The British invasion of this only independent unarmed republic in the Caribbean is a criminal assault: unarmed defenseless black Anguillians versus armed experienced (centuries of experience in this sort of thing) white British forces.

How low can a once great empire—cradle of the Magna Carta—sink?

Is Fidel Castro right? Is the Monroe Doctrine dead? Are Caribbean leaders "blah-blah boys" or men? This little British "skirmish" is going to prove things worth knowing.

Mr. Ronald Webster must be thinking, "Why British parachutists for Anguilla and none for Rhodesia?" Mr. Webster have you forgotten that Mr. Ian Smith, Chief Executive of Rhodesia is a white man, and you are a black man?

from Vito, P.O. Box 2025 Curacao, Netherlands, Antilles

## CASSIUS CLAY

In an article signed by Elijah Muhammad in the official Muslim newspaper, Muhammad Speaks, the Muslim leader declared that Muhammad Ali is suspended for one year and stripped of his Islamic name. It appears that the expulsion is for the announcement that Clay intends to return to the ring and earn money to pay off some of his debts.

His new status of "class F" means that he may not speak to, visit or be seen with any Muslim or take part in any Muslim ceremony.

## NIXON'S MEN

The Nixon appointment of Robert J. Brown, a North Carolina Negro, as a white house aid and go-between to the American Negroes, has raised a storm of protest in labor and Negro groups. Many accuse Brown of being an Uncle Tom union-busting representative of southern white capitalists.

Woodrow McLeod, organizer for the United Brick and Clay Workers, said that Brown organized meetings at which he passed out free food and prizes and then made speeches urging workers not to join the union.

The Rev. L. B. Russell, retired head of the Henderson NAACP, said Brown came to his home several times to urge him to stop supporting the union and offered him a blank check in return for his support. Brown, now only 34 years old, has become a wealthy man through such "business connections."

Otto Otepka, fired four years ago as the State Dept. chief security evaluator, has been nominated by Nixon to the Subversion Activities Control Board.

During the past four years that Otepka has been fighting for re-instatement in his old State Dept. job, he has spent \$26,500 in legal fees, 80 per cent of which was furnished by the John Birch Society.

The funds were furnished by the American Defense Fund run by James M. Stewart for the Birch Society. During the past several years, Otepka has spoken openly at Birch meetings and fund raising affairs.

*"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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