

## On The Inside

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by Raya Dunayevskaya

# WORKER'S JOURNAL

by Charles Denby

## Who says this is civilized?

Some workers were discussing the situation—the crisis—in this country today, as well as the crisis in the world as a whole. Naturally, the big question was the war in Vietnam, but just as important to those workers was the Biafra War that has killed over a million black people. The deaths are mainly from starvation, and most of those fatalities are small children. It has been reported that the death toll there is higher than all the deaths among all the soldiers from every country during World War II.

A worker said, "Man, when I think about all the inhuman things that are being done to the poor and oppressed peoples all over the world, I wonder who invented the phrase about civilized Christian democracy. How can a society that is all that "civilized" stand idly by and see millions of young children die from starvation, while billions of dollars are going for useless things that will never mean one thing to the human race?"

Everyone stopped and stared for a while. Then one worker said, "It is because they are all black. Remember after World War II, when the European countries were pretty bad off financially, and needed help? Every hour on radio they were yelling for people to send a donation or a Care package, and that went on for four or five years. They asked people to worry about those children dying of starvation."

The capitalists didn't really care about the starving children of Europe either, of course. They had their own reasons for building up Europe. They were just getting ready for the next war.

### BRUTALITY IN VIETNAM

The first worker spoke again. "I spent two years in Vietnam, and I learned a lot after I got there. Someone mentioned brutality—if there is any worse that happens in this world any place, I hope I never see it. I saw on T.V. where some of the wives of those captured airmen shot down over Hanoi want to know how their husbands have been treated and what kind of care they are receiving. You never hear of anyone asking about the treatment of captured Viet Cong or North Vietnamese regulars. Many are killed upon being captured, and parts of their bodies are cut off and used as souvenirs. The only ones that have half a chance are those who are willing to be spies for the Saigon government or the U.S. Army." There is plenty of brutality on both sides.

### A BRAINWASHED SOCIETY

A third worker said, "I was thinking how this white society has brainwashed its citizens all these years, and always seems to come up with a puppet. When the late Dr. Martin Luther King first came out against the Vietnam War, the white leaders soon found some puppet among blacks to come to their aid. A black preacher here in Detroit, Rev. Talley, rushed to T.V. to state  
(Continued on Page 8)

## March 91 Miles with Fr. Groppi

# Welfare mothers occupy state Capitol

Madison, Wis.—On Monday afternoon, Sept. 29, we met the welfare marchers who walked 91 miles from Milwaukee. Together, about 2,000 welfare marchers and university students, led by Fr. James Groppi, occupied the chambers of the state Capitol. They filled the spectators' gallery and then forced their way onto the assembly floor.

Once in the chambers, Fr. Groppi declared that they had taken over the building and were not going to leave until the legislature knew that they were dissatisfied. By a new state bill, the 22c per meal will be reduced to 17c.

### MARCHERS SEALED OFF

The Assembly voted to adjourn until 10 a.m. Tuesday, leaving the protestors in the building, which was subsequently closed off. That night, the marchers were told that in one hour all would face arrest if the building were not cleared.

By this time, more than 1,000 supporters outside surrounded the Capitol. When the hour for clearing the building was up, police moved in and all went out, led by Fr. Groppi. There was no violence and there were no arrests. Fr. Groppi vowed that they would return for the next day's session.

That night, Gov. Warren Knowles activated 1,050 national guardsmen.

For the next few days, demonstrations remained non-violent and consisted of marches to the Capitol

and surrounding it, then proceeding to the Welfare Rights Center. During this time, Fr. Groppi was served with an injunction stating that he would be arrested if further disruptions occurred at the Capitol.

### USE PRE-CIVIL WAR LAW

Meanwhile, the Wisconsin State Assembly cited Fr. Groppi for contempt of the Assembly under an 1848 law calling for a detention period of six months or the duration of the regular legislative session.

The Assembly decision is complicated by Fr. Groppi's arrest on charges of probation violation. Fr. Groppi was under court orders to stay away from the Capitol. It is unclear whether the Assembly's jail sentence would apply if Fr. Groppi served a court sentence lasting beyond the legislative session.

Fr. Groppi's lawyer will contest the constitutionality of the law, as he was jailed without a trial or hearing of any sort. At this time, Justice Thurgood Marshall has ordered his release pending outcome of the case.

### OUTLOOK IS BLEAK

At present in the legislature is a new urban-welfare package for \$33-million. Debate on this measure has just begun, and hopes for true reform are already viewed as slim.

There have been incidents of violence where police have declared unlawful assembly and have come in swinging. Many people have been injured, but the main arena is in the courts.

10c

# NEWS

# LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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## DEMONSTRATING MILLIONS IN U.S. DEMAND:

# STOP THE WAR NOW!

IN DETROIT—Part of the 25,000 gathered in Kennedy Square to protest the Vietnam war. The scene was duplicated nationwide.



— News & Letters Photo

By PETER MALLORY

Millions of Americans expressed their opposition to the Vietnam War on Oct. 15, Moratorium Day. Hundreds of thousands, in every major city through the length and breadth of the country, marched in the streets, held rallies in and out of universities and churches. At Boston Common, 100,000 gathered; 50,000 marched in a candlelight parade, led by Coretta King, in Washington, D.C., past the White House where President Nixon sat and pretended not to listen; 25,000 demonstrated in Detroit and another 30,000 gathered in Ann Arbor. Even staid old Wall Street in New York City was completely blocked, listening to

of all people, Bill Moyers, LBJ's ex-press secretary. This outpouring in the world's financial district was but one reflection of the totality of the crisis within the ruling class itself.

The massive opposition to the Vietnam War was by no means limited to large cities. Small towns and hamlets that had never before seen an anti-war demonstration, like North Newton, Kan., this time became participants. For two full days there, an antique bell tolled every four seconds, once for each of the war dead—it tolled 40,000 times.

Even the South, which has been most uninvolved, saw demonstrations not only in Atlanta, Ga., but such conservative institutions as Rice University, in Houston, Tex., mustered the majority of the faculty to oppose the war.

### THE NEW OPPOSITIONISTS

The outstanding new feature of the demonstrations was that everyone came out: the youth, but joined by their parents and the middle aged; it was, also, black and white, included organized labor, the clergy and the politicians.

It is true that the middle class seemed to predominate. But this was only true of the orators who are hopping on the bandwagon of a growing mass movement. The audiences were something else. The massive outpouring of every segment of society far outweighed the rhetoric of the speakers.

Even the liberal orators said far more than they have before. Senator McCarthy, the outspoken middle class opponent of the war, never went as far in his campaign oratory as he did when he said that it would be a good idea if President Nixon were to preside over the defeat of the American forces in Vietnam. Senator McGovern departed from his text to call President Thieu one of the worst rulers the world has ever seen. Both he and Senator Kennedy emphasized that talk of "democracy" in South Vietnam was sheer hypocrisy unless Thieu-Ky was replaced by a coalition government.

Henry Commager, world famous historian, called the demonstrations the most significant expression of public opinion since the Abolitionist Movement.

### THE CRISIS WITHIN CAPITALISM

The complete disorientation of the ruling class was clearly visible when thousands gathered at the heart of American capitalism, Wall Street, where Bill Moyers, former spokesman for the Johnson administration, told them that it is high time that "all Americans" realized that the Vietnam war must be ended.

This was not a change of mind on the part of one individual. This was a reflection of the fragmentation of the ruling class, a fact that had been considered by  
(Continued on Page 8)

# Montreal riots against anti-labor government

Montreal, Canada — The riot last month in Montreal showed all of Canada just how close to boiling are the tempers of the people of Quebec.

When the Police Brotherhood meeting exploded into a spontaneous strike, Montreal was left without a police force. Two centers of violence soon materialized — one organized, the other spontaneous, unorganized, and chaotic.

## “SHOPPING SPREE”

Taxi drivers renewed their economic war with Murray-Hill Limousine Service, which has monopoly rights at Montreal International Airport.

The other, in downtown Montreal, saw large crowds surging down the main shopping streets, breaking windows and rapidly emptying the shops and department stores. The political aspect of this “shopping spree” could be seen in the fact that Morgans, Eatons, and Simpson's department stores were looted, but Dupuis Freres (a French-owned store) was untouched.

## LABOR UNREST GROWING

A quick look at what has been happening in Quebec will reveal the situation as one heading rapidly toward chaos. Hospital workers and teachers have been without a contract for nearly two years. There have been numerous wildcat strikes, mainly at such government-connected enterprises as Quebec-Hydro. The Quebec government has shown itself far more difficult at contract negotiations than the worst private capitalist enterprise. This same uncompromising attitude has been obvious on the local level in Montreal, in negotiations which have dragged on month after month with the Police Brotherhood.

## DISCREDITED GOVERNMENTS

The Montreal scene at this point reveals weak and discredited city and provincial governments, which unfortunately are not faced with any consistent, organized, and popularly-based opposition. There are numerous revolutionary groups without substantial followings, and a large alienated mass without internal organization or theoretical basis.

The Quebec Establishment is so shaky and discredited that virtual occupation of Montreal by federal troops has twice been required in recent months. If only theory and practice could be united in a truly mass organization, the dawn of a new age in Quebec would indeed seem close at hand.

# Turin auto workers lead Italian working class strikes

Turin, Italy—This city is dominated by the Fiat auto factories. Beginning in early spring, workers in the largest Fiat plant staged a series of short walkouts, slowdowns and stoppages, bypassing their official union leadership.

A majority of the workers, fleeing from rural poverty in southern Italy and Sicily, often without their families, are discriminated against in the North. There is no union shop, but they have unions, with the Communist union being the most influential. Workers complain of speed up, difficult working conditions, increasing technological unemployment, and of unions “negotiating” for them in double-talk.

## WORKERS ORGANIZE

By July their protest reached large-scale proportions, and workers began to organize their own assemblies to coordinate their activities in the shop. University students also came to these assemblies to help in the struggle. The Stalinist union, in an attempt to channel the workers' movement, called for a general strike against the high rents.

This “call to action” quickly mushroomed into a major street battle when the police were called in; worker families joined in; hundreds were wounded. Workers in other factories in Italy spontaneously walked off their jobs for brief periods in solidarity with the Turin workers. All this happened at a time of government crisis when the old bourgeois parties couldn't get together for weeks to form a government.

News of the workers' wildcat in Turin spread to many cities in Italy. The assembly at Turin decided to meet with representatives from auto factories in other cities in Italy at the end of July to discuss plans for a unified strategy for October when the national auto contract came up for renegotiation.

On Oct. 10-11 official union leaders at Fiat in Turin broke up a wildcat strike and factory occupations by

500 workers. Although the workers were forced to leave the plant and production continued on the next shift, the government has called on unions to exercise tighter control over their men. Labor strikes are erupting into violence in Naples, Rome and Milan as well as Turin.

The events in Turin are an example of the awakening workers' movement in Europe. France in the spring of '68 is the classic example and the signs today seem to indicate a renewal of activity there: three strikes since the first week of September. In West Germany in the first week in September, 75,000 coal and steel workers staged a successful and unprecedented wildcat strike. A week later public service employees were on strike all over Germany. In England, thousands of steel workers walked off in a wildcat strike in late August.

The events in Turin therefore must be seen in the light of the general European situation. The example of the self-organization of workers there will surely be repeated elsewhere in the coming year.

## WAY OF THE WORLD

by Ethel Dunbar

### Where are good leaders?

America cries out for a good leader. But what makes “good leaders” change so quickly? When a “bad leader” like George Wallace got up and said how he would use dogs and guns to keep the black people in their place, a lot of the “good leaders” fell for that kind of talk and wound up talking just like Wallace. A lot of whites wound up putting anybody in office who said he would control the poor and the black people who were in revolt against their way of life.

A lot of white people have wound up not having any control over their own government. They have wound up with a lot of politicians—in the government and the army both—who have been robbing and stealing all they could get their hands on to become rich men. The whites put them in the position to do this just because these politicians promised to keep the poor and the black people down.

### PLAYS POLITICS WITH WAR

Sometimes politicians have had to promise to deal “justly and fairly” in order to get into the seats they occupy. But the day they get into power, they start going back on their promises. Mr. Nixon said he would end the war if he was elected—but now he is saying that the war will be over in 1973. That is because it will be election time again, and he thinks he can use that to get elected for another four years.

But it did not take long for the people to see that they were not getting any closer to peace with promises. People, black and white, demonstrated together against the war in every city of this land on Oct. 15, asking why men are being sent over to fight a war that the people of the country oppose. If the people keep up their marching, they will bring home their husbands and sons—and get rid of Nixon.

The people are asking why a government should be able to send its poor and its black men off to be killed. They are wondering whether this country is heading into a fascist state.

It is the rich white man who is trying to destroy the poor, black and white, and make this like a Communist country.

When so many people are asking so many questions, and when so many are marching to show their opposition, it will not be that easy for the rich to destroy the poor.

**Detroit Readers:**  
**Show Your Support for the United Farm Workers—attend the Public Rally for CESAR CHAVEZ**  
 Saturday, Nov. 8, 1 p.m.  
 I.B.E.W. Local 58, Trumbull and Abbot St.

## Machinery's antiphonal misereres

for Raya Dunayevskaya

### MACHINERY'S ANTIPHONAL MISERERES

from Blake's "Satanic Mills" in the balcony under the rose windows so far behind us that history's echoes are as faint and fleshless as the sweated kids spinning all night then from the voiceless computer, cybernetic chorus communing with Logos over the altar before us praising the promise of universal automatic rest and light

### RESOUND IN MAJESTY

of mourning foetal masses interred in clanging wombs of labor laboring in labor in sacred tombs of steel, ejected to premature inert misery  
 limbs splintered, flesh tattered, hearts frozen, lungs inflamed, genitals jaded, tongues tied, eyes bleared, ears too dinned  
 for poetry

### RESOUND IN MAJESTY

of mourning not only the miseries of the late generations of proletariat who withered in factory and slum as the State batted in wars  
 but also the sweet affluence of our hour in Harlem, Vietnam, Mississippi, and sour betrayals in Moscow and Peking—Capital's inheritors  
 of exploitation, machination, Nation-worship, regimentation accumulation of dead labor in peaceful preparation for apocalyptic counter-revolutionary Atomic Wars

### RESOUND MAJESTIC MISERERES

for sniggering psychobluprints snarling tapeworm sloganizing polemical thundering prison concrete muffled questioning no dime for lawyer cranial sawing volcanic lying atoms clattering marching lava managerial murdering  
 hardly human

fallout of factual blood computation bacterial satellites in incubation psychoanalysis junk alienation gods bellyaching billboard creation atomic galaxies cheap imitation farting hosannas Christ's castration hardly human

limbless lidless tongueless touchless thickening wriggling clinging loveless unstrung quartets spashed on canvas burning gasoline on babies polluted dreams of hissing bigots posthistoric megabodies hardly human

### RESOUND MAJESTICALLY IN MAJESTY

of glorying the God of Science and Technology Who, in His Infinite Sociology dwelling in this temple made by Mind may deplore war enough to grant us the peace that passeth understanding, as the State amasseth Welfare, scattering it wisely in His Name to restore

the body to the sanity of Eden, or at least Arcadia, where daily all of us may feast and gambol in the Great Greenhouse and labor nevermore

### AND RESOUND ANTIPHONALS IN MAJESTY

from convulsions to condolences, marching to snoozing from labor to leisure, screaming to crooning from slavery to prosperity, murder to brotherhood through history until, our voices rising in poetry above the antiphonal misereres of machinery to smash the Great Green Temple of the State, we're free.

—Morgan Gibson

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## Winchester Arms aims to crush workers and union

(Workers at the Winchester Arms factory in New Haven have been out on strike since July 16. They are living on \$25 a week picket pay and what they can scrape together from welfare, food stamps and outside jobs. Winchester strategy is directed toward smashing and rolling back wages in the entire area. Significantly, both the local press and politicians have paid almost no attention to the strike. Yet the strike is important for a number of reasons. These are set forth by a striking black worker.)

New Haven, Conn. — We are not going to get much of a raise out of what the company is offering, and this is one of the key issues that's holding everything up. They only offered us 87 cents over three years. They're going to increase the sick benefits to \$5 and give us another paid holiday, but if you are out any length of time, they are going to take it all away and you'd have to start all over again.

After the first week, the union told us what the company wanted to do, and we voted about three to one to reject the company's offer. So they're holding out on our vacation pay and we can't get it until the strike is over.

### Anti-War Film Raises Fund

Over \$100 was raised to support the Winchester strike fund at a showing of anti-war films during the Oct. 15 Moratorium at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn. in an effort to create links of solidarity between the anti-war and labor movements. One man objected, saying he was against anyone working in a war industry, but he was answered by an older black worker who told how long it had taken before these arms companies would even hire blacks, and described what it was like to be black and unemployed, with a family to feed.

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### G. M. Southgate

Los Angeles, Cal. — People are quitting the plant every day. The reason is the speed-up we are facing on the line.

The company is running 46 jobs an hour with the manpower for 40. Men have been cut from jobs, or people retire or quit and no one replaces them. One team has been out from the solder plate job, but the quota is still the same. The number of men in the inspection department is down.

Besides not enough men on the job, different workers face intensive speed up when the company does not run a balanced model flow. We produce a lot of models. Some guys work on one model and others on a different model. But when only Pontiacs come down instead of a mix, the guys who work on Pontiacs have a hell of a time keeping up.

Women have been hired recently and some have been put on too rough jobs. They are quitting along with the men. It seems like the company wants to sweat production out of you for a short period and get some new bodies to sweat more production out of.

The union has been doing nothing about the speed-up. Grievances just pile up and are thrown out at each model change over.

This is the first time we have had so much turn-over in the plant, and it is happening when jobs are not so easy to come by.

—Worker, day shift

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — There's a rumor going around the plant that Department 10, cut and sew — convertible tops, seats and so on — is going to be moved to Ohio. It's not confirmed, but the rumor is very strong. The company tells you nothing. If you ask the union, you still get nothing.

People are wondering what to do. Some workers have bought homes or new cars and are in lots of debt and they are quite upset. They don't feel that the department should be allowed to move like that and leave people stranded.

There are about 1,500 workers in this department. Many are women. This is 1,500 people that might be out of work and trying to find a job when there aren't any.

We don't know our future. I bought a house here; I've got my roots here. I can't just pull up and move to Ohio.

### WORKERS ARE LAST TO KNOW

One of the rumors is that people with five years or more seniority will be placed here. Some might go to Livonia, some to Ternstedt. Those with less than five years will get an indefinite layoff.

They had some big-shots in the plant the other day, checking arm rests. They said they might start moving this job in the very near future. The company won't say anything about when or where.

The way I see it the union is becoming weaker by the year. Since I've been at Fleetwood, I've seen it go downhill. The company just runs all over you and the union is nowhere to be found.

The main thing that gets me angry is that we are

The company doesn't have the contracts they had three years ago. The government has cut back on guns and ammunition, and also companies like Sears have cut down on sporting arms. I understand they are going to lay off something like 275 people before the year is out, and I feel that this is one of the reasons the strike has lasted so long.

If they had to work us like they did three years ago, we would never have had a strike. Some people were working 12 to 14 hours a day, but since the government is cutting back on military stuff, they just aren't getting the contracts they used to.

The company doesn't care how long you've worked or how much service you've given them. If they did, they would give the people their vacation money to buy clothes for their kids. What do they expect from us? We can't work for the salary they're offering us. As far as I'm concerned, if they don't come across with an acceptable offer, I'd just as soon not go back to work. It was hard working there before and under this contract it would be just awful, we wouldn't even have a union.

### LET PEOPLE KNOW

The write-ups of the strike in the papers are so small that if you don't look for it you miss it. I think somebody should explain what's going on and let the people know. That way the people would have something to look forward to, but if you don't tell them anything, quite naturally you're going to lose support.

As far as the war's concerned, most of the guys feel that it's a waste, and nobody really knows why it's going on. The workers don't like it and they feel if it would stop people from being killed, they'd get a job at some other place. If all we have to work on is making something to kill people, what kind of a country is this? They should create jobs that don't depend on war to keep people busy. If the war ends, there are going to be a lot of people laid off, you know.

always the last to know anything, even though we are the people most affected. When is the company going to have the consideration to tell us if they plan to do things that will mess up our lives? When is the union going to have the guts to demand that the company treat us like human beings? The job is bad enough without worrying about moving. When you leave work, all you can do is go home and go to bed. If you are 18, it makes you feel like you are 28. If you're 28, it makes you feel 48. All of us in Department 10 are angry and upset, and we'd better get some answers.

—Fleetwood Worker, Dept. 10

### Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—There has been a lot of talk about layoffs at Rouge. It is said that there will be approximately 13,000 jobs eliminated from the Rouge complex in the near future. Jobs are being moved out to Woodhaven and other Ford plants.

The 13,000 to be laid off worry all of us, because it will also mean a cut in the representation of those left. You get representation on the basis of how many are in a plant or department. The reason Ford is decentralizing in this manner, and starting in new areas, is so they can start with new help and try to get more work out of these people, and get rid of some of the older seniority people.

One guy had 31 years seniority. He was off on a 30-day conditional medical leave, and had been off for 22 or 23 days. Before Labor Day they sent him a "five-day notice to respond." That means that when the company sent the notice, he was supposed to reply in five days.

The company sent the notice on Thursday, and they counted that as day number one. He received the letter on Friday afternoon, and that was day number two. The plant wasn't working Saturday, Sunday or Labor Day. They counted as days three, four and five. He came in on Tuesday and the company discharged him.

He eventually got back, but in the meantime he lost seven weeks' pay. The company tried to negotiate to take him back with loss of all his seniority, 31 years, and they didn't get away with that—but they won't give him the seven weeks' pay.

Things like this happen all the time. The company is doing it because they have a lot of what they call "incorrigibles." They'll try to catch you in any technicality they can, if they want to get rid of you.

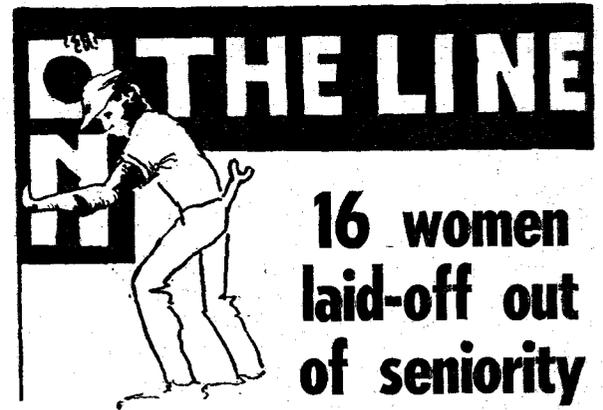
—Assembly Line Worker  
Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—I know seniority is in the contract, and people are supposed to be laid off according to seniority. But we have had plenty of black workers with one year seniority laid off at Ford Rouge, while white college students were being employed.

During the recent changeover, there were black workers with 30 years seniority laid off while white workers with less than 90 days were working 13 hours a day, seven days a week.

Seniority doesn't seem to be the factor in lay-offs any more. Color is.

—Black Production Worker  
Ford Rouge



## 16 women laid-off out of seniority

By John Allison

Management of the Highland Park plant violated the contract when Chrysler Corporation laid off 16 female employees out of line of seniority. These workers have 16 or more years seniority in the plant. How can this happen when there are men working with six years' seniority? The answer to this question will be revealed when the union gets its answer to the grievance which has been processed in this case.

The federal and state laws, and the contract, are clear on the question of discrimination against sex. Industry pays no attention to the contract or to the government—city, county, state or federal. As long as they can buy and sell human beings under the factory system, the company goes on violating the contract. All it costs them is money that the workers make for them to begin with.

### FIGHT WON'T END

Workers know that this is the beginning of a fight that will go on until the last machine is moved from Highland Park to the Toledo Machine Plant. The phase-out gets rid of the women first, then the sick and injured, and then the older men. It will leave nothing but the young workers, who would like to get settled somewhere else, but Chrysler refuses to let them go.

They play it both ways. They lay off women with seniority and keep young men who know that wherever they are employed they will have no seniority. All the workers get punished so Chrysler can have its way to make the maximum profit off the working class.

We suffered badly from Automation and long layoffs under the Eisenhower Administration, which was one long "recession." Chrysler apparently feels quite safe in kicking the Chrysler workers in the pants now because they know they have a friend in Dick Nixon, the president of the largest corporation in the world, the U.S. Government.

The only true friends labor has left are those who always let the public know what is going on behind the locked doors of industry. That's what News & Letters is doing.

## Norris Thermador tries scrapping union contract

Los Angeles, Cal. — At Norris Thermador we have been on strike for over two weeks. When negotiations opened, instead of negotiating from the present contract, the company proceeded to say let's start over beginning with no contract. And to them, that meant actual pay cuts and production changes.

The company's general line is that they should have total control over production. Control means the right to work skilled workers any five days of the week the company wishes. It means that if an unskilled worker misses a day during the week, the company should have the right to work him for straight time on Saturday. It means a foreman can farm you out of a department without regard to seniority.

### A PAY CUT

When the company did get around to real wages, they offered five percent the first year, four percent the second and three percent the third year. In effect a pay cut with the present rate of inflation.

There are a lot of ways the company is trying to divide workers. The old are divided from the young by an attempt to change the pension plan by cutting the amount an older worker with few years left will be able to add to his pension.

There is almost dual unionism with skilled and unskilled workers. Since skilled workers in the UAW have veto power over the contract, they are always catered to at the expense of unskilled workers.

### WORKERS BACK STRIKE

But even with these conflicting forces the workers are 100 percent behind the strike. But they are watching the union closely. Last contract the International sold them out. They went to Washington to negotiate and came back with less than they went with.

The local leadership was voted out and a new chairman of our unit of the local is a black worker. This with a white majority in the plant.

The plant produces shell casing for the war. Thus it is part of the military-industrial complex. The company's stand seems to indicate that the industrial part of the complex views the war as coming to an end. And with that end, there will be an end to their lush war contracts. Peace time will mean more blood, sweat and tears for the workers so the company can keep up the profits.

—White worker

# Reader's Views

## READERS REPORT ON MORATORIUM DAY ACROSS THE LAND

The audiences were much more willing to discuss social change than the liberal speakers were. When a few "radical" thoughts were uttered they were well received.

Here in L. A. there was some black participation, but nothing like the integration of the Detroit demonstration. The demonstrations here were not in black neighborhoods, of course, so nobody knows what would have happened if one had been held in Watts.

Protester  
Los Angeles

Nixon said, after his election, that he wanted to "Bring Us

Together." Well, on October 15, he managed to do just that. Now the question is will he listen to what we told him?

Marcher  
Detroit

At a high school rally of about 5,000 kids everything was planned and run by the students. What struck me was the sophistication they had about the war, and about the militarization of the society as a whole. Also, the black and white students were really "together". Both black and white spoke and organized the rally together.

Marcher  
New York

Over 2,300 workers at the Colt Arms factories here have been on strike since Oct. 9 in an action that began as a wildcat in one plant. The strike which broke out in the W. Hartford plant, spread to the four other plants in the area when Colt's attempted to suspend the wildcat, and has now halted all production of the M-16 rifle use in Vietnam.

On the fifth day of the strike I went with a small group of anti-war students to talk to the strikers. We raised the issue of the war and the Oct. 15 Moratorium which was coming up, and many of the workers (as well as the UAW Union officials) said they would welcome support from the anti-war movement. However,

we were unable to get any of the moratorium leaders to go along with the idea.

The Moratorium itself turned out to be the largest demonstration this city had ever seen. At the end of the rally, which was dominated by liberal professors, preachers, and politicians, I managed to get the mike and to relate the class base of the war to the strike at Colt's, explaining that the same profit-hungry "Masters of War" who were trying to squeeze extra labor out of the Hartford workers were making billions out of continuing the war. Later, we managed to gather a fair-sized group and march across the city to the main Colt plant to show our solidarity with the strikers.

During the rally, a uniformed Marine told us that the Colt M-16 rifle was totally useless in combat and was being forced on the soldiers to make more profit. Later, one of the striking workers said the same thing.

Committee Member  
Connecticut

I'm both a worker and a moth-er. Many like me have felt powerless to do anything, up to now.

But a real revolution seems more possible to me now than for 20 years.

Woman Worker  
Ecorse, Michigan

Three Women's Liberation groups in Ann Arbor stopped the local draft board from functioning in what was probably the best action in the area. This was the first time the different Women's Liberation groups had gotten together.

Student  
Ann Arbor

We sold N&L at the Chrysler Mack plant the morning of Moratorium Day. Many of the workers gave us more than the dime. Some gave us a dollar. We thought it was because they felt bad that they had to go to work, and wanted to give something to show how they felt.

One worker made us laugh. When we were "hawking" that the Mack story was on page one, he said, "Page one? Mack should be on the last page!"

Committee Member  
Detroit

3,000 young people, including a contingent of high school and elementary school students, stood for more than two hours in a chilling downpour of rain at Sproul Plaza. The crowd became impatient and began to heckle the organizers of the protest. Permission to hold the protest in Sproul Plaza had been denied and the crowd had to move to the Lower Plaza.

The main speeches were given

by Fanny Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party, a Black woman; and Roger Alvarado of The Third World Liberation Front.

But all in all, the question of Vietnam was made to appear as one man's war, Nixon's, with very little being said about capitalism, the industrial-military complex, imperialism, or ways to bring about effective social change... it was a very peaceful rainy day.

Protester  
San Francisco

I was at the anti-war march on Fort Dix in N.J. Several thousand demonstrators were there. The reaction of the G.I.'s was fantastic. Only the M.P.'s were hostile, and we heard that some of them had to be imported from Fort Mead, Georgia, because the brass didn't trust the Fort Dix guys—"Unreliable."

Demonstrator  
New Jersey

Over 10,000 people at Rutgers heard Eugene McCarthy say that it would be "a great act of statesmanship" for Nixon to withdraw American troops from Vietnam. More than 5,000 people turned out in the evening for a speech by MIT Professor Noam Chomsky. Before Chomsky spoke, a group of about ten Vietnam Veterans publicly threw away medals they had won in battle.

Chomsky detailed U.S. involvement in Laos. It is "the most bombed country in history," Chomsky said.

Student  
Rutgers

I agree with Tom Seaver, ace baseball pitcher of the Mets, who said, "If the Mets can win a World Series, America can get out of Vietnam!"

Reader  
Baltimore

### OUR NEW LOOK

The new format is marvellous.

H. McShane

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Connecticut

The workers in our shop like the new way you look. The reading matter is as good as ever.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

Congratulations on your new format. Finally, the form matches the Marxist-Humanist content.

Writer  
Boston

### HO'S DEATH

Eugene Walker's "Ho's death a new beginning" in the Oct. issue of N&L was very puzzling

## EDITORIAL

# Nixon's planned recession

Almost immediately after the official government index revealed that unemployment in September had increased sharply to four percent — the highest level in two years, and the highest rate in almost ten years — President Nixon hurried to assure the nation that this is only the beginning. In fact, he made it clear that the recession into which we are headed pell-mell is a planned recession.

The half-percent increase within one month, in human terms, means nothing less than 365,000 more workers hurled into joblessness in one month. The total unemployed has now reached more than three million — and that includes only those "actively seeking employment," not those who are "underemployed," or have already dropped out of the "labor market" in despair, or their families, or the youth who never got into the labor market because they were drafted into the army right out of school.

### SEVEN PERCENT NEXT YEAR?

While Treasury Secretary Kennedy blithely called the announced new four percent unemployment quite "acceptable" (and then quickly changed his position the next day to say he deplored "any" unemployment), Prof. Milton Friedman, University of Chicago economist who served as campaign advisor to Nixon last year, predicted that unless drastic measures are taken at once, the unemployment could go to seven percent next year. The greatest burden will surely fall on the black workers, especially those who forced their way into jobs only after the ghetto revolts of '67.

Despite this, President Nixon has had the gall to call the crisis nothing more than "slowing pains," which are supposedly a sign of a "healthy development." One thing is sure — those who will be FEELING the pains are the working people, and they consider it one more sign of the sickness of our society. It is so sick that by now we have the coexistence of unemployment AND inflation AND continuing war — all at the same time.

The Nixon planned recession is supposedly to "curb inflation." The truth of the matter is that higher unemployment does not put the brakes on rising prices. Over the past 15 years, whether employment was high or low, prices have been climbing at an accelerating rate continuously. **STAGNATION OF THE ECONOMY**

The rate of unemployment is a reflection of the rate of stagnation of the American economy. According to *Business Week*, "real growth is now down close to zero." In the period since World War II, this country has experienced one recession after another, each more ominous than the last: In 49-50, with the introduction of Automation into coal, steel and auto, thousands were thrown out of work — and big business seized the opportunity to get the Taft-Hartley Act passed. In 53-54, after the Korean War ended, came another recession, McCarthyism, and the passing of still more union-busting legislation, the so-called "right-to-work" laws. In 57-58 unemployment increased to six million, as still more Automation was introduced, working conditions worsened, and profits stayed high.

Big business has never failed to use periods of unemployment as a whip to crack over the working people, and it is no surprise that Nixon's planned recession for 1970 has the backing of the top executives of the nation's biggest corpor-

ations. They have already made it clear that in the upcoming year, which will be a big one for new contract negotiations, they will be glad to "invest in a strike," as one industrialist put it.

John F. Kennedy won the presidency in 1960 by promising to end the soaring unemployment. His "solution" was that of every administration since World War II — greater and greater intervention of the state into the economy by means of militarization, and outright war. Yet nothing has ended the persistent poverty of millions in this "richest country in the world." Nothing.

### REPUBLICAN & DEMOCRATIC ALIKE

The pattern of continuous recessions has gone on uninterrupted through Republican and Democratic administrations alike, because the problem of unemployment cannot be solved under capitalism. All capitalism has managed to do—so far—is to manipulate the economy to keep the recessions from reaching the magnitude of the Depression of the 30's, when 20 million were unemployed, and a social revolution was threatened. The Automation that was introduced in 1949 has assured what Marx called the "permanent army of the unemployed" as an integral feature of capitalism in its death agony.

When World War II ended, the government passed the Full Employment Act of 1946, to pacify returning GI's who were not about to return to the same state of joblessness they had left. That law made it "the responsibility of the Federal Government to coordinate and utilize all its plans, functions and resources (to achieve) maximum employment, production and purchasing power." All that every Democratic or Republican Administration has built up since the Act was passed, is the military.

What they are facing now, however, is a people who have made it clear they will not accept war as a solution to unemployment; a black revolt that has made it clear it will not accept a situation in which black unemployment continues to be twice that of whites, and for black ghetto youth soars up to 40%; and a growing movement right within the army itself against both the war and racism.

Their actions show that the only way out of the permanent crisis of capitalism is to make the needed American Revolution a reality. These voices for freedom must be heard and they are heard in *News & Letters* as nowhere else. That is why *News & Letters* must continue.

We can't continue without your help. If you have already responded to our appeal we thank you. If you haven't please send your contribution today.

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## News & Letters

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National Editorial Board

Charles Denby ..... Editor

O. Domanski ..... Managing Editor

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**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 of its kind, 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.

... Once we learn about Ho's counter-revolutionary activities and policies how can we accept the statement with which the article begins: "The death of Ho Chi Minh has ended an era of revolutionary Asian history, the last page of which has involved the U.S. . . ."

Ho undoubtedly played a complex role in the battles between the three imperialist world powers . . . Such a role, however, does not make him either a Marxist or a revolutionary. In Hanoi, with Ho's death, there has been a change of personnel. Bureaucratic struggles, however, are not revolutionary struggles. For the Vietnamese revolutionaries, Ho's death is not "the end of an era." Unfortunately, it is also hardly "a new beginning."

A. Peters  
New York

It is a ridiculous understatement to say "Ho's revolutionary practice did not always align itself with what the masses were doing and thinking." . . . To the extent that the Vietnamese struggle is "Ho's struggle" it will lead only to dictatorship and useless slaughter. Only to the extent that the Vietnamese people can oppose both state capitalism and U.S. imperialism can they build a new and human society . . .

It is true that the "link between nationalism and internationalism . . . still remains to be worked out" but we cannot expect that a people traumatized by thirty years of continual bloody battle will be able to effectively fight all their enemies without the aid of the working classes in advanced industrial countries. We must not look for heroes or martyrs to substitute for our own activity. And we must certainly not fall into glib and misleading apologetics for those who betray the masses.

Correspondent  
New York

Your commentary on the death of Ho Chi Minh was as "unique" (among radical and bourgeois commentators alike) as your editorial on the death of Che Guevara. To be able to show that these men were true revolutionaries in their origins—and that the tragedy lies in what happens when they lose their identification with what the masses are doing and thinking—requires a grasp of the constant transformations and movement of life that all too many seem incapable of understanding.

Journalist  
California

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

Last issue there were two news articles that dealt with concrete action by women: the miners' wives and the American beauty pageant article. It is beyond me why the beauty pageant article should be given over twice the space devoted to the actions of the miners' wives, which were far more significant.

Woman Activist  
New York

That spectacle in Chicago of the SDS "Weatherwomen" was disgusting. One of the wire service news stories referred to them as "the ladies auxiliary" of SDS. Brother, was that apt! Far from personifying women's liberation, they had allowed themselves once more to be used—as pawns of Weatherman's anti-political "Chicago Follies."

Their abortive "search and destroy" mission to a draft board, armed with pikes and pith helmets, could be dismissed as merely ludicrous, if it were not for what it reveals about the Left's conception of women's liberation. Just as SDS used the black movement (specifically the Black Panthers) as a weapon against the Progressive Labor faction, so they are now using the Women's Liberation movement as a weapon in their present faction fights.

Fortunately, the Chicago "Weatherwomen" are not representative of the Women's Liberation movement. We've wised up. We will not be used!

Woman Revolutionary  
Detroit

There is one thing about N&L which has always bothered me. It is the quotation on the front page of your paper: "The Root of Mankind is Man."

You know the impact words have on people. Well, whenever I heard about "Mankind's Struggles" or the "History of Man," I never saw a woman in my mind — it was always some guy. As women become more and more aware of what is happening to them, language is going to become more and more important.

I've been thinking about something to replace it. Instead of "The Root of Mankind is Man," how about, "The Root of Humanity is Individuals," or "Humans," "People," Women and Men." Or, best of all, "The Root of Mankind is Women."

T.L.  
Detroit

**Editor's Note:**

The Editorial Board will be discussing the question of the motto. Our present one was chosen by a black woman worker columnist in 1959, from a long list of suggestions. It is a quotation from Karl Marx, who was asked why he had broken with the bourgeois society into which he had been born. He replied, "To be a radical means to grasp something at its root. The root of mankind is man." Because it has special importance to the Woman Question, we are reprinting, on page 7 this issue, excerpts from Marx's 1844 essay on "Private Property and Communism." The full essay was reproduced in its first English translation in the 1958 edition of *Marxism and Freedom*. Copies are available from *News and Letters*. See special ad, page 2.

**COLOR OF JUSTICE**

Last year a bunch of white cops who were attending a police dance at Veteran's Memorial

**TWO WORLDS**

**The needed American revolution**

Excerpts from *Perspectives Report of the National Chairman to the NEB Meeting of News & Letters, Aug. 30, 1969.*

**I Attitudes to objectivity, to science, and to philosophy**

The present stage of the Sino-Soviet conflict; the change in world strategy on the part of both Communist giants; the possibility that West Germany might once again become the key to the international situation; in a word, the life-and-death need of independence from all three major, global state powers, and of truly revolutionary mass action, inseparable from a philosophy of total freedom, compels us to look at mini-Maoism . . .

The intellectual who begins to doubt his ability to lead, isolated from the mass base, looks for a mass movement to which to cling. This is precisely what Communism of either variety offers and this, precisely this, is the danger.

The "attractiveness" of the Chinese form, where the Party bureaucracy is supposedly disciplined, not by the Army, not by Stalinist terror, but by the "Cultural Revolution" and its young "Red Guards" offers unification of worker and intellectual from above, externally, through "the new" Party. No thought is needed—Mao's Thought has all the answers—but there is plenty of activity, and youthful energy, a veritable new "life-process."

Thus does the bankruptcy of thought which marks the bankruptcy of bourgeois civilization in its death agony suck in the revolutionary petty-bourgeois intellectual tossed about by endless crises and wars in isolation from the masses!

**II Black is beautiful — and revolutionary**

The vanguard role of the black masses in the U.S. has both a past and a future. In its past, in being the touchstone of American civilization, it also had its own sense and type of internationalism. As Carter Woodson had put it in speaking of the Negro's heritage, "The race has a past and it didn't begin on the cotton and sugar plantations in America . . ."

There is not a single fundamental idea today, from Nationalism and Negritude (or Black Is Beautiful) to labor strikes and armed rebellion that wasn't born in the exchange of ideas, experiences, aspirations, in the human relationships between U.S. Negroes, West Indians, and Africans. In a word, Black was Beautiful and Revolutionary.

By now, Africans are looking for a total philosophy and not just black culture, exhilarating as that was. A philosophy of revolution demands what Hegel called "second negativity," that is to say, a theory and act that would not stop at the first negativity, of throwing off the yoke of imperialism, but would continue uninterruptedly, which Marx called the Permanent Revolution.

New human relations on native grounds means new relations also between leaders and

ranks, and an internationalism that doesn't "neutrally" side with one or the other pole of World Capital, but is truly independent both by moving from political to economic freedom, and from relations based only on government-to-government, but extends, instead, people to people.

It is here where the American black can play the biggest role, not through escapism a la Carmichael or Cleaver, but by preparing for his revolution in the U.S.

First and foremost stands what we do at the point of production. Black caucuses in factories are a great deal more decisive than junkets abroad.

**III Dialectics of liberation**

Each generation must reinterpret Marxism for itself. Facing us immediately is the continuous black revolt, which is why it is so central to the American Revolution. The very fact that we needed to say Needed instead of "Coming American Revolution" shows that we are not in a revolutionary situation. But it is not as distant as either philistines or Euro-centered Leftists make it appear. It is not in the millenia, as the anti-Vietnam war movement's achievements show, and that involves not only black but white, and not only youth but adult and specific new forces like *Women's Liberation*.

Even white labor—without which we surely could not win as it is the majority—is not as quiescent as it appears and, again, despite a goodly amount of racism, it has been acting with Black Labor, both on conditions of labor in the shop and in elections of blacks to Union posts . . .

Lenin did not get to develop cognition as a "creative force," except in the rather hieroglyphic manner in which he referred to Bukharin as not having fully understood "the dialectic." Our heritage is thus dual. We must make it single, concrete, totally philosophic and totally revolutionary.

The theoretic preparation for Revolution, begins and ends on two levels simultaneously—in philosophy and revolution and in the practice of the needed American Revolution. Marx, in his day, called it "Development of Human Power which is its own end." (Capital, Vol. III, P. 955).

This is as good an ending for our perspectives, and the hardest of all beginnings for the actual, the needed American Revolution.

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beat up a group of black teenagers who were having a church dance there at the same time. Some cops got temporarily suspended and trials were ordered for them because they picked on the wrong blacks that time—the sons of, some prominent black men in town, including the son of a city councilman.

But not one cop has been convicted of a thing. One managed to get his trial shifted to Mason, Mich., miles outside of Detroit, in order to have an all-white jury. Big surprise—they acquitted him. Mason is the same place they moved the trial of one of the cops that was accused of killing three black youths at the Algiers motel during the '67 revolt. He was acquitted, too.

The black community wants to know how come a white policeman thinks he can not get a fair trial in the city of Detroit for brutalizing or murdering a black? What would be the hue and cry of the white fathers of this city if every black who had a court case demanded that his trial be held in Harlem with an all-black jury and judge?

Ford Rouge Worker  
Detroit

**EUROPEAN NOTES**

The European conference in Brussels this summer was not confined to discussion on the blacks' struggle in America as it may have seemed from the Reader's View in last issue. In fact, most of the discussion centered around wildcat strikes in Europe and America and their significance, the role of Marxist groups in the struggle; and ways to improve communication between workers and students in different countries. Much of the discussion was chaotic but the conference showed the current level of independent (non-Stalinist, non-Maoist) radical thought among European youth.

Observer  
New York

The CP Congress looks very interesting. Palme Dutt, the revered "theoretician" of the CP has asked that the Executive Committee withdraw its short resolution on Czechoslovakia and declares that if it is not withdrawn, he will ask the delegates to reject it. This is really unprecedented. Others are asking if the

E.C. is going to declare the Czech CP wrong.

Marxist-Humanist  
Scotland

**CANADIAN STRIKES**

Workers at Steel Company of Canada (Hamilton) and International Nickel Company (Sudbury) have been on strike for three months. Stevedores at Vancouver Harbour are also on strike, an because of their companies' refusal to allow the emergency loading of grain, they are now loading grain for the Federal Government.

The strikes are indicative of increasing labor unrest and corresponding company intransigence. The Federal Government is trying to reduce inflation by holding down wage-price increases. The companies have taken the cue and are refusing reasonable wage increases.

The workers are forcing their "leaders" to fight for wage increases and better working conditions (a major issue at INCO), and the result is long and hard-fought strikes.

Reader  
Winnipeg



# YOUTH

## California schools in turmoil

### Fight for L.A. teacher

Los Angeles, Cal. — Students and adults, mainly Chicano, rallied on Monday, Oct. 6, at the Old Plaza off Olivera Street in the oldest part of the city. Then we marched to the Los Angeles Board of Education, only a few blocks away, to demand that teacher Sal Castro be returned to Lincoln High.

Rather than openly fire this teacher who helped organize the Brown Berets and has supported the Chicano high school walkouts of the last two years, the Board "transferred" him to their own building where he would be isolated from the students. Their action, of course, fooled no one.

#### HUNDREDS PARTICIPATE

The Board of Education was still in session when we got there. At least a few hundred people had participated in the march from Olivera St., and many people

### 6000 teachers march

Los Angeles, Calif. — Instead of going to our classrooms when classes started this year, we created a massive demonstration of 6,000 teachers marching through the streets of downtown Los Angeles. We were demonstrating against the Los Angeles Board of Non-Education which in its inaction and reactionary stance has found itself out-distanced by boards of education in New York, Chicago and San Francisco.

We teachers in Los Angeles felt that no one was concerned with the deteriorating schools in the city and we chose to protest against the crisis.

The sight of 6,000 people carrying signs which read, "Teachers Care," "Reduce Class Size," and "Collective Bargaining" was impressive and unforgettable. Most

### Angela Davis vs. regents

Los Angeles, Cal. — Two thousand of us went to the Philosophy 99 lecture the first day of classes at UCLA. More were on the outside trying to get in.

The speaker was Angela Davis, a young black woman philosophy instructor. The Regents of the University of California, headed by Ronald Reagan, were in the process of firing her because she is a member of the Communist Party.

The Department of Philosophy which had hired her proceeded to assign teaching duties — a lecture course on Recurrent Philosophic Themes in Black Literature — in defiance of the Regents.

Her lecture dealt with the idea of freedom as expressed in the autobiography of Frederick Douglass. Hegel's writings on Lordship and Bondage were related to Douglass' on himself as slave and his master.

The faculty see the firing of Miss Davis as a question of academic freedom. Miss Davis says that it is persecution of Communists and in addition it is a question of racism. She is a black militant and the Regents say they will replace her with another black teacher — "their Negro." Radicals on campus see it as a step against all radicals.

#### MANY ISSUES

It is in actuality all these issues. Academic freedom can no longer be an ivory tower question, but is entwined with the politics of black militants.

The issue of race is not separated from revolutionary ideas of obtaining freedom. Thus the attempt to fire Miss Davis brings many forces into play.

As of this writing Miss Davis continues to teach. The Regents have backed down to allow her to teach while appealing her firing, but in a non-credit course. The faculty has demanded that the registrar give credit for her course and have threatened to withhold grades in other courses. The students are attempting to organize more support on and off campus. A student strike seems unlikely at present and the battle may adjourn to the courts.

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**AMERICAN YOUTH REVOLT:**

1960 - 1969

by Eugene Walker

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were already there when we reached the plaza. There were speakers and a Marriachi band, slogans in English and Spanish, and enthusiastic handclapping and fist-raising. Meanwhile, many people were trying to get into the Board room itself.

Mrs. Margaret Wright, head of the Black Board of Education and one of the leading women's liberation rebels at the recent Panther conference, told us that while we were marching she was talking to the Board to keep them from adjourning before we got there. She said she was glad to see how united the community was.

#### RALLY DISRUPTED

After she spoke, a squad of Ron Karenga's U.S. people, black cultural nationalists accused of murdering Black Panthers, marched in. They stomped and grunted under the direction of their drill sergeant, and the cameras shifted to them. This was just what the networks wanted.

The original demonstrators weren't as enthusiastic about the spectacle. Many people then left the plaza, either to sit-in on the Board session or to go home.

By Bernard Wendell

impressive, though, was the feeling of solidarity in our ranks, and the feeling that all of us united hold the power to change the educational system in Los Angeles.

Our demonstration came days after the Board of Education voted an arbitrary five percent raise for teacher salaries, far short of the rise in the cost of living.

More than half of the 19,000 Associated Classroom Teachers of Los Angeles and virtually all the members of the American Federation of Teachers Local 1021 demonstrated to close down 279 out of 565 primary and secondary schools in Los Angeles.

Roger Seguffe, AFT Executive Secretary, said the union action was a victory, since we have 3,000 members in the union and 4,000 teachers picketed or respected our lines.

Both ACTLA and AFT promise to continue the strike in spring if nothing is done to satisfy the union and Association demands.

—L.A. Teacher

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## DOING AND THINKING

### It's either new society or Naugahyde arm chair

By CHRIS NORWELL

It used to be that a student, with the help of parents, teachers, news media, laws, etc., went to school for 12 years, and then went to college for a few more to "make something of himself" and "be better than what he grew up as." Those people that didn't finish school were labeled "drop-outs" or "hoodlums" or "fools" or other such terms.

#### IN STATE'S CLAWS EARLY

From the moment the youth are locked into kindergarten they are partly taken out of their parents' subjectivity and put into the state's claws. From then on, the youth are bombarded with propaganda about our great society, nice Mr. Bill policeman, our great white heritage, and how those rotten Communists are trying to enslave the world. The student sees movies, reads textbooks, hears lectures, feels a paddle on his butt, smells mom's apple pie and is forced to eat all this b.s.

As the robot grows up more, it sees that society ain't all what it's supposed to be. This is explained, of course, by "Life is rough and those communists aren't making it any easier"—but some youth see that all these dirty, long-hair, agitating "communists" aren't as bad as they say they are.

#### SEE THROUGH IDIOCY

The youth begin breaking out of the plastic shell and seeing the world as it really is, and realizing the kind of idiocy that we've been put through in the classroom all these years. They try dropping out, by being hippies, freaks, going on dope, or any other way they can find to get away from it all.

Students also see the nature of the school system, and why it is there. They see that the school is set up into different categories, or tracks, where a certain quota is programmed to go into college, and another quota for the Army, and the rest for the factories and unskilled labor force.

#### ON TO NAUGAHYDE ARMCHAIRS

Those who go to college are realizing that college isn't the paradise it's supposed to be, that it is only another step in the programming of young minds to take over the Naugahyde armchairs of the old rulers. The students see that none of the "chances and opportunities" that they are "offered" are worth anything.

What's the use of going to school if we don't want to be in any of those careers that they give us?

We can't be programmed any longer. People today will not accept being run by machines. We have to destroy this society, and build a human society, not a mechanical one.

—High School Student

### 5,000 march on Ft. Dix to aid G.I. revolt

Wrightstown, N.J. — "End the war in Vietnam, free the 38!" 5,000 of us chanted this slogan as we marched, eight abreast, through tiny Wrightstown onto a huge, "restricted" field on Ft. Dix Army base. A Women's Liberation group led the long column.

As we entered Government property, we were immediately met by MP's. Despite the bull-horn threats of arrest by an officer, we advanced and spread our line out across the field. More MP's rushed forward and paralled the long line as we now chanted "We're on your side . . . G.I.'s are our brothers!" Suddenly, the inevitable happened: before we could say much to the gas-masked soldiers a white cloud covered the field and we fled back off the base towards Highway 68.

#### CS GAS ATTACK

It was CS gas and it made you nauseous. The water-soaked gauze many carried only activated the gas (as the Army well knew). But as we re-assembled on the road, coughing and skin-burned, we continued to chant with even more determination: "G.I.'s are our brothers . . . free the (Ft. Dix) 32,000."

The march began with a rally at which a statement of welcome and support from the soldiers was read. Then finally plans were announced. The march, and the tactics, had been planned jointly by Ft. Dix soldiers and the activists who help them run the coffee house in Wrightstown and the Ft. Dix G.I. paper Shakedown. The soldiers felt it very important that this be a militant march; thus, the tactic of swarming onto the base itself. Weeks earlier, SDS Weathermen had tried to inject their adventurous militancy into the plans, but the soldiers would not let anyone take over their Movement.

Overall, despite the gassing of 5,000 innocent marchers, including welfare mothers from New York and several babies, the march was a victory—for young and old; black, brown, and white from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania—and especially for the Ft. Dix G.I.'s who had planned the march.

The brass at Dix grow more "up-tight" every day from Movement pressure. The night before the march they released 375 soldiers from the stockade—but the G.I. and civilian activists will not stop working together until the Ft. Dix 38 are freed and this racist, militarist society is changed from the bottom up.

# Women's Liberation Speaks With Many Voices

## Heinz women workers win fight with boss

Heinzville, Pa.—I don't know much about Women's Liberation, but somebody needs to liberate me from some of the women I work with. When I first started working at Heinz, we were working on the 8th floor and the boss told us we were going to start working on the 2nd floor to make things easier for the women. Instead it made it harder and more dangerous.

One of the problems was the pressure cookers, which are huge. They have five of them. They have five tubs and they put 700 to 800 chickens in a tub, and put them in the pressure cooker. The women are supposed to push these tubs around. This is men's work. It's not for women.

Some of the young women complained and told the company they wanted men to push the tubs. The older women didn't want anyone brought in because they were afraid it would take money out of their pockets, since it is piece work and it might slow them down if they had to wait for someone to come push the tubs.

### COMPLAINT FILED

One day I saw a man in a black coat and hat come in, and recognized him as the head of our union. He came over to ask the girls if they had any complaints.

One of our complaints is that when the tubs come out of the pressure cooker, the water gets all over the floor and it's easy to slip and fall. We complained about pushing the tubs, too.

They told the girls to vote whether or not they wanted somebody to come and push the tubs. The girls voted yes and our boss was real angry with us. He told us that if nobody was there to push them for us, we were not to put our hands on them. We were just to stand and wait for a man to come and push them.

### WORKERS HARASSED

We knew they were going to try to get back at us, and make us lose money on our piece work. Sure enough, one day we pulled chicken and filled the tubs and had 45 minutes left until lunch. That day they had only one man who was supposed to help us and to help another group of workers, too. They were supposed to have two men.

These men are generally supposed to go to lunch when they have pushed up our last tub to be filled. This day they didn't let him go to lunch. When we came back from lunch the tubs were still there, and he was still there. As soon as we came back, they sent him to lunch. So we just sat down to wait.

Some of the girls asked the cooks to do it for us, but they refused because if they started once, they'd always have it to do. The older women told us to push the tubs up. But we refused, because we knew if we did it once, we'd always have to do it.

We decided we weren't going to lose that much money. That was just what they were waiting for. We sat for almost two hours, and when the men came back, the tubs were still waiting for them. After that, we never had any more trouble on that score. But the women still need to be liberated at Heinz.

## Women won't wait until after revolution for their freedom

New York, N.Y.—Women all over this country and the world are male chauvinists. We have accepted the attitude towards women that comes from the male society because we've been taught it. We're kidded about our oppression. We don't even know about ourselves.

There is a lot of feeling on the part of women that the question of women's liberation is not important, and must take the back seat to other people's liberation. Many people, women and men, would admit that women are oppressed, but don't believe that women are a force for change, that women are a Subject.

Some people believe that women can liberate themselves only by working for other people's liberation, in another movement, and that maybe somewhere, sometime, some men will get up and say, "What about women's liberation?" But women are half of the world's population, and if we don't think that half of the world oppressed as women has been a force for liberation throughout history, it shows how little we think of ourselves as women.

### MANY VOICES

We have much too narrow a definition of what women's voices, speaking for their liberation, are. Women's liberation is not simply groups who call themselves women's liberation groups. Those are the voices of young, white women, and that's one of the voices of women's liberation, but that's not the only voice. This voice is new on the scene, but there are other voices that are not new at all, that very few people have spoken about.

Some have called themselves Welfare Rights Organizations, and believe me, this Spring in New York, when those welfare rights mothers took their kids out of their slums, and walked down Fifth Avenue and got their

### Marx on women: excerpts from 'Private Property and Communism'

"Private property has made us so stupid and one-sided that any kind of object is ours only when we have it, i.e., when it exists for us as capital, or when we possess it directly—eat it, drink it, wear it, live in it, etc.—in short, use it . . .

"The relation of private property remains the relation of the community to the world of things. Finally, this movement of counterposing universal private property to private property is expressed in the animal form that marriage (which, of course, is a form of exclusive private property) is counterposed to having women in common. Hence the woman becomes communal and common property. We might say that this idea of communal women expresses the secret of this quite vulgar and unthinking communism . . .

" . . . The secret of the relationship of man to man finds its unambiguous, definitive, open, obvious expression in the relationship of man to woman, and in this way, the direct, natural relationship between the sexes. The direct natural necessary relationship

of man to man is the relationship of man to woman.

"Private property is only the sensuous expression of the fact that man at one and the same time becomes objective for himself, becomes an alien and inhuman object. . . . The positive transcendence of private property, i.e., the sensuous appropriation of human essence and living, of material things created by and for man is to be conceived not only in the sense of direct, one-sided enjoyment, nor only in the sense of possession, a sense of having. Man appropriates himself as an all-sided essence in an all-sided way: hence, as a whole man. Each of his human relations to the world—seeing, hearing, smell, taste, feeling, thought, perception, experience, wishing, activity, loving—in short all organs of his individuality, like the organs which exist directly in the form of communal organs, are in their objective relation or in their relation to the object, the appropriation of it. The appropriation of human actuality, its relation to the object, is the affirmation of human actuality . . ."

(Full essay appears in MARXISM AND FREEDOM. See ad, Page 2.)

## Women paid less than men for harder work

Detroit, Mich.—The factory I work in makes small parts for the big auto companies. The majority of the workers are women. There is no union and conditions are terrible

The men make much more money than the women, but the women are doing much harder work. The guys drive around in little fork-lift trucks moving huge boxes—the same boxes that we have to push around ourselves.

We only get about a five-minute break after working five hours. We get a half hour for lunch, and then another five minute break in the afternoon. If you get off at three o'clock on an eight-hour day, you can only have a 15-minute break for lunch. There is no wash-up time before lunch or quitting time.

### MACHINES STRIKE WORKERS

The machines break down all the time. On my first day, I was working on a machine for 15 minutes when it fell apart and hit me. I reported it, and the foreman laughed at me. He came back and fixed it using only one screw to hold it in place, although it was supposed to have two screws. I didn't want to keep working that machine—but I didn't want to lose the job right away either—so I kept working it. I worked it for about 10 minutes more, and the part flew off again.

You're supposed to make an average of 900 parts an hour. But they don't take into account the time it takes for the foreman to close a machine down; even though it may take 15 minutes for the foreman to get everything checked, to make sure there are enough parts there, etc.

The majority of the workers in the plant are women, but there are no women foremen. The foremen that work with the women—and I don't know if this is accidental or not—are all very good looking.

Some of the women get all dolled up to come to

work. They kind of enjoy the fact that the foreman pays attention to them.

There is no union, or even a grievance committee. It's even pretty confusing as to whether we are paid by the hour or by the piece. I was hired in at an hourly rate, but they said I'd get a raise—depending on how well I was producing.

### NO 'WORKERS' RIGHTS

When I went in to apply for this job, they had three mimeographed copies of "Workers' Rights." I tried to get a copy, but they wouldn't allow them out of the office. They said they had no other copies.

In the "Workers' Rights" paper it said that, after two months, you should be paid over \$3 an hour. But women who've been working there for five years are earning only \$2.60 an hour. I hired in at \$1.90 an hour, and nobody knows when I'll get a raise.

They have a very high percentage of lay-offs in the plant. They have a point system—you get "demerits" for doing things wrong, too slow, etc. And you never know why you've gotten points, or who is doing it. You get points for not having your gloves on, not starting at the right time, not obeying all the rules. And the rules are never made clear. The only way you learn them is from other workers.

When I hired in, the foreman came over to show me how to run the machine. I ran it that way for about five minutes—until another woman worker came over and showed me how you're really supposed to run the machine.

It's like "Big Brother" is everywhere. They have hideous signs up all over the place saying "Don't waste material" and "A good citizen is a good worker." What really gets on my nerves is that every time they mention "worker" they say "man," and here we are—a majority of women in the plant.

heads busted for it—that was the voice of women's liberation.

When the women in Charleston fought for their rights, I was down there and I saw what they did. The night before the national mobilization, they cooked in their kitchens, and in the morning they came to the churches and brought what they had cooked. They brought the chickens which were to have been their family dinners and cooked in the kitchens of the centers all morning. They fed a couple thousand people that came down.

### CHARLESTON'S BLACK WORKING WOMEN

And then they went home and put on their white uniforms—their nurse's aides uniforms—and came back. They led thousands of people into the streets of Charleston, which were lined with police and guns. They did this the following week, and the week after, and they had been doing it many weeks before that.

Those women were saying three things: I'm black and I'm proud of it. I'm a worker and I'm proud of it. And I'm a woman and I'm proud of it. They fought and won their rights. And when they won, people had to look at them as all three. They won the dignity to be looked upon as what they were, as whole people who had fought to be whole people.

### WOMEN NOT A CLASS

Women's Liberation may have a lot of distortions in it; that is very apparent to all of us. There is a New York group that actually would prefer to kill off all the men. There are some middle class white women who wanted to repeal the laws limiting working women's hours, laws that working women had fought long and hard to win. We cannot say that isn't meaningful and disregard it. What it poses is the nature of the struggle

of women for their own liberation. It tells us first that women are not a class, and naturally there are going to be distortions in the various voices that arise from the movement. We look at it for the lessons it can teach us.

If we look at the black movement, we recognize the validity of the black nationalists, but we do not say they speak for all black people. We look at black capitalism and recognize it as a retreat and no answer for black people. But we also recognize that it comes out of the oppression of black people in the U.S. Let's look at Women's Liberation in that light.

What it means to a woman to be free, is not to want to be a man, or become something that she isn't. It means to become a whole person, and to be looked upon by others as a whole person. But nobody is going to look at you as a whole person unless you look at it that way yourself, first, because that is what makes people listen.

### TO BE A WHOLE PERSON

It's about time for us to stop fighting for everybody's liberation except our own, and to recognize that our liberation is tied up with the liberation of other people.

Our voices of liberation, just like black voices of liberation, just like the Czechoslovak voices of liberation, breed others throughout the world. This is what we mean when we talk about movement and the dialectic.

And this is why we say we will not wait until later. The black movement says, "Freedom NOW"—and we have to make it clear that we will not wait until after the revolution to have the problems of women's liberation cleared up by some one else. We either talk about our own liberation now and do something about it, or we deserve what we get.

## England, Italy, Germany

## WORLD IN REVOLUTION

by Eugene Walker

**European wildcats—dustmen, metal and shipyard workers**

In Europe the wildcatters are everywhere. Dustmen in London, Kiel shipyard workers in West Germany, metal workers in Turin, Italy—all were out during the past month. To them could be added tens and hundreds of thousands of others. Indeed, fully two million workers went out in Italy.

The dustmen's (refusemen) wildcat which began in a few of London's boroughs, soon spread to almost all of London. The collectors were asking for a raise in weekly wages from \$37.08 to \$48. They were soon joined by other low-paid manual workers—cesspool emptiers, grave diggers, lavatory attendants, road sweepers, park keepers and welfare service drivers in certain areas of the city.

The spontaneous action by the dustmen was neither generated nor recognized by the unions. The unions in fact were negotiating with the city authorities for the

magnificent sum of \$1.80 per week. This is when the dustment took things into their own hands.

In West Germany "labor discipline" is supposed to be the way of life for the German worker. But the workers have shown that they will not accept that definition of themselves. An estimated 70,000 workers have participated in several major wildcat strikes in the past month.

In Italy, workers in almost all industries are in movement. Some 50,000 metal workers marched in the center of Turin. Wildcats, spontaneous stoppages, were everywhere.

In Milan, 10,000 workers protested the closing of the Pirelli rubber concern's largest plant. The plant was closed as part of a campaign by major firms to combat wildcat strikes. The plant had been shut for four hours

by a strike to back demands for pay raises, equal wages for women and recognition of labor union rights. After the march, Pirelli agreed to reopen.

In Naples, 3,000 steel workers blocked morning rail and road traffic during their second strike within a week. Restaurant and bar assistants throughout the country were out.

In Italy too, the workers found the union and management lined up together against the workers. In one auto plant the workers chose to sit-in on their shift so no work could be done on the next shift. The union officials came in to try and force the workers out. The workers used sufficient force to prevent this.

The fall wildcats throughout Europe indicate that while the revolts of 1968 did not go to completion, the movement is still very much alive. The working men and women of Europe have not had their final word.

**East Germany, China**

East Germany celebrated its twentieth anniversary recently. One index of those 20 years was a huge parade display of East Germany's military might. In addition to the weapons the soldiers in the parade wore the uniform of the Third Reich and broke into a smart goosestep when they passed the reviewing stand.

But another index was the youth. They had been invited to participate in the celebration. One thousand of them clashed with police who tried repeatedly to keep them from gathering at the Berlin Wall. A thousand more youth, some in groups watching from blocks away, whistled and jeered when police lunged in with truncheons.

When policemen pushed them away from one approach to the wall, they went in through another. Some rode back and forth on the streetcars and looked at the wall from there. Some sat about in groups in nearby ruins, singing and playing guitars.

The youth were not just East Germans but East Berliners also. A good number had all sorts of non-regulation beads and medallions on their blue uniforms. The girls had on blue jeans or their regulation skirts cut very short. Some of the boys wore their hair long.

China too, celebrated its twentieth anniversary. The speakers spoke of China's fight against the United States and Russia. When Chou En-lai spoke of the new

China which has emerged from the Cultural Revolution, he said it has eliminated all "peddlers of capitalism" from its midst.

But there are other voices in China than those of the top leaders. One group—the Hunan Provisional Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance, consisting of 20 organizations—had their analysis of Mao's state machine since the revolution:

"To really overthrow the rule of the new aristocracy and thoroughly smash the old State machinery, it will be necessary to go into the question of assessment of the past 17 years . . . the real revolution, the revolution to negate the past 17 years has basically not yet begun.

"The basic social contradictions that gave rise to the great proletarian cultural revolution are contradictions between the rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the mass of the people . . . establishment of a new society—'People's Commune of China' . . ."

The voice of workers is heard if only by the attack on them. "Young workers are hard to control," was how management at one Manchurian camera plant put it. "Still others are doing their damndest to foster anarchism and disregard for labor discipline" wrote one newspaper.

Twenty years after the formation of East Germany and Mao's China there are two distinct voices from within each country.

**Freedom Notes**

**Japan**—Thousands of leftist students demonstrated throughout Japan to protest the Vietnam war, the Japan-U.S. security treaty and Prime Minister Eisaku Sato's forthcoming visit to the United States. The demonstrations were described by protest organizers as a curtain raiser for a series of demonstrations in the months ahead.

**Puerto Rico**—Pro-independence students at the University of Puerto Rico burned the school's ROTC building. The burning followed the sentencing of a student, Edwin Feliciano Grafals, to one year in prison for draft evasion. Fights have broken out between pro-independence students and ROTC cadets.

**Nigeria**—Yoruba farmers in the Western region of Nigeria broke into the Ibadan prison to free prisoners, many of whom had been jailed for tax protests. Fighting then continued between Yoruba tribesmen and police.

**Portugal**—Five hundred youth were dispersed by police using truncheons and rifle butts in Lisbon after they laid a wreath at a monument to Antonio Jose de Almeida, first president of the republic. The students shouted "assassins" at the police and fought back.

**Millions demonstrate demanding end to Vietnam war now**

(Continued from Page 1)

such great revolutionaries as Lenin as a facet of a developing pre-revolutionary situation.

Naturally it is not as crucial a phenomenon as when workers resort to a general strike. But it is objective. It is a sign of the all-sided nature of the revolt that the frantic appeals of Vice President Agnew to have the moratorium disassociate itself from North Vietnam Premier's praise failed to scare off even its bourgeois segment.

The infantile leftist boycott of the demonstrations by the SDS's Weatherman faction shows that they not

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how much he was against Rev. King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"But nationally, they rushed to Roy Wilkins, head of the N.A.A.C.P., for him to say how he and members of his organization oppose Rev. King's position on the War. Then Bayard Rustin, another noted black leader, said Dr. King should stick to his civil rights work. Today the opposition to the War has grown among all Americans to the point where they cannot hear a puppet voice."

**READY TO BREAK OPEN**

The last worker spoke and said, "I think we are nearing an impass in this country and the world over. Something has to change the course we are on. Did the police force of this city have any business saying the people could not hold an anti-war rally on Moratorium Day here in Detroit? The people elect officials to run the city—they did not elect policemen to do it. When those decisions are in the hands of the police, you have a police state, no matter who says it is not. You know, that was George Wallace's philosophy—he yelled that if he were elected, he would turn all the cities in this country over to the police to run as they see fit.

"The Common Council and the Mayor knew what was in store when those anti-war protestors said they were going to hold their rally, permit or no permit. When I see those white construction workers and their demonstrations against blacks entering the AFL-CIO building trades in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and other parts of this racist country, there is never any mention of a permit. We're at some kind of impasse, and something has got to burst wide open."

only failed to gauge the mood of the masses but discloses their total isolation from the revolutionary youth who formed the vast audiences that were to the left of the rhetoric.

**OPPOSITION IS REVOLUTIONARY**

The Weatherman faction was joined in opposition by strange allies—the American Legion, V.F.W., Barry Goldwater, Gov. Reagan, Gov. Maddox, the John Birch Society and the other ultra reactionary groups. These succeeded only in showing what a small portion of the American population they were, as against the massive outpouring against the Vietnam war.

Those who bemoan the fact that the demonstrations were not more "militant" forget the fact that the very act of active opposition to war in time of war is, in itself, a revolutionary act. They forget that, for the first time, the anti-war cause has been joined by middle-class elements, politicians and university authorities that can see the handwriting on the wall. They have blinded themselves to the significance of the fact that the ruling class itself is deeply split.

In what other situation have 79 university presidents, 17 U.S. Senators, 47 Congressmen and public officials ranging from the Mayors of New York City and Detroit to Atlanta, Ga., found themselves in the anti-war camp?

**THE REALITY**

This is the reality: The drain on American life in terms of lost lives—40,000 to date; hospitals full of those maimed for life; an entire generation of youth unable to plan a future without participation, against their will, in a never-ending series of American Wars to make the world safe for American Imperialism. The enormous costs of war—\$78 billion a year—precludes such necessities as saving American cities from disintegration, ending air and water pollution, providing a decent standard of life for the millions of unemployed and underprivileged citizens of the United States, black and white.

Just as Nixon has been compelled to fire the old hawkish General Hershey as draft board director even before Moratorium day began, so will he be kept on edge by the profit-hungry corporations seeking a slice of that \$78 billion pie which the military-industrial complex shares at the expense of the American Taxpayer.

Let Nixon remember that an overwhelming majority of the American people want an end to the war in Vietnam and his hawkish friends like Goldwater and Co. better watch out for the wrath of an aroused people.

**THE NEW STAGE—GIs**

In former wars, opposition within the armed services was considered as outright treason resulting in the death penalty or long terms at hard labor. Today the opposition to the war within the armed services is so widespread that soldiers and officers in Vietnam wore the black armband to denote their opposition to the war on Moratorium day. One officer, Lieutenant Jesse Rosen, who wore the armband along with his troops, said, "It's my way of silently protesting. Personally, I think that the protesting should go on until President Nixon gets the idea that every American should be pulled out of here now."

The rate of desertions is at an all time high in military history. Units being shipped to Vietnam have as much as 25 per cent desertions before they leave. Some 15,000 G.I.s have gone to Canada where they have joined the thousands of students already there to avoid the draft. Sweden has hundreds of A.W.O.L. soldiers who have sought refuge from war.

Dozens of underground newspapers are being published by G.I.s, here and abroad, expressing their opposition to the war. The G.I. Press Service, a clearing house serving news to the G.I.s, reports an incomplete list of 46 such publications. They are full of stories of struggles between the military brass and the G.I.s who are fighting for their human rights within the military system, but their hopes for change depend, not on the system, but on the masses oppressed by it.

**WHAT NEXT?**

The demonstrations of Oct. 15 are but the beginning of a continuing struggle to end the war. The next one will be in Washington Nov. 15 for two days, followed by another on Dec. 15 for three days. The opposition will not stop until the war has come to an end.

The objective nature of the anti-war opposition and the clearly imperialist nature of the Nixon war which he is trying to present as a "peace program," assures both the continuity and growth of the anti-war opposition as well as its more revolutionary development.

It is not the "liberal nature" of the Vietnam Moratorium that stands in the way of this needed revolutionary development. Rather it is the failure of revolutionary theory to meet the challenge of the outpouring from below and not merely criticize the one from above. Once the revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism can unfold such a Marxist-Humanist banner of liberation, there will be no holding back the forces tearing up capitalism by its roots.