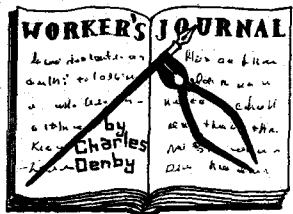


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LANGUAGE, CLASS, AND COLOR

by Charles Denby, Editor

A black college student interviewed in Virginia recently was talking about racism. He felt that white radicals did not understand the race issue and considered it less important than the anti-war movement. Another black student added: "We just don't understand all the perversions they glorify—the romance of poverty, buying \$8 blue jeans and pouring bleach all over them and the whole flirtation with filth. People don't live like pigs because they enjoy it. They live that way because they have nothing else."

When I read this it reminded me of black workers I have heard laughing at some of the white middle class students who try to make themselves look like workers, and at white students who live in suburbia who put some kind of ingredients in their hair to make them appear as if they are wearing Afro natural hair.

They do all this and then do not listen to one word that workers or black people say.

Some 20 years ago, I remember talking with some white petty bourgeois radicals who were doing the same thing then. They must have thought that the way to get workers to accept them as "workers" was to wear the most ragged and dirty clothing they could find, and to refuse to shave or bathe. I had to tell them that if workers wore ragged clothing it was because it was the best they had. But they did shave and bathe.

NO UNDERSTANDING OF WORKERS

These people do not seem to have any understanding at all of what workers—especially black workers—feel when they go to a political meeting. If it is really about freedom, they do not come in looking "dirty" as if that is suddenly a principle. They dress up in their best clothes—not because they are interested in clothing, but because they have respect for ideas.

When they take the floor, they do not use four-letter words. They may use them at other places and at other times—and you can take it from me, they know plenty of them.

I have heard that during the confrontation between the racist construction workers and the anti-war student demonstrators, the construction workers used some four-letter words that many of the students had never even heard before.

But people who have ideas need a lot of words to express all that they think. Workers do think their own thoughts, and they do not think they can be expressed in one four-letter word. It is the smallness of the ideas of some white students that makes them think all they

(Continued on Page 2)

5-year grape strike won; farm workers gain union

Los Angeles, Cal. — Five years after the Delano farm workers in California first struck the grape fields, they have returned to sign union contracts with all the growers of Delano. The contracts, together with those signed in other parts of the state, mean that some 80 per cent of the California table grapes are now picked by union labor of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

The new contracts give union recognition, wages which begin at \$1.80 per hour plus incentives at grape harvest time, contributions to health and welfare fund, a prohibition on the use of dangerous pesticides which were making workers ill and a worker economic development fund for retraining in the event workers are displaced by automation. When the union was just beginning its drive, wages were about a dollar an hour and there were no benefits.

STRIKES, MARCHES, BOYCOTTS

The victory came after five years of strikes in the field, marches up the state and a world-wide boycott of California table grapes. Unionization of the grape fields may signify a turning point in the farm workers' fight for economic, political and social power.

The fight has been much more than an economic battle against California Agribusiness. Agribusiness is huge. California grows over forty per cent of the nation's vegetables, fruits and nut crops. One out of every three jobs in California is dependent on agriculture or a closely related industry. Total market value of crops after harvesting, transportation and processing runs over sixteen billion dollars.

The farmworkers of California who have been fight-

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OPPRESSION BREEDS REVOLUTION

By HARRY McSHANE

BELFAST, Ireland—It is not possible in a single article to deal adequately with the tragic situation that exists, and will probably get worse, in the North of Ireland. Here the country has been divided, the workers have been divided, and the Constitution is rigged to ensure that one party, and one party only, will remain in power.

One has to be here and see the situation to really grasp what has been happening. Here in Belfast one has



BERNADETTE DEVLIN
North Ireland Revolutionary

only to visit Falls Road and the surrounding district to see vacant spaces where houses once stood. Slogans of all kinds are painted on the streets and the walls. In the Orange districts the curbs are painted red, white and blue, and Union Jacks and streamers are there in abundance. The Union Jack is presented as a symbol of oppression.

DEATH AND FEAR STALK LAND

Soldiers are parading the streets on foot while others are running about in army vehicles. Sand-bags and barbed wire can be seen in many parts of the city. People have been deprived of their homes, ten have been shot dead and among the old people there is a great fear of further acts of terror.

How do the people feel about it all? They express their hatred in the strongest possible language. They are emphatic that the Scottish regiment, the Black Watch, robbed and wrecked houses when searching for arms. Many inhabitants were assaulted.

A sigh of relief had gone up from Catholics when it seemed that British soldiers would protect them from the B Specials. After Falls Road, when soldiers were blamed for looting, water and gas pipes were smashed and furniture damaged, there was a demand for their withdrawal.

POISONED MINDS

One man held my arm in order to emphasize how the "bastards" on top had poisoned the minds of the workers. "The Catholics of Northern Ireland send three members to Stormont and the others send nine. Then comes the Orange bands playing provocative tunes and there is retaliation."

I saw a block of flats so encased with soldiers, sand-bags, and barbed wire that it reminded me of pictures of the first world war. They are situated at the bottom of Shankill Road and are occupied mainly by Catholics. They were living close to a Catholic Church and were re-housed in the same area. The Orangemen did everything possible to provoke them with the result that a fight took place and there is a heavy guard there since.

It is obvious that the Orange element is trying to drive the Catholics out of Northern Ireland. This makes the issue of a United Ireland a real one, but the British troops are in the North to prevent that, and the Catholic hierarchy, too, knows it could not hold its privileged position if Ireland became united. Unfortunately, the great political questions appear as religious ones.

When one speaks to an inhabitant the remark is
(Continued on Page 8)

(For more on "Factories in The Field" see P. 8.)

Cuba: this is women's liberation?



(Editor's Note: The Women's Liberation movement attacks beauty contests because they reduce women to stupid, identical, sexual playthings. For all those who laud the "liberation" of women in the so-called socialist countries, we reprint the following shining example of the "new", "socialist" woman, Cuban-style, as reported by the official Cuban publication, GRANMA, July 19.)

"What is the most striking thing about Elba, Star of the 1970 Havana Carnival? This was the main question in our mind when we set out to interview the most talked about girl in Havana since July 12. We felt a little guilty about interrupting the sleep of the girl who only five hours before had experienced one of the biggest thrills of her life . . .

" . . . Her well proportioned, slender figure, elegant manner and pleasing

conversation make for a most attractive whole. Elba has a tender glint in her pale green eyes, which is enhanced by long, silky eyelashes. When she smiles she reveals even white teeth . . ."

A member of the jury comments: "We all know what beauty contests and their queens mean under capitalism. It was like that here before the Revolution. Now it is more than just a change of title—from 'Queen' to 'Star' of the Carnival. . . . It is important to point out that in the Revolution the star represents more than just beauty. She also represents revolutionary qualities: good morals and a top attitude toward work and life.

"To the extent that woman becomes completely liberated, she becomes less and less a thing of beauty and more and more a comrade who shares the work of building a socialist society. . . ."

Master Products women protest job violations

DETROIT, Mich. — I work in a small parts shop, Master Products. Almost all workers are black women; all foremen are white men. Our shop belongs to Local 835 of the UAW, and all our top local officials are men. Some are black, but they are all men.

In the last few months, it seems that the company has been attacking us in new ways. It used to be that if you were absent from work a few times (or late for work, they consider it the same thing), you would receive a verbal warning. If you were late or absent again, you would receive a written warning. Then, if you were out again, you would be given a few days off.

All of a sudden, the company started doing things differently, and counter to our union contract. One woman was given three days off with no warning for absences. She went to the shop steward to file a grievance. The local president told her not to file a grievance because the company "had the right to make new rules."

Similar things happened to other women. One woman, who was badly hurt at a welding job, had been out on sick leave. She was due to come back the day before the whole shop was to close down for vacation.

Striking RCA women blast company abuses

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Production workers at 12 RCA plants across the country have been on strike since the beginning of June. The workers, members of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE), are out on a number of issues, including whether the wage increases will be tied to cost of living, seniority rights and sick pay.

A majority of the production workers at the Van Nuys plant are women, many of whom rely on the job as the sole means of support. The starting wage of a woman electronic assembler is around \$2.00 an hour and goes up to \$2.41 per hour. Above electronic assembler are a number of other grades where the pay is somewhat higher. But due to a lot of layoffs many women with several years seniority in the plant have been busted back to the lowest grade. One woman with eight years in the plant is taking home \$76 a week as her total support.

When many of these women hired in, they had to have previous experience or have taken courses in electronics. And now they are not even pulling down a living wage.

There are a whole series of classifications where only women are working. And another series of classifications at higher pay almost exclusively for men workers. Sometimes the job differences only involve the ability to lift heavy chassis. Thus RCA has divided various jobs into departments not really based on different skills but based on reducing the cost of labor by putting women in certain jobs and paying them less than they would pay men.

The divisions of labor in the plant have resulted in boredom for many workers. From talking to some strikers it appears that one thing that the strike has done is to break the monotonous routine of the job.

The differential pay scale and the boredom are not the grievances which the union is pushing, but it is something that the workers are thinking about. The workers are unified behind their union's demands, but on the picket line they also spoke of these other, broader issues.

She didn't see the point in coming back for only one day, and so she didn't report for work. When she came back to work after the shop vacation, she was told that she was fired, even though she had a doctor's slip to prove she was ill.

The women in our shop demanded a meeting with our local union officials. We told them that the company was harassing us and that we wanted some help. The union president told us that a grievance should have been filed for the woman who was given three days off—she should have been paid for the days—but, of course, it was too late to file a grievance on that now. You have to file within 24 hours. The woman lost three days' pay.

I think that maybe the company has been trying to fire women in our shop because they don't want to lay them off and pay benefits. Several women were laid off recently. Then, the company brought in some young white men to work in their places. The two young guys—they may be college students or something—aren't even in the union. Our shop steward says she can't write a grievance about it until she asks the local president. It is against our union contract. I don't see why the local president has to OK it.

Because of the conditions in our shop, there is a fast turn-over. Women work for a while, then, when things are bad, they quit to find another job. The union is hardly any help to us. I think that one or two wildcat strikes would change that company in a hurry—and probably the union too.

—Master Products worker

Italy's chronic crises spawn strikes, destitution



TENT CITY IN SICILY'S QUAKE-RAVAGED AREA—TWO YEARS AFTER

Two years ago, an earthquake tore apart our homes and lands in Sicily. Since then, every normal political avenue for help has been attempted and failed. We see now that our enemies are an unholy alliance of the landlords, mafia, priests, and politicians. They want us to be an unemployed army to be shipped off to debase wages in the North and in foreign countries. They don't care if our lives and homes are ever repaired.

We refuse this situation. We refuse to pay for their water, their electricity, or any of their taxes. Four hundred of us have refused military service until homes are rebuilt and jobs brought to us. We have had to fight with the military police and we expect more repression. Forty of us already face severe prison terms.

We are writing this letter to make our struggle known even in the belly of the Beast. We will answer all communications. We hope our Italian brothers, in particular, will not forget those of us left to languish on the fiefs of the padrone.

Centro Iniziative
Valle del Belize
Partanna (Trapani)
Sicily, Italy.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 1)

have to do is say one four-letter word, and that ends the discussion.

Not too long ago some black workers at Detroit's Dodge Main plant organized themselves into a movement to fight against the company's racist policies in the plant. The vast majority of black workers in all auto shops in the Detroit area were sympathetic and were ready to rally and unite with their cause. In fact, it seemed that there was a chance for a real movement of black workers in the UAW, and it was shaking the structure of the UAW leadership and management both.

PAPER'S OBSCENITY ANGERED WORKERS

The group at Dodge began a paper, called *Drum*. Many black workers accepted it for several issues. But then they began to complain of the vulgarities that practically dominated the paper. Some who objected were told this was the way workers talked. One worker answered, "You are crazy. I am a worker and I may use those kind of words, but I don't use them to be printed in a paper to express what I want to say to the public." White workers, who had been reading *Drum*, refused to look at it. And very soon many black workers were refusing to take it, too.

The workers who tell their stories from different auto plants to *News & Letters* want to tell their stories loud and clear. They want them to ring with the sound of freedom, not "dirty words." It puzzles me why some of the youth do not grasp the importance of this, and why they do not learn from black workers, who are the real "revolutionaries." The freedom movement is not a child's game of "naughty words."

NEED FREE FLOW OF IDEAS

When you consider how critical the times are that we are living through, how vicious Nixon and Agnew have become against both workers and black people, it puzzles me how the youth could go off on such ridiculous questions. The whole world is looking at the United States because the youth are so active in anti-Vietnam war struggles. The black revolution has refused to be stopped and now is saying that it has no use at all for capitalistic America. This is the time for a true "free flow of ideas."

That is what the workers and the students in Czechoslovakia called for in 1968. That was why the Russian government felt they had to be crushed. The Czechoslovak people did not mean freedom for the Russians who were oppressing them. They didn't mean freedom for "western capitalism" which suddenly got interested in their freedom only because it was aimed against Russia. What they meant by "free flow of ideas" was that those who were fighting for freedom should express themselves freely and fully. They wanted each individual to have so much freedom that finally the philosophy of freedom and the struggle for freedom would unite. That takes a lot of thinking. In our country, the white students could begin by really listening to workers, and trying to understand what they are saying.

Turin, Italy — The Italian government is again in crisis. There would not be anything exceptional about this fact (this is the 32nd crisis since the second world war, that is, the 32nd in 25 years) except for the way it came about.

What happened was that the government simply dismissed itself the day before a general strike was to take place. This was an open provocation on the part of the government: either you workers calm yourselves or we will leave an open door to the police. The unions did the only thing they could do: call off the strike.

More important, however, are the rebellions that take place when there is no government that will take responsibility. The police are literally free. An example, although it is not the first time such a thing has happened, is happening right now. A town in the South, Reggio Calabria, has been almost devastated.

The newspapers have almost nothing to say about how the whole thing broke out. The communists say it is the fascists that started it; the rightist press gives the blame to the "maoists" and anarchists. Fundamentally, it does not make any difference what group might have tried to instigate this; the mass misery in which these people live is the fundamental cause. These are people who live mostly from agricultural production and are paid such low prices that a large part of the youth migrate to the nearest city; in the cities of the North the prices for these oranges, grapes, etc., are so high that most workers cannot pay for them.

Reggio Calabria is now surrounded by police so no one can enter it. A railway worker returning home without knowing what was happening was beaten to death. (The autopsy seems to make it clear that the police beat him to death on the back). By now the railway station and the track near the city have been destroyed, and there is no possibility for trains to go from Sicilia to Rome. The majority of the population is living in their houses without food or even milk for the children since the few stores that opened yesterday were destroyed. There is no government to intervene, and the mayor of the city has just left it to the police to take care of the situation.

Potash workers on strike battle company town

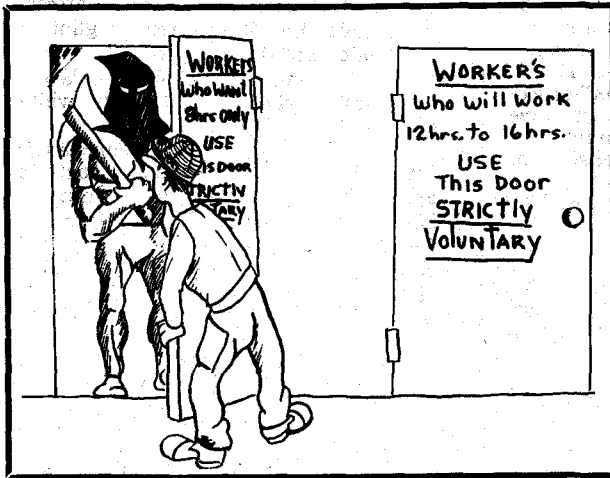
Trona, Cal. — After 115 days the strike by several hundred workers from three unions (Longshoremen, Electrical Workers, Machinists) against the American Potash and Chemical Co. plant in the desert town of Trona is over. The strike began over several issues: the company wanted to break down job classifications so it could assign workers to any job; to control when workers would take vacations; to use relief men to take over jobs without consideration of seniority. But the overriding concern of the company seemed to be to break the union.

Here are some statistics on American Potash from a union newsletter: "The Trona strikers are taking on not only the \$74 million American Potash and Chemical Corporation—which is enough—but also its mammoth parent corporation, Kerr-McGee Industries of Oklahoma City.

"Kerr-McGee is worth over \$383 million, and is one of the fastest growing corporations in the country—with profits jumping 600 percent between 1956 and 1966.

"Kerr-McGee is into some of everything; oil, natural gas, uranium (they control 25 percent of the nation's resources), operation of refineries, drilling, fertilizers, etc."

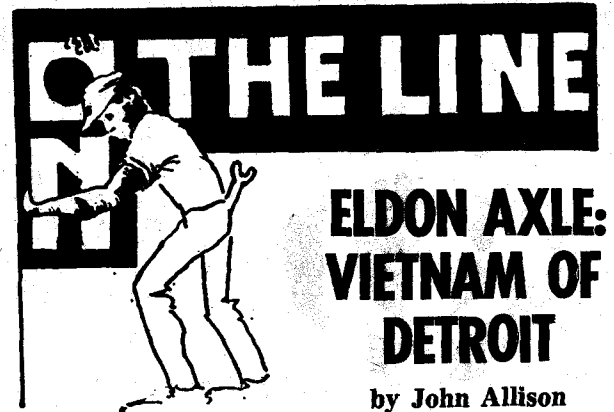
Trona is almost a stereotype of the company town. Until 1957 the workers were paid in company script which they used to rent the company-owned houses and shop in the company-owned stores. This hand-in-glove relationship extends to the county government. The courts hit the strikers with an injunction to make their picket lines as ineffective as possible. Workers were arrested for alleged violations of the injunction. Sheriff's deputies escorted trucks out of the company gate and all



the way to the county line, ignored scab drivers who almost ran over picketers and harassed strikers by continually searching their cars.

American Potash owned all in Trona—except the workers. They were not for sale. Students from some Los Angeles colleges went to Trona to view the strike and here is what one said of the strike and spirit of the strikers:

"We went to the courtroom, where the judge was busting people right and left for 'contempt.' Then we went to the union hall and talked to the workers. A lot of students came to Trona with an elitist attitude from anti-war demonstrations and student strikes on campus. But this was quickly dispelled when they saw how together the workers were on the strike and how aware they were about their problems."



by John Allison

Chrysler Eldon Axle plant on the East Side of Detroit is the Vietnam of the city. There is good reason for workers saying this. This plant is without a doubt the oiliest and most unsafe auto plant in the entire world. The race question is also strong in the plant. What it all adds up to is that death walks by every worker's side each day in that shop.

These inhuman conditions did not just happen by accident. They were caused by Chrysler coming down hard on the backs of the working class. They have been trying to break the will of the young black workers to make them accept their conditions of work.

The contract is against the worker, and the UAW is responsible for the contract. Under Section 2 on Management's Rights, the contract says that the Corporation has the exclusive right to manage its plant and direct its working forces. Under Section 7 on the Right of Discipline, the Corporation reserves the right to discipline any employee who takes part in any violation of Section 5 of this agreement. Section 5 says the worker cannot strike, not even over the death of a fellow worker, or for any other reason.

Every worker knows that Chrysler will kiss the devil to make a profit. Six human beings have lost their lives because the labor contract permits it.

But there comes a time to call a halt. A jitney driver was killed a couple months ago; a woman was off ill, then came back and was put on a job she couldn't do and she died two days later of internal hemorrhaging. And then came James Johnson who killed two bosses and another worker (see Chrysler Mack article below). Another jitney driver has since been killed because the oil and grease turned his jitney over and it crushed him.

Nobody, and least of all workers, will put up for long with this kind of mistreatment. You can look for more trouble in all the auto shops, not only at Chrysler's.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Ford Rouge

DETROIT, Mich.—At the bargaining table, Ford is talking about what they want to do to stop absenteeism, but they are already taking away workers' rights on this question in the Dearborn Assembly Plant.

The company has a new tactic to get rid of workers they don't like. You are supposed to get a 30 day unconditional medical leave if you are sick or hurt and you can't work. It used to be that you would go to the hospital when you came back and show the doctor's note and go back on the job. Now the company sends out a letter after a week or so to your "last known address."

If you moved since your last leave, maybe even 2 or 3 years ago, and you didn't change your address on the records, the company can fire you for "failure to respond." Some workers have come back to the hospital after 30 days, thinking everything was OK, and found that they were terminated. I would say they have put 50 to 100 workers out this way.

Even if they don't fire the worker, they can give him 6 months probation and put him on an impossible job. It's almost like being fired anyway.

The union has gone along with all this. Sometimes they are worse than the company. Are they trying to prove their loyalty to Ford?

I think that absenteeism is a phony issue in negotiations. It's true that some Mondays there are 100 or 200 absent in the D.A.P. But production goes right on as usual—full capacity. If there are 200 out on Monday, and 15 out on Tuesday, the final line still goes 58 an hour.

What they do is use short crews and put foremen on the line. They double and triple the workload. If you can't do it, you get written up. All this is in violation of the contract. Ford actually saves money this way. They don't have to pay workers who are absent, and they get production out. The whole question is just an excuse to take away more of our rights.

—Black Worker, D.A.P.

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—After a production worker at the Chrysler Eldon Axle plant killed two foremen and another worker, many Chrysler Mack workers cut the news story out of the daily paper and put it on different foremen's desks all over our plant. They told many of them that if they kept driving and threatening people, the same thing could happen to them.

Among themselves most workers said they could fully understand how this worker was driven to such an act. One worker who had nearly 30 years seniority, said he was off for three months with a heart condition. His doctor and the company doctor had told him and the company to take it easy. Then a foreman who was rushing everybody told him to lift and stack frames because the line had stopped. When he told him he couldn't because of his health he fired him.

He said, "The first thought that hit me was to go home and get a gun and do the same thing James Johnson did, at Eldon. But I went to the superintendent's office instead and he called the foreman and sent me back to my job. If we had a union that would just take a stand on what the company does against workers, workers would not be driven to do these things."

The ones responsible for those killings at Eldon Axle are the company and the union. When you degrade a human being to a machine, and order him around like a circus animal this is what happens. No worker thinks Johnson was a "hero"—but they do understand what would drive a worker to commit such an act. When a foreman takes away your right to work, he is taking away your right to live. Any man will fight for his life. That is what the workers at our plant think happened at Eldon Axle.

A thank you—and a reminder

Our thanks to all those readers who responded so quickly to our Appeal for help—to help us pay for the special, expanded June-July issue of N&L, and to help us reprint our pamphlet, American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard, which will be off the press September 1 (See ad below.)
WE URGENTLY NEED YOUR HELP. . . .
PLEASE GIVE AS GENEROUSLY AS YOU CAN!

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NY building workers walkout

NEW YORK, N.Y.—My union, Local 32B of the Building Service Workers Union, is made up of doormen, janitors, and maintenance men who probably average about \$110 per week. We're not well paid. Most of us live in rent controlled buildings ourselves. Yet, the strike we were on last month was as much against rent control as it was against our bosses, the landlords.

The union extended our contract for several months at the request of the landlords because they said they would not have enough money to give us a raise until the Mayor and the City Council got rid of rent control. Our leaders allowed the union to be used as the battering ram in the landlords' attack on rent control. The workers who are living in rent controlled buildings would not go along with that. But the only thing we get a chance to vote on is the contract.

Some of the workers let their feelings about this be known to the leaders and they began to soften their attacks on rent control. They negotiated a contract with a \$40 dollar raise over the three year period. Pretty good. Then the Mayor announced his plan to "modify" rent control and the landlords went back on their side of the contract.

They were led by Sultzberger-Rolfe—the richest landlord in the city—who said they would not sign the contract because the Mayor did not give the landlords enough relief from increased costs in his new rent plan. Enough relief? All he did is end rent control for thousands of New Yorkers in the middle of the worst housing shortage since WW II.

We struck the landlords, and the city put big pressure on them too. The city got a court order demanding that the landlords who refused to sign their contract hand over their books for the city to audit. This scared the landlords silly because they have been crying poverty from rent control for years, but no one could ever check their books to get the truth.

It was a unified strike. Our union leaders did not know what to do at first when their friends the landlords sold them out, but the workers knew what to do.

The public and the press supported us despite the trouble our strike caused people what with no elevators and all that garbage piling up.

We got great support from the Sanitation Union. When garbage piles up you know we're going to win soon. Now everything's back to normal, but I hope the leaders of 32B have learned their lesson.

—Black doorman, Local 32B

EDITORIAL

RUNAWAY SHOPS, WHIPLASHING AND 'GREEN STAMPS'

The public fanfare, the presentation of "white papers," the breast-beating and moaning of the auto-makers are over for the time being, and "the serious negotiations" between the UAW and the Big Three begin in the closed sub-committee rooms that are part of the ritual of hammering out a new contract. While all the newspapers are writing reams about every bit of gossip between union negotiators and the company, the production workers are saying that not only the company but also the labor bureaucracy is talking about everything except what really concerns them.

Aside from the basic question of more money to meet inflated prices, the workers want a change in the conditions of labor on the production line.

In the shops the workers are talking about "runaway shops," which used to mean a shop running out of town. Today the term means that management is running all over the union and getting away with it.

Management makes new rules in violation of the union agreement, and the grievance procedure is so slow that it takes months to try to stop them. Meanwhile they have set up another set of rules and run the shops in complete disregard of the workers or union. Production standards are changed without notice; foremen pick up the tools and work on the line in violation of union rules, impose harsh discipline on the workers, fire them, and the union bureaucrats let them get away with it.

These conditions of labor that all production workers are fighting against daily has become a burning issue, especially for young workers. The company has lashed out against them because of the high incidence of absenteeism, specially on Mondays and Fridays.

WHIPLASHING, "SENSITIVITY TRAINING" AND "GREEN STAMPS"

The auto companies are so desperate about absenteeism that they have started giving the supervisors "sensitivity training." But when these bossmen tried to talk-up the wonders of the assembly line and the high wages, one young worker spoke up: "I don't like nothing about the job. Every man here wants out."

Management is thereupon trying its offensive on the more pliable union bureaucrats. GM Chairman James Roche the other day turned around the old union demand about a fair day's wage for a fair day's

work and demanded "A fair day's work for which we pay a fair day's wage." The workers are demanding that the union leaders discuss, instead, the whiplashing which the company is dishing out daily.

The term "whiplash" has also taken on a new meaning in the factory. Foremen attempt to pit one worker against another, black against white or Chicano, whipping up the speed of the line to get increased production.

Recently a worker who had been fired at a Chrysler plant in Detroit, went back into the shop with a rifle and shot three men, including two foremen. Investigation of the case showed that the worker's foreman had ordered him transferred to another job out of seniority; the worker tried to get union help but could not; and when the worker still refused, he was fired. That foreman is dead now, but the abuse he represented lives on in the shops. To stop it the workers are anxious to strike. The union bureaucrats, instead, are doing all they can to avoid one.

Emboldened, the Chrysler company came up with the most asinine proposal ever. It proposed that "green stamps" be awarded to improve attendance on the job: 100 stamps for one month's perfect attendance, 200 for two months, etc. Even the union bureaucracy had to laugh that one off with an offer to sweeten the kitty by throwing 5,000 green stamps into the pot.

UNION CONTRACTS, THEN AND NOW

The first union contract of the UAW consisted of four pages outlining the basic union rights in the shop. The last contract with Ford ran to 432 pages, of which 73 pages were devoted to S.U.B. (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits).

Last year it took several months before the workers became aware that Reuther had sold them out on the "cost of living" issue. If the old policy was still in effect, workers would be earning 37c an hour more than they do today.

The talks will continue now in the secrecy of committee rooms until the final day the agreement is ready to be signed. No strike targets have been set publicly. But one fact can be counted on as a certainty. If there is no improvement in conditions on the line, no improvements in grievance procedures, then

there will be a wave of wildcat strikes until these so-called "local issues" are settled.

Management will find out that all those figures they have been parading about a third of the labor force now being under 30 years of age is not something that will divide, it is something that will unite, the workers. The angry mood on the production line is by no means limited to the youth. The truth is that when that young worker spoke about liking "nothing about the job," the old workers also agreed that: "Every man wants out." Where capitalism reads this, as FORTUNE (July, 1970) interprets it, to mean: Do away with the assembly line workers through total automation, the workers mean: Out of the way. We demand control of that production line.

The rash of wildcat strikes by auto workers before Model change over, has started to put that hand-writing on the wall.

News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

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O. Demanski Managing Editor

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NIXON'S WARS AND OUR SPECIAL ISSUE

Enclosed is my check for \$25 in support of your expanded publication. I am a Union Member opposed to involvement in South East Asia. We have more pressing problems within our own borders. Keep up the good work.

Union Member
San Rafael

Here is \$1 as my contribution. Sorry I can't spare more from my \$92 (in) security check.

Supporter
Los Angeles

The Lead-Editorial on Cambodia and the student strike was magnificent. I do think, however, one point was underestimated — the degree to which the strike was directed against repression and racism at home as much as against aggression abroad.

The first demand of most schools participating in the national strike was "free Bobby Seale and all political prisoners." Many schools took this very seriously.

The strike call came out of the national Panther rally in New Haven on May 1, and its origin should not be forgotten even though the movement went far beyond in scope. Racism and war were integrally linked by strikers in this area, and only this unity enabled us then to turn towards labor.

Participant
Connecticut

Your special edition was very interesting. What a twist, workers against students. It needs a lot of analysis. When one reads the European edition of the N.Y. Herald Tribune supporting the students against the workers, one becomes even more perplexed.

I hope the struggles keep going on there, you can't imagine what a shot of morale it is in other countries when they see that the Americans themselves go against these atrocities committed by the U.S. government.

Writer
Italy

What could have been a pretty bad confrontation between construction workers and UC Santa Barbara students had a surprise ending here this summer. The workers, a lot of them wearing hard hats, had planned to march to the university football stadium where Jerry Rubin was scheduled to speak. They were carrying signs like "Jail the rioters" and "UCSB belongs to us, we built it with our hands, paid for it with our tax dollars." But when union leaders and some students, got up on a flat-bed truck and tried to talk them out of it, the workers put down their signs and began to talk with the students who had gathered around.

They talked about everything from tearing up draft cards and ripping up flags to using four-letter words and burning down a bank. One worker asked a student, "Why do you have to use such big words?" And the student laughed, "To prove I'm an effete intellectual snob."

At the end of it there were even some handshakes, and several of the students got phone numbers so they could come to union meetings to explain student positions.

Reader
Santa Barbara

It seems to me that there should be an effort to get some kind of solidarity activity with you in this country. On several occasions, I have had letters printed in the capitalist press about the anti-war activity in America. I have said that nowhere else in the world has there been such anti-war activity. Now it looks as if the reactionary elements in America are getting ready to attack the movement with greater vengeance than ever before.

The Tory press here gave great prominence to the speeches of Powell during the general election. Heath declared his disagreement, but knew that all who agree with Powell would vote Tory. All sections of the reactionary elements are united behind the Tories.

Everyone in the movement hoped for

the defeat of Taylor in Glasgow. He has been described as the Powell of Scotland. When the election returns came in, Scotland returned a majority of Labour members. The Tories have appointed a team of Powellites to control the affairs of Scotland.

H. McS.
Scotland

The June-July issue was very easy to sell at factory gates here — to both black and white workers. White workers, especially, were very friendly. One, looking at our headline, seemed to sum it up when he said: "Nixon's wars at home — they're not kidding!"

N & L Member
Detroit

Sorry not to be able to send more. I'm one of the "5%" living in a shack, if you call that living.

Reader
Nebraska

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Please send me a copy of Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution as soon as possible. I hope that demonstrations are being planned on August 20-21 (the anniversary of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968) to protest against the occupation and re-Stalinization of Czechoslovakia — and to protest against the war in Vietnam. Three anti-war groups are planning such a demonstration in downtown Seattle on August 20. Around 150 people participated in a similar march last year.

Anti-war
Seattle

BLACK REVOLT

Delegates to the Elks Convention meeting last month in San Francisco voted 1,600 to 22 to keep the "white only" clause in their constitution, as they have done for the past 102 years. The meeting, representing 1½ million Elks in the USA, was opened with a message from Nixon, praising their com-

Reader's

mitment to America! G. Miller, the new President, declared . . . "There is not one black man in any of our 2,200 Lodges . . . and no pure Orientals. We are like mules," he said.

USA Presidents, Justices, Congressmen, and Senators have been included among their members, a fact which disturbed local black attorney J. Herndon enough to make a concerned statement on TV news, to the effect that "all members of such a racist organization should be prohibited from serving on any Federal, State or City Civil function as they are obviously steeped in prejudice and actively functioning to maintain it."

The day after the Elks convention this ad appeared in the SF Chronicle: All those interested in turning in their BPOE pins, kindly reply to Ad #53810."

Observer
San Francisco

The news carried stories, I know, about the National Democratic Party of Alabama nominating a black dentist, Dr. John Cashin, to run here against George Wallace for governor in November. But I think your readers will be interested to know that nominated along with five other blacks to run for state offices on the ticket was one white woman.

Reader
Alabama

ISRAEL

It was really like a breath of hope to read (in the New York Times Magazine of July 26) of the substantial peace movement within Israel. The demonstration in front of Golda Meir's home a few months ago, it turns out, was not an isolated incident at all.

I had felt that just as Israel's increased bombings had helped to increase the feelings of nationalism in Egypt, so Nasser's "war of attrition" had helped Israel silence her opposition at home. But when you read about young Israeli soldiers who join in peace demonstration when they are on leave, and New

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

(Because of the dangerous turn to the right in England seen in the recent Tory political victory, which included the election of arch-racist Enoch Powell, we print the following letter written in 1968 by Raya Dunayevskaya. It warned of the absolute necessity for the British working class to join in fighting against growing racism in England. That need is greater now than ever before.)

Dear Harry:

The June issue of *The Marxist-Humanist* just arrived and, if I may, I would like to explain why I consider the article on Powellism quite inadequate. Naturally, Marxist-Humanists "must spread the revolutionary message" and thereby win over the workers, including those who showed their own racist prejudices by coming out in support of the Tory Enoch Powell. But that hardly packs the concrete punch that Marx taught us to deliver when trade unionists take a reactionary position as they took in his day both on the Irish question and on the Paris Commune. Every British trade unionist who left the Working Men's International Association because of its enthusiastic support of the Paris Commune Marx excoriated and, in his place, put the name of a Communist. As far as the "Irish Question" is concerned—and this, as I shall show later, is not as far removed from the race question today as might appear on the surface—here is what Marx wrote:

"The English working class . . . can never do anything decisive here in England until . . . it not only makes common cause with the Irish, but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801, and replacing it by a free federal relationship. And, indeed, this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy for Ireland, but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading-strings of the ruling classes."

I should like to approach the question of race at the present moment by (1) showing the historic background of the National Question in general and the Negro question in particular during World War I, and during the Russian Revolution; (2) by comparing Churchill's and

Labour's stand during World War II; and (3) by raising the question of the African Revolutions as the only challenge to the decrepit "West" of the Suez War and the totalitarian Communism of the "East" which bloodily put down the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. It is time we faced the question that we are all products of the historic period in which we live, and that includes holding on to some of the ideas of the ruling class even when we fight exploitation.

NATIONAL QUESTION—WORDS VS. DEEDS

You are well acquainted, I am sure, with the Marxist position on the National Question, that "in principle" most stood for the right of self-determination of nations, and yet once the Russian Revolution succeeded, some Bolsheviks opposed it as "a step backward." Lenin, on the other hand, even before the Russian Revolution, insisted that "the dialectic of history and the dialectic of revolution" was such that the Easter Rebellion of the Irish played the vanguard role of bringing the proletarian revolution forward front of the historic stage. That is when he was out of power, of course. He did not change when he was in power and Bukharin then opposed giving some of the national minorities in Russia their freedom. On the contrary, he took issue with Bukharin both in content and even in matter of language. Thus, when his co-leader dared bring in the question of the Hottentots, Lenin replied:

"When Bukharin said, 'We can recognize this right in some cases' I even wrote down that he had included in the list the Hottentots, the Bushmen and the Indians. Hearing this enumeration, I thought, how is it that Comrade Bukharin has forgotten a small trifle, the Bashkirs?"

"There are no Bushmen in Russia, nor have I heard that the Hottentots have laid claim to an autonomous republic, but we have Bashkirs, Kirghiz and a number of other peoples, and to these we cannot deny recognition. We cannot deny it to a single one of the peoples living within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire . . . Scratch some Communists and you will find Great-Russian chauvinists . . . The Bashkirs distrust the Great-Russians because the Great-Russians are more cultured and used their culture to rob the Bashkirs. That is why in these remote places the name Great-

Russian for the Bashkir is tantamount to oppressor, swindler . . . The past holds fast to us, grasps us with a thousand tentacles, and does not allow us to make a single step forward, or compels us to make these steps as badly as we are making them."

Now, in contrast to Churchill who had answered India's demand for independence by the arrogant "I didn't become the King's Prime Minister to preside over the dismemberment of the Empire", British labour correctly branded him for the imperialist and their own oppressor that he was. India gained its independence, as did the African colonies, during Labour's reign. What has happened since then?

LABOUR PARTY MESS FUELED RACISM

You, of course, know the answer better than I do: the Labour Government has made such a mess of the situation since their return to power—the unemployment, the wage freeze, the travelling in company with American imperialism on the barbarous Vietnam war. All this, and more, has brought out the very worst features of racism, not only in the ruling class, but also in parts of the working class—as if the West Indian immigrant, the British citizen of Indian or Pakistani descent, or the African student had brought these misfortunes on the British working class.

It goes without saying that the exploitative classes love it when the working people of the world fight among themselves and so make the rule of their tormentors easier. My point, however, is that it is not enough to show that the capitalists have always lived by the principle "divide and rule." We must tell the proletariat of the technologically developed world they lived largely on the crumbs from the imperialist table which was so well set because imperialism lived off the fat of the land from the technologically under-developed countries.

Marx showed the relationship between Labour's struggle for freedom and the fact that slavery was still in existence in Africa, in Asia, and the oppressed minorities within the developed country. This is why Marx hailed the British proletariat when they said that they would rather starve than perpetuate slavery on the other side of the Atlantic, i.e., in South U. S. A. And this is why he called them a "bourgeoisified proletariat" when

(Continued on Page 7)

Views

Leftists carrying signs saying "State, Yes! Empire, No!" — you feel as if there must be some corresponding voices from below among the Arab countries. The tragedy seems to be that, if they are there, certainly no one has been allowed to hear them.

Socialist
Detroit

LIFE ON WELFARE

A special three-judge federal court has declared unconstitutional Michigan's "contention" statute that made it a misdemeanor to "make or excite any contention or disturbance" in any public place. The suit was filed last December by the Detroit Metropolitan Welfare Rights Organization and 21 individuals who had been arrested during demonstrations outside the Social Services office where they were protesting the inadequacy of the \$11 per child school clothing allowance.

The court said that the statute might be interpreted to cover peaceful demonstration activities and have a "chilling effect" on the exercise of free-speech rights.

Welfare Rights Organizations are pleased to be a part of any action which strengthens individual's rights of free speech. We shall continue to struggle for adequate income and dignity until our goals are achieved.

Detroit WRO
2631 Woodward Ave.
Detroit, Mich. 48201

If Nixon's welfare plan ever gets in, it'll be the worst thing that the Government ever did to us poor people. I work and am on welfare, but those people at the Welfare Dept. don't care if you are trying to do better by your kids. If you have \$10 in the bank, they tell you "Use your money now . . . come back to us later." And they make you wait all day at the Welfare Center even if they know you have a job to go to.

The City has some welfare families living in cheap hotels. One woman has

five kids and they have her living in one room in a hotel because they won't pay her rent of \$125 a month for five rooms in an apartment. There must be some deal between the owners of the hotels and the Welfare Dept., otherwise they wouldn't put those people in those holes.

Black Welfare Mother
New York

H. S. PRISON NOTES

I was really struck by the difference in the experiences of the middle class white kids and the black and brown students. The whites followed the system because it "worked" — minor issues like clothes have made them stop and think, and some wanted it both ways. But the black and brown students always knew the system was bad.

New Reader
New York

The introduction to the high school pamphlet and the two theoretical articles put me in touch with the whole of the damage schools do to poor and black kids. I never saw it laid out so well, maybe because I never went to "counselors." The black students showed what schools are doing to black kids and how dismal their view of the world must be. Those kids have it all over City College students as far as what they are fighting for and against. At City College the whites are splintered, blacks and whites don't trust each other and the administration is in the saddle.

Black College Student
New York

Editor's Note: See ad for "High School Prison Notes: 8 to 3," page 6.

I have come to realize that our education system dehumanizes, and is largely responsible for the apathetic acceptance of an economic system which perpetuates the values of self-regarding individualism. I don't believe it's a problem of changing human nature; it's

a problem of freeing human nature so that our common values of humanity (read: humanist values) control the operational values in commerce, law, education, medicine, and government.

Teacher
Pontiac

CONDITIONS OF LABOR

Now that the grape boycott has won in California, there are a lot of other battles to be won. Arizona should be the next big target so far as I can see.

Arizona has the largest and richest farms in the United States, but the average annual income of agricultural workers here is \$1,600. Plenty make less than that, of course.

In Maricopa County workers are paid piece rates when they work in bad fields where the fruit is sparse. When they move to good fields, they are paid by the hour. In the grape work in Hyder there are four ethnic groups employed, each with its own wage scale. The living conditions are horrible. It is no wonder that the average farm worker's life span is 49 years.

Student
Arizona

The workers at Mt. Sinai and other

hospitals are demanding a living wage and will go out on strike if they don't get it. They fought long and hard for \$100 a week, but after taxes and deductions take home is as little as \$70. Many are supporting a family. How can you do that on even \$100 a week today? There is an assumption that rent should cost one fourth of your income, but no one can find a decent family apartment for \$100, much less \$70 a month. It's all very clear what a "living" wage means.

Black Nurse
New York

At a local union meeting recently an international rep gave us a long song and dance about how much more it would cost to strike GM than Ford — 40% more. One worker at the meeting asked: "If we have over \$100 million in the strike fund, why are you telling us there's no money to strike GM?" Another worker said: "I would give \$10 more a week to support the GM worker's strike. GM is the one who runs everything. I think they are trying to take away the right to strike on work standards this year."

Production Worker
Ford Rouge, Detroit

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.



YOUTH

Detroit GI exposes phony Army physicals

DETROIT, Mich.—A 20-year-old medical technician from Ft. Wayne in Detroit has exposed illegal procedures at pre-induction physicals, and has the Army running around in circles. Jerry Brown went to the press with his description of the faulty medical examinations three months ago, and since then has not only fought off the Army's retaliation, but has also produced a hearing in federal court on his charges against it.

Brown stated that potential inductees are rushed through their physicals with so little attention and so many legal requirements disregarded, that many men go into the Army who, for medical reasons, should not. He cited figures—\$19.7 million in 1969—that the Army wastes on men who have to be discharged once they are in.

"But I was concerned," he said, "because people like that die—and there are no statistics on that." He pointed out that poor people, who do not have documentation of their medical problems from private doctors, are probably inducted illegally the most.

He explained that the doctors had an incentive to do a sloppy job—they could go home when they finished the men there. But, according to Brown, the brass encouraged speed-up and initiated a lot of the illegal procedures. "It's like a factory," he said.

Brown first complained to his Commanding Officer in April. When nothing changed, except his getting harassed, he decided that public exposure might move the Army where he could not. But instead of improving the medicals, the Army transferred him to Ft. Harrison, far from his lawyers, interrogated him, and threatened to send him overseas. Brown said, "They seemed more concerned with the fact that a problem had been exposed than with solving it."

Then Brown's lawyers got a restraining order from federal court, prohibiting the Army from transferring him out of the Detroit area. In spite of the order the Army tried to arrest him when he appeared on television. They have harassed all the Army witnesses he is using in the court action.

To the Army's dismay, the court has decided to hear evidence on why he is being transferred. It is extremely unusual for a court to intercede in military affairs.

If he wins, Brown said, the Army will have to take him back at Ft. Wayne, and get rid of the men doing the illegal physicals.

At Crenshaw H. S.

Rally for student rights

Los Angeles, Cal. — This past semester we were going to have a junior prom at Crenshaw High and the girls' vice-principal came and told us that we couldn't have one. Her reason was that our parents would be spending so much money for us when we got to be seniors, that they wouldn't want to pay for a junior prom too.

After she told us that, we held a rally at lunch and about 200 students went and sat in the girls' v.p.'s office (the principal of the school always locks his door so we can't go there). After we crowded in, the v.p. told us she would just speak to a few students. Three girls went in and spoke to her. One of the girls was suspended from school after the meeting.

So the next day we held a rally about the suspension with more students coming out. We crowded into the boys' gym. Almost the whole school was there. The rally was run by some students in the eleventh grade council.

We said we weren't going to leave until the girls' v.p. came down and spoke with us and gave us what we wanted. All we asked for was the Junior Prom and to get the girl back who was suspended. The girls' v.p. came down and told us we had the wrong information, the girl was not really suspended. Then she told us we would have a vote on the junior prom. We voted to have the prom.

But nobody brought the bids to have the prom. So it really wasn't the prom at all. It was the idea that the school was saying to us, "Oh, you are too poor, so we don't think you should be able to have it."

They were helping us to spend our money. You know, directing how we were supposed to spend it. That was their whole attitude. Nobody really wanted to go to the prom. They just want to have the right to go, to decide themselves. —Black H.S. student

Hollywood's exploitation of youth revolt

Editor's Note: This is a review of the Strawberry Statement, a movie based on the novel THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT: NOTES OF A COLLEGE REVOLUTIONARY by James Simon Kunen. The book is about the Columbia Revolt of 1968, in which two of the reviewers participated.

We (three Marxist-Humanists) went to see "The Strawberry Statement" because there have been so many books, articles, and movies lately which have tried to "tell it like it is" about what the youth are thinking and doing that we wanted to go and see and comment upon what the Establishment was allowing the media to say about the Columbia University Revolt.

The movie was a real shock. It was a total rip-off obviously made to exploit the youth-campus movement in order to sell a movie. If one word can describe a movie, we don't know which is better — "exploitation" or "abstraction." This movie was equally both. They made up a university; made up a student body; and presented the "issue" of their mystical campus revolt as "They took the playground away from the little black kids."

The book at least was about Columbia. The movie replaced politics with tricky camera effects and a fair rock music sound track. The students looked like students, but they sounded like total fools. They talked and talked about war, racism, and revolution without ever being concrete or naming names.

But the fact that the occupation, which was taken from Kunen's good description of his experiences in two buildings seized at Columbia, was shown as a carnival or picnic or worse, showed you the contempt the makers of this movie have for the seriousness and commitment of campus radicals.

There were two bust scenes. One was at the site of the gymnasium—the park that they were "taking away from the little black kids." It was a real gas—all in slow motion with groovy rock music in the background. No one is even scratched.

Then there was the second bust scene. In this one, about three hundred students were crowded into the gymnasium of the building they had occupied for a week. They were all kneeling down in the non-violent position,

arranged in neat concentric circles. The leader of the black students was in the center leading the group in the song "Give Peace a Chance," using a clipboard and pencil to direct the chorus.

The university's President was talking over a bullhorn saying "Dear students, please leave; all will be forgiven." The cops rush into the gym, carefully avoiding the students. They pour oceans of gas in the room while other cops drag the students out one by one. Each student fights back; each student is brutally beaten; and the other students keep kneeling and singing while all this is going on until it is their turn. Very brutal. Very neat.

These two bust scenes made the "point" of the movie: older people would come away saying "We work hard to send these kids to school and look what they do." As in "Easy Rider," violence vs. non-violence replaces politics. And, "The Strawberry Statement" is carefully integrated. The only trouble is that all the black students are exactly like the whites in the movie, and all the whites have blond hair and blue eyes.

The book, on the other hand, was about Columbia. True, the author Kunen decides to give the Establishment one more chance to elect McCarthy; however, his insights into the issues of war research on campus, the war in Vietnam, and the gym Columbia was trying to build on park land stolen from the Harlem community were good.

Kunen saw the seriousness and spontaneity of the revolt as well as the difference between the jargon language of Mark Rudd and the leaders and what the rank and file student was saying. Kunen did not relate the long years of organizing around those issues at Columbia to the actual revolt in '68 and he did not see the crucial role the black students played with their absolute determination to stay in the building until the Gym project was abandoned. They were the real link to the Harlem community, but it's hard to blame a white student in his first big political action for not seeing this.

But the movie is a total exploitation of all students and the whole youth movement, and it made us want to burn down the theater right then and there. Instead, we told people outside to save their money. I think at least two did.

DOING AND THINKING

Hayden's book: a case of theoretic bankruptcy

By David Payne

Tom Hayden's new book, *The Trial*, is modestly described by its publishers as "a tract for our time" and "a vital document of the New American Revolution." In reality, the book contains no new ideas and such sterile and discredited old ones that the only reason for its serious review and analysis is Hayden's expression of very common tendencies in the left today.

The book is called *The Trial*, and its first two-thirds are taken up with a description of the Chicago Conspiracy trial. It is in the last section, "The Trial in Perspective," that Hayden develops his theoretic ideas. The two basic points made are, "for the time being, age is more important than economic class in the American struggle," and, "the basic conflict (is) between a decadent, super-rich American Empire and the international forces of Revolution."

IGNORES WORKERS

Since he seems to feel that the U.S., on its way to developing a "life beyond scarcity for most people," Hayden, unlike Marx, has no use for concepts of class struggle. He not only disregards white workers, but only sees black masses as revolutionary because a Time poll says they support the Black Panthers, not because they play a vanguard role in themselves. While Hayden arrogantly designates the Panthers to the blacks as their vanguard, he says that whites have no need for "centralized, elite-controlled organizations."

Hayden's international politics are filled with rhetoric about the American Empire as "the vanguard of counterrevolution" and the common enemy of the world's people. Here, he seems to see imperialism as a function of U.S. foreign policy, rather than as a stage of world capitalism.

Because of this, Hayden's internationalism consists of opposition only to U.S. imperialism, while disregarding its Soviet counterpart and unconditionally supporting exploitative state powers such as China and North Vietnam. He never mentions Czechoslovakia. He fails to see that there are two "worlds" in every country, that of the exploiters and that of the exploited, and this is what revolutionaries must use as a departure. The same misunderstanding of class is shown in Hayden's reference to blacks as a domestic outpost of the Third World and to their oppression as purely national, where in truth the uniqueness of the black struggle is that it is one of race and class, as demonstrated by the black caucuses in the auto shops.

EXPOSES THEORETIC VOID

Hayden's errors seem to stem from a misreading of present reality, but looking deeper at them, they reveal a lack of any real understanding of the concept of theory, and point up the theoretic void in the entire New Left. Hayden does not look at history but attempts to set totally new conditions based upon his own experiences in the U.S. and generalized versions of "past struggles"—mostly Vietnamese and Chinese.

However, none of his schemes are original. The idea of self-sufficient "Liberated Zones" harks back to the Second International, and his "international revolution" is traditional Mao. Hayden's ideas are the age old product of the "revolutionary" intellectual, who, because he is isolated from masses in motion and has no faith in the proletariat, can arrive at nothing but petty-bourgeois ideology disguised as "revolutionary" thought, which in fact, is turned into its opposite—Stalinism, Maoism, elitist "youth culture."

Since Hayden does not accept the idea of class struggle as applied to America today, and in fact sees "the sons and daughters of the rulers . . . on the barricades," he finds it possible to believe that revolutionary change will originate in the Berkeleys and Madisons if they "resist outside authority while making constant attempts at self-government." Only workers, because of their placement at the point of production, can lead the forces of revolution. As evidenced by the growing number of wildcats and other worker revolts, U.S. workers are on the move, even, in the L.A. teamster strike, on the move with students. To isolate young radicals from this source of power and theory is just suicidal.

Revolutionary intellectuals must listen to what the working class is doing and thinking and develop a philosophy which sees masses as reason, as subject, not merely as muscle.

In a time when, as he himself says, "total revolution is on the agenda," Tom Hayden falls far short of what is needed.

8 TO 3: HIGH SCHOOL

PRISON NOTES

12 articles from black, Chicano and white students in Los Angeles

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TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

they moved away from that principle when it came to the establishment of a totally new form of society: the Paris Commune. He then moved away from the skilled workers to the unskilled, from the institutionalized workers to the unorganized, from what Lenin called the "aristocracy of labour" to what Marx called "deeper and lower into the masses" to find the true revolutionary core who would stand, not just for reforms, but for revolution.

What has happened since the end of the 1950's when Great Britain embarked on its imperialist adventure in Suez, and Russia (with the help of China) on its destruction of the Hungarian Revolution, is the defeatism that always follows lost revolutions. Instead of looking down upon the "immigrants", the British, the American, and the East European, ought to hail the birth of the new Third World, especially the African Revolutions. We should hail them for once again showing us the power of the ideas of freedom, and that the will to freedom, even when unarmed and facing the mightiest empires, can win.

The struggle for the minds of men is still the mightiest weapon of all. And now that the French proletariat and the French students have shown that these forces of freedom have not been destroyed in technologically advanced lands, it is all the more quintessential that the British proletariat rise up to its full height and, as their ancestors showed the way to the first Working Men's International, so they should now pave a new road of world solidarity between themselves and all the "immigrants" of the world. The first step in that direction is the recognition of the fact that many of them have been repeating the reactionary ideas of their own exploiters.

Comradely yours,

Raya.

Black-red view: leaders vs. black masses

By JOHN ALAN

Several weeks ago, a play called "Wine in the Wilderness" was presented by the National Educational Television network as part of their series, "On Being Black." This play dealt with the conflict of values between a working class black woman from the ghetto and her new boy friend, a college educated artist. The woman, called Tommy—named by her father Tomorrow Marie—is played by Miss Abbey Lincoln.

Befriended by an elderly wino who finds her on the street just after a ghetto riot has burned her apartment, she is brought to the flat of a black artist, who also befriends her, as do his guests, a young black intellectual and his very with-it girl friend. Miss Lincoln is experienced in ghetto survival and expresses her disgust and bitterness at what "the brothers" have done to her apartment and few possessions; her new found friends are very hip to "black consciousness" and black history.

SHE NEVER BELONGED

Amid the obvious bohemian surroundings, plaster walls being scraped to expose the brick, symbols of black consciousness with posters of John Brown, Frederick Douglass, African sculpture, Miss Lincoln is pompously told about black history, admonished not to use the word "Nigger" as degrading, urged to change her hairstyle to "natural," convinced to become more "feminine" and drop the "matriarchal stance which white America has imposed on black women."

"Tommy" accepts all the changes suggested with good humor and grace. Overjoyed with her ghetto language and habits the artist falls in love with her. When he wants to paint her, however, he patronizingly insists it must be with her original outfit and carrying a brown paper sack, as when she arrived. She protests that she has better clothing in the cleaners, that those things were a mess, but he wants her "just as she is!"

To make a long play short, Miss Lincoln discovers through a humiliating experience with her lover that she never belonged, that to him and his friends she was really an oddity, a freak. With passionate denunciation she calls them a bunch of "Niggers" who refer to each other and her as sister or brother, but never say MY sister. To this accusation the intellectual replies: "The word 'sister' is a general term like the word masses."

LEADERS AND LED

In the microcosm of this play one of the central problems of our age is revealed—the conflict between the leaders and the led. It is a universal conflict. Never before in history have workers, blacks and students been so acutely aware of the deep chasms that exist between them and their "natural" leaders.

In the black community this chasm between black leadership and ghetto dwellers extends all the way, from the NAACP to the Black Panthers. If there is not outright criticism and suspicion toward black "leadership," there is generalized apathy.

Black student insists

Class, not race, only basis for Arab-African unity

East Lansing, Mich.—"African Freedom Days and the Palestinian Revolution" were the themes of a symposium held in East Lansing May 23-24 that brought together the Organization of Arab Students in the United States and Canada (OAS) and the Pan-African Student Organization in the Americas (PASOA). Along with OAS and PASOA were invited members of the Black Liberation Front chapter (BLF) on campus.

At the beginning, the discussion started at the old "Zionism" base. In a speech by a black student entitled: "Liberation Struggle in the African Diaspora," a crisp connection of Africa and black Americans was made. The diaspora concept was originally an expression alluding to the worldwide exile of the Jews after the fall of the old Jewish state.

Here it is applied to people of African descent, bringing Arab Africa, Sub-Sahara Africa and Afro-America together. "How" this is to come about was not given in concrete terms but only hinted at in generalized cliches such as: aiding the revolution and helping the brothers and sisters fight neocolonialism. Here the Pan-African idea of solidarity based on color or lifestyle substituted for the sweat and labor of class solidarity and struggles.

Nothing could be further from the truth than to declare that anti-Semitism and color solidarity "automatically" puts Africa in the Arab camp. On the contrary Africans for the most part, are not against Jews or Israel per se, but against the expansionist policies of the Israeli government.

REAL GAP IN THEORY

The remainder of the discussion was given over to a Pan-African-Arab forum. But a real gap in theory began to come through here. The symposium, supposed-

ly based on the mass freedom struggles, did not tackle theoretical issues such as the relationship of black Africa to South Africa or the real link between Palestine and Africa. Instead it concentrated its criticism and energy on white academia in African research. But the struggle for freedom is not just an academic matter, it is a matter of life and death. Arab socialism was scarcely mentioned and its link to Africa never explained.

One of the best comments made, was that made by an Arab student who said: "we must learn to set up a program; if we only keep talking . . . but don't know how to change the system, it will take longer."

After this plea for a new unity of philosophy and revolution, the conference was soon adjourned, amid salutations to Mao, Castro, and Nkrumah. At the least, the conference was disappointing; it should have started where it broke off.

PAN-AFRICANISM AND CLASS

In transcending geographic and cultural differences without a mass foundation, the idealistic Pan-African dream deludes itself into thinking that it can be done and thus falls into the trap set for it by Russia, China and Kuwait. To the extent that this type of Pan-Africanism ignores race, class and cultural differences and expects a non-white state-capitalist country to be more virtuous than a white one, it is not only preaching racial chauvinism but putting one's foot where one's mouth is. They are so busy rapping about Castro's and Nkrumah's tactics that they overlook the revolutionary oppositions going on in those countries.

Moreover, the U.S. and Israel are named as the neocolonial powers, whereas Russia and a country like Saudi Arabia which trades in slaves, are in the camp comprising the "good guys." No notions could be more intellectually suicidal and confused. First of all, the Zionism idea has become the umbrella under which is hidden anti-Semitism. Secondly and more importantly, is that the struggle for freedom is not going to be won by "moving," but by staying in one's own backyard.

This struggle for freedom has not been fought as totally and as passionately as the black man has fought for it. That is why the Arab nations have found themselves as a pawn between two super-powers—the U.S. and Russia—instead of unfolding a new banner of liberation for the whole of humanity.

It is the same old political game. The Urban League, without shame, attempts to ingratiate itself within the racist Republican wing of capitalism; the NAACP within the liberal Democratic wing; and the Panthers have a fantastic political existence which constantly moves away from the ghetto base, depending nationally upon the old Stalinist left for defense and ideology, and internationally embracing Maoism.

SOLUTION IS HERE

David Hilliard, of the Panthers, called a press conference to inform the world that Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver and the deputy minister of information for the Black Panther Party had gone to Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, to confer with North Korean leaders on the expansion of the American anti-war movement. What Mr. Cleaver and his friends are indicating is the bankruptcy of their own program to fight racism in the U.S.A., as well as their general lack of support among black ghetto dwellers and workers.

When you can do nothing at home, you must, of course, get busy solving "international" problems . . . just as Stokely Carmichael has "discovered" that the solution to the racism in the U.S.A. is Pan Africanism and the return of Kwame Nkrumah to power in Ghana.

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By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Farm workers' victory and 'factories in the fields'

Two events—a television documentary on farm-workers, and the signing of union contracts by grape growers in California — speak to the plight and power of the farmworker.

The television show, made ten years after Edward R. Murrow's famous "Harvest of Shame" documentary, showed that despite ten years worth of assurances that something would be done by the government, almost nothing has occurred.

The farm workers must shift for themselves in education, in health, in all the economic, political and social benefits which America is supposed to provide. The federal government, while talking a great deal and holding hearings on starvation, on the health of farm workers, on their living conditions, has in fact done little to change their conditions of life.

25 years after Hiroshima

History will never absolve American imperialism for the wanton, inhuman atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on Aug. 6 and Aug. 9, 1945. Neither will it forget the degeneracy of international communism as the bombs fell, when the Communist Party press throughout the world hailed the news: "We do not share the sense of terror which has been expressed in certain press comments because we bear in mind the concrete use which was made of the fearful engine of destruction." (L'Unita, Italy, Aug. 10, 1945).

Today, 25 years later, two nuclear giants, state-capitalist Russia and private capitalist U.S., hold the sword of Damocles over humanity's head while Mao's China hurries to join them, having branded all who fear nuclear war as cowards and "revisionists."

The drive of these three powers toward world control has turned every area of this earth into a potential fuse, ready to set off the world nuclear holocaust.

The madmen must be stopped. The anti-war struggles must be made inseparable from those aimed at eradicating that which is at the root of all wars: class society.

In contrast to the fight of the growers to preserve the old ways and the inaction on the part of the Federal government, there is a movement to change the conditions of the farm laborers. It has not come from the government or for that manner from the established unions. Rather, it has begun by the workers themselves.

While the labor leadership of a number of unions with big treasuries has often talked about organizing the unorganized and even made a feeble attempt or two, it was a new creation, the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) headed by Cesar Chavez which did what the established unions would not or could not do. UFWOC did it because they regarded a labor struggle in its full meaning — a human rights movement.

Many of the New Left and the old Left have not paid sufficient attention to what has been

occurring in the fields. A number of theories have been spun about the death of the working class as a revolutionary force in America. But what about the question of "factories in the fields" which the left has spoken about in the past but never seriously acted upon? Many of the new left would dismiss the farm workers' struggle as a Civil Rights thing which "we were finished with five years ago." But it is precisely this combination of civil rights, human rights, the colors black and brown, and labor which give a totally new dimension to the fight either as labor struggle or civil rights movement. Instead of dismissing the working class as either non-revolutionary, or in need of a revolutionary elite, it is necessary to constantly go lower and deeper into the working class to find the most revolutionary elements. The unorganized farm workers who are both workers and minorities in America are certainly such a layer.

Czechoslovak purge hits union movement

(We have just received the letter below from Prague.)

Prague, Czechoslovakia — What can be observed here are furious attempts at annihilating any spark of opposition which could appear, especially within the party itself. The purge waves have now embraced the trade union movement—that is being brought back under the iron fist of its apparatus and that of the party again.

The spontaneity with which trade unionists tried to redress the wrongs of the fifties during the short spring of 1968 is being stamped out. Other issues than those of wages and labor conditions are being stressed, e.g. socialist emulation, which is nothing else but a greater exploitation made "voluntary."

A process similar to that of the trade unions is carried out in the non-Communist parties' members of the National Front. What is demanded is a total, unconditional following of the CP directives. Taken all in all, the revolutionary working class movement has been driven underground and is without significance at the moment.

However, there is at least one point which should

not be underestimated: the seeds of the sudden wave of freedom that sprung up in 1968 will certainly not be forgotten for years, and they may bear fruit in the future.

There are some appeals circulating clandestinely for staging a quiet protest on Aug. 21, the second anniversary of the occupation, but it cannot be expected that much will happen. The police and military have been strengthened heavily, and the police, especially, are ready to strike hard.

However, the ruling group is anxious to persuade the masses by pounding at them daily with every means of communication available that not only are their conditions getting better, but that the approach of the leaders is the only way possible. They may partially succeed, as the information people can obtain is very scarce, indeed.

It is only if you dig up official statistics that you discover that the improvement in the economic situation—on which the ruling group stakes so much—is only temporary. The roots of the economic disequilibrium persist.

Report from North Ireland: oppression breeds revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

usually made, "There is no Christianity in it." It is certainly unusual to read the obscenities on the wall put there by advocates of a particular interpretation of Christian principles.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

I met members of the People's Democracy on two occasions. Yesterday I saw four young people selling their paper on Royal Avenue, and what is more, the people were buying it up. I attended one of their internal meetings and was impressed with the way they made decisions on activities. (See below for excerpts from the July 24 issue of Free Citizen, paper of the Peoples Democracy.)

In Derry I was taken around and shown where the flagstones were torn up to make missiles in August of last year. A number of young people were preparing to duplicate material for distribution.

The material included statements from several boys who belonged to the Fianna Eirann boy scouts, whose

group had been raided on July 20 by the R.U.C. (Royal Ulster Constabulary).

Ranging in age from 12 to 17 years, the boys had been sleeping in a Glenullin hall, where they had gone from Derry for the weekend, to recruit new members. At 5 a.m. police entered the window, while two lorries of British Military surrounded the hall. The boys were thrown off the stage four feet to the floor below, beaten and kicked while being interrogated, driven to a police station for more interrogation, and finally returned to their hall, which had been badly damaged. Statements of the boys, whose only crime was that they were Catholic, were being mimeographed for circulation while I was there.

They were anticipating another march of the Apprentice Boys on Aug. 12. While I was on my train back to Belfast a ban was placed on all demonstrations, some months ahead. The government denies that there was pressure from Westminster, but no-one believes them. The Apprentice Boys are up in arms and are talking about expelling members of the Government from the Orange Order.

North Ireland's 'Criminal Justice Act'

Two days after the shooting in East Belfast at the end of June the Stormont government brought in a new Bill—the Criminal Justice (Temporary Provisions) Act. It rushed through Parliament in a single day and became law on July 1.

The effect of this Act is to impose compulsory jail sentences for certain offenses. There are compulsory 6-month sentences for disorderly behavior, taking part in a riot or unlawful assembly, sitting down on the road or in a public building, and taking part in a banned demonstration. There is an automatic 12 month sentence for making, having or using petrol bombs. And increased penalties for firearms and explosives charges. The new penalties will apply until the government decides the present "state of emergency" is over. The Special Powers Act was first introduced as a temporary measure, as well, and it has lasted 48 years.

Under the act judges can't fine people or give suspended sentences. They must jail defendants for

at least 6 months. The Act applies even to offenses that have nothing to do with politics of riots. . . . Disorderly behavior is what the R.U.C. charge people with when they can't think of anything else. If the police want someone out of the way all they have to do is swear they saw him shouting and waving his arms and he gets 6 months automatically.

Meanwhile Stormont have announced the building of a new jail to take overflow from Crumlin and Armagh prisons . . .

The Opposition MP's at Stormont let the Bill pass without any serious opposition. But the struggle is not over. A vigorous campaign of protest, here and in England, could force Stormont to declare the Emergency over. If we don't act fast, it will soon be impossible to act at all.

Reprinted from Free Citizen, July 24, 1970, Newspaper of the People's Democracy, 88 Ladybrook Park, Belfast, Ireland.

Yesterday, two canisters of C.S. nausea gas were thrown from the gallery of the House of Commons. Some people in Derry are claiming credit for this. A message says "The present from the Bogside, which was delivered to the British Parliament will help MPs unable to visit Northern Ireland to appreciate the atmosphere in this part of the world." They go on to say that the British Army, a month ago, scattered over 1,000 grenades and canisters "into Catholic and Protestant working class areas of Belfast and Derry."

WORKERS—CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT

The religious split is fomented with the aim of diverting attention away from the serious poverty problem. There was a march in Derry this Spring led by the Unemployed Action Committee from the Labour Exchange to Guildhall Square. The unemployed had signed a petition demanding the Westminster and Unionist Governments implement a program of state-sponsored industries.

Their leaflet said: "The present system condemns over 18 percent of us to a life of misery. Politics have always been conducted along sectarian lines keeping the Protestant and Catholic working-class divided and allowing capitalists to hold on to positions of power and wealth. We ask workers and unemployed to forget their religious differences and unite to fight for a better future. Equal pay for women now. Give teachers their rise now! State-sponsored industries! A modern well-equipped harbour! A motorway linking Derry and Belfast!"

The Government of Northern Ireland has got away with the criminal neglect of the people for many years. They, not Bernadette Devlin, should be in Armagh Prison. The gang at Westminster swept the problem under the carpet for 50 years. The resistance of the people has made that impossible from now on.

NEW INTEREST IN MARXISM

I have had many discussions with active people here. There is new interest in Marxism. Bernadette has called for a Socialist Ireland. One thing is clear—the constitution of the Republic must also be opposed. Our emphasis is on the workers and not the professional politicians of the South.

Partition, buried for a long time, is forced to the forefront as is the withdrawal of British troops. The demand for the release of Bernadette is growing rapidly. We are really just entering the battle.