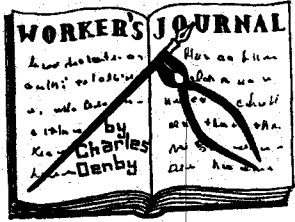


ON THE INSIDE

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Every worker
 I know is a
 philosopher

by Charles Denby, Editor

I recently received the following letter from a reader in Chicago: "The idea that progress comes from workers is quite a fallacy. Progress comes only from thinkers and a few who are able to cram their ideas down the politicians' throats. This is because the alleged wonderful, well-paid workers are shining up their second car and talking about baseball. The American worker is naive and also a dupe for the idea that piling up material goods is the purpose of life. I have never met one American philosophical worker."

I was so amazed at this attack on the American workers' intelligence that I didn't care to try to answer. But I let several of my fellow-workers read it, and they insisted that it be answered. So here is my reply:

Dear Reader:

I have been a worker all my life, and I have met thousands of American workers, from practically every industry in this country—and they are all "philosophical workers." They all have their own thoughts, which are altogether the opposite of your philosophy. What you fail to understand is the worker's type of revolt, type of organization, and type of thinking.

ONE OF MY fellow workers wants to know what kind of world you live in? What world are you talking about where all the American worker wants to do is shine up his two cars and talk about baseball? All the workers I know live in a world where unemployment has risen higher than it has been since the 50's. It is as high as 17 percent here in Detroit. To imagine that these people are only interested in shining a second car and talking about baseball, when many of them don't even have enough money to exist on, is to be having hallucinations.

I wonder if you have read anything on past labor history? If the American workers are just "dupes," how do you think it was possible for them to organize the CIO? Do you think it was the so-called labor "leaders" who crammed that idea down someone's throat? It was the workers who invented the sit-down strikes, and the leaders who ran to catch up with them. Do you think the thousands and thousands of wild-cat strikes that workers have been waging are over "piling up material goods?" They are over conditions of work—and of life. And they are against both management and their own union leaders.

(Continued on page 6)

GM Southgate workers vs. foremen, clock, line

Los Angeles, Calif. — We have three bosses over us. The line speed is the main boss. This is the clock that says there are so many seconds for a job to be built and you better keep up. All work, no matter what its concrete nature, is timed according to what is socially necessary. Over the past few years the line speed has been getting faster and faster while less and less men have

been used. The amount of socially necessary labor time to produce a car has become less and less. Some of this speed-up is new machines. But these machines make us work harder.

The second boss, really the main bosses' helper is the foreman. He is not so much a boss as a harasser.

THE CLOCK IS A BOSS

The third boss is the clock in the factory. It tells you when you have to be in the plant, when you have to be ready for work, when you can take your break, when you can go for lunch, when you can stop for the day. The factory clock is even with you outside the factory. By the time you get to your car, you start thinking about how much time you have until you have to go to work again. This is constantly on your mind.

What can we do about these three bosses? Grievances are written and then lost in the grievance procedure. Meanwhile the worker has to work under the conditions



G.M. Southgate workers' button

that the foreman sets until the grievance is settled. This can take months, if it is settled at all.

We have to get a procedure where many more grievances are settled before being written up; settled right in the section where they occur. Until a grievance is settled the worker should not have to work under speed-up or unsafe conditions.

GRIEVANCES LOST IN BACKGROUND

The whole grievance procedure now means taking the dispute away from the shop floor and into the back-rooms. The best committeeman still has to play the game with G.M. Even if he is good, it is soon out of his hands, as the company will prefer to deal with higher-ups in the union bureaucracy and "trade off" grievances or shove them aside.

Every time things move from the shop floor we are in trouble. We have to change things so that we can settle them on the floor. This is the only way to begin to have control over our three bosses.

Grievances involving line speed, too much work, need to be settled on the spot. That is how to start dealing with the main boss—the line. The main bosses' helper, the foreman, must be dealt with right in the section. We need immediate protection from the foremen.

How can we keep these questions on the floor where we have some control? We have to set up some type of organization within each section. We need workers right on the spot to represent the men, and men to back up their representatives. We need shop stewards in each section. We need a shop steward for every foreman.

Discuss it with your fellow workers. Bring it up in your section. Let's see what we can do. With organization on the floor, our committeeman can't be touched by management. It doesn't solve all our problems with the three bosses, but it is a start.

A SHOP STEWARD FOR EVERY FOREMAN!

—G.M. Worker, Southgate



Striking British miners demonstrate outside of Parliament, see article, p. 8.

From 'Bloody Sunday' to Newry march: Irish masses demand rights, freedom

By Michael Connolly

Throughout the month of February, ever since the "Bloody Sunday" afternoon of January 30, when British paratroopers methodically and coldly murdered 13 of Derry's citizens, the whole world has watched and listened to the Irish cry for freedom. There has not been a single day since that afternoon when somewhere in Ireland, or in Britain itself, demonstrators did not take to the streets to express their anger and their defiance.

From Derry to Belfast, to the massive Civil Rights Association march in Newry, and in every corner of the six British-occupied counties, the marchers demanded the immediate withdrawal of British troops, the end of internment, and the resignation of Brian Faulkner's hated Unionist gang in Stormont.

Despite the lies and hypocrisy of the British army spokesmen, and Heath's Tory government, no one could believe that the machine-gunning of the 25,000 Derry marchers was anything other than a "cold-blooded massacre." Even while the dead and wounded were still being taken away to the morgues and hospitals, Bernadette Devlin compared the killings to South Africa: "This is our Sharpeville. We will never forget it."

VICTIMS SHOT IN THE BACK

British Prime Minister Heath quickly ordered his own version of an investigation into the murders, appointing the reactionary judge, Lord Widgery, already known for his position that no suspect held by police be allowed a lawyer during interrogation, to head the inquiry. Whatever Lord Widgery reports will mean nothing beside the testimony of the marchers themselves. The morgue and hospital spokesmen admit that the majority of the dead and wounded were shot in the back, and that some were repeatedly machine-gunned as they lay on the ground.

So great was the horror and shock in the days following Bloody Sunday, that the demonstrations spread to Britain, the Irish Republic, the USA, Italy, France, Canada and Australia. In London and in Glasgow, the number one demand was to bring the troops home now. Thousands marched on 10 Downing Street in London, and were met, not by Heath, but by club-swinging mounted police, who sent nearly 100 marchers to the hospital. There were marches in ten other British cities, and new plans were made for anti-war activity among British troops.

"IMPRISONED, INTERNED, SLAUGHTERED"

But it was Bernadette Devlin who caught the essence of the moment; and everyone knew she spoke the truth when she told the House of Commons; "I do not believe the paratroopers went berserk. They were told to do it, and they fired into a crowd of unarmed civilians. We have been imprisoned and interned, and finally we have been slaughtered by the British army, but we have not been defeated."

Devlin spoke also in Glasgow, to a packed hall. The size of the meeting, and its spirit, proved that the movement inside Britain had finally become a mass movement. She told the crowd that it was British capitalism which bore the responsibility for the war in Ulster. It was their investment in an Ulster of poverty wage levels and a divided and weakened working class that the British army was there to protect.

She made it clear that she did not ask simply for unification with the South, but for a new society in all of Ireland. Green (Catholic) Tories were no better than Orange ones, she said, and what difference did it make

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NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

VOL. 17—No. 3

Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

MARCH, 1972

Alexandra Kollontai: revolutionary woman

The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman, by Alexandra Kollontai. Herder and Herder, New York, 1971. \$5.95.

Alexandra Kollontai may or may not have been "a sexually emancipated Communist woman" — but that is not what this little volume is about. Nor is that what its interest is for the women's liberation movement of today. To choose such a title for the autobiography of a woman who was a member of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks during the Russian Revolution and one of the most popular orators during both the 1905 and the 1917 Revolutions, is not only misleading, but an affront to her true role in the women's liberation movement of her day.

The truth is that her essay on "The New Woman," which is also included in this volume, tells more about Kollontai than her autobiography. It is too bad that this is the only chapter from her 1920 book, *The New Morality and the Working Class*, which is included. Kollontai, a novelist herself, traces the "New Woman" through the heroines of the new novels, as contrasted to the heroines of the past. "Life creates the new women," she writes, "literature reflects them."

RUSTED FETTERS BROKEN

The novels she cites will be unknown to most of her readers today — and certainly cannot be compared to the earlier great Russian classics — yet the new women in the characters she describes are unmistakable: "Before us stands woman as personality, before us stands a human being possessing a characteristic value, with her own individuality, who asserts herself — in short, a woman who has broken the rusted fetters of her sex."

Passionately interested as she was in the individual, and in fighting male chauvinism, Kollontai was adamant that her own personal involvement could not be separated from the working class women.



Dorm worker says UCLA oppresses Black women

Los Angeles, Calif.—I'm on the hill at UCLA where the dormitory workers, all Black women, work so hard without enough help. I've been working in the dormitories' housekeeping department for over nine years. There are some who have been there even longer. When I started there were a total of 14 employees in each dormitory. The buildings were new and needed less care. Now these same buildings are old and need more care, and there are only six employees in each dormitory.

On Saturday and Sunday one woman works doing the restrooms from the 7th floor down to the bottom floor. This is a total of 12 bathrooms, 12 lounges, and 12 halls. Other employee's duties consist of six bathrooms, scrubbing walls and shower stalls, three tub rooms, three typing rooms, three laundry rooms, three lounges, six hallways, six drinking fountains, dusting vents, emptying ashtrays, spot mopping, spotting walls, dusting and mopping lounges, emptying trash, and a little of everything else. Students pay more and more each year, and get less and less service.

The managers are saying, "The students don't want their rooms cleaned," and that's why we are faced with this layoff. But I see that it is the manager's fault that these beautiful homes away from home are deteriorating. We who work in the dormitories are just as unhappy as the students about the condition of the buildings. We know that the students deserve to get more for their money, just as we deserve better working conditions and fair treatment. We are Black, but nevertheless, we are all humans and can not be expected to do a super-human amount of work in an eight-hour day.

The university wants the public to believe that it is helping minority students get an education. But the majority of custodians are Black, and there have been no programs, job training, or job upgrading, so that we are stuck in dead-end jobs.

The university wants you to be loyal to your job, but I ask, is UCLA loyal to its women? I say no. In the dormitories they expect women to do the same amount of work, or more, than the men, but they receive less pay. They expect you to call in every day if you are sick, whether you are bedridden or not, sleet, rain, or snow whether you have a telephone or not.

We have women working on the weekends, doing the restrooms on the men's side. The students are running around nude, using the restroom, while the women are trying to do their job. I wonder, if these same women weren't Black, but were white women, would the manager expect them to do this? This is a place where they don't care anything about a woman, and if you are a Black woman, they care even less.

Employees, students, and faculty, we must unite to make this a better place to work, to study, and to teach.

"It is not individual will, not the example of a bold Magda or a determined Renate, that created the new woman," she writes. "The transformation . . . is accomplished . . . in the lower depths of society where under the scourge of hunger the adjustment of the working woman to the sharply changed conditions of existence proceeds."

RELATION TO MOVEMENT CRUCIAL

This is the subject Kollontai was discussing — and those (like Germaine Greer, who wrote the Foreword to this volume) who miss this point and go off on their own kicks, miss thereby the relationship of Kollontai's experience to today's movement. Kollontai understood and made clear that it was the mass movement that made her, not vice versa. We have yet to get to the same high stage in the movement today that was reached in Russia during that early period.

Kollontai's devotion to the working women comes through also in her autobiography. There is considerable material there of interest to WL today, but the interest does not lie in the fact that this edition includes in italics all the words, sentences and paragraphs that Kollontai had crossed out in the galley-proofs when it was published in 1926. (Indeed, the italics for the most part serve only to make it very awkward reading.) Those who are trying to claim that her corrections and deletions were all due to the pressures of Stalinism, which was "stifling her ego," have a lot to learn about the history of that period.

The year 1926 did NOT represent the full victory of Stalin — but it DID represent Kollontai's capitulation — a capitulation so complete that she was able to stand by while her own leader of the Workers' Opposition, Alexander Shlyapnikov, was purged.

Indeed, the truly revealing "deletion" in her autobiography was not a deletion but a complete omission of any mention of her activity with the Workers' Opposition, and the famous Trade Union dispute with Lenin, a most important period of her life. (1) It was this capitulation to Stalinism that resulted in her confining her autobiography to her activity on the woman question alone. It is an interesting book for the Women's Liberation movement to read, and ponder over.

(1) For a discussion of this famous debate, see *Marxism and Freedom*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, p. 196.

Black prisoner writes . . .

Editor's Note: We print below a letter received from a new reader, a Black prisoner, and a reply by the author of the article on which he was commenting.

In your November issue there was an article written by a Black hospital worker entitled "Poor Women Cheated on Houses, Child Support." The author said, "As for runaway husbands, the burden of proof of where a man is, is always on the woman."

But can a Black man run away, hide or escape the ever present and consistent forces that attempt to negate his manhood continually? If he is not, in fact, recognized as a man by society at large, should he stay at home to perpetuate the "boy" image and slave role that society has deemed he play? Should he be an accomplice or partner to that diabolical scheme to continue the "raising of slaves" for Amerika?

I do not say that running away is the answer. I do say that until a Black man recognizes that his role as wage slave and non-man is predetermined by the very design of this present capitalistic and exploitative system, he will continue to run away, to hide, rather than be co-conspirator and accomplice to his own castration, in plain view of his wife, children and society . . .

A Black man must not feel threatened by his Black woman . . .
Black Prisoner
California

Black mother answers

A man who is truly Black and proud of his heritage would never leave his children or wife without any support. He would know the importance of making sure his children understand what it is really like to be a Black American, and help teach them what must be done to be free in this society. Has running away from any problem ever helped?

Yes, there are a lot of things in America that need changing. But running away from them means sacrificing other human beings to the problem. There are a lot of Black men who have tackled these problems head-on. They are proud of what they are. So far as I am concerned, if they run away, they deserve to be called "boy."

When a man runs away, a welfare check replaces the human being, who is needed by other human beings. I know what it means to be both mother and father. I know what it means to become a slave. Nobody has to tell any mother trying to raise a family alone in this society how "exploitative" this present capitalistic system is.

It is not the Black woman who is threatening the Black man. We have to fight just to keep surviving in this society, let alone build a new one. If we can fight for a new world together, it would be a lot easier. But even if we have to fight for it alone, we will.

Mary Curry, Detroit
—Black Hospital Worker

WAY OF THE WORLD

Another four years of Nixon?

By Ethal Dunbar

This is a national election year, and many of the leading politicians are saying that Nixon will be elected for another term. I have been wondering how can the poor Blacks and the poor whites of this country stand another four years of this Nixon doctrine.

They are saying that Nixon has written off the Black vote, and it is true. But he has also written off the poor white vote. It appears that what he has going for him with the whites is playing on their racism, on school busing and housing. What the whites will realize in the next four years, if Nixon is elected, is that without jobs and security, busing and housing become secondary. They will soon find themselves in the same condition as the Blacks.

This President is so tricky. He said when he was first elected that a little unemployment is good for the country. What is wrong with every available man and woman being employed? How can unemployment be healthy to this country? As everyone knows, what he called a little unemployment has added up to mass unemployment. Then he comes out with statistics about where unemployment is the worst, as if people can survive on statistics.

When he was running for the Presidency, I had no idea he was so deep seated in racism, and anyone who is an out and out racist is also antiworker. But to think a President of the United States is talking about amending the Constitution of the country against busing of Blacks to white schools and vice versa, is to wonder how much longer we can survive under his administration.

Ms. misses meaning of WL

The preview issue of Ms., "the new magazine for women," is filled with contradictions. While claiming to represent all women, the majority of its articles and advertisements are aimed at a group of women whose income is well above average. Most of the ads are for various wines and liquors, but there are also ads for furs and clothes from most of New York's fashionable women's stores. There are also blatantly sexist ads such as the one which says that only "guys blindly in love . . . dig flabby girls."

While most of the articles are rather bland and reduce sisterhood to some new form of radical-chic, there are a few good ones, two of which are Letty Cottin Pogrebin's "Down with Sexist Upbringing" and Celestine Ware's interview with Eleanor Holmes Norton, "The Black Family and Feminism." The best article is "Welfare is a Women's Issue," by Johnnie Tillmon, a Black welfare mother and organizer, who presents the real issues of women's liberation as a matter of survival, especially for women on welfare.

She says that women should have the opportunity to work for living wages and that if women's work in the home were recognized as such and she were paid for it, there would be no need for welfare. She stresses the need for freedom of choice in the areas of working outside the home, child care, birth control and abortion. She writes with a warmth, dignity and militancy that communicates the real meaning of sisterhood. At one point she says, "Maybe it is we poor welfare women who will really liberate women in this country." It's something to think about.

—Suzanne Casey

Betty Friedan in Hartford

Hartford, Conn.—Women Liberationists here in Hartford are critical about the mass media-recognized "leader" of the women's movement, Betty Friedan, who recently gave a talk at Trinity College.

Friedan is quoted by the local press as saying before an audience of over a thousand: "Gloria Steinem is ripping off the movement for private profits. It's not bad for the movement, because she's pretty and some say she is a good role model since she hasn't married and that shows you can be single and have a good life. The media would try to make her a leader. But she's never been a member of NOW or of any other organized effort."

Friedan, in her lecture, which cost the newly formed Trinity Women's Organization \$1,000, addressed her thoughts to the problems of upper and upper-middleclass, well educated, professional women. She said women must begin to make basic and fundamental changes in society through organized efforts to put more women in high positions of government, on corporate boards of directors, and on faculties of universities.

Friedan, founder of NOW (National Organization for Women) is being criticized because she had very little to say about specific oppression of working class women, of black women and of women of other minorities. One of the most crucial questions facing the women's movement today is what can all women do now to change their daily lives.

Sonya Mihlek

Unemployed worker's story: no jobs, no benefits

Detroit, Mich.—For three months I have been unemployed looking for work in Detroit. I have found that there are no jobs to be had if you're thinking of supporting a family. At company after company, in every industry, the answer is the same: no hiring, no applications given out, and usually there are men on layoff already.

After a while you are encouraged just to find a place that has no one laid off, even if they're not hiring. At several plants I asked if the season would pick up later on, only to be told that it always had picked up earlier, until this year.

ANY LEAD LOOKS GOOD

After a few days of looking for work with genuine hope, you make regular morning rounds to every plant and job you can think of. After the early ideas have proved useless, you appreciate every lead about a place that might be hiring. The lead might be false, but it's something to go on anyway. It hits you hard to find out that your skill and experience won't buy a job anymore.

The day after GM announced that some of the 3,000 new jobs they were supposedly creating would be at their Fort St. Fisher plant, men jammed their employment office. We were ignored for a long time, and finally learned that the only "new jobs" were for men with seniority who were already on lay-off from other GM plants. These "new jobs" would not even make a dent in GM's unemployed alone.

They call the unemployment office the Employment Security Commission, but it doesn't get an unemployed person together with a job. You have a nuisance trip to a center which is supposed to be the jobs clearing house. All they do is stamp your card, say there are no jobs, and send you back to the local branch. They don't even pass on word about the emergency government programs which hire a handful of people or the emergency food programs. I have to reapply for Food Stamps every two weeks and this takes up a day I could use to look for work.

BENEFITS HARD TO GET

Unemployment benefits come from years of contributions out of my labor and that of millions of other workers. But when you apply for benefits you often get treated like you're asking for charity. If you report after

your scheduled time, even if it's because you had a test or an interview for a job, you're lectured or accused of having a job under the hat or just being lazy.

They don't rush either. After 12 weeks of waiting in lines and filling out forms, my claim is "in process."

It is no comfort to find out that unemployment is everywhere; not just in basic industries but friends of mine in skilled or white-collar trades have had problems finding work. Treasury Secretary Connally didn't make me feel better either when he said that if you count male heads of households, "only" 3.5% of us don't have jobs. I'd like to see Connally come to the MESC line where I stand and fight for benefits, and explain to me how prosperity is just around the corner.

—Unemployed Worker

Conn. steelworker raps job

Hartford, Conn.—Last Spring our fabricating plant had an eight week strike. As soon as we got back to work the layoffs started. First, they laid off the night shift, about 100 workers. By December the place was down to almost nothing. I was laid off too. This month I am back working and there are only 35 or 40 production workers, if you count the twelve supervisors who are all over the place and working alongside the men, in violation of the contract.

Today, I do three jobs instead of one; welding, grinding and burning. All of the Black workers except me are doing the heaviest work, which is in the bridge gang. I'm not because I hurt my shoulder a couple of years back and when they have tried to stick me on a rough job, I raise hell.

The union isn't doing a thing. Seniority means nothing. Guys with more seniority than I are still off work. People are holding tight and are just waiting to see what happens. Nixon has us all holding tight with his freeze.

After the strike there was no \$400 Christmas bonus. Everyone is out to bite off the heads of working people with more taxes, higher and higher food prices. What can a man do?

—Black steel worker



by John Allison

When the Chrysler Highland Park Plant was in the process of closing down all of its production lines and laying workers off in the past few years, many of them were transferred to the Warren Stamping Plant. Many of these transferred workers had as much as 25 and 30 years of seniority at the Chrysler Highland Park Plant, but when they went to the stamping plant, they went in with seniority as of "the day of entry." That is, they had absolutely no seniority at all on their new jobs.

At the stamping plant, there are 26 lines in the Press Room, with some small presses and some large presses. The above mentioned Highland Park workers were assigned to the Large Press line. On the Large Press line they often have short runs of stock, and management moves workers from line to line.

The young workers who were at the stamping plant were given the best jobs and did not have to move. Always, the Highland Park workers got the shaft because they had no seniority at Warren Stamping. They suffered through this experience.

But then the UAW set up the Attrition Pool, and the Highland Park workers got their regular seniority back as part of the agreement involved in setting up the pool. Now, the union representatives were put on notice that the workers with their 25-30 years of seniority would no longer take the shaft. Only the union representatives said they had their hands tied because of union politics.

The old timers remembered very well the old days when they had to fight the union and the company. They had a meeting with the plant manager and gave him a lesson in shop rules and seniority.

So now, both the union and management have agreed that these workers will no longer be run from line to line when management decides to shift jobs.

Work piled on at Conn.P.O.

Hartford, Conn.—Working at the Post Office on High Street in Hartford for the past year was an eye-opening experience, especially in reference to the exploitation of workers by the bosses. If there was any place where the dictum "the more you do the more they expect" held true, it was at the Post Office.

This was true in every department concerning operations on the floor by clerks, mail handlers, and maintenance men. For example, quite often a supervisor (a person who just stands around and watches) would make clerks do mailhandling work or vice versa. It reached the point where even when I switched jobs I was still expected to do my previous job too.

As far as I'm concerned, conditions will grow much worse for the average Postal employee. The latest wage increases were utterly ludicrous since inflation will wipe them out easily, and since massive cutbacks in total personnel are occurring. This of course means each employee will be expected to do more.

The most obvious thing at the Post Office is the lack of knowledge displayed by the clowns in the Personnel Department (who all have political jobs) about the conditions on the work floors. This is especially true concerning the crying need for more mailhandlers, maintenance men, and clerks. However, since a massive campaign is on to cut back they don't hire anyone. In fact they go so far as to reach the point of insanity by making statements absolutely devoid of any truth such as . . . "we just can't find room for any more mail handlers" or . . . "we'll have to wait until things start picking up."

Tony B.



Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—A lot of us going into work at the press room Feb. 22 saw Elmer Boyd handing out leaflets describing his recent victory before the Civil Rights Commission. The company fired him four years ago for "insubordination" and "failure to put in a normal day's work." The Commission found that his "discharge as a hi-lo driver was because of his race."

We in the plant know the truth. Elmer Boyd worked as a hi-lo driver here at Mack for 25 years. The company was out to get him ever since he won a medical transfer from the welding area, where smoke and dust were so bad that everybody suffered from it (see N&L, Dec. 1968—Ed.) The company tried to use his medical rating to force him out of the plant, he protested and won transfer to the salvage yard.

Two men worked on that job. Boyd was fired, the white worker is still there. Boyd told me, "My foreman said I was fired for my mouth, not for my work." Chrysler even tried to cheat him out of compensation for a head injury he suffered when he sat down in a broken chair the day he was fired.

Elmer told some of us, "Two Black committeemen wrote up my grievance, but at an impartial hearing, the grievance was not on file. I've had nothing but trouble from the company, I got nothing from the union. The only way I got anything was from the law, which I taught myself for three years. I was out three years before I won my compensation. Without a lawyer, I beat the company on unemployment alone. I have been in three courts and I was proved right, but I'm still out here without a job and without all the benefits that are due me. After all this, why hasn't the union acted to get my job back. What were all those years of union dues for?"

A lot of us still working at Mack want to know the same thing.

—Day shift worker, Mack

Detroit, Mich.—Perhaps you are all aware of the strike vote at the Eight Mile-Outer Drive Plant, The reason for it is "unsettled grievances." But at Mack, it is apparent that our local leadership has a facetious attitude toward our complaints.

Do you remember the time our brother was pinned between some racks by a hi-lo, and the hideous treatment he received from those quacks at first aid? Do you

remember when one of our brothers (and I am speaking of all brothers—black, white, red, or yellow) was forced to work one day when he was sick, and he had an operation the day after?

One lady in the press room went on medical leave for three months and received ONE \$84.00 check. Our sister had to get aid from the state to make ends meet. It is a rare day when you win a grievance. When a young steward in the press room won \$25,000 from Chrysler recently, it was a great surprise.

Our demands are within the contract. There is no reason why workers should have to work under conditions like smoking hi-los, welding fumes that can choke you, and unsafe presses. Our leadership says the Mack plant doesn't have any complaints. We would like to know their definition of complaints!

—Chrysler Mack worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—I have heard that up on the fourth floor, on the day shift, a worker was given 30 days off recently. He was doing the rear speaker job, and he had to climb in and out of the car. The company accused him of loosening a wire, and they wrote him up for poor workmanship. Everybody knows this is a trumped-up charge, just like the last one they put against this brother. That time he got two weeks off.

The truth is that the company is out to destroy him. When Hatfield was the general foreman, he persecuted the man. Now the new general foreman is doing the same thing. The foreman watches this brother's every move. Why are they persecuting a hard-working man?

The reason is that he speaks out a lot. He talks the truth about racism in the shop, and he doesn't shut up even when there's a foreman around. This is the only reason they are after him—racism! At Fleetwood, freedom of speech doesn't exist.

We have seen GM give the brother two weeks, and we saw them give him 30 days. I ask: Why are his co-workers doing nothing? Why are we standing around like puppets? It is up to us to defend each other from racist attacks.

You can see the world is in a revolutionary stage. In every plant there is at least a thought of revolution. But I ask you, my brothers and sisters at Fleetwood—are we part of the new world to be, or are we still in the dark ages like slaves? Now is the time to answer.

—Black Worker, Fleetwood

**NIXON AND MAO
AIM TO THROTTLE
SOCIAL REVOLUTION**
by Raya Dunayevskaya
PRICE 35c
Order From: News & Letters
1900 East Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

EDITORIAL

The viciousness of Nixon's recent attacks — first on any who dare to question the way he is waging "peace" on Vietnam, and then on his own Courts that have upheld busing to achieve school desegregation—has given ample warning of what the election year ahead of us has in store.

Hand in hand with an increase in the bombings on Vietnam, Nixon moved to a new assault not only on the anti-war movement, but on his Democratic opponents, as veritable traitors for their criticism of his so-called "peace proposals."

NIXON'S RETROGRESSIONISM

The attack was pre-meditated and carefully planned—from Haldeman's shocking accusation that Democrats who criticized were "consciously aiding and abetting the enemy of the United States," through the whole Administration line-up of Rogers, Laird, Kissinger, and Mitchell, to say nothing of the time Nixon took from his State of the World speech to repeat the attack himself. Lest anyone miss the point, Porter in Paris abruptly called off the "peace talks" there, to protest the "hordes of Communists" who had assembled at Versailles for a three-day anti-war assembly.

Nixonism has opened up a stage far worse than McCarthyism in this country. McCarthy was without real power. Nixon is commander-in-chief. It is not that Nixon has not always been a war hawk, nor that he has not from the day he took office attempted to wage war on the First Amendment of the Constitution. It is that to repeat — now, when he is President — the "20 years of treason" type of reckless charges that he hurled at President Truman back in the McCarthy era, shows how dangerously far Nixon's retrogressionism has taken us.

BACK TO THE BLACK CODES

At the same time, Nixonism is rolling the clock totally backwards on even so elementary a question as the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregated schooling—about which little enough has been done in 18 years. Nixon's attack on school busing — an attack on the decisions which his own Supreme Court had just ap-

proved — began way back last summer, before the schools were ever given a chance to reopen. It was an open invitation to white racism to disrupt any busing plans that had already received support. All that mattered to Nixon was that to win the 1972 election in the still unenfranchised South, he would have to out-Wallace Wallace.

White racism was all too eager to accept Nixon's invitation, and the drummed up hysteria over busing soon convinced him that it was the political issue to exploit, South and North. The fantastic anti-busing Conference Nixon dared to hold at the White House — just before taking off on his flight to Peking for "world peace" — ended up with this great champion of law and order openly pledging to take whatever steps might be necessary to offset court-ordered school busing for racial integration, even to the extreme of flirting with an actual Constitutional amendment to that end.

Nixonism appears intent not only on rolling back every gain the Black masses have won throughout the whole past decade, but on rolling us all the way back to the days of the Black Codes erected by the Bourbon South in Post-Reconstruction days. And all to win the 1972 election!

THE ANTI-NIXON FORCES

It is the hunger to return to the White House that has brought the most reactionary features of Nixonism to such depths. He is counting on racism to divide the forces against him — especially white labor and the Black masses. He is counting on the much-publicized withdrawals to make the American masses forget that not only has the war not been wound down, but that the bombings have actually increased. He is counting on his spectacular new dialogues with new continents to hide the new war alliances that are being planned.

A good indication of how wrong Nixon is to count on anything is the speed with which the war-hawk, George Meany, had to reverse his course when he recently dared to hint that he might have to wind up for Nixon, despite Nixon's attacks on the workers. The firm position which the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO took

for busing and against Nixon the very next day at their meeting in Florida, is a sign of the pressure they were feeling from their own rank and file.

The still-climbing unemployment rate is not going to be swept away by Secretary of the Treasury John Connolly's crass statement that a six percent figure isn't critical because it includes such a high percentage of Blacks and youth. The still-soaring inflation is not going to be forgotten by workers who see the prices for their food climbing out of all reach of their frozen pay-checks. Nixon's war at home against labor has gone hand-in-hand with his war against the Black masses — and with his wars abroad. In this age of Nixonism, it is impossible not to recognize the intimate connection between capitalism, racism and imperialism.

That is what demands a unity of the forces opposing him.

News & Letters

Vol. 17, No. 3

March, 1972

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 961-1010. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor

O. Domanski Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

UNEMPLOYMENT

U.S. Steel Corporation in Duluth has declared that their shutdown will be permanent. At about the same time, there was another announcement that that Airbase, which is Duluth's largest non-private corporation employer, will soon be laying off a sizable amount of people. Despair is rampant, and bitterness among the young.

But there is a new organization in the Twin Cities, called the Unemployed Workers Union, which is not an organization of radicals, nor even a particularly radical organization, and they have done some interesting things. Not so long ago they organized a demonstration of several hundred people on the steps of the state Capitol over unemployment. They were virtually ignored by the media. They are just starting to move on this important problem and starting to think as they have never done before.

Correspondent
Minnesota

sion of the Thirties, when thousands of others who were wiped out by the market crash committed suicide because they could not face a life of economic hardship.

Old-timer
Detroit

Unemployment was discussed in the House of Commons (just before the miners' strike took the country by surprise.) Heath boasted that production was higher than two years ago with 400,000 less workers employed. He talked about the "massive shakeout" carried through in industry. He called for more investment. Wilson opposed him, but it was a poor show.

Correspondent
Britain

MILITANT MINERS

It is incredible how things can change in a few months. We are now in a State of Emergency due to the coal miners' strike. It looks as if millions of workers are going to be laid off. The government is determined to wage the most bitter class war since the General Strike against the miners and the whole working class in this country—all over a few miserable pounds a week that would appear to you "rich" Americans absolutely incredible.

It seems that the capitalists are quite content to let this chaos take place—so we know that it will be the poor, the old and the workers who are going to bear the brunt of the dislocation and who will have to pay to "get the country on its feet again" when the strike is settled.

It seems the "post-war period" is coming to an end in Britain, and all talk of an affluent society and a bright and rosy democratic future is now history. The bare reality of our inhumanitarian system is now revealed to even the most unpolitical. Even the right wing papers are saying that the miners have a just case.

Hyde Park Socialist
London

The Economist carried a story about a militant miners' strike that went on for months in the Asturias region of

Reader's

Fascist Spain. Both strikes and independent trade unions are illegal there, and government repression is ferocious. Yet these workers, the children and grandchildren of the revolutionary miners of 1936, were able to hold out for a long time. The strike, however, was finally broken. How? The Fascist Government of Franco was able to bring in cheap coal from another friendly government: not the U. S., but "Communist" Poland. Events like this should be known by workers and radicals around the world: too many of us forget that the enemy is the world capitalist class, whether Fascist, Communist or "private."

Observer
Connecticut

LE MONDE'S SLANDER

Leaving aside the slander contained in the letter from Le Monde's reviewer, if you can, I was utterly amazed that the real live facts of the Hungarian Revolution and the Black movement in this country (just to take two) could seem unrelated to anyone living in 1972 when the world has shrunk so small that one feels as if he could hold it in his hand, and watch the gravediggers of capitalism around the globe trying to break their shackles.

I wondered, when I heard the news of the wanton killing of 13 more human beings fighting for freedom in Derry, if he could also see no relationship between these 13 new deaths by British soldiers, and the new romance between Nixon and Mao, and the Vietnam war. The global struggle for power by our "leaders" goes on to keep this decadent society breathing a little longer no matter what the expense in human life, whether outright slaughter or slow death on production lines.

The Black people gunned down in Baton Rouge and the Irish people gunned down in North Ireland are linked in history, while the living carry on the

struggle for a new society, linked in understanding what the other is going through.

Woman Worker
New York

GREECE . . .

We wish to announce the Front Line, a newsletter devoted to the problems of the Greek Revolution. Our effort goes beyond the existing activity in the U.S. in that we are primarily interested in reaching the Greek community directly (as opposed to "influencing" governments) with news and texts of the active resistance within Greece.

We will report on all the groups which we know of that are engaged in active struggle. We invite all interested persons to contact us. \$1 will bring the first five issues and any amount over that would be greatly appreciated. Buttons and bumper stickers are also available.

Pena, Box 5128
Clinton, New Jersey 08809

AFRICA . . .

In Dar Es Salam recently I found the mood very subdued and the political situation tense. A Regional Commissioner was assassinated by an African farmer opposed to Ujamaa. Oscar Kambona dropped anti-Nyerere propaganda over Dar by plane. Tanzania is in very bad financial straits. The Asians are fleeing, the excessive fear of all "outsiders" is not matched by political or work commitment to the Nyerere regime. Nyerere is having a very difficult time in pulling his country towards socialism, and sometimes the results seem more like bureaucratic cretinism. The recent near-collapse of the East African Community was averted only at great cost. Kaunda in Zambia is facing an internal crisis of mammoth proportions. About the only bright spot is the Tan-Zam railroad.

American Student
Africa

TWO WORLDS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA,
Chairman, News & Letters Committees

In this Black Liberation Month* of February—whether we look back to Frederick Douglass as the symbol of victory both of Abolitionism and the Civil War, or to the Black high school youth in Greensboro, N. C., who initiated the Black Revolution of our day in February 1960, "Africa Year"—it becomes necessary to take a second look at the life of the recently deceased Ralph J. Bunche.

Because the UN and the white ruling classes the world over sent representatives to attend the funeral services at the Riverside Church in New York, it would appear that the only two events worth remembering are that this man they labeled "Diplomat" had won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950 for negotiating truce between Arabs and Jews in 1949, and headed the imperialist so-called peace-keeping mission to the Congo in 1960. Because the very next year, in February 1961, the great African revolutionary who tried to keep his country independent of imperialist stranglehold—Patrice Lumumba—was assassinated, the revolutionary Black youth wish not to remember Bunche at all. But to transform him into an unpersn only helps the ruling class hide the revolutionary pages of Ralph J. Bunche's life. Why should we allow the rewriting of Bunche's life story as if nothing but the UN happened between his birth in Detroit in 1904 and his death in New York in 1971, or as if living Black and poor in racist U.S.A. was all worth while because Bunche did get a PH.D. from Harvard—even if it still meant not teaching at Harvard, but at Howard? Let's instead bring into the light of day his Black revolutionary activities, in fact and in thought, in the bleak days of Depression when holding onto his career wasn't half as important as trying to change the course of history.

SHARECROPPERS AND URBAN WORKERS REVOLT

The two most important pages relate to aiding sharecroppers in their revolt in the South, and in the North

*The Black Liberation Month, as calendar, can be obtained from: People's College, Box 5747, Nashville, Tenn. 37208.

Two forgotten pages of Ralph Bunche's life story

establishing the National Negro Congress to try to unite workers and tenant farmers, domestics and intellectuals, racial organizations and unions and churches and radicals; in a word, to shake up the system that had dethroned King Cotton but not King Capital.

In the Spring of 1935, when Bunche, as Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Howard University, had conceived a form of a mass organization to organize the urban North—the National Negro Congress, the Socialists had organized the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The terror campaign, not excluding outright murder of organizers, with which the Bourbon South had met the organizing drive, led to the calling of a cotton choppers strike in 1936. The landlords and their "law and order" deputy sheriffs—one was actually convicted of practicing outright peonage (1)—brought the destitute living conditions there to the breaking point, as the landlords also drove sharecroppers off the land.

There are few enough books on that hard page of history, and none at all on Ralph J. Bunche's role. Yet he had organized one of the most effective inter-racial committees in Washington, D.C., to aid the sharecroppers. And he himself was never too tired to speak in still one more out-of-the-way church or civic or radical group to raise funds to help the sharecroppers, to give shelters to those who had to abandon the land and come to the nation's capital that was, except for the street cars, Jim Crow.

Along with John P. Davis of the Joint Committee on National Recovery and A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Sponsoring Committee for the National Negro Congress received support also from Communists, Socialists, and many others. The Congress was off to a fast start when it convened in Chicago in 1936. No less than 819 delegates, representing 585 organizations—from churches to farm

(1) The infamous Sheriff Peacher was the only one convicted, but by no means the only one who practiced it. The more exciting history to follow is the daring and ingenuity of revolt. See Howard Kester's *Revolt Among Sharecroppers*; also *The South in Progress* by Katherine Lumpkin; Stuart Jamieson, *Labor Unionism in American Agriculture*.

organizations, from women's groups to trades unions, from professional groups to political groups and parties—were present. Indeed, out of these also were born many of the organizing committees that were to become the CIO.

Clearly, Professor Bunche wasn't sitting in any ivory tower. Clearly, this intellectual didn't keep himself separated from the great masses in motion, Black and white. And just as clearly, though no doubt surprising to the Communists, he wasn't under any illusions as to why the Communists were in it at the moment, and how quickly the "line" from Moscow could change. Change it did, with the outbreak of World War II. The demise of the National Negro Congress soon followed.

THE TRANSITION POINT

Along with activity in mass organizations came philosophic development. Ralph Bunche became critical not only of the economic, political and social status of the Negro, but of all existing Negro organizations that strove to ameliorate this condition. He called them "philosophic and programming paupers." He was critical likewise of all Negro leaders who, he said "think and act entirely in a black groove." In his pamphlet, *A World View of Race*, he even comes up with a solution to the Negro problem:

"The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose and must strive for an alliance with the white working class in a common struggle for economic and political equality and justice."

This high point of his self-development as "social
(Continued on Page 7)

NEXT MONTH IN N & L:

Analysis by Raya Dunayevskaya

- What really happened in Peking?
- Is it against only Russia, or Hanoi, too?
- What will it mean for the 1972 election and after?

Views

... AND ISRAEL

Mordechai Cafri's letter from Tel Aviv "Israel Moves to Suppress Basic Liberties" is cause for concern. I am sending you herewith a clipping of an article by our Jerusalem correspondent, Amos Ben-Vered, in which the problem of violence in Israel is fully recognized. But that doesn't make it government suppression of liberties. I wish misunderstanding could be corrected.

Philip Slomovitz, Editor
The Jewish News
Southfield, Mich.

VIETNAM

The scenes of Nixon boarding his plane for Peking, and saying that his trip was "a journey for peace", came on our TV screen right after scenes of the bombing in Vietnam. I just can't imagine how anyone can believe anything Nixon says. He is, without a doubt, the lying-est president we have ever been saddled with.

Auto Worker
Detroit

I have been reading all I could about the situation in the United States. The Trades Council here may decide to invite a delegation from Russia; if they do I think the question of America should be raised. Russia is important as the place where a great proletarian revolution took place. But for revolutionaries, America is at present the most important place in the world. Many see it only as the participant in the Vietnam War. That is true, but there are revolutionaries in the U.S. fighting under difficult conditions. If we can get this across the Communists will be shocked.

Marxist - Humanist
Scotland

The troops are coming home, but the slaughter in Indochina continues. It is carried on by bomber planes and elabor-

ate electronic ground equipment. In today's war, it is money, not manpower, that counts . . . It is time for us to tell the U.S. government NO! we will no longer pay for death and destruction.

There is a 144-page book called "Ain't Gonna Pay for War No More," by Robert Calvert which discusses why we should resist war taxes. It explains how to resist the telephone tax, excise tax, income taxes, withholding taxes; related personal experiences of war resisters; reveals the possible consequences and suggests alternative uses for the tax money.

It costs \$1 (10 to 100 copies 75c each). To order the book, tell your readers to write:

War Tax Resistance
339 Lafayette Street
New York N.Y. 10012

POVERTY

Jews and non-Jews alike are becoming increasingly aware that an unexpectedly large number of American Jews live at or below the poverty line. One evidence of our growing concern with the problem is the publication of a paperback, "The Other Jews: Portraits in Poverty", issued by our organization's Institute of Human Relations Press. It is the first booklet published in a generation on the subject of the Jewish poor, and is available from: Institute of Human Relations Press, 165 E. 56th St., New York, N.Y. 10022 at \$1.25 a copy.

American Jewish Committee
New York

On March 18 and 19 we're holding our Second Poor Peoples Conference, so people from around the state can discuss collective means of survival and political struggle. We have councils in the farming, forestry and industrial regions of the state . . . Please inform your readers about the Conference and ask them to come. It is important to have representatives of the people's press of all political shades. Petty differences have kept us apart to the

point that we are in danger of another Attica, but this time it will be worldwide.

Council of the Poor
P.O. Box 5311
Eugene, Oregon

CORRECTION

There was a mistake in the article I sent in last issue on the expose of the way Colt's has been producing defective M-16 rifles here. The "Connecticut Citizen's Action Group," which revealed the company practices, was not a workers' group, but a Nader group, for which the workers testified. I apologize for the error, and hope you can clear this up for your readers.

Correspondent
Connecticut

WHAT'S IN STORE

The first time I heard Nixon talking about instituting a "value added tax", I thought it sounded suspiciously like the "turnover tax" I had read about in *Marxism and Freedom* in the chapter on Russian state-capitalism. I just re-read that section, and sure enough—it sounds like exactly the same thing.

How right Marx was when he said that "the only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possessions of modern peoples is their national debt." And how right Raya Dunayevskaya was when she said "the whole cost (in Russia) of industrialization and militarization has been borne by the people through that ingenious scheme known as the 'turnover tax'." I strongly suggest that everyone who has a copy should reread Chapter 13 to see what may be in store for us.

Technician
Pittsburgh

Ever since he got into office, Nixon's new Secretary of Agriculture, Butz, has been fighting against imposing any price controls on food. Meanwhile the prices at the super-market have been jumping higher every week. And now I've heard everything! He has just had the gall to say that the reason for the rising food prices was "consumers, with their increasing incomes, have bid these prices up."

The only thing I can make out of that

is that Butz wants everyone to stop eating. That's exactly what everybody in the check-out lines at the super-market has been saying we'll soon have to do.

Consumer
Detroit

FOR WL

Scientists say that we have been living on earth for millions of years. If "men" have always been at the command of everything, then our civilization shows that we have failed. This is the reason why I believe that "women" should share the commanding post of this Universe. Her participation will bring about a moral balance so badly needed to make this world "Human."

African Student — Male
Michigan

WESLEYAN WORKERS

The second attempt by Wesleyan University workers to organize into a union was defeated here at an election on January 7th. However, the vote was much closer this time than in the first election three years ago.

One worker analyzing the loss attributed it to the scare tactics used by the University and the failure of the union, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, to run an effective organizing campaign:

"Wesleyan played on this, too. They told us all kinds of lies and scare stories about the union. But people who've never been in a union before don't know they're lies. It's especially true of custodians. They were scared, and with good reason. They know they can be replaced.

"But now people are mad. They feel like they've been had. For example, during the drive Wesleyan kept saying 'We're doing something about the insurance plan.' And after the drive was over, they did something alright, they raised the rates and cut the benefits.

"The next time we try to organize, the first step should be a committee of workers, so we know where we're going before we start out. Then we can shop around for a decent union."

Wesleyan worker
Connecticut

In Arizona, Arkansas, Michigan: Youth continue the struggle

Students fight Ariz. U. birth control ban

Tucson, Ariz.—A year ago, the State Board of Regents banned birth control information and services on University property. Previously, pills, diaphragms and other contraceptives were generally supplied to all women who wanted them for a small fee.

Since the ban, the backlog is so great at Planned Parenthood that women wait two or three months for service there. The county hospital in Tucson requires a poverty oath, and not everyone can afford a private doctor.

The Associated Students at University of Arizona is fighting back by suing the Board for the right to use the profits from their bookstore for birth control service. The Regents claim this is illegal. There is a student fund drive going to raise the \$6,000 needed to open a "street clinic."

Meanwhile, the local radio blares out that "birth control discussions will be held monthly in the girls' dorms." But how will discussions protect you?

On Jan. 9, we went to Phoenix to demonstrate for abortion legislation. There were about 50 women, including a 92 year-old grandma from the YWCA and a few men. "One-eyed" Jack Williams, the governor, came out surrounded by state troopers. The Health Committee in the legislature is stacked by conservatives, so there is little chance of getting a bill through. But new elections are this fall. —M.L.K.

New Student Handbook attacked in Arkansas

Little Rock, Ark.—The recent publication of the Student Rights Handbook, printed and distributed by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, has created quite a furor among parents and school administrators, who apparently don't believe that students should know their rights.

The Handbook, which contains nothing but the legal rights that a student has in and out of school, was distributed to many Arkansas schoolchildren. One superintendent who had read the Handbook said that he realized that students do have rights, but so long as they are not aware of those rights it keeps down trouble. A parent said she thought the Handbook could be damaging to the morale of the student body. "The only rights I want my child to know about are those rights set out by the School Board, administrators, and teachers."

An article in a local paper, titled "Outside Agitation," suggested the Handbook was a "Blueprint for School Disruption" and that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was controlled by "outside interests."

The students, however, were "impressed and pleased" with the Handbook. "Thanks for reminding us that along with responsibilities, students, too, have rights," commented one student.

Unity of Black and white wins Miss. woodcutter strike

Detroit, Mich.—The high point of a recent auto workers' Conference on Racism here, was the testimony of several Mississippi woodcutters who recently won their strike against the Masonite Corporation in Laurel, when Black and white joined together to fight a 25 per cent cut in their take-home pay.

Two white woodcutters spoke of how white workers in the South are starting to move in fighting racism. One spoke of how he was raised in the South, and of his work in Alabama shipyards and plants. He said it was the strike in Laurel that brought him to realize that there had to be unity between white and Black.

A second white worker ran down what it's like to be a pulpwood worker. You make \$2,000 a year, and they force you to be an independent contractor so they don't have to pay you any fringe benefits. When the strike started, they had only \$600 in their treasury. He said that the white workers who banded together with the Blacks were called "Nigger-lovers" and "Communists," when they said they were for equal rights, but it didn't stop anyone.

A Black woodcutter who had been one of the organizers of the strike described how he had been offered a raise to stop his activity, and, when he refused, how attempts were made on his life. He spoke of their search for help, and how everyone turned them down until they called Charles Evers. It was the white haulers who were the first to say that he was exactly the one they needed.

They felt they should admit that they haven't stamped out racism completely from their midst, but said they felt they could—and not only racism, but sexism, too, since there are women involved as well as men.

Danish shipbuilders strike to rehire fired union rep.

Alborg, Denmark—2,000 workers at the huge shipyards of Alborg went on sympathy strike on Nov. 30 when a union representative of the metal workers had been fired without warning. The management said he was fired because he had caused several illegal strikes at the wharf.

Two days later the head of the union representatives at "Alborg Vaerft" urged the workers to go back to work because the strike was "illegal"; i.e., no notice had been given. The central labor organization also asked the workers to resume work, but they voted to keep striking.

The manager of the wharf said he would not take the representative back under any circumstances, not even if it should cost the wharf 200,000 Kr. in fines for firing him, and 200,000 Kr. in compensation to him. By saying so, he tacitly admitted that the firing had been groundless, and thus liable to fines.

The shipbuilders' strike lasted 14 days. A few minutes after they resumed work, ten of them were fired, among them the fellow who had acted as their spokesman during the strike. It seems that the institution of peace-keeping union representatives is being revealed as a tool for the capitalists and not for the interests of the workers. The reaction at other plants is to refuse to elect union representatives. New forms of organizing the struggle are being born.

"We Can Make It Work"

Pontiac, Mich.—A group of Jefferson Junior High School students, calling themselves "The Group," have formed to show that busing to achieve integrated schools can work, despite what many of their parents claim.

More than 1,000 Black, white, and Chicano students are members of The Group. Several of them travel around to other Pontiac schools and citizen's organizations and give a program called "We Can Make It Work," a collection of skits and speeches about how people must live together.

One student says, "We want everyone to see each other as kids, as people, not Blacks and whites." Another says, "We tell them (the students) that they can make it work. Teachers, principals, and parents will help, but the rest has got to come from inside you to really make it work."

These students show that only the kids themselves will break down the old racist barriers set up by their parents, and form the path to a better society.

"The 1916 Irish revolution gave a signal to the world that man's struggle for freedom was not alone an ideological, but a material force. It raised a flame that would continue to burn until independence was finally won. Lenin hailed the rebellion and accepted it as the real test of his thesis on self-determination . . ." — Marxism and Freedom, p. 164

New British Edition of Marxism and Freedom

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by Raya Dunayevskaya

With a special preface by Harry McShane and a new appendix "Mao's China and the Proletarian Cultural Revolution," by Raya Dunayevskaya. Published by Pluto Press, 6 Cottons Gardens, London

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 1)

WHEN AUTOMATION was introduced into the auto industry, the "thinkers" as you refer to them, were all yelling to workers that this was something to make work easier on production workers. Practically every worker, however, was opposed to it. Workers began wildcat strikes everywhere against Automation. And they were right. Automation has doubled the work load, and put thousands of workers out of work.

It was the West Virginia miners who started the workers' revolt against Automation. The miners had been on strike in 1949-50 for six months before the word Automation was ever invented. The new machine was called the "Continuous Miner"—and the miners were striking not only for better wages and against unemployment, but were asking: "What kind of labor should man do? Why should there be this division between manual and mental work? Why can't doing and thinking be united?" On other words, they were asking questions about philosophy.

DURING THEIR strike, with no money coming to them, they were desperately in need of food and clothing to keep themselves and their families alive. They came to Detroit, a very small committee, and went to local union meetings asking UAW members for help. Some of the local union presidents were trying to give the line to workers on how much their union could afford. But time after time a rank and file worker would get up and move to double that amount. We canvassed every worker in attendance and got personal donations in addition. In two weeks workers had collected enough donations in food and clothing to fill half a dozen 60 foot trailer trucks. They took it to West Virginia—and it enabled the miners and their families to hold out and win the strike.

I could cite hundreds of incidents in one industry after another, to show you not only that American workers do plenty of "thinking"—but that the reason intellectuals do not understand what is going on all around them is because workers think their own thoughts. (Just consider all the intellectuals who kept saying the British miners were backward and would never strike. They were saying it right up to the day the British miners went on strike and paralyzed the whole Tory government.)

WHAT MOST workers know, and most intellectuals have yet to learn is that a new society is the human endeavor or it is nothing. It cannot be brought in behind the backs of people. As Marxism and Freedom puts it: "There is a crying need for a new unity of theory and practice, which begins with where working people are—their thoughts, their struggle, their aspirations."

What we workers are demanding is that work be completely different, not separated from life. We want thinking and doing united. A total solution is needed, and it can be nothing short of a new Humanism—Marxist-Humanism.

Yours,
Charles Denby

READERS:

DO YOU HAVE A STORY
TO TELL? SEND IT IN!

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BLACK-RED VIEW

By John Alan

There are three recent books on Black Culture in the USA: South to a Very Old Place by Albert Murray, The World of Gwendolyn Brooks and Harlem Renaissance by Nathan Irvin Huggins. I intend to review them in detail in subsequent issues of my "Black-Red" column.

These three books offer major new insights, not considered at any length before, into Afro-American culture. They most certainly could not have been written prior to the last decade of Black struggles for liberation—both in the United States and in Africa—which gave birth to a new consciousness of self to Black people all over the world.

Of the three, Albert Murray's South To A Very Old Place seems to me to be the most important because it is not an Odyssey back in time, but a contemporary attempt to cut through the ambiguity that surrounds Black and white relationships in this country, and to bring into sharp focus the distinct impact that Blacks have made upon the culture of this country.

IDENTITY CRISIS

Americans, both Black and white, have always had a "crisis of identity." Intellectuals, even reactionary ones like D. H. Lawrence, gleefully and sarcastically pointed this out and searched to find this "... homunculus of the new era ..." "... this missing link of the new era ..." under the bushes of American literature. In a certain sense Mr. Murray may be doing the same thing in his examination of writers like Robert Penn Warren, William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe and others.

The crisis of identity in the United States does not stem from any psychological feelings of inferiority to European culture (as it does in some Latin American countries) but from the fact that the bourgeoisie has never been able to live up to its ideals of liberty and equality to all mankind, though it fought two bloody revolutions on this continent with these ideals inscribed on the banners.

In short, the humanism of the North American bourgeois revolution was stillborn twice: once when the framers of the Constitution compromised on the issue of slavery after our revolutionary war for independence

DISCUSSION ARTICLE:

Dublin writer views Ireland, North and South

Dublin, Ireland—The murder of 13 Derry citizens by British troops at a Civil Rights March has thrown Ireland into a state of shock and emotional nationalism. There is no way that the British Army can justify the murders, as journalists, citizens and both wings of the I.R.A. have attested repeatedly that no shots were fired at the army before the troops shot into the crowd.

In Dublin, Fianna Fail (the ruling party) reacted by declaring a national day of mourning. All businesses and public places were closed that Wednesday, except, of course, the Public houses (bars).

WATCHING THE EMBASSY BURN

Consequently, with every meeting place closed except the pubs, the Irish people had a chance to do their bit for Ireland by demonstrating outside the British Embassy. For three nights and days, crowds of up to 25,000 watched at Merrion Square while the Provisional I.R.A. threw petrol bombs and gelignite at the Embassy, while playing the 1916 martyr songs through loudspeakers.

The Official I.R.A. who started the petrol bombing on Monday were batoned by the police. On Wednesday evening, the Officials attempted to burn the British Trade Commission and the E.E.C. (Common Market) offices ... and suffered over 40 baton charges by the police. Many members of the Officials were injured ... At no time during the Provisionals' demonstrations had the police made any attempt to stop them from throwing bombs.

Threats to supermarkets, and other businesses to stop stocking British goods have come from the Provisionals. A ban on all the English newspapers lasted for two weeks. Bombs have been thrown at Protestant houses and threats made to the English living in the South. Only the Official I.R.A. has stated that "The Republican Movement wishes it to be clearly understood that it stands resolutely behind the rights of all the people of Ireland, North and South, Protestant and Catholic, and that any attempt at intimidation or repression, legalized or otherwise, will be resisted as peacefully as possible, but if necessary, Protestants in the South will be defended as vigorously as are the Catholics in the North."

The Provisional I.R.A. doesn't want a workers' republic; they want capitalism and the Catholic Church. Only the Officials are a threat to the Government and Church as they demand the wealth of the people for the people. In the Republic, unemployment has reached its highest in 30 years. There are now over 90,000 unemployed. There are still 20,000 homeless in Dublin, and 40,000 people living in 5,000 homes in some areas. We still have no contraception and have 89 per cent of our schools controlled by the Catholic Church.

Books probe new Black impact

from British imperialism, and again after our Civil War, and right down to the present day.

In the 1960's, the decade of struggles for civil rights, when Black people were saying, "Black is Beautiful . . . I am Black and I am proud," they were not just mouthing rhetoric but giving expression to a new conscious force which was seeing the discrepancy between things as they are and things as they ought to be, especially here in this most technicalized society on the face of the earth. Black people not only provided identity to their humanity, but a rallying point around which thousands of whites could discover their own humanity.

"PIECE OF PIE" NO ANSWER

From what I've read so far, I gather that Albert Murray would not be considered a "militant" Black writer. In many instances he appears downright reactionary, but for a Black man to be reactionary is a very different thing from a reactionary white man. True, although Murray's solution to Black needs in America is, "get a piece of that pie—get into the omnipotent system of American capitalism which extracts a nickel from every barefooted African who makes a ten cent phone call . . ." his central theme remains: "the problem is how to evolve sociopolitical tactics and strategies that are truly indigenous to, and compatible with, the dynamics of U.S. Negro life style."

We, as Marxist-Humanists, see these tactics and strategies coming from the self-activity of the American Black masses, so vividly portrayed in our new pamphlet "Black, Brown & Red — the Movement for Freedom among Black, Chicano and Indian."

Albert Murray, however, can only imagine fundamental revolutionary changes, NOT at the "bottom with the so-called masses, but at the very top." This, of course, is the same old elitist "theory." But in any case, Murray's book appears to me to be an important one politically, at the moment, because he does see Black and white, not as polar opposites but as elements interacting upon each other. And he seems to echo Frederick Douglass' statement in opposition to Black colonization: "We live here—have lived here—have a right to live here—and mean to live here."

Nothing has changed in 50 years. Catholic education and conditions, capitalist domination over all workers North and South has divided our people. We are on the brink of Civil War. It will take generations and deaths before we achieve the Republic of Wolfe Tone where we can "bury the memory of past dissensions and substitute the common name of Irishmen for the denomination of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter" and it will take generations of jail terms in internment camps and prisons, North and South, before we can be Irish in an Irish Workers Republic as James Connolly mapped out for us over 50 years ago. —Mary Anderson

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from page 5)

scientist"—who is as intense about working out a philosophy of liberation as about actions to shape the course of history—coincided with the outbreak of World War II. The high point that was reached "perished," to use the Hegelian concept, and the move backward in thought and in activity began. At first the direction was not altogether clear. Thus, the collaboration with Gunnar Myrdal not merely in the research but rich analysis for An American Dilemma did not seem to signify that Bunche would allow the bourgeois sociologist's "value premises" to supersede his world view of race, concept of class and philosophy of liberation. Bunche's comprehensive "Memo" — "The Progress, Ideologies, Tactics and Achievements of Negro Betterment and Inter-racial Organizations" (2)—is far superior to Myrdal's pallid "value premises." Though Myrdal understood well that the Negro would not continue to be "submissive" but "will organize for defense and offense," (American Dilemma, p. 1004) he asked from the benighted South only for enfranchisement of "the higher strata of the Negro population" (p. 519). Nevertheless, Bunche, the most radical of radicals then, along with everyone from W.E.B. Du Bois to the lowliest intellectual Black "assistant", kept from seriously criticizing Myrdal and allowed him to use their works for the conservative ends of the Carnegie endowed project. (3)

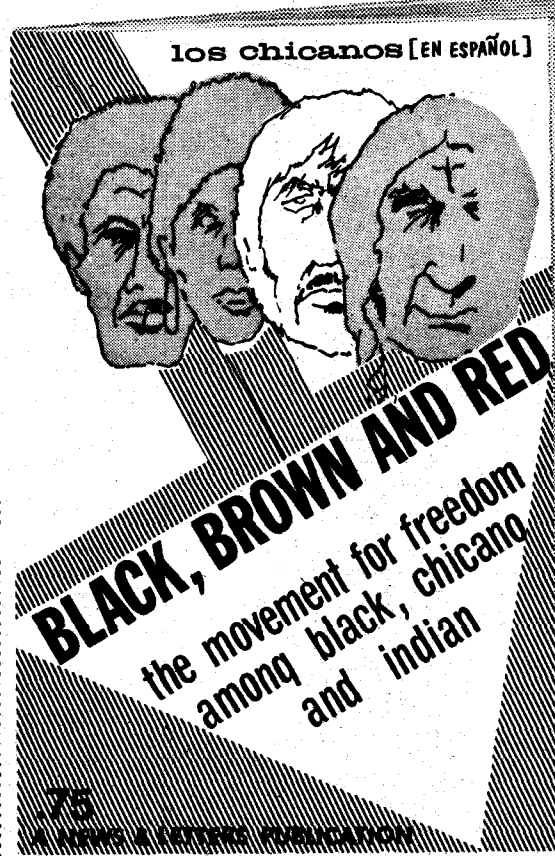
In a word, the radicalism of Bunche proved to be illusory, that is, radicalism of the chair only. And while he kept from criticizing Myrdal, Mr. Myrdal did not hesitate to attack Mr. Bunche.

"In passing it should be observed that the academic

(2) Along with this are the other contributions to the study of the Negro that Myrdal did not use in American Dilemma. Bunche's document is in the Schomburg Library (N.Y. Public Library, 135th St. & 7th Ave.) and should by all means be studied.

(3) The 1944 review I wrote was reprinted in total in News & Letters, Feb. 1961. The pagination above refers to the original (1944) hard cover edition by Harper Bros.

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Forgotten pages of Bunche

radicalism of Negro intellectuals exemplified by the citation from Mr. Bunche, can easily come to good terms with the type of liberal but skeptical laissez-faire (do nothing) opinion so prevalent among white social scientists, writing on the Negro problem . . . Since neither party is very active in trying to induce or prevent an economic revolution, it does not make much difference if the Negro radicals look forward to an economic revolution and the white sociologists do not." (Page 1398, footnote 13.)

THE UN AND THE CONGO

It was the beginning of the end of the revolutionary road for Ralph Johnson Bunche. It wasn't that he had become an Uncle Tom. Ralph Bunche tommed to no one. To the intelligentsia, white as well as Black (and after Hitler's attack on Russia, spurred on by Communists), World War II looked like the "democratic" answer to Nazism. (For that matter, the greatest hot-house transformation into opposite was the CIO's vying with capitalism in the transformation of the American production process into the world armaments center, misnamed "arsenal of democracy.") Ralph Bunche plunged into the preliminary work for the to-be UN, and then became second in command in the UN. Total self-delusion came with becoming the architect of the Middle East. As he was to express it, "the single most satisfying work I've ever done . . . for the first time we have found a way to use military men for peace instead of war."

Then came the Congo. As if in mere answer to Premier Patrice Lumumba's request for aid in keeping the rich Katanga province from seceding from the newly-born Congo Republic, UN troops, misnamed "peace-keeping mission" and headed by Bunche, were dispatched to the Congo. Rooted in this UN intervention was the true face of UN as "collective" imperialist as well as the new form of struggle between the two nuclear titans—the United States and Russia. This was not just the beginning of the end of Bunche as "revolutionary"; it was the end of Bunche as Black, as man, as "world view of race". All that remained was total self-delusion.

—February 13, 1972

By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN VIEW

British miners' strike defeats Tory government

From Glasgow, in the midst of the miners' strike came the following letter:

We are getting power cuts district by district for periods of three hours. The miners are proving how essential they are. Even the capitalist press admits that the determination of the miners was underestimated. By holding out against the miners the Government is bringing industry to a standstill. Of course, the miners are breaking the law by picketing the power stations. The Government is adhering to the law by trying to starve the miners out. So much for the law.

Heath has been stupid even from a capitalist point of view. He has brought British capitalism to a serious position by his stubborn pose as the strong man of, not Britain, but Europe. Every time he appears on TV he makes more enemies. The Court of Enquiry might save him by making a recommendation that the miners could accept.

The action of the miners is more effective than years of parliamentary activity. We have only one Bernadette in Parliament.

The miner's strike in Great Britain—the first nationwide coal strike in that country in 46 years—won tremendous support from every strata of society there. From what had appeared to be one of the most quiescent sections of the working class, the miners exploded into one of the most militant forces the country had ever seen.

Six thousand workers — miners shoulder to shoulder with men straight from the factory bench—joined together to force the closure of the Soltey coke depot in Birmingham. They sang "We shall not be moved," and in a matter of hours stopped the movement of coal. Coal had been moving out of the depot despite the best efforts of hundreds of striking miners to stop it until the workers in Birmingham, 35,000 strong, went on a one day strike in support of the miners.

This was typical of the support that the 280,000 striking coal miners received throughout Great Britain in their battle with the National Coal Board and its owner, the government.

The miners were on strike for some seven

weeks in search of higher pay. Their base pay had ranged from \$47 a week for a surface worker to \$78 for an underground worker. Over the past several years the miners have been slipping further behind other workers in wages. Figures as of April, 1971, showed miners earning \$1.70 less a week than workers in all other industries and over \$5 less per week than workers in other manufacturing industry.

Despite industry's insistence about the necessity of linking wage increases to higher productivity, the case of the coal miners showed that productivity increases have been well ahead of wage increases. From 1967 to 1972 productivity in the British coal mines, in terms of amount each man produces during one shift, is up 55 to 60 percent. But the miners' earnings during the same period rose only 25 percent. And this is an industry which has seen its numbers shrink from 700,000 in the 1950's to less than 300,000 today.

MINES, POWER STATIONS, COAL DEPOTS

Faced with this situation, and by a National Coal Board which proceeded to withdraw its already low offer when the miners went out, the miners hit back with everything they had.

At the mines, the workers clashed with the pit deputies, a management union, who are supposed to go into the mines and check on the safety conditions. The miners claimed that too many pit deputies were trying to go into the mines than were necessary, and overrode union officials in urging a banning of all safety workers from the mines.

At coal depots, they stopped the use of coal by any except emergency services such as hospitals. Arrests of picketing miners occurred at mines, depots and power stations. A truck running a picket line at one power station struck and killed a miner. Miners by the thousands marched at his funeral.

The miners at power stations and depots were supported by other workers, sleeping in the homes of unionists and provided food by their wives.

The power of the miners was felt everywhere. Blackouts occurred all over England. The government, after refusing to deal with the miners except to withdraw its last offer, was forced to seek an Emergency measure which limited the use of elec-

tricity in factories. Thousands of factories closed and others had to go on three day weeks. The number of workers suspended from their jobs rose into the millions, but the miners never lost their support. Students at York University gave \$480 to support the strike.

Joined by many others the miners rallied in Trafalgar Square and called for a general strike. While the government was attacked by all, including the mother of the killed miner who called for the miners to keep up the fight against "the most vicious Tory government in this century," the Labor Party was not spared either. The Chairman of the Labor Party was booed as he was reminded how many pits were closed under the previous Labor government.

In fact the miners voiced their whole disdain for the Parliament as a talking-shop and not a working body, when several days later they marched by the thousands to Parliament and demanded to be let in as a body. Only a massive line of police stopped them from doing so.

MORE THAN A MINER VICTORY

The strike of the coal miners did more to destroy the Heath Tory government in two months than all of the talk indulged in by Wilson over the years. Heath's plan to keep wage increases down to eight percent has been shattered.

Not only have the miners demonstrated the power of an important part of the working class in Britain, they have exposed the weakness of the Tory government. Inspired by the civil war in Ireland (see lead article, p. 1), the miners moved their strike to challenge the Tory government as government.

They took the measure of the Tory government, and won.

The 20 percent wage increase is important, but it fades in the light of what the coal miners fully accomplished. In addition to demonstrating their unquestionable power, they demonstrated how total are the forces aligned against the Tory government: the Irish masses in North Ireland, the African masses in Rhodesia, and the working class throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain.

'Bloody Sunday' to Newry: Irish masses demand rights, freedom

(Continued from page 1)

for a worker to get unemployment benefits in Irish money rather than in English? She urged British workers to force their unions to demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

REPORT FROM NEWRY MARCH

The week following the massacre in Derry culminated in the largest march in the four-year history of the civil rights movement in the North of Ireland. It followed the demonstrations in Britain, and the mass attack by workers and students on the British embassy in Dublin (see article from Dublin, page 7). Here is how one participant in that historic march at Newry described it:

When I went to Newry on Sunday morning and saw the security forces' preparations, my reaction was quite simple: I was scared stiff. Newry was alive with troops whose camouflage suits, blackened faces, gas-launchers, rifles, machine guns, Armoured Personnel Carriers, armoured-cars, clubs, helmets, flak-jackets, bulldozers, dyewaggons, barbed wire, and concrete blocks seemed to be obscenely irrelevant in this small and ordinarily peaceful town. If violence had arisen on this march, there would have been no doubt in my mind as to its origins . . .

The purpose of the march was two-fold, said the Newry C.R.A. handout: to show our contempt for the Stormont System by breaking the ban on parades; and to demand an end to the Internment Special Powers Act, the withdrawal of the British Military, and an end to the Orange/Unionist System at Stormont . . .

The March moved off at three after a derisory warning by a loud-hailer from a helicopter that the 'procession' was illegal. I would guess that at that stage it contained in excess of 50,000 people. We moved silently downhill towards Newry, and then there was grim warning of the possible outcome, as the route was dotted with ambulances and volunteer white-coated doctors. Collision with the army would have meant panic, riot and massacre. So the C.R.A. re-routed the march down into a large open square in the housing estate . . .

The demonstration was a people's demonstration. It was housewives, pensioners, farmers, workers who were on the move, not a handful of Provisionals. You cannot destroy this form of popular movement with gas and clubs and bullets.

MARCHES AND "LEAKS"

Since the march at Newry, many more demonstrations have been held. The following Sunday, thousands marched at Enniskillen. Among them was Mrs. Abernathy, representing the Southern Christian Leadership

Conference (SCLC). The marchers sang "We Shall Overcome", as they have for the past four years in Ireland, and the unity of the Black struggle in America and the Irish fight for freedom was unmistakable.

As the marches continued, rumors were persistently "leaked" from Heath's fellow Cabinet members that the Tories were about to come up with a "new Irish Policy"—that they were only waiting for the right moment to introduce it. The rumors were that Heath would offer some form of "community government" for the six counties, and possibly release a few of the internees. Hardly had the "leaks" begun, however, when it was clear that neither the Ulster masses opposed to Tory rule, nor the British workers sick to death of Heath's repressive and anti-labor policies, were in the least bit interested.

British coal miners intensified their strike, shutting off power to industry all over Britain—and they won the support of all British workers (See miners strike, p. 8). The British coal miners and the Irish masses want only one thing from Prime Minister Heath—his resignation. Many connected the struggles in the mines with the war in Ireland, as the Coal Board claims poverty while millions are spent on the ever-increasing troop strength in Ulster.

MEDIEVAL INTERNMENT

Rather than the "reforms" and "liberalized" policies the Tories claim they are sponsoring in the North, the truth is that the number of men interned in the medieval concentration camps has gone up steadily since internment began with the pre-dawn raids on August 9, 1971. 300 were arrested in the month that followed, but the total is now up to nearly 750. Relatives are still not informed for days or even weeks of the whereabouts of those arrested, and British use of electric shock and water torture has been documented over and over again in the past months.

In response to these raids, the ghettos of Belfast and Derry have organized themselves to prevent quick arrests. Signs on Bogside walls read: "Don't let them take any more. Man your barricade!" Large areas in both Derry and Belfast are now off-limits to all but invasion-size forces of troops, and at least a rudimentary form of citizen rule has been instituted, with street committees making both criminal and civil decisions.

The totality of the crisis in the North of Ireland has even eroded the traditional base of Heath's flunky, Brian Faulkner. Many Protestant workers have abandoned the Unionist party since August, believing correctly that their interests were not being looked after by the Stormont government. They know quite well that the

policies being carried out in their name are in fact formulated in the board rooms of British corporations in London, and in the back rooms of Tory political clubs. No one knows what direction this disenchantment will take, but many in the Irish Left say that anything which moves Protestant workers in the North away from the Protestant capitalists is a welcome development.

WORKERS UNITY NEEDED

The Civil Rights Association has repeated over and over that they do not want to drive out the Protestant working class, that they want the Protestants to join them in ending forever Tory rule in Ulster. Some Protestants have joined the movement, but the Catholic masses will not abandon their fight to wait for the rest to come over. Neither, however, is the movement in the North fooled by the phony speeches of the Irish Republic's Prime Minister "Union Jack" Lynch, who has attempted to reduce the demands of the Ulster masses to Catholic sectarianism.

It is not fear of "sectarianism" which prompted a Belfast judge on February 17 to sentence Bernadette Devlin and twelve other civil rights leaders to six months imprisonment for defying the ban on parades. The sentence is being appealed, but the Faulkner regime has shown that it has no compunction about jailing or murdering anyone who threatens its rule. Despite the jail sentences, new marches are scheduled for the weeks to come. A memorial march has been called for February 27 in Derry, and those who received jail sentences say that they will march again anyway.

It was in the Bogside slums and the Creggan housing projects that the civil rights movement began in 1968. It was among those same crumbling houses that the 13 were murdered on January 30. And it will be on those same streets down which future marchers will walk that the freedom of the Irish people, Catholic and Protestant, will be won or lost. The British workers and the Irish masses together can assure that the Heaths and the Faulkners are on the way out.

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