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WORKER'S JOURNAL

Monster machine fails to replace Mack workers

by Charles Denby, Editor

A worker from the Chrysler Mack Avenue Stamping plant, where they build the stub frames for most Chrysler cars, said that over the years since Automation was brought into the plant, workers felt the company had put in all that could be put in. Then, some months before the end of the 1969 model change-over, they were saying the old automated line would be deleted and a new modern line would be put in its place, on another floor, and this would eliminate the jobs of over 300 welders.

The old automated line would produce from 1500 frames on what they call a bad day, to 2300 on a good day. The new automated line was supposed to double production. Some skilled workers began to say they did not believe the G.M. Machine would work. They had learned that G.M. and Ford Motor Company had tried it previously and it had failed.

They all had seen that the Monster was ready, but trouble began with the new machines the day the younger workers were laid off. For a week the company could only get from 200 to 400 jobs a day, and 50 per cent of what was produced was scrap that could not go out of the shop.

The tension was mounting day by day. Someone reported that one of the big engineers of the company was fired. Another report was that most of the other plants would be shut down for lack of frames. A few days later all those laid off workers were rehired, and production was rescheduled, from five days and 40 hours a week, to seven days and 70 hours. So everyone assumed those rumors were correct.

SEVEN DAYS A WEEK

Much of the afternoon shift worked around the clock, two shifts in one, from 4 p.m. to 5 a.m. Many older workers said that never before in the history of the company, to their knowledge, had production been scheduled for seven days a week. They knew something was wrong and the company was desperate.

They toiled and toiled with the new Monster, and the best they ever got was some 800 to 900 frames a day. Then they had to revert back to the old automated line. It was said that the company had lost more than \$6,000,000 dealing with the new Monster.

After reverting back to the old line, they cut production schedules from seven days a week to six days, nine hours a day, and the afternoon shift to 13 hours a night. But the scrap continued to come.

What every worker knew was this: that when the material for the frame is shaped or pressed out in the press room, the steel must fit perfectly for any automatic welding to work. If the steel is too short, let's say a quarter of an inch, the Monster cannot weld it; if it is out of line a fraction, no welding. Where a worker would put in an extra filler rod to fill up the space or hole, or would hammer the steel in line, the Monster cannot.

There will never be a day when all the stock from those dies in the press room comes out perfectly. If the stock is a little high, the Monster will burn holes in it. What is awful is that if it burns a hole in one frame, it most likely do the same with 200 or more frames. If this happens to one frame with a worker there, he can adjust it for the second frame, and there won't be any more holes..

SPEED-UP STOPPED

The foremen were riding workers for missing welds and putting on parts after they reverted back to the old line. What happened was they speeded up the line because they knew how much production they had lost. After several days of this harassing from the foremen, a group of workers on the line refused to work.

They did not walk off or say they were striking, but just stopped working and stayed put. They said if the company wanted decent welds and parts put on, it must cut down the speed of the line. After 20 minutes, the company slowed down the line.

The union leaders could only yell about how much money workers are making—material things,—not a word about a human being, what his health or life means to him, as though you should not have any feelings if they are paying you to destroy yourself. One worker said, "We could do much more for ourselves in this shop if we did not have those union S.O.B.s in here propping up the company; and man, one day those bureaucrats got to go. They cannot realize they are digging their own graves. I want to be there to sing that old song, 'I will be glad when you are dead, you rascal you.'"

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NEWS

LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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EXPOSES TRIPLE CONSPIRACY

BLACK CONSTRUCTION FIGHT RAGES

In the largest demonstration of its kind that Pittsburgh has ever seen, thousands upon thousands of blacks and whites marched on "Black Monday," Sept. 15, from "Freedom Corner" in the city's black district, to the Golden Triangle in the heart of downtown Pittsburgh, and back to the U.S. Steel building, where they had halted construction for three days

at the end of August, demanding the end of lily-white unionism. They shouted "Freedom Now" and let the world know that black labor will not settle for anything less. The following "Black Monday" saw thousands more marching in Chicago, Oklahoma City and Seattle, while black coalitions prepared for similar demonstrations-to-come in cities across the entire nation: Cleveland, Boston, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, St. Louis.

The very same day, the AFL-CIO construction unions opened their lily-white convention in Atlantic City and denounced as "illegal" the much belated "Philadelphia Plan"—which would require contractors bidding on federal construction jobs to employ a certain quota of minority workers in certain skilled trades — a plan which that blight on the house of labor, George Meany, had already joined hands with Senator McClellan of Arkansas to attempt to bury. In the face of this open white racism, the pious "policy statement" issued by the convention, to take in "qualified black applicants" was nothing more than an insult to black workers, who know that as long ago as 1962, the heads of 119 AFL-CIO unions signed an anti-bias pledge at the White House, and seven years later, blacks are still almost completely excluded.

OPEN CONSPIRACY

It was sheer hypocrisy when Haggerty, President of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department, seized the opportunity to blame the Nixon Administration — which had announced a 75 percent cutback in federally financed construction at the very height of the black workers' demonstrations — for increasing unemployment and "preventing" the union from training and hiring new black workers. But the hypocrisy of Haggerty does not remove the guilt from the Administration.

The whole spectacle, in fact, reveals a veritable conspiracy between the labor bureaucracy, the Nixon Administration, and the most reactionary section of the capitalist class in the South, to keep America "two societies, increasingly separate and increasingly unequal."

The Nixon Administration has made little attempt to hide its reactionary moves in every civil rights issue that has come up.

There has not even been an attempt to deny the fact that an open deal was made between Mississippi Senator Stennis and Nixon: Nixon would order a delay of Mississippi school integration, and in return Stennis would see to it that Nixon's military-appropriations bill would pass.

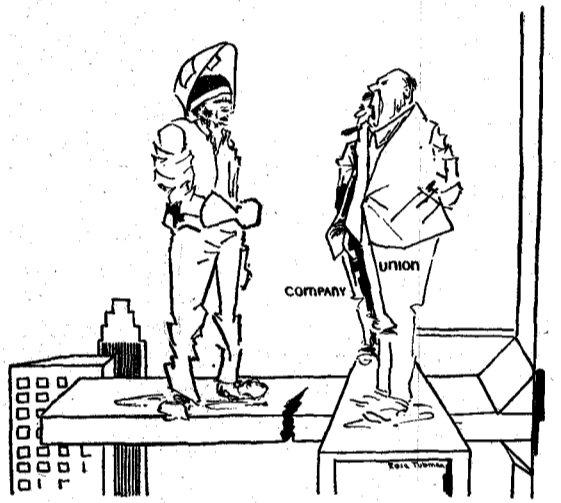
HAGGERTY'S DEAL

Now added to this conspiracy is the deal that Haggerty has just made with the Administration.

Despite the fact that between 30 and 50 percent of the work force in the U.S. is employed by companies with government contracts, the government has never enforced the already existing laws against discrimination on public projects that were a vital part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training was ordered that same year to decertify and cut off funds of any apprenticeship program that did not comply with Equal Employment Opportunity legislation. Not a single one has been decertified to date.

In return for continuing not to force the lily-white unions to train black workers, the Administration wants to be assured that it can count on the labor bureaucracy not to conduct any all-out strikes for higher wages, which the Administration is trying to blame for the highest inflationary spiral in 18 years.

The deal was consummated at the Atlantic City
(Continued on Page 8)



"Ok, you two, I've been out here long enough—
now we change places!"

We need your help

There exists in America mass discontent with Nixon's right-wing, racist administration. Youth in the army and on the campuses; blacks and chicanos in the ghettos and in the South; women in liberation groups and in welfare rights organizations; workers in unionized plants and unorganized shops — all have been represented in the mass activity against the American nightmare of "law n' order".

They have raised the banner of the needed American Revolution which could herald a new society, not only here, but throughout the world.

A needed American Revolution is, unfortunately, not an actual one. There are many self-appointed vanguards with "master-plans" to hand to the mass movement. News & Letters offers no such blueprint. Our paper instead prints and listens to both the voices of revolt — speaking for themselves — and Marxist-Humanist theoretical analysis. In the past year, we have printed workers' reports of wildcats and black caucuses in Detroit and New Jersey, Prague correspondents on the struggle in Czechoslovakia and youth writing on their demonstrations directly from occupied buildings in high schools and colleges.

We have been supported and financed since we began in 1955 entirely by the contributions and subscriptions of our readers — both members and friends. Inflation has hit us hard, just as it has hit you. All the work that goes into News & Letters is donated. No one gets paid. But printing, postage, rent and supplies run high. This year we will need nearly \$12,000 to keep News & Letters going. We can't do it without your help.

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CITY STATE ZIP

Over 15,000 miners wildcat in two states

Osage, W. Va.—A wildcat strike of coal miners at the Humphrey No. 9 mine in Maudsville erupted on Aug. 10 when management, the Consolidation Coal Co., violated a contract provision. It spread throughout northern West Virginia and into Pennsylvania as over 15,000 miners joined the strikers in sympathy during the two weeks the strike was in progress.

The strike began over the refusal of the company to post a number of new job openings that miners are supposed to know about so they can apply for a change if they qualify.

SET DEADLINE

Local union officials tried negotiating with the company to enforce the contract provision and to get the list of jobs posted, but set a deadline of Sunday, Aug. 10 at 11 p.m., when the midnight shift was to come on to work.

Mine management refused to meet the deadline, and the strike was on. At this point, five of the union officers were fired by the company for calling an unauthorized strike. Actually, the company was at fault, and the district and international officers of the United Mine Workers Union should have immediately authorized the strike and supported the men in this clear contract violation by the company.

As is always the case in such circumstances, mine management next refused to even meet with union representatives so long as the men remained on strike.

STRIKE SPREADS

Word of the strike spread over the weekend, and other area Consol mines came out in sympathy with the Humphrey strikers. The miners felt a double injustice: that management had been the first to violate the contract, and then fired the five officers without cause. The wives of many of the miners in other mines were among the first on the picket lines (see story below).

Meetings of the rank-and-file miners resulted in roving pickets moving throughout the region to close down all the mining operations. Other moves by the company and international and district union officials tried to get the men back to work. The men refused to consider the idea unless the company would honor the agreement and reinstate the fired union officers.

Finally, after two weeks, the strike was settled, but on terms that the rank-and-file miners are still angry about. The union officials were not fired — but

were given 30 days off work without pay. This is very unusual practice in the mines, and is a totally unjust penalty for the men. If anyone should be penalized, it is the company. The strike is over, but the men are far from satisfied.

Miners' wives shut down mines

Morgantown, W. Va.—A "petticoat brigade" stopped all Christopher Coal Co. production in Monongalia County when miners' wives appeared at the Arkwright Mine at 6:30 a.m. on Friday, Aug. 15. They turned back the day shift and then went to another entrance to the mine and turned back the third shift there. Other wives went to Blacksville and closed down both the Consol mine and the Eastern Associated Coal mine in that area.

WOMEN PROTEST FIRINGS

The women were protesting the dismissal of five officials of Local 1058, UMWA, by Mark Sansone, superintendent of Christopher's Humphrey No. 7 mine the Sunday before. The discharge notice had been made effective at the very hour the union officials were discussing the company's failure to post job vacancies in accordance with the current labor-management agreement.

In addition to manning picket lines, the miners' wives, calling themselves the Women's Committee for Discharged Miners, send a telegram to Tony Boyle, president of the UMW, demanding to know: "Do you intend to exercise your duties as president of the United Mine Workers of America? Do you intend to support the five discharged union officers of Local 1058? Or are you going to stand by while District 31 officials take no action to stop Consolidation Coal Co. from running the union in this district?"

No coal had been produced at several other Consol mines since the Sunday before, and the action of the "petticoat brigade" made the shut-down complete.

Nickel workers spearhead spreading Canadian strikes

Sudbury, Ontario—All over northern Ontario workers are out on strike. Some 18,000 miners, smelter and concentrator workers struck International Nickel Company (INCO) on July 10. Several weeks later, nickel workers at the other large company, Falconbridge, also struck. The wave of strikes continued when steelworkers at Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, walked out Aug. 27.

Everywhere you go in Sudbury there are ads telling workers they can buy food on credit or with strike vouchers. In Sudbury, about one out of every three workers is out and the long strike is affecting the whole economy.

STRIKE OVER 75 DAYS OLD

At the smelter in Conniston, just outside Sudbury, workers have kept picket lines up day and night for over 75 days now. One worker said: "INCO is being real hard because they know that if we are out this long and we win, wages will go up all over. All the other strikes are waiting on what will happen here."

The INCO strike is also against the inhuman working conditions in the mines and smelters. Many workers die of heart attacks on the job, and the smelters are hot and filled with sulfur fumes. All the land for at least ten miles around Sudbury is bare of trees and grass because of the fumes. "Remember that we have to breathe the same junk that kills all the plants, day in and day out," one of the picketers said. "INCO thinks that they can poison everyone and nobody will care."

But workers are trying new ways to fight this. One smelter worker filed a suit against INCO for water pollution during the strike and other workers are backing the suit.

CRITICAL OF UNION

Workers were also talking about the international union, the United Steelworkers Union of America. INCO strikers say that the international doesn't care as much about the Canadian members as those in the U.S., and so they are not getting enough support for the strike. Strike benefits are only \$20 a week.

Another problem that the nickel workers are angry about is the housing shortage. Many of the houses in Conniston and other towns around Sudbury are owned by INCO. But there are not nearly enough to go around.

Some workers have waited as long as 20 years on the list to get housing. Workers say that the only way you can get an INCO house is if you know someone. The others have rent that is too high for the wages you make but you have no choice because flats are so scarce.

This has been a long strike and the workers are hurting. But the men on the picket line at the Conniston smelter say that they are not going back.

Black marchers in Pittsburgh set spark

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Posters were distributed among the black communities, about a demonstration march on the stadium to be held Monday, Aug. 25, to get black workers jobs on different construction sites in Pittsburgh.

Monday hundreds of demonstrators met on the Northside. They handed out hard hats to the young kids, so they would have some protection from the riot cops, and four groups were assembled.

The demonstration then went to the U.S. Steel construction site where they tried to talk with some of the workers, to get them to join the demonstration and march to Oakland with us. The white workers got angry and started throwing concrete, pieces of steel, bags of water, garbage—anything they could find — down from about 44 stories up.

Then we marched to Oakland to a hospital construction site. It looked like Vietnam with all the equipment the police had there. The demonstrators used bull horns to try to get the workers to come out. They talked to the workers there and they agreed to shut the site down. Then they marched to the new TV studio being built, and talked to those workers, who closed that down, too.

STICKS, MACE, GUNS

Tuesday morning at 7 the demonstrators met again. The idea was to go every day to all the same construction sites to see if anybody was working.

The demonstrators decided to meet at 12 at Mellon Square. Cops were there to meet us with riot busses. They had big sticks, large pouches of mace, and guns. They told the black leaders to make everyone disperse. Nobody wanted to go, but we finally did. Then some black youths bumped some cops and everything broke out again. There were five cops to each person — beating them on the head, in their ribs, in their stomachs.

MARCHERS SIT-IN

Wednesday we met at 7 again and formed a march back downtown. Everything was peaceful until we got to the U.S. Steel office building where we were to negotiate with the head people.

Everybody was tired of just marching. They decided to have a sit-in to keep any material from going into the construction site. From 44 stories up bags of water and lunches were raining down again, along with steel and rocks — people were being taken to the hospital. But we stopped all the materials from getting in. They pulled up the paddy wagons to take off the demonstrators. The jails were overflowing by now.

Thursday morning the plan was to form a human chain to keep the workers from even going in to start work. Some of those workers might also have been attacked for what they had been doing to us for the past three days. That night the mayor had a meeting with the black leaders and came to an agreement that they would close down all construction sites, including U.S. Steel, and go into negotiations until Tuesday after Labor Day.

WAY OF THE WORLD

Black mayor would help city

By Ethel Dunbar

The truth is yet to be told before the black and white learn to live together without hating each other. The truth today is that many white people are not ready to accept the black people in any way for "leadership". They try to crush black leaders before they have a chance to tell the rest of the people in the nation how they can help to make this a better place for all of us to live.

Look at what happened when Richard Austin, a black man, decided to run for mayor, and came out on top in the primary election. It was not because all black men considered him the greatest that they voted for him almost 100%. It was because he said things that people thought should be said, and because they felt his election would change things around and make Detroit a better place for all the people living there.

There will have to be some changes soon or the United States is headed for fascism. Many people do not feel that this country will be any different from Russia or any other Communist state, if something does not happen to change our direction.

But as soon as the primaries were over, there were those who said that if the black people are going all-out for Richard Austin, then the white people should go all-out for a white mayor. Nobody told all the black people to vote for Austin. They did not have to be told anything. Black people have been voting for whites all their lives, and we have not got very far toward freedom yet.

People all over the world are trying to get some changes in their leadership. But the minute a black man gets close to being a leader, you can count on somebody to go digging around to see if they can find some sort of "record" to use against him. The real truth is that these whites do not want to see a black person in a position to make laws for everyone to go by, because they consider that a job that only the white man should do.

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Hospital pay same as ADC; union drags heels

Detroit, Mich.—I got off ADC when I got the chance to get a job in a hospital here as an Aide. My first day at work was supposed to be spent observing and getting acquainted with the hospital. But when the week was out, I was still confused about what my routines were supposed to be, because there was just so much I was expected to do, I could never seem to catch up.

When the hospital is short of help because of absenteeism, which is most of the time, those who come in are supposed to make up the work of those who haven't. The work is very hard.

ASKED ABOUT UNION

Right after I hired in, I asked an Aide who had been there longer if there was a union in the hospital. She said there was supposed to have been a union coming in since March and that when she had hired in at \$1.60 an hour, they had promised her a raise in two months. But it never came. We aides still get \$1.60 an hour.

We wondered what had happened. We thought maybe the employees had become afraid of losing their jobs. Some had been working at the hospital for years and were afraid they might not find other jobs after 13 or 14 years, if they lost that one. We knew that unless everyone voted together to get the union in, some employees would be thrown out as "trouble-makers."

The first union meeting I had a chance to attend, the union spokesman from Local 79 AFL-CIO sounded

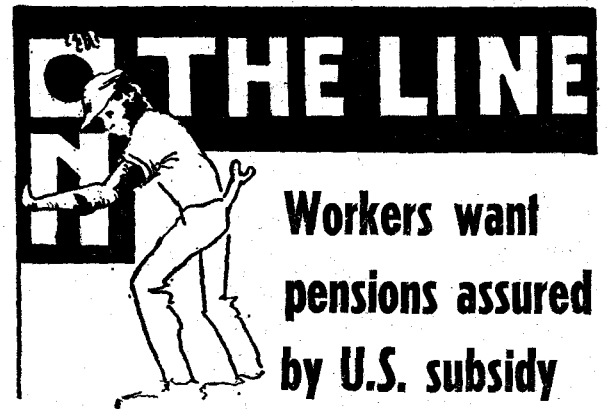
real good. He answered questions from the floor about employee grievances and conditions of work, and explained what the contract would offer the employees, especially in the line of pay-raises. Starting pay for aides would become \$1.75, housekeepers \$1.60, first and second cooks, \$1.95 and \$2.15. They also discussed holiday pay, double-shift work, time-and-a-half-pay when you are called in on your off-day, and a 15 minute coffee break for the afternoon. As the union man answered the questions, it all sounded great. But nothing has changed yet.

DEMAND UNITY AND DIGNITY

How long can we be expected to live off the low wages we are getting with the cost of living going up all the time? One worker said that in 1966 she was getting \$1.01 an hour. Now she is getting \$1.44. All people are entitled to dignity and unity. We have to get together and demand it.

I left ADC to take this job and my check isn't much more than when I was on ADC. I used to get \$112 every two weeks, at the hospital I get \$115 every two weeks after deductions. With three children and myself to take care of, that doesn't go very far.

We hope the union is one that will really represent the poor working people and protect their rights. But we can't help wondering. The union man that is supposed to be speaking for us is very well-dressed and well-fed. He doesn't appear to us to have any problems putting food on his table. What we want to know is how long must we wait for a decent salary to feed our families? From March to October is just too darn long!



By John Allison

The UAW conducted a conference in Washington, D.C. last month, for Chrysler Local Union SUB Council members. Local union presidents were also there. The gathering was supposed to get a chance to meet our respective Congressmen and have them brief us on labor legislation.

I was reminded of a trip we made to Washington several years ago. In fact, we made a trip to Washington every year for ten years or more to hear our congressmen report on the progress of civil rights legislation. The burning question this time was pensions for retired workers, cost of living, and taxes.

The old timers discovered years ago that electing so-called "labor" Congressmen and then asking them for favors is futile. It was certainly futile insofar as getting anything done on civil rights was concerned. You would make the trip to Washington, and they would pacify you (they figured) by putting you in a good hotel, talking to you about how much they were doing, but how hard the job was, and nothing ever came of all the talk.

It took a real movement—a mass movement that sat-in, took Freedom Rides, marched, and finally burned down ghettos—to finally get any civil rights legislation passed. And there is still plenty that will have to be done before we really have freedom and equality of the races in this country.

SUBSIDIZED PENSIONS

So nothing much was really expected out of any of the talk about the questions that were raised this time, either. But the one debate that was the most spirited, and has the most interesting aspects, was the question of why pensions should not be subsidized by the government, in the same way the government subsidizes so much for the capitalists. If banks can be guaranteed they will not lose more than a certain amount, why shouldn't a worker be guaranteed he will not lose his pension? The principle of government subsidization has certainly already been established.

At Packard, Murray Body, Studebaker, Hudson, and so many small companies too numerous to mention, the pension plans have been gutted and the workers left without anything because the plants have either closed down, or runaway to the South.

The question came up: why shouldn't the vested rights of workers be protected by the government? Insofar as workers are concerned, if a worker gives ten years of his life to a company, he has a vested right to pick up his pension, whether or not the company shuts down or runs away. It becomes a matter of equating seniority, or years of service, with pension rights.

BURNING ISSUE

The guys in the shop were excited about the idea when it got back to them. At Highland Park it is an especially burning issue because the plant is moving to Ohio. But most of the workers wonder how many heads will have to be cracked before anything like that becomes a reality. They know there will be a lot of mumbo-jumbo before anything comes out of all the talk, and they aren't willing to wait another ten years to see something done about their problems.

The question is, whose heads will have to be cracked? The mood in this country is such today, that people are perfectly willing for it to be Congress's.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Everybody was looking forward to the brand new cafeteria at Fleetwood. They were saying it would be air-conditioned, which would be a great improvement over the old one. But when it was finally completed and the hourly workers came in the new cafeteria to go through the line, guards were standing there to direct them to the old cafeteria. You actually had to walk further than before. This is no big thing, but it's the principle. The salaried workers get to eat in the new part of the cafeteria and we have to eat in the old one. The old cafeteria is not air-conditioned, so we do not get anything better than we had before.

Many workers were talking about a boycott of the cafeteria when they saw what had happened, only nothing ever came of it. But I have noticed that more workers have been bringing their own lunches now and eating outside.

DIVIDED BY CLASS

I don't think that different classes of people should be treated differently, or considered better than others. All men should be treated the same. This cafeteria problem is exactly what is wrong, when hourly workers have to eat in the old cafeteria and salaried workers get the new one.

The union needs a lot of changing too. In Local 15, the same old people just switch jobs and keep running the local. Last year Garrison was the president, and Kelly was the vice president. This year they just turned it around, but it's the same old thing. The union just isn't interested in the membership.

One woman, who was sewing convertible tops, got sick. When she came back last month, they had put someone with less seniority on her job and refused to give this woman her job back. She went to the union and they didn't do anything about it. This is a daily routine at Fleetwood, but it has got to stop.

—Fleetwood Worker

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—We had a "Black Tuesday" in the Dearborn Assembly Plant. Even though we didn't shut down the plant, we got the message across. On Monday, we gave the plant manager our list of demands. We gave him 24 hours to reply. But this man cares so little about black workers that he didn't even give us the courtesy of an answer.

On Tuesday morning, many black workers called in sick. We said: "I'm not coming, I'm sick. Sick of the working conditions, sick of no safety, sick of racism." We were willing to give up a day's pay to protest. The idea we had was to pick a day and stay home. This is what they are doing in Chicago. We figured that this way the company would still have to pay workers who showed up for that day because production was scheduled.

Our demands were:

1. That all workers in the Dearborn Assembly Plant be considered innocent until proven guilty through the grievance procedures.
2. That 400 additional workers be hired or recalled from lay-off to relieve the work load.
3. That hot buffet meals, breakfast, lunch, and dinner be served in the lunchroom at reasonable

prices.

4. That a committee of four, appointed by the Aggressive Black Assembly Caucus investigate all complaints of discriminatory and unfair promotional job opportunities . . .

5. Complete destruction of disciplinary records after a period of 6 months, providing there is no discipline within this 6 month period.

6. That all unit representatives be paid by the United Auto Workers.

7. Lockers in the immediate work area.

8. That we be allowed a 15 minute wash-up time prior to the end of shift.

9. That in order to combat the extreme heat of the summer months, fans be granted on request and a completely new ventilation system be installed before next summer. We also demand rubber mats for steel floors.

10. The removal or reassignment of Labor Relations director Tom Fisher and Industrial Relations director Mark Scarr.

11. That the tremendously high level of racism and discrimination in the skilled trades division be eliminated.

COMPANY HARASSMENT

Since "Black Tuesday," the company has harassed and intimidated workers who they think are the "leaders" of the group. They are trying to force them into making mistakes so they can get rid of them.

The union seems to be helping the company to attack black workers. They are not lifting a finger against the harassment.

One black worker was on a windshield job. The machine or fixture that he was working with has been defective since changeover. There is some engineering problem with it, so quite a few windshields have been broken. This is true on both shifts.

But the company wrote the brother up for what they called "poor and careless work." They gave him a week off. Everyone knows this is phoney. The worker they have on the job now is breaking windshields right and left, so it is obvious that the company was just out for revenge.

—Black Rouge Worker

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—Where I work, we are working seven days a week, ten hours a day. They have a schedule that when work is scheduled you can't refuse. The Friday before Labor Day weekend they went around telling all the workers that work was scheduled for that Saturday and Sunday. That was early Friday morning.

At lunch they pay off. One of the younger workers looked at his check and starting cursing. He told the foreman to tell the superintendent to come down. When he came down, he said: "I'm not coming in tomorrow, and I'm not coming in Sunday, and you can do whatever you want to about it."

When they asked him what was wrong he showed them his check.. "Look here," he said, they took \$92 damn dollars out, and I was only making \$32 a day. Any time I'm going to have to work three days for the government I'm not coming—you can do just whatever you want to!" Management didn't say a thing.

The crisis is so total, that it is total for the individual too. The revolutionary potential of the youth in the shop, and in the community as a whole, is greater than I ever thought in my whole lifetime.

—Production Worker

PERSPECTIVES REPORT of the National Chairman to the NEB Meeting of News & Letters. Aug. 30, 1969.

THE NEEDED AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

I Attitudes to Objectivity, to Science and to Philosophy

1. Bankruptcy of petty bourgeois thought.
2. 1969 is not 1968 either in France or China: either in Russia or Czechoslovakia, or the U.S.A.

II Black is Beautiful AND Revolutionary

III Dialectics of Liberation

1. Sheng-wu-lien (Hunan Provisional Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance).
2. Logic as stages of freedom, stages of freedom as logic: or The Needed American Revolution

Order from News & Letters, 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Price: 35c

Reader's Views

LEADERS AND RANKS

The UAW didn't have a Labor Day Parade here this year — and tried to tell us that the reason they called it off is because the Union has done such a good job making all its workers affluent, that everybody goes out of town to his cottage that weekend instead of staying in town to march!

The truth of the matter is that they cut out the Labor Day parade years ago. They only have it during presidential election years, as part of their politicking. This year the only election coming up was the mayoralty primary and since the UAW is supposedly supporting Austin, they would have had to do their politicking for him. But there is so much racism among so many of the white workers, and the labor leaders have so little relationship with the black workers, they certainly would not have wanted to be out electioneering for Austin on Labor Day.

Black Worker
Detroit

* * *

I am a Chrysler employee on salary with over 20 years of seniority. I have given Chrysler the best years of my life, just like the other employees have.

This company has shown no respect for one's service and loyalty. They promote employees with less than four years service, or they do not ask if one would be interested in a specific job. They bypass loyal employees like myself. I don't want to be promoted, but others with service like mine

would. I am 49 years young. I hope they don't think I am ready to die.

At the Mack Avenue plant about four months ago, a paper (Mack Ave. Press) told about two employees (quite young) who were being promoted to supervision. After one year these employees, instead of being faithful to Chrysler for a good job, purchased a new Thunderbird. Chrysler money is good, but not the product. If one of us faithful employees bought other than Chrysler, we would be told about it. Chrysler is not fair at all to its seniority employees.

A Dissatisfied Employee
Mack Ave. Plant, Detroit

P.S. Where is the Union?

* * *

This guy Haynsworth that Nixon wants on the Supreme Court must really be reactionary. When a character as reactionary as Meany says Haynsworth is bad, brother, he must be bad!

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

I sat in on UAW contract negotiations for five months, and I can tell you the union and the auto companies work hand in hand. If it weren't for the fact that the company representatives were better dressed than the union representatives, you couldn't have told them apart.

Lawyer
Detroit

CZECHOSLOVAKIA & CP

The British CP is holding its Congress in October. Believe it or not, there is a resolution on Czechoslovakia that takes less than three lines. Here it says "This 31st Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain endorses the position taken up by the Executive Committee on the intervention in Czechoslovakia." That is all. The other resolutions are lengthy and platitudinous.

On the anniversary, Aug. 21, there was a leading article in the C.P. paper, *The Morning Star* in which it said that Fleet St., the BBC and the ITV want the people of Czechoslovakia to "allow themselves to be provoked into violent clashes and disturbances on the occasion of the anniversary." It went on to express the hope that those opposed to intervention would use "peaceful and legitimate" means to press their opposition. No suggestion was made that the Russian troops be withdrawn. No recalling the support given to resistance movements against the Germans.

The Communist Party seems to be in a mess over Czechoslovakia. Some members are complaining about the evasiveness of *The Morning Star* and others are complaining about the party not supporting Russia. The three line resolution may lead to a heated discussion, but the E.C. will win because of the usual loyalty.

Harry McShane
Scotland

* * *

One of the weaknesses of the whole New Left in this country was the lack of support which was given to Czechoslovakia. The SDS came out with a position that amounted to saying all the Czech people want was some more consumer goods. And a lot of kids who really wanted to support the Czech struggle found themselves listening to the line that the New Left was just trying to stop the CIA and West German intelligence agents from taking over Czechoslovakia — which is the latest CP line on the question.

The CP is using the fact that they have been out of favor in this country for so long, and that you can't believe the "bourgeois press." They are getting some sympathy among the New Left.

Concern
Ann Arbor

* * *

AMERICAN YOUTH REVOLT

Please take my name off your mailing list. I am dropping out of politics completely after the SDS convention. I am going to become a hippie.

Young Reader
California

* * *

I have just received my copy of "American Youth Revolt: 1960-1969" which prompts me to write. The "Class and Race Resolution," written by Young Marxist-Humanists and submitted to the SDS national convention . . . was almost the only one I supported. I was greatly influenced by it. Please tell your Young Marxist-Humanists that if they ever prepare to speak again to the Movement in the same active and principled philosophy of that Resolution I would be prepared to join with them in working it, and presenting it—though I would have to do so as an Anarchist. . .

I have read carefully all the things I have received from you, and despite a general skepticism and distrust of Marxists, I have found myself in agreement with everything. . .

I am prepared to write things on occasion for N&L and if you do start some sort of quarterly magazine for Marxist-Humanists, but freely open to others, I would be very interested in contributing to it.

Young Anarchist
Minnesota

* * *

Editor's Note: The young Marxist-Humanists are very anxious to receive responses of all those who have read "American Youth Revolt". For additional copies, see ad p. 7.

EDITORIAL

Total Opposition to Vietnam War Sweeps U.S.

Never has the opposition been so total to the war in Vietnam as it is today — not only among the broad masses of the public, but deep within the ranks of the armed forces themselves.

Mass legal action has been brought against the army and the government by reservists who have charged they were forced into active service under false emergency pretenses; thousands of soldiers on active duty have deserted and sought escape in other nations, mainly Sweden; hundreds more, in training in the U.S. have openly refused to be sent to Vietnam and now face military court martial; every anti-war demonstration has a growing contingent of Vietnam war veterans who are protesting against the barbarism they have experienced first-hand; and most recently troops in Vietnam refused to obey orders of their commanding officers while under fire.

TROOPS DEFY EXECUTION

Such is the inhumanity of the Vietnam war that it overcomes many months — and years — of iron-fisted training, brain-washing and military discipline. The soldiers who refused to obey the orders while in combat were fully conscious that their action was considered to be treason by the army, and that treason in time of war is punishable by immediate execution. They still refused the orders.

To this opposition within the ranks of the army itself, there is the mass disgust of the overwhelming majority of the civilian population in the U.S. This opposition to war forced President Johnson to withdraw from the race for the presidency last year; this same opposition President Nixon capitalized on in his campaign by promising to end the war; and it is this massive opposition — at home, abroad and especially among the Vietnamese people themselves—which will never cease or be fooled by such transparent fakery as Nixon's withdrawal tokenism.

That is why the recent announcement of the second troop withdrawal of 35,000 soldiers in Vietnam by Nixon (who was actually upstaged by the arrogant fascist Vice President Ky of Vietnam who "leaked" the information to the press two days ahead of Nixon), as well as his cancelling of the draft for the months of November and December, have been received with such universal scorn. Everyone knows that these moves mean absolutely nothing more than an attempt by Nixon to buy more time to gain the impossible—a victory in Vietnam.

DEATH TOLL MOUNTS

As Nixon plays his game of troop numbers, others are making different tallies which keep escalating and add to the national protest. These figures, in the game of American roulette being played by Nixon with napalm, planes, tanks, guns and bombs, tally the death of countless Vietnamese and of counted Americans. The American toll has already surpassed 36,000 killed and over 250,000 wounded.

There is no doubt that Tricky Dicky had desperately hoped that the troop withdrawal, draft postponement and declarations urging a more equitable draft system would help to dampen the demonstrations. Instead, the fall student anti-war protest offensive is gaining more determined and broader participation (see box on p. 6).

And nowhere has the bankruptcy of Nixon's pro-

gram for peace rung more hollowly than in the halls of the UN, when he repeated the tireless platitude, repeated tirelessly by President Johnson before him, in asking others to "exert their efforts to seek a solution" to the Vietnam war. It was Johnson's dirty war and is now Nixon's dirty war.

NIXON STEPPED UP DRAFT

How much responsibility for the war Nixon has accepted can be seen in another figure which also helps to cut through the Administration's hypocrisy: even though the postponement for November and December means 50,000 less draftees this year, Nixon—the peace candidate—had stepped up the draft calls so much that there will be only 5,600 less servicemen inducted this year than there were last year. In other words, without the announced cuts, Nixon in the first year of his Vietnam war would have drafted 44,000 more American youth than Johnson did in the last year of his Vietnam war.

The population of the U.S. can be excused if they fail to interpret such actions as being designed to bring about peace. Equally damning, if not more so, is the Nixon administration's continued support of those two hated tyrants in Vietnam—President Thieu and Vice President Ky. These two dictators are totally discredited in the eyes of the Vietnamese masses, and without U.S. support, neither Thieu nor Ky would remain in power for a single day.

The point is, however, that they are puppets of Nixon. And Nixon has made quite clear, just as Johnson before him, that it is Washington that calls the tune in Vietnam, not Saigon. Thieu and Ky occupy their positions of power to carry out the imperialist strategy of the U.S. in its struggles with Russia and China for world domination.

This global struggle is what dictates policy in Washington, D.C., Nixon style. And despite Nixon's protestations that the U.S. is, and only wants to be, an Atlantic power, the cold facts tell a different story: Far more than a million U.S. troops are committed to Southeast Asia, strung from the Philippines to Guam to Malaysia to Burma to Indonesia to Cambodia to Laos to Thailand to Vietnam to Japan and to Korea.

ANOTHER VIETNAM IN LAOS?

And the most ominous and startling news now is that U.S. troops and planes in Vietnam's neighbor, Laos, are supporting Royal Laotian troops. U.S. government officials have refused to give details of even how many U.S. troops and other personnel are stationed in Laos, let alone any information about supporting King Souvanna Phouma's troops against guerrilla forces. Some reporters have placed the figure of U.S. involvement in Laos as high as 300,000 personnel.

The carefully guarded statements, and the refusal to even comment on U.S. involvement in Laos, is so exactly the path taken to the Vietnam war that alarmed senators have scheduled secret Congressional hearings on Laos for the middle of October.

In the meantime, anti-war opposition continues to build at home and abroad. Nixon and the politicians in Washington will be able to gauge the depth of this opposition by looking out of their secret hearing rooms as they ponder Laos, and see the reality of today in the mass revolt and demonstration against the Vietnam war, which will end only with the war.

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TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Critique of Althusser's anti-Hegelianism

Editor's Note: In view of the great events of Spring '68 in France, which showed the non-academic character of the "critique" of Marx of the French theoretician, Althusser, the following letter by Raya Dunayevskaya, written before those events, has special significance.

Jan. 29, 1968

Dear A.R.:

Please forgive me for not commenting on "Contradiction and Overdetermination" by Louis Althusser, which you were kind enough to photo offset for me last summer. At first the delay was due to the fact that I had no chance to read the essay, as I was preoccupied with my new book-in-progress, **Philosophy and Revolution**. Then, when I finally did get to read it, I was so disappointed by the writings of a man who had so long been built up as an "original thinker, a new young French philosopher" that I could not get myself to write.

Two very different types of events prompt this letter. One is the fact that Louis Althusser has since become a leader of a pro-Maoist trend within the French Communist Party, or at least has scared the Central Committee with his influence over young students and the possibility that whereas an outright Maoist "party" failed to get much of a following in France, a Maoist position that has a philosophic Althusserian turn may speak "sufficiently in French" as to win a following and split their intellectual periphery. They have told him that, whereas he may continue his "specialty" (freedom in purely abstract discussions), he may not meddle in politics.

THE SECOND, and to me, the more important reason for this note is you, that is to say, your continuing many-sided study of Marxism that is very obviously not narrowly factional. I was told about the latest material you ordered. You have been sent my "Notes for Lectures on Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks" and the **American Worker** pamphlet, and I herewith enclose my 1946-47 articles on the "Nature of the Russian Economy," but I do not have Johnson's 1941 Resolution, nor for that matter, my own of the same year, with the title "Russia is a State-Capitalist Society."

But since this is 1968, not 1941, I think it is important to move on, and if I find that you do not have my piece "Marx's Humanism, Today," I will send you a copy. It is important, both objectively and "subjectively" since it also answers the question of Humanism regarding which the translator and/or editor of Althusser's article makes some snide remarks. Who was the translator—C.L.R. James?

NOW THEN, the Althusser essay, the very title of which I found intellectually abhorrent because it was vulgarly economist despite all its pretense to a non-economist approach; not to mention the fact that the word itself, overdetermination, has Freudian origins. Remember that Marx attacked not only economists and vulgar Communists but also "abstract materialists" (natural scientists)—in a word, all those who did not appreciate in full the meaning of History, as past, as present, as future; history, not as Althusser understands it as "the run of History . . . through the multiform world of the superstructure" (p. 32), but History in Marx's sense of people, workers shaping history, resolving contradictions in life and not only in thought, and thereby developing the multi-dimensional in Man.

Althusser, in typically intellectualist fashion, is too preoccupied with "infrastructure-superstructure complex" (p. 31) to be able to listen, much less hear, the Subject, Man himself. What he, therefore, tells the reader to grapple with is dogmatism-antidogmatism, and that only as those above interpret it, and thus he never confronts the living strata below, un-

I think we will see women's voices become louder and sharper, especially if Nixon's program for women on welfare: no work, no money, gets pushed through. In New York they are already beginning to organize to fight it, because they recognize it will move women into the lowest paid category.

Nixon's program will just give a new lease on life to those economic forces that are the most outmoded and the most exploitative. Women in the labor force have always been used this way under capitalism—to provide passive labor that can be used to undercut men in the labor force.

Woman Freedom Fighter
New York

Editor's Note: Next issue of N&L will carry a special discussion page of articles on Women's Liberation. We invite readers to contribute their ideas.

RUSSELL BLACKWELL

Russell Blackwell, whose revolutionary career spanned three continents and more than forty years, died of a heart attack in New York City at the end of August.

Comrade Blackwell broke away from the Commu-

less it is as something to draw out your pity. But Marx didn't speak only of "cold, hunger for his poor worker," as Althusser would have; the distinguishing distinctive mark of Marxism as against all others, all others—socialists, communists, utopians, anarchists, syndicalists—was that the worker was a **thinking** human being, a creative moulder of history—"Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris—almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at its gates—radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative!"

SO HEAVILY does Althusser's anti-Hegelianism weigh him down, prey upon him, that it takes 17 pages out of a 21 page article before he ever gets down to the subject-matter, much less the living subject, at issue. He then attributes to Engels (to Engels, who said that there would have been no "scientific socialism" had there been no Hegelian philosophy!) a break not only with the "Hegelian principle of explanation by self-consciousness (ideology) but also with the Hegelian theme of phenomenon-essence-truth-of. We are definitely concerned with a new relationship between new terms." (p. 31).

Outside of the fact that a new relationship is not something that merely relates "terms" as if we were engaged in a game of words, the elevation of an 1890 letter by Engels as "the new" for our age is nothing but a subterfuge for saying that nothing has really been left us by our founders, that "experiential protocol" (whatever that means!) "largely remains to be elaborated." (p. 33). "Who has attempted to follow up the explorations of Marx and Engels? I can only think of Gramsci." Relegated to a footnote at this point is a reference to Lukacs.

TO BE precise, it constitutes but one sentence of the footnote; it is worth, however, a whole chapter (if I had the time to spare) for it reveals the whole degradation of thought that Stalinism has brought into the movement. (Oh, naturally, it is only "philosophically" since now that Stalin is dead and the established state authority permits one to speak of his "crimes," no one except Mao is any longer a proclaimed Stalinist!) Here is that priceless sentence: "Lukacs' essays, which are limited to the history of literature and philosophy, seem to me to be contaminated with a guilty Hegelianism, as if Lukacs wanted to absolve through Hegel his upbringing by Simmel and Dilthey."

Note, first, the little conjunction that joins very different, even opposed, fields, "literature and philosophy." These fields are opposed not just "in general" but very specifically in Lukacs since, in matters of literature, Lukacs was analyzing what others had done, whereas in philosophy he is a true original. Long before anyone, including Lukacs, had known the full extent of Marx's Hegelian roots (the Social Democracy had never bothered to publish those precious archives of Marx which they inherited), Lukacs had elaborated this relationship that, though it was written in 1923, remains unequalled to this day by any other Marxist, Gramsci included. Althusser, on the other hand, hasn't even the simple decency to refer you to that work so that the reader can check for himself.

Secondly, and crucially, note the gratuitous Stalinist amalgam-building in the reference to Lukacs' alleged "upbringing by Simmel and Dilthey." Whatever these reactionary philosophers had to do with Lukacs' "upbringing", it is a fact that they nowhere figured in Lukacs' thinking and activity over nearly half a century. That is to say, from the moment he became a Marxist, not a single grain of their philo-

(Continued on Page 7)

nist Party in the 1920's, because he recognized the reactionary nature of the so-called Soviet state. After several years of activity in Latin America (he once helped set up a secret press under the stairway of Mexico's presidential palace), he went to Spain to fight Franco. He was in Barcelona during the May Days when the Stalinists made one of their major attempts to smash the Spanish Revolution, and later spent nine months in a Stalinist prison.

He came back to the U.S. as an anarcho-syndicalist and devoted the rest of his life to the struggle for a truly libertarian revolution.

In an age which talks so much of a generation gap, Russell was living proof that such a gap need not exist. He was equally at home with high school radicals and with veterans of the revolutionary and union struggles of the '20s and '30s. In the Spanish-speaking ghettos of the lower East Side, Russell was the friend and confidante of hundreds of slum kids.

His body, as he had wished, was cremated and the ashes scattered.

—Bill G.

(Ed. Note: See "In Memoriam," p. 7.)

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

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

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

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

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

EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

This summer while in Europe, I had a chance to attend a conference of youth from many tendencies. The U.S. was discussed with enormous interest by all. Paul Mattick spoke in answer to a question about the black movement, giving the most despairing view of the situation, and citing only the "official" black bourgeois version of "black power," King Farmer and the whole lousy lot to show that the black struggle today is reactionary, will be successfully bought off and is simply a repeat of struggles after World War I. Cohn-Bendit, furious, cited the Black Panthers as an example of exemplary action that will lead America to revolution. (There is a very strong romantic version of the Panther myth current in Europe.)

When Mattick responded that only a class analysis, a proletarian struggle, can change society, Cohn-Bendit responded that since there is "no activity" among the U.S. working class, it is necessary to provoke confrontations in other sectors.

I was moved by a completely wild anger so strong that I finally got up to speak, first against Mattick's version of the level of black struggle and its historical meaning, which he obviously didn't understand. He could say today is a repeat of the '20's, and then to Cohn-Bendit. I said I am surely in sympathy with the passion for change, but one must look realistically at the social groups one works with. I cited the development of black caucuses and the role played by black workers within the working class and, of course, black students in the universities). It was rather chaotic, but many people came up to talk to me later, especially Italian youth. Another thing pleased me: after I spoke other girls got up to speak, too.

Observer
New York

WOMEN'S VOICES

I couldn't believe the way the welfare mothers rested in the recent demonstrations were treated by a black judge, Heading. He set bail at \$1,000 for a misdemeanor, and the \$300 set by a white judge the day before was unusually high.

Heading told the mothers they shouldn't be out begging for money," and said he was setting the bail high because they were "repeated offenders," even though they hadn't yet been tried for the earlier demonstrations. The only thing black about the judge is his skin, and I hope the Welfare Rights Organization will start a recall campaign against him.

Court-Watcher
Detroit

If you look at the U.S. you can see two obvious forces among women who are speaking out today. The first is black women—the black masses in this country have always been the first voices for liberation. The two foremost groups are the Welfare Rights groups throughout the cities, and the hospital workers. I participated in the Charleston strike and those women were speaking up not only as workers, but as women.

The other force which is emerging, which is what most people think of as Women's Liberation, comes out of the Youth movement—young women who are mainly white, mainly in college. The black women are the most oppressed force in the country, and the white college women are supposedly the most free, but the contradictions in their lives are obvious to them and brought out precisely through the educational process . . .



YOUTH

Women from across nation join in protest against 'beauty' pageant

Atlantic City, N.J.—Our group from Detroit arrived at the Miss America Pageant on Saturday morning. When we arrived, there weren't many women there, but there were 400 cops, 200 plainclothesmen (who were pretty obvious) and six meter maids—especially deputized for the occasion.

Several buses from New York never did come as they had been illegally cancelled by the bus company at 11 p.m. the night before due to pressure by Atlantic City officials.

At about 3 or 4 o'clock, women from all over the country started arriving. Five women from Gainesville, Fla., attempted to set up a small "lit" table; the cops tried to stop them, but finally let them set up the table behind two sets of barricades the cops had erected to keep the protestors from talking to the crowd. Then, a contingent of cops surrounded the table. When I tried to get inside the barricades to see the women from Florida, the cops stopped me and asked me if I had any identification — to prove that I was a protestor!

FANTASTIC INJUNCTION

When the buses did come, a large group of women came marching down the beach, shouting "Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho, Beauty Pageants got to go!" Then we marched around chanting "Women are Not Sex Objects, We Will Not Be Used," and "Stop the Sale."

After this group arrived, the cops slapped an injunction on us. This injunction was incredible. The bail was already set, along with the date of the trial, and the jail terms. It made everything we had done last year illegal, and some things we hadn't done. We could not interfere with "ingress or egress," of any of the spectators. We could not light fires. (Last year we had a "Freedom Trash-Can" into which we threw girdles, false eyelashes, and similar things, but there was no fire!)

We could not use "loud and/or offensive language," even written. We could not have animals. (Last year we crowned a sheep Miss America in a guerilla theater skit.) And we could not "emit noxious odors." (Last year a woman sprayed "Toni Neutralizer" inside Convention Hall — and was arrested for the "felony" of "emitting noxious gas.")

The cops were really determined to keep the protestors from talking to the crowd. They told us that we weren't allowed to talk to anyone on the boardwalk. We said that there was no such law, and talked to lots of people anyway — which was one of the most successful things about the protest.

WOMEN'S GUERRILLA THEATER

Despite the injunction and the police, we did manage to put on a really good guerilla theater skit. It went like this:

A woman walked around with a diploma in her hand looking for a job. She is confronted by signs saying: "Boring Job — Woman Wanted," "Low Pay — Woman Wanted." She can't find a decent job, so this guy comes up, hands her some flowers, and they get married. He gives her some pots and pans, and a mop. Then he gives her a baby, then another, and finally a third baby. She's really upset.

Next the Revlon lady walks up — carrying a sign "You've Come a Long Way, Baby — Buy This, Buy That, Change Your Life." The woman puts on a dress, a wig, and a makeup mask. She's going to look for a job again. She tries to give her children to another woman who holds the sign "Day Care Center — Non-Existent." She is refused, so she gives the kids to another woman whose sign reads "Child-Care — Half Your Pay."

Once more, looking for a job, signs are pushed in her face: "Boring Job — Woman Wanted," "Low-Pay — Woman Wanted." This time she takes one of

Times change — cops don't

Birmingham, Ala.—The year is 1964 in Birmingham, Ala. The Negroes did not have any place to go except old, run-down bars and picture shows where rats ran across your feet.

One summer night a young man by the name of Mr. X was going home from his girlfriend's house when he was stopped by the Birmingham police and asked, "Where are you going, boy, at this time of night." It was midnight. They also asked him where he worked and he said nowhere. They rode him around for an hour, and asked him if he thought Kennedy was dead. He said yes because if he had "gotten smart" he would have been beaten by the police. Mr. X was also taken to jail.

The year is 1969. Now we have Negro police and they are just as bad as the white cops. The Negro cop treats his own race like dirt. So the only thing Mr. X can say is, wake up, Mr and Mrs. Birmingham.

the signs and starts typing. Now all the people surround her, hitting her, and pushing her down.

WOMEN REPORTERS JOIN

The crowd on the boardwalk really paid attention to the skit and seemed to respond. For much of the time, however, the heckling was really bad — worse than for any other kind of demonstration I've ever been on.

Another good action that we did last year and this year was to refuse to talk to any male reporters to emphasize that there aren't very many women reporters. Last year, there were no woman reporters. This year there were a lot. Some of them even took off their press cards and joined our picket line.

At Wayne St.

Organize to fight people removal

Detroit, Mich.—Before the bulldozers line up, and their treads make front lawns look like Vietnamese hamlets, thick with ruts and broken wood and glass, and before 18,000 people are pushed into the street in the name of urban development, we have joined together, black and white, student and worker, the aged and children, and are People Concerned About Urban Renewal.

For ten years now, our homes around Wayne St. University have been condemned by the Detroit Housing Commission, which is working hand in hand with the university. For ten years now, the Housing Commission has harassed us with sporadic mail service and garbage pickup. Boarded up homes stand next to inhabited homes.

HAZARDS TO LIFE

Because of the possibility of fires, and the reality of rats, roaches and disease, each empty home is a hazard to our community and the safety of our children. The Health Commission has refused to do anything about these problems, other than suggest that we move into worse neighborhoods and leave this city-created slum to Wayne State.

One woman who has had continuous problems with garbage said, "They took my home once before and moved us into this. I have been poor all my life and my kids shouldn't have to live in this filth."

A group of the organizers and community people, after talking this problem over, decided that if Wayne caused the garbage problem, then Wayne should have the garbage. The next day we took a very small but smelly portion of the garbage into the registration offices and showed the students the hypocrisy of the university. On one hand, they teach Humanities and Ethics, and on the other they create ghettos and have no regard for the poor and working class communities. The garbage then went up 11 floors to President Keast's office and was dumped on the floor.

PLAN FUTURE ACTION

The police politely reminded us that we were creating a health hazard. We replied, "This is a health hazard 11 flights above the street, but it's not a health hazard on the street where people live."

More action is planned if the garbage is not picked up. We also have lawyers working on research so that in the block club meetings, each resident will be informed both of the law and his rights.

Pamphlets explaining tenants' rights have already been distributed. Appraisers have been scouring the neighborhood. Each resident has been informed they don't have to let the appraisers in without a warrant and that the warrants will be tested by our lawyers in court.

Demonstrate against war

VIETNAM MORATORIUM—

OCT. 15, NOV. 14 and 15

A moratorium on "business as usual" in order that students, faculty members and citizens can organize in their own communities against the war.

MARCH IN WASHINGTON, D.C.—Nov. 15

A march for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam around the White House to be followed by a rally.

DOING AND THINKING

Earthlings vs. Nixon

By Bernard Wendell

Los Angeles, Calif.—On Wed., Aug. 13, while Richard "Millstone" Nixon gave an official state reception for the returned moon astronauts, another anti-war/anti-space-waste demonstration was going on outside, in front of the much-picketed Century Plaza Hotel in the rich "model community" of Century City.

The demonstration, which was organized by the Student Mobilization Committee and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers, for Nixon's benefit, no doubt), began between four and five o'clock in the afternoon.

At least partially indicative of where SDS is in L.A., was a member who started talking to me when he saw me selling NEWS & LETTERS. He was a member of the infamous Weatherman faction, and only seemed to want to talk about "the taste of power." He asked me if I considered his faction to be the most Stalinist group at the SDS convention—a distinction he seemed anxious to establish. I remember when "Stalinism" was a dirty word in the New Left. It isn't any more, especially in L.A. This guy even wanted to know if I thought Stalin would have supported his group on the National Question!!

Even though we knew that many people had gone directly to Century Plaza, as we started marching through the hills that only an hour before had a cop at every corner, we couldn't help wondering if the two to five thousand demonstrators predicted by the organizers would really show up. We were pleasantly surprised when we reached the Plaza.

COPS UNUSUALLY COOL

We were also beginning to cover the wide, green, park-like center-dividers of the Avenue of the Stars, and the formal picket-line marched up and down, in constant motion, across the street. Possibly because many of the demonstrators were youth from nearby upper-income suburbs, the cops were surprisingly harmless.

Though members of the Tactical Squad, they wore no helmets and generally only kept traffic flowing in between the groups of demonstrators. More than once they advanced menacingly from the hotel, causing many to fear a re-run of the "June 23 head-busting party", but they never charged.

5,000 MARCH ON NIXON

We were very satisfied with the turnout of around 5,000. Later we discovered that the news media, for all their cameras and reporters, gave a very arrogant coverage of what was going on, tediously showing all that was going on at Nixon's "state reception", and giving only an occasional brief glimpse of the demonstration. Of course they also lied about our numbers, but they always do that.

Though the demonstration wasn't really that eventful, it did provide a chance to show the continuing opposition to the government and its policies—in America; in Vietnam, and in space. It also allowed an old-style mobilization of radical youth, and leafletting for the Aug. 17 bus trip of Nixon's opponents to the "Summer White House" at San Clemente.

The only really new development on the youth scene was a leafletting for the Haymarket, an attempt to establish an open radical forum in L.A. It involves independents, ISCers, Newsreel people, Marxist-Humanists—as well as Stalinist-Maoist RYMII people from SDS; and is also the new headquarters of the Resistance. What will emerge from the Haymarket, however, is still to be seen.

H.S. students fight dress restrictions

Wyandotte, Mich. — Some 75 students were suspended on Sept. 5, from Roosevelt High School in Wyandotte, a suburb of Detroit. The reasons given for the action were violations of the school's "dress code."

Most of the suspended students are also "guilty" of violating the hair-length rule, which does not allow hair to cover the eyes, ears or touch the collar. (Some of the suspended students, however, were not in violation of this rule.)

CLAIMS ACTION IS ILLEGAL

Gary Burgermyer, 17, who is the spokesman of the group, charged that the school board acted illegally when it threw out the students, because they were not issued suspension slips. Burgermyer attended a meeting of the ACLU last week, and at the present time, the ACLU is planning court action against the Wyandotte school district as well as several others in the area.

The people are very upset about the dress codes. As one Wyandotte mother put it—"As a parent, I think it is an insult to our intelligence to be told how they (the students) should be dressed for school."

At long last, the suburbs are waking up to the fact that their lives are being controlled by the money interests of the area.

DIRECT FROM PRAGUE—ONE YEAR AFTER

Czechoslovak masses continue to oppose new Stalinism

Police terror against freedom fighters has now become legal: a decree of the Federal Assembly threatens anyone who "supports, agrees with or approves" acts "against the state" with either a fine of 5,000 crowns or a punishment of up to three months in jail...

An ironic footnote is provided by the fact that this decree, aimed at people who have taken or simply are presumed to have taken part in the demonstrations of Aug. 18 to 21 is signed, among others, by Alexander Dubcek in his capacity as chairman of the Federal Assembly...

CZECH ARMY BATTLES CROWD

Starting as soon as Aug. 18, the demonstrations culminated in Prague on Aug. 21, the first anniversary of Soviet invasion. Fighting spread from the center of the city to many adjacent streets. Police have been massively helped by the army...

First, there is the striking fact that beside Prague two other cities experienced a similar fighting of a mass character: Brno, the second biggest city of

Czechoslovakia and capital of Moravia, and Liberec, an industrial town in northern Bohemia on the Polish-German border. This mass character is confirmed by the fact that 3,690 persons have been brought up by the police, 1,893 of whom have been detained. An analysis of the 1,502 brought up in Prague reveals that 19 per cent belong to the group of between 15 and 18 years of age...

Secondly, in spite of the cries of the official propaganda with its emphasis on "criminal elements", 43 per cent of the people brought up have been workers, and if we add further that six per cent have been apprentices, it cannot be denied that the working class in whose name the ruling clique pretends to govern has spoken up unmistakably.

PARTICIPANTS ARE FIGHTERS

The third remarkable fact is that the participants have been to a great part no simple "demonstrators" but fighters: their arms have been as simple as iron bars and clubs, but included also tear gas bombs and primitive Molotov cocktails and even fire-arms. Besides, at least some of the youngsters have admitted they had long been preparing for the fight...

One of the leaflets (above, right) distributed widely before Aug. 21 reads:

TO ALL—TO ALL—TO ALL! CZECHOSLOVAK REALITY

The people of our country condemn the invasion of the interventionist armies into Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968 and the departure from the post-January policy connected with it. This has brought about and further aggravates the crisis in this country. We protest against this reality in the following way: we shall not use any public transport except trains this day...

Read

Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution—50c a copy

Foreword, by Raya Dunayevskaya and Harry McShane

The Current Crisis, by Ivan Svitak Crossroads of Two Worlds, by X, Prague

Order from: News & Letters, 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

sophy is present in the matter at issue, the essays which constituted his original philosophic contribution, that were repudiated by him under Stalinist pressure when Lukacs capitulated to Stalinism, and which now are remembered, not because of his philosophic "errors," but because he dared, for a few miraculous weeks of the Hungarian Revolution, to associate himself with it.

ABOVE ALL, what is it that Althusser really means to say with his phrase "guilty Hegelianism;" he doesn't bother to explain here precisely because he isn't so much interested in attacking "Hegel" or Lukacs as he is in attacking Marx's "Hegelianism." Oh, how Hegel haunts these apologists for the State. "I shall not evade the most burning issue," concludes Althusser; "it seems to me that either the whole logic of 'sublation' must be rejected, or we must give up any attempt to explain how the proud and generous Russian people bore Stalin's crimes and repression with such resignation; how the Bolshevik Party could tolerate them; and how a Communist leader could order them." (p. 34)

Poor Hegel, he now gets blamed for Stalin's crimes! The logic of sublation, that is to say, the dialectic of transcendence, is to lead us, not to freedom, but to whitewash of Russian state-capitalism; and if it doesn't, as it surely can't and won't, then we must "drive this phantom back into the night." (p. 35) Fini. No doubt Mao will help Althusser do just that; but Marx won't.

Yours, Raya

Usem . Usem . Usem !

ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ SKUTEČNOST

Lid naší země odsuzuje vpád intervenčních vojsk do česka 21 srpna 1968 a s tím související útlakem od polednové politiky, což vyvolalo a dále zvyšuje krizovou situaci ve státě. Proti této skutečnosti protestujeme tímto způsobem: nepoužijí v tento den veřejného dopravního prostředku kromě vlaků...

Delníci Studenti Intelligentsia

Actual leaflet, only 4 by 5 inches in size, enabled Czechoslovaks to pass it secretly.

commemorate August 21 as a 'day of resistance' against the traitorous policy of the bureaucratic power center and its allies. Signed: workers—students—intelligentsia.

Among many other tracts, excerpts of the following may be of interest. Called "Proclamation of the ideological section of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Czechoslovakia)" it reads in part:

"August 21 and the following days must not be the only period of resistance: the resistance against Husak's policy of terror must become—without losing its mass character—more and more organized, more sophisticated and each of us has to take part, otherwise our perspective would be lost for many years to come. It is for this reason that it is necessary to draw up a program for your factory, your workplace, since future economic policy will be determined by you as the supreme and only authority to dispose of production means you are working with."

WORKERS CONTROL

"... It is necessary to refuse any 'participation' of the employees in managing factories and firms... Not participation but workers' control today and the management of economy tomorrow by the workers themselves—that is our program after Czechoslovak people have conquered power. What is extremely important are connections to workers of other factories both of the same union and in the quarter you live."

"... We believe only in ourselves, our own intellect, our own capacities and power. By 'we' we understand not only workers, technicians, farmers, students and intelligentsia in our country but also those who find themselves in a similar social position in any part of the world, because we have comprehended that our fight and our organization have to have an international character. Our position differs very little from the position of the working people in the 'people's democracies' (with whom we have to ally first of all), it differs only little even from the position of the people of the U.S.S.R. as well, where social repression is joined by a national repression (in the Ukraine, the Baltic, Transcaucasia and elsewhere)..."

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

"We are discussing in our party variants of a social program. Our concept is that of a model of a socialist, self-managed society, a democracy of direct producers... To attain these socialist goals our society has to undergo a revolutionary process, it has first to abolish bureaucracy as a social stratum, i.e., it has to take away its political and economic power. This is connected with the abolition of all the oppressive instruments of its power, above all the secret police, the army, the so-called people's militia and the censorship, in one word it has to destroy the state apparatus and arm the whole people."

"Let us consider as our program for the next period:

1. To keep and support by all means popular activities, independent actions of the working people, mutual information and to keep very close contacts with workers of other factories.

2. At the same time to establish small illegal groups strictly conspiratorial. Link them together, carry out common actions and form within these groups a program of anti-bureaucratic fight, of taking over power, as well as a program of future socialist society. August 1969

Read — re-type — pass on!"

Three new bulletins—just out AMERICAN YOUTH REVOLT: 1960-1969 by Eugene Walker—15c

THE NEWNESS OF OUR PHILOSOPHIC-HISTORIC CONTRIBUTION

by Raya Dunayevskaya—25c Order from: NEWS & LETTERS, 415 Brainard St., Det., Mich. 48201

and SPLITTERED WORLD COMMUNISM by Raya Dunayevskaya—6d

Order from: Harry McShane, 30 Balberg St., Glasgow SW1, Scotland

IN MEMORIAM

RUSSELL BLACKWELL

We mourn the death and honor the memory of Russell Blackwell who refused to "grow old" because he continued to relate himself to the actual revolutionary forces that arose around him throughout his entire life in the revolutionary movement.

In 1936, Russell left the Trotskyist movement to join the Anarchist movement because he was actually in Spain, saw the Anarchists as the most active force in that revolution, and wished to take an active part in the Spanish Revolution.

His preoccupation with the Spanish Revolution never left him. Yet, despite the disregard for history displayed by so much of the New Left in this country in the past decade, Russell wanted to be associated with these new forces for revolution that were arising. He worked with young Puerto Ricans in New York.

He was never sectarian in his anarcho-syndicalist beliefs. His comradesly relations with Marxist-Humanists continued until the day of his death. His great ability to respond to constantly changing international revolutionary situations will be sorely missed by his comrades throughout the entire movement.

2 FROM JAIL

3 Curacao strikers elected

Curacao, Netherland Antilles — Three Socialists have just been elected, for the first time in history, to the 22-member Parliament of the Netherlands Antilles. Two of them were elected from jail cells.

Wilson Godett is a longshoreman leader who was shot by police during the strikes here in early May, and whose shooting led to riots that shook the island that month. When he recovered, he was arrested on Aug. 21. Stanley Brown is the other jailed victor. He is a white man who teaches school and publishes a weekly "underground"-type newspaper.

The third man, Amador Nita, is secretary general of the dock workers, and the leader of the Frente Obrero, the Socialist Party which was just formed three months ago by longshoremen and unemployed workers.

The Democratic party which is backed by well-organized business interests, and which has always dominated politics here, won 11 seats.

The victory of the new Socialist party was called by Nita, "the first step to ending the exploitation of the working classes in the Netherlands Antilles. Giving us a flag and dropping outward colonial signs did not mean the end of colonialism in the islands." He said the first move would be to obtain the release of the two imprisoned leaders.

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

by Eugene Walker

Ho's death a new beginning

The death of Ho Chi Minh has ended an era of revolutionary Asian history, the last page of which has involved the United States. He carried on to his death the seemingly impossible task of overcoming U.S. imperialism.

Yet, the example of such a small and technologically ill-equipped country as Vietnam showed once again that there is no substitute, in machines or bombs, for human daring.

"Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win," should not be a mere slogan, but an invitation to look at what the Vietnamese masses have tried to do—from constructing individual shelters on the streets of Hanoi to inspiring a whole generation of Americans to look to their own revolutionary spirit. Where America had forever spoken and written about the "foreignness" of the Orient—the Vietnamese, more than the Chinese Revolution and its present day consequences, abolished this concept and made many of the American youth "love the enemy." It was Ho, who as a Marxist revolutionary, was a founder and full participant in this achievement.

But the tragedy in Ho's life is that this achieve-

ment is but a beginning. Here was a Marxist who could have, but didn't, make continuous revolution as the linkup of developed and underdeveloped countries so that world revolution could have become a reality of our day. Such a continuous revolution can only exist as a mass movement. But his revolutionary practice did not always align itself with what the masses in Vietnam were doing and thinking. Thus early in the Vietnam movement Ho broke the mass base of Trotskyism that had won the masses in Saigon in the 1930s and sought to link that proletarian base with the countryside. The Trotskyist leader in Viet Nam, Ta Thu Thau, was assassinated in World War II by the Communists.

In the 1950s Ho allowed Russia and China to dictate the terms he would settle for at the Geneva Peace conference and thus the Vietnam War which was won on the battlefield was lost at the conference table. In the North the exodus of peasants to the South showed a separation between leaders and masses.

The end result is that in the 1960s "Many Vietnams" is equated with "power out of the barrel of a gun" instead of the self-creativity of

a people, of a world waiting-to-be-born. The death of Ho does not mean that his fight stops. We have to continue it, but we have to make the link—between technologically underdeveloped nations and developed ones, between nationalism and internationalism—which he chose not to make. The relationship between class struggles of the factory workers and those of agricultural laborers, between guerrilla warfare and social revolution, still remains to be worked out.

The Vietnamese themselves showed they were on their way for such a total reorganization when they refused to define Peoples' War as only against an outside colonial force—whether it be the French of the 50s or the Americans of the 60s—but also against their own state capitalist administrators by their outburst in the "hundred flowers campaign" in Hanoi in 1956.

Although these Vietnamese revolutionaries were jailed and even murdered, they showed the whole world what it means to fight for a totally new society. Our era must continue this totality of struggle which the Vietnamese masses have been carrying on.

South Korea

Slipping through a back alley at 2 a.m., 122 National Assembly supporters of South Korean President Park Chung Hee gathered in a dark annex of the assembly chamber. The lights were turned on and the supporters approved an amendment to the constitution so Park could stay in power for a third term. The back door maneuver was done in hopes of stopping the thousands and thousands of students who have demonstrated against the Park regime and its attempts to remain in power.

The students, who together with their professors and workers took to the streets and brought down the dictatorship of Singman Rhee, have not had their last word. After hearing of the assembly vote, several hundred at Chingang University chanted anti-government slogans and threw stones at police tear-gas squads. The constitutional amendment must still be voted upon in a nationwide referendum next month.

Poor nations and rich

Industrialists and super industrialists met at the International Industrial Conference held in San Francisco under the theme "Closing the World's Income Gap," and were in turn met by youthful picketers who chanted "capitalist pigs" and "imperialists." The picketers were more on target.

The industrialists have been the prime movers in widening the gap between rich and poor na-

tions. The decade of the sixties was supposed to be the decade of development for poor nations. And yet, even the industrialists were forced to admit that "the amount added to the wealth of the industrialized nations during this decade equaled more than the entire income of the underdeveloped nations that collectively make up what is called the Third World."

It could not be otherwise. Capital eats capital. The industrial nations must constantly be reindustrialized with more mechanized machines, more automated factories. Only in this way can profits be maintained. But such massive internal expenditure, plus the non-productive military expenditures, leaves little for the underdeveloped areas. "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer" is still the capitalist way.

Alaska

Alaska Natives
Gates of the Arctic
National Park
Wilderness Area
Polar Bears, Seals
Arctic Ecology

"Which side are you on boys, which side are you on?"

J. Paul Getty's Oil
Fairbanks-North Slope
Pipeline
Amchitka Island A-blasts
Polluted Arctic Waters
Manhattan Oil Tanker

Protest by suicide

A long report in the daily press carried the headline "B-52s pound N. Vietnam camp." Buried beneath it was the following two-paragraph article:

"A youth shot and killed himself on the steps of the Capitol in Washington to protest against the Vietnam war.

"Greg Rogers, 15, was found on the Capitol's west front terrace with a bullet wound in his left temple. A .32 caliber pistol was beside the body along with a note which said he 'protested death in Vietnam' and contained the phrase 'tell them to cry in peace.'"

Freedom Notes

Five Africans were sentenced to life imprisonment in South Africa for "terrorist" activities. They were found guilty of having plotted the instigation of an armed uprising in South West Africa.

* * *

In West Germany, young workers hissed and booed Waldemar Reuter, an executive member of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DBG, United Labor unions of West Germany) when he addressed their youth conference and told them that a labor union is "not a political party . . . and definitely not a playground for those who feel politically alienated or are revolutionary hot heads."

* * *

At Kyoto University in Japan it took 2,000 police, armed with axes, power saws, tear gas and water cannon, some 24 hours to dislodge the last eight students holding the clock tower of the occupied university. The students fought back with Molotov cocktails and sulphuric acid.

BLACK CONSTRUCTION BATTLE CHALLENGES TRIPLE CONSPIRACY

(Continued from Page 1)

convention when Haggerty accepted his position, along with three other building trades union leaders, four industry representatives and three government officials, to the special "Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission" that Nixon set up by presidential executive order the day the convention opened.

Through it all, the labor bureaucracy will continue to pretend that it is fighting for labor against capital. The truth of the matter is that at this moment in history, the labor bureaucracy is the most reactionary bulwark of capitalism.

REUTHER'S COMPLICITY

The white racism of the Haggerty's and the Meany's is obvious. It takes real gall to claim, as Meany has just done, that black workers want an "instant journeyman status" which would "endanger" actual construction—when the Michigan Civil Rights Commission has reported that fully 50 percent of the people presently in the building trades unions in Michigan have not gone through apprenticeship training, but learned on the job. This is precisely what black workers are demanding.

But it is not only the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which stands in the way of the forward movement of rank and file labor today. The combination of union and civil rights movements that succeeded in winning a victory for hospital workers in Charleston, S.C., raised a slogan of "union power plus soul power equals victory." Yet, despite all of Reuther's talk of "organizing the unorganized" when he broke with Meany to form the so-called Alliance for Labor Action, he has done nothing, absolutely nothing, to help the struggles of black labor either in the new attacks that have been made on the construction unions — or in his own union where black caucuses have been busy revealing his racism "at home."

NEW FORMS OF REVOLT

At every stage in the development of labor's struggles, a new strata has broken out to show the new road to freedom. During the struggle for industrial unionism in this country, John L. Lewis was a great

figure and with the coal miners played a great role in creating the CIO.

But it was the Flint sit-downers who sparked the movement that changed the face of America, with their spontaneous, totally new form of revolt.

Today the new force is black labor. And a new stage has been opened up by the all-out attack on the construction industries as the most blatant bastion of lily-white unionism. It is a movement that has caught the imagination of revolutionary forces across the entire nation, and is growing in scope and depth daily.

CHICAGO-PGH-DETROIT

The new action began in mid-summer in Chicago where only three percent of Chicago's 90,000 construction jobs are held by blacks. The Chicago Coalition for United Community Action, made up of 61 different minority groups, includes everyone from the SCLC to black street gangs whose teen-age members demanded 10,000 high-paying, on-the-job opportunities in the next 90 days. Within four weeks, more than 20 construction projects, worth \$100 million, which were doubly insulting because many were in black neighborhoods, were halted by pickets.

In Pittsburgh, where 20 percent of the population is black, only two percent of 30,000 construction jobs are held by blacks. By the end of August, the Pittsburgh Black Construction Coalition brought almost every black organization in that city together to picket both contractors and unions, at sites ranging from Westinghouse Electric, to the National Bank Building, the \$31.9 million sports stadium, and the U.S. Steel Building.

In three days of demonstrations at U.S. Steel they halted construction completely and idled 13,000 workers. The demonstrators were met with considerable police violence (see story, p. 2) and with a counter-march the next day by the idled white construction workers, who carried "Wallace in '72" signs, and were cheered and saluted by white policemen.

In Detroit an independent black union had already been organized as Local #124 of the Allied Workers International, and beaten an AFL-CIO union in an

NLRB election after a bitter fight. Now a new Ad Hoc Construction Coalition of over 40 labor, civil rights, student and community organizations has been formed to demand more black contracts, training and jobs.

TIME TO SPEAK UP

Students have joined the protests on campuses where university construction is being challenged — such as at the University of Illinois and the University of Washington, in Seattle. Most important of all, a black steel worker told N&L that not only were there many white marchers on Black Monday in Pittsburgh, but that among the students, clergymen and housewives, there were several white workers, who have been kept out of the exclusive building trades themselves. And the Pittsburgh Courier, the black weekly, reported that "at one time during the demonstration in front of the U.S. Steel building, some of the construction workers on the building applauded the marchers."

There is no doubt that among the rank and file white skilled workers there are men who were union builders themselves, and who do recognize that it is the black workers who are now the vanguard of the movement for the freedom of all—and their own labor bureaucrats who are in collusion with the worst elements of capital. This is the time they have to stand up and be counted. This is the time they have to speak up in their own locals, raise resolutions, and show where they stand.

It is the black revolution in white racist America that is the most revolutionary force for freedom for all — because it has a momentum that cannot be stopped. This is what all other forces for freedom must understand. It is not "only" a matter of civil rights. It is a matter of breaking up, once and for all, the whole stranglehold of the South in this country, and smashing the unholy alliance of the labor bureaucracy, the Nixon Administration, and these most reactionary representatives of the "system." That is what is needed at this point in history to set the revolutionary forces in this country free to create a new society for all.