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NEWS & LETTERS

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Rhodesia Hangings Anger Workers

The recent hanging of three Africans in Rhodesia by the white racist government of Ian Smith several weeks ago, caused some serious discussion by black workers in our shop. The Africans were hung despite the fact that the Queen of England requested that their lives be spared, and the fact that Rhodesia is still supposed to be part of the British Commonwealth.

One worker said that the news was so vague in reporting the hanging that you never got clear what they were accused of, and it wasn't until after the three had been put to death that the world discovered there were more than a hundred Africans waiting in death cells to be hanged by Ian Smith. It was said that after the news of three deaths, pressure from countries around the world was so great that some further hangings were postponed.

NO TEETH IN THE ACTS

Another worker said that their crime was political opposition to the racist government. He pointed out that shortly after the Ian Smith government broke away and African leaders were urging the British to use force to stop Smith, the British Labor government of Harold Wilson stated that they would not send white troops there to kill whites. This worker wondered: would he have been happy to send white troops to kill blacks?

What difference did it make to Ian Smith what Queen Elizabeth or Harold Wilson told him, so long as he knew there would be no force used against him by Britain or any other country, provided the human lives he was taking were those of black Africans?

One worker felt that it was the same as when Franklin D. Roosevelt, considered by many as one of this country's greatest presidents, passed the Fair Employment Practices Bill during World War II, which prohibited discrimination by any company with a federal contract. The bill stopped right there, and discrimination continued, because there was nothing in the bill to provide any punishment for those that continued discriminatory practices.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA

A second worker said: "Man, I have just finished a pocket book called *Slave Blocks and Slave Trading in this Country* by Eric Corder. I've read many books on slavery in this country, and seen many pictures about it. But this book upset and disturbed me more than anything I've ever read or heard before — just to see how cruel and inhuman the white man has been to blacks all his life in this country!"

He asked us: "Did you know that when slaves were sold in Virginia to a buyer in Louisiana, the blacks had to foot it every step of the way, forced to make 75 to 100 miles a day, running most of the way? Those that couldn't keep up the pace were whipped or shot. Did you know that black girls were told not to have sex relations with black boys because the white owner or overseer might want to have relations with her first? Older women were bred like animals with whatever black male slaves the owner chose. When a child was born it might be taken from her after a week. The mother might never see it again, or might see it only once a week. And every Sunday a white preacher would come and preach the Bible to them."

"Now I have tried to be a good Christian all my life, and I hate to say this, but after reading that book I found myself asking where was God when all this inhumanity was being carried out against the black people here, and in Africa, and everywhere else in the world?"

SOMETHING NOT RIGHT

This worker said he went to his minister and asked him: "If God had all power in His hands, how come He couldn't use it then? The first chapter of St. John says that in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God. How could anything begin with a word? To me everything begins with experience, some doing and some thinking and if out of this came God, I might be able to accept it. But something just doesn't seem right about this whole business."

He went on: "I read that some school in Massachusetts was teaching black children that South Africa has the most democratic government in the whole world. That seems to me the same sort of thing we've been taught about religion."

Many of the black governments of Africa broke with the British Commonwealth over the Rhodesian situation. This country has commitments all over the world, so they say, to protect human freedom and preserve democracy. But they don't seem to have any commitment to protect blacks against inhuman white governments. This is something they call "internal affairs." As a result, this country is responsible for being the greatest breeder of Communism all over the globe, and especially in Africa, where it is forcing countries like Zambia, which was part of Rhodesia, to look for support from Communist China.

Poland and Czechoslovakia

Communist Regimes Shaken by East European Student Demonstrations

By Eugene Walker

"Down with General Moczar!" shouted Polish students in response to an appeal by official Communist Party spokesmen who tried to answer their demands for freedom by calling them "Zionists." What began as a protest on academic freedom thus developed into a revolt against the regime, especially its secret police chief, General Moczar. By the end of two weeks, it had spread to many cities, culminating in a mass sleep-in in Warsaw.

The four thousand students involved in the sit-ins and sleep-ins in Warsaw have, for the moment, ended their mass strike in the face of the superior armed strength ringing the university and under the threat of Moczar not only to expel the students but to induct them immediately into military service.

Le Monde (March 10) described the police action at the beginning of protest on March 8th: "Police of the special forces, helmeted and armed with clubs, penetrated into the university and attacked the demonstrators. The assault was brutal. Young girls in particular were clubbed, thrown to the ground and kicked." It reads as if it were occurring at Berkeley during the Free Speech Movement, or at the University of Wisconsin during an anti-Vietnam War demonstration.

The fifteen days between the clubbing of students and the end of the sit-in were filled with the spread of unrest throughout Poland.

IN EIGHT CITIES

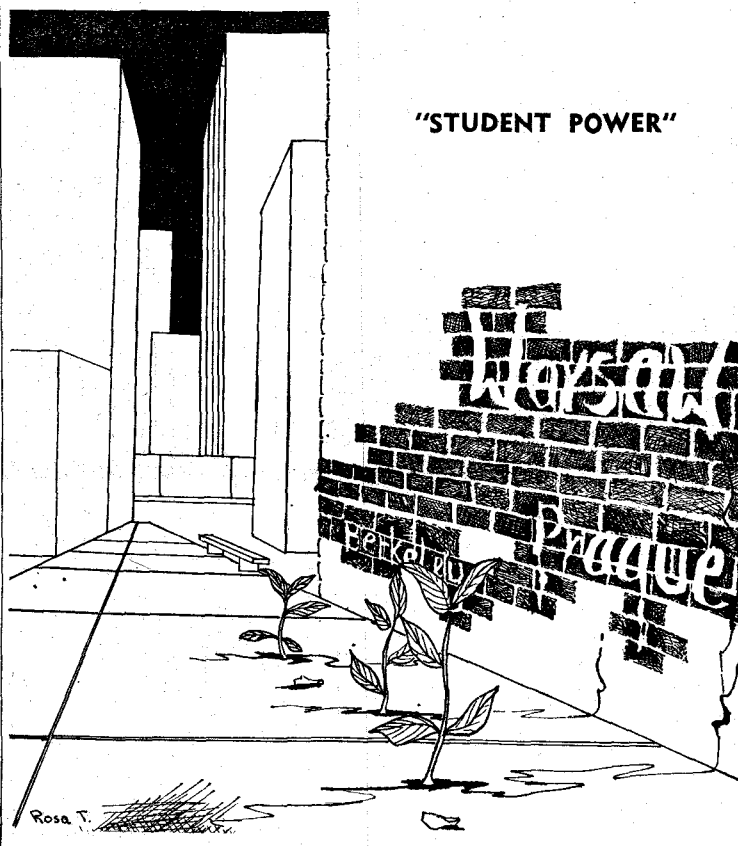
Demonstrations were reported to have occurred in eight cities, including Poznan, scene of the 1956 revolt crushed by the Polish government.

The demonstrations began when students protested the expulsion of two Warsaw University students who had been arrested for demonstrating against the government's closing of a 19th century play which had some anti-Russian lines in it. From here the revolt expanded into asking for basic freedoms of speech and more democracy.

The students sought to link up with the plight of workers in economically shaky Poland. In Poznan they shouted "Long live the workers of Poznan" at workers who were returning from a Party rally at which the government sought to prevent any possible merging of the workers and students by accusing the students of being "Zionists" and wanting a return to capitalism. (This, despite the fact that there are at present only 30,000 Jews in all of Poland compared to over three million before the Second World War. Few of them are students; none are "Zionists.")

STUDENT DEMANDS

While no active movement of workers has yet joined the students, who themselves are, in the majority, working class in origin, there were signs of sympathy for the students among workers. It was reported that many workers refused to attend the Party meetings which condemned the students, and there were indications that adults were supporting the student sit-ins with food. Workers at a rolling-stock mill in Worclaw wrote a message of solidarity to university students in Warsaw.



EDITORIAL

Undermining The War on Vietnam: Youth, Gold and Kennedy

The March 12 victory of Senator Eugene McCarthy in the New Hampshire primaries opened wide the door on the crisis within the American ruling class on the Vietnam war. No longer was it possible to say that it was "only" the Left that opposed the Vietnam war. The division was within the Democratic Party itself. Moreover, the New Hampshire primary was won in face of the most unbridled super-patriotic smear campaign, reminiscent of the heyday of Joseph McCarthy following the debacle of the Korean War. Only this time it boomeranged.

BEFORE MARCH 12

Just two days before Senator McCarthy's unexpected victory, General Westmoreland had asked for no less than 206,000 more troops "to regain the initiative in Vietnam." Though this led the staid *New York Times* to comment, "Old soldiers' illusions, it appears, never die," the Johnson Administration was listening sympathetically enough for "more troops" bent on suicidal escalation.

The following day, Secretary of State Rusk, after two years' refusal to face Senator Fulbright in public hearings, finally appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was still full of the arrogance of power. Though it was clear that in the intervening period the voices of opposition were no longer in the minority—17 out of 20 in the Committee now questioned the Vietnam policies—the Administration spokesman continued to stress all the points that would lead to further escalation, perhaps into Laos, Thailand, Cambodia.

On the second day of hearings he edged a bit off the high pedestal and, while continuing his hawkish stand, said there would be further "consultation" with the Committee on the Vietnam War. The same day it had become clear that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee members were not the only ones who opposed the Vietnam war. No less than about a third of the membership of Congress were now calling for a reappraisal of the war policies. On

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Italian Campuses Erupt in Wave of Protests

TURIN, Italy — Although Italian students have been on the move during all these years, the recent struggles began in November 1967 in Turin. Other cities, like Pisa, Florence and Milan had offered some experiences before; but in November the Turinese students, who had already passed through several sit-ins during the previous spring and summer, prepared a very serious "occupation" of the central Palazzo Campana, where all humanistic faculties have their institutes.

LONG STRUGGLE BEGINS

The building was occupied and immediately the students started their own lessons and organized themselves in view of a long period of struggles.

The academic world and the politicians thought the thing would finish after a few days; but Christmas came near, and the students were still inside Palazzo Campana.

They had continued their lessons, and most of all, they had developed a very interesting number of documents, which, because of their ideological content, gave a new momentum to the whole national student movement.

The technical questions have been left aside, and with them also the request of more "democracy" in the universities. The central problem was: a democratic university is possible only in a democratic society, meaning a non-capitalistic society; and the only way to acquire such a system is an alliance between students and the working class, which is the only class with a revolutionary content.

Towards Christmas, the police were called in and the students were thrown out. A new period started. First of all the Turinese group, for more than a month, tried again and again to occupy Palazzo Campana and also other university buildings; but each time they were thrown out by the police.

MOVEMENT SPREADS

At the same time the movement extended to most of the other Italian universities, and the struggle gathered force as the moment of the discussion of the new university law before Parliament came near.

Many buildings were occupied in all Italy: from Turin to Milan and Venice, from Florence to Naples and Palermo; from Perugia to Cagliari.

Many faculties formed special councils (open to all those who wished to work in them) on the most important problems: Structure of university courses; university and society; student power; student struggles; scientific research; the Vietnam war; etc.

The number of students actively interested in the work must be evaluated at about 20,000 or more in all Italy. On the whole, at least 50,000 students have taken part in the struggle.

After all these occupations and discussions, it became evident that the student movement was a serious one. So 500 students in Turin alone were accused of various unlawful actions and are now awaiting trial. Another 13 were to be arrested immediately; one was caught, the other 12 escaped. Only today I have had news that six of them have given themselves up.

MORE CLASHES

Two weeks ago Genoa also "exploded": occupations and councils began. Last week 110 Genoa students were awaiting trial in Pisa, Florence, Rome, etc.

In Rome there were serious clashes between the police and

5,000 students. In Genoa other clashes, and lately also in Pisa. As it became more and more obvious that the new university law would not pass before Parliament would close down for general elections, tensions arose everywhere.

The secondary school students started protests. There have been demonstrations of 10,000 boys and girls in Milano for two days; thousands and thousands in other Italian cities.

Further, about two weeks ago a wave of strikes broke out through the country, just as the Parliament was to close down (elections are on the 19th of May). In Turin the Fiat workers stayed out, against all expectations, and some of them marched the same day with the students who went before the city jail to ask freedom for their friend who was under arrest.

WORKERS JOIN STUDENTS

They fought alongside the students when they attacked Palazzo Campana, defended by the police, and afterwards when they went and broke the windows of the paper La Stampa, owned by Fiat.

Rome University Occupied By Rebellious Student Body

ROME, Italy — For the first time in history there were mass student demonstrations here, not only at the university but also in high schools, which were so successful they shut down the whole system.

At the University of Rome, there were bloody clashes with the police when the students tried to regain possession of their police-occupied classrooms in order to organize and hold discussions. The University is occupied to this day (March 21).

Everything started last November in the North of Italy (see report from Turin in January N&L) where students occupied their universities and called for "Student Power." For months, students took over classes, made the professors talk about what they wanted to know, and turned the schools into seminars for revolutionary activity.

STUDENT ASSEMBLIES

They found that occupation of the university — actually taking over — was a much better tactic than calling a student strike. In the process, all the old student organizations, both the puppet student governments and the bureaucratic student parties (Communist and Socialist) were passed by and replaced by new forms of organization: the students in each school meeting in general assemblies.

In February, the authorities cracked down and sent the police in to expel the students; there were many arrests and bloody fights. In Rome, the students in the Faculties of Letters and Architecture moved immediately to occupy their own schools in solidarity with the students in the North. The students in physics, medicine and law soon followed suit.

Rome marked a new stage in the movement. In the North, the main struggle was against the authoritarian school administration. The slogan "Potere Studentesco" (Student Power) was based on the theory that modern capitalist society is authoritarian in nature and can be successfully opposed on any level, including the university.

STEPPING STONES

The main issue was giving students decision-making power in

At the moment I think the movement is slowing down. We will see now if the students shall be able to express some new kind of organization, or if everything will just go back to normal. Not that this is really possible; nothing is the same any more in Italian universities.

But one must admit that traditional parties will find it easy to enter the movement now and use it for their own means, especially if one remembers that general elections are only two months off.

FIAT STRIKE NEXT?

I am under the feeling that clashes, occupations, etc., will be only sporadic from now onwards, but then I might be wrong. Yesterday some 200 or 300 fascists attacked left-wing students in Rome University. As in all previous fighting, there were many wounded. The police arrived and brought the fascists away, arresting some of them.

Further, L'Unita (newspaper of the Communist party) today writes that a new strike at Fiat is not improbable. Fiat is like Ford or General Motors. When 100,000 Fiat workers go on strike, it means they want to fight.

curriculum, admissions, more democratic scholarships, exam requirements, etc. But in Rome, it first became clear that these issues were not the actual goals of the movement, but merely stepping-stones in its growth.

The Roman students were the first to see that no matter how much you democratized the university, it still plays the same role in capitalist society: 1) producing technicians to increase production of labor in industry; 2) training intellectuals to accept and defend the status quo and its traditional consensus ideas and culture.

During a full month of constant discussions in the occupied faculties, they came to the conclusion that student power could only be accepted as a means to broaden the movement.

THEORY SHOWS ROLE

Many students began to expound this theory: students are not a real class; they are non-productive workers being prepared to play the role in capitalist society that the establishment will assign to them on graduation: technicians and bourgeois ideologues. Therefore, students have no objective revolutionary power as students: the biggest student strike in the world would still not affect the accumulation of capital. Only those who are engaged in productive labor — the workers — can do that.

What students can do inside a university is to transform its function — based on the permanent division between mental and manual labor in bourgeois society — into a "permanent dis-function."

Above all, they must learn to use the tools the capitalists give them — libraries, classrooms, science itself — to understand that the fundamental challenge to the system comes from the organization of the struggle of the working class.

The recent violent battles and permanent occupation of the buildings seem to demonstrate that the concept of "disfunction" has been completely achieved. Meanwhile, contacts with the working class are already being made; special committees are studying the problem, and everybody knows that the future of the movement depends on the prospect of these contacts developing into a permanent reality.

— Student, University of Rome

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Law-breaking Whites Destroy Selves

Who was the one who started to break all the laws handed down by the white man more than a hundred years ago? It was the white man who broke all of his own laws.

He broke all the laws from "thou shalt not kill" to "thou shalt not commit adultery." And he forgot all about the one that said "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

ONE EXCEPTION

But the time has come when the black man is bringing that law home. He is breaking all the same laws that the white man has broken — with the exception of killing a President of this United States.

Now the white man is talking about the need for "law and order," even if he has to get it from the barrel of a gun.

When you read about the history of the black people since slavery you feel as if you could start fighting, and even killing, until every white finally under-

stands that black people are human beings.

BLACK POWER FEARED

The Michigan Chronicle recently printed a letter from a white man who said that whites are afraid of black power. He wanted to know why whites don't let the black people govern their own communities just as the whites govern their own.

He didn't seem to know that whites don't want Negroes to have a chance to get ahead of whites because they think that somehow the white man must be over the black man and take the lead in everything.

TO LIVE . . . OR DIE

Rev. King was right when he said that we all have to live together as brothers or die together as fools.

He was right because the tension and crisis in the United States, and the whole world, is so thick that it feels as though you could cut it with a knife.

Hate can destroy the whole nation. If it does, it will be the white man's government that is destroyed by its own "law and order."

BEHIND THE HEADLINES IN POLAND . . .

"OPEN LETTER TO THE PARTY"

A critique of the Polish Communist Party by Kuron and Modzelewski, expelled and jailed for their views

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Discrimination Raised at Heinz Contract Meeting

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — We had a union meeting on March 2 about our contract with Heinz, which expired on Feb. 28. Everything was cut and dried.

I think we got a good raise—from 29 to 49 cents in a three year period. We don't have to pay personally for our pension fund, but if you quit within a five-year period you don't get your money back. Our hospital plan pays for calls to the doctor's office after an operation providing you are not working. There is definitely not supposed to be any discrimination in the plant or office.

COMMOTION BEGINS

Everything was going fine until one white man stood up and said he had worked for Heinz for 25 years and a colored man came into the plant and took his job.

There was a commotion in front of the auditorium and three or four Negro men got up and said that if this was the kind of meeting it was going to be, they were leaving. Later we heard a lot of noise in the balcony, and saw one of these men sitting up there with about 15 other Negro men.

Down in front of the auditorium another Negro stood up and said that he wanted an answer to the white man's questions, because if the white man had been

discriminated against, the same thing could happen to him.

The chairman of the meeting said this was not a grievance meeting, it was a meeting to settle the contract.

GRIEVANCES AIRED

People from all sorts of different departments began making statements about things that were not right, but the chairman told them that if they had any grievances they had to go to the monthly meeting to settle them.

Then he told the white worker and the Negro worker who had spoken that there was not supposed to be any discrimination in the plant. He said it in a very harsh tone — I guess that was supposed to make it clear to us.

The Negro who had gone up to the balcony began hollering down at the chairman about the department he worked in. He said the reason he was speaking up at this meeting was because if he went to a regular meeting, he would be harassed or maybe even fired for one reason or another.

Everybody was talking about what had happened after the meeting was over. Some of the Negro women criticized the Negro men who had been sitting by themselves together in the balcony. They said that if they had been told to sit together that way, there would have been a lot of trouble.

—Negro Worker

Strikes in France; 30 Hurt in Redon

Paris, France—Some days ago, the unions organized demonstrations in the towns of northern France. The demonstrations were against unemployment, the consequence of capitalistic concentration and of technical modernization.

In most towns the workers followed the union orders, but in Redon, they got much more violent. The workers attacked the railway station, breaking many things and stopping two trains.

During the night stones were thrown at the "Prefecture" (department headquarters in the French administration). Thirty people, 20 workers and 10 cops, were seriously wounded.

One fact is to be noted: at this time the French radio was speaking a lot about demonstrations in Varsovia, but not one word about the demonstrations in Redon.

This point is very characteristic of information in France. There is a lot of talking about troubles everywhere in the world, and in France a lot of talk about the Vietnam war, but never the smallest "autocritique" about the French in Syria, Madagascar, Vietnam, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria . . . According to the French radio, France seems to be a sinless, virgin nation.

Another thing is that since 1962, official economists explained that the international monetary system permitted the U.S.A. to exploit other nations, France among them. They preached devaluation of the U.S. dollar.

Now the monetary crisis is here, and they are afraid of what they have done.

Jacques Rueff, one of the most eminent of these Gaullist economists — after preaching dollar devaluation — says that we must stand hand-in-hand in the aim to prevent the world from a terrific calamity, the cracking of the dollar.

On the Line

'Too Young to Retire— Not Old Enough to Die'

by John Allison

Thirty years ago the UAW was recognized by Chrysler Corporation as the exclusive bargaining agent for hourly-rated employees. The very first gain the union won was seniority rights in your home plant. Seniority had a still-birth in all Chrysler plants, and yet there is a constant state of change and plant relocation. In all this movement, seniority is a factor.

Decentralization of plants to break up militant trade unionists and to start new local unions is an old game designed to get more production and less resistance from workers. Chrysler is a multi-plant corporation; new plants have been built and old firms have been bought out. New workers have been added to the

employment rolls and area-wide seniority is still a dream.

2,500 TO GO

There are approximately 2,500 workers at the Chrysler Highland Park plant who will be phased out to move to Toledo, Ohio, or lose their seniority, because Highland Park is considered the home plant.

These workers are being put out of a home because Chrysler is building a new technical center, which takes in the whole production plant and surrounding areas.

The UAW has waited, put off and refused to settle this seniority problem, and yet the International Union has raised dues twice since Chrysler first let it be known they were dealing for a plant site in Ohio.

So you see, the workers are left high and dry. The UAW has handled this problem just about as good as the Johnson Administration has solved the Vietnam conflict. One result is that there has been a big run of old timers working at Highland Park putting in for retirement.

AFTER 30 YEARS

Young workers are saying they will remain in Michigan; those in the 40 to 55-year-old bracket are screaming for help. What a shame! After 30 years of bargaining, the UAW has not learned how to stop run-away plants. Meanwhile, local union officers and other representatives at the plant are spending their time trying to work out the best deal for themselves with management.

This situation is causing all kinds of problems for workers laid off at the plant, and things will get worse now that the corporation has stepped-up its moving timetable that now aims at getting all but one line out of Highland Park by this fall. Workers from Highland Park are picked up by other plants—GM, Ford or other Chrysler plants. Only they are laid off before they put in their time to make seniority..

This saves the corporations from putting the worker on the permanent payroll. For the worker, it means he can't get SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) insurance coverage or other benefits in the contract.

AIM AT YOUNG

Actually, Chrysler is trying very hard to get young workers to transfer to the Toledo plant. The corporation is sweetening the pie by forgiving workers a lot of things if they will just transfer.

For example, some young workers are accused by the corporation of having a bad work record—but all will be forgiven if they sign up to go to Toledo. A young worker had been discharged, but went back to work with three years' seniority taken away from him as a penalty—but the corporation says it will restore these three years if he goes to Toledo.

It's all a very old game the capitalists play; hire in the front door, lay off or fire out the back door. Or, you do as we say and we will look out for you.

Some other sayings come to mind too, like "Take up your yoke and come with me." The UAW is saying, New Plant—New Dues. But more and more of the workers are saying, "Too young to retire — and not old enough to die."

Mahwah Workers Halt Firing

MAHWAH, N.J.—The 450 workers at a Ford plant here, who walked out over a racial incident some weeks ago (for story, see March NEWS & LETTERS) learned the importance of workers' solidarity from their recent fight with the company.

As one of the workers who had walked out said, "We knew that if we went into our disciplinary hearings alone, management would have us where they wanted us. So, before we went back to work the first night, we agreed that if they called one of us (for a hearing) everybody would leave the line and try to get into the hearing room."

As a result of these workers' decision to stick together, none of the workers who walked out was fired, though a few were given disciplinary "days off."

FOLLOW PLAN

The walk-out, which occurred when a white foreman called a body-shop worker a "Black Bastard," was called "illegal" by the Union leaders because the contract does not cover racial incidents. Thus, when the Union leaders told the men to go back to work, the men were afraid the company would fire many of the walkouts.

It seemed to the men that their fight had been a total failure. However, the first night back on the job, one body-shop worker was called in for a hearing and, following their plan, all the men in the body-shop "walked" to the hearing.

COMPANY SURPRISED

As one worker put it, "The company was so surprised they just sent us all back to work." Then, the company pulled another worker for his hearing. Again, everybody in the shop "walked."

Seeing that the men were determined that everybody would have a hearing or nobody would, the company sent everybody back to work.

What had looked like a total failure to the workers turned out to be a partial success. Although a day-shift worker reported that

the company had given some "days off" to "the quiet guys," some of whom had not even walked out originally, it is quite clear that by their show of solidarity the workers let Ford know that they won't take abuse from foremen without fighting back.

Walkout for Union at C.U.

NEW YORK, N.Y. — For the fifth time in the last 30 years, pickets walked in front of the entrance to Columbia University's John Jay cafeteria and the chant of "Union Now" was heard across the campus. This time the workers' actions started from the firing of a cook on the dinner shift who refused to work 10 days in a row.

James McDonald, manager of University Food Services, told the worker that if he didn't like working 10 days in a row he could just leave — without the usual two-weeks notice — and, of course, without any termination pay, since there is no such thing for food workers at Columbia.

The cook went back to the job and told the student workers what had happened. They, in turn, called a walk-out for the Monday night dinner shift. The student-workers drew up a leaflet calling for the reinstatement of the cook, a union election for the full-time workers, and a change in the meal-book regulations for themselves.

At 5:30 p.m., when the cafeteria opened for dinner, the student-workers stood outside the entrance passing out the leaflets and asking people to boycott the cafeteria.

CAFETERIA SHUTS DOWN

They were soon joined by 50 or more sympathizers who crowded around the doorways urging people to stay out. Others went into the cafeteria and asked those already eating there to leave.

Within minutes, university security personnel were all over the area, trying to break-up the picketing. When the pickets refused to move, Proctor William Kahn and Chief-of-Security De Nisco suggested to the food service management that they shut-down the cafeteria "for fear of violence." The pickets cheered.

Then the pickets moved their line to the other cafeteria, the Lions Den, and asked the hundred or so people there to leave. About 90 walked out immediately and the cafeteria was closed down.

STUDENT SUPPORT WELCOME

It was good to see the massive student sympathy for the cafeteria-workers' demands. And the workers remarked what a change it was from the response they got in their previous attempts to gain decent working conditions and union recognition.

During the 18-day cafeteria workers' strike in 1952, when they had been making \$25 a week, the university hired student scabs at twice the workers' wages. Thus, that strike was broken.

In 1964 there was a five-month boycott of the cafeterias, led by CORE. At that time, 80 percent of the workers signed union recognition cards, but the university refused to hold an election.

Columbia preferred to take a \$50,000 loss rather than allow any union to break through its strict non-union policy.

It is clear that the 1968 unionization campaign will require strong organization and a determined unity between the students and workers to achieve success. This is what was lacking in 1964, and that is what is needed now.

Negroes Win Hospital Post For Their Man

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — The news media and the Presidential Commission on Civil Disorder has helped make the white power bloc let the Negroes have some say in the Homewood-Brushton Health Center here.

The project to have a federally-funded Health Center in this area has been in the works for over a year. The main problem has been in the selection of the 14-member board of directors, in particular the dispute over one proposed member for that board, Dr. Charles Greenlee, a Negro physician who has a practice in Homewood.

FACTIONS FORM

Most of the so-called "militant" factions in the Negro community insisted on Dr. Greenlee's appointment to the board, but the HBCIC (Homewood-Brushton Citizens Improvement Council), which is supposed to represent the "responsible" community groups, and Pittsburgh Hospital have opposed him. The HBCIC and Pittsburgh Hospital were the organizations responsible for originally getting the grant to build such a center.

The OEO finally gave the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources until March 27 to select a board, or forfeit the \$1.7 million government grant that was supposed to build it. The MCHR in turn gave Pittsburgh Hospital and the HBCIC each two different candidates and told them to choose one of the two by deadline.

Pittsburgh Hospital was given the names of two members of the Homewood Brushton Alliance. The HBCIC was given the names of Bouie Haden or Dr. Greenlee.

OUTCOME AWAITED

A Negro steelworker in the community described the situation this way: "Haden is a rough type who has some kind of a record, but knows that the Health Center needs a Negro doctor who is in touch with the people of all walks of life, and will let them know what is going on. Dr. Greenlee is the man."

Two days before the deadline the HBCIC finally selected Dr. Greenlee, and the project can at last start getting underway.

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EDITORIAL

Undermining The War on Vietnam:
Youth, Gold and Kennedy

(Continued from Page 1)

still another resolution, 22 representatives asked that no further troops be committed to Vietnam.

Simultaneous with these developments came the international gold run which would be more correctly described as a run on the American dollar. (See "Our Life and Times," p. 8.) The crisis over the outflow of American gold has been created primarily from Vietnam war spending.

AFTER MARCH 12

Robert F. Kennedy then announced that he, too, was entering the primaries to challenge the incumbent President both on the Vietnam war and his silence on the Kerner Report. Johnson at first tried to shrug it off: "Some speculate in gold; others in primaries." But it soon became clear that the entry of Kennedy into the race mobilized still new strata, like the Mexican-American community, and crystallized the opposition to the war not only on the part of the youth, who had not heretofore entered politics, but also in very important segments of the capitalist class.

The American capitalists see billions being poured into a war the U.S. cannot win. The prospect of a new 10 percent surtax is raising the cry for taking a closer look at the war and the relations between the military, the administration and the industrialists.

The traditional political parties are coming apart at the seams on the war issue. It is clear that the Republican machine is still in the hands of Goldwater-oriented conservatives who want Nixon as their candidate. They have forced Romney out of the race and put Rockefeller on the shelf. But this attempt at monolithism, now that they feel the possibility of victory in face of the schisms in the Democratic Party, will not work, as was seen when thousands on the Republican side also wrote the name of McCarthy in the New Hampshire primary. That was just the beginning. Since then two seasoned Republican politicians in Congress said they could not support Nixon; a new organization of youth came out for Rockefeller, and Senators Javits of N.Y. and Morton of Kentucky made clear they were not surrendering yet, either.

The big question this year is: will the youth—who have been activated in the McCarthy campaign, and are in the Kennedy campaign, or who are preoccupied with the barbaric war in Vietnam though they are Republicans—allow either the Democratic or Republican conventions to take place as if they were not the ones who will be asked to go to die in Vietnam?

EXCUSE FOR INACTION

The Vietnam war is used as the excuse for inaction in the war on poverty. The President's National Advisory Commission Report on Civil Disorders has spoken in clear terms and pointed the finger where it belongs, but it remains a dead letter, without Johnson even expressing an opinion on it, much less taking any action to relieve the conditions under which the American Negroes live. Nevertheless, the same Congress that filibustered the Housing Bill hurried to pass an emasculated version as the crises piled upon each other in that week of March 11 to 17. Since then it has become clear that even those in Asia who support the Vietnam war, like the Philippines, are having second thoughts.

Many of the leading newspapers and magazines that formerly supported Johnson's positions have joined the opposition to them—from the New York Times to the Wall Street Journal, from the Washington Post to Newsweek—with new ones added weekly ever since the spectacular Vietcong success of the Tet offensive. It is true that none of these are a genuine anti-war opposition in the sense of either opposing all imperialist wars or standing for the immediate and total U.S. withdrawal from the specific Vietnam War. But even they can no longer stand Westmoreland. Instead of getting the troops he asked for, he himself is being kicked upstairs.

We have here limited ourselves to these voices of resistance precisely because they do come from the capitalist class. To have such wide divisions in the ruling class is itself a sign of the depth of the crisis, the instability of the Johnson Administration, the mark of transition to something new, a birthtime of history.

It is a sign, in fact, not only crisis, but of disintegration of the bourgeois order. No startling historic changes will come from these new contenders for the Presidency, but the emergence of Kennedy's opposition, as against the quiescence of Rockefeller, does point to an undermining of LBJ's war front, and thereby creates the conditions for a genuine anti-war movement, provided there is a coalescence of black and white, youth and labor militants who oppose their own war-hawk leader, Meany.

LBJ, APRIL AND SUMMER

As if to prove our point, not only of the power but also the impotence of presidential politics, LBJ has just tonight announced that he will not be a candidate for president. While the surprise announcement changes the lineup in the presidential race, it in no way changes the fundamental issue of war and peace. The one and only way to assure the end of the Vietnam War is through mass action.

It is now time to turn to the genuine anti-war opponents—the Negro, the Left youth, labor militants, the ones who had been opposing the Vietnam war before any of the politicians or industrialists or liberals who confine their opposition within the traditional political framework, and are totally unaware of the escalation that may still develop, no matter who is in the White House.

April is a turning point. The Poor People's March on Washington that Rev. King is planning coincides with the student movement's days of protest against the war. It is the coalescence of all the forces, black and white, youth and labor that will be decisive.

Today there are new voices to be heard in the land, the voice of the Negro masses who are determined to have their share of the wealth of the nation or burn it down. The voice of the youth, whose only future lies in changing the society where war is the way of life and death lurks for them in Vietnam. These voices are combining in a loud chorus that starts with the Washington days of protest in April and will continue through the long hot summer, culminating in a mighty roar that will rock the conventions both in Chicago and in Miami.

EAST EUROPE TURMOIL

It was really great to see that the West German students who were staging a demonstration against the Vietnam War, marched also to the Polish embassy to make it clear that while they were opposed to U.S. imperialism, they were also opposed to Communist tyranny.

No wonder the East German regime has just announced a ban on all outdoor demonstrations against the Vietnam War!

It was also good to see that those who were circulating a petition in this country condemning Russia's imprisonment of literary opponents and asking for their release, stipulated that all those who signed it were also opposed to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, making it clear they, too, were opposed to tyranny on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Student,
Los Angeles

The departure of the Czech army general to America and the demand for his extradition enable the new gang to appear progressive. One gets the impression that a movement similar to what preceded the Hungarian Revolution is spreading in Eastern Europe and that the Communist leaders are trying to sidetrack it.

The Communist leaders in Poland are blaming the Jews. It seems incredible but they will do anything to safeguard their positions. It is clear that whatever happens the Communist Parties are determined to remain in power even if some concessions have to be made, as is possible in Czechoslovakia. The Hungarian Revolution set an example that cannot be forgotten. Whatever the outcome, the struggle is around the issue of freedom.

Marxist-Humanist,
Britain

The press of this country has for some time been so silent about the miserable conditions of life behind the Iron Curtain (perhaps in the interests of "peaceful coexistence"?) that you almost forget it, until somebody brings you a first-hand description like the following one my new Polish landlady just gave me about her trip to Poland last summer.

She said that Warsaw was so modern-looking it startled her. But behind that modern look life was dreary, indeed. Her cousin made soup for dinner almost every day. And it wasn't until she went shopping with her that she realized why. It was the only way the tiny ration of meat she was allowed would stretch far enough.

Her cousin, in fact, was

"lucky" since she was crippled, and pregnant women and cripples did not have to stand in line at the meat counter. This was to ensure they would get their "ration," since meat was so scarce that even with rationing there was not enough for all, and once all the meat was sold, those at the end of the line just had to go home empty-handed.

She said the living quarters were clean but small and very crowded. There was no such thing as children having their own rooms. (I was suddenly reminded that the greatest gift Russia could offer her astronauts was a small apartment all their own that they did not have to share with others.)

And no matter how dreary life in the city was, life in the country was worse. Food in the city is so scarce that everybody has a little garden somewhere where they raise their own food. Everything is very "primitive" and done by hand—or foot. She said they had to walk several miles from the village to their little plot.

Reader,
Detroit

The March 18 edition of *The Militant* carries an article on the turmoil in Poland. In it they cite the arrest of two dissident Communist intellectuals, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski whose views they claim "closely parallel those of Trotskyism." The writer of the article has obviously never read the "Open Letter to the Party," written by these two intellectuals in which they criticize the class basis of Poland, not just "bad leadership," as the Trotskyists do.

Student,
California

It is extremely important, I think, that there is a new relationship among the various East European opponents of the Communist regimes that was not present in Hungary in 1956.

It is true that there were spontaneous expressions of "solidarity" on the part of the Hungarian students with earlier Polish demonstrations in the '50's. But there was not the close relationship between the "dissidents" that exists now, where intellectuals in Czechoslovakia actually know other intellectuals in Poland, as well as all other East European countries.

It is quite different to actually be in correspondence with one another, and know each others viewpoints well. In this respect, Erich Fromm's symposium, *Socialist Humanism*, has suddenly taken on much greater importance to me, and I am re-

reading many of the essays in it which did not especially impress me before.

The very fact that many of these authors are now either in the headlines or in jail in East Europe (depending on whether they are Czech or Polish) makes rereading that volume necessary to really understand what is going on.

Intellectual,
Chicago

Editor's Note: See Ad, p. 6.

THE BLACK REVOLT

Your story about how the workers at that Ford plant in New Jersey fought racism in the shop was real good. There are things like that going on all the time.

Recently two young workers in our shop got into a fight. One was a white guy and one was a Negro. The company gave them both a week off.

Then the company found out that the Negro didn't have his 90 days seniority in yet, and decided to fire him. When the other guys in the plant found out about it, about 30 or 40 said they were going to march over to the union hall together to protest.

The committeeman went down and told management what the workers were going to do. Management decided right there and then that they would drop it.

The union's argument was that it would be "double jeopardy" since he had already been punished, but if those 30 or 40 guys hadn't threatened to walk out, I don't think either the union or the company would have done a thing about it.

Negro Worker,
Detroit

You certainly knew what you were talking about in your Editorial in the March issue about how the legislation being passed against "riots" can be used against labor just as easily. In fact, The State Senate in Michigan just proved that this is exactly what they have in mind.

When some of the labor-backed legislators tried to tack on an amendment that would specifically exempt unions from the legislation, the amendment was defeated 16 to 20. Only the Democrats voted for it. Every Republican voted against it.

The Republican argument was that it wouldn't be right to pass laws against one segment of the population and exempt others. That spells it out pretty clearly, I think: the new laws they are passing are against ALL of us.

Reader,
Detroit

Today at lunch a friend and I were eating at a table with about four Negro men. One started to talk about the colored people wanting a nation for themselves, and said there was going to be a revolution.

Another one said he for one wanted no part of any rioting or "revolution" like that. He said he was thinking about his wife and kids and their future, and anybody but a fool would know that the little ammunition the Negroes had could not compare with what the white man has.

Some of the women in our car coming home from work said they were really afraid. They couldn't understand how

Readers'

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Views

the riots could help the Negro people, since it is the Negroes who suffer the most from them. One woman pointed out that a lot of stores in some of the mixed neighborhoods were closing up because of fear of riots, but even here it seems to be the Negroes who suffer the most as a result.

**Negro Worker
Pennsylvania**

A lot of white people here are very much afraid of what is going to happen in Pittsburgh this summer.

Everytime I talk with any white person at any length, sooner or later they ask me if I think there is going to be a riot. I tell them I don't think so, but this is something you can't be sure about.

Then they ask me if I want my home burned. Anybody with any sense ought to know that nobody in his right mind wants his home burned—especially if your whole life's work is at stake.

**Woman Worker
Pittsburgh**

The new Immigration Bill just passed here is the most racist legislation imaginable. The last two days of the deadline London's airport and the Tubes were swarming with Indians and Pakistans, bewildered, without money, without jobs and ready to accept almost any offers from the panders (many of them their own people) to lodge and work at ridiculous rates. A disgusting situation.

Britain exploits these people, and then simply removes their commonwealth status.

This country is going to explode in a few years. The WASPS hate everyone who isn't a WASP. The Asians hate the Africans and the West Indians. The Chinese and Malaysians hate the Indians. And Ian Smith is spitting on the Queen's Divine Right.

Believe it or not, I'd rather be in Detroit.

**Traveler,
London**

CANDIDATES & POLITICS

Three cheers for the hospital worker who wrote "Vote NO for president" in your February issue! Whatever they say before elections, these candidates will only serve us up four more years of wars and racism, like LBJ in '64.

Kennedy was a professional red-baiter for Joe McCarthy and a union-buster too; I don't believe he's changed.

He's against the war in Vietnam because "it's the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time." That means he's for the "right" war, which his administration would start in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, or Bolivia after he "ends" the Vietnam war.

Kennedy and McCarthy are running in order to co-opt the anti-war movement into the Establishment; to channel the mass resentment over Vietnam back into the capitalist parties. Nonetheless, I am glad about their candidacies.

Six months ago I feared the government was going to clamp down on the anti-war movement, jail the leaders, and intimidate the rest. Now, with RFK, McCarthy, Rocky, and Lindsay posing as "peace-niks," they won't be able to get away with it—for a while. The candidates have given

the growing anti-war movement a two-year "breathing-space" in which to develop its ideas and build its membership. If we can use this time to build a real revolutionary anti-war movement with a class base, we will be ready when the "clampdown" comes.

Naturally, to do this we must break with the RFK brand of capitalist pacifism and make our own anti-war thinking and activity truly radical—striking at the root of war in class-divided society.

The attack on the anti-war movement has only been deferred — let's use the time wisely.

**SDS Member
N.Y. City**

While so many members of the intellectual community and the press are rejoicing at Senator McCarthy's success in New Hampshire and Senator Kennedy's entry into the race for the Presidency, this reader would like to warn the anti-war liberal intellectuals that McCarthy and Kennedy do not present any real "choice" for Americans.

Electoral politics are irrelevant to those who honestly want to see an end to U.S. imperialism and honestly want our cities rebuilt. These changes are impossible under even the most "liberal" of capitalist governments.

As a friend said to me: "The only choice in 1968 is between Johnson imperialism in Vietnam, McCarthy imperialism in Laos, or Kennedy imperialism in Thailand.

**Student,
New York**

THE VIETNAM WAR

The international gold crisis clearly reveals that the U.S. imperialists' venture in Vietnam has backfired by producing a dire situation for western capitalism. The new crisis also demonstrated that Lenin's support of movements of national liberation was definitely not a diversionist revision of Marxist theory.

While U.S. generals such as Curtis LeMay gleefully advocate "bombing North Vietnam back to the Stone Age," "backward" North Vietnam can just as cheerfully point to the havoc it has created for world capitalism.

**Student,
New York**

A bourgeois economist, Elliot Janeway, has pointed out that the war in Vietnam is stupid even from the U.S. imperialist viewpoint. By escalating so much in Vietnam, the U.S. keeps itself from fighting on other fronts, from intervening in crises that might develop elsewhere in the world.

The fact of the U.S.A. being tied down in Vietnam can lead Russia to adventures in spheres of the world in which it has a greater interest than it has in Vietnam, such as the Middle East, with the U.S. unable to intervene even if it wants to.

Whether decided upon or formalized by spoken or written agreement or not, this means a practical redivision of spheres of interest in the world. How long this state of affairs can last is another question.

The conclusions of Janeway lead to the thought that the war in Vietnam is a mistake even from the U.S. imperialist

standpoint. But the degeneracy of bourgeois thought (especially in the USA), which is partly responsible for bringing about the war, is no accident.

**A. M.
Philadelphia**

I see that Westmoreland is coming back to the U.S. Now all we have to do is bring home 524,999 more men.

**Student,
Detroit**

TEACHERS & WORKERS

Thank you for replying to my letter last issue, but my main point was that distinctions between mental and manual labor should not be emphasized . . . Teachers should see themselves as workers. They should, as I implied, fight against identification with the ruling class and its ideology and concern themselves with their own working conditions, unionization, the right to strike, and the very nature of the work they are supposed to perform—all of which they can learn from industrial workers.

I am not naively optimistic about any revolutionary potential among teachers or other professionals. Still, it doesn't seem wise to exacerbate differences or to miss opportunities for unification on the basis of common needs and common interests.

**A. Wallach,
New York**

NEW EDUCATION

We attended the New University Conference here at the end of March. After an address by Staughton Lynd, we broke up into small discussion groups. The one I was in was pretty bad.

The most radical people there were graduate students who had come out of SDS. There was a lot of talk of changing the schools in things like grading, but none of the need to change the whole method of education, which can only be done by changing the whole society.

**Law Student,
Chicago**

THE SCOTTISH SCENE

It is a remarkable fact that while the people were a bit worried over the gold crisis, no public statement was made by the working class organizations. Apart from vague references to the "gnomes of Zurich," there was no analysis. In Scotland, they are all jumping on the Scottish self-government band-wagon—even the Tories are getting in on it.

Regarding the colour question, it is hardly mentioned in Scotland. It is made an issue in various parts of England. There is, however, a strong feeling against Ian Smith of Rhodesia.

Confusion reigns in Britain over the executions in Rhodesia. It looks as if Wilson really believed that Smith would yield when the Queen declared a reprieve. The British government is now in a difficult position. One thing is certain. Negotiations with Smith are ruled out for a long time. The most hopeful sign is the evidence that some people in Rhodesia are declaring their opposition to Smith.

**H. McShane,
Scotland**

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Shortcut to Revolution Or Long Road to Tragedy?

Revolution in the Revolution?
by Regis Debray, Grove Press, N.Y., 95c

PART II

(Continued from last issue)

Throughout its 115 pages *Revolution in the Revolution* has been one never-ending paean of praise to the guerrilla. So supreme is the military as means and end, as strategy and tactic, as leadership and manhood itself that it swallows up also theory and the political party. According to Debray, "the staggering novelty introduced by the Cuban Revolution" is this: "The guerrilla force is the party in embryo."

"THE EQUIVALENT-SUBSTITUTION"

No doubt, the peculiar style of untheory requires that a superficial noun, like "novelty," follows so extravagant an adjective like "staggering." Still, our stylist seems most anxious that the reader place this "novelty" on a pedestal of original contributions to Marxism. He, himself, credits the "staggering novelty" with no less a feat than having ended "a divorce of several decades' duration between Marxist theory and revolutionary practice."

Had it been achieved, the unity of theory and practice would surely have created a new universal of historic dimension. It turns out, however, that it is but one more re-statement of the supremacy of the military. "One cannot," Debray writes, "claim to train revolutionary cadres in theoretical schools detached from instructional work and common combat experience."

Debray, thereupon, pulls out from his fertile style a new expression — "the equivalent substitution" (military command). This is the end result of the Army replacing the Party, replacing the Proletariat, replacing the Peasantry only to be replaced by the know-it-all, see-it-all, be-it-all, "Equivalent-Substitution," the military command, which consists mainly of intellectuals of bourgeois extraction:

"One finds that a working class of restricted size or under the influence of a reformist trade union aristocracy, and an isolated and humiliated peasantry, are willing to accept this group, of bourgeois origin, as their political leadership."

No factionalism of any sort is permitted. This old chestnut of Stalinist totalitarianism is passed off as "The theoretical and historic novelty of this situation." The "proof" of "perfect understanding" lies in the acceptance (1) of insurrectional activity as "the number one political activity," and (2) of the conclusion that "there is no longer a place for verbal ideological relation to the revolution, nor for a certain type of polemic." Along with monolithism comes the absorption of independent organizations: "The formation of a broad, anti-imperialist front is realized through the people's war."

Nothing is any longer itself; everything and everybody is from now on confirmed through another.

"Furthermore," Debray tells us, "the best way of putting an end to vacillations is to pass over to the attack on imperialism . . . It will be up to the conciliators to determine their position vis-a-vis the revolutionaries, not vice versa. It is they who must define themselves in terms of the reality and with relation to a fait accompli."

That type of "transformation" of reality has, from time immemorial, been a principle of capitalist confrontation of the masses. The fact that fait accompli is now re-christened as a "staggering novelty" of the Cuban Revolution does not denude it of its class nature, much less transform monolithism into a "revolution in the revolution." But our petty-bourgeois French intellectual with a penchant for Maoist-type of mathematical equation concludes triumphantly, as follows:

"In a given historic situation there may be a thousand ways to speak of the revolution, but there must be one necessary concordance among all those who have resolved to make it."

THE STYLE IS THE MAN

Why did Debray take so involved a detour to reach so totalitarian a conclusion, and to say it in so poetic a style? After all, it was clear from the start that Fidel Castro, and Fidel Castro alone, was the true "original." Why, then, the cryptic illusions, which, even where they were supposed to be historic, were very hard to decipher? Why the elliptical style? Why the staccato sentences and yet the overly verbose first chapter?

The fact that Debray could not merely assert but had to attempt to prove Cuban originality on the question of guerrilla war ran into difficulties from the start.

The first Marxist theorist of guerrilla warfare was Mao Tse-tung, not Fidel Castro. Furthermore, the thesis of "freeing the present from the past" had to come face-to-face with the simple reality that it was Vietnam, not Cuba, which was presently engaged in guerrilla warfare on a massive scale against the biggest of all world's imperialisms, that of the United States.

Under the circumstances, Debray could not attack General Giap frontally. Our philosopher thereupon hit upon the idea of beginning with an attack on the Trotskyists, (always a safe bet for Communists), only after that could Debray attempt to move cautiously to a criticism of other concepts of "self-defense."

"In Vietnam above all, and also in China (2) armed self-defense of the peasants, organized in militias, has played an important role . . . but . . . in no way did it bring autonomous zones into being. These territories of self-defense were viable only because total war was being carried out on other fronts . . ."

Castro's total war includes a war on Marxist theory: first, Marx's own theory of revolution as the objectively produced elemental outburst of the masses; and, second, Lenin's dictum that there can be no revolution without a revolutionary theory. Che Guevara, when he spoke, not "through" Debray, but in his own words, was open enough about it:

"This is a unique Revolution which some people maintain contradicts one of the most orthodox premises of the revolutionary movement, expressed by Lenin: 'Without a revolution-

Continued on Page 7

Doing and Thinking

By Bernard Wendell

Brown, Black And White

(With this issue, Bernard Wendell becomes the new youth columnist for this page. As it did to my own predecessor, age has now caught up with me. Youth must speak for itself, and it is surely a sign of the maturity of our age that the youth who are speaking out are ever younger and younger. Bernard Wendell began writing for NEWS & LETTERS while he was still a junior high school student, last year. —Eugene Walker)

The student walkouts in Los Angeles of the past weeks, with their center in the high schools of the Mexican-American (Chicano) ghetto, have opened up a new facet of the movement to rebuild America's social structure; the brown power movement.

The situation created by the "blowouts" is characterized by youth militancy, a great depth of community support of the movement, and a new unity among black, brown, and white students all fighting the same enemy: the system.

STUDENT DEMANDS

Student demands ranged from better buildings, food, etc., to sensitive, unprejudiced teachers for smaller classes, better counseling and formal education about the Afro-American and Mexican-American cultural heritage. They are demanding the material conditions of the white, middle-class schools of West L.A. and a new quality of teaching which will not teach them to be ashamed of their people.

There was a new unity in the Chicano community, signalling the consolidation of the brown power movement. Community support of their students and of the whole movement is strong.

MOVEMENT SPREADS

The heart of the walkouts was in the Chicano high schools: Garfield, Lincoln, Wilson and Roosevelt. The black high school, Jefferson, was also powerfully involved. The movement soon spread, both to the periphery of the "barrios" and farther.

Belmont High, 30% Mexican-American and unorganized by the Brown Berets, followed suit with a spontaneous walkout. Sympathy walkouts and other forms of protest spread throughout much of L.A., the most notable non-ghetto walkout being at Venice.

An important effect of these events has been the creation of a new unity against the system among youth of all races—unity of black and brown students in the same schools and the same area, and unity of the students of the ghetto with the student radicals of white Los Angeles.

This unity was symbolized by the Los Angeles school board meeting of March 11, at which, while the Board "listened" to student "leaders" in their sealed room, about twice as many students (about 400) held their own meeting in the patio below.

As the voices of the speakers inside came over the public address system, a microphone was set up, and students from all over L.A. spoke in support of their fellow students of the ghetto, occasionally pausing to listen to one of the better speakers from inside blast the system and demolish the Board.

COMMON STRUGGLE

Fighting a common struggle, meeting on equal terms, youth of all races fought together to wring concessions from the Board of Education which has left the ghetto schools to rot. The contacts established among brown, black, and white youth can and must be preserved and deepened into permanent communication and co-ordination, so that, at the next outburst, all students will know what is happening, and will be able to strike at their own administration simultaneously.

"Blowout" committees in suburban schools will also become permanent organizations with a broader student base than before.

The movement has won a great victory, not in terms of the few concessions won (such as the black principal at Jefferson), but in terms of the greater community support and inter-racial nature of the struggle. Beginning with the youth, we are destroying the racial lines along which the system has kept us divided for so long.

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YOUTH

High School Student Strikes: 3 Views

Young Black Worker

The all-black student flare-up at Manual Arts High School a few months ago was just a promise of things to come. It was, as the events of the past two weeks show, a promise well-kept. For there have been many Manual Arts here in L.A. since last Wednesday, March 6.

On Wednesday, students at high schools in East Los Angeles, which is the Chicano (Mexican-American) community, walked out of their classes. The students at all-black Jefferson High in Central L.A. also walked out.

PICKETING, RALLIES

The four schools in East L.A. were Roosevelt, Lincoln, Wilson, and Garfield. The students picketed and held rallies at their particular school and presented their administrations and the L.A. School Board with specific demands.

The demands ranged from better facilities, to teachers, to courses; there were no less than 30 demands from each of the schools. The students at Jefferson even demanded a black principal.

During the walkouts the School Board called the cops onto the campuses to restore what they called order.

A lot of people were hurt and arrested.

FENCE SCHOOL

Then on Thursday another school, Belmont, near downtown L.A. went out. Also on this day the Board added flames to the fire by first refusing to meet with the students and then having a fence built around one of the schools. In addition to this they had even more cops brought onto the campuses.

However, later on Thursday the Board said they would meet with students on Friday. So with the schools still out, about 300 students met with the Board on Friday. It was decided at this meeting that the Board would heed some of the more pressing demands and work out the other demands later.

WHITE SCHOOLS

Also on Friday two schools in white areas went out in support of the Chicano and black schools. One was in Venice, in which the cops were again called in, and the other was in San Fernando Valley.

On Monday attendance was still not back to normal at any of the schools. It was also this day that students at the all-black Edison Junior High School in Central L.A. decided to revolt. They took over the school for a short time, beat up both the principal and the vice-principal, and set fire to some parts of the school.

The interesting parts to note about the recent events are:

1. That the faculty at Jefferson also walked out along with the students and along with them demanded a black principal. And that on Monday they not only got a black principal, but a black vice-principal and counselor and all of their demands granted as well.
2. That there has been a greater unity in the Chicano community brought about because of the strikes. There is also a closer unity of Black and Brown.
3. That students both black and brown have found that they have the power to demand and get the kind of education they want.

BROWN BERETS

It might be added that the

strikes in the Chicano schools, with the exception of Belmont, were prepared for weeks in advance by student members of the Brown Berets.

The Brown Berets are an organization of young Mexican-Americans, both boys and girls, who are very militant. Unlike most of the different groups in the Black community, they have both the support and respect of the Mexican-American community.

* * *

High School Teacher

Los Angeles, Calif. — The spontaneous student demonstrations in schools of the pre-dominately Mexican-American Los Angeles Eastside has been in progress for two weeks. It appears that the protest will develop into a long battle. The Mexican youth are disenchanted with the Board of Education and frustrated by conditions of high schools on the Eastside.

One local commentator calls these walk outs a "Communist Conspiracy to take over the schools." Police Chief Reddin places the source of the disturbances in the laps of the militants and "outside agitators."

STUDENTS, TEACHERS

To me the initial walkouts occurring Wednesday, March 6 in the Eastside schools appeared to be an emotional join the "bandwagon" spree of youngsters out for a good time. But upon hearing some of the students air their "gripes" and their determination in gaining equality in education, I felt that the demands of the students could not be separated from the needs and aims of the teachers themselves.

The student demonstrators are fully cognizant of their role in changing the quality of education in eastside schools, "perhaps not for us," said one Mexican-American high school youth, "but for our younger brothers and sisters and our children."

When high school students can say, "We need more teachers sensitive to our condition, more counselors, smaller classes and adequate buildings," it becomes evident that the student is aware of the issues of this demonstration.

The Friday, March 8 walkout convinced me that the students were serious and sober in their walkout. The walkout left only a half dozen students in each class and it became a point with me whether to join the walkout myself or to remain in the class, because I certainly sympathized with the student walkout.

FACULTY SPLIT

The faculty seemed to be split in their opinion concerning the walkout. An alarming development was that of a polarization of "sides" which became racial. Personal political beliefs were trampled upon and personalities among the faculty became issues rather than the fundamental issues demanded by the students.

It appears to me that the reaction of many teachers—their abhorrence at the manner in which this protest was carried out—indicates their lack of understanding in the determination and conviction the students hold in their calculated civil disobedience.

This lack of understanding and sympathy for the minority group student is further exemplified in the stigma attached to

the Mexican as being facile with his hands. In the past this has led counselors to direct students of Mexican descent into the industrial arts. Many academically able and college potential students are shunted into the industrial arts.

YOUTH ANGERED

The present generation of Mexican-American youth is angered in spite of the protests from their apathetic parents for more respect for the law. The youth see their friends becoming high casualties at an alarmingly high proportion in Vietnam. They see the failure of the war on poverty. "All we want is equality in education" according to one student who sees the inequities evident within this school system.

These demonstrations are only the beginning of a protest against injustice and inequality existing in racist America; it is centered around a new spirit for "Mexican Liberation" as one placard put it.

* * *

High School Student

Los Angeles, Calif.—The Negro and the Mexican-American community is at last—tangibly—coming to grips with the white upper-class establishment as characterized by the high school walkouts in Los Angeles.

I live in L.A., although I don't attend the schools in topic Marshall - Garfield - Lincoln - Belmont - Venice - Jefferson. I did go to the mass meeting at the L.A. Board of Education.

It was obvious the speakers, from the "topic" high schools, who were voicing their grievances, were well aware that the whole system (governmental, not necessarily the "capitalists") was oppressing them and pitting one minority group (blacks) against another (Mexican-Americans).

STUDENT SOLIDARITY

They realize that in order for them to "fit" into the system, the high school administration has to keep them (students in general) divided along race and economic class lines. Should the power-structure (high school and state) allow solidarity among white - Negro - Mexican - American students, then the whole (cog-making) system would surely burst asunder!

In the past and present, dividing students up into race and economic class has perpetuated the capitalist system. In white middle class areas, bureaucrats are "trained." In Negro and Mexican-American areas assembly line workers are "trained." And last but not least, white lower and middle class workers are "trained" to be production workers, also.

Negro and Mexican-American students realize this. Many white middle class and white lower class students realize this. There is a growing mass solidarity.

It isn't prevalent yet. But it is a gigantic step forward away from separation of races and primarily racism which are all symptomatic of the capitalism as practiced in the United States.

TERRIBLE SCHOOLS

I could go on and on about the terrible (and I mean terrible!) conditions in many of our so-called high schools. But what is important, is that the youth of today will not tolerate the system, although still many of white-upper-class or upper middle class students are apathetic or plain don't care.

The battle was won, in the struggle as a whole, the tide is turning.

Struggle!

B. Avon
High School Student

Post Jr. Hi Students Walk Out; List Major Grievances

DETROIT, Mich. — The bell rang. The students filed out. They walked around the school on all sides, some talking, others just walking. Some shouting, others silent. But the protest was on.

What seemed at first to be a fire drill was a student strike at Post Junior High School in Detroit on Friday, March 15. However, this was not to be just another orderly demonstration, for soon the sirens began to wail and the police cars arrived on the scene.

POLICE SWING WILDLY

Numbering about 30 cars, they pulled in from north, south, east and west — riot squad, tactical mobile units and regular scout cars. Without any warning they plowed into the groups of students, swinging wildly with their billy clubs. It mattered not who was hit, just so the crowd was scattered.

When the battle was over, it was found that a minister had been hit, a teacher, several parents and several students. One of the mothers, Mrs. Ethel Garrett, who is a member of the Post Parent-Teacher Association, stated: "The police were ready for us. They came in swinging their clubs, hitting everybody in sight. Those poor kids!"

She went on to say, "They hit me in the stomach. If the minister had not caught the blow, I might have been hurt badly."

THREE ISSUES

Mrs. Garrett is on the executive board of the Post PTA and is also the president of the Fitzgerald School PTA. She said that all the issues could have been

settled before Friday at the Wednesday meeting.

The issues were threefold: 1—The unsanitary conditions of the lunchroom; 2—The actions and attitude of the assistant principal, Mr. Clark; and 3—The lack of subjects pertaining to Negroes in the curriculum.

One parent, Mrs. Frank Foley, an officer in the Detroit Parent-Teachers Council, stated, "That assistant principal is a racist. I don't see how any of the white children can stand him." Mrs Foley is white.

She went on to say that the curriculum offers only one course in Negro history and this course is not encouraged. Mrs. Foley said that the Negro president of the PTA was not pressing the issues but the parents were finally aware of the problems of the school and were supporting the students.

A WORTHLESS SYSTEM

The police brutality at the time of the strike is being investigated, but the students are ready to continue their protests so they can gain their "rights" in their school, regardless of what the investigation may uncover.

Such situations show how inadequate the schools are in the present system. No one receives equal treatment or equal education. The Negro child is not given anything with which to identify and the white child is deprived of the right to learn about all Americans.

Such an educational system is worthless and definitely must be changed. At Post Junior High School the students are trying to bring about this change.

Anti-War Protest Gains at U of Wis.

MADISON, Wisconsin — Activity at the University of Wisconsin against the war has been at a peak ever since the grads are no longer deferred. There have been protests against Boeing and the greatest event happened today.

A group of students planted rows of white wood crosses on Bascom Hill with a statue of Lincoln sitting at the top. Right down the hill, row after row of crosses. A banner was put up: Bascom Memorial Cemetery, Remorial of the Class of 1968. Reactions are yet to come.

PROTEST HYPOCRISY

Then a student, Robert Zwicker, was denied re-entry into the University because of his action in the anti-war demonstrations. What is so peculiar about this is the fact that when he left, he left as a student in good standing. His dean told him he could come back any time with no problems, until he decided to re-enter. And then Dean Kauffman personally stopped the re-entry.

Effigies of the Chancellor and the Dean were burned in protest of their hypocrisy and many rallies were held. The university is not part of the war machine, but they still hold placement interviews for corporations on campus. They are passively rather than actively cooperating. This whole university is so out of touch with reality.

GO TO JAIL?

Joan Baez and David Harris were here to talk on the draft. Even they seemed to be out of touch with reality. Somehow it just didn't fall into place right. According to them, draftees should send their draft cards back and face jail instead of going to Canada or underground.

Most of the students could see no sense in simply going to jail. I couldn't either. Somehow it seems too easy to just go to jail instead of being drafted. I can't see how that is going to change the system. It seems there should be organizing or something in the communities where more of the power seems to lie.

TWO WORLDS

Shortcut to Revolution Or Long Road to Tragedy?

(Continued from Page 5)

any theory there is no revolutionary movement. It would be a suitable theory that revolutionary movement as the expression of a social truth, surpasses any declaration of it; that is to say, even if the theory is not known, the revolution can succeed if historical reality is interpreted correctly and if the forces involved in it are utilized correctly." (3)

Debray will have nothing to do with this open declaration of a deviation, much less an actual theoretical argument; instead, there is his devious diatribes, firstly against "Trotskyism," then Maoism, and only then "theoretically" against Giap.

The way he explains Castro's "heresy" leaves out the question of theory altogether. "Fidel Castro," he writes, "says simply that there is no revolution without a vanguard." That this is not the point in dispute among Communists, all of whom are passionate "vanguardists," does not seem to disturb our master of substitution, as he reduces theory to a literature of the absurd, by finding "a close tie between biology (yes, biology!—RD) and ideology."

To save us from "the vice of excessive deliberation," and the fractionalism which is "a dead-end street," Debray points "a warning finger . . . to indicate a short-cut."

It is a short-cut to nowhere. It is a long road to tragedy.

A LONG ROAD, NOT A SHORT CUT

Far from being a short-cut, much less the "guaranteed" way to achieve state power, guerrilla warfare is a long, protracted road which has more often failed than succeeded. Our post-war world is filled with guerrilla wars from the Philippines to Burma, from Malaya to Indonesia, not to mention India and Japan, that have failed. That there is no "magic" to it, has been bitterly driven home by Che's tragic death. (See N&L, Editorial, November, 1967.)

Our post-war world, as against the first World War, lacks "magic," the true magic, of the Russian Revolution which set the world aflame. Even today — a half century afterwards, when it has been transformed into its opposite — the original perspective remains the greatest force of world revolutionary development.

This, then, is our Marxist heritage, the past from which Castro's theoretician wishes "to free the present." He will not succeed. If it were merely the writing of a young French philosopher, it could be easily dismissed. Unfortunately, he speaks for a state power, one which pictures itself as revolutionary. Because short cuts to revolution look attractive, it was necessary to counter-pose reality to Debray's nimble-penned panacea.

The only "magic" is that of Social Revolution — a great mass in motion, in spontaneous, forward movement, propelled by a philosophy of liberation, a Marxist theory of proletarian world revolution in which the masses are not only mass and muscle, but also passion and Reason.

(2) Debray will not reveal his full hand on Mao until some 100 pages later; by then, however, his language becomes as unbridled and slanderous as Mao's. Debray speaks about the "pro-Chinese" faction "sabotaging the armed struggle," its "noisy opportunism," concluding: "Even if we assume, by violent exercise of the imagination, that a 'pro-Chinese' group were to assemble fifty or so, scatter-brains, or degenerates . . ." etc., etc., etc. As Castro moves to the Maoist camp, will he now destroy this much touted booklet?

(3) Notes for the Study of the Ideology of Cuban Revolution by Che Guevara.

Canadians Fear and Oppose U.S. Racist, Military Mood

MONTREAL, Canada—Canadians are worried about the United States. One reason is the obvious bankruptcy of the American government and what nearly everyone here feels is a crazy, self-destructive war in Vietnam. Some Canadians say that they don't really understand the Americans, but actually they are feeling a rapidly growing anti-militarism and anti-Americanism.

The war alienates a people which has consistently forced the government here to decrease the "defense" budget. The bankruptcy of the American government is really felt here, where the economy is closely tied to the U.S. and Great Britain.

UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS

The international capitalist crisis has badly damaged Canada, with cost of living and unemployment soaring. At the same time, economic chaos has finally shocked organized labor into desperate action.

There have been more and more increasingly bitter strikes across the country. G.M. workers forced their union to strike and thousands of auto workers are on the streets. Dozens of wildcats in other industries are forcing the entrenched union bureaucracy to provide leadership or be bypassed by angry workers.

In British Columbia the provincial government is trying to pass a binding arbitration bill over belated union opposition. The federal government wants to stop the strikes, but the Liberal

Government is so shaky they don't dare to act.

One more hot issue, here, is the huge influx of "draft dodgers" from the U.S. The federal government expects 10,000 Americans fleeing the U.S. war machine to flood into Canada in the next two months. Despite general sympathy for these war resisters, many Canadians fear their impact on soaring unemployment.

URBAN REVOLTS

A third big issue here is what the Canadian response will be to the expected massive urban revolts this summer across the border. Canadians are shocked by Johnson's response to the Riot Commission Report. The French Canadians in Quebec consider themselves to be the local counterpart of suppressed black people in America.

Most Quebec workers say that they support the struggles of black people, no matter how violent those struggles become. The federal government will, of course, oppose such violence, but the man on the street is angry at a people who seem little different from South Africans.

There is a general feeling of shock here that Canada is so helpless to oppose American capitalism. Canadians want a messiah to lead the way to independence, but Pierre Elliott Trudeau, the probable new federal Prime Minister, is the best man on the scene.

Trudeau wants to make Canada more independent, but he really lacks understanding of capitalism and belief in the potential power of Canadian workers.

Kibbutz Serenity and Contradictions

ISRAEL — I am going to an "Olpan," a school where new people learn Hebrew and other things about Israel. My teacher is a fire-bell of energy; she crams our heads until they smoke; we are saturated with little fragments of Hebrew and I spend my free time in mumbling conjugations.

The pupils are from the four corners of the earth, and only three or four can speak a semblance of English, the rest are Frenchmen or French speaking Moroccans, Danish girls, and even a boy from India.

KIBBUTZ LIFE

We learn at the Olpan for four hours, and we work in "Pardess," the lemon, grape-fruit and orange orchards, for the other four hours.

Our Kibbutz lies at the borders of the Negev Desert, and every Shabbat I run around on the gorgeous hills that surround us and watch the lizards skipping across the cracked earth, or perhaps a lonely turtle shoving along in the grass, or a group of gazelles standing silently against this brilliant sky.

YOKELS AND OUTSIDERS

The Kibbutz is the ideal place for a child to grow up; we have among us the living proof. I doubt very much that there is any place in the world where the young men and women are so free of the usual modern day complexes. They are healthy, well adjusted and as well off as any reasonable

human being would have the right to expect.

But . . . first of all, they are yokels; throughout their lives they have known nothing but "The Group." The new people that come to the Kibbutz complain about their unsociability, a well-known trait of the yokel.

The Sabras on the other hand, complain about the well-known trait of the tourist. We, the outsiders, come here for six months, and we seek the Sabras, we look at them and make them feel as if they were the inhabitants of a zoo, and suddenly we are gone again, and a new bunch, just like us, takes our place. Hence the aloofness.

NO NON-CONFORMISTS

But this is only the smallest problem, and no threat to the concept of the Kibbutz. What worries one intellectual here is that there are no really extraordinary people among the second generation. They have the same

approximate level of intelligence and non-conformists are very rare. Since they have no great problems, they begin to argue about trivialities.

Some envy us who have had to fight for our existence and who cannot calm down because our insides are twisted and sick from the things that we have experienced. They want to be discontented like us; they want to suffer for the things that make us suffer, I do not know why.

I think it is the notorious story of Tannhauser who could not stay away from the bacchanalian cave of Venus, simply because man is always looking for romance in things that are not at all romantic like war and hunger and suffering and toil.

The things that grow on hard, wind-swept ground become like steel. The man who travels and sees the wrongs of the world becomes a philosopher. The man who lives quietly dreams of Venus.

Attention Detroit Readers

Raya Dunayevskaya will speak on

"Man as a Philosophical Animal"

Sunday, April 21, 6 p.m.

Place: News & Letters Office

415 Brainard, 2nd Floor

Free

Admission

East Europe Demonstrations

Continued from Page 1

Here are some of the student demands:

They asked that the government observe the Constitution, the 71st article in particular, which guarantees the right of public assembly and free speech.

They demanded that the government permit the discussion of political affairs and grant a liberal culture.

They called for the prohibition of political and strong-arm groups entering the university faculty halls and attending meetings without warrant.

They called for the publication of the names of arrested students and for a guarantee of public trial which students would have the right to attend as witnesses.

They called for the denunciation of those responsible for misrepresenting the aims of the demonstrations. They attacked the "slanderous articles" in the press about them.

NOT TRUE SOCIALISM

It was against these demands—especially as they aligned also with some workers and with some intellectuals like Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski (see ad page 2) who had previously attacked the Polish government and party for not being a truly socialist country but instead acting just like western capitalist countries—that the anti-Semitic campaign was begun by the government.

Anti-Semitism, whether it wears a German, Russian, Polish, or Arab costume, remains a fact of life when the internal crises within a country are sharp enough to call for scapegoats.

Stalin's last campaign was likewise directed against "cosmopolitanism" and "Zionism." As in Gomulka's Poland, one could hardly find a single Zionist in Stalin's Russia and there was little enough "cosmopolitanism" in the drab conditions of either village life or even in the universities.

What there was a great deal of was political unrest against the ruling class. In the case of Stalin's campaign in 1948, the sharpest edge of the sword was aimed at the returning soldiers who had seen "the West" and were asking some very embarrassing questions of their own regime. In the case of Gomulka, it is the youth, the memory of what they almost had in 1956, and the hunger for a freer life in 1968.

What is true in Poland is that Gomulka is not just being challenged from the left, by the students, but also from the extreme right. That is to say, there is a power struggle within the Communist Party, between Gomulka and the extreme right led by Moczar.

Gomulka was ready to utilize that chauvinistic anti-Semitic approach to the internal crises in order to fight the left. But when it became clear that the extreme right led by Moczar meant also "Russians," Gomulka decided to pull back a bit.

TOTALITARIAN METHOD

The campaign is directed from on high against the students, the proletarian masses, the intellectuals, who have questioned the totalitarian method in political life as in production, in educational institutions as on the international field.

What the unrest in both Poland and Czechoslovakia is really about can be gleaned from a report we received from Prague. Although it was written before the latest events that finally compelled President Novotny to resign, it gives a good picture of the situation there and we therefore print it here:

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Twenty years ago, in Feb. 1948,

basically, again pushing the work-Czechoslovak Communists usurped power in this state by a coup, which they keep boasting was bloodless. This is true if one keeps in his mind only the few days of the coup proper and does not count those lives that have been taken during the years that followed.

Now in January of this year and more still at the occasion of the twentieth anniversary celebrations in Feb., the Communists were forced to admit that during these twenty years they have gradually lost the confidence of the people. They have strangled their freedom so that now there is far less in this "socialist" state than in the pre-war "bourgeois" republic. They have brought the country's economy to a grinding halt and left unsolved any single problem they were faced with.

The desperate soul-searching which brought this knowledge has been going on for some time at the very center of political power, i.e. within the Central Committee of the party itself.

During the two subsequent sessions in last October and December the greater part of the Committee revolted suddenly against the ruling clique of the Politbureau headed by the party's first secretary and president of the republic, Antonin Novotny, and forced him, at last, during a third session at the beginning of Jan. to give up his party position.

NATIONAL QUESTION

It was a Slovak, Alexander Dubcek, who was made the new secretary and who thus brought to light another still hidden cleavage: the "national question" i.e. the question of the relationship between two "equal" nations of Czechs and Slovaks, who constitute this state.

For the first time since their coup the Communists, in a flood of unusually open criticism, doubt the very foundations of their power and have to conclude that it is impossible to make any progress in any field of social activity—political life, economic growth, cultural expansion—if they used the methods they have thought the only right ones and which come to a large extent from Soviet experience.

In the words of the philosopher Ivan Svitak (by the way one of the authors represented in the symposium Socialist Humanism) the country has to go "from a totalitarian dictatorship to an open society, to the liquidation of the power monopoly and effective control of the power elite by free press and public opinion.

"From a bureaucratic direction of the society and culture by 'the cut-throats of the official line' (C. Wright Mills) to the exertion of basic human and citizen rights to the extent at least, of the bourgeois democratic Czechoslovakia. With the workers' movement without its apparatchiks, with the middle classes without their groups of willing collaborators and headed by the intelligentsia."

NOT REAL CHANGE

No one can predict with certainty what the results of the process now going on may be. Some freedom—some of which is needed, and some only wished for—is to be "granted," but the essence of the state capitalist system calling itself communism obviously will not be changed.

This can be judged from two points on which the Communists are not willing to give in. First, they wish to keep "the leading role of the Party in the society"—which means that although they are prepared to make some concessions they would retain the actual power in their hands, only changing some forms of the political structure.

Second, they keep stressing it is only they who will determine the goals to be achieved and the programs to be followed. Thus

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Gold Crisis Heightens International Tensions

The closing of the Gold Exchange in London on March 15 brought to a head the speculation in gold that has been on the increase for over a year. When free trading ended, the United States had about \$11.5 billion left with over \$30 billion in U.S. currency floating around the world which could be redeemed for gold under regulations prevailing at that time. After World War II, the U.S. held over \$25 billion in gold which has since disappeared into outside hands.

The uncertainty abroad over the course of the Vietnam war and the unfavorable balance of trade abroad, where the United States spends \$3.5 billion each year in excess of what it sells, created the market for gold.

The week preceding the closing of the gold exchange saw over \$250 million in gold pass into the hands of the speculators. The decision on March 18 to establish a two price system, one for international exchange and another for

free trading at the French exchange brought the price in France down from \$44 an ounce to around \$40.

The world supply of gold shows Europe collectively holding \$18.9 billion, the Soviet Union \$9 billion, Great Britain \$1.8 billion, Asia and Africa \$1 billion, Latin America and Canada hold \$1 billion each. While South Africa produces \$1 billion a year, the United States produces only \$63 million. The cost of production is rising; in the Soviet Union it now costs \$70 an ounce to produce.

So long as the United States is committed to a policy of redeeming U.S. dollars abroad for gold at \$35 an ounce, and spends more abroad than it sells, then the crisis in gold will continue until another method of international payments is devised.

The simple truth is that it is the \$30 billion a year that the U.S. is pouring into the Vietnam war that has created the crisis. All the U.S. has to

do is stop the war and the crisis would end.

Gold is, after all, only a commodity, bought and sold like fish and eggs. The ability of the United States to meet its obligations abroad is based on its productive capacity which amounts to more than \$760 billion per year.

Yet the crisis is real enough. And while DeGaulle may well be only the "mouse that roared" when the French economy is pitted against the American goliath, he not only has not stopped his attacks on the U.S., but, quite the contrary, has just renewed them. And the truth of the matter is that were it not for the fact that it would throw them into chaos, too, most of Europe would like to join him in his attacks on the U.S.

Those who are profiting from the gold crisis are France, with its free gold market, and the Union of South Africa, which is free to sell its production of gold in either the controlled market in London or the French market.

DETROIT

After the Detroit experience of last hot July, during which Detroit Negroes took over what they had been denied by white society, and burned what had been either objectionable to them, or denied to them, it is time to look at Detroit, nine months later.

The burned-out areas of the city have had most of the rubble removed, but essentially nothing has been re-built. There are plenty of "committees" making plans, but the City Council members have sat on their fannies. Their only serious debate has been on the question of arming the police force with destructive Stoner weapons and raising the policemen's salaries to the highest in the country.

The old police commissioner resigned a number of months ago and the city is still waiting for a replacement who can reorganize the department on a basis of Negro equality.

The private committee headed by J. L. Hudson Jr. has made some efforts, with local industrialists and with some local Negro leaders, to obtain more jobs for inner city Negro unemployed. They claim 28,000 new jobs, but most observers admit that this reflects a normal growth in the

ing class and the people aside and imposing their will on them.

NO FREEDOM, NO BREAD

In Czechoslovakia, the students have already demonstrated against the Party-picked successor to Novotny, General Svoboda, and it is clear that things are far from over.

The unrest in East Europe has begun where the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 left off. In Poland, instead of being a revolt mainly against Russia, it is now a revolt against their own ruling class—in what is supposed to be a classless socialist society.

The economic conditions in East Europe, especially in Poland, are such that it would be hard to recognize how "socialist" industrialized East Europe differs from non-technologically non-Communist underdeveloped Asia, Africa or Latin America. As one student leader in Poland expressed it: "... we are also fighting for the working class for there is no bread without freedom, just as there is no education without freedom."

economy rather than the creation of new opportunity for Negroes. As a matter of fact there are 1,000 more unemployed in Detroit today than there were at the time of the riots.

While it is claimed that these new unemployed are new arrivals from the South, it can also be demonstrated that this too is the normal reaction to discrimination all over the United States and that nothing is being done to eliminate it.

Negro unemployment in Detroit is still 3.5% greater than white unemployment. There are still 60,000 Negroes looking for work in the city of Detroit.

All the conditions that created the "burn out" in Detroit last July remain. The only thing that has changed is that both sides have more guns and ammunition than they had last summer.

MOSCOW

Like all capitalist countries, the Soviet Union is having its own troubles. The first problem at home right now is unemployment, which they always claimed could not happen.

It happened when they told their factory managers that they, "must make a profit." True to capitalist form they fired workers they could do without, speeded up production and produced only the goods they knew would sell in the market place.

Since this was happening all over the country and automation on both the farm and the factory was displacing workers at a rapid rate, the army of unemployed grew in the Soviet Union.

The major cities, like Moscow, are so short of housing, transportation and the means of supporting the unemployed that new arrivals are denied working permits and must return to their point of origin.

The introduction of the five day week, replacing the old six day week is also causing dislocations. Theoretically the workers are supposed to produce as much in the new five day week as they did in the old six day week. But since they follow a monthly schedule, the manager of an appli-

ance factory complained that they produce 70 fans a day during the first week of the month and then step it up to 150-230 fans a day toward the end of the month, disrupting the entire distribution system.

The workers, who now have two days a week off the job, complain that everything is closed, stores and whatever entertainment there is.

The only bright spot in the picture is in vodka sales, which are up by 23% due to the boredom of the workers.

POWELL

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, who was denied his seat in Congress for irregularities while his white counterpart, Senator Dodd was let off, scot free, has returned to Harlem. He surrendered to the Sheriff on the charges pending against him and was released on bail pending new hearings.

Congressman Powell's reason for returning at this point, and his future plans are unclear, but his reception was enthusiastic as he marched through the streets of Harlem to his church where he spoke to a full house of over 1,000 people.

He stated, "the day of non-violence is over... I don't call for violence or riots, but the day of Martin Luther King has come to an end. Never Again."

It remains to be seen whether or not he will support the April March on Washington.

NERVE GAS

Near the top secret Dugway Proving Grounds in western Utah's Skull Valley, 6,400 sheep were killed. An investigator, Dr. D. A. Osguthorpe, has indicated that the cause of death could be traced to the Army operations conducted on March 13.

Nerve gas, of the type described, an organic phosphate compound, is intended for use against Americans in so-called civil disturbances. (Read as against Negroes demonstrating for civil rights.)

The Federal government can find the money to produce nerve gas, but cannot offer a solution to human equality in American cities.