

# NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

10¢

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## ON THE INSIDE

From The Auto Shops .....	P. 3
The Threat of Wallaceism .....	P. 4
Mexican Student Revolt .....	P. 8



## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Hospital Stay Reminds Worker of Auto Shop

Several months ago, some pains in the calves of my legs would get so bad after I walked for several blocks that I would have to stop and sit for 10 or 15 minutes before they disappeared. I decided to go to Ford Hospital, and after an examination the doctor said he wanted me in the hospital several days for X-rays and tests.

The morning after I checked in I went to X-ray. As soon as I got back to my room there was another orderly waiting to take me to the fifth floor. On the way I met lines of patients and orderlies half running with them, just the same as workers have to rush and run in the auto shop to get out production. I got a strong feeling that the patients were being handled like workers handle steel in the shops. After waiting in the hall of a department for an hour they discovered that they had forgotten to take me to another department where I would have to go before coming to this department. They made it sound as though it was my fault that I had not gone there.

#### HOSPITAL PRODUCTION LINE

I got back to my room for one hour and was then taken to the 11th floor for some other tests and then to the 17th floor for more testing. All the time I was answering the same questions over and over again at each department.

Each time I was told I would go back to my room, but each time someone would ask my name and off I would go again. It was two o'clock and I had not eaten.

They took me to one room and put me on a table under a monster machine to take X-rays of my entire body. This machine had the same groaning sounds that those in the automotive plant had. Then they advised me how still I had to be because they were going to put some tubes of medicine into my veins and it would circulate through my body, and then a half an hour later they would take the pictures.

#### SEVENTY DOLLARS WORTH OF TIME

When the doctor began I was very still as he put three tubes in my back. He came back several times and put another full tube in and pushed some more out of those he had put in previously. I began to make little jumps. This seemed to make him angry and he kept saying I should not move, this is serious business and that they were not playing. I asked how many more will he put in and he said he had just started.

I began to get dizzy, and when I told him he had to stop, another young doctor rushed up and took my blood pressure. He said both my blood pressure and heart beat was OK, but at that moment I got sick to my stomach and felt like I was going to vomit. I said I could not take any more and that I was so full of this stuff I wanted to throw up. He began to put ether to my nose and at that moment the doctor stuck me again. I jumped and he yelled and stood back. He said he was not going to try with me again and to get me up and back to my room. Then he said somewhat angrily that they lost all this time and over \$70 fooling with me.

I was sick, but what the doctor said made me mad as hell. I said to the doctor that this is what is wrong with this whole set up: "I asked you if you could put me to sleep and you said that you couldn't. Seventy dollars and a little time is all that matters with you. My life does not matter to you, just material matters not human beings."

The doctor stood there looking amazed and said that I was wrong. I told him how well I felt before I came into this room and how near I felt I was at the end of my life on the table. When I said this is the last test he said to wait until tomorrow and then decide.

Later the doctor came into my room and asked me how I was feeling. I told him O.K., but not as good as I felt before he injected all that fluid into me today. He smiled. I asked him when did he go home and he said he had gone home and was thinking of me and had come back to talk. He wanted me to forgive him for his foolish and stupid statement that he had made about the \$70 they had lost. I was not the first patient that could not take those tests. One out of every ten could not take them, but it was because I was frightened that I became sick. If I consented to take them tomorrow they would put me to sleep and I would not feel any pain.

(Continued on Page 2)

## Total Czechoslovak Unity Defies Russian Invasion to Crush Marxism

By Andrew Filak

A stunned world awoke in disbelief to the news of the midnight Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia on Aug. 20. But almost immediately afterward, another more stunning and more unbelievable development began to take shape. Far from achieving a victory, the invading Russian troops instead faced a totally united people who, though unarmed, spontaneously created a massive and complete resistance throughout the nation. It became crystal clear to the state-capitalist rulers in Moscow that their brutal attempt to crush the fledgling freedoms won by the Czechoslovak people had instead steeled their determination to keep these freedoms. This determination transformed the Czechoslovakian people into an awesome might against which Russian bullets, guns, tanks and planes proved to be futile.

To a man, the population resisted the invaders. Men and women, young and old, workers, students and intellectuals, Czechs and Slovaks — all struck back at the unwelcome troops. In the first reaction of unsuppressed rage and anger against the invasion, many Czechoslovaks were murdered and thousands more wounded.

#### PEOPLE ACT

Then came the release of the creativity of a people who had for months been seriously studying and trying to put into practice the ideas of freedom.

The Czechoslovak people totally rejected private capitalism, but more important, they were acting against Russian state-capitalism, and seeking to establish a society based on humanist foundations (see September, 1968 News & Letters, special Czechoslovak supplement). Suddenly the search for a philosophy of freedom became a matter of life and death.

The invading soldiers were confronted at every turn by Czechoslovak students and workers who mounted enemy tanks or faced patrolling soldiers, challenging them, in fluent Russian, to answer why they had invaded the country. For the occupying troops, who had been told they were going into Czechoslovakia to help unite the people against "internal counter-revolutionaries" and protect them against external military threat from West Germany, it soon became abundantly clear that the people were completely united — not against any manufactured internal or external threat, but against the very real occupying troops themselves.

(Continued on Page 3)

## WE NEED YOUR HELP

Four years ago, Goldwater was delivered a crushing defeat. This year the oil millionaires of Texas are showing themselves ready to finance the Far-Right neo-fascism of Wallace—who has already attracted an alarming number of white racist votes, and is now reaching out for white workers in an attempt to divide the labor movement in order to crush it as well as the black revolt, and the anti-war movement.

Wallace-ism represents a much greater danger than Goldwater, who faded back into the Republican Party; or Birchism, whose organizational base was the middle class. Wallace has his own party and will not disappear after the November elections.

Neither will the black revolt, nor the anti-war movement, nor the daily struggles of the rank and file workers in the plants against their inhuman conditions of labor, and their own bureaucracies.

The entire world stands at a Transition Point which can go either forward or backward. That is what makes the year ahead so critical and the need to keep a paper like News & Letters so urgent.

No other paper anywhere has carried the exchange of ideas between workers black and white, as well as student rebels here and abroad. No other paper has made a theoretical contribution like our analysis of what arrested the near-French Revolution, or carried a special report direct from Prague at the very moment Russian troops were invading Czechoslovakia. No other paper is the unique combination of worker and intellectual that is News & Letters.

We have been supported and financed in the 13 years of our existence entirely by contributions and subscriptions of members and friends. Our circulation is growing steadily—but so are our costs! Every issue of our paper now costs over \$400 to print. Our entire staff—both full-time and part-time—works on a voluntary basis. But postage, rent, and supplies cost another \$300 every month.

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## Hospital Stay Reminds Worker of Auto Shop

(Continued from Page 1)

The doctor said "We try to save lives," and asked if I believed him. I said, "Yes, but in your rush experimentation on them I also believe you kill some."

### MEDICAL SPEED-UP

The next day I took the test after being put to sleep.

Some time later a nurse was slapping my face in the recovery room, saying, "Mr. Denby, wake up." I opened my eyes and saw another nurse slapping a patient and saying the same thing to him. I vaguely remember seeing many beds all over this recovery room and the thought that came to my mind was that, with the population explosion, there are many people today and many of them are sick at the same time, and many are in the hospitals and doctor's offices. There is this need for speed in treating people and because of the speed to keep up with the need of the sick, the doctors and nurses and other hospital employees lose the human contact between themselves and the patients, these living human beings.

After being wheeled back to my bed I was told I could go home the next day at ten. Looking back, Henry Ford Hospital, one of this nation's greatest, with the best doctors and medical staff, the best equipment, is running patients through at the same pace as cars and trucks are rushed through his plants on those production lines. Only it is different. Here it is living human beings, and in his plants it is dead material things.

## Black Panthers vs. Cops: The Battle Is Nationwide

The Black Panthers are young, black and militant. In their way they are telling black people across the country to prepare themselves for the revolution to come.

It is for these reasons that the power structure, in the form of their racist cops, both national and local, has declared open season on the Panthers. These so-called officers of the peace are out to exterminate the Panthers either by outright violence or through "their courts of law".

### HUEY NEWTON

Everyone knows of the political trial of Panther leader, Huey Newton, which has just ended with a conviction on voluntary manslaughter. This is only after they couldn't successfully frame him for first degree murder.

In Los Angeles, three Panthers were shot down by L.A.'s finest, in what amounted to a public execution in every sense of the word.

In New York, over 100 cops (supposedly off duty) armed with all sorts of weapons, attacked, without provocation, six unarmed and out-numbered Panthers. This attack took place, during working hours, in that most holy of holies of law and order, a courthouse in Brooklyn. Even though many of these cops were identified, not one has yet been brought up on charges or arrested.

### CALIFORNIA

In Oakland, Calif., it wasn't enough to gun down unarmed Bobby Hutton in April this year, they had to shoot up the Panther office as well, just after Huey Newton was convicted. In this case not only were the two cops who did it on duty, but they used a squad car to do it in. The only penalty given to them was suspension from duty. Anybody else would be behind bars.

### NEW YORK

In New York, eight Panthers in several different cases are on trial on charges from loitering to assaulting an officer and resisting arrest, with bails set so high they can't possibly be met. There is little doubt that a general round-up move is on against the Panthers there.

Not to be outdone by the local police, the FBI arrested four Panthers, a young married couple, another man and a teenage girl, on charges of illegal flight to avoid arrest. The FBI said they were wanted for arson in Baltimore.

Recently the students and faculty of the Berkeley campus of the University of Calif. hired Eldridge Cleaver, a Black Panther leader, to give ten lectures on racism there. Right wing Governor Reagan and the Board of Regents stepped in and cancelled the lectures; then, in face of opposition, allowed him to give one lecture.

It seems as though the cops have gone ape over the Black Panthers, and the question is how will the Panthers strike back. They have made two good first steps, in getting themselves rooted in the Black Community and seeking allies through the Peace and Freedom Party. But these are just a beginning.

## Walkout In NY Garment Shop

New York, N.Y. — Last month, 400 workers at Figure Flattery, a shop in the garment district in New York, walked off the job in a wildcat strike. Their grievances were directed both against the company and their union. Local 32 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

They demanded an end to the company's policy of locking the workers inside during work hours and an end to mistreatment and name-calling on the job. They also asked that the union reopen negotiations on the contract's "cost of living" clause; the workers made between \$60-\$70 a week.

### WORKERS WALK OUT

Committees of workers were organized within the shop to deal with these issues and the shop chairman finally led the walkout.

For nearly ten days the workers tried to get the union's help; they marched to the union leader, Stulberg's office, but he refused to listen until they would return to work. The shop chairman was fired because of his role and the other workers refused to go back until he was reinstated.

After days of work stoppage the company and the union agreed to renegotiate the "cost of living" clause and the workers got a 4% increase. The shop chairman was rehired. One worker said, "Now, after the wildcat, the gates aren't locked and we even got soda and food machines installed, to keep us happy. The company got scared and now they treat us better.

## Welfare Mothers, Students Join Forces

Ann Arbor, Mich. — The rhetoric of the movement has assumed the necessity of co-operation of radical students with workers and blacks. The revolts in France and Czechoslovakia, before the Russian invasion, showed Americans that such a combination is possible.

It became a reality recently when an alliance of welfare recipients from Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti and students at the University of Michigan forced the county welfare department to provide a special clothing grant of up to \$70 for each school-age child whose family is on welfare. For the first time here, a large group of radical students were joined with local community people in attacking a system repressive to both.

### MOTHERS IGNORED

The welfare mothers had been telling their case workers since last April that money was needed to clothe their children for the coming school year. As usual, they were ignored. However, with the help of the National Welfare Rights Organization, some 40 mothers organized a group to fight the welfare department.

Welfare officials first refused to meet with the group and offered them \$20 per child if they would just go away. This was refused and negotiations continued, with the department willing to give \$60 per child and the mothers demanding the grants be based solely on need. Obviously, the officials were taken by surprise that a bunch of "shiftless, lazy people" had the fortitude to suffer through talks with public officials.

At this point, activities heightened. Steve Wildstrom, an editor of The Michigan Daily, was punched and arrested by police when he tried to enter the county building where negotiations

with the mothers were taking place. Word spread around campus and within two hours 400 students marched on the county jail.

The next day 48 mothers and their supporters were jailed for criminal trespass when they refused to leave the county building at closing time. That night over 1,200 people attended a support rally for those arrested.

Tempers were up, and many students, just having returned from Chicago, were looking for a confrontation with the cops. However, after bail money was raised, one of the mothers, Mrs. Shirley Haywood, sent word, "All we want to do is find our children. We'll be back tomorrow and that's when we need you."

### MOTHERS AND STUDENTS

It was at this moment that the alliance coalesced, for the crowd decided to follow the mothers rather than have an ego-gratifying confrontation with the police. Tomorrow came and with it, 300 students and community people took over the county building. At exactly 5:30 p.m., building closing time, the police moved in and arrested 192 more people. The operation was smooth and there was little violence on either side. The arrests united the community and \$9,500 was raised for bail.

In the face of more demonstrations, county officials agreed to a special \$91,000 fund to clothe

the children.

The money will help the mothers, but more important, the welfare mothers discovered that they can control their lives. Already fledgling welfare rights groups are starting in two other Michigan cities, and the movement is making strides in Detroit.

### "CONTROL OUR LIVES"

The mothers know that the welfare system will be changed. No one from conservative to radical has anything good to say about it. But, the power to change the system must be possessed by those whom it affects. Welfare organizing is centering on specific issues of need, but as one mother told me, "The time will come when we'll be demanding control of the department, and more important, our lives."

As for the students, the sensation of victory is unusual and pleasing. Much discussion is going on as to why students, who did not get involved over student power or military research on campus, put their bodies on the line for the mothers.

Everyone agrees that student power can no longer be accepted as a radical goal except as part of a more fundamental plan to change society. There is hopeful talk that if there is a conflict with the university administration (a most likely possibility), the black community will return the support.—T.F.B.

## A BLACK WORKER REPORTS: WALLACEISM IN THE SHOP

Speaker: Charles Denby, black auto production worker and Editor News & Letters

Date: Sunday, October 20 at 6:30 p.m.

Place: News & Letters office, 415 Brainard St. Room 209 (Corner Cass, six blocks south of Forest.)

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# From The Auto Shops

## Fleetwood

DETROIT, Mich. — I saw where the president of GM, Roche, said that the price increase for 1969 cars didn't cover the increased cost of putting out cars and GM would have to get money back out of the operations of building the car.

Well that is what they are trying to do right now at Fleetwood. They have the whole plant tied down. Getting more money out of the operations of building the car must mean working people to death, because that is what they are doing here.

We are working ten hours a day. But it is not that so much as the speedup. It is really terrible and guys are getting disciplined all the time for being unable to keep up a job and going in the hole.

Everyone is really mad about it and many want to strike but the procedures for striking are really something. First you have to take a strike vote, then notify the international, then after five days you notify the company, then you have to wait more time and finally you can strike.

Meanwhile you have to keep working on the job which the company has set impossible standards on.

You can write the grievance on the job on form 78 and give it to the committeeman. Then the committeeman and the company sit down to settle it. The worker has no say after he writes up the grievance. A committeeman might cover 200 guys, and if 120 write up their jobs, it might be a couple of weeks before he can even look at your job.

Meanwhile the company can work you to death.

This long delay in being able to have a strike, the inadequate union representation — all mean that the worker has no power to act, to come up with his

own solutions to the problems he finds in the plant. We need to get to a position where we can control our own lives, in the plant and out.

Fleetwood Worker

## Highland Park

DETROIT, Mich.—One of the departments in our plant has a reputation for getting rid of foremen right and left. It's a department composed of young men and women, old men and women, Negroes and whites. How much more integrated can you get than that?

Recently they got rid of one older white foreman, who tried to push the department too hard. Then they made a young fellow foreman. He was going to "reform" all the workers. They got him out, too.

Then they tried a two-year college man. He was going to "straighten the department out." The company said the workers would not be allowed to drive him out, no matter what. But he didn't last very long either. In fact, there were 25 grievances filed against him in one week.

It doesn't seem to matter, really, whether the foreman comes out of college or out of the workers' ranks. There is a division between workers and foremen no matter who they are. The foremen are supposed to do all the thinking and the workers are supposed to do all the working.

When a man becomes a foreman he is transformed, and can think for all. But the workers are constantly showing him that the capitalist paradise he thinks he is in, with all power in his hands, is a myth.

None of the foremen have been able to "reform" the workers, somehow. Now the company is trying to find a foreman to put in the department who won't even try to reform them.

—Chrysler Worker

## Chrysler Mack

DETROIT, Mich.—At Chrysler Mack the engineers and technicians have eliminated a number of workers' jobs in a wedding by replacing it with an automated welding machine. This machine, called C.O. 2, used tiny wire welding instead of a rod five times the size. The material it welds has to be touching with no open spaces between.

In an auto shop it is rare to get material which fits like that. The result is that with this machine one gets all sizes of holes and mis-welds on some of the most important parts of the car.

One engineer said that someone must be getting a big kick-back for putting on the C.O. machine and eliminating the are welders. They don't give a damn whether the car lasts three months or three years.

When something goes wrong with a die they never stop to repair it until they have finished with all the material they have to run through. They explain this by saying that if they stop to fix it then they are paying workers to sit while it is being fixed, and if they have to send them home the company has to pay 85% of the wages for that day. They don't want to give the worker anything, nor lose a dime. Therefore the public pay for junk which advertising calls fine cars.

Mack Worker

## Ford Rouge

DETROIT, Mich.—The company is continuing the crack-down that has been in effect since model changeover. They have not yet been able to set standards on many jobs. Yet they are writing workers up and sending some home. Workers are tired of taking the blame for supervisory and engineering mistakes.

Take the trim line. One guy has a job fitting sideview mirrors on the door. In addition he puts some screws on the clips on the inside door panel. It is too much work and he keeps getting in the hole.

The foreman sometimes would work with him but he got tired of that and wrote the guy up. So the guy got a day off after doing the best he could. It was impossible to finish his job given the speed of the line and the work space he had.

In general, guys don't have enough working space. They are working right on top of each other and can't finish a job in time.

Rouge Assembly Line Worker

DETROIT, Mich. — Rouge final assembly line foreman Warabes, don't intimidate or bully workers. We don't need any Mississippi-like foremen here.

Rouge black foremen, just because you are black does not mean you can get more work out of black workers. Black workers will not do more work for black foremen than for white. We must be treated like human beings by everyone, white or black.

Why doesn't the union stop foremen from violating the contract by working on the line as utilitymen and repairmen? Other workers who are unemployed need that job.

Black Assembly Line Worker

## On the Line

# Two Hot Issues in Plant: Wallace and Area Seniority

by John Allison

The last UAW convention was no different than the GOP or Democratic conventions. All promise to love everybody—as long as you wait and cause them no problems. A case in point is the issue dealing with area-wide seniority; it was a hot issue at the UAW convention, but it never got to the convention floor.

Why? Because the delegates from Chrysler locals were promised that the contract would be reopened at Chrysler to take care of this problem. Now, more and more, it is being revealed that the Chrysler Highland Park workers will have to go to other plants of the corporation with no seniority whatsoever.

Both the UAW and Chrysler Corporation knew this before the contract was signed and before the convention was held.

### RUNAWAY PLANTS

Chrysler is building new plants in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and is trying every trick in the book to try to get workers to transfer to these other plants. But the workers are against uprooting themselves and their families and running to other states. The result is that both the corporation and the UAW are now saying that it is too late to do anything for these present workers who have a very definite vested interest in Chrysler Corporation. Many of them have given their whole lives to production of profits for the corporation, and also given much to swell the treasury of the UAW.

They sure don't feel like it's asking too much for a little consideration for themselves and their families.

We have another hot issue in the plant, and this is Wallace. The production workers are now blaming the UAW for the way the skilled division and the engineers are supporting Wallace for president.

These workers got most of the money gains in the last contract negotiated. They cried wolf when their dues went up to support the Ford workers on strike. Now they are spending money, taken from the production workers, on labor's worst enemy, George Wallace.

Many workers are saying that not only will skilled workers and engineers go down the drain, but all of labor will suffer if we do not turn the tide.

### MUST FIGHT WALLACE

Discrimination in the shops has many side effects on what is happening now. Because racism has been allowed to continue and even grow by both the UAW and the corporations, you have the union unable to stand up to Wallace and his supporters the way it ought to be able to.

It's a sad day, but the fact is that the record of the UAW union bureaucrats is so lousy that it's hard for any workers to believe them any more. But where the production workers don't have much faith in the union bureaucrats, they know even better that Wallace means the end of the union completely, and they will lose everything they ever gained.

Out of a sick nation comes the second Hitler of our times. We are eyewitnesses to a history of the wrong kind.

## Hair a Hazard Says U.S. Steel

Pittsburgh, Pa.—We had an issue in the shop (U.S. Steel) about a month ago. The company has an apprenticeship program in which there is only one Negro who has stuck so far. The company is doing everything possible to hold on to him.

Some workers in the apprentice program like to wear beards and mustaches. The supervisor is an ardent boy scout leader and I think he still feels he is directing the troops. He put out a directive that all men with beards and long hair will have to have their hair cut.

### SHAVE AND HAIR CUT

He systematically took each apprentice off to the side and told him to shave his beard off or cut his hair, etc.

When you are an apprentice you are not protected by the union. If the company wants to dismiss you they can.

He was instrumental in getting all but one of the apprentices to cut his hair and/or shave his beard. This worker wouldn't go along with it even though he had only three or four months to go. He said he didn't care if they gave him his papers because he was leaving anyway.

### TACKLES OLDER WORKERS

The superintendent got so brave he began to approach the older workers, too. He approached one in the street and told him, "I think you look better without that mustache." The worker thought he was only kidding. About two days later the superintendent called him into his office. He had a razor and shaving cream and said, "I still think you look better with your mustache shaved off."

The worker said, "I am not going to cut this mustache off for anybody." He said, "Have you looked around the shop? Ninety-nine percent of the Negroes have beards and mustaches yet you have not said a word to them."

### WORK HAZARD?

The superintendent still insisted he shave his mustache off and said if he didn't shave it off he would have to wear a shield. He said the mustache was a hazard in his work.

The worker told the Super, "You have more hair on your arms than I have on my lip, but you don't go around wearing long sleeves."

Finally, the supervisor told the worker he could keep the mustache as long as it was kept trimmed. They haven't said anything about the beards since.

## Wallace: Anti-Union Racist

Here are some facts that all workers, white and black, should know about George Wallace, a man who is against white workers as well as all black people.

### LAW AND ORDER

George Wallace's Alabama has a murder rate that is the highest of any state in the nation—11.7 per 100,000 population—and more than 90 per cent higher than the national average of 6.1 per 100,000 population.

George Wallace's Alabama has an aggravated assault rate that is the 4th highest among all the states in the nation—183.5 per 100,000 population—and is more than 40 per cent higher than the national average of 128.0 per 100,000.

### LABOR AND WAGES

George Wallace's Alabama had a per capita personal income in 1967 of \$2,163. This is 3rd from the bottom among the states and is \$996 below the national average.

George Wallace's Alabama has jobless rates that are among the highest in the nation—4.3 per cent as compared with the national rate of 3.5 per cent.

George Wallace's Alabama has one of the nation's worst programs for workmen's compensation benefits. Forty-three states have higher benefits than Alabama.

George Wallace's Alabama has almost non-existent child labor laws.

George Wallace's Alabama has no minimum wage law and has a Right-to-Work anti-labor law.

### EDUCATION AND TAXES

George Wallace's Alabama has the highest sales tax on food—6 per cent—in the nation.

George Wallace's Alabama ranks 49th among states in per pupil expenditures for education and has one of the highest illiteracy rates in the country.

In short, George Wallace is against all workers, white as well as black.

A necessary background to understand the turmoil now seething in East Europe

## SOCIALIST HUMANISM

36 essays, edited by Erich Fromm

Includes Bronislaw Baczko and Adam Schaff of Poland, Iwan Svitak and Karel Kosik of Czechoslovakia, as well as Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Raya Dunayevskaya and Herbert Marcuse of the U.S., Iring Fetscher of Germany, Lucien Goldmann of France; many others.

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Editorial

Spread of Wallaceism Shows Depth of National Crisis

The spread of Wallace-ism in the Northern industrial states, and the pressure of black workers alarmed at its growth in the shops, has finally forced the labor bureaucracy to reveal the "truth about Wallace": that this "law and order" champion's own state of Alabama has the highest crime rate in the entire country...

"But it is not only his anti-labor record the labor bureaucrats must expose" as one production worker put it, "it is his racism that they have not been exposing." That is precisely the Achilles' heel of the labor movement.

Wallace has been reaching out for white workers, "the little man", — a la Hitler — because "divide and rule" has always been the tactic of the demagogue. But the labor bureaucracy cannot fight this divisive force within its own ranks so long as it remains tied to the regular capitalist parties and refuses to see both that racism has been necessary to capitalism since its birth...

POLICE STATISM IN ACTION

The specter of Wallace-ism, like the spectacle of the Republican and Democratic conventions, are the signs of a society so sick that it is actually in its death throes. What other possible explanation for the brutality against the black community in Miami, and the clubbing, kicking, gassing and Mace-ing of any who got in the way of Mayor Daley's Gestapo in Chicago?

While Wallace is making a big campaign point about running over any demonstrator who would dare sit down in front of his car — and has a long history of atrocities in Alabama to prove he MEANS it — Daley demonstrated how to do it Northern-style. The outrage of the press — when they saw the face of fascism in the cops who beat up the cameramen first, the bloodied heads of both the young demonstrators and doctors who rushed to their aid...

All the recent defense for Mayor Daley's brutality cannot erase that page from history or from the memories of the horrified millions who watched a police-state-in-action on the streets of Chicago that week. Nor can it be denied that it was this climate in the country that encouraged the brazen beating of Black Panther supporters by a mob of off-duty policemen right in a courtroom in New York, and the shooting-up of their headquarters by on-duty policemen in California.

Daley's current righteousness because nobody was killed in Chicago does not fool black workers who feel sure that had there been more blacks in the Chicago protests, many would have been shot.

THE THREAT AND THE CHALLENGE

These frightening spectacles, however, are not the whole truth. The truth is that those in power have felt them necessary because that is the only way they can see to try to stem the tide of the growing revolt against their system — a system which has been waging a barbaric and seemingly endless war in Vietnam for four years; has been described by a Presidential Commission as "two nations, one white and one black, separate and unequal"; cannot solve its permanent unemployment even during wartime; or end the poverty of millions of its citizens, both black and white, in the midst of unprecedented "affluence".

Only their bankruptcy can explain why the racist brew of "law and order" — spiced up with a few choice phrases here and there — has turned out to be the dish all the capitalist candidates are offering this year. Only their impotence could have scared the "respectable candidates", Nixon and Humphrey, so witless that they have been reduced to aping a sawdust little Caesar like Wallace.

At the same time, only the fact that the constantly increasing police brutality against the demonstrators has failed to stop the ever-growing black revolt and anti-war movement, has made Wallace feel the need to appeal to parts of the working class.

Hitler could not peddle what turned out to be nothing more than outright genocide for six million Jews, and slavery for all the German people, without hiding it behind come-on phrases like "National Socialism." Over three decades later, Wallace is trying to peddle his naked white racism by clothing it in the pretense that he is for the "common man."

His choice of retired General Curtis LeMay as a Vice-Presidential running mate will, hopefully, bring those for whom there was any doubt to the full realization of what Wallace really stands for: total barbarism. To declare, as Curtis LeMay did, that "to a military man, the nuclear bomb is just another weapon in the arsenal," and one that he would not hesitate to use in any war, including Vietnam, is sheer madness.

The workers as a whole will surely regain their good class sense in sufficient time. Yet the alarm at the growth of Wallace-ism is well-founded. The Krupps in Germany financed Hitler and assured his victory only when they saw fascism as the only alternative to an entirely new world that the workers of Germany were on the threshold of winning. That is the threat — and the challenge.

Readers'

WORKERS, WALLACE AND THE ELECTIONS

The best article I ever read was the one in your last issue on Wallace. The union should have done something about letting workers know what he really stands for a long time ago. What I want to know about now, after reading your paper, is what Marxism really is.

Black Production Worker Detroit

The 1968 presidential election offers nobody a choice — nobody except the racists on their "law and order" kick. Wallace offers the horror of fascism, and Humphrey and Nixon can't do anything against him because they represent the system that is falling apart at the seams. As one guy said to me at work: "Yea, I think we'll be in the streets instead of the polls. That's the only way we'll get anything we want."

Hospital Worker New York

The PAC was coming around trying to sell tickets in our shop for "political action" — before they had even come out to endorse anybody. The workers refused to buy anything. All the black workers were asking the bureaucrats who the tickets were for, Wallace?

Everybody thinks that Reuther called off the original convention that was supposed to endorse a candidate because he was afraid of the Wallaceites in the plants, and afraid to endorse Humphrey. It isn't so much that the workers wanted Reuther to launch a big pro-Humphrey campaign. They just wanted him to launch a strong anti-Wallace fight. Now they have finally got around to doing something, but it seems like too little and too late to most of us. The black workers in our shop are very worried.

Production Worker Detroit

Wallace isn't fooling anybody. He stands for white racism, and white racists are the only ones he is attracting. His "popularity" just proves how right that Presidential Commission was when it called ours a white racist society to the core!

Technician Pittsburgh

Alabama has the highest murder rate in the whole country — but the black workers in our shop are betting that the murder rate is really even higher. Alabama doesn't even count a lot of the Negroes who are murdered by whites.

Wallace is trying to pretend that the crime rate is so high there because Negroes are go-

ing around murdering other Negroes on Saturday night. I wonder if he really thinks people are so dumb that they don't remember the murders of the four little girls in the Birmingham church bombing, or Viola Liuzzo, or Rev. Reeb, or the hundreds of Negroes who have given their lives there?

Black Worker Cleveland

It is very clear that the 1968 Presidential Sweepstake is rigged. You just can't win no matter how you play it. Someone or something it seems has stacked the tickets in their favor. The list of prizes range from Humphrey - Wallace - Nixon to Nixon - Humphrey - Wallace or Wallace - Humphrey - Nixon. Great prizes, huh?

The only way to really win is not to even try. That is to say the Best Vote is No Vote. I believe that the only way for the people to win is to boycott the polls and elect no President for the next four years. Because the last 34 or so have shown themselves to be of no value at all. This is your last chance to vote your way, so don't.

Black Militant Detroit

I can't believe that any man who works for a living in a factory and has to face that line every day would really vote for a man like Wallace, no matter what the polls say.

Black Working Woman Detroit

How smart just being a Negro in our age makes you. Whitney Young certainly put it well when he said whites may think they can afford to go through the experience of a Wallace, but Negroes know they can't. It takes one who has gone through the experience of Hitler to fully appreciate what he was saying.

Old Politico Chicago

The Wallace candidacy for president of the U.S. is an insult and a direct threat to all the social, economic and political gains that have been made in our unions through many years of sacrifice and struggle. We must join shoulder to shoulder and tell it like it is! Wallace's slogan of law and order is just another word for racism and denial of basic freedoms for some Americans.

Wallace, a man who talks about respect for law and order, is the same Wallace who a few years ago as Governor of Alabama stood in the schoolhouse door to defy an executive order of law from the attorney general of the

U.S. and prevent a black child from entering a previously all white public high school.

This is the same Wallace that has promised to destroy the Bill of Rights which is part of our constitution. Remember Hitler rose to power playing on hate, fear and racism. Millions died.

—Ford Rouge Worker Detroit

GRAPE BOYCOTT HELP NEEDED

The farm workers who are fighting for a decent wage and working conditions need your help in their grape boycott. If you would like to volunteer some time to the campaign, or help picket on Fridays and Saturdays, write to:

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee 2500 Howard Street Detroit, Mich. 48216 or call 825-4811

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

What a magnificent report from Czechoslovakia in your Aug.-Sept. issue! I hope you can come out with a pamphlet on the struggle there which will include that, and anything else you can write from your Marxist-Humanist standpoint.

Student Montreal

Editor's Note: We are hoping to have such a pamphlet by next month.

The morning after the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, Columbia SDS and others organized a demonstration. Several hundred of us, students for the most part, but also some older people (e.g. Doctor Spock) marched in a long line as close as the cops would let us get to the Russian U.N. mission.

The impressive thing was the virtual absence of the Right and the clear anti-capitalist nature of the protest against the Warsaw Pact, which just about everybody viewed as part of the international imperialist club, or pot-calling-the-kettle-black brigade.

Rutgers Student New Jersey

The radio has just brought news of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia seems to equal Greece, in the sense that Prague is East and Athens is West, and nothing can change the situation, not even a great "popular" movement as there was in both countries. Not, unless there comes international help from the workers of all other countries, and in particular of the communist ones.

The Italian Communist Party's first declaration after the invasion was clearly critical, even if it still spoke of "friendship" towards the Russian comrades. This is the first time, not that the Italian Communist Party is critical towards U.S.S.R. but that it takes its position immediately, "the day after," without waiting to see how things will finish before speaking.

Teacher Genoa, Italy

Russia is from now onwards on the defensive against the forces of freedom. She has less friends than ever before. Even those who peddled the

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman Charles Denby O. Domanski Editor Managing Editor

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# Views

lies about Hungary are now singing a very different tune. I note, however, that Gus Hall provided Russia with a great deal of comfort. What a clown he must be.

The British Communist Party describes the action as a "tragic error." The leaders of the Labour Party who spoke at the protest demonstration are hypocrites.

There is the fact, of course, that the situation is seen by all the leaders as one that concerns the Communist Parties only. Unfortunately for all of them, the people of Czechoslovakia refuse to be ignored. They are showing great courage. Regardless of what kind of conditions the Kremlin may try to impose, the people of that little country will do much to determine the future of Europe. If the British Communists imagine that the old relations can be re-established they are living in a fool's paradise.

The way in which the people expressed themselves in this situation is magnificent. It will never be forgotten. They have performed a great service to the people of the world.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow

The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia must be viewed as an integral part of the world-wide reactionism on the part of the ruling classes in response to the rising tide of revolutionary movement throughout the world. Even the Catholic Church, which was showing a trend toward the liberalization of its dogma, now swings back to its traditional stance, e.g. the hard line on birth control. French repressive action which saw Communists teaming up with the Gaullist right wing against the popular student-worker revolt is another example.

In the U.S. there is a growing political reactionism to the growing Leftist movement: the "popular" support for Wallace, the nomination of Nixon and Agnew, and the spectacle of the Democratic National Convention.

With racism displayed at every turn, right up to the refusal of the Establishment to allow a seconding speech for Julian Bond's nomination, that convention acted as the funeral for the illusion of American Democracy.

Seen in this context, the Russian invasion acts as a symbolic token of victory for world reactionism. It strengthens the position of the ruling class here as well as in Russia without damaging the "peaceful co-existence" pact of the two powers.

New Readers  
California

## THE "NEW LEFT"

The brutality of the cops in Chicago was horrible. But what worries me more is that all the "New Left" seems concerned about any more is the tactics of how to fight them. Who is talking about the philosophy of the Movement, or where it wants to go?

Youth  
Chicago

I don't go for the "lesser of two evils" philosophy, either—but it shows a self-imposed blindness and deafness on the part of the so-called "New

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

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

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

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

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

Left" to exert all the attacks on Humphrey, and let not only Nixon, but even Wallace, get off with hardly a whimper. Black people have been carrying on the anti-Wallace protests so far almost alone.

Instead of just screaming louder and louder, when will these so-called "revolutionaries" learn to stop for just one minute to listen to what the black workers are saying?

Disgusted  
Detroit

We went to the anniversary march at Grand Park on Sept. 29, which was big, orderly and ordinary. Observers said it was the largest Chicago ever had. The police estimate of the march of 6,000 was obviously ridiculous—there were at least 20,000 and possibly even 45,000.

The tenor was mostly anti-war and some anti-Daley and Wallace. The lead speaker at the rally lumped Nixon, Humphrey, Wallace, Johnson and Daley together, but as usual nothing was proposed but another march.

Marcher  
Chicago

## MEXICAN POVERTY

The rebellions in U.S. cities are reported in Mexican papers without editorial comment and without any emphasis on police brutality. However, in special feature articles, the living conditions of American Negroes are shown in all their degrading reality.

There is no real comfort in this accurate reporting, since this is another way of being critical of U.S. policy and avoiding the question of poverty in the midst of the Mexican "continuous" revolution since 1910.

Student  
Mexico

ED. NOTE: See "Our Life and Times," P. 8.

## BLACK AND WHITE

Black workers in the Rouge plant complain of discrimination against them.

My husband works on the assembly line at the Rouge Plant and he is white. He also would like to get an inspector's job or any "easier" job after seven years on the line. He also sees black men hired off the street getting inspector jobs and better jobs in general than he has. So you see the problem really isn't "black or white," it's that there is no promotion or up grading of individuals.

There should be a system whereby a man starts on a

hard or low paying job and is able to work himself up to a better paying or easier job as his seniority increases.

A couple of years ago he was accepted for a job in the steel mill which would mean more money. However, his foreman would "not release" him from his job. He did not pursue the issue for fear of retaliation. I agree with you that the union is not very effective.

Worker's Wife  
Detroit

A white worker came over to me when I was selling Black Mass Revolt at a Ford Rouge gate and told me we ought to have something about the white workers in there, too. "There are plenty of white workers in revolt, too," he said.

Then a black worker at a Chrysler gate who had once bought American Civilization on Trial from me, told me that if we could put together what we were saying in both these pamphlets we could really sell them — to white and black workers alike.

Ethel Dunbar  
Detroit

## AN APPEAL

Chen Yu-hsi, a Taiwanese national, who attended the University of Hawaii from 1964 to 1968, left for Tokyo in August 1967. In February 1968, the Japanese Immigration Authority deported him to Taiwan, where he was immediately arrested and held without charge for six months.

He came to trial August 1, charged with sedition on the basis of books he read and people he associated with at the University, and articles he allegedly wrote while in Japan. He was sentenced to seven years in prison, and is appealing for a re-trial.

We would like to aid Chen by giving his case the widest publicity and hope you will help in this. We would also like to have as many personal letters as possible sent to the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of China, in Taipei, expressing concern over his fate.

Finally, we are trying to raise \$2500 to pay for his lawyer at the re-trial. Contributions may be sent to Chen Yu-hsi Defense Fund, c/o Student-Faculty Union, Box 12B40 Campus Mail, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, 96822.

Student-Faculty Union  
University of Hawaii

# TWO WORLDS

*Editor's Note: Raya Dunayevskaya has turned over her column this issue to Ivan Svitak, Marxist Humanist lecturer at Charles University in Prague, long one of the most active critics of totalitarian concepts of Communism. Born in 1925, Svitak spent his youth on a forced labor squad in an iron foundry during the Nazi occupation in World War II. He was a contributor to the international symposium on Socialist Humanism and wrote the following during the "democratization period" before the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.*

## THE CURRENT CRISIS

By IVAN SVITAK

The three-months intermezzo between totalitarian dictatorship and socialist democracy ended with the adoption of the democratization programme by the communist party. Only now could the second stage of the democratization process start, a stage that is much more significant than the first one, a stage that will decide the character of the future political relations. The second stage will decisively be influenced by the central political question.

This question—formulated in different ways—is: Do six million non-party members, citizens of this country, have the same political rights as members of the communist party—or should they be given only a greater amount of freedom, not endangering the privileges of the party members? Are we going to have democratic, free and secret elections or are we going to play the old game with new people? Are we going to live in a sovereign European state with a polycentric political system or in a non-sovereign state formation, whose leading representatives fear most of all tank-divisions of their own allies?

### PRAGUE SPRING

What happened in the first democratization stage that has been concluded in March? There were two types of changes: seemingly significant personnel changes, which are, however, structurally insignificant, and much more important structural changes carried out sometimes by people of the old political configuration. The first type of changes evoked mass excitement as they were accompanied by a well canalized demagogy against the scapegoats that are to pay for the sins. The second type of changes brought about an unusual, unique, precisely carried out and improvised, but after all, an unwanted political turn.

The personnel, structurally insignificant changes were so far carried out in the supreme offices and represented the personnel exchange of the First Secretary of the Communist Party, the President, the Government, the Chairman of the National Assembly, the Presidium and Secretariat of the Communist Party and some representatives of mass organizations. The totalitarian dictatorship carried out an exchange of persons, publicly proclaimed its crisis and the desire for a new form of political life.

At the same time it left untouched all its mechanisms and did not rid one single representative of the old course of his mandate as deputy nor of his place as a member of the central committee of the communist party. The progressives and the conservatives made a temporary compromise which must soon fall apart, because it is impossible to continue in the demagogic search of the offenders in the person of the prosecutor Urvalek and such like, who are linked by absurd bonds with their own victims.

The personnel exchange of communists in leading positions is finished. Non-party members could not have their say in this matter, although the government also wants to be their government. If you want to hear our voice, then extend the government by the representatives of six million adults—non-party members. We have just as good candidates as those nominated by the communist party and perhaps even better ones.

BESIDES personnel changes there were also a number of fundamental structural changes, which are much more significant guarantees of democracy than the new persons:

1. an actual, although not legal freedom of press and a limited application of other freedoms, mainly the freedom of assembly.
2. a spontaneous wave of political demands, dominant among which is the demand for rehabilitation of political victims.
3. the coming into existence of the first associations, discussion clubs or bodies of existing institutions, where ipso facto an alternative of the existing policy is being created.

The value of these structural changes is exceedingly high, but it must be expected that pressure will be directed against them in the sense of their gradual limitation and regulation. We must, therefore, develop our civil rights, energetically and conscientiously, without demagogy against the communists, but unyieldingly, quickly, in the masses of the non-party members, hic et nunc, here and now.

Besides these two types of changes one should also note those changes that did not take place. Besides people, nothing has so far been changed in the mechanism of totalitarian dictatorship and its heritage. Intelligent and able politicians at the head of a monopoly apparatus of power are much more dangerous than simple duds, who are not even able to choose for this coup d'etat able generals.

The political structure did not change. The National Front is being artificially revived only for the old game to continue in it. If anybody today represents the nation then, it is not the old political parties, which represent only institutionalized collaboration. The ideas of the National Front expressing wider, above-party interest is not foreign to us, but we must openly admit that in their present form the non-communist parties and organizations represent all kinds of things, only not the nation, ideas or democracy.

THE MODEL of democratic competition for power is not ideal, but it is the best that exists today. In the history of political theory and in the constitutions of states, theoretically better mechanisms of the execution of power have been proposed many times. They were either not put into practice, or they collapsed into worse systems endangering human freedom much more than the imper-

(Continued on Page 7)

# YOUTH

## Doing and Thinking

By Bernard Wendell

### Young Maoist Mentality

I attended a recent meeting of high school SDS whose purpose was to discuss the Communist Manifesto. I was optimistic about the effect going back to original Marxist sources would have on the consciousness of those involved in the discussion. I should have known better.

The "discussion" turned out to be little more than endless quotations by the discussion leader, interspersed with frequent demands for the "audience" to paraphrase what Marx and Engels were saying at key points. It was unfortunate that this dominated the discussion, but it was nothing compared to some of the statements made by the "r-r-revolutionary" discussion leader.

At one point he stopped discussing the Manifesto and turned to the subject of the East European situation, particularly about how Czechoslovak Communism is being endangered by the "bourgeois opposition." "The Communist Party in Czechoslovakia has lost control of 40% of its press. Now what kind of Communist Party is it if it can't even control its own members?"

#### CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

I think my mouth was hanging open after hearing such a statement. I pointed out that the "bourgeois opposition" that he was referring to was in fact the struggle of workers and students against oppression, and that, as in Hungary, the liberal wing of the Communist Party was trying to make the reforms necessary to prevent a popular revolution against Communism.

I brought up the most important issue of workers' control of production and the free society based upon it as the only real measure of socialism.

My comments were met by 15 blank stares. The discussion leader, seeing his theoretical authority unchallenged, did little more than grin and change the subject.

Of course, now that Mao has taken up a position of condemning Russia's invasion, in terms, of course, of China's struggle with Russia for Communist leadership, urging them, through Chou En-lai's speech, to "wage a revolutionary struggle" against the Russians, these Maoists are going to have problems.

#### CHAIRMAN MAO

So we continued "discussing the Communist Manifesto." The discussion leader mentioned how "Russia's economic policies may even seem bourgeois." This unconsciously funny statement was answered by one of the discussion leader's close associates, who glibly replied, "But, as Chairman Mao says, one revolution isn't enough; many revolutions are needed to establish socialism in a country."

I interjected that a revolution means a fundamental change in society, so how can something that must be repeated many times in the same country be called a revolution?

#### IGNORE WORKERS

Later on the discussion leader raised such questions as, "Who is the American proletariat?" and "What's the revolutionary

class in America?" in a very serious tone. Either he was playing games or he hadn't learned his Maoist slogans except in matters of foreign policy.

But most of the "audience" (which was about evenly divided between members and non-members) honestly admitted their lack of knowledge about the American working class and its revolutionary potential. I began to discuss the matter with them but the meeting dissolved before we had gone very far.

In general, whenever I had an opportunity to bring up workers' control of production I was ignored. The whole thing led me to some pretty devastating conclusions about the young Maoist mentality.

I think Marx once called the anarchist of his day a "bourgeois turned inside out." The anarchists, of course, have changed a lot, but this phrase seems perfectly descriptive of the type of pseudo-revolutionary I am discussing. These young Maoists have emancipated themselves from the American mythology only to fall prey to the Chinese mythology. They can muster a mountain of facts to disprove America's alleged democracy, but they ignore all the facts that show just how alien to Marxism the Communist regimes are.

And, like their "non-liberated" middle class fellows (they are middle class youth by their own admission — I am not making an "accusation"), the concreteness of worker's control has no meaning for them; it is totally replaced by political abstractions.

Their slavish kow-towing to Mao demonstrates the irresistible attraction which any state power which will use their preferred slogans exerts upon individuals of the middle class. To sum up: Thinking themselves least bourgeois, these Maoists are in reality most bourgeois.

#### NGL Youth Pamphlet

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## High School and Radicals

Malverne, N.Y.—Malverne School District, the scene of one of the first major open community splits concerning the bussing of black students to attain a reasonable degree of integration on the elementary school level, is once again calm after a period of over seven years of turmoil.

The feelings of bigotry and prejudice have once again returned to the hidden recesses of each individual's consciousness. So the great liberals have done it and their consciences have been appeased! Now back to the crabgrass for them.

#### REAL CHALLENGE

But here is where the real challenge begins. Hopefully, these elementary school level students will learn for themselves to judge individuals as such, and not become puppets of their elders' prejudices.

For them, I can only hope, but those who have already awakened to the realities of this society must be shown the alternatives. Having observed the situation at Malverne High School, I must ask if the blacks truly want a change as we do, or just to make it on whitey's terms?

The atmosphere at Malverne High School is not one which is conducive to political radicalism or even to conservatism. It is one of apathy. The whites are all middle class and comfortable. Most of the blacks are middle class, due to their parents' hard and long hours of work to keep up with whitey. But the black students are restless, and they are demanding respect and equality (with some voicing demands of superiority) so they can enjoy their cars, records, and 9 to 5 hours later on in life.

#### NEED MORE CONTACTS

The reports in News & Letters about high schools in Los Angeles and Detroit are encouraging. But based on my experience at Malverne High School they are not as representative of high schools as we would like.

We do not have a broad enough spectrum to consider it representative and should not fool ourselves into thinking that all high school students are similar, without finding high school contacts in other areas and comparing situations. Then we might try and form some conclusion.

However those students already associated with News & Letters are the first contacts with the vast body of students who realize that this ain't the way it should be.

—High School Student  
New York

## The Student As Convict

In the pamphlet "The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution," Appendix I,\* Joel Pimsleur, when describing the rape of UC Berkeley by the police, states:

"This was no prison riot; yet, from the police response, you would have thought they were handling convicts, not students. . . ." (my emphasis)

This, of course, is the issue—the essence, to the whole of our conflict. Our society is a prison—a prison of victims who through their lack of social-political consciousness, their abdication of citizen responsibility and their passive acceptance of the penitentiary boundaries imposed through "Law and Order—Maintaining the Status Quo—the Illusion of Democratic Representation," never meet the prison guard but under the most cordial, most disguised of conditions.

#### COLLEGE PETITIONS

Only in the ghettos of depressed America—only at that point where alienation, oppression, and the forces of civilized repression converge to force rebellion (in a myriad of subjective manifestations: drug usage, criminal activities of a wide variety, insanity, etc.), does the reality of this imprisoned society bear witness to itself in daily exercises of "control." Just recently have these forces objectively come to the fore in the scholarly battlefields of social-political awareness: the college campus!

It then becomes realizable (in concrete — non - abstract terms) that students are convicts. Victims convicted before birth by the institutions of socialization; violators of laws which not only are the antithesis to humanity, but which are non-related to daily interests of most students, but come as oppressive tools in the form of establishment channeling. Sentenced to adjust, perform, compete, behave, succeed, when at last they rebel against this unjust imprisonment (Berkeley-Columbia-Sorbonne), they become that which they have always been: convicts in revolt, and treated as such. Thus, they begin to seek to identify with the revolutions of other convicted, imprisoned peoples — not only in America, but with those enchained by capitalism throughout the world.

#### CONVICTS ALL

It is then that the vague and seemingly intangible nature of the student's subjective "oppression" — that which maintains the barrier between the raw, objective nature of the oppression of Watts-Detroit-Washington; the Nazism of Chicago; the genocide of Vietnam — becomes objectified. Abstract alienation gains a real, a tangible form. The oppression is seen as identical; the oppressed, Convicts all!

—Michael Maguire

\*A News & Letters Pamphlet, Mario Savio—R. Dunayevskaya—Eugene Walker.

## International Assembly Confronts Columbia U.

Columbia U., N.Y.—An International Assembly of Revolutionary Students was held here from Sept. 18-23 against a background of militant student action at Columbia and throughout the world.

This was the first such conference ever held in the U.S. and marks the beginning of a new stage of international thinking and activity for U.S. students. The Assembly, called by SDS and the Columbia Strike Committee, included New Left activists from France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway, England, Canada, Mexico and the U.S. It grew out of a growing awareness on the part of American students that they are part of a world-wide movement of youth revolt and a desire to exchange experiences.

#### THE FIRST NIGHT

The finest moment of the Assembly was the first night, where thought and action were combined. That day, the delegates and Columbia strikers had been involved in a mass sit-in aimed at forcing the administration to register 29 students suspended for political activity at Columbia last spring. The university retaliated by banning SDS from the campus and refusing to allow the Assembly to meet in the auditorium as planned.

Nearly 1,000 people showed up at 8 p.m. to find the doors locked against them. With perfect order and disciplined unity, they marched over to another classroom building, sat down, and began their discussion. Over 600 people were packed into a room with space for 360, and they sat for three hours listening to reports on the student and worker movements in France, Germany, and Italy.

So serious was the discussion, that no one even mentioned the "illegality" of the meeting.

Then, when the meeting was adjourned, they marched through the streets, gathering a couple of hundred more students on the way, and massed in front of the Columbia president's mansion to protest the banning of SDS and Columbia's attack on free assembly.

#### AFTER FIRST NIGHT

Unfortunately, despite the high level of youth struggle around the world, the meetings during the next five days were disappointing. In contrast to the seriousness and discipline of the first night, the Assembly degenerated into a kind of chaos where, instead of a dialogue on concrete issues, people shouted strident and abstract speeches or called for action on this or that immediate issue.

Nonetheless, some serious discussion did take place among individuals around the Assembly, and this first contact with members of foreign movements will probably bear fruit.

Meanwhile, at Columbia itself, SDS's rallies and sit-ins proved that the movement there is still very much alive, and the new administration's arbitrary decision to ban the organization gave the lie to all its hollow words and gestures about "dialogue" and "reconciliation."

Moreover, although the school year has not even begun on most campuses at this writing, the mass sit-ins at S. Illinois State and elsewhere show that the Columbia struggle was just a beginning. As the French say, "Continuons le combat."

Hertz  
Columbia U.

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Discussion Article

Race, Class Are Issues In NY School Strike

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The world's largest school system has been shut down since Sept. 8 in a dispute involving the teacher's union (UFT), the city school board, and the newly created local school board of the predominantly black Ocean Hill-Brownsville community in Brooklyn.

Ostensibly the fight is over the fate of 10 teachers who were transferred out of the district last spring by the local board. The UFT says that the right of these teachers to stay is a matter of principle. In fact, this issue is only a cover for a deeper struggle over who will control the schools: a struggle involving issues over race and class.

TRANSFORM INTO OPPOSITE

The UFT, forged in the mass teachers' strikes of three years ago, once stood for freedom and progress against the reactionary, entrenched school bureaucracy. Today, its leadership is allied with that bureaucracy and locked in a struggle against the desires of the community for decentralized schools.

The black community, having fought for years to desegregate the schools and having been unable to win quality integrated education from the city, is now demanding local control through decentralized local school boards.

SCHOOL BUREAUCACY

When the UFT won its rights five years ago, it saw its main enemy in Livingston St., the seat of the school bureaucracy. This bureaucracy was so despotic and self-serving that it literally weighed the teacher down with paperwork, kept her wages low, and transferred her arbitrarily

to distant and unfamiliar schools.

It also kept a stranglehold on the children, imposing an outmoded curriculum little suited to the needs of ghetto dwellers, regimenting their lives, and supplying little in the way of education.

Poor parents saw their children's minds being destroyed in the schools; middle-class parents (including many teachers) deprived themselves in order to educate their kids privately. The situation was untenable for both parents and teachers. An alliance between the UFT and the poor minority-group parents seemed natural. Yet it did not take place. Why?

UFT LEADERSHIP

Unfortunately, the UFT leadership rather than fighting for better schools for all, fought to maintain the privileges of entrenched principals and supervisors: the aristocracy of the teaching profession.

At the same time, they raised the specter of control by untrained, unprofessional "outsiders," and the demagogic and racist issue of "the disruptive child," using union funds to fight decentralization in the legislature.

Quite naturally, the community began to see the union as another white privileged group, and the community hostility increased the fears of the teacher rank-and-file, who now felt threatened.

LOCAL BOARDS

Meanwhile, the school officials, seeing the situation ready to explode in the ghettos, tried to buy their way out cheaply by pretending to give in to the community demand for local control by creating a few local boards with ill-defined powers. The plan backfired. The local boards got the community behind them and be-

gan to assert their power, in particular the power to transfer teachers into other districts (a power the city-wide board has always had).

RACISM?

But what about the charges that the local board is "racist" in wishing to remove these white teachers?

People must understand that the black ghetto is fighting for the survival of its children. The kids need to see images of black people in positions of authority as much as they need books if their minds are not to be crushed.

Mostly, they need teachers who identify with them, who believe in their capacity to learn, rather than teachers who, however well-intentioned, see them as "unfortunate" and somehow "unteachable."

With the lines so sharply drawn in the present crisis, it is inevitable that many genuinely dedicated and concerned white teachers will be removed along with the time-servers and patronizing liberals perhaps even to be replaced by unqualified or uncaring blacks. This is a real tragedy of white America paying its debt of centuries of racism and neglect — with the decent white Americans footing the bill. The failure of the white teachers to unite with the black parents against the common class enemy has created losses for both groups.

WHERE TO NOW?

The new teacher union militancy that promised so much a few years ago has foundered on the rock of racism, like so many progressive American movements of the past. Now we can only hope that the black community, once it wins power, will be more magnanimous in victory than whites have ever been, because the UFT is fighting a rear-guard fight it can never win.

Let us hope that teachers and parents in other cities will learn the lesson of the N.Y. tragedy and unite before both are destroyed.

Teacher, N.Y.

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O. DOMANSKI.

TWO WORLDS

THE CURRENT CRISIS

(Continued from Page 5)

fect, vulnerable, but functioning democracy. We welcome and want to have a better democracy than the Western kind but we do not want a worse democracy and on this we firmly stand.

The contemporary state of the political life in Czechoslovakia requires a healthy opposition to the communist programme. Not an anti-communist party, which would have its aim in the change of the economic relations and the total re-orientation of the state, but a political party or parties which would strive for the possibility to rule together and in partnership with the communists as the rightful representatives of the electorate.

If the communists are really for the freedom of assembly then they must admit that even within the limits of the present constitution every party, which is in agreement with the Declaration of Human Rights, has its right to existence. For us the question can therefore not arise whether it is permissible to found such a political organization, but only the question whether to found it, when to found it, and with whom and with what programme. We want to participate in the life of the political institutions of this country. We shall consider which is the best road, and whether the question of an opposition is expedient. Realistic political opposition can also exist without these organizational forms and can appear elementally as an extra-parliamentary opposition, as a students' movement or in any other form.

Regardless of temporary complications that will be quickly solved under the conditions of an open exchange of opinions and points of view, the movement of clubs of committed non-party members is arising as an exceedingly significant phenomenon. The clubs are already today a political platform and represent by their different points of view a realistic political force—an "opposition." The clubs of committed non-party members must be extended and linked so as to support by their polarization of opinions the natural tendency towards the origin of new political parties.

Regardless of the origin of other parties—to be more precise, regardless of the fact whether they will be permitted—the clubs regard today already great possibilities. They can become a platform of political thinking and stimuli for public activity which in itself is more important than the elections themselves.

PERSPECTIVE OF THE CLUB

The main question of the second phase of the democratization process are the elections, which must be secret with independent candidates and separate lists of candidates if the democratization process is not to become a swindle in the very bud. The nomination of independent candidates, proposed by non-political organizations, e.g. the clubs of non-party members, must be legalized in the election law.

The way the elections will be held and the wording of the election law are the most important questions of this spring.

We can have a president and a government forced on us, but we will not have the election law, the rules of the democratic game forced on us. The clubs should openly state that they want to have a realistic influence in the nomination of candidates on the course of the elections, that they want to put up independent deputies. We shall not vote for anyone who was a deputy in the present National Assembly. Not for anyone without any exception.

At present the clubs associate various political opinions of non-party members. They at the same time represent the basis for the activity of non-party members in special interest organizations, mainly the trade unions, and the youth movement. So far we can as yet not foresee the organizational form of the clubs and their future necessary politically more precise shape.

WE SHOULD soon submit to the broader public a certain political conception, with a kind of minimum programme of civil freedoms in Czechoslovakia. It is not necessary to put forward the most radical demands, but to pledge ourselves, the non-party member candidates and the future prospective representatives of state power to fulfill the principal demands on the basis of which we are willing to support certain deputies.

Clubs of non-party members should quickly arise in mass organizations, unions of artists, and should guarantee the basic programme of human rights. If democratization means the normalization of conditions leading towards democracy, then nothing can stand in the way of this activity. I openly state that we are not enemies of communism, that we will have nothing to do with the policy of anti-communism. We are fully responsible, adult, politically thinking citizens of a socialist country, who have outgrown the tutelage of the police-bureaucratic regime and want freedom and socialism.

We are striving for a parliamentary opposition as an alternative of the present execution of state power, because we fear that an extra-parliamentary opposition would be much more dangerous. If the political activity of the people will not be purposefully included in the creation of the socialist democracy, then it will necessarily take unto itself much more problematic forms, which it will be difficult to stop and which could endanger also the state and both its nations.

We know from an old fairy tale that the wolf had his voice changed to be able to get at the lambs. We know the voice of the wolves, the voice that was just as dangerous for communists as for non-party members. We shall not open the door, when he will try to convince us with a changed voice, because only fairy tales have a happy end. We do not, a priori, mistrust the communist, but in answer to any gentleman whose voice is breaking we clearly answer no.

The victory of little David over the giant Goliath is a myth. A reality on the other hand are the descendants of the people, whom Hitler's fascist dictatorship burned in millions in the gas chambers of the concentration camps, the young Israelis who tell us:

Never again like sheep! Never again like sheep!

—Ivan Svitak  
Prague, April 18, 1968

Italy and France

CP Influence Still Strong, But Youth Are Rejecting It

Genova, Italy — You are right about the French Trotskyists (and I suppose about other left wing groups, too) lacking a new philosophy. Even if one may not like the word, one certainly agrees on what it means. And it is the same in Italy.

The various groups here are in "political chaos." There are many groups, much work, great demonstrations, but few words, few ideas, no organization, no clear political perspective.

So, on one side you have all this lack of organization and of "philosophy" in the various left-wing groups. On the other hand you have the reality of the workers' struggles and of the Communist Party's influence on them.

CP INFLUENCE

Both in Italy and in France, you can't finish the Communist Party by just saying that it is the same as the "bourgeois order" for three reasons:

First of all because the Communist Party actually has still great influence on many workers and on their struggles.

Next because the workers themselves still consider the Communist Party a useful organization, and in fact use it for what it is, not a revolutionary party but a reformist organization that can help after a struggle to discuss with the owners. During a period of peace in the class struggle it can also work as a centre of discussion, naturally not all of it,

but in several peripheral "sections."

The last reason is that the phrase "Communism is just another face of the bourgeois order" has no sense at all here. No worker, though he might be extremely critical towards the Communist Party, would ever accept discussion after such a phrase. He simply doesn't believe it, because the Communist Party is still, in many cases, his own fellow worker, who struck 10 years ago, alone, while he went in, although he would have liked to stay out.

A NEW GENERATION

The Communist Party is still the party that fought the Resistenza, that speaks of socialism, that declares the strikes. Finally the Communist Party is the only "organized group" worth talking of in the Left, both in Italy and in France.

But then I must, for truth's sake, go back on something I've just written: this last year has really seen some changes, and they spell "youth." The new generation, both students and workers, has little respect for anyone, least of all for the Communist Party.

The best thing is that it "was born that way," and didn't have to reach such a point after endless discussions, as we had to do. This means that, while many of us often feel that they must "re-discuss" USSR or the Communist Party, the young people don't, because they accept it for what it is, a reformist party.

# Czechoslovak Unity Defies Invasion to Crush Marxism

(Continued from Page 1)

So demoralizing was the effect that replacements had to be sent for many of the soldiers who had been among the original invading force.

Secret radios, all the while, kept informing the people of everything that was happening. When one secret radio was still, another took its place. Over the air, names of people slated for arrest were reported, with warnings to them not to go home; license numbers of unmarked police cars were read out; names of informers and collaborators were broadcast; an underground press published news, always urging total resistance; house numbers were taken down and street and city directional signs were removed or misplaced to confuse and disrupt troop or police movement; railroad workers sidetracked electronic equipment sent from Russia to track down the secret radios; the few young women who fraternized with invading troops had their heads shaven; and the old women proved to be among the worst foes the Russians faced as they grimly blocked streets with their defiant bodies, poked accusing fingers in the noses of startled troops and hurled biting insults which reduced the soldiers to whimpering apologists. As one Russian officer helplessly exclaimed, "My god, the little old ladies are everywhere — what can we do with the little old ladies?"

### WORKER POWER

And all the while, the ones most closely watched and feared by the invaders were the workers. While the actions of the workers was probably the least reported, it now seems clear that they were the backbone of the resistance (see "Our Life and Times," p. 8). It is known, however, that the uranium miners went on strike as soon as they learned of the invasion; that workers forced occupying troops sent into factories to be withdrawn by refusing to work while they were there; and on the Friday after the invasion, a general strike was planned and carried out which was more total than any strike the world has seen to this day. All work that could be stopped in the nation came to a halt.

Perhaps most significant of all was the holding of the political party congress right under the nose of the occupation. Out of some 1,500 delegates from all over the nation (about the size of Ohio), some 1,200 met secretly in a factory on the outskirts of Prague, (many passed through guards dressed in worker's clothes); took action in support of the liberalization policy the Czechoslovakian government had embarked upon; and demanded withdrawal of the troops. It reflects the power of the workers, and a recognition on the part of the party delegates that they would be safest with the workers — in a factory.

### NO KADAR

Although the Hungarian revolt wrote one of the greatest chapters in the growing battles against Russian state-capitalist tyranny, in 1956 the counter revolution could nevertheless find a Janos Kadar to foist on the Hungarian people.

So mature is our age, however, that not one Quisling or Kadar could be found in the whole of Czechoslovakia — not even one promised the protection of a half million armed troops against an unarmed citizenry.

In contrast to the increased maturity of the fighters for freedom in the past decade stands the sameness of the dictators the world over who oppose and fear freedom. During the 1956 Hungarian revolt, it was China's

Chairman Mao who urged a Khrushchev (who needed no urging) to invade and crush the Hungarian movement to freedom. In the 1968 Czechoslovakian invasion, Mao predictably condemns Russia for invading in hopes of promoting his own opportunistic aspirations for world power. Far more significant, however, is his failure to say one word in support of the Czechoslovakian masses. Mao may be opportunistically opposed to the Russian rulers, but is far more fundamentally opposed to mass freedom movements.

Also revealing is the position of today's premier in Havana — Cuba's Castro. In 1956, when he did not have state power, and indeed had just been imprisoned after the failure of his initial June 26 attempt at leading a revolt in Cuba, Castro could passionately declare his opposition to Russian barbarism against the Hungarians — and even later call Russian Communism "a system that destroys the soul." In 1968, as head of a state power and possessing a bureaucratic mentality which is now organically opposed to spontaneous mass action, Castro declares his support of Moscow's trampling of Czechoslovak freedom.

### DICTATORS OPPOSE

All — the Kremlin and its satellites, as well as Mao and Castro — act as one in their mortal dread of masses moving in action toward freedom, for all know these assaults are aimed to deliver fatal blows to their own totalitarian regimes.

That is why Russia moved against the East German revolt of 1953, against the Hungarians in 1956 and against the Czechoslovaks now. The Communist Parties in other nations—France, Italy, Japan, Britain and elsewhere — suffered great losses following the Russian repression in Hungary. Yet because the total bankruptcy of the dehumanized policies of the West were so appalling and no new Marxist-Humanist banner was unfurled to challenge the Communists, many defectors from the Communist Parties were driven back into their arms.

Now, with Czechoslovakia, the old wounds have been reopened and new realities have shattered any illusions about Russia's "progressive nature." Once again serious splits in the European Communist parties have occurred, as workers and intellectuals have joined in bitter denunciation and protests against this new proof of Russian barbarism (See "Readers' Views").

### CAPITALIST WINS

The Czechoslovakian invasion by Russia illuminates the identity of state and private capitalism, of Russia and the U.S.

Nothing could show more clearly the total hypocrisy of both countries than the words exchanged in the United Nations by Russia's Ambassador Malik and U.S. Ambassador Ball. Both were absolutely correct in their accusations: Ball when he declared that the Czechoslovak and other people enslaved by Russia would rise against their rulers, and Malik when he charged that the U.S. government's hands were too bloody from the Vietnam war to accuse Russia of wrongdoing in Czechoslovakia.

But these were only words, and both of them knew it. What has long been established and respected by both nuclear-armed world powers is that each has its own sphere of influence that the other respects. Just as only an empty whimper of protest came from Russia when U.S. troops crushed the popular revolt in Santo Domingo, so was the ineffectual bleating heard from the U.S. against the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

# Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

## Army Massacres Mexican Students in Revolt

(Since this was written, the Army, on Oct. 2, machine-gunned men, women and children at a rally, riddled nearby apartment houses, killed at least 26, and wounded hundreds. More killings are reported daily.)

No less than 100,000 students — high school as well as university — demonstrated in favor of the high school students struggle against police brutality. What started out, on July 26, to be a local dispute developed into a national struggle which appealed for the support of labor as well. By Aug. 27 no less than 300,000 demonstrators thousands of whom were workers, farm laborers as well as student youth, crowded into the largest square — the Zocalo — facing the Presidential Palace, on the one hand and the Catholic Church, on the other. All was peaceful — until the Grenadiers (riot police) decided to create an incident over the national flag.

The real demands of the demonstrators were against "Ignorancia, Hambre (Hunger), Miseria"; in a word, against the living conditions in what is supposed to be a "model" democratic Latin American country.

Trouble started when the Mexican riot police briefly occupied a school building in a dispute between pre-school boys. The university students, who have a 40-year-old tradition of university autonomy, demanded the removal of the police officials involved. Demonstrations continued until the police and the Army occupied the university buildings and open warfare raged around the university.

The Army, using tanks, paratroopers and bazookas, acknowledge that they killed at least 18 students, but the students claim as many as 32 dead, hundreds injured and over 1,000 jailed including 34 professors, in the fighting which continued for several days.

In Mexico, where 58% of the population is under 25 years of age, the majority of the population has never witnessed a truly democratic election as the monopolistic so-called "revolutionary" (Institutional Revolutionary Party is the official name of the ruling party) party has made it its business not to lose an election since 1928. When one opposition Party of National Action won two state elections last year, the ruling party simply declared the

election null and void.

The youth rebellion was thus not just for student rights, against police brutality, and the autonomy of the university, never before violated. It was also against the single party rule and its imprisonment of any oppositionists under the infamous article 145 of the penal code, which was a catch-all enacted supposedly against the fascists during World War II and now used against revolutionaries. One of the most prominent demands was for the freedom of all political prisoners and the abolition of article 145.

What is most significant is that it developed to this stage because the government refused the simple demand of the students for a "dialogue," a public dialogue on all radio and TV stations, between students and the government. The government still remains adamant in its refusal. All it can think of now is the Olympic Games and assurance to Americans these will not be "interfered with." The students, supported by thousands of slum dwellers in the city, intend to continue with their struggles for a different life in Mexico.

## Trust and Distrust in Czechoslovakia

(I have just received the following letter from a correspondent in Prague, Czechoslovakia. It speaks for itself.)

The leading men — named in this sequence: Svoboda, Dubeck, Smrkovsky, Cernik — are still trusted. They may deserve this

Clearly, the true face of all capitalist oppression — state or private — is its striving to crush all genuine mass opposition. This lesson has been shown in the tragic and heroic efforts of people who have struck out against almost unbelievable odds, striving to establish concrete freedom for themselves. Unfortunately, some Western intellectuals, and especially those in the U.S., appear to be incapable of understanding these inescapable truths.

How such blindness can distort thought is seen in the fantastic position taken by some of the U.S. New Left leaders in response to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia: Some urged that no protest be made against this Russian barbarism — because it might detract from the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations!

To be sure, there were U.S. protests against the invasion, led by such people as Dr. Spock and others who do recognize that the struggle for freedom in Czechoslovakia can no more be separated from freedom in Vietnam than it can be separated from freedom in the U.S. or anywhere else in the world.

### KREMLIN GRAVEDIGGERS

Indeed, it was this recognition on the part of hundreds of thousands throughout the world which produced the protests against Russian embassies in Britain, Sweden, West Germany, France, Italy, Japan and elsewhere.

The heroic resistance by the Czechoslovak people has not only fired the imagination of the world, it has also produced the most serious defeat dealt to Russia in its modern history. Those Kremlin tyrants now know that a whole new generation exists behind their own Iron Curtain which will be consciously striving to become its gravediggers in order to build a true socialist humanist society.

trust. But I can't follow their repeated assurances that the "post-January line" of the CP policy remains largely intact. The censorship of any mass communication is more and more severe day by day. The economic policy, seemingly intact, will be affected by the Russian insistence on "deeper" co-operation with the Soviets, thus preventing the much needed modernization of Czechoslovak industry.

No new political grouping can legally emerge, strict observance of "public order" will not allow any public gathering organized by the existing parties. Thus basic liberties which have represented the very core of the Czechoslovak developments so far are very much restricted.

Also, in the name of "national unity" — this slogan has much emotional appeal and played an important role during the first days of the crisis — even that slight workers' movement toward workers councils and more worker self-government in the factories could be brought to a standstill.

Now, what the leaders are to be blamed for is their insufficient reliance on people. It is the old "sin" of the Communists: not being revolutionaries they cannot be expected to propose and even less to carry out any radical measure. Had they relied more

on people in spring, had they followed the then general desire to remove the old guard from its positions, they would have convened the party congress in summer and the Russians either could not have occupied Czechoslovakia or would have done it under much different circumstances.

As far as the present course is concerned, these leaders may be right in stressing the necessity for the Czechoslovak people to fulfill the Moscow agreements. Yet nobody is able to say for the moment where this fulfillment ends and a "collaboration" (in the sense given to it in Hitler's Europe) begins.

In this hour of actual danger for the nation as a whole — and Soviet menaces during the Moscow negotiations were directed to the whole nation indeed — the working class interests recede to the background. This is added to the difficulties this class has met during the "democratization process" as I mentioned them in my article (see Special Supplement, Aug.-Sept. 1968, N&L). Though the working class showed itself to be the backbone of the nation during the invasion and the most difficult days of occupation there is no guarantee that its interests will be cared for any more than they have been previously.

## Spiro Agnew

The Republicans could have scarcely found a more inept candidate for vice president than Spiro T. Agnew. Within a single week his remarks about a "fat Jap" and "the Polacks" have forced apologies from him which reveal his total ignorance of the feelings of minority groups in the United States. The apologies have often been worse than the original insults since they revealed his utter disdain for "foreigners" — except military dictators.

Thus, he has capped it off by expressing his support for the military dictatorship in Greece. At the National Press Club in

Washington he said, "This particular military government has done a bit to stabilize the Communist threat to Greece." Where all others except the fascist military saw democracy annihilated, he sees a non-existent "communist threat."

His ignorance coupled with his reactionary philosophy brand him as a grave danger since the possibility exists that he could come within a heartbeat of assuming the office of President. Yet such pundits like Walter Lippmann tell us that, though this is true, the man who chose him as his running mate, Nixon, is nevertheless "a new Nixon."