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SPEAK OUT

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BLACK WORKERS CLASH WITH AUTO UNION

(This article consists of selections from ELRUMS report on its struggle against Chrysler and the UAW, as printed in the South End,

alternating with the attack on ELRUM, by Emil Mazey, Secretary Treasurer of the UAW, as reported in the Detroit Free Press.)



Workers Picket UAW Headquarters

Black Brothers and Sisters, let it be understood that a vicious affront has been launched upon Black people by Chrysler Corporation and the so-called U. A. W. Twenty-five Black workers have been fired by Chrysler Corporation for "misconduct," understand that now, "misconduct." The same 25 Black workers have been accused of conspiring to hinder the redress and egress of Black workers into the Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle Plant.

"We can no longer tolerate the tactics of these young militants," declared Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the 1.5-million member UAW.

The leaders of ELRUM (Eldon Ave. Revolutionary Union Movement) have been accused of harassing white racist foremen, general foremen, and superintendents. They have been accused of starting fires on the plant property and of causing the plant manager of Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle Plant to suffer from a nervous condition. Chrysler Corp. with the advice and consent of the U. A. W. contends that all of the af-

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Photo courtesy of National Organizing Committee

Editorial

BLACK WORKERS CONFRONT UNION

Seniority for most black workers in auto does not predate 1942, when the pressure of the war forced American capitalism to give blacks industrial jobs other than in the foundries or as sweepers. Black militancy in the war years was of a special kind. Southern whites coming north in those years resisted the discipline of industrialization with a reckless disregard for job seniority at a time when any white could find work in a day. Black workers, however, bitterly aware of the problem of maintaining a foothold in industry, responded with a more disciplined and collective militancy.

Powerful black caucuses were formed, none of them publicly acknowledged, through which black unionists exerted considerable pressure on the UAW. Many of the present black spokesmen for the Reuther bureaucracy (such as Marcellus Ivory, Bill Oliver, and others) first made their influence in union affairs felt in these semi-underground black caucuses.

Reuther's conquest of power in the UAW after World War II left no room for the traditional type of caucus in the union and most of the old-time unionists, black or white, were either incorporated into Reuther's machine or cast aside. Those who chose to enjoy the fruits of subordinate power participated with the rest of the union hierarchy in establishing the rigid discipline of the union-company contract and eroding the working conditions won during the war and pre-war years.

A new stage was heralded in the Detroit Rebellion of 1967. A new generation of black workers shut down a giant American industry. In the July 1966 Speak Out we noted: "Transfer (the Watts) rebellion to Detroit where the Negro ghetto is not broken up but covers the whole central city, where Negroes are not divided be-

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tween unemployed and service workers, but where there is a basic core of auto workers that dominates the city's basic industry and you have a situation where the exercise of Black Power can transform not just the cop on the beat and the corner grocer, but decisive sectors of the national economy and the whole administration." One year later the struggle did erupt in Detroit. We wrote in Speak Out of July 1967 "Few have noticed or mentioned that the strength of the Negro working class is precisely that they dominate the auto industry from within... although the movement can say, and has said, 'Transform this society or we will destroy it,' it has demonstrated in Detroit that it has the strength to begin that transformation itself."

In DRUM, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and related groups the potential has become actuality. Young black

workers are asserting their need to become masters of the workplace. In this they are expressing in concentrated form what is a need of all workers.

The separateness of the form of organization is a necessary means of expressing what is a common working class end. To the extent that revolutionary black workers have as their objective the total reorganization of production and working class control, they make it possible for white workers to join in that struggle. It should be made clear that although black workers have every right to redivide the working class piece of the capitalist pie, this is only a steppingstone to a whole new pie.

There is no reason for black workers to demand less than the total reorganization of American society, beginning in production. It is this conception which puts Afro-Americans in the forefront of the struggle for socialism.

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ELRUM VS. UAW

(Continued from page 1)
forementioned events have occurred since the appearance of ELRUM (Eldon Ave. Revolutionary Union Movement) and because of this Chrysler Corp. has discharged 25 Black Workers.

The union has indicated it "will not protect" workers who participate in such tactics or resort to terror.

"WE DIDN'T organize this union to permit someone to stab a supervisor," said Mazey.

On Tuesday, Nov. 5, 1968 a single page leaflet was printed up and distributed at the Eldon Ave. Plant calling on the Black workers to unite to fight against racism. On Sunday, Nov. 10, 1968 Black workers at Eldon Ave. met and formed the ELDON AVE. REVOLUTIONARY UNION MOVEMENT. WHY? Black workers at Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle plant have been catching hell from the white racist Chrysler Corp. ever since the plant has been in existence. Black workers have been attacked by the racist plant protection guards at the plant. Black workers have been framed up and discharged, intimidated and unjustly represented.

Violence by black militants in Detroit's auto factories poses a greater peril to the UAW now than Communist infiltration did in the 1930s, a veteran leader asserts.

These are the conditions that led to the creation and development of the Eldon Ave. Revolutionary Union Movement. These conditions existed long before ELRUM. These conditions

were so entrenched that Black workers were forced to exist with their backs pressed up against the walls. These conditions existed while the U. A. W. looked on in glee completely pacified by the meager hand-outs made to it by the Corporation. It goes without saying that Black workers as a body have not been able to come to court and to present its case with the ease that the Corporation has and even when they have, the courts have denied them.

Militants who in the future try to invade the union headquarters also risk a confrontation with police, he added.

In the future, he said, police would be called to handle demonstrators.

On Wednesday, Jan. 22, 1969 Black workers at Eldon Ave. staged a mass protest at their local union hall, Local 961 of the U. A. W. At this rally a list of grievances were levied on the union President Rickard. His reply to the Black workers was that all grievances must be submitted to the so-called grievance procedure and that other than that he could do nothing, an out and out lie—he was completely non-responsive. Many Black workers took the rest of the afternoon off.



Photo courtesy of NOC

As for the alleged grievances, Mazey said, Negro leaders in the union have failed to establish a "dialog" with the rebel blacks.

THESE NEGRO union officials are often called "Uncle Toms," Mazey said, countering that the militants have adopted the tactics of Mao Tse-tung and the Black Panthers.

Chrysler Corporation had braced itself for strike action as far back as the 21st of Jan. 1969. The plant protection guards had been tripled and were working around the clock. All gates to the plant which normally stayed opened were now closed with electrical opening devices. Special camera equipment had been installed all over the plant with telephoto lenses. New lighting systems were installed at every gate. And the Detroit Police Dept. was put on 24 hour patrol of the immediate area of the plant with special units on stand-by alert including the notorious Tactical Mobile Unit.

MAZEY DESCRIBED the militants as "a handful of fanatics who are nothing but black fascists, using the same tactics of coercion and intimidation that Hitler and Mussolini used in Germany and Italy."

On Thursday, Jan. 23, 1969 when our Black brothers returned to work further insult to injury was added by the disciplining of Black workers on the afternoon shift who were absent from work on union business. This disciplining by the Corporation with the active consent of the U. A. W. was levied only upon Black workers, yet the records show that no white worker who was absent on the 22nd of January was written up and that the range of discipline varied from write-ups to discharge. This act merely added fuel to the already infuriated Black workers and we believe that it was done for that specific purpose. That the so-called U. A. W. led the way in sanctioning these acts of the Corporation is a foregone conclusion.

(Continued on page 10)

Historical Roots of Black Liberation

The Black Revolution, particularly in its latest phase, has challenged all previous interpretations of the history of black people, not only in the United States but everywhere in the Western world and in Africa. No longer is it possible to write credibly the liberal, integrationist history which pictures only black contributions to American society and stresses the victimization of the slaves. History written under the slogan "Black and White, Unite and Fight" does not give us grounds on which to understand the contemporary black movement. Unless we find the real historical roots of Black Power we are faced with a situation unparalleled in world history: a revolutionary movement which comes from nowhere and is born fully grown.

The central focus of the recent discussion of slavery in the United States has been a discussion of the slave personality. What did slavery do to the development of the human being? One group of social analysts has refurbished the Sambo image, translating it from "racial" to "psychological" terms. Using an amalgam of Freudian psychology and social psychological role theory, Stanley Elkins has essentially argued that slavery "infantilized" the slave personality. Although Elkins allows himself escape mechanisms from the full implications of this theory, nevertheless his argument does amount to the claim that slaves generally did not become full adults. Others such as Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan have added another dimension with a complicated discussion of the

so-called matrifocal family. They conclude that a lack of social circumstances necessary to produce mature adults has been reinforced from slavery to the present. Black people, in these conceptions, are inherently maladjusted to American society, implying that some figure or institution must shape them up. Thus the theory of the slave and his descendants as Victim.



As Hegel demonstrated in the famous dialogue of master and slave in *Phenomenology of the Mind*, the slave struggles against the master by struggling with his own internal dilemmas. The social struggle begins, in an immediate sense, as a struggle within the slave and only then becomes externalized and objectified. Therefore, unless the slave is simultaneously Sambo and Nat Turner, he can be neither Sambo nor Nat Turner. He

By George Rawick

can only be a wooden man, a theoretical abstraction.

On the other hand, there has been a continuation of more traditional liberal theory. If the slaves acted as if they accepted their subordinate status, it has been argued, they were only feigning such accommodation—only putting on "the Man." Like the first theory, this does violence to the facts and carries clear ideological implications. While Elkins and his academic kin have attempted to produce a sophisticated conservative defense of existing social relations, the second school's results suggest moderate reforms. Neither the infantilization nor the accommodation theories help us understand the historical roots of the black movement.

Men do not make revolution for light and transient reasons, but rather only when they can no longer stand the contradictions in their personalities do they move in a sharp and decisive fashion. As Hege, Marx, Camus and Fanon have argued, the victim is the rebel, indeed all rebels are men and women resolving the classic contradiction laid out by Rousseau: "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains."

The greatest of all abolitionists leaders the ex-slave, Frederick Douglass, tells us in his autobiography that when in the very act of fleeing from slavery he was not only afraid—he also felt he was doing something wrong. Everything seemed to tell him that he was incapable of being a freeman but at the same time everything told him

he must be a freeman. Unless we understand the contradictory nature of the human personality we can never portray reality. One never knows whether in real life the victim or the rebel will be the manifestation of any individual. But then again one need never know. It does not matter. In real life men engage and then they see. The man of courage is not afraid to act not because he is certain he will not be the coward, but only because he knows that if he does not act he most certainly will be the coward.

It is for this reason, this very contradictory nature of reality that dictates the necessity that the oppressed continuously struggle in forms of their own choosing. For only they can know what they can and must do. For example, while slaves throughout the Caribbean and Latin America made many successful slave revolts, in the United States slave revolts were comparatively small and unsuccessful.

The slave revolt was not the usual method of direct action on the part of slaves in the United States South because, unlike elsewhere in the New World, slaves were in every respect far outnumbered by the whites and because the direct linkage of individuals into a common community was relatively more fragmented in the United States than elsewhere. But that does not mean that the United States' slaves

did not struggle. Rather the slaves usually chose other, more suitable tactics. While the slaves did not engage, particularly after the defeat of Nat Turner in 1831, in large revolts, they did struggle in a most conscious fashion and in a most successful manner through the Underground Railroad, strikes, and acts of individual withholding of or destruction of production. Most important, they fashioned their own independent community through which men and women and their children could find the cultural defenses against their oppressors.

The black community was the center of life for the slaves. It gave them, marked off from the rest of society, an independent base. The slave did not suffer from rootlessness—he belonged to the slave community and even if he were sold down the river, would usually be able to find himself in a new community much like his previous one, in which there would be people who shared a common destiny and would help him find a new life.

The slave labored from sunup to sundown and sometimes beyond. This labor, which dominated part of the slave's existence, has often been described but never in terms of its relationship to the slave community nor to what the slave did from sundown to sunup. Under slavery, as under any other social system, the lowest of the low were not tot-

ally dominated by the system and the master class. They found ways of alleviating the worst of the system and at times of dominating the masters. What slaves accomplished was the creation of a unified black community in which class differences within the community, while not totally eradicated, were much less significant than the ties of blackness in a white man's world.

While slaves were oppressed and exploited under slavery, they fought back in a day-by-day struggle which did not lead directly to liberation, but which in fact prevented that "infantilization" of personality that many historians insist took place. While there was, of course, an impact upon the slave personality of the institution, "infantilization" hardly describes it. In fact, what must be seen is the fact that the result was quite contradictory. On the one hand, submissiveness and a sense that one deserved to be a slave; but on the other, a great deal of anger in ways that protected the personality and had objective results in the improvement of the slave's situation.

The metaphors of static psychology such as "infantilization" are most dangerous ones for they claim too much for conditioning. In any society based upon social hierarchy, most people at all levels of the society display extreme ambivalence of personality.



The death of Captain Ferrer and his crew during the slave rebellion, led by Joseph Cinque, aboard the *Amistad*, off the Cuban coast, July, 1839.

This "highest of the high and lowest of the low" syndrome produces social greatness as well as social incompetence. Those who have raised the issue of the "infantilization" of the slave personality do so in connection with the argument that the Africans in being taken to the New World were "deculturalized" and that the only culture put in its place was the white man's culture. On this basis, no African culture and no new culture could really matter; thus cultural dependency, wardship, infantilization. The black man in the United States, they argue, had no culture of his own and was simply a very deprived member of the majority culture.

The school of slavery historiography is dependent upon the curious notion that "personality" and "culture" are like old clothes that can be discarded easily. However, one can never remove culture, although one can transform it. The ability of man to learn the simplest tasks is dependent upon the utilization of the existing cultural apparatus. New cultures emerge out of the older cultures gradually, never completely destroying the traces of the past. Even revolutions do not obliterate past society. In short, culture is a profoundly historical reality and not an ahistorical abstraction.

Insight of a People

The process whereby the African changed in order to meet the new environment was dependent upon his African culture. While slavery altered social patterns, it did not wholly obliterate African culture. The Br'er Rabbit stories of North America are not as Joel Chandler Harris imagined them to be. They are not childlike tales for toddlers. They contain the insight of a people and express a most sophisticated view of human life.

There are a variety of myths and folktales from Negro populations in Africa and the New World in which a relatively weak creature succeeds in at least surviving in his competition with the greater beasts. At times he even wins, but he never really loses. He is absurd, but he is filled with life and he keeps strug-

gling with his destiny. In West Africa he is often called Legba and is portrayed as a spider or a rabbit or at times as a little black man. He survives by his wits and manages to live in competition with his more powerful neighbors. He appears in Brazil and as Papa Legba in Haitian voo-doo. Elsewhere in the Caribbean we have Anansi, the spider trickster, who defeats Lion, Tiger, and Snake in great contests of wits.

Sometimes in the Caribbean he becomes Br'er Rabbit, the form in which he is known in North America. In all cases we have a creature whose life situation is very much like that of slaves. He survives, even occasionally triumphs, over the more powerful beasts; and whatever he does, he gains the sympathy of the non-powerful everywhere. In fact, he always seems to have a greater share of the classic human virtues than the Great Beasts.

Myth and Folklore

In myth and folklore the slave not only acted out his desires, he accomplished much more than that. In his laughter and pleasure at the exploits of Legba, Anansi, and Br'er Rabbit he created for himself, out of his own being, that necessary self-confidence denied to him by so much of his environment.

We get another example, a most crucial one, of the relationship of the slave community to the slave struggle in the slave religion. The religion of the slaves not only provided a link with the most modern of naturalistic and humanistic philosophy, but also

with the concrete day - by - day struggles of the slaves themselves. Slave revolts themselves were often related to what has been called in several accounts the "African cult meeting." We have an overwhelming amount of evidence of regular late night or early morning "sings" and religious meetings held either in the slave quarters or in nearby swamps or river banks.

But, above all, for the period from the defeat of the rebellion of Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 to the Civil War, the African cult and its related community

provided the basis for social life of the slaves. In these thirty years the Negro slaves entrenched, struggled to maintain a coherent culture, infused human dignity and human possibility into the day - by - day life of the slave, and above all built the Underground Railroad. The real Uncle Tom of Harriet Beecher Stowe's book was the leader of the slaves on the plantation precisely because he was more courageous than all the other slaves as well as wise in the ways of protecting his people in their isolation. Also, Negro spirituals

were the legitimate and necessary manifestations of this period. The slave personality was kept whole by the conscious and deep - seated realities of the Afro - American culture as expressed in the day - by - day and night - by - night life of the slave quarters. While the struggle was neither dramatic nor heroic in an epic way, it was real and successful.

African Cult

Through the instrumentality of the African cult, a concrete expression of a philosophy most adequate to the task at hand, the Afro - American slave prepared the ground and built the community out of which could come the struggles of the abolitionist movement. Abolitionism was dominated by Afro - Americans, not by whites. Every abolitionist newspaper depended upon the support of Negro freedmen for its continuation. And these black freedmen received their impetus from the struggles of their brothers and sisters in slavery. Rather than stemming from the New England Brahmin conscience, abolitionism grew from, and carried the necessity of black liberation whatever the cost. And in liberating the black community abolitionism transformed American society; it took the lead in creating a new America.

Although it will seem outrageous for those who think of movements as primarily organizations, offices, finances, printing presses and newspapers, writers and petitions, the heart of abol-

itionism was the slave community itself. The Underground Railroad, the efforts of the slaves for their own liberation, and their struggles' impact on Northern whites and slave blacks -- these were the movement's indispensable core. In the South, it gave the slaves the hope that enabled them to engage in the daily struggles that won for them that amount of breathing space which made more than mere continued existence possible.

With the defeat of Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 the slaves turned more and more to building their day - by - day resistance: to the Underground Railroad, to individual acts of resistance, to slave strikes. There were countless strikes among the slaves, strikes that were often successful. A group of slaves would after some particular incident of brutality on the part of master or overseer take off for the swamps where they would hide out. After a period they would send in a representative to arranged for a conference at which

there would be "collective bargaining." Sometimes they lost, of course, and to lose meant to be whipped and at times even more severely punished. But nevertheless the strikes went on.

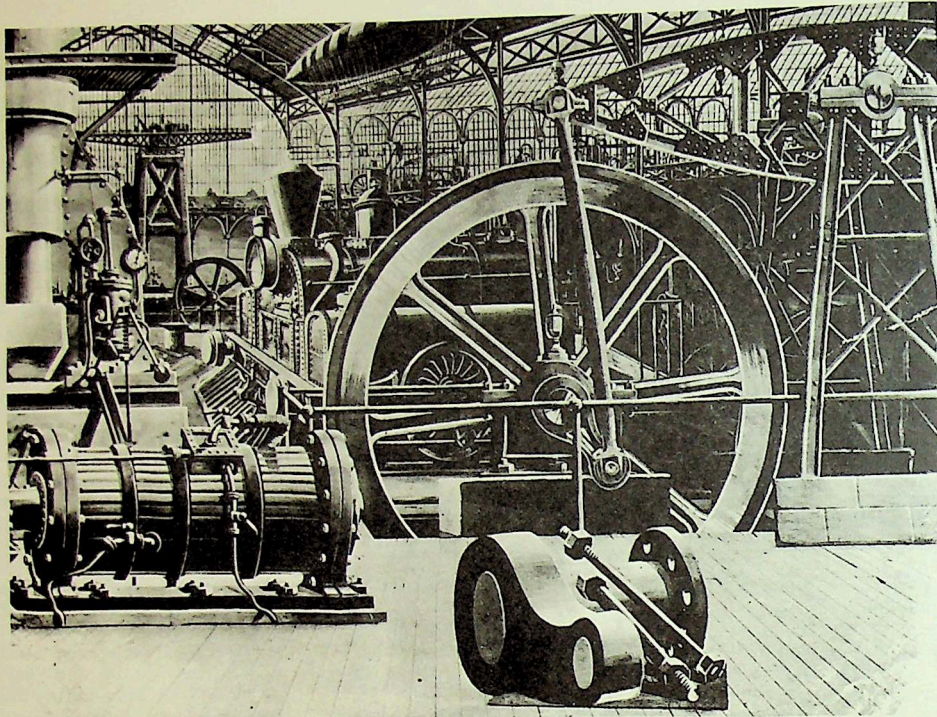
It was not that the religion of the American slave was African. Nor is it true that as much African influence can be directly seen elsewhere in the New World. What is important is that slaves like other people took what they knew and transformed it consciously or otherwise into what they needed. Perhaps an example is in order. In the many thousands of slave narratives and autobiographies that I have read one very small item appears in several thousand of them.

The slave or ex-slave narrator tells the story of how the slaves gained courage to continue to live and struggle in all night prayer meetings. As these meetings were prohibited and participants were severely punished the slave narrators tell us that it was customary to take an iron pot and turn it face

down on the floor of the slave cabin. This we are told would deaden the sound and thus protect the slaves from being caught. Obviously, the meaning of the iron pot is symbolic for indeed no such pot could in fact deaden the sound. What was it symbolic of, this cross or star of David? The answer becomes quite apparent if we connect this cluster of events with the fact that throughout crucial areas in West Africa from where most of the slaves had come, one of the most powerful spirit complexes was that of the water spirits. It was customary to go down to the water or stream with an iron pot, fill it with water, and take it back to the house where it would be turned over on the earth floor, allowing the water and the river spirits that it contained to enter into the ground of the house and thus protect it. The iron pot plays a significant role throughout New World black religions. It appears in Haitian voo - doo; in the African cults of Brazil, in Trinidadian Shango, among others.



A group of slaves owned by James Hopkinson on his Edisto Island plantation



Set for Voyage a Travers L'Impossible, made by George Melies, 1904

By An Italian Correspondent

After a three-year contract was signed by the three Italian unions (CP, social-democratic, and Catholic) with FIAT management in 1966; there was no strike till March 1968. The main issue of the strike was the reduction of the work week, which is still 44 hours for factory workers, while mechanization and automation has attained the same level as in the American car industry. The three unions were very careful not to call strikes longer than 24 hours at a time they knew that a protracted strike might develop into an all-out anti-union organization within the plants the fact that at the factory gates students occupying the University of Turin were helping the picket lines and battling against police with workers made the situation even more 'dangerous.' The agreement signed in April left the work week unchanged.

Here we present some of the answers the FIAT workers gave in a referendum that several students held at the gates, without the unions' opposition or hostility.

Fiat Workers Rap

The sheet the students distributed did not contain any question. It asked workers to express opinions on the strike and on the union's policies. The workers who wanted to could give a contribution of 100 lire (6 cents) and some answers have a bitter hint about such a voluntary contribution, as it reminded them of the union membership cards—which are still bought on a voluntary basis, i.e., without any dues—checkoff.

We thank Quaderni Piacentini—the Italian magazine—for permission to translate a selection of the answers published in its issue No. 35, and Francesco Ciafaloni who edited them.

Mirafiori—Shop No. 1

I think that they are just pulling our skin on the work. Therefore it is right that at least on Saturday afternoon all of us take a rest. But it is also true that if the trade unions give in on this grievance we are all ruined and destroyed and stepped on a little worse than American Negroes, and I will be the first one not to pay the union dues.

Shop No. 55

You must cry at the gates against the ruffians who go on overtime. They don't get rich. FIAT gets rich on overtime. I am just saying that we shouldn't allow the bosses to breathe just exactly as they don't allow us to breathe. In other words, we should fight to the end for all the claims that the trade unions have put out.... Personally I believe that with the pace of work at present I wouldn't work even for double the amount of money that they give me now. Because a man must work like a man and not like a beast. Probably most fellow workers here are frightened to admit it, but I am not frightened. Don't give in,

don't let it go. If FIAT doesn't accept let us go on with the strikes; otherwise we are finished.

Shop No. 53

To have a 24-hour strike is nothing because here there are people who have as much as 50 hours a month in overtime. FIAT is not hurt by a strike like that and succeeds in recovering production. My opinion on the strike is that we have to go forward and to organize ourselves, and if it is necessary to fight against police violence, we have to discipline them and the press which has always criticized both us and the students. We won't do as you trade-unionists do because you say that the strike has succeeded and you remain idle. No, we have to show FIAT and its newspapers that we are available to do anything.

Gate Number 9—Central Heating

You know that if heating stops, all of FIAT stops. In spite of that, you (meaning trade-unionists) continue not caring a straw for us. You remember us only when you have to get votes and money for membership cards. You never showed up to discuss our problems. You have always come in the company of foremen. Are you scared? Then, don't come to ask us anything. We will do as we like. As far as elections are concerned, we will remember you as you remember us. You ask 100 lire. You are not worth that much!

Shop No. 53

I have three children and I am the only one in my family working, and I have no other income. But I say that if FIAT doesn't want to give in, we most go on. If it's necessary we have to spread this strike, otherwise I won't be able to see my children grow up. The pace of work is killing. Since the strike is on, the foremen who are helped by their goons, have come to the point that they lower the production counter in order to get us to produce more, without our knowing it. If we give in this time we will be tamed like animals for a long time.

Shop No. 54

I am just saying that it is about time to finish up with these bastards

B. Traven: Storyteller

By Ken Burg

"The king is dead! Long live the king!" Traditionally the dead king is mourned and the new one is heralded. But how does one mourn a monarch who was a virtual unknown? That is the problem in eulogizing B. Traven, the greatest 20th century American storyteller.

Throughout his lifetime, Traven went to great lengths to preserve his anonymity, preferring to be known only through his writings. Fulfillment of that wish is the smallest honor his readers owe him.

I first met B. Traven in the pages of "Treasure of the Sierra Madre." It was good fortune for me, I think, that I met the great spellbinder undistracted by the acting talents of Bogart and Huston. The nature of man has been debated for centuries, but few have put it on paper as convincingly as Traven has in that book. That he could do it with the touch of of the campfire raconteur makes him unique.

I renewed the acquaintance when I read "The Death Ship," his first novel. It is this identity of Traven's,

belonging to the management, who are increasing productivity all time. After a day on a strike the assembly lines go at maximum speed and we are out of breath. We have to have at least one week's time on strike. These strikes are just nothing. They last just till the day before elections (This refers to the political elections in May) and then they stop. You are just making us lose money, and I say if the contract has been signed in 1966 why are you awakening just now? Because of the political choice in the elections. Workers are fed up with this trade union.

Shop No. 88

I think that if FIAT doesn't give in to our demands the strikes should go on continuously, with courage against

the homeless American sailor, which is known to millions of Western Europeans, Russians, and Latin Americans. It is tragic that he is not widely known in the United States. There is no revolutionary manifesto in print which can compare to Traven's attack on capitalism and bureaucracy, nor is there another novel available which does a similar job of forcing the reader to suffer the agony of one workingman's existence. I am looking forward to my next encounter with this man.

On dateline March 26, 1969, the UPI wires announced that B. Traven was dead. The New York Times, quoting itself, said "There are enough Traven mysteries to occupy a generation of Ph.D. candidates." I hope that the best of these each year will be awarded the Lois Lane Prize for unmasking the Super-writer.

B. Traven will be appropriately remembered when American school-children are taught that the genealogy of great American storytellers runs from Mark Twain to O. Henry to B. Traven. The fittingest monument will be a butchered edition of "The Death Ship" by Classics Illustrated.

FIAT and against the government, because a worker today is treated worse than a beast. But I think that if the trade unions are going to sign these post-contract agreements I as a worker won't pay any more trade union dues and I won't hear any longer about trade union struggles and things like that. I really hope that the trade union this time won't give in so that a shorter work week and our demands are met. I end up by saying that Mr. Agnelli (The chairman of FIAT) is a piece of shit. And all the money that he gets by continuously exploiting workers I wish that this money went into medicines so that a cancer in the stomach could come out in order to have him suffer a little bit.

BEAT THE CLOCK

Detroit, Mich.-- According to the book at Chevy, we're given 12 minutes to wash up before going home, but we aren't supposed to start lining up until the bell rings. They painted a yellow line on the floor around the clock, 10 by 20 feet, that we aren't supposed to cross until that time. But until last week these rules were never enforced.

We got into the habit of working extra hard an hour or so before quitting time to be able to take a leisurely 20 minutes to a half hour to wash up, line up, and shoot the bull. This galled the white shirts and Thursday they started enforcing the yellow line rule. But Friday everyone was particularly anxious to get out of there.

So inch by inch, foot by foot, we all began to edge across the line to get closer to the clock. No one wanted to lose their place in line, so when one man made a sudden move forward we all broke simultaneously. Fifty men hit the time racks and clock at full speed. Smashed it to hell! Metal parts and cards got knocked in every direction. A couple of white shirts even got caught in the crunch.

ELRUM VS. UAW

(Continued from page 3)

MAZEY SPOKE after sending a letter last week to 350,000 union members, denouncing militants who "resort to violence and intimidation with the conscious purpose of dividing our union along racial lines."

These are the concrete acts which drove Black workers at Eldon to the point of making their protest felt in terms of dollars and cents. On Monday morning, the 27th of January, 1969, Black workers set up pickets at three gates at Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle Plant and through persuasion appealed to the Black workers of Eldon to stay home in a one day protest against racism. The strike was an overwhelming success, just through persuasion many Black workers voiced their own grievances in indignation at the Corporation as they turned around and went back home.

Letters

SUBWAY IN A HOLE

The subway is still in a hole. As it was, as it is, as it shall ever be, Amen. Red/green lights shimmer on a silver well-worn track. Lovers oblivious to the crowds sit on a bench, holding hands, gazing into each other's eyes. Homosexuals meet in the toilets. Perverts expose themselves. The shoppers have that gleam in their eyes. The porter flicks gum wrappers with his broom into a scraping can. A mod boy, well dressed

"They are a group of fanatics who don't know where they are going, but whose actions are an attempt to destroy this union."

And what was the response of the Corporation to the just strike in protest against racism? The Corporation's response was to further show its utter contempt for Black people in general and Black workers specifically by randomly discharging twenty-five Black workers for "misconduct" with the gleeful consent of the U. A. W., they have also been served with injunctions and attempts have been made to bring "contempt of court" citations against them.

The black revolutionary movement is particularly distressing to Mazey, "because our union has done more to further the black man's cause than any other in the nation."

On the one hand, Chrysler Corporation floods the Black community with finished Chrysler Corporation products for sale to Black workers, and on the other hand, they harass, oppress, and wantonly discharge Black workers in their plants. At the same time the so-called U. A. W. stands up with Walter Reuther in the forefront as some kind of champion of equal rights, and on the other hand bleeds Black workers for union dues every month and becomes the vocal partner of Chrysler Corporation in its brutal attacks upon the Black super-exploited, toiling, masses.

in his flamboyant dress, looks at long haired hippy girl who seems to be wearing her grandmother's nightgown. A heavy-set Polish track walker with his heavy wrench tightens a track bolt as the express train roars down the middle track. A young Negro platform-man with steel rimmed glasses, his conductor's hat sticking on a high African hairdo, with his Fu Manchu mustache, his rich voice speaking to the crowds to stand back for the arriving train. The train rumbling in the distant tunnel.

O'Rourke
New York, N.Y.

He said "opportunities to participate" and "advance" for the black man in the UAW are unequalled outside the union.

The U. A. W. further sends its agents and tools throughout the Black community attempting to take over every community-based Black group. It must be clearly stated that the U. A. W. means the Black community nothing but harm and should be opposed wherever it shows its head, be it the Trade Union Leadership Council, Solidarity House, the 1st Congressional District, or the Jefferies Home Community Group.

In their fight with the rebels, the UAW has received support from an unexpected source. Recently, AFL President George Meany, arch foe of UAW President Walter P. Reuther, observed: "That's a deplorable situation. No matter what my differences have been with Walter, you can't fault him in the field of civil rights."

We are calling and appealing for Black workers everywhere to join with us in our just fight. WE MUST UNITE OR PERISH. We must cast away all fear and DARE TO FIGHT—DARE TO WIN. With our strategy of struggle we cannot lose—FIGHT, FAIL, FIGHT AGAIN, FAIL AGAIN, FIGHT ON TO VICTORY!

"We can no longer tolerate the tactics of these young militants," declared Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the 1.5 million member UAW.

ORGANIZATIONAL NOTES

'State Capitalism and World Revolution' by C. L. R. James, a fundamental analysis of our epoch and long out of print, is at the printer and a third edition will shortly be available. Money is needed to complete the work--contributions, loans and advance sales. It will be a 107 page book that will sell for \$2.50 paper and \$7.50 hardbound. The price in the United Kingdom will be 15 shillings and £3 respectively. As an inducement for advance and early sales, however, the price of the paper edition will be \$2 and 13 shillings until June 30, 1969.

Two pamphlets are also in production. 'Theory and Practice' by Martin Glaberman deals with the relation of a Marxist organization to the mass struggles of our time. It will sell for 50¢. 'The American Worker' by Paul Romano and Ria Stone, first published in 1947, is being reprinted in a small edition and will sell for \$1.

Detroit Meeting

On Friday, April 25, 1969, The Facing Reality Forum will present Louis Tsens on Movies. Included will be a showing of two of his moving pictures. The time of the meeting is 8:15 p.m. and admission is free. Regular weekly meetings of Facing Reality in Detroit are on Wednesdays: business meetings at 7:30 p.m., educational meetings at 8:30 p.m. Meetings end at 10 p.m. All meetings are at the Facing Reality Office.

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C. L.R. James

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A VIEW OF THE WORLD

BY WILLIAM GORMAN

What Are They Up To?

Comments on a previous issue of SPEAK OUT have raised the matter of our paying more attention to 'the other side' and engaging them in verbal conflict. This is my view: the main job of a column is to engage the attentive response of those sections of the population who are making the most fundamental changes, both inside themselves and in the world around them; to take in their every impulse towards something vitally new, to place it in perspective, and provide it with all the force of political immediacy, so that social revolution becomes not some ultimate 'solution' in the minds of so-called socialists, but a momentous tangible reality before which mere multiplicity of fact and argument has to give way.

Abstract system

What, indeed, is the other side up to? The author of three heavy volumes on Capital judged the present economic system to be the most abstract of all. Thus the slave of an ancient master, or the serf of a feudal manor, knew in his bones that his labor was being forfeited for the leisured and luxurious life of another. Capital distinguishes itself above all by being a systemized expansion of production for the sake of-- expansion of production for its own sake.

Most people may rub their eyes in disbelief. But it is precisely the abstractness of all this development of technology at the expense of man which drives whole societies into mad wars or moon-races; while individual members are stunned into incomprehension and insensibility by the juggernaut of capital, its myriad institutions and cobwebbed disciplines enforced by foremen, policemen, superior races, administrators, parents and politicians. Modern government consists of enforcing the

rules of the planned anarchy mentioned above, while actual governing--the making of policy related to popular participation, falls completely to the wayside. The individual capitalist or administrator is himself governed by the dead weight and composition of that mass of capital which remorselessly drives him into the direction where he is most uncertain of ever getting through: the most obvious instances--atomic holocaust here or colonization of Mars there, in finite space filled with expensive technological garbage and the earth inundated with human corpses.

With this domination of the individual by the mass of capital all around, bourgeois-bureaucratic politics turns out to be an abstraction further abstractified, no matter how devious or clever its techniques. A well-informed citizen of the modern world has to know something about all this. But the main subject of concrete interest is how a whole population gets itself set for going into motion against the strangulating dead hand of the past, that sum total of all fetishism--capital, and the crippling social relations engendered by a system maintaining itself as the last exploitive stage of all human history.

What Are They Up To?

All this is not an answer to criticism of SPEAK OUT, potential or actual. What is important to me, and what might be exemplary to other readers, is that when I first entered the political working class movement 90% of my concern was--what are the rich and the powerful up to? Now, many years and countless social atrocities later, my concern is: what ordinary and extra-ordinary things will the deepest layers, the most socialized elements of the population, do next?

More criticism, please.

It's Out of My Hands

By Mr. Toad

The shop was like a sweat box,
The heat was ninety-three.
I had a little grievance,
As anyone could see.

I went to see the foreman
And called to him by name.
I asked him could he open up
That nailed-down window pane?
But my boss said, "It's out of my hands."

I asked to see my steward,
And the boss he did agree.
But for two more days, nor hide nor hair
Of either did I see.

I finally caught my foreman
As he was running by.
He said my message was delivered
To the proper guy.
And now it was out of his hands.

The steward, when I saw him,
Looked both shrewd and wise,
And told me how much more there was
Than seemed to meet the eyes.

He quoted certain clauses,
Interpretations too.
Said that writing up a grievance
Was all that he could do.
Then it was out of his hands.

The Committeeman next came around,
Him I had never met.
The rest is strictly rumor
For I haven't met him yet.

But the story, when I got it,
At third or second hand,
After many weeks of waiting,
I was made to understand—
It was out of his hands.

The next thing that I heard of,
Through the grapevine, tried and true,
It had reached the shop committee,
They'd see what they could do.

The days were getting shorter,
And fall was drawing near,
When their long-delayed decision
I finally got to hear.
It was out of their hands.

I wish I could say
That this ended my ditty
But my case was referred
To the Screening Committee.

I was told I was lucky,
After months had gone by
That my grievance had not
Just been left there to die.
But it was now out of their hands.

The Umpire considered
And pondered and thought.
He was honest and upright
And could not be bought.

Of one hundred grievances
We lost ninety-nine.
But the one that was salvaged
Turned out to be mine.

The window was opened
On a cold wintry day.
I shivered and shook
Till I thought I'd give way.

I went to the foreman
And called him by name,
And asked him to shut
That d—d window pane.
But he said, "It's out of my hands."

EGGHEAD



I like union meetings. I like to watch smart people talk about laws and things I don't know about. It's not like real life at all.

SPEAK OUT

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY JOINS THE ACTION

by Aaron Baron

St. Louis, Mo. — Events at Washington University beginning last December 5 demonstrated that even a well managed, liberally run, and isolated university may experience difficulty in keeping its students well bossed and quiet.

It is an ivy league type college drawing upon the Midwest, the South and the border states for

its students. Its students are overwhelmingly white (discounting foreign students, all but 120 in a student body of 4500), and overwhelmingly middle class. It is situated with suburbs on two sides, an area of old large homes owned largely by faculty on another and the famous Forest Park on the remaining side.

Black Student Demands

The Campus Police, though this cannot be proved, apparently

have orders to keep the campus and it environs free from all "undesirable elements." They were engaged in doing just that on December 5 when they stopped a Black graduate student on one of the bordering streets and asked for his student ID card. The student refused to show his card and was arrested and roughed up. Forty of the 120 Black students thereupon occupied the Campus Police Office. While they were at it, they asked for things obviously needed: increased Black enrollment; a Black studies program; cancellation of a course taught by a white New Zealander offered as a substitute for such a program; an end to white dominated research in the ghetto, oriented to keep the ghetto people from actively changing their conditions of life; changes in the off-campus housing situation; etc.

White radical students joined in. They tried to take over the ROTC rifle range and failed, ending up with one of them arrested on a trumped up charge. The white students then took over the anterooms of the Chancellor's office. Their numbers grew, while they voted to stay and formulated what they would ask for.

The first of their demands supported the Black students in ask-

(Continued on page 3)

GUNS IN THE PLANT

Detroit, Mich.—Fights have gone up a lot since I started working on Line 1 of Block Dept. 6285 at the Dearborn Iron Foundry of the Ford River Rouge Plant. It is the highest paid line and also one of the hardest and hottest. Most of the fights are on pay night or Friday and Saturday nights. And most of them are employees against committeemen and company men. It should be noted that over 90% of the production workers are black and very few are committeemen or company men.

In December of last year, up on the fourth floor, the "Knock-out," it was cold and hard to work there. "Canine," one of the black workers, got into a fight with Dennis, one of the foremen. He hit him and they got the security guards to carry him out of the plant.

Some of the fellows called the committeeman, Abbot Stevenson, a black man, to help them. When he didn't they pulled a gun on

him. Some of the men have even been pulling their guns on some of the foremen.

A few weeks ago, Labor Relations got wind of what was happening and they investigated. They found out that "Kentucky," one of the white foremen, was selling pistols to the men, so they laid him off. Now, you would think that they would fill a foreman's place with qualified men. Roosevelt, a black man, has passed all the tests for foreman. He has worked 30 years in the place and knows all that he needs to know about the job, but he is still an hourly employee — after 30 years! But they turn around and usually go out of the department to find some white man to fill the opening. Something like 10% of the foremen are black.

They have hinted that they might make me foreman but I've turned them down. If you advance too much, you lose contact with the fellows on the line.

"Apostle" Burt

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Notes on Women

WHERE IT'S AT

by Jeannie Wells

What I want is—for women to learn that when a guy gives them trouble they can give him trouble back. And for men to learn the women they are about to hand shit to can and will hand it right back with a little extra added on. Also, for women to learn (like blacks have learned) that they aren't alone. There's all those other women. And those women are sisters, allies.

The Enemy

Also, men are the enemy. Each and every one, regardless of race, religion, national origin or politics. They attack us all the time. They stand on corners, inspecting us like we're cuts of meat. They treat us like we're too weak to open a door or pick up a shoebox. They keep on trying to pay for us—buy us is what they're trying to do, by buying us a cup of coffee or house or whatever. And these, ladies are the benefits you get from being a woman—these are supposed to compensate for being underpaid if you work (or if you stay home; it can be damn hard to get money out of the household boss, not mention days off.)

Only Choice to Fight

The older generation says it's inevitable but now the way I feel about it is, I don't have the time to live through it. I don't have the energy. Society has become too exhausting to even live in it, we are up against the wall we have no other choice but to fight back. Within our lifetime, we are going to end the oldest form of class rule in existence, the rule

of men over women. We have nothing more to lose.

SCUM Manifesto

This is from a letter to a friend who asked if I read anything on the subject of women:

...I am not a reader and only wish I did: know something because where I work and also anywhere I go it seems I get into the same discussion with other women. That is all we talk about. Men will come on and tell you women's conversation is of no importance, it's all gossip, etc; they only wish it was so. Really we spend most of our time talking about The Man. That's what gossip is, survival tactics, reports of the enemy's whereabouts, etc. About the only thing I have read, "SCUM Manifesto" by V. Solanis (Valerie Solanis shot Andy Warhol, the underground film director and issued this statement as to why she did it)...The SCUM Manifesto really is in favor of abolishing the male sex, and if you know any dykes they might dig it but most straight women won't.

The way they publish it is an outrage in itself though; it's in a paperback sandwiched in between the publisher's preface (who is male) and a comment by Paul Krassner, which they had no right to do. Now some people might say these two cats really don't put her down and are sympathetic to her, even liked her when they met her, so that makes it OK—but that's bullshit. What they both said in essence was, she was a dyke and a nut

so don't pay any attention to her. Now I happen to want a society where men and women can both live in and be free and all that, and she wants one of women only, but that's one thing. These two cats have got no right to be parading around in the same book with her, they have got no recognition of how fucked up they are or the men they hang out with, or how fucked up the whole society is, to bring a woman around to that point of view. And a lot of things she says, about what men are like or how when they stand out on the street making passes it's an invasion of privacy, or the variety of dull things we are stuck doing with our lives, are true. And her tone is really up to date, I mean that's how I feel, outraged. That's not nutty. I'm for integration but that I really feel is an accident, and just looking at Solanis convinces me of it. It's perfectly possible to go thru your whole life without meeting one man who is really decent to you, who isn't prejudiced, who doesn't treat you like dirt when you really get to know him, who does not think he's gods gift to benighted womanhood, and its possible to go to bed with dozens of them without getting a single kick. The amount of men who actually fuck well is amazingly small. Here are those cats saying she is part of the violence of this period which we all naturally deplore and its an aberration, etc., and why did she pick on Andy Warhol instead of some big shot. Actually violence and Valerie Solanis are as American as cherry pie as a certain person once said, and if these cats are polite to her now that she is locked up, it's because her solution is one which most women won't dig anyhow. Well, if they don't want to die, would they rather be forced to change their way of life—THEN watch them get up tight.

Men at Work

The guys at work always mess up the wire tying machine. They know how to use it but they're careless. We were talking about how they think they're so smart, just because they are men they think they can run anything, so they never figure out how it works. They'd be ashamed to ask

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too, if anything went wrong. B. says she doesn't give advice, she waits till they come to her. She says they do the same with the Hi-Lo. It reminds me of what a friend of mine said about women drivers. They are more cautious. Like you'll see a woman more likely slow down when approaching an intersection (which is what you're supposed to do!) or she'll slow down when lost or look for a turn or a house number. A man just barges right in and hopes to god he doesn't cause an accident or drive by an exit. He's expected to know everything, he can't demean himself by asking or slowing down to check it out. Of course this means that life is more dangerous for men than for women, because they're expected to take unnecessary risks.

Who Gets Whistled at?

Now some people I know who call themselves revolutionaries, they'll agree with black people going around demanding to be called Sir and Madam. But if a woman goes down the street and gets remarked at, these same people will fall over themselves to look at it from a man's viewpoint rather than their own, they will make any excuse for not showing her the same respect you show anyone else. And mind you it's a special type of woman who gets victimized by this so-called compliment. WHO GETS WHISTLED AT? If I were to go out with a man, no one would whistle at me would they? (I don't make any distinction between whistling, 'Hey, Baby', insults, jokes or sneers.) Only when you go out alone, when you try to be independent human being, you get it. If you're not anybody's, you must be fair game for all. That's right, that's what it amounts to, you're on the market. And they are not asking you, they are telling you. And when you are too old to be whistled at, you know what they are telling you then? You're worthless—and you believe it too, don't you! If you don't get whistled at it means you're either worthless, or taken just like the oranges in the grocery store. And if a man doesn't whistle at you, he's either very busy, in uniform (so he doesn't have to prove himself at these frivolous pastimes,) or...he's not a man.

A VIEW OF THE WORLD

BY WILLIAM GORMAN

Marx and the Man of Color

In at least two cities, Detroit and Chicago, there are groups of vocal people calling themselves Black Marxists. From that viewpoint the following questions would be of interest to sections of the public:

Best Seller

Why was the most popular book of the whole 19th century—Marx's century—in the whole world, a book dealing with an American blackman?

Why was the first proposal for a general strike of working people as a means of stopping imperialist war put forward by a former slave before a convention of Free Blacks in 1846 in America, when the highly educated European socialists did not arrive at that conclusion until 1909?

How close was the world: England, the U.S., France, Mexico, Canada, Spain, Russia, Poland—to an outbreak of world revolution connected with the outbreak of Civil War in the United States?

Why did the notion of a racist 'socialism' occur in America in the 1840's, almost a whole century before Hitler's Nazism, or German National Socialism?

Why was the policy of 'revolutionary defeatism' working for

the defeat of your own country even in midst of a progressive war (the Civil War) born right here in the United States some 50 years before the most advanced revolutionary of our century, the Russian Lenin, proclaimed it only after World War I had begun?

Why did British workers, themselves starving as a result of the cotton famine brought about by the resistance to the plantation slavery, support the emancipation of the blacks in another country, even though it cost them their livelihood?

If the textile industry is the mother of all capitalist industry, and slave-grown cotton in America was the base of textile production, what does this tell us about the choice that will be made today, if properly posed, between revolutionary Black Marxism and Richard Nixon's 'Black Capitalism'?

Link-ups

Indeed no attempt can be made at answering the above questions without a realization of the inevitable link-ups of the Negro and the Marxist mode of thought. It is the black man who will make Marx speak in lively 20th century English to the broadest American audience that Marxism has ever had.

For those who still think this is only history, how about a touch biography? The nickname among friends for the founder of scientific socialism was 'the Moor.' He was undoubtedly dark complected because his ancestors had come from Spain, the European country closest to the African continent. However that may be, the present progeny of European Marxism, and the present descendents of the captives of the African slave trade, are overdue for a confrontation which will shake to the roots the very way all Americans look at themselves, their country and the whole world.

YOU ARE INVOLVED

By Martin Carter

This I have learnt: today a speck tomorrow a hero hero or monster you are consumed!

Like a jig shakes the loom Like a web is spun the pattern all are involved! all are consumed!

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Notes on France

By C. L. R. James

French Revolutionary History

My concern in these notes is not policy for France today. My aim is to specify what we outside of France should be thinking about the French Revolution. We shall act in accordance with how we think. Needless to say, these ideas also concern the French comrades and will be submitted to them in the spirit in which they are written.

It is the history of the French Revolution and French revolutionary movements which press upon the mind of an outsider at the present time. A pattern emerges and in it the present situation stands out as the climax of nearly two centuries of development.

The Revolution and the counter-revolution in France have recurrently taken the form of (a) a Bonapartist regime and (b) an explosion by the population. The Bonapartist regime did not begin with Bonaparte. Before 1789 the French monarchy had carried the French state to a situation in which both Bonapartism and the revolutionary explosion were contained within it like the forces of nature.

Revolution of 1789

- i) In 1789 we have the all-powerful State and on July 14 the explosion which damages it beyond repair.
- ii) We have the democratic regime of the Girondins and 10 August 1792 which ruins that regime and royalty with it.
- iii) The days of May 1793 bring the democratic parliamentary regime to a revolutionary dictatorship. It ends, 18th Brumaire, 1799, with the first Bonaparte.
- iv) It is necessary to make a jump to the revolutionary explosions of 1848. These are crushed only to give way to the regime of Napoleon III, denoted by Marx as the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. An explosion brings that down in 1871.

Explosion in 1936

- v) In 1936 an explosion puts the revolution on the order of the day. The opportunity is lost because the workers and intellectuals, still believing in the tradition of 1917, look to the party and the unions to lead them.
- vi) Next we have the regime of Petain, which is a would-be Bonapartist regime, able to exist only by the support of foreign troops.
- vii) Today we have the Gaullist regime, the quintessence of Bonapartism, and, in May, 1968, the first explosion against it. Gaullism is the highest peak of the particularly French form of the capitalist regime which we call Bonapartism. The explosion of May corresponds in scope to the areas Gaullism has above all sought to control, i.e., the thinking of the whole society. France, as always, shows the rest of capi-

talism the particular acuteness of capitalist contradictions.

II

Role of Leadership Leadership

In 1968 the role of what is called leadership is very important.

- a) The leadership of 14 July 1789 was completely spontaneous.
- b) For 10 August 1792 leadership had passed to the Paris Commune consciously taking over from the Legislative.
- c) By the days of May 1793 the Sections had created Eveche, a body substituting itself for the Paris Commune, by that time a part of the Mountain; that is to say, a part of the Convention.
- d) I know nothing of the leadership of 1848 and 1871. I do not believe that they were specially organised.
- e) However, by 1936 we have the Communist Party in charge and nothing but a succession of disasters and betrayals. However, it is necessary to bring to notice a political development too often forgotten.

Workers Ignore Leadership

In February 1934 the Jeunesse Patriote, the Croix de Feu and other fascist organisations were preparing to storm the Chamber, murder some of the deputies and bring parliamentary government in France to an end. The Communist Party in those days was continuing with the policy which had led to the disaster in Germany: The Social Democrats were still being denounced as "social fascists" and a united front rejected.

Workers of the Communist Party and workers of the Social Democracy ignored their leadership, formed fighting groups, and it was they who defended the Chamber and for the time being saved the democratic regime in France. But for them, the fascists would have gained a notable success in 1934.

From the time Hitler came into power in 1933, no fascist regime was ever able to establish itself except after a military defeat of the democratic elements by the regular army or sections of it. The instinctive defence by the working class of its democratic rights and its rejection of compromise or defeatism before fascist bands began in February 1934. It has continued and reached its highest point in Hungary by the creation of its highest point in Hungary by the creation of Workers Councils in every branch of the National Activity. We await even more drastic reversals in Czechoslovakia and in Russia itself. In 1953; Hungary, 1956; the 20th Party Congress in Czechoslovakia 1968. It is now clear that

can be no effective de-Stalinization in the totalitarian regimes except by the proletarian revolution. The Russian bureaucracy is doomed.

Two Regimes

The conclusion we on the outside have to draw is this: to let the population know that once more France is showing us the two regimes - the capitalist and the socialist - locked in the kind of conflict inherent in this age. Gaullism in France or elsewhere cannot conquer. No dictatorship today can be established over any advanced society. Military victory in Kenya and in Algiers had to concede independence. Capitalism can achieve only stalemate and a progressive decay of society. But Gaullism can win neither in France nor anywhere else. America cannot win in Vietnam. Russia will never defeat the revolution it is provoking in Czechoslovakia. The working class and its allies must know that the future of society is in their hands and the new institutions they must create.

The creation of new institutions must seem even in the minds of the working class a task which is beyond the immediate possibility. In that respect the Marxists have got to make them aware of the way the institutions from which they are suffering at present have come into existence. There are many ways of doing this. It would be as well, however, for the time being and in regard to France in particular to concentrate on the letter written by Marx on 28 December 1846. There he says:

"...Thus in the eighteenth century a number of mediocre minds were finding the true

formula which would bring the social orders, king, nobility or parliament, into equilibrium, and they woke up one morning to find that there was in fact no longer any king, nobility, or parliament. The true equilibrium in this antagonism was the overthrow of all the social conditions which served as a basis for these feudal existences and their antagonisms."

The king, the nobility, the parliament seemed to have been established for centuries and to be part of the order of nature. They disappeared overnight and society set out upon the task of creating the institutions that we have today. Today trade unions, political parties, and government institutions based upon them appear to be a natural function of contemporary society. They are not. Nothing is more certain than that the institutions

that we have today are due for disappearance and only the working class can finish off with them and create the institutions which will take their place.

III

Self-Management

To tell society, today, that what is required is a party to lead the revolution to success, is to reinforce the weakness of the contemporary working class. It is the exact opposite which is required. It should be told that it must create the new institutions required, that no party or union can create them, and that the history of society since 1789 points stage by stage to self-management (auto-gestion) as the beginning of the "real history of humanity."

began to cry, but this also made her gag.

Bringing herself to one last, firm resolve, Secretarygirl dressed and prepared to go to the hospital. She wrote out notes: one for the taxi driver, one for the doctor. She took spare notepaper, two pens, and a supply of vomit bags. Leaving her apartment, she was able to reach the hospital and handed the note to the young doctor on emergency duty.

However, he soon discovered that he could do no more than she. First he tried to make her vomit more vehemently; then to cough; then he tried pulling the roller out with forceps. Higher authorities were called in. They thought of cutting the roller away and pulling it out bit by bit, but she kept gagging and each time they cut, the roller fell deeper into her throat.

Finally it was decided that they would have to operate. The operation was brief and unsuccessful. Its only detriment was in leaving a large scar across Secretarygirl's throat. This she tried to compensate for, even before she left the hospital, by wearing high collared tunics, and scarves.

(Continued on page 3)

A ROMANCE

by Mark Nakell

Secretarygirl woke from her sleep suddenly. One of her hair rollers had slipped off during the night. Still tied to the end of the long strand of hair which had been wound around it, it had fallen into her mouth. Now it was lodged in her throat, and she woke up gagging. She began to vomit and tugged at the hair strand until it came loose, covered with vomit. But the roller had not come up with it. The hair dangled its aroma in front of her bobbed nose.

For two hours she unsuccessfully grappled with the roller, continuously retching, even after she had exhausted her stomach's resources. The barbed cylinder was firmly wedged into her throat. As the sun was coming up, she heard ringing and then a sleepy voice entering. That was when she discovered that she couldn't talk. The only sound which came out was a weak, hoarse mutter of strangulation. As she vomited, increased its volume. When she had it under control, she

Editorials

THE DRAFT TURNS COLD

In the discussion going on about reforming or ending the draft an interesting contribution has been made by the Wall Street Journal. They are moving toward the view that the draft should be abolished.

"Today," says the voice of big business, "armies of men are used to fight only limited 'brushfire' engagements, which may be part of complicated diplomatic maneuvers. The goals of such interventions... may be obscure; they may be subject to acrimonious public debate. But the military must be the unquestioning instrument of such policies, even when massive public support is lacking. Such a role is clearly best suited to the committed professional, not the reluctant draftee."

They clearly do not see Vietnam as an exception. Not only do they assume more wars but they also assume that they will all be unpopular. Unstated, of course, is the additional war against the American people—the use of troops in riots, strikes, etc. They are not worried about the harm the government does to the draftee. They are worried about the harm the draftee does to the government.

Still, it is most likely that the dilemma will remain and that the draft will not be abolished, although it may be modified. The problem is one of size: there is a limit to the number of wars that a professional army can handle, but no limit to the amount of trouble the U. S. can get into.

They will not be able to get rid of the draftee, the enemy within.

STUDENT STRUGGLES

The struggles of students, both Black and white, has gone far beyond what is reported from Washington University on page one. In one sense the events in St. Louis mark the ending of one stage (although it is not literally speaking, over) and the beginning of another.

The decisive new development is the spread of the movement to the state colleges, the institutions that rank below the famous academic centers, the schools where a larger proportion of the student body comes from the working class and is being trained to do the mental jobs of administration, education, and manipulation that keeps the system going on its lower levels. The outstanding example, of course, is the continuing battle at San Francisco State College, but San Francisco State was merely the forerunner of similar confrontations across the country. An additional element is the extension of these confrontations to the largely Black universities in the South.

What is interesting in these new developments is that they go beyond the ideological struggles that characterized the situations in the more famous universities and are posing the question of control of the school and the rejection by students of the role being assigned to them in the hierarchy of capitalism.

Letters

NEW FORMAT

...Speak Out has got to become more media-conscious.... There are only two pictures, one of which did not come out. The rest is unbroken newsprint, which is alright when it is a matter of editorials, letters, bulletins on Black workers, the DRUM news release. Letter on France is a bit tedious... Mexican Student Mobilization is downright discouraging, except for people who live on newsprint. Pictures needed.... Apply Wilma Thomas' column and do what the video does inadvertently.

That column is very well written, stylistically very close (excepting the first sentence) to what we think should be aimed at. One thing, though is that the same point should be made about it as a lot of our stuff. We ignore what the other side is up to. One of the big issues of the riot has been what should the role of responsible press be.... Let's take Chicago. A lot of stuff going on in the streets made it onto the video, but a lot didn't. And what did make it was by virtue of decisions on the part of network employees based on the fact that the press was being shoved around.... Still, they engaged in a lot of half-truths and plain lies.... Wilma's point is well taken but should not be taken as more than half of the dialectics of the situation and the other part should be covered too.

Subscriber
St. Louis, Mo.

Jan. Speak Out is here and I'm impressed. Reading it is like seeing one's own idea actualized. You have been absolutely correct in focusing hard on the working class and even harder on the issues right there in Detroit where you can be expert. If you can maintain this balance and quality people all over the globe and USA will be NEEDING Speak Out.

... James on France excellent. Tone... perspective... everything. Applicable to many situations here... Mexican piece also good. Gorman's piece

bit off more than he had time to chew but he had it right. I'm sure he can develop this BIG idea in subsequent issues.

If there is any fault, it lies in the usual area where political monthly/weeklies/dailies fail—revolutionary art. Wilma Thomas has done a good job on one facet but Speak Out could hit younger radicals if it had good art coverage...

Dan Georgakas
Hackettstown, N. J.

William Gorman's column was very good (see January 1969 SO)... But it does not engage the established press on the issue of what happened on that occasion in Detroit. The press nationally tried to link it to crime. Linking the point to what happened else-

Washington University

(Continued from page 1)

ing that the cops involved be suspended and an open hearing held. The others were: a raise in the wages of the workers on campus, a meaningful voice in University affairs which pertain to students, that ROTC be kicked off campus, and that the student arrested on the rifle range be released.

Concession Granted

The Black students moved into the accounting offices after asking that the white students relinquish the building to them. The white students stayed in the administration building until the faculty of arts and sciences voted on their demands. The faculty reassigned the cops involved to desk jobs, abolished ROTC credit, voted to request that the administration terminate the contract with ROTC, voted that the Faculty Council work out ways of sharing power with students, and voted unanimously that the Black demands were indeed important (!) This was in an open meeting with more than 600 faculty and students present. It led to a wide-spread assessment that the faculty as a whole was more "liberal" than

where in Albany, Ga., Oakland, etc., gives the appearance, which is not true, of evading the issue.

Reader
Chicago, Ill.

Strong second to Bob Auerbach's letter. Also there is a need to inform people who are in different parts of the country as to how to cover something like this...

J. W.
St. Louis, Mo.

A ROMANCE

(continued from page 5)

Two months after her release from the hospital, Secretarygirl was married to the young doctor who had first examined her. Something about the handwriting of her note had first attracted him to her. Their life together progressed to the point where they lived in a large penthouse apartment and had a small, but exquisite cabin in the country. They had three children and went places together and separately. But nothing as exciting ever happened to her again.

SUBSCRIBE TO SPEAK OUT

the student body as a whole. The faculty emerged as something like heroes from the situation which diverted attention from the question of just how much had been accomplished.

The clearest note from the meeting, for example, was that the faculty of arts and sciences had long wanted to abolish ROTC credit. ROTC, however, is only the students' stake in the war. Many students use it to escape the draft, to escape being sent eventually to Vietnam. Nothing was said about the fact that some of the faculty also have a stake (though fewer than elsewhere: \$2 million in defense contracts as compared to Columbia's \$16 million), nor about the administration's much larger stake in the form of investments in war industries.

The white students ended their sit-in at the administration building the next afternoon and moved to Homes Lounge, termed Liberated Zone No. 2. They met there on Saturday and Sunday nights, December 7 and 8, and decided to form themselves into a permanent organization and to suspend their operations so that the University could concentrate on the Black students' demands.

Struggle Beneath Surface

At this writing, though there

is still a great deal of enthusiasm and hope that things will be different, there is also a surface return to normal. The open hearing on the cops has been held and it was ruled that there was no case. The Black students have won one demand, have been satisfied on five others, and are still bargaining for four. It seems doubtful they will win much more at this stage. The two men arrested have been released, the Black student and the white student.

Much of the effort changing the nature of education at WU goes on at the departmental level. Students in sociology, for example, have won representation on a faculty-student committee. Struggles which lie below the surface may in the end make an important impact. The attempt is always to break down the absurd barriers between the University and life outside, barriers which serve to hide the truth. The same insane barriers are inside the University: people wearing labels as administrator, faculty member, student, worker. The administrators and faculty members run the University; the students are spoon fed a lot of plain crap, and the workers follow orders. The struggle against that at places like Washington University is just beginning.

SPEAK OUT

Vol. 2, No. 2.

February 1969

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Application for second class mail privileges pending in Detroit.

FOOTNOTES

Public Meeting

On Friday, March 28, 1969 at 5 p.m. Martin Glaberman will speak on Imperialism: A New Stage. The meeting is part of the Facing Reality Forum series and will be at 14131 Woodward Ave. in

Detroit Meetings

Meetings of the Facing Reality Publishing Committee in Detroit are on Wednesday nights. Business meetings take place from 7:30 to 8:30 p.m. Educational discussions follow from 8:30 to 10 p.m. All are invited.

Mao As A Dialectician

The article on Mao As a Dialectician by Martin Glaberman has been translated into Swedish and published as a pamphlet by the Libertad group in Sweden.

C. L. R. JAMES

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TV

It Takes a Thief

By Eleanor Arnason

First of all, I dig this show because the hero is a thief. When I was a kid, I wanted to be a crook. Of course, you can't have a guy breaking laws on t.v. without a catch. The catch is our hero (his name is Al Mundy) is a con, paroled in the custody of the C.I.A. He steals for Uncle Sam. This is like Mission Impossible where people commit every crime in the book for the U.S. government, and it's okay. The difference is, Al is a professional. He really digs his work and takes pride in a job well done. He raises the moral tone of the show. Social morality he may be short on. But he has artistic morality.

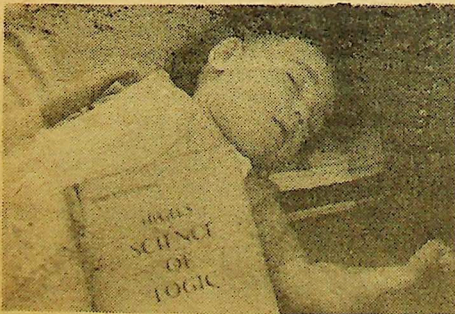
Al is one of these cool people you get in movies and in t.v. these days. They are never angry or loving or even really frightened. Even when they are violent, they are cool. They are like 1960's art—hard edge or minimal art. It's violent; it uses raw colors and sharp, big shapes, but it's cool at the same time. Emotions don't splash all over like they did in 1950's art.

Emotions are kept under control. Al comes on cheerful and childlike, but he has the same cool as Mr. Spock on Star Trek or Lee Marvin in Point Blank. It's like, today, people are more in control of themselves, but it takes so much concentration to hold themselves together that they have no time for anything else.

Anyway, back to It Takes A Thief. Al works for a respectable, career spy

named Noah Bain who disapproves of crime. Breaking the law makes Noah uncomfortable, like he's picking his nose and he's afraid someone will see him. But Noah is really immoral. Like, anytime Al gets out of line, Noah gets ready to send him back to prison, even though he likes Al. Al is his friend. (Anyway, in reality, Al is still in prison. Only difference is, he's a trustee now. They've given him a more comfortable cell and a longer chain.) To Noah, anything done in the service of the state is morally right; his only loyalty is to the state. One show, Al thought he was responsible for the death of a guy who was working for The Other Side, but who was a good crook, a guy Al respected. Al was ready to quit, to go back to prison. But Noah has killed a friend—not merely a fellow professional, but a genuine friend—and it didn't make him quit the spy biz. What a vision of modern American society—our crooks knew right from wrong and our government officials don't.

There is another thing about this show I dig. The way it looks at sex. No one is ever in love. When men and women get together, it's for screwing or for business. There is none of this hearts and flowers stuff confusing these people. They knew a state of war exists. You may have to associate with the enemy, but you don't have to like him. In fact, it is damn hard to like him. On It Takes A Thief men and women don't like each other.



OUR MANAGING EDITOR

SPEAK OUT

14131 Woodward

Detroit, Mich. 48203

SPEAK OUT

BULLETIN OF THE FACING REALITY COMMITTEE

Vol. II, No. 7-8

JULY-AUGUST 1969

20¢

Man's World & Welcome To It !

by Kae Halonen

The following is based on a talk given at a Women's Liberation Conference held in Detroit, Mich. on June 14, 1969.

I have two children. I married at 17 and had my first child at 18 and that talks all about what women do in this society. My children are now eight and six. I love them very much. But within that whole process of having kids and trying to deal with that I've learned a lot about my oppression, what it means, its made up of and then how it relates to the society in general.

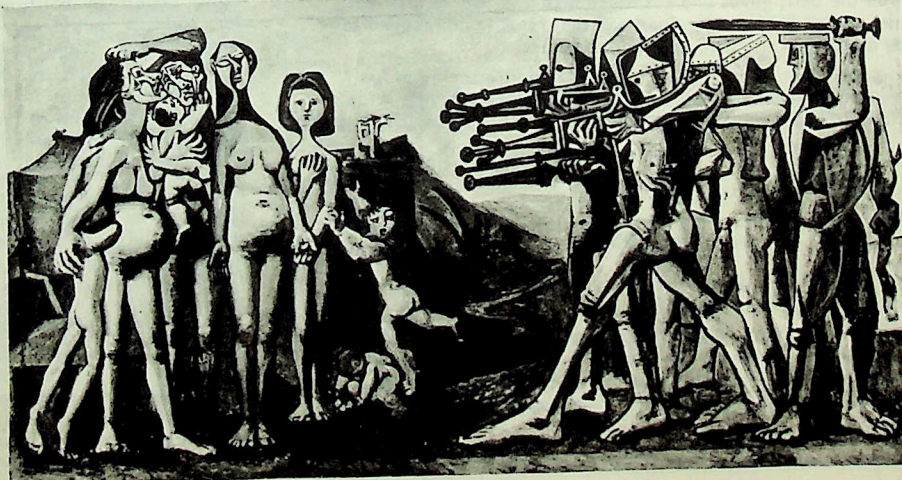
You know James Brown sang a song, what about three years ago? 'Its a man's world'. An out-of-sight song in terms of the way the song sounded, what people could do to it, in fact what it said. Because what he talked about was its a man's world but its O.K. because your little girl waiting at home is going to temper the harshness of going out there and working, temper the harshness of having to put up with the boss everyday, temper the harshness of having to compete and be aggressive. But you've got your little girl at home. And I think what I want to do is try and center on that idea of oppression and caste,

how that's subdivided, who benefits from it, who doesn't benefit from it and what actually operates in this kind of a society in this kind of a world.

A Girl Grows Up

I'm going to think of a pretend person like Bruenhilda Jones. A baby girl just born and she's crying, right? And her mother is very excited at the idea of having her first child and she says, 'My little girl is going to grow up to be a good woman.' And this child from that day on becomes socialized in a way that is going to determine how she views the world, what her consciousness

(Continued on page 12.)



Editorial

In Other Words...

Scene: Conference room. Seated around a long table are three Ivy League types. They are known only by their first initials A, R, and H.

- A: (A looks at the sheet of paper in front of him.) Let's see, parades, we'll hold the first one in Newark. . .
- R: Newark? What's in Newark?
- A: (defensively) What've you got agains Newark?
- R: Newark is nowhere. Nowhere is Newark.
- A: (leaning forward) Look, Newark roughly represents the corresponding area, geography-wise, same latitude and longitude.
- H: (interested for the first time) How the hell do we KNOW that. I mean, how the hell does anybody know that. Maybe the fuckin' area is in the Crimea!
- A: (stiffens) We cannot have a parade in the Crimea.
- R: (mumbles) If they die, we can have the wake in the Crimea.
- H: (stands up and yells) AND LET THE RUSSIANS TAKE CREDIT FOR THE WHOLE THING.
- R: (disgustedly) Oboy.
- A: (wanting to get on with it) It's good for Newark, for busine ss, for the racial situation. First parade in Newark. Second pa. . .
- R: Why do we have to have so goddam many parades?
- A: Ilike parades. Second parade Needles California.
- R: Wait a minute, a minute, there buddy boy. That's the desert. Needles, California is in the DESERT. It's one hundred and twenty goddam degrees there. (yelling) IN THE SHADE! Who is going to have a parade in the middle of the, the, Death Valley!
- A: We'll have it at night. (writes) Second parade in Needles. . . at night. (looks up) The area roughly corresponds to the thing, terrain and scenery-wise. Besides the parade we could stage a Rock Festival in the Sand Dunes.
- H: Jesus. Terrain, scenery, sand dunes, rocks.
- A: Let's get on the ball, guys, and get these bits out. We've still got the banquet to do. We have five parades that roughly correspond to one phase or other of the trip, and a big banquet.
- R: State Dinner, Banquet is different. A State Dinner (warming to his subject) with the generals there and the Navy brass with the medals and President. And Louie Armstrong singing "Fly Me To The Moon"

Continued on page 5

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SPEAK OUT

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Editor: Martin Glaberman. Editorial Committee: Clifford Stein, William Gorman, Albert Luthmers, Anna Tuzik. Production: Dianne Rawick.

Letters

NEW FORMAT

"Speak Out" (March 1969 issue) is certainly the best ever--and this in spite of some serious problems. The appearance is close to top-notch and the expensive paper is extremely attractive. I would recommend sticking with the general style until the newsletter format is converted to a paper.

The two previous issues looked an advertisement for C.L.R. James, and I'm glad that this has been proportionately reduced. A literature list insert every couple of issues can keep readers informed of what we have without taking up so much valuable space.

I am a little disappointed that so much of this issue is reprinted material. Not because I object to the stuff, just its proportion to new items.

Gorman's column was a shame and I say that because I agree with him. It's just that I don't think he did a very convincing job of describing our role at present. It is obvious, I think, that both jobs--telling what "they" are up to and telling the story of "our" side--are things which must be done. Gorman knows this as well as anyone else.

But the job of exposing what the rich and powerful are doing is being quite adequately handled by other sections of the revolutionary movement. This has been done so onesidedly, in fact, that it is creating countless political problems for today's activists. For one thing it has established a "devil theory" of capitalism as the most common militant view and this, in turn, is generating a high level of political paranoia based more on the subjective politics of the bourgeoisie than on the objective reality of bourgeois society. It has also produced an approach among some revolutionaries to look for political sustenance elsewhere (i.e., China, Cuba, Vietnam, Africa, etc.) because they are unaware of the day to day existence of the American working class as a revolutionary force.

The validity of our viewpoint rests with the contention that accurate political analysis and the corresponding ability to anticipate

political developments flows from the totality of one's view of the world we live in. If, as Gorman maintains, we have the job of concentrating on a certain view of society--and we do--it is because the available information is so utterly inadequate in this area. It is not because we object to the valuable work which others have done and are continuing to do.

Ken Burg
Chicago, Ill.

"Speak Out" is looking good. The Motown article was well-written but sounded like the old party line from the publicity department. Holland-Dozier-Holland are no longer with Motown, by the way, partly because of the committee system that was mentioned in the article.

Former Motown Citizen
Los Angeles, California

Against Reduced Size

I have just bought your April '69 issue of "Speak Out," and I notice it is drastically reduced in numbers of pages since the last issue. When and why did you change your format? Will you ... increase your size...to the original...?

The eight-page version is too short and only allows for minimal and insufficient information news and the same for analysis. Please expand...to your original size so you can give sufficient information and analysis....

Tyman Ung
San Mateo, Calif.

WOMEN IN FRANCE

...In France, the refrigerators are quite small and the woman does not go shopping just once for the whole week as the American woman does. Rather, she goes to the market every morning for the bread (which is baked fresh every day and will last for only one day) and vegetables--whatever she might need. There are no big supermarkets (only a few which are not doing well and probably won't replace the corner market as in the U.S. where the atmosphere is quite impersonal. Here, women must get out of the house every day and they come to see their friends at a place where women have a common interest.

This is not to say that the French woman is in a more independent position than the American woman. Her role is probably more rigidly

defined than the American woman's who, because of certain (unenforced) legal restrictions against discrimination, finds herself somewhere between two worlds. In France the situation between men and women is quite stable and even more so in Italy. The French woman still is expected to provide the sexual and the "feminine" satisfactions for her man as a function of her being a woman. This is not questioned as far as I can see.

Now, there is a big difference between the woman in Paris and the woman in the rural parts of France. The distinction is too sharp to be overlooked. In the cities, she has much more mobility and independence, although, if she works, her pay is naturally considerably less than that of men for equal jobs. The woman in the country, on the other hand, is in a sickening mess. Her role is the old stereotype: housekeeper, cook, mother, and, not lover, but baby-maker. About all she is needed for (by the man) is to bear his children and keep his house. When things go bad, it is not unusual for him to have a few women on the side. This opportunity is forbidden to the woman. She can't get out to work, she has no money of her own, and she is trapped. Her position is a subordinate one, she knows it, but can't get out of it.

Now I'm not going to say that the French woman is more or less oppressed than the American woman. Both are oppressed - in either similar or quite different ways - by the particular social and cultural institutions of each country. For example, I found something in the French family structure generally lacking in American men, who as "breadwinners," bring the money home, pay for food and for bringing

up the children, buy them toys, for their birthday and Xmas, and that's that. He feels his responsibility fulfilled. The moral and educational aspects come from the sympathetic, comforting mother who is assumed to have a greater capacity to love the children by some mystical instinct.

In France, this latter responsibility is equally shared by the father. When he comes home from work, he plays with the kids, helps to develop their curiosity and a sensitive imagination. Children are considered very important members of the family and are respected as such by both the mother and the father. In America, when the bourgeois businessman comes home from a hard day's work at the office, he expects the wife to comfort him and here is where her role as lover (domestic prostitute?) comes in. The children are pushed aside as both parents want them out of the way at the end of the day. The man wants "a quiet evening at home" and the wife--who's been housecleaning, washing, shopping, etc., all day wants to get out.

Furthermore, the American male, unlike the French, has no direct, personal participation in the moral and creative development of his children. It may well be that the French family is more stable, but it is also true, I think, that there are fewer married French women working than in America. It becomes quite a complicated matter trying to compare the level of women in different countries. Women must decide where they are at -- in whatever the situation or society, and work from there.

C.F.
Paris, France

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Ford Has a Better Idea

I work as a draftsman in a small architectural-engineering company in downtown Detroit. The boss who is Roman Catholic once did a lot of work for the Chancery--schools, small churches. Sometimes Ford Motor Company throws him a job planning an addition to an assembly plant in Maryland, Ohio or even Michigan. He is glad to get these jobs because work for the Chancery has fallen off.

When he works on them he thinks of himself in competition with Giffels and Rosetti, Smith, Hinchman and Grylls and the Albert Kahn organization. Especially the last, because 40 years ago he worked for A.K. and can't forget it. "They set me to detailing concrete stairs with pipe railings. They kept me running up and down those stairs until I was sick of the sight of them." Actually, Giffels, S.H. and G., and A.K. are sharks in the construction ocean and don't pay much attention to small fish like my boss. One of them probably suggested that Ford throw him a job now and

then, they being to busy. But he likes to think of himself outsmarting the sharks.

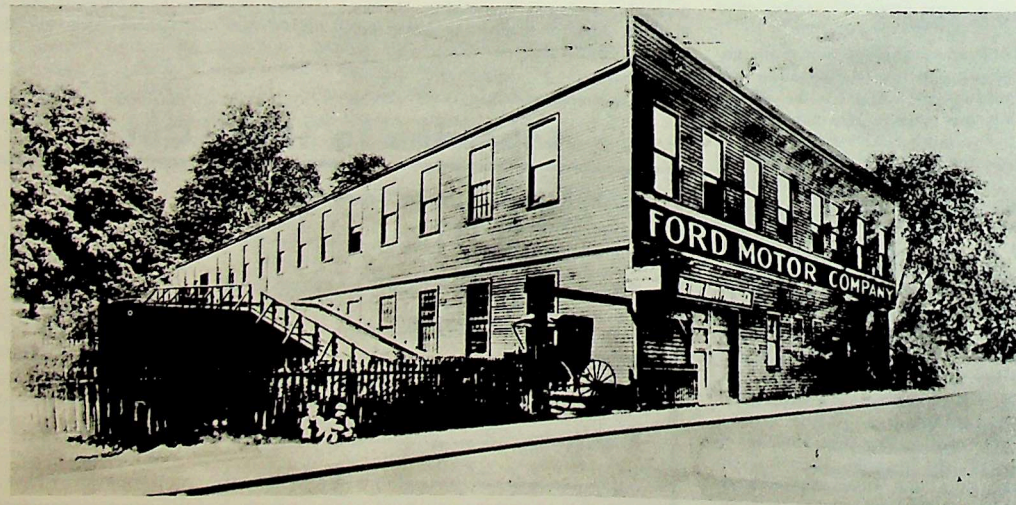
Our latest job for Ford, a 200,000 square foot addition to a plant in Ohio, is giving us a lot of trouble. At the start of a job like this we get a "design requirements" manual from the Plant Engineering Department in Dearborn. This "Tablet from Sinai" as my boss calls it is prepared in loose leaf form and contains Ford's standard general conditions of contracts for buildings, a standard bid proposal form, outline specifications for architectural, civil engineering, mechanical and electrical work, some Ford standard details for fence work, roof walkways, etc. The front page of this manual carries the signature of the respective department chiefs. A bunch of Imprimaturs.

Actually, I think some girl over in the Glass House on American Road in Dearborn throws these books together. I can just visualize her collating a dozen of them at once. One of these fine days we will get

a manual for a million square foot addition that will be intended for S.H. and G.. If we got started on the job, did a lot of preliminary work, Ford wouldn't dare admit they had made such a mistake. It's not impossible. Ford is always having a better idea which gets anybody into trouble. Even you and me.

But seriously (My wife says that I will never get to be a big-shot architect if I don't take the work seriously), Ford Motor Co. does a lot of coordinating in building construction. Consider Ford standards for painting of ten thousand and one items in all the Ford factories throughout the country. As I recall it is required that all Ford steel ladders be painted target yellow. There is a Ford standard specification for yellow paint. And there is a list of manufacturers who can supply the paint. This list must go in our specifications if we have a steel ladder on a job, which of course we do. There is a Ford standard for painting letters and numbers on columns inside a plant.

(Continued on page 5.)



Editorial cont.

(continued from page 2)

H: (*breaking in*) What I want to know is how we handle the cheese thing. Who gets the green cheese. Where. I mean at the banquet. Or in private somewhere, or at another type of ceremony?

(A and R stare at him a minute)

A: Let us be serious, please. The cheese has to be quarantined for three weeks. And then analysed to see if it's real. Or a synthetic. And we have to find out who made it. We cannot just simply serve it for dinner.

R: Oh, I don't know.

A: (*pleading*) Let's be serious. The parade in Newark will require a delegation to set things up in advance for security people, so they won't run into any trouble.

H: What the hell are the security people for if they can't handle trouble.

R: Let's have the dinner first. We'll start out with shrimp and those baby abalone things, and we'll invite. . .

A: (*always the planner*) First things first. You march, then you eat. You can't march right on a full stomach.

R: Why not, the exercise is good for you.

H: Let's not lose sight of our purpose.

A: (*stiffly*) Our purpose gentlemen, is to revive interest in ceremony and to restore heroism to the place it deserves. I mean, that is why we started this whole program. I love parades. We used to drive part of the way downtown, daddy and I, and take a big doubledecker special bus, marked PARADE, the rest of the way. And when we'd get there, he would lift me onto his shoulders. . . (*carried away in his reverie*).

R: Banquet, a State Dinner, excitement, fantastic food. I remember the time when. . .

H: (*breaks in*) The cheese, men, we're losing sight of the cheese.

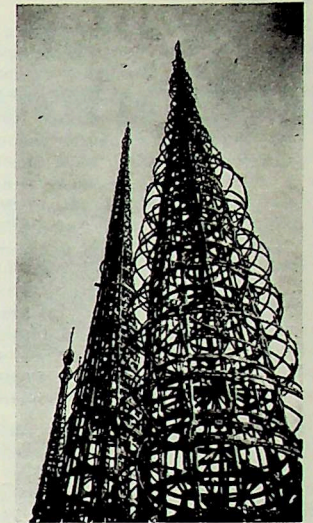
(Continued from page 4)

This standard gives the height of the floor line. As I recall, Ford paint standards are intended for use not only in new work but in building maintenance as well. There are standard color schemes for office areas, plant hospital areas, toilet rooms, cafeterias. This must have a conditioning effect. Suppose that some dumb bunny painted a cafeteria with a color intended for a toilet room. An absent-minded employee might operate his zipper in a cafeteria. A disturbing thought. One can almost hear people gasping or whatever they do in such a situation. My wife says I dramatize life too much.

Ford has a better idea. I discovered this about ten days ago when they changed the compressor foundations on us. My boss is an expert on compressors. Big ones. Umpteen-thousand c.f.m. jobs of the kind that they put in the old

boiler houses in auto plants. Once some big architectural outfit goofed in its specifications for anchor bolts in a compressor foundation. My boss was called down to the plant, in Tennessee I think it was. "The vibrations from those compressors nearly shook the fillings out of my teeth", he told me. He had an old friend in Detroit who was an expert in that area. Together, they cooked up some scheme to end the vibrations.

Anyway, the purchasing department at Ford had some better idea about where to buy its compressors for the Ohio plant. We had sent the plans and specifications out for general contract bids. Now we had to revise the compressor foundations and issue what we call a bulletin. "Can you work every night this week and Saturday morning?" he asked me, looking anxious. I put on an act about my wife wanting me home to wash the kitchen walls, but I'd make the sacrifice. I needed the



Simon Rodia, Towers at Watts.

time--and--a--half overtime. "They will postpone the receipt of bids one week, no more," said he. "There are a lot of other changes."

Later I heard him talking to an old classmate from University of Detroit. "Did you see the "Free Press" yesterday? Albert Kahn office has appointed 60 new associates. In the old days we would have said that Albert Kahn was trying to get around paying time--and--a--half for overtime. You transform people into minor executives, put them on salary, call them a team, and away you go. But this is something worse and different. The idea may have come out of Dearborn. You watch. They will play off number 59 against number 58 and so on down the line. The more the strategy of the Ford Motor Co. changes the more it remains just the same. They put in new lamps--but in the old sockets, and they use more lamps. Ford has a better idea--for producing ulcers. Ford is the biggest manufacturer of ulcers in the world."

John L. Lewis

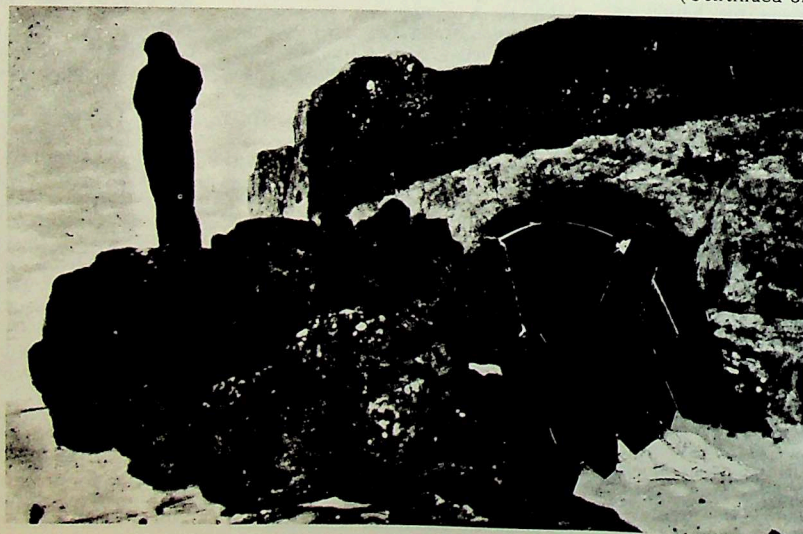
End Of An Era

by J. Frank

In the practice of confrontation politics, no period more nearly approached our own than that of the Thirties and no man was as much its master as John L. Lewis.

The components of confrontation politics began to form when World War I ended and the assembly line became the modus operandi of the industrial system. While the official ideology of the jazz age proclaimed that "happiness" was the only god and materialism its true prophet, the dark reality of the period was a brutal imposition of the speed-up on this great mass of humanity. The brutality was nowhere more evident than in the coal mines.

Machines were making their way slowly into the mines. The industry was tied, nonetheless, to the whole of the accelerating industrial apparatus of the nation. The increasing barbarity of the system found its most finished form here: the job-as-killer. Nowhere did men in a major industry die with greater frequency and at a higher rate than in the coal fields. Thousands died each year from roof falls, explosions, gas, tuberculosis, and silicosis. In fact, coal and death were the two outstanding products of the miners' work.



And those who did not die were often crippled for life. I had been active in the West Virginia coal fields from 1947 to 1956 trying to build a revolutionary political organization (See "The Militant" and "Correspondence"). A student comrade of mine had decided to leave the university for the coal mines. Within, I believe, a period of three years, he had escaped death twice: once seriously enough to have one arm crippled for life. It was a sav- world.

The miners, in short, were a breed apart. These were the men who faced a rapidly declining industry, whose pre-eminence as a source of power was being increasingly challenged by oil and water power. Thousands of miners were already being discarded into the human slag heap of unemployment. They faced a depression a whole decade before the nation as a whole.

Until this moment Lewis had been an undistinguished bureaucrat of the AFL hierarchy. He was just a Republican of nondescript social vision. He had been appointed by AFL president Gompers to offset the appeal of the more revolutionary Western Federation of Miners. He had led a national coal strike in

1919 and though he had defied a court injunction, he had been unable to withstand the dual pressure of the State and the Union, President Wilson and Gompers. He sent his miners back to work with the pious words: "I will not fight my Government, the greatest Government on earth." The United Mine Workers, Lewis' union declined precipitously, from 400,000 in 1920 to a pitiable 80,000 or so by 1930. Lewis imposition of a rigid, centralized, totally undemocratic control contributed to the debacle.

But with the depression, the miners began to engage in wildcat strikes and guerrilla war. Illinois, once the stronghold of the UMW, was rent by the appearance of rival and radical organizations, threatening the very foundations of Lewis' power. Lewis could stay with the old powers and maybe lose everything or — leap with the miners and maybe win. He chose to leap.

Emboldened by the fury of his own miners, Lewis helped maneuver the now famous Section 7A of the NRA through Congress into law. Since he now had dictatorial control of his own union, he sent dozens of union organizers into the old anti-union strongholds of West Virginia

(Continued on page 14.)

End of the Chinese Cultural Revolution

By Martin Glaberman



The Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution officially ended with the holding of the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. It is necessary, however, to begin an evaluation of what has happened in China. The first step toward such an evaluation is the placing of the Cultural Revolution in historical context.

The First Chinese Revolution

A key stage in the development of Chinese Communism, much neglected these days, was the revolution of 1925 to 1927. It was a period in which the Communist Party, powerfully placed among the workers of the great cities of China joined in a block with the Kuomintang to attempt to achieve the democratic national revolution.

The period began with massive struggles by workers in Hongkong and Canton. It saw revolutionary conquest of Shanghai by the working class, led by the Communist Party. But it also saw the restraining of workers by the CP in the name of preserving unity with the capitalists, represented by the Kuomintang. Shanghai was turned over to Chiang Kai-shek who proceeded to slaughter all the Communists and radical workers he could find.

This pattern was continued in Wuhan, where the CP, still looking for Kuomintang representatives it could subordinate itself to, managed another destructive defeat. The emerging peasant movement followed the same path as the workers' organizations. By the end of the period, the Kuomintang was in the saddle throughout South China and the entire working class base and membership of the Communist Party had been destroyed.

What takes place after the bitter defeat of 1927 is the beginning of the rise to power of Mao Tse-tung

on the basis of a peasant party and a peasant army. The rhetoric remains the same: proletarian party and proletarian revolution. But this is, by the time of the conclusion of the famous Long March to the refuge and bases in Northwest China, there is not a worker within a thousand miles of the CP.

That is not a minor technical matter. Faced with a situation that is in many ways comparable Lenin adopted a totally different policy. He long believed that the coming Russian Revolution would be a bourgeois democratic revolution. He did not therefore abandon the working class to form a peasant revolutionary party. He prepared himself and his party for the prospect of years of opposition in post-Czarist society. For him a Marxist organization had to be based on the working class, and that idea he never relinquished.

The Second Chinese Revolution

Lenin also had a conception of what the coming bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia would be like. Writing in 1905 on "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy," Lenin says, "A decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism is the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.... And such a victory will assume the form of a dictatorship, i.e., it is inevitably bound to rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an



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uprising, and not on institutions established by 'lawful' or 'peaceful' means. It can only be a dictatorship, for the introduction of the reforms which are urgently and absolutely necessary for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the desperate resistance of the landlords, the big bourgeoisie and tsarism. Without a dictatorship it will be impossible to break down that resistance and to repel the counter-revolutionary attempts. But of course it will be a democratic, not a socialist dictatorship. It will not be able (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundations of capitalism. At best it may bring about a radical redistribution of the land to the advantage of the peasantry, establish consistent and full democracy including the republic, eliminate all the oppressive features of Asiatic bondage, not only of village but also of factory life, lay the foundation for thorough improvement in the position of the workers and raise their standard of living, and last but not least — carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe. Such a victory will by no means transform our bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution; the democratic revolution will not extend beyond the scope of bourgeois social and economic relationships...."

Crucial to an understanding of Chinese developments is the fact that Lenin's words are a description of the Chinese Revolution of 1948-9 in which the CP came to power — with, however, one striking exception. There was no dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. The proletariat was absent from the Chinese Revolution.

This resulted not only from the class composition and political position of the CP. It also resulted from deliberate military policy. When the Communist armies were preparing to cross the Yangtze River, before Shanghai, Hankow and Canton were taken, Mao and Chu Teh, the top military commander issued this joint proclamation:

"It is hoped that workers and employees in all trades will continue to work and that business will operate as usual...officials of the Kuomintang Central, Provincial, Municipal, or County Governments of various levels, or delegates of the 'National Assembly', members of

the Legislative and Control Yuans or People's Political Council members, police personal and heads of 'Pao Chia' organizations...are to stay at their posts, obey the orders of the PLA and People's Government." (New China News Agency, May 3, 1949.)

Workers are not called upon to revolt (as they had been in 1925-7). They were asked to stay out of the revolution. The result was the most thoroughgoing bourgeois national revolution of modern times. But it could not and did not establish a workers' state.

The Two and a Half Revolution

Chinese society in the years immediately following the Communist seizure of power was a revolutionary society. And the Communist Party had the support of the overwhelming majority of the population. But after the initial period of land reforms and the second period of formation of agricultural cooperatives, Chinese society was faced with a couple of roads. It could move in the direction of a new revolution, the taking over by the workers and the peasants of the means of production and all aspects of social and political life. Or it could move in the direction of reorganization and industrialization of Chinese society from above through nationalization and the subordination of agriculture to the huge administrative unit of the Commune.

The latter is the road that Mao and the Chinese Communist Party chose. It is important to remember that the Cultural Revolution did not begin from a socialist basis. It was embarked on by a section of the ruling bureaucracy of a society based on what Lenin called "bourgeois social and economic relationships." This time the parallel with Russia became deadly. Early in the Cultural Revolution we made an estimate in 'Speak Out' of the role of the Red Guard: "(Youth) were removed from their social bases and geographic origins in order to be used as an instrument of the Army to purge the Party." (No. 9, Jan. 1967.) That estimate has been confirmed by the Ninth Party Congress which placed the military in effective control of the Party.

Based on a victorious national revolution, the Chinese Communists were able to avoid the deadly slaughter of Stalin's purging of the Russian CP through the use of the secret police. But the object of

such a purge, the disciplining of the working class and all other sections of society to achieve a forced industrialization, remains essentially the same. It is no accident that all reports from China show the working class in the Cultural Revolution as, at best, neutral, and, at worst, victim.

The whole course of the Cultural Revolution indicated the erosion of democratic and revolutionary aspects of Chinese society. The introduction of the cult of personality in its most extreme form—even Stalin never had his own name enshrined in the party constitution. The abandonment of those elements of humanity that were maintained in China such as the open acceptance of the cultural past of both China and the world. The nature of the charges against Liu Shao-chi and others—they are closely patterned after the purges of the Stalinist era in that they are charged with crimes committed long before the revolution, treason, etc. with no indication whatever of differences in policy. The purely organizational terms of the Central Committee's 16 points of 1966 that launched the

Cultural Revolution are matched by the new party constitution that ended it.

Even the elements of irrationality follow the pattern. If the formation of a rigidly disciplined working class is the basic objective, then independent thought and non-discipline has to be rooted out of every section of society, the administrators as well as those administrated. If this leads to excesses and stupidities such as the damage done to Russian biology by the dictatorship of Lysenko, that is a necessary price.

Obviously much remains unknown about the events in China. It is possible, however, to see a basic pattern. That pattern seems to be the Army's purging of the Party to prepare the country for another forced march toward industrialization that will take place at the expense of the working class and agriculture.

This is not another Long March where the population can be counted on to support the commanders. China has yet to be disciplined.

From China An Opposition Document

The following is a few extracts from an opposition document published in China. While it still pays the necessary obeisance to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, it seems to be the beginning of the necessary class analysis of Chinese society. This is taken from a much larger selection that appeared in *International Socialism*, No. 37.

There are two essential points in the writings about the Army:

(1) It is now seen that the Army now is different from the people's army before the liberation. Before the liberation the army and the people fought together to overthrow imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and feudalism. The relation between the Army and the people was like that between fish and water. After the liberation, as the target of revolution has changed from imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism to capitalist-roaders, and these capitalist-roaders are power-holders in the army, some of the armed forces in the revolution have not only changed their blood-and-flesh relations with the people that obtained before the liberation, but have even become tools for suppressing revolution. Therefore, if the first great proletarian

cultural revolution is to succeed, a radical change in the army will be necessary. The 'ultra-left faction' has found the basis for its thinking in a quotation from Chairman Mao. In the same year after Chairman Mao issued the order for the armed forces to live in their barracks, (they are) separated from the masses.

(2) It is now seen that a revolutionary war in the country is necessary if the revolutionary people today want to overcome the armed Red capitalist class...

To seize the fruit of victory won by the proletariat in August and turn the mass dictatorship again into bureaucratic rule, the bourgeois in the revolutionary committees must first disarm the working class. The guns in the hands of workers have boundlessly increased the power of the working class. The fact is a mortal threat to the bourgeoisie, who is afraid of it. Out of spontaneous hatred for the bureaucrats who tried to snatch the fruit of victory, the revolutionary people shouted a resounding revolutionary slogan: 'Surrender of arms amounts to suicide!' They formed a spontaneous, nationwide mass 'arms concealment movement' for the armed overthrow of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The arms grabbing movement of August was great. It was not only unprecedented in capitalist countries. Moreover, it accomplished the fact of turning the whole nation into soldiers for the first time in socialist countries. Before the cultural revolution the bureaucrats dared not really hand over arms to the people. The militia is only a facade behind which the bureaucrats control the armed strength of the people. It is certainly not an armed force of the working class, but a docile tool in the hands of

the bureaucrats. In the arms-seizing movement, the masses, instead of receiving arms like favours from above, for the first time seized arms from the hands of the bureaucrats by relying on the brute force of the revolutionary people themselves. For the first time the workers had their 'own' arms. Chairman Mao's rousing call, 'Arm the Left!' was an intensive concentration of the courage of the working class. But the September 5 order completely nullified the call to 'arm the Left.' The working class was disarmed. The bureaucrats again came back to power...

When a truly stable victory gradually becomes possible, the following several questions will take a prominent position.

(1) The unevenness of the revolution will assume a prominent position. The possibility of winning true, thorough victory in one or several provinces first, overthrowing the product of bourgeois reformism — the rule of revolutionary committees, and re-establishing a political power of the Paris Commune type — becomes a crucial question as to whether the revolution can develop in depth at high speed. Unlike the preceding stage of blind, spontaneous development, here unevenness of the revolution no longer plays an immaterial role.

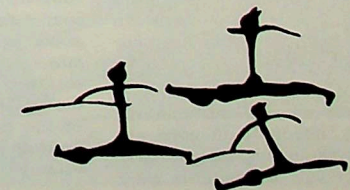
(2) To really overthrow the rule of the new aristocracy and thoroughly smash the old state machinery, it will be necessary to go into the question of assessment of the past 17 years. This is also a major problem of teaching the people fundamentally why it is necessary to carry out the great cultural revolution and what the ultimate object of the revolution is.

(3) To really make the revolution victorious, it will be necessary to settle the 'question of primary importance in revolution' — 'who are our enemies, and who are our friends?' — and to make a new class analysis of China's society, where 'a new situation has arisen as a result of great class changes,' so as to re-organise the class ranks, rally our friends and hit at our enemies...

... The real revolution, the revolution to negate the past 17 years, has basically not yet begun, and that we should now enter the stage of tackling the fundamental questions of China revolution...

The commune of the 'Ultra-Left faction' will not conceal its viewpoints and intentions. We publicly declare that our object of establishing the 'People's Commune of China' can be attained only by overthrowing the bourgeois dictatorship and revisionist system of the revolutionary committee with brute force. Let the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie tremble before the true socialist revolution that shakes the world! What the proletariat can lose in this revolution is only their chains, what they gain will be the whole world!

The China of tomorrow will be the world of the 'Commune.'



Turin Workers on Offensive

Workers Violence Overtums State Violence

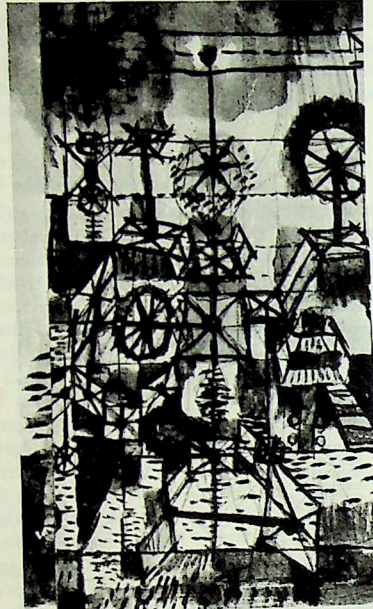
On July 3rd, the 44th day of their strike, the FIAT workers in Turin transformed the working class section of the city around the FIAT-Mirafiori plant and the outskirts for 13 miles into a battlefield against the police and the army. The "July 3rd Rebellion" came as a peak in the wave of unofficial strikes going on at FIAT since May, which had already caused losses of hundreds of millions of dollars, just at the time of the seasonal speed-up in car production.

After 16 hours of barricades and attacks against the police, most workers on the first shift on July 4th said that the first "general rehearsal" had been successful. Following more than six weeks of unofficial strikes involving all of the 40,000 workers at the Mirafiori plant, 15,000 at the new Rivalta plant, and thousands more at many other FIAT factories, the trade unions decided they should regain control of the situation. The trade unions then called for a 24 hour general strike in Turin to protest against "the increasing cost of rents." It was intended to reduce the pressure in the factories. It was to be the usual kind of trade union strike, another "unpaid vacation." But the strike took a different path.

Young Workers and Students

First, the young workers who led the previous strikes persuaded the students picketing at FIAT to organize a march on July 3rd, and then more than 3,000 young workers lined up in front of the Mirafiori plant on July 3rd, "to break the conspiracy of silence of the newspapers and other mass media against the strike." The demonstrators wanted to spread the strike to other industries and cities.

The first clash between the cops and the army and the FIAT workers, supported by hundreds of students from Turin and other cities, took place in the early afternoon in front



Paul Klee, *The Machine Shop*

of the Mirafiori plant. At 5 p.m. the workers were able to regain ground in the working class district stretching from the Mirafiori to the Southern outskirts. In doing this, they were able to attract more workers and students to their side and together they were able to regroup into "mobile tactical units" through the "auto-ghettoes." At this stage they started manufacturing Molotov cocktails.

Early in the evening the police retreated, more than 60 cops losing contact with their units. While the police searched people in their apartments, arresting some 200, and shot teargas shells through windows, young people in the tens of thousands in the neighborhood built barricades. "This is like 1943," some people said, referring to the mass deportation from FIAT straight to the Nazi concentration camps during the underground organization of the 1943 general strike. But the feeling was that of the first clear victory in years: "We are going to

show them what we can do in these factories." During the meeting where the demonstration had been decided, an ex-CP FIAT worker said, "The gate is again open to revolution."

From Underdevelopment to the Assembly Lines

Turin's offensive is no isolated explosion of violence. It has come about as a result of a growing tension in and outside the factories. The FIAT strike of April 1968 for the reduction of the 44-hour week was fully supported by the workers, but the trade unions sold out the strike and the hours remained substantially unchanged. The strike proved, however, that organization within the factory against the trade union policy was possible at that stage.

Following the strike, the industrial apparatus in Italy was shaken by a wave of unofficial strikes, which were unexpected by the unions and the state planners. The strikes had clear-cut goals: no piecework the same wage increases for all workers (skilled and unskilled), wages no longer geared to capitalist productivity, no overtime, no money negotiation for hazardous work. The Comitati di Base (Rank and File Committees) developed as the organizing tools for these goals. They took a leading role in developing strikes in some firms supplying FIAT. One of these factories, Pirelli went on strike between July and December involving some 20,000 workers.

When this cycle of struggles ended, the FIAT workers took action for more advanced goals. In April this year, it was already clear that the community was better prepared than in past years to support a strike at FIAT. While in July 1962 the leaders of the anti-union battle at the Piazza Statuto in Turin were defeated by special police corps in the center of the city, this time the "auto ghetto" as a whole was determined to resist the city-factory combined repression.

Planned Underdevelopment

At the same time, the underemployed masses of Southern Italy have started fighting actively against planned underdevelopment, which has been creating a large pool of cheap labor to be drained for the Northern factories and for emigration to Central Europe. At Avola (Sicily--Dec.--Jan.) and Battipaglia (near Naples--April) the cops shot people dead to keep planned underdevelopment under control. At this time, groups of students struggling against planned selection in schools have identified their struggle with those sections of workers who have proven to be determined to fight against the existing situation.

The student movement in its latest phase has made a positive contribution in giving rise to the Comitati di Base. The picket-lines manned by groups of students have broken the fear and isolation that usually surrounded the struggles. Meanwhile, white collar technicians and engineers have emerged as an autonomous force in several great centers of industrial design. The strike by 1,500 designers and engineers at ENI-Snam in Milan in late 1968 is such a case.

With such a situation, the 100 students active in leafletting and

organizing 24 hours a day at FIAT in these last two months had distributed a leaflet two days before the demonstration: "At 3 p.m., in front of the Mirafiori Gate No. 1, ready for the march." The workers who felt "democratically enslaved" as one of them said at a meeting, were there, ready to clash with the state power.

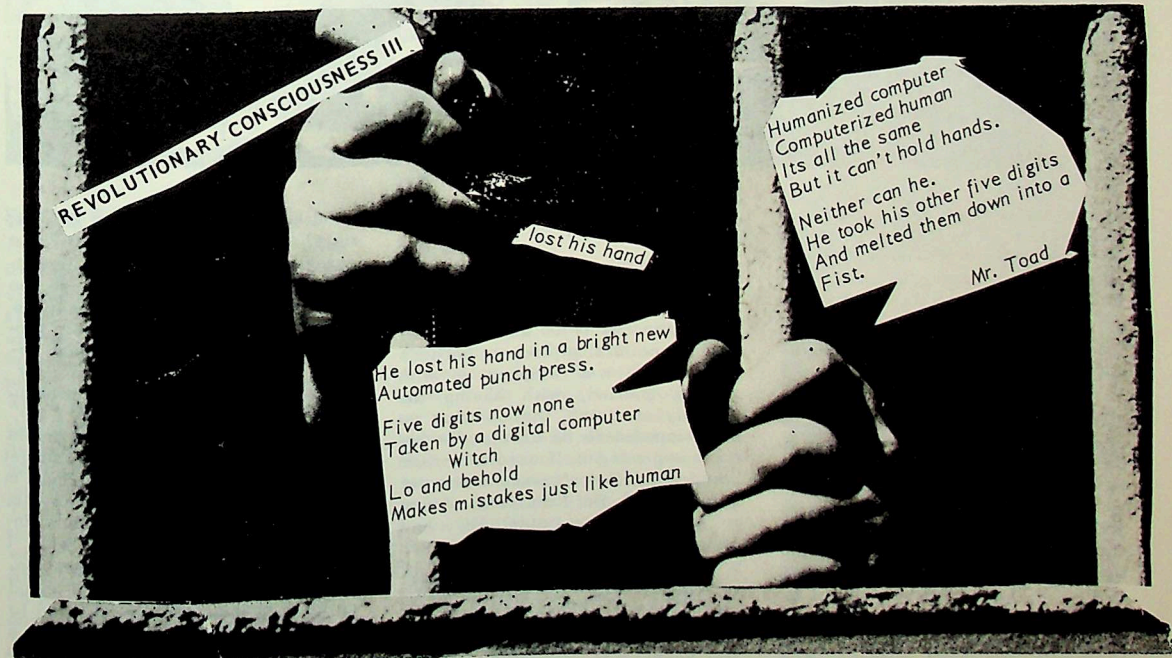
When the city of Battipaglia (40,000 inhabitants) revolted against the "reshuffling" of local industries and consequent unemployment on April 10th, the police, exhausted from being beaten by the demonstrators, killed two people. Next day, the trade unions called for a national strike, but in the most "delicate" situations like FIAT-Mirafiori, they reduced it to a two-hour sympathy halt.

Political Plant Meeting

At the Stamping Section of FIAT-Mirafiori - where many young Southerners have been recruited recently - the first political mass meeting inside a FIAT factory since the Resistance took place during the two hour halt. The issue debated at the meeting was how to fight against planned development and planned underdevelopment, because - "At Battipaglia people have not died in vain."

In the middle of May the truckers at Mirafiori went on strike, drawing the crane-drivers and the Stamping Section with them. At the end of May the assembly lines were stopped, and early in June the workers at the new Rivalta plant came out with clenched fists from that "cathedral in the desert." With the high labor turnover at FIAT - due to the increase of about 20-25% in the pace of production on some assembly lines in 12-14 months - the management has long profited from the newly hired workers, paying them lower wages for about four years. Real wages also went down in recent months because of rampant inflation and ghetto-making policy consequent to labor-draining from the South and overcrowding in Turin.

With such a situation, the 100 students active in leafletting and organizing 24 hours a day at FIAT in these last two months had distributed a leaflet two days before the demonstration: "At 3 p.m., in front of the Mirafiori Gate No. 1, ready for the march." The workers who felt "democratically enslaved" as one of them said at a meeting, were there, ready to clash with the state power.



Man's World Continued from page 1

is, how men view her, what their consciousness is and then how she relates to institutions in general.

Little old Bruenhilda grows up and she's really active like little kids are and she wants to go out and play in mud, right? And she wants to get it all over her because that's really a groovy experience, that's really fun, that's nice. And her mother says, "Oh! you can't do that, you can't be dirty!" But her brother James is standing there and he's getting dirty and that's O.K., that's cool; that's the way men are; men can do dirty kind of stuff—

that means women are channeled into home economics courses, one can't take mechanical skills courses of any sort.

Women Denied History

Women are denied their own history which is a very important concept because we're denied the right of looking at the question of how we organize. We're not taught to relate to other people; we become very individualized, we become very specific, and so we don't get too many ideas that way. Everything is inner-directed toward the

reason; they couldn't make it. The pressures are too great. She said too many times, "I don't want to be your appendage," and he didn't dig that and just walked out. And the woman is put in the position then of having to do something society says she's not responsible for.

Job Market

Those three children exist. What is she going to do with them? How is she going to support them? That will toss a woman into a very typical situation onto the job market. That's an out-of-sight thing to try to deal with. Number one, what I've found in trying to look for jobs is that a lot of places won't hire you because you might have



women can't. Instead the little girl has to come in and she has to play with her dolls. She cannot be aggressive; she must be passive in everything that she does. She has to be "ladylike." Ladylike means "modulated voices, quiet, interested, disciplined—the whole thing."

The little girl goes into school and the teachers tell her, "Your going to grow up. This is only a interim stage between childhood and having your own children and so what you have to do now is prepare yourself for that. That means taking care of babies, the dolls, doing the things to them, ironing the clothes. That's what you've got to get out of high school—you've got to learn the skills of being a good housewife and good mother. And

family and toward what your role is going to be.

This whole socializing process takes place throughout our entire growing up period. The fact that I got married at 17 is the end result of that socializing process; because my identity was wrapped up with getting married, with having the security of a man, that is what we are supposed to be about. We become appendages. I used to scream about that, "I don't want to be your appendage." But I didn't know how to act off that: I didn't know how operate off that.

Now our little girl is all grown up, right? She got married at 17 and she has two or three children. She's in worse shape than I am. Her husband leaves. For whatever

children within the next six months, right? They don't want to take that chance. That's too big an investment in you and you might be too temporary. They don't look at it the other way—that they might help provide the day care centers, that society should help take responsibility for that. No, that's still my problem.

So I go trudging around. I try different factories and different offices. Anyplace where I can get a job. I finally get one and find I'm paid 65% of what a man gets in that same position. No matter how intelligent I am, no matter what I know—strength is the big question. Man, I carry around 50- and 60-pound children because they're too tired to walk. I can lift almost anything a man can. Nonetheless, I'm on that lower pay scale.

So I go to work and I'm in that sort of degrading situation, where I'm lowest on the totem pole; I realize I'm viewed as temporary; I don't know how to act on that because I view myself as being temporary. So at the end of the week I get a paycheck of, let's say, \$60-\$70. Thirty dollars of that goes for child care. And I don't know what my kids are doing because I have to dig up the first lady I happen to find who is willing to take my kids so I can get to work on time. The problem isn't that we suffer that kind of oppression alone. Women have been taught to view those problems personally.

You mean one shouldn't feel that way? That's a very important step, because we're taught consciously not to organize, not to come together, that's opposed to our inner natures. And once that is broken down we're moving towards building a women's liberation movement.

Now I'm trying to think some of the steps out and trying to work it out in terms of having a family, and trying to find myself as a person and also being in the movement.

I feel this society doesn't allow much room for movement for anybody or for any kind of creativity. A lot of the exploitation is based on property relationships which I find very degrading to everybody. I've tried to figure out why it is this operates, who benefits from it, who receives something from it, who loses out on this kind of caste system.

Property Relationships

It has to do with property relationships and women are very much viewed as property along with other kinds of things. That's your man and this is your woman. Capitalism operates on the concept of making profit, making money from people, which means that the guys who own the industries, who own the businesses don't want to be paying too much money out to people because it cuts down the amount of their profit. There are things they need to do then, to create what I would call a whole surplus labor force. And that means that one has to go to people on the edge of being involved in productive processes. They're there. You keep them in and out all the time: you keep them out when you

don't have enough need for labor, when the market is kind of slim and weak. You can only hire fewer people in order to make your profit, two hundred million or billion dollars, whatever it is.

But then all of a sudden a war comes along, because that's another thing that's inherent within the nature of capitalism, and all the men are gone.

You still need to have the bombs, the ammunition, the tanks, the whole thing. All of a sudden its very feminine to be "Rosie the Riveter" and go into a factory. And so they have got to keep us in this limbo: in and out, in and out. They do that by developing a psychology of who we think we are. We are now accepted as temporary workers.

I read a thing the other day. You know Kelly Girls and all that? Where clerical work is becoming more important. That's the fastest growing industry in the country right now. Something like ten million women are Kelly Girls. Hire a woman where you don't have to pay fringe benefits. She's just hired hourly, right? That saves them millions of dollars. The appeal to women is, "Earn a little extra money for your family and you can be free and independent but you can always go back to your family when you want to."

This limbo is killing us right now. They're keeping us from actively participating; they then put us into a situation where we rationalize that whole process.

From a purely economic point of view the only guys who benefit from that are the guys who are making the money.

Factory Workers

When I was growing up, my father worked in a factory. He was a machinist, doing his things with those machines. And he was a man who understood that you can't take out what you're facing with your boss on your family. But that didn't always operate and what I saw more with other friends of his than with him was that a guy goes into a plant and the man is on his back all day long. "Go faster, push faster." You don't dare answer back because you'll lose your job. That's your means of livelihood. So the system that's built into it, a psychology that says: "Man is king of his own house," right?

So what does the man do? He goes home and he's all tight. He wanted to hit at that guy and he couldn't. He turned on the woman. So your enemy, namely the guy that's exploiting you at work escapes trouble because there's a lady around to turn on.

I don't know about the rest of you ladies that have kids but I know what I do. I say, "Get out of here you kids. Don't bother me." I turn on my children. You know because of the frustration; who I want to fight is so big, I can't get to him. So, instead it's immediate confrontation between a husband and a wife, the wife and the kids. And I think that what we ought to understand is that as long as this society can keep people divided through cultural and psychological means in that way, they've still got control. Men have got to realize that as long as they can keep you from facing your real enemy on the job or wherever it is and you can turn back in on your woman, you're not going to go anyplace because they keep you from organizing too. And I think we gotta figure out how to break that down.

(To be concluded in the next issue)



John L. Lewis

(continued from page 6)

and Kentucky, under the battle cry: "The President (Roosevelt) wants you to join the union!" In less than two years the moribund UMW jumped to 400,000, at the same time wiping out the last vestige of anti-unionism in the coal fields! It was aphe-nomenal leap.

CIO Formed

The conservative, craft dominated AFL that met in 1935 to take action on industrial unionism, was confronted by a Lewis triumphant from his campaigns in the coal fields. He pleaded with them: "Organize the un-organized!" He was defeated. Later he went to exchange a few words with Bill Hutcheson of the carpenters' union. Suddenly - WHACK! - Lewis had smashed Hutcheson, the arch enemy of industrial unionism, full in the face. The blow was the signal for the birth of a new organization, the Congress of Industrial Organization, which would become the center of all the energies that had been exploding everywhere.

Millions poured into the CIO. They discovered the highest form of confrontation politics the sit-down strike. Arrogant factory owners could no longer break the strikes by employing strikebreakers or by moving their machines out of the plant. Workers' power was a reality-in the plant.

The question posed by the sit-downs was whether the social revolution which had seemed imminent in 1930 would now emerge. The sit-downs had obviously established workers' power in the plant. The worst features of the job-as-killer were being modified. However, nothing but the total and permanent power of the workers in all areas of national life would end it forever.

Roosevelt, who like Lewis, had learned to roll with the punches, to move with the mass movement with out injuring himself or the bourgeois state of which he was steward, was more than nervous about this new phenomena. In the Little Steel Strike of 1937, the Chicago police shot some 30 strikers in the back, killing ten of them in the Memorial Day Massacre. When a few weeks later Roosevelt was asked his opinion about the strike, he answered: "A plague on both your houses!" The

Shakespearean quote was not lost on Lewis:

It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table and who has been sheltered in labor's house to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they be come locked in deadly embrace.

Super-State to War State

The tension between Roosevelt and Lewis had broken out into the open. But the feud was more than a personality clash; it reflected the a personality clash; it reflected the need of the capitalist super-state to co-opt the organization of labor, on the one side, and on the other side, the need of labor, of the millions of individual workingmen and women, to create a wholly new structure of living.

When World War II came the state took the form of the war-state, there was no stopping the integrating process. The AFL and the CIO took up a no-strike pledge for the duration in return for new but minor political advantages. They were now safely jelled into the Democratic party. Thus, the Union had led to the Party and the Party to the State.

Lewis, however, filled with the grandeur of the mass movement which he had led, a movement which in less than five years had created a whole new organization of 4,000,000 strong,

Unions and Workers

"The union cannot be the instrument for a radical renovation of society, it can provide the proletariat with proficient bureaucrats, technical experts on industrial questions of a general kind, but it cannot be the basis for proletarian power. It offers no possibility of fostering the individual abilities of proletarians which make them capable and worthy of running society; it cannot produce the leadership which will embody the vital forces and rhythm of the progress of Communist society."

Antonio Gramsci
October 11, 1919

an achievement unheralded for speed in the history of social movements, resisted the encroaching super-state. First, he broke loose from the CIO for its surrender to Roosevelt. Then, despite the imperialist war, he led three strikes of the miners in direct defiance of the embattled government. It was a form of confrontation not to be repeated until the rise of the anti-war movement of the youth and the blacks of our own day.

By the end of the war, the miners' confrontations with the war-state, had placed them at the head of the labor movement in wages, welfare and pension benefits, and hospitalization benefits. Nevertheless, the "transmission belt" of Union-Party-State had worked its evil: Lewis himself opened the way for the final prostration of the miners. In league with the coal companies, he encouraged the mechanization of the mines with inadequate safeguards for the miners. The union bureaucracy, however, was well protected as a result of the pegging of the welfare scheme to the amount of tonnage of coal mined.

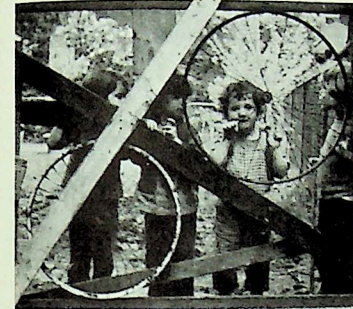
Reduced to Appalachia

In the period from 1947 on, I saw coal camps still filled with pride and vitality in their local and national achievements. By 1956, when I left the area, many of the once crowded and bustling camps were ghost towns; families broken up by men who left forever to go to more prosperous areas; large pockets of able-bodied men, mostly blacks, unemployed, waiting for the welfare checks so that they could get drunk for the week end; prostitution and gambling beginning to spread; death in the mines regaining its dominion and then extending outside the mines in the form of suicides, murders, and assaults. This great, proud force of miners, once a vaunted 700,000 (1920) had shriveled - thanks to mechanization/ - to under 200,000. Later, much later, they would find a name for the phenomenon that was taking place: - Appalachia.

Lewis had continued to live through this period. When, therefore, he died in June of this year, many would think of him, if at all, as one who had been unable to prevent the impoverishment of the mine regions. For many, he had died long ago: after he had felled the industrial barbarians and after he had stood off the super-state.

To All Subscribers:

The last issue, May-June 1969, was a 16 page double issue, which was numbered Vol. 2, nos. 5-6. The numbering is for technical and financial reasons only, so that annual volumes are complete. To allow for this double issue, all subscribers, will have their subscriptions extended by one issue. The same will apply to the current issue.



SPEAK OUT ON NEWSSTANDS

Detroit Area

Paperbacks Unlimited, 14145 Woodward, Highland Park.

Zampy Art Imports, 16536 Woodward, Detroit.

Mixed Media, 5704 Cass Ave., Detroit. Vaughn's Bookstore, 12123 Dexter, Detroit.

Cuda's Bookstore, 24302 W. Warren, Dearborn Heights.

Cuda's East Bookstore, 14322 Michigan Ave., Dearborn.

Cuda's South Bookstore, 18644 Ecorse Rd., Allen Park.

New York City

IKON, 76 1/2 E. 4th St., New York.

San Francisco

City Lights Book Shop, 261 Columbus Ave..

BOOKS RECEIVED

Lenin's Last Struggle, by Moshe Lewin. Pantheon Books (Random House), 1968, 193 pages, \$4.95. To be reviewed.

Only Humans with Songs to Sing, cooperative collection of revolutionary poetry. Published by Ikon and Smyrna Press, paper, \$1.00. (Order from Facing Reality.)

Romiossini, by Yannis Ritsos. Bilingual (Greek and English) poetry. Quixote Press, 25 South Charter, Madison, Wisc. 53715. 24 pp., paper, \$1.00. (Order from Facing Reality.)

A View of the World

BY WILLIAM GORMAN

The Early Retirement of Law and Order

"The law," wrote popular novelist, Charles Dickens, "is an ass." That was in another century and another country. Today at public demonstrations the recognized cry is "off the pigs!" Law was once considered the bedrock of civilization; today it is only a code name for the public trough where lower levels of political "animadom" feed themselves. The message is coming through even without the help of electronic bugging devices. Detroit Police Commissioner, Johannes Spreen, said that "the rate of resignations from the force is now exceeding the rate of retirements." Who is imposing this earlier retirement?

The old civil rights movement went into the history books as an expression of the rights of the people versus the authority of those in charge. It ends up at present with the looting of enjoyable commodities and demonstration of the power to burn down unlivable dwelling places and exploitive shops. This movement imposes earlier retirements.

Right to Dissent

Students who have been gratuitously granted the "right to dissent" have chosen to occupy streets, buildings and to appropriate file cabinets and their contents. These actions force earlier retirements.

And there are workers who talk ever more frequently, not of filing grievances, about the summer heat, for instance, but of taking over air-conditioned offices belonging to the company hierarchy. All of these movements and trends are pushing police towards earlier retirement.

These views of the world, one of avowed rights and the bargain-counter haggling over how far they reach, and the other which consists of the direct employment and enjoyment of all the social means (and social talents, such as music), these views move us into the American future. They are catching up whole sections of the population and solitary individuals. These views are opposed to the old abstract

counter-position of property rights to humanrights. We are increasingly involved in a more practical question-what continued basis is there for America as a civilization at all?

Traditional thought places a great weight on society as some sort of social contract or agreement wherein the party of the first part and the party of the second part come to terms as to how they will deal with one another in a given situation, or in light of a specific precedent. From the 13th Century in England which brought us the Magna Carta to the American Supreme Court's 1954 decision on school desegregation, the role of the law is projected as the thing which distinguishes society from the mud and slime of the jungle.

However, law has itself become an impenetrable thicket of precedents and a swamp of dislocating interpretations.

Simply put, the existing society must give the legal aspect of its history--the majesty of the law applied equally to all people--some very devastating blows that serve only to help the masses of the population develop confidence in their own capabilities to rush in and finish the job.

Law or Justice

Our ears are filled daily with the statement that "the law has nothing to do with justice." Jails, courthouses and police stations are thereby turned into testaments to a dying social order.

American jails have helped to turn out such monumental figures as Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver.

From Czechoslovakia comes the following significant item: when the Russians invaded and occupied that country they offered to let criminals out of jail if they would act as "provocateurs," agents, whose special task it would be to incite violence against the political revolutionaries. The prisoners refused, preferring jail to political policemanhip.

Expatriate island

Black Intellectuals Come to Power: the rise of Creole nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago

Ivar Oxaal

Schenkman \$2.95 (paperback)

It will be difficult to find a more soundly-based analysis, with such vivifying detail, of life in a Caribbean island on the way to, just before and just after independence than this book. Ivar Oxaal does all this in less than 200 pages, aided by many well-chosen photographs and perspicuous maps and charts. He begins by establishing what can so easily mislead those who are not personally acquainted with the West Indies. The pattern of life and language is European, for poor as well as rich, due to the early destruction of any civilisation native to the

Caribbean. In the Caribbean everyone is expatriate.

Oxaal is predominantly concerned with the freed slaves. He defines first their attitude to labour and their mental accomplishments. Among the ex-slaves very few of the older men could read and still fewer could write, but there was a steady determination to master the language and this ultimately laid, in Oxaal's words, "the linguistic foundation for the communication of political ideas to mass audiences which reached such a high standard in the colony."

This part of the book prepares us for the chapter on "The origins of a sense of nationhood." We have a glimpse of the population of Trinidad in the pre-emancipation era, and then, rapidly but precisely, we arrive at the first election to the Legislative Council in 1924. Then comes the dangerous plunge into the treacherous waters of political personality in a colonial territory on the way to independence.

The chapter on "The education of young colonials at home and abroad" is an astonishing piece of work. These are the Black Intellectuals who will come to power. The sketches begin with their family background, their education at home and the education and political experiences abroad of every politician of prominence in the island during the last 30 years. I know the period and the people well, and though I would differ from some of Oxaal's pre-suppositions and conclusions, there is no question that his judgments are acute and soundly based, and they have to be reckoned with in any consideration of the Caribbean, either political or personal.

Independence is fittingly introduced by a brilliant sketch of that unique period of public political education initiated by Dr Eric Williams, now Prime Minister, in what grew to be justifiably known as the University of Woodford Square. There is an appraisal of the aftermath of independence where sympathy does not dilute the realism or even the sternness of judgment. West Indian intellectual life was not merely a kindergarten, "It was practically non-existent."

Furthermore, the synthesis of socialism and capitalism which the governing party, the People's National Movement, claimed to achieve "was not only mythical but was highly functional in preventing the emergence of class-based politics which might upset the neo-colonial commitments already entered into." What Oxaal obviously knows, but refrains from saying outright, is that there is no neo-colonialism in the island of Trinidad and Tobago: it is the same old colonialism which has existed since the beginning and continues, independence or no independence.

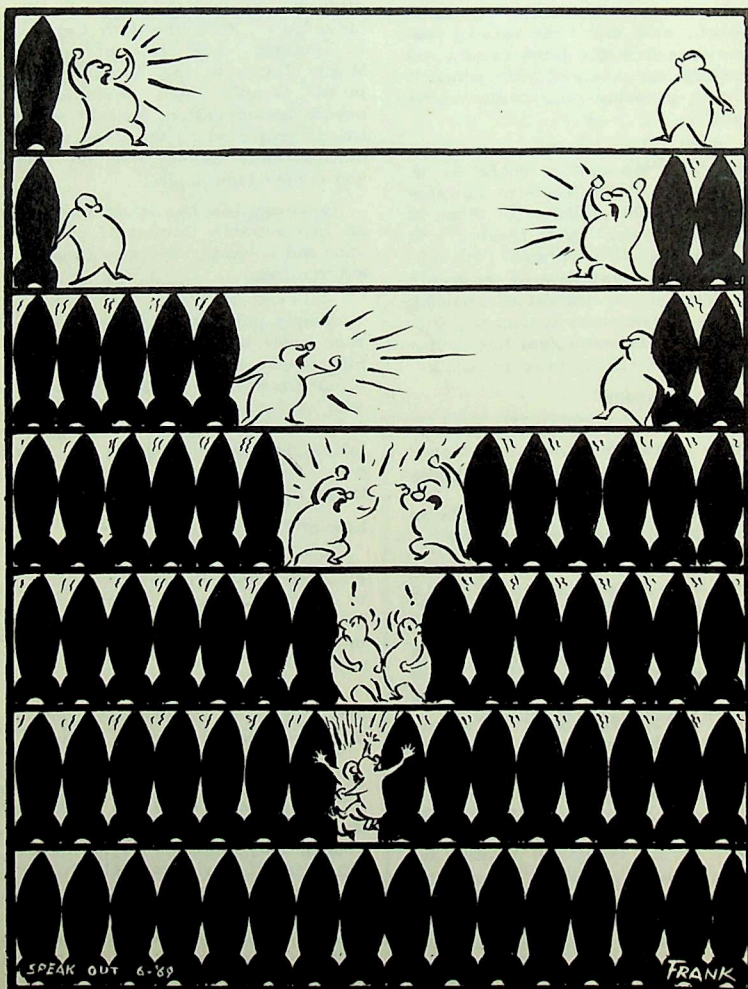
Oxaal concludes by stating a position which many of us who have lived inside and outside the Caribbean have long arrived at. The island

"presents certain universal themes and problems with which the world itself must contend: the uprooting, shifting and dissolution of traditional cultures; the social and personal dislocation resulting from the implosive effect of technology; the greater social universalism and the ambiguities of human equality arising from the transition from the agrarian to the

urban-industrial society; the brute limitations on development imposed by the division of the world into the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor; and the gropings of intellectuals to define and channel these forces. If the adjustment most Trinidadians have made to these global dilemmas is any indicator, however, mankind can look forward to a future in which life is more joyous as well as absurd."

Not absurd but spectral. Cuba and now Anguilla are the spectres which haunt black intellectuals who come to power anywhere in the Third World of the Caribbean.

C. L. R. James



We Want Out ! Anti - War Leaflet, See Inside

SPEAK OUT

BULLETIN OF THE FACING REALITY COMMITTEE

Vol. II. No. 9

NOVEMBER, 1969

20¢

3 Cents is Nonsense

State Offers Welfare Mothers 3¢ A Day To Clothe Children

Determined to fight the inequities of the welfare system, ADC mothers, members of the Welfare Rights Organization (WRO), began picketing the State Social Services main Detroit office about a week before the fall school semester.

The group demanded an annual \$75 clothing allowance per child per year. The state of Michigan, in its infinite generosity, had granted an \$11 annual allowance, which the mothers declined and termed "inadequate" in capital letters.

That is the basic situation.

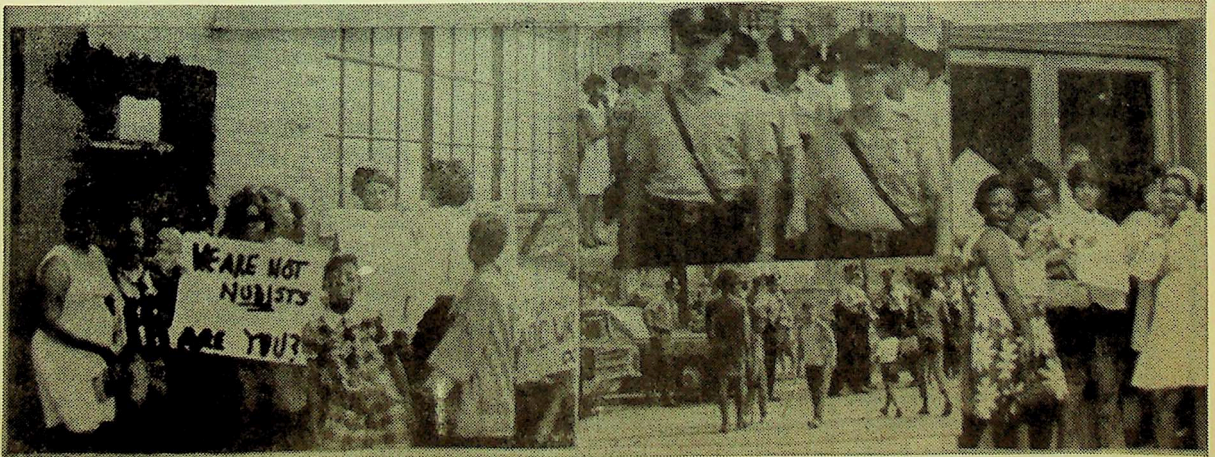
Last year, 1968, the mothers de-

manded \$60 clothing allowances and that time State Attorney General Frank Kelly ruled that school clothing was an "emergency" and ordered payment. Such a ruling is not now possible since ground rules for what constitutes an "emergency" have been changed.

Before 1966, an ADC mother, in addition to her check, got clothing orders to supplement her income and theoretically cover her "unmet needs." However, the 1966 merger of state, county and city welfare facilities resulted in a new arrangement — the check was to cover the old check plus

the old clothing order, which was flexible. The new system meant that mothers would receive a fixed amount and the individual worker could no longer stretch the clothing order to meet specific needs. What is more important is that both before and after the merger, the standard of welfare was and is well below the poverty line. Some sort of logic peculiar to welfare offices was used to eliminate one "unmet need," ignore another and call the problem solved.

The mothers refused this attempt to shuffle human needs into pigeon holes and began picketing the Wayne County head-



Editorial

The return of Robert Williams to the United States marks the beginning of a new stage for an interesting and significant black leader.

In 1959, in Monroe, N.C., Williams proved himself to be far in advance of the rest of the black movement by developing the tactics of armed self-defense of the black community. This struggle (reported in the newspaper Correspondence, fore-runner of Speak Out) brought down on his head the wrath not only of the state of North Carolina (which tried to get him with a trumped up charge of kidnapping) but also of the NAACP national office which expelled Williams (throwing him to the racist wolves) for daring to go beyond NAACP Uncle Tom policy.

What is especially interesting is that the policy of self-defense which became a commonplace tactic in the northern working class ghettos after the Watts and other riots had as its first spokesman one of the few black leaders to come out of the working class. Williams had been a war veteran and a mechanic. He was infinitely more sensitive to the black community of Monroe than all of the nationally known

middle class leaders who based themselves on the principals of non-violence.

Under attack by the state of North Carolina and the FBI, Williams found it necessary to leave the country and go into exile, an exile that took him to Cuba and China, among other places. The role of the exile is a difficult one in the best of circumstances. It is especially difficult when there is an active movement at home with which the exile cannot maintain the closest and most intimate ties.

In exile, Williams became a leader in abstraction. His own person, testifying both the the brutality of American capitalism and to his own intransigence in struggling against it, acted as an aid to the struggle at home. But in the concrete Williams could not exercise practical or theoretical leadership. On the one hand his involvement in the politics of the countries that gave him refuge related only indirectly to the needs of the struggle at home. On the other hand, he was not in close enough touch with that struggle to offer it either practical or theoretical guidance.

Now the situation has changed. Williams is back in the U.S. and identified with the Republic of New

Africa, a militant separtist movement. Whether Williams will emerge as a major American black leader depends in large part on the developments of the coming months.

The ideology of the RNA separates them from the basic needs and interests of the black working class. In industrial areas such as Detroit, where black workers can exert their power directly on major concentrations of means of production (such as the auto industry) there is not likely to be general support for a movement that wants to abandon that power in exchange for some largely agricultural territory. There does not seem to be sufficient reason for black Americans, with their hands on the instruments of power, to take on their backs the additional problems of the underdeveloped world.

If Williams can restore his ties with black workers (and if he still has his extraordinary sensitivity to them) he is not likely to remain in the RNA for long, except, perhaps, as a nominal supporter. If, however, he adheres rigidly to a separatist line he is not likely to emerge as the leader of a significant movement. In that case his energies will be dissipated in trivial (although headline-getting) dramas that will provide the confrontations that middle class militants so dearly love but that masses of workers find it easy to do without.

Williams' specific talents and abilities are such that the movement sorely needs. It would be a pity if they were in any way limited or allowed to atrophy.

Letters

The new Speak Out made me feel so good when I read it up here in Bud-dish Columbia and you know of all the things in it that felt good. But what about the banner, which ought to come with aspirin tablet attached? It was an improvement, but what of? It is still basically the banner to an agitational newspaper and Speak Out isn't that. "Hard Times" has a nice modest banner. Maybe you could get some groovy lettering and make a smaller one that included a little box for table of contents in 7 pt. type.

It is hard to understand why you print letters about the March and April issues in Sept. The pictures, there are lots of them, and they make the issue look good the first time through and that is important. This is an improvement like the banner was once, but decorative as opposed to communicative. This has limits which are reached in the coal article "The End of an Era." The title and picture are a stunning combination evoking nostalgia etc. Is that supposed to be John L. Lewis? Also the Paul Klee seems to be a recall of the previous Italy article picture which came off better. The China illustrations worked much better especially the center - fold.

The poem is beautiful, perfect graphics, and so on. The women's illustrations were the best ones and also the kids at the

gate. Quotes (p.14) should go in a "See, Other People Think So Too" column. Please put back the photo version of "View of the World." Maybe some other photo, but that really helped the page and that column too, which is so bombastic. The cartoon is great, but I think the poem should have gone on the back page.

Al Luthmers
B.C. Canada

(Al Luthmers is a former member of the Speak Out Editorial Board.)

Illustrating the article on China in the last issue of SO with a Hindu or Burmese figure displays an insensitivity which is a form of American cultural ignorance. After all, who knows the difference between all those Asian cultures...? Would anybody dream of illustrating an article on Germany with a picture of the Eiffel Tower or Versailles?

Steady Reader,
Detroit, Michigan

I want to write an extensive comment later on the Chine article in Speak Out... Now I think that the article was written on a formula designed for Stalin, but for a "Stalin" who willingly set part of the masses in motion (reminds one of Ho, the "Stalin" who willingly arms the people). My position is not even vaguely Maoist, but I think it is inconsistent for James to hail the role that Williams, as a non-revolutionary and as a "leading personality" played in the PNM, while James' followers and co-thinkers offer a posi-

tion on the Cult of the Personality, etc., which is no different than

Shactmenism of 20 years ago...i.e., it just does not seem so easy to me to make such a non-contradictory picture. As Martha Sonnenberg says, in an article on the old and New Masses that we're waiting to publish: Mike Gold and the rest saw the old Masses as editors, like Max Eastman, Straw Men, abstract figures made for categorization; but Irving Howe and the Shactman group saw Mike Gold and the New Masses in similarly abstract way. It is one thing to see th capitalist class by its function and not its self-

(Continued on page 7)

Note To Readers

The change in appearance and the delay of this issue are the result of some blows that we have received. First among them was the theft of our Vartyper (the office typesetting machine) which had been purchased for \$1400. There is not sufficient evidence to determine whether the theft which took place shortly after our move to larger quarters on the third floor of our building (our address remains the same) was politically motivated or was just ordinary robbery. Although we are forced to skip the September issue, subscribers will receive the full number of 12 for an annual subscription.

We are attempting to raise the money for more modest equipment to replace the Vartyper we have lost. Any help that can be given will be most welcome: financial contributions or the donation of time for work at our office.

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14131 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48203

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TENNIS, ANYONE?

(Scene: Conference Room. Three Ivy League types seated around a conference table.)

A: Gentlemen, our meeting today is for a definite and important purpose. We have to solve a problem that's ruining our image.

R: Hold it a minute. (Throws up his hands.) I thought we were going to discuss major league baseball expansion. I left an important ... uh ... situation in my office to discuss expansion...

A: That's my point.

R: What's your point? (Looks around.) Did he make a point?

A: (With forced patience.) Allow me to continue.

H: Yeah, let him finish.

A: It seems that wherever there has been a pennant winning or contending team, there is no riot. In other words, baseball, if successfully played eliminates riots.

R: I get it.

H: He's got it. I mean, I got it. Did y'ever notice that hot dogs taste greater at a ball game, and the pea...

R: Never mind the food.

H: Nuts.

A: (Trying to maintain decorum.) There is good evidence that in cities where a team comes through the summer in contention for the flag that racial tensions ease. Look at Detroit in '68; they had a party in the streets there, gentlemen. Think what that means. A riot one year and a party the next. Everyone loving his neighbor no matter what race, color, or creed. And look at Chicago and New York this year. You see...

H: (Muttering.) Cost the city half a million to clean up. What's the difference what they clean up?

R: (Disregarding H, excitedly) We gotta plug up the gaps...like Newark. We'll get a team for Newark.

H: (Interested at last) Newark? Are you for real? You...Newark? It's not big enough for a team of its own, and furthermore, it's too close to New York. My God, it's practically in New York. And, you know, there is the factor that a successful New York team could slop over to Newark.

R: Well, you can't depend on the Mets for anything. You know that!

H: Oh, I don't know.

R: Look, you need drama to accomplish something. Like the Tigers or the Cubs.

H: (Flatly) The Cubs are rinky dinks.

R: They are SOLID.

A: The Cubs ARE solid. They have tradition. They stopped a riot in Chicago.

H: (Excitedly) We don't know that. How the hell can we know that...Maybe people just didn't feel like having a riot.

H: I know they're on top now, that's what I know... and Time magazine calls them "The Little Team that Could."

R: I'm touched.

H: I like the Mets. They could be dependable. You don't know.

H: (Growls) Yeah, you don't know.

R: (Turns in his seat and speaks to them over his shoulder) Well, all I know is that there could be three of them on base at any time... summer or winter! Rinky dinks like that can't stop riots.

A: (Ignoring him) We need teams with a tradition like the Cubs.

H: (Won't give up) A million years ago they had Tinker, Evers, and Chance. A million years ago, the last time they won a pennant. What kind of tradition is that, I ask you.

R: Okay, guys. We got agreement that you need a contender. Drama: with heroes and villains. We've got to stop riots. They're ruining everything.

H: Yeah, we could have integrated ownership of concessions!

R: Why are you always thinking about food?

A: One thing at a time.. Now we've got to figure out how to get the owners to agree to further expansion.

R: Hit 'em in the old conscience. Tell 'em they are being patriotic by relocating. And if they won't listen, we can point out how a riot could wipe them out.

H: That's blackmail.

R: You really don't need further expansion, you know. All you need is a kind of rotation. Just move some of the existing teams around as a kind of

A: Riot control. You've got it.

H: (Puzzled) But that would leave empty stadiums and bankrupt integrated hot dog stands owners...all over the place. Chaos. That's what you're gonna make, chaos. You guys are gonna destroy tradition. (Stands up) History... (Louder) Local color!



Man's World & Welcome To It !

by Kae Malonen

Concluded from last issue

And I say, "Well, that's what I'm about. Because I don't want to be blown up, I don't want you to be blown up, I don't want racism to operate and that means that I don't have any answers for you, except man, you gotta go out and fight that with your kids the kids in your school. You gotta take on your teacher." That means that I'm tossing them into impossible situations. I'm saying I can't go with them, see. I'm saying, "you go in and you start struggling. At the age of 7, you start struggling about things that don't seem fair to you. And I don't have the answers because the answers are in the struggle. And that's all I can do for you at this point." But that tears me apart sometimes. Because those are real little kids, you know, with real feelings and real emotions. But I think that's what we have to look at; that mothers in particular, are placed in the position of being socializers: being socialized and being socializers. That if we start accepting the premises of this society: that racism is good, exploitation is good, individualism is good--that whole thing. We start teaching our kids a whole new way of living, and we're going to have something real. And that's really exciting to me. My children see me going to meetings a lot, they know what a picket line is; my little girl went when she was first born. They see my actions, my activities, and they try to account for that, and it becomes a very real kind of thing, an example

and a model. And I think if we're going to be socializers which I have to be at this point, because there isn't an alternative model set up, then I want to do it in such a way that my kids have a concept of what struggle is, of what revolution is, of what creativity is. And they're going to be able to operate off of that. What I want to get into is the whole question of contradictions. Women are surplus labor. When we go out and



real and beautiful. I think our strategy right now is to do those two things. Women should be in the movement as a whole. Imperialism affects us--it affects us in taxes, it affects us in decreased social services: In other words there is n't enough money for schools right now, there isn't enough money for medical services. The war is taking all of that stuff. We've got to oppose the war in Vietnam. And once you're opposed to the war in Vietnam, you're opposed to American imperialism as far as I'm concerned. So we've got to take that on. We've got to take on racism. White women have been used to prop up the whole racist myth and that in turn has been used against us to the point where we can't do a lot of things because people are trying to "protect" us.



look for a job, we know that we're discriminated against. The question for us is, what are we going to do about it? We have to figure out is how to work in our own particular ways. In other words, students are going to work one way, working class women another way, ADC mothers are going to be into their own thing; there will be different forms of activity, "different strokes for different folks," but that it fits together. This comes together into an objective movement that's

continued on next page

Man's World, Cont.

But damn it, we can take care of ourselves. So we have to have these general movements. We also have to get together to understand how we share a common oppression and, more importantly, how we are going to act on that oppression. That becomes the key point right now. How are we going to move? How are we going to change things and how are we going to contribute to the movement as a whole? An immediate demand I think we should insist on is equality. My husband works at Great Lakes Steel and I don't particularly want to go to work at Great Lakes Steel. The thing is that I would want to have the right to do that, if I chose to. That concept of equality is very, very important.

That's point number one. Point number two is, we want our own history. We want to be able to define ourselves from 1619, or from the Grecian slaves, I don't care. But to begin to have an understanding of this process of struggle, of oppression, of reaction, movement--the whole thing. We have to have our own history; we have to reclaim it because they've taken it from us. They've taken working people's history from them, they tried to take black people's history from them. Black people are now redefining that; we've got to do the same thing.

The third thing is that I think we need to struggle around the concept of control over our own bodies. We need to have the right to decide when circumstances and how we

want to have children. This is our decision, basically, and it means the right to birth control, free birth control, whatever we would choose. And abortion becomes very fundamental to the Women's Liberation movement.

The fourth thing I would say, and this is my prejudice, but I think it's real, is that we also need to have the right to have children. Because when I really look at this thing around me, we don't really have that right. We do it kind of in spite of what's happening around us. Or we do it by accident. I know I've said I wouldn't do it again. You know, "if I could do the whole thing over again, I wouldn't have children," but that has nothing to do with how I



Workers' Control

doesn't have day care or child care, that we work that out but then we magnify that 10, 15, 20 times. That means that we make demands on our educational system that we will not be channeled. We will not be channeled into roles that are considered proper, and that means we put up a struggle with the men we know, the men that we're living with, the men that we're married to, that their identity also be wrapped up with our liberation struggle, you better really did it because it is going to happen anyway --but the main thing is that it is important because you can't be free, just as no white person can be free until black people are free. The forms are going to be different but the struggle is the same.

Support for the workers is coming from the Institute for Workers' Control, which is lending technical advise and publishing a pamphlet that will analyze the roles of the company and the government in bringing about the threatened layoffs. Invitations have been sent to workers at Sud-Aviation where the massive French sit-ins of last year began, to send a delegation to Liverpool to show solidarity.

Workers and shop stewards at three plants of the giant GEC-English Electric company in the Liverpool area of England made plans to take over the plants and run them themselves. The plans

were a response to a threatened layoff of 3,000 workers of the 12,000 usually employed.

Workers at two of the plants, which manufacture heavy electrical equipment have voted three to two in favor of a takeover by the workers and a rally of a 2000 workers in Liverpool Stadium during a one-day strike gave enthusiastic support to the plan.

Letters, Cont.

it may be the same to picture the Stalinist bureaucrats in Russia, or, say, Albania. But the teenage Red Guards in China? That would be allowing a great deal for either hypocrisy or self-delusion. Do we agree with the Bourgeois theorists that they were just nihilistic kids? or is there some similarity to SDSers willing to fight back against a construction worker in Pittsburgh or a longshoreman in Manhattan who takes a swing at a long-haired radical?

But this is "just opinion," and not principled difference.

Paul Buhle
Mad. Wisc.



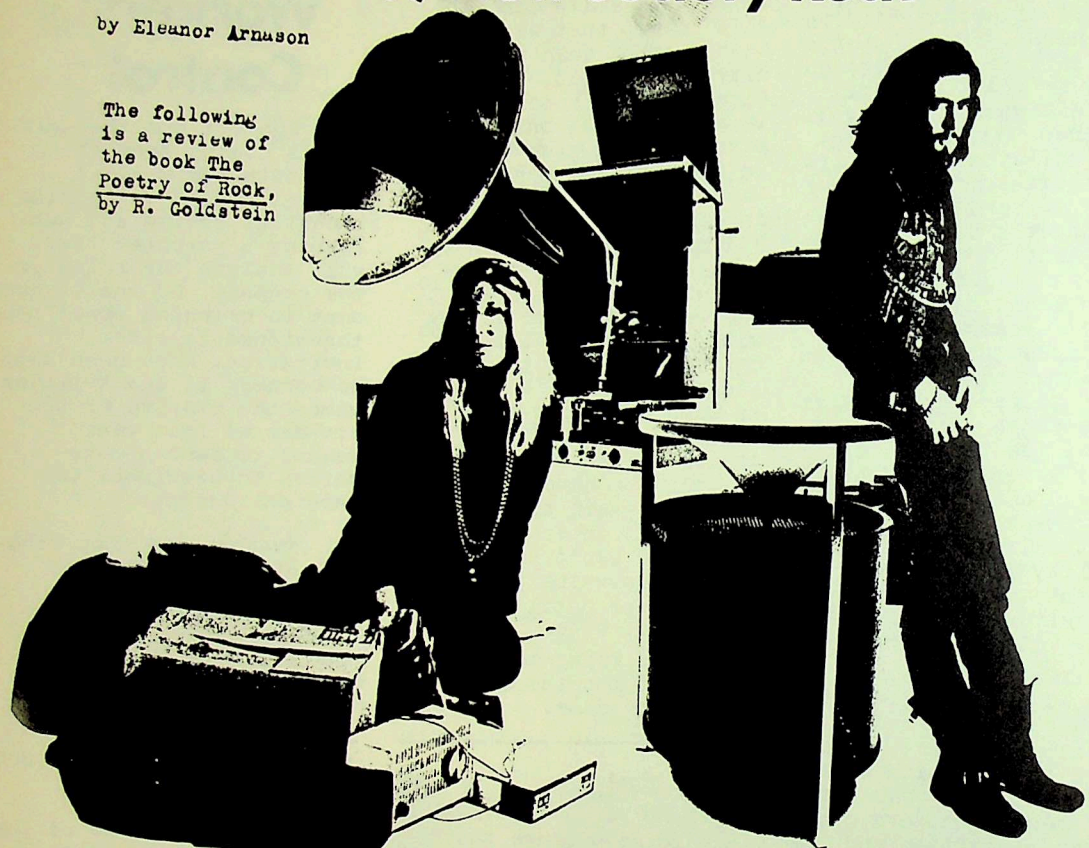
feel about my children, how I feel about children in general. But rather, what it takes to bring up a kid in this society. And that when I see my children and other people's children in kind of stark times, not having money to feed your kids, man, that's a hassle. And when I see that my kids can't get adequate medical and dental care, that's a hassle. This country's just not set up for women to have the right to have kids. That means we've got to start organizing programs around several kinds of things: one is that society as a whole should start taking on responsibility for children and that means a qualitatively different society. That means that if I want to go out to work, I know my kids are going to have a really dynamic, exciting, groovy place to stay with other children, with good care, with people who are concerned about them and love them.

The problem is bringing kids into a real world that doesn't want them. They say they do, but they only want them as workers. They only want them as people who will feed into that society again. We can't accept that and our liberation comes in defying it. Redefining all roles, redefining what liberation means which is breaking out of all things they say we can't do right now because we can do them. And that means helping each other in doing that. That means that if a friend of mine wants to go to a meeting and she

8 **Old Society/New Society Rock**

by Eleanor Arnason

The following is a review of the book The Poetry of Rock, by R. Goldstein



This book is worth reading, but isn't worth the \$1. plus tax your friendly, neighborhood bookstore is asking.

The trouble is, Goldstein goes in for rock lyrics that sound like they've been written by college professors--stuff by Leonard Cohen, Jim Morrison, Dylan, Lennon and McCartney, etc. These guys have inherited the famous Great English Poetic Tradition and are having the same trouble the poor slobs who inherit grandad's big house have--it's out of date and falling apart, okay if you like history better than jobs that work. But Goldstein also puts

in some background stuff--early rock, rhythm and blues, rockabilly lyrics. Chuck Berry, Willie Dixon, Leiber & Steller, etc.--these guys did not inherit the G.E.P.T. They should be thankful. The best of these lyrics are tough and driving. Even when they're sentimental, they're cool. Take one stanza from "Heartbreak Hotel" (Presley's first big record):

The bell hop's tears keep flowing,
The desk clerk's dressed in black.
They've been so long on Lonely Street,
They never will go back.

This is from memory, which shows that it got to me. Imagine walking into a hotel lobby, seeing the bell hop's face wet with tears, the desk clerk looking like an undertaker. Then, there is Jim Morrison's "Horse Latitudes" (this I have to look up in the book):

When the still sea conspires an armor
And her sullen and aborted
Currents breed tiny monsters
True sailing is dead.

Continued on page 10



L 3

We Want Out

Would you hire a chauffeur who didn't know how to make a U-turn?

Well, you've got one.

You've got a government and a bunch of politicians and a bunch of generals (not to mention a helluva lot of secretaries and advisers) who have the good old American Know-How to send half a million men and weapons and supplies to Vietnam.

And now everyone says it was a mistake. Republican and Democratic politicians--a bunch of them have been saying for some time that the war was a mistake. Lyndon Johnson didn't run for reelection because everyone told him the war was a mistake.

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angry women at a time of our choosing), would the editors agree to meet.

The meeting went something like this:

WOMEN: What is your policy on women's liberation?

EDITOR: Well, I don't want to get personal. My personal feelings don't mean anything.

WOMEN: What is the paper's policy on women's liberation?

EDITOR: I'm only one person. I can't speak for the whole paper.

We were told that the paper would get better. When we asked what were the guarantees we were told to "read the paper". It is very hard to

visualize any real change taking place in this area since the first thing the editors told us was that male chauvinism is a very hidden thing and they don't, even now, recognize it in themselves. When we asked if there was to be an editorial statement to explain their new attitude towards women they said "no" and that was it.

From our experience with The Fifth Estate we feel that they will not change unless they are forced to. A precedent has been set in dealing with newspapers that are racist. This same tactic should be used against papers that are "sexist" or male supremacist. Boycott The Fifth Estate.



Sixth Estate, Anyone?

"Sixth Estate, Anyone?" was written by a group of Detroit women who felt the local underground paper, the Fifth Estate, was and is derogatory to women. The experience these women had is both particular and universal.

The particular experience is chronicled in their article. The universal experience involves a number of groups across the country having the same experience of non-communication with the local Editor-Owner, such as the New Haven Women's Liberation group and the revolt of the staff of the Berkley

Barb.

Involved is the concept of an underground paper. Is such a paper a private enterprise, controlled by those who own the presses and space? Or is such a paper controlled by those members of the revolutionary community it is supposed to represent? If not, shouldn't it be? Should not such a paper follow those principles of a new society and new humanity that it espouses?

Women are a part of that new society and they are a necessary part of those revolutionary forces which will create that society.

The Fifth Estate, one of Detroit's biggest underground newspapers, now has a formidable enemy. The enemy at full strength, comprises 50% of the population of the world. Women are the enemy of the Fifth Estate, or rather the Fifth Estate is the enemy of women. The Fifth Estate's lack of policy on women and their quest for liberation makes it analogous to the Detroit News' policy on Blacks. Women's issues are generally left completely out of the paper. When they do appear they usually have an insulting title or some kind of comic or sketch that is somehow degrading or laughable. There is no non-objective nudity. Women's bodies are used almost exclusively in attempts to make the newspaper more "arty", to advertise articles and some ads. While some of the pictures individually are not derogatory taken in the context of an over all view of the paper, they are one-sided and offensive. If all one knew about

women was what one read in the Fifth Estate, the view would be very lop-sided. It would seem that women could never amount to anything because they don't have "balls." (A word frequently used in The Fifth Estate to denote strong character, right thinking, etc.)

Four women representing four different Women's Liberation groups decided to try and meet with the editors of The Fifth Estate and talk about a policy change. We found it very difficult to set up a meeting. We could, of course, come down to the office and talk with the editors "anytime" we chose, HOWEVER, they "might not be there". Since all the women either work or go to school this kind of haphazard meeting was impossible. Only after three phone calls, a threat by the editors (we have a shot gun and clubs waiting down here for you), and finally a threat from us (either you meet with four women, or you meet with forty

But there's this little problem. In all this great American Know-How they forgot to write the procedure for a U-Turn. We can send all those soldiers to Vietnam. But we don't know how to turn them around and bring them back.

So it's time for American working men and women (who are the ones who have the Know-How in the first place) to put their hands on the wheel.

It has happened before. Ordinary people have made history in the past. Those snipers and looters who drove the British out of Massachusetts in the American Revolution were just everyday farmers and dock hands and shipyard workers. But they had a strong beef.

The British marched somewhat peacefully out of much of their Empire after World War II because the British working class made it clear it was not going to do the necessary fighting to keep that Empire for the rich and the corporations.

American workers have sat in and taken over factories and with that changed the labor laws of this

country. American workers (in St. Louis and in Seattle) have called General Strikes to accomplish what they felt in the past were necessary for their well-being. Even in the last few years, American workers have interfered with and prevented more war production than all of the peace demonstrations together. This happened at places like North American Aviation and Olin-Mathieson because the needs of working people weren't being met and the war was being used as an excuse to get workers to sacrifice.

The main point is that we don't need a chauffeur. We can drive our own car. We don't need politicians and management and generals to make mistakes for us.

The peace movement already has the warmakers on the run.

It is time we added the great power and strength of working people to that movement.

If workers raised their voices and took the necessary action, demanding that all the troops be brought home now—the war would end quickly.

This is bad. You can't figure out what he's talking about. Try to imagine (a) a sea conspiring armor or (b) an aborted current breeding a tiny monster. Also, though this is about a dead end and "Heartbreak Hotel" is about a dead end, they sound different. In "Heartbreak Hotel", the guy who's talking sounds pretty much cool and in one piece. What's happening is bad, it's got to him, but he isn't going to fall apart. In "Horse Latitudes" whoever is talking -- Morrison, I guess--uses words the way people do when hysterical; he hasn't got what he's trying to say together; there are all these ugly words spilling out in all directions--conspire, sullen, aborted, monster, dead. I'm not trying to psychoanalyze Morrison. His problem isn't inside his head. He's suffering from Excedrin headache No. 1 -- the collapse of capitalist society. And he's not suffering alone. Most legit poets, good and bad, sound like him. This society is breaking up (every fool knows that) and those people are trapped in the break-up. Guys like, Morrison, Dylan, the Beatles, they may talk about revolution, but it isn't real to them; all they can see is what is dying, not what is being born; they are siding with dying, not what is being born; they are siding with the old society against the new.

Marx says, "At a certain stage of development (a society) brings forth the material agencies for its own dissolution. From that

moment new forces and new passions spring up in the bosom of society." A new society develops within the old. In America, in 1969, we are well into this stage; a new, working class society exists within capitalist society and is producing its own art.

Some Marxists say, since your average worker doesn't have the spare cash to buy a 6' x 6' painting or hire a string quartet, workers can't pay for a working class culture; so, there won't be a working class culture till after the revolution. But thanks to the miracle of modern technology, art can be run off an assembly line like mixmasters or plastic spoons. A record is a mass-produced work of art; you can get one for \$1.98. So, workers can afford art, and we now have working class art -- art made by working class people and bought by working class people. (Workers don't make records in their basements and sell them to their neighbors, but there are a lot of small record companies putting out rock. Rock isn't controlled by big corporations the way TV and movies are.) Which is why there is old society rock (Morrison) and new society rock. For example, there's a song in the book by a rhythm and blues songwriter, Joe Tex, that comes on like it's about love and it's really about revolution. He talks about the stuff he's had handed to him:

People I've been misled
And I've been afraid
I've been hit on the head
And left for dead...

I've been taken outside
And I've been brutalized
And I had to be always
the one to smile
And apologize.

The Fifth Estate will reply to the article on Page 9 in the next issue of *Speak Out*.

Then he says:

But I ain't never in my
life before
Seen so many love affairs
go wrong
As I do today.

He isn't changing the subject; he's saying, when stuff's handed out, everyone gets some; nobody is unaffected. He ends up:

I want you to stop!
Find out what's wrong
Get it right or just leave
love alone
Because the love you save
today
May very well be your own.

To me he's saying, this society is going to get you unless you get it.

Guys like the Beatles and d.a. levy and Robert Bly (2 digit poets), all they can see is the old society that's dying:

I read the news today
oh boy
About a lucky man who
made the grade
And though the news was
rather sad
Well I just had to laugh
I saw the photograph
He blew his mind out
in a car
He didn't notice that the
lights had changed
A crowd of people stood
and stared
They'd seen his face
before
Nobody was really sure
If he was from the
House of Lords.
--A Day in the Life
(Lennon and
McCartney)

Guys like Joe Tex, they're beginning to see the new society. To them, the break-up is their way out. They aren't at a dead end. They're on a highway, six lanes, straight to the horizon with no speed limit.

A View of the World

BY WILLIAM GORMAN

A Lenin For Everyone

The quality of reflections on Lenin - without the "ism" attached to his name - has finally begun to veer around to the final months and days before his death. Drama as history, and history as the framework of contemporary relevance, are effectively touched upon in Moshe Lewin's "Lenin's Last Struggle" (Pantheon Books, 1968, \$4.95). Tides are indeed turning. For decades official Russian sanctification of a rather human and homey man of large historical affairs had put an end to the meaningfulness of his final impulses and his last brief political expressions. Abroad, all the pundits had agreed that upon Lenin's death, Communism had turned into a secular religion venerating its originator's fanaticism above all. The followers of Leon Trotsky added another ingredient to to growing mess by insisting that the mantle of revolutionary authenticity had been personally passed down by Lenin to their own leader. Altogether an overwhelming confusion which has taken decades to begin to clear up

In this book, modest in tone and authoritative in narrative, we have a record of what a political figure tries to do when paralyzed physically at the same time that a whole country triumphant in revolution has become increasingly reactionary politically. Interestingly, the economic chaos and extensive famine, the intrigues directed from abroad, are hardly the stuff

this book is made of--it is about politics, in the fullest almost autonomous sense of that word. That is a rare approach and it pays off handsomely for the reader.

"...he was not a dictator in his party, but its leader. he had to act as if he was reaffirming and reconquering it each day." (p. 42) And as he himself said about some of the most slavish people in Russia, "at the base of the hierarchy, are hundreds of thousands of former functionaries that we have inherited from the Czar and bourgeois society." (p. 9) To help keep them in line, Lenin had created Joseph Stalin, the party General Secretary. Then there were the majority of peasants discovering their independent interests as a class. There was the slovenly loose-mindedness of the Russian intelligentsia. But the actual breath of this sick man's life hung on something else.

One supporter of Stalin had slapped a member of the national minority, the Georgians, during a political argument. The morning after an account

of this was given to Lenin "two serious attacks forced him to give up work completely." (p. 69) His doctors forbid him further work and a panicky Stalin backed them up. Lenin's own wife was forbidden to attend the patient. For the right to dictate five minutes a day he had to present the doctors with an ultimatum that otherwise he would not co-

operate with them at all. He won and enlarged his victory to three-quarters of an hour --his health improved. This is not melodrama about a dictator-- it is the climax of a life in revolutionary politics.

Trotsky was offered the position of "first deputy," "but Trotsky had refused twice." (p. 72) It seems as if in Lenin's last days there were almost no heroes, only heroines, "his wife, his sister and his secretaries." (p. 74) The journal of one, Fotieva, has not been published to this day. So much for the setting, and now for the political conclusions, essentially threefold.

Lenin repeated that the gains of the Russian Revolution would necessarily move eastward, where the great mass of humanity, backward peasants had lived their lives outside the sphere of modern society. Second, the question of nationality and respect for its claims even against Communism would continue to have credence. Third, the creation of an effective Worker's and Peasant's Inspection over the whole state machinery would give the country a chance to clear its collective head from the bureaucratic vapors settling on everybody from the top down until revolutionary help could arrive

from other parts of the world. This book's author, Moshe Lewin, says judiciously that Lenin's program, fragmented and tortured in its very origins, had every chance for success if its author could have lived on.

Any reader could settle his doubts for himself in these 193 pages.

Welfare Mothers, Cont.

quarters with the intention of restoring reality to a situation that had been on paper too long. The picket line involves 75 to 100 women who appear at various times during the day to relieve one another or to present a strong front for a particular action. For instance, one action used repeatedly and successfully was barring the doors to deny entry and exit to the offices. The women set a time for the action, probably the day before, and the crowd of picketers swelled through the morning so that, by the time of the action, there were enough people to carry it out. It was a joyful occasion: those in front sang and clapped their hands to divert attention from the women behind them who were chaining the door. About 60 arrests were made in the four days of sustained picketing. When arrests took place, the women who were needed to replace those taken away were there.

However, the women were aware of others in WRO who were not participating. One woman reported difficulty in getting younger mothers to participate who supported the issue but who felt demonstrations were pointless; the thing to do was to burn the building down. Another woman added it was easier for people to come to meetings than to turn out for demonstrations. Some were concerned that their small numbers might cause defeat of their purpose. Others, in the majority, indicated that although the group was small, it was being heard inside the building.

And that it was. The administration showed it heard by closing the building. On three separate occasions, the offices were either closed during part of the working day or, as happened on Monday, Sept. 8, not opened at all. The administration did this for two reasons. First, because they were genuinely afraid of the kind of confrontation welfare has had to meet in other cities; second, because they attempted, by closing all of the offices and, therefore, the source of welfare, to prevent other recipients from supporting the mothers.

As late as September 16, the state legislature made it perfectly clear that they thought no clothing allowance was necessary. Actual needs, in terms of how people live, what they do, how they do it, etc., appeared nowhere in their reasoning.

The women, in contrast, while making a specific demand of \$75, by their actions and attitudes expressed their resentment at being on welfare at all. There were some cynical comments from workers about throwing water on the picketers to get them really mad so workers could go home. Those who "observed" from their windows, may have heard some of the comments of the pickets. When the doors were chained, the women shouted to workers inside that they might have to sleep on the floors—like they, the mothers, do. The very act of "observing" infuriated some of the women. Some of the comments overheard were "When this is finished, we'll get you." "What do you mean *when*? Before this is finished, we'll get them." Nevertheless, the women were appreciative of the financial and moral support individual workers were privately giving.

The WRO has picked up support from

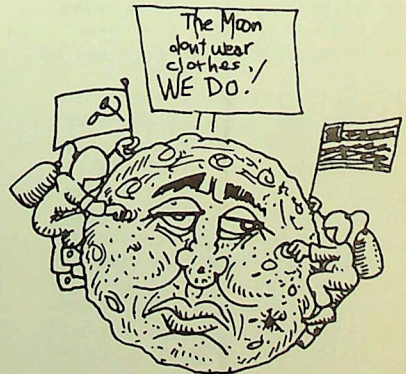
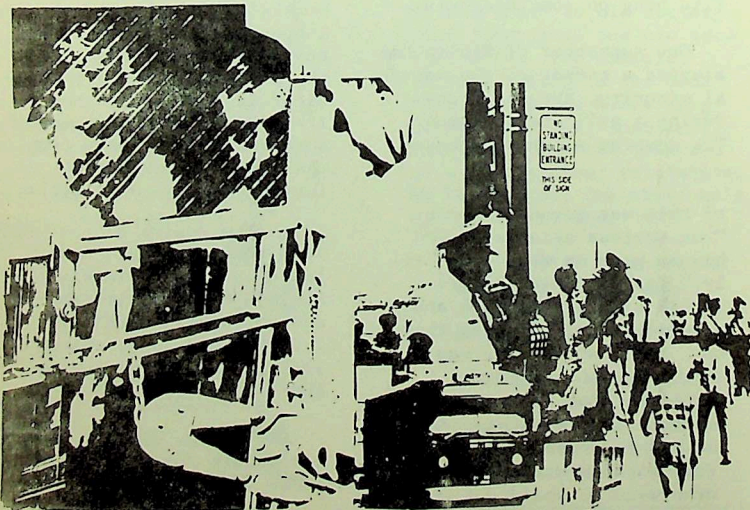
the UAW, which has offered to help man the picket lines, and from a number of other organizations, some of which didn't want it publicly known.

The next step appears to be the court action. The totally inadequate welfare standards centering around "the budget" will be examined.

Muddying the issue entirely are the politicians, like the governor and the county Board of Supervisors, whose role it has been to blame one another, each claiming that his hands have been tied by the other, and that he, himself, is in complete accord with the clothing demands. A set of figures appears almost daily to prove that there is, hidden away in the "budget" given ADC clients, a clothing allowance. What you have, perhaps, is a situation in which money is appropriated for clothing for welfare recipients as a whole group and those not receiving allowances are included in the figures. For example: they have \$1 for A and B. They give the dollar to A. They then report that they have an allowance of fifty cents for A and B. Well, they have. But they have not used the money in this way. The effect of this kind of thing is that the community reads these doctored figures and says to itself, "See, they really get \$11.25 per month per child!"

What will happen is impossible to predict. It is clear, however, that the mothers consider themselves part of a national movement and report to each other information they receive in letters from friends or through the press on the actions and successes of mothers in other cities.

Their posters indicated the context in which they see their demands. The flight of Apollo 11: "The moon don't wear clothes. We do." The rest of the world: "Dear United Nations, in behalf of the U.S. \$11 clothing allowance per child from the leading country in the U.N."



THE POLITICS OF DAY CARE - SEE PAGE 4

Speak Out

BULLETIN OF THE FACING REALITY COMMITTEE

Vol. II, No. 10

FEBRUARY 1970

20¢

UP TO THEIR OLD TRICKS !

GM Super Speed Freaks Spark Strike

The longest local strike in the history of the United Auto Workers Union is approaching its climax at two General Motors plants in Flint, Michigan.

It began on September 24, 1969, immediately after the changeover for the 1970 model cars and may prove to be a 1970 model of another kind. Though no more than 3,900 workers were involved, UAW president, Walter Reuther and GM president James M.

Roche were compelled to meet in a secret session on December 18th to work out a formula that would cover the speed-up of production, which is the only issue in this, the longest strike in General Motors history. Charges of betrayal of the top-level agreement were leveled by both sides. Finally, the union notified all of its local presidents and executive boards that an emergency meeting was planned for January 20,

1970, to consider supportive action for the Flint workers. (An agreement on all details of job production per worker in these two GM plants was announced on February 4th.) The workers voted two days later. The result of that vote could be less important than the overall bitterness generated around the issue of who plans the production schedules.

In the final bargaining hours the union and management went over each

(Continued on page 16)



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Editorial

Repression & Response

The growing repression in the United States and, particularly, the concerted attacks by the police on the Panthers, have resulted in a growing feeling on the left that fascism is either imminent or already here. It is a view that can result in the left painting itself into a corner, leaving itself no tactical or strategic flexibility.

Historically, Fascism represents the development of a massive extra-legal movement which includes para-military forces and which disciplines, not merely workers and racial minorities but also sections of the capitalist and middle classes. To believe that the repression that already exists in the U-

nited States (and has existed under all forms of capitalism) is pretty much the worse that capitalism can mount is comparable to the misguided theory of social-fascism which immobilized the Communist movement in the period of Hitler's rise to power. It both minimizes possible future dangers and leaves the movement unprepared for a totalitarian onslaught. Or, conversely, it can lead to a premature defeatism, adopting the tactics suitable to a fascist society (such as going underground) long before such tactics are needed for the movement as a whole.

There are fascist groupings in the United States, such as the Minutemen. And it will not do to be unaware of their existence. But it is also valuable to remember that those groups (very much like their fore-runners in the 1930's) are still responses to a growing and powerful left that embodies Black Liberation movements, the anti-war movement, student movements, and so on. It would be a tragic mistake for the left to give up its initiative and assume a defensive posture before such steps are indicated.

That does not mean, of course, that the growing governmental repression is not real. It simply means that the right of self-defense does not require a distorted theory of fascism to sustain it. The right of self-defense must include the broadest range of tactics available to the movement as a whole and to the various organizations within it. Public appeals, protest meet-

ings, petitions to the government or to the United Nations have value in terms of mobilizing public opinion. But ultimately the safety of the movement rests with its ability to mount its own physical defense against physical attack.

It has to be made physically costly for either police or fascist paramilitary forces to indulge in political assassinations, terror and the like. In San Francisco large numbers of people turned out for a round the clock vigil at the Panther Headquarters, following the raids on the Chicago and LA offices, probably saving the F.F. Hdqts. from a similar fate. This kind of popular response indicates that the State maybe overreaching itself.

In addition to ad hoc community defence of particular organizations, what is also needed is the combined defence of the left, incorporating mobility and complete flexibility of tactics and not subject to the control of any single group. Given the great diversity of styles and functions of movement groups defense will not be easy. But discussion needs to begin to work out a common basis for such defense so that it will be free of any taint of corruption or of the limitations of narrow sectarian politics.



Letters

Fifth Estate Replies

The anonymous article in the last issue of Speak Out critical of the Fifth Estate's position on the question of women's liberation and calling for a boycott of our paper was a scurrilous and unfounded libel of the men and women who work on it.

We could scarcely recognize the report of the meeting we had with the representatives of the un-named women's groups, their depiction of our paper and our alleged responses to the criticisms they made of our editorial policy regarding the question. Suffice it to say that we feel there was virtually not a word of accuracy in their article regarding fact or interpretation.

Women's issues are not left out of our paper. We have always reported on the local and national activities of women's groups; we have run theoretical pieces and have printed material submitted to us by women's liberation groups.

There has been little if any nudity in the Fifth Estate and certainly none of the type that degrades women. The editors of our paper do not "frequently" use the term "balls" to denote anything especially since our editorial group has had two women on it when it comprised four persons and now one of the present three is a woman.

So, it would appear that we think the Fifth Estate is pretty good on the subject, right?

Wrong. We recognize that there have been male chauvinist depictions of women particu-

larly in graphics and ads. This, we think, comes from the basic underground press confusion of equating nudity with sexual liberation. And although we have run articles on the women's movement we do not feel we have given it adequate attention.

We are revolutionaries committed to the liberation of the planet and the freedom of women. As an operating principle this must be constantly projected by the Movement and its media. We began through our staff collective, a period of extensive self-criticism about our treatment of women's liberation much before it was brought to our attention by any group outside the paper. We made a clear policy decision at that time to exclude any material that denigrated women whether it was editorial copy, graphics or ads. This has been done and we believe this aspect has been corrected.

We also criticized ourselves for not including within our pages more regular information on the women's movement. We have not solved that part of the problem as well.

We communicated all of this to the women who met with us, but they seemed little impressed with it. We invited them to submit articles to us on women's activities; their res-

ponse to date: nothing. We asked them to carry on their criticisms within the pages of our paper so our readers could share in the dialog; their response to date: nothing. We said another meeting should take place; their response to date: nothing.

We gave up on this group of women who seem to keep their activities and identities a dark secret.

We are in the process of beginning to place the issue in our paper on a revolutionary and regular basis.

About the only thing reported correctly in the anonymous article was our statement that the only guarantee of improvement the women had "was to read the paper." This brings up the question raised by the Speak Out editors when they asked, "Who is the revolutionary press responsible to?"

It is clear that Speak Out is responsible to Facing Reality because it is the organ of that tendency, but who is the Fifth Estate responsible to in any meaningful way? To our readers? Or maybe just our revolutionary readers. Or maybe the revolutionary movement in the city.

(continued on page 14)

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The Politics Of Day Care

Friscilla Zirker

part 1

When you compare the descriptions of day care centers given by the state handbook, "Minimum Requirements and Recommended Standards for Day Care Centers", 1964, and by the Bloomington Women's Liberation Day Care leaflet, you see two absolutely opposed conceptions.

The state sees day care centers as a necessary evil, a substitute for parents who "cannot meet all the needs of their children." State experts assume that children should be with their parents until they are ready for public school. They admit that day care may have some advantages for poor children--getting

them away from "bad environments"--but even so it feels that most children are best kept by their mothers.

The WL leaflet on the other hand, composed by people who have "advantages" to offer their children, speaks of day care as a superior form of child care; it wants to give children an opportunity to "break out of the repressive family situation," "to let the children grow," "to function with as much physical and emotional inde-

pendence" as they need.

This difference in conception is not accidental, and it is, moreover, a highly significant political fact. Almost every paragraph in the state handbook, whether the subject be administration, play equipment, or plumbing, is footnoted with a reference to state law or regulation. Much thought and energy has been devoted to the subject by social workers and lawmakers.

A great number of the regulations must be considered contextually necessary. Certainly people do not want to send their children to incompetent custodians, to surroundings that are dirty, unwholesome, or dangerous. That such day care centers would exist if it were not for the law (or in-

deed still exist where the law is not enforced) illuminates the workings of our political economy in the realm of day care.

As the Gallup pollsters put it, "At present, nearly all of the day care centers in the nation are privately run." Not only is day care a field for individual entrepreneurs, (like the lady down the block who takes ten children--ten is her limit in Indiana if she doesn't want to get a license) it is becoming big business. Local chains have long been in operation (e.g., "Town and Country" in the Washington, D.C. area; "Mary Moppets" in Arizona, Iowa, and Texas) and now the latest is a national chain developed by Minne-



Pearl's Chicken System, Inc., called the American Child Care Center. As with other conglomerates on the business scene, there would seem to be little relation between the various subsidiaries. But the business virtues stressed by the organization are centralization, standardization, and efficiency of operation.

This type of venture creates the rationale of the state laws and regulations. If our "free enterprise" system permits profit making on child care, there will always be people who will attempt to skip on care to increase profits. Only laws can force them to meet minimum standards of health, cleanliness, and competence.

We may ask what sort of care, in the deeper sense of the word, can be extracted from people whose main aim is profit. But this is not the concern of the state.

There is another important aspect of the State's concept of day care. If every or practically every child should be with his mother full-time until he is of school age, for the sake of his emotional equilibrium, what concept of the mother is implied? She becomes a being whose existence is mere agency for the welfare and training of her child. One who has, first and foremost, duties and responsibilities to her family. As surrogate to the head of the family (her husband) or as head herself, she also has duties to society in relation to the child. She must care for him, keep

him out of trouble, train him to obey society's rules, pay for damages he does to others, and, if she fails, she must suffer his being taken from her.

If this seems oversimple, note two salient facts: (1) all the punitive machinery for enforcing these conditions exists in our society. (2) no effective machinery for freeing women from them exists.

The second point must be explained, since day care is my subject and day care centers can be considered machinery for freeing mothers from some of the burdens of motherhood. Nevertheless the point with its qualification, is still true. Even with big business entering the field of day care, only 2% of the children of working mothers are placed in "group care" centers, according to Department of Labor figures. This fact shows how poorly the need for day care centers has been met. Such institutions are so rare as to be non-effective in the large picture.

What is more, the few municipalities that have established day care centers whose charges are within the means of most people (instead of \$20 to \$30 per child, per week) open them only to working mothers. And always in the past, the state (in the form of the Welfare Department) has encouraged mothers to stay at home with their children. The implication of female subservience in the state conception is clear. A woman, a mother

is not a person in her own right. She is but a for others--real persons.

What we may expect to see when the state reverses its position on welfare mothers' working are some interesting anomalies. But that subject must wait for the second part of this article.

It is no accident that cooperation instead of control is the principle behind the Women's Liberation Day Care Center. Their recognition of the child's need for freedom, individuality, and expression springs from the women's own need. If they must be free from the child, the child must be free from them. If the child is to be an end in himself, they must be ends in themselves. Stability, growth, independence come from voluntary association and mutual pleasure. And if this relationship is possible between mothers and children, it obviates the old subservience of both to the father. He too can be drawn into the constantly refreshing cooperative circle.

Thus, by liberating herself from the old tired machinery of the past, woman liberates her family from the state in its most intimate form of control.

part 2

The strategy behind sending AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) mothers onto the job market is full of anomalies. It does not rest,

(continued on page 12)

Notes From FRANCE

Since May '68 two phases of the struggle in France have developed. At first, the hike in salaries obtained during general strikes of this month permitted the French economy to take back with one hand what she gave with the other in recommencing and even augmenting production. However, though the working class showed its head but little during this period, the spirit of May remained and developed within a large sector of workers (for the most part young). When the monetary crisis occurred, caused by the incapacity of French industry to integrate itself into the world market and by the consequent exit "en masse" of French capital, the working class was the first to be touched by the "redressment" measures.

From this moment a new period of struggle developed, a period characterized by new qualitative aspects to which the spirit of May is not foreign. It is impossible to cite all the strike movements: first it was the railroad workers, then and above all in steel and the service sector (Paris, Marseille, Lyon, etc.). This movement was for the working class a heightened and open struggle against the union centrals. This change is above all the fruit of class consciousness in relation to the function of the unions and the French Communist Party in May '68.

In the first phase which is continually developing, the working class begins the movement exterior to the unions - wildcat strikes reappear in France - but

then, because it is not yet capable of organizing itself in opposition to the unions, it is obliged to pass through the unions to make itself heard, thus being easily recuperated. But this recuperation takes a new twist today - the unions are obliged to follow the class rather than the reverse, the positions that it takes force it to pass (in spite of itself) into opposition with regard to the needs of capitalism.

At present the strikes are isolated because the unions do their best to divide the movement which develops beyond and outside them. The bourgeois press either doesn't speak about these strikes at all or speaks about them when an agreement is reached and when the leftist groups in agony because of their

(continued on page 10)



FILM REVIEW

and still the champion

by DAN GEORGAKAS

The title of this film is taken from one of the earlier sayings of Cassius Clay. The film opens showing the twenty-three old Cassius clowning his way into the headlines of American newspapers. In Harlem he declares to a street audience that "The champ of the world should be beautiful like me/ Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee." The Cassius of Feb. 1964 is brash and outrageous and entirely the kind of person anyone with imagination can readily identify with. He is engaged in a great put-on of America and succeeds whether playing Tarzan with the Beatles, jiving with his handlers, or making sidewalk challenges to Shinxlike Sonny Liston. Yet from the start, there is a certain doom over the uncrowned champ. He is backed by a group of white Southern millionaires called the Louisville Syndicate. The filmed interviews with these gentlemen would not be believed if presented as fiction. One of them actually draws about how proud he is that Cassius' mother is a cook for his cousin and that the similarity in their names must indeed hark back to slave times when Cassius' forebears took the last name of their masters. The gentlemen disclaim any financial interest in boxing. They are in it for the sport.

Part two of the film takes us to November, 1964. Clay has taken the title from Liston. People on the street are sure Liston will win the rematch. Liston was supposedly "psyched" for the first fight and overconfident. Clay has become Muhammed Ali and has a new set of white managers. The World Boxing Association wants to take his crown because of his politics. The night before the fight, the champ is hospitalized with a hernia. The fight is cancelled.

The documentary concluded in Maine, May of 1965, where the Clay-Liston rematch has been scheduled after being banned in all major cities. Malcolm has been assassinated. Only a small piece of the crown is at stake. Norman Mailer clowns at ringside. Moslems are now handling Ali. A white Broadway star sings the National Anthem. Two minutes after the fight begins, Liston is knocked out by Clay's "secret punch." The audience boos.

On his motel balcony the next morning, Ali is an extremely serious and harassed individual. He professes Moslem orthodoxy. The sign on the Holiday Inn Motel says, "You're the greatest," but Ali no longer believes it. The second Liston fight has left a stench. The system is a-

bout to close in and take his title and bar him from fighting altogether. Ali sees it coming. He speaks out against American whiteness--its white soap, white tissue paper, white Jesus, white angle-food cake, white Christmas, white Miss America and white Miss Universe. All it lacks, he says, is a white heavy-weight champion of the world.

The changes in Ali in less than two years are masterfully depicted by William Klein. He shows, without sermonizing, what America has in store for the young black boxers dreaming of the championship. The great ex-champ Beau Jack is seen mumbling in Miami. Joe Louis and Jersey Joe Walcott are almost as pathetic. Various preliminary fighters are seen before their bouts and after they have been knocked out in obvious mismatches designed to give the crowd the thrill of kayo and blood. Ali is only the most prominent star in the cast of victims.

The director is much weaker in dealing with Ali's other challenge to American mythology, his social, religious, and political thoughts. The draft and the Malcolm-Klijah split are only touched on. The taking away of the crown and the blacklisting are only vaguely depicted.

The focus is on how Ali is manipulated. A host of famous disc jockeys, anonymous teen-

(continued on page 10)

From ITALY

Radical Editor Sentenced

For the first time since Facism, the editor of a political newspaper has been arrested preventively, and a rushed trial has been arranged against him. Francesco Tolin was arrested in Padua on November 24th, taken under escort to Rome prison, sentenced on December 1st and condemned to prison for seventeen months for condoning crimes of violence and for having "incited workers all over Italy to rebel against the state" in several articles appearing in the weekly newspaper he edits, Potere Operaio.

Potere Operaio considers the Vietnam War of Liberation and the Black movement in the United States as the greatest contributions towards the reawakening of the international initiative of the exploited people in the world. On the other hand, we consider the process of autonomous organization of the workers against the unions and their control, against the revisionist and social-democratic parties, as the fundamental indication of the political and organizational work of the revolutionary left in Europe, valid both for the Western countries and the so-called socialist countries. Potere Operaio has spread this political line among Italian students and workers by means of the newspaper La Classe which coordinated the action of a large section of the Rank and Filers Committees in Italy and organized the intervention groups in the huge wildcat strikes at

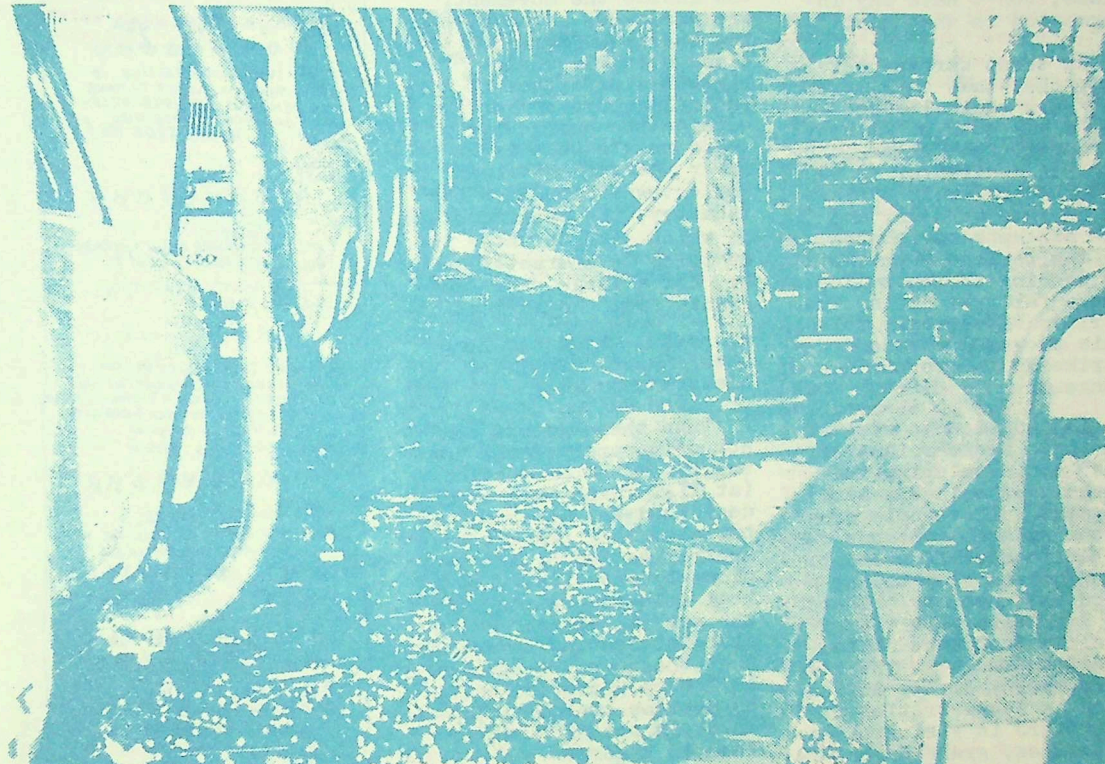
Fiat of Turin in May-July this year.

The great transformation which came in the bourgeois organization of the state after the '29 crisis and after the New Deal, their production of planning practised by union, industrialists and Government together in West European countries after the Second World War, have made the union in democratic and pluralistic societies lose even its distinguishing features as an organization defending the material interests of the working class. The union has become an organization controlling the workers' struggles and a mediator between the par-



ticular interests of the workers and the so-called general interest of society. The bourgeois State has greatly changed in its function, although certainly not in its class nature. The State has become both the instrument of economic development and social productivity and the guarantee of the system's efficiency. In this sense, the so-called socialist regime does not differ from the Western one. The state has become much more repressive than "democratic"; it exploits the workers much more than it speaks out "in the name of the workers."

(The recent wave of) wildcat strikes started in most large European factories from 1960 onwards, have had the wages as the fundamental cause.



It has been on the question of wages that the workers in Italy have expressed their refusal to work and their refusal of the value placed on work: equal wages for everyone, as a denial of the divisions between skilled and unskilled labor, and between different industries, wages no

longer geared to productivity, thus abolishing piece work and all forms of payment which connect mental and manual labor to income.

These mass struggles in Italy have shown the refusal to work to be a

fundamental form of social cooperation. Therefore, they have been essentially anti-institutional and anti-State struggles. Violence against things and people has only been a manifestation secondary to the violence against the capitalist organization of work.

(continued from page 6)

exteriority to the working class, don't have any information on what happens.

As these strikes develop, they take on a more and more radical aspect. Not a day goes by without a factory occupation, often with a director or two entombed in their offices by enraged workers, and the attempts of rebuttal on the part of the owners by sending in the police, are a failure; during the strikes by electric workers this provoked a second strike as the worker's revenge.

In addition to strikes in these sectors, another has been developing in recent weeks in the atomic centers. The people are becoming more and more sensible to social movement; the farmers (or to use a word which sounds archaic to Americans but is very real in Europe-peasants) begin to budge in their turn, using direct action such as sequestration of ministers in visit in the provinces, grand demonstrations, and so forth.

But what is more important to us is the European situation as a whole and especially in Italy and in Belgium. In the latter several fairly strong

strikes have broken out at Wallonie. A few days ago a wildcat strike at the Citroen factory in Bruselles layed bare the real role of the unions in the capitalist repression - the union and the company jointly called for the arrest of 61 workers "suspected of leading the strike."

But it's in Italy that the situation presents the greatest interest. Comrades who went down to see from the inside the movement, are unanimous in confirming the high degree of the class struggle there. The birth and existence of more radical groups of workers outside the unions carry the struggle to a level never before attained. Whole towns depend on one industry; the working class on which depends these industries is characterized by, for a large part immigrants from the agricultural south, which has long been an area of bitter class struggle.

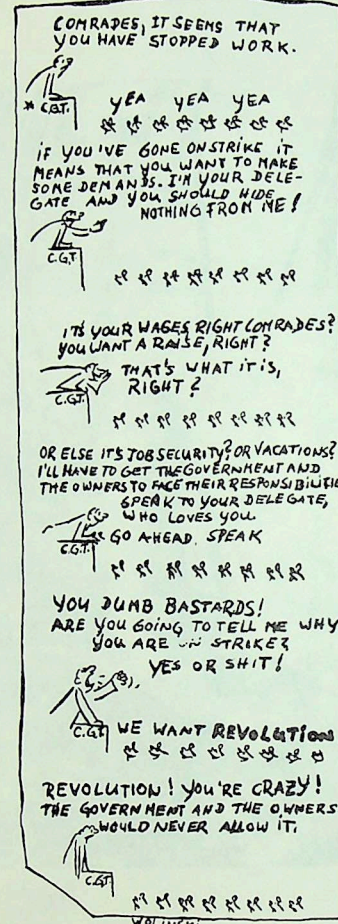
Thus these groups can not only paralyse the totality of the production (at FIAT-Turin they even destroyed the merchandise) but also they prevent the neutralisation by the unions because they have a real hold on the rest of the working class. It is also interesting to note that these groups (such as Potere Operario) call themselves Leninist; Leninist in practice rather than in theory!

Jackie Reuss

FILM REVIEW

(continued from page 7)

agers, black ministers, and people on the street sketch in the struggle between Ali and his amorphous foes. Celebrity glitter and gangsters hide the more powerful forces which finally remove Ali from the ring. In the final frames Ali will say,



* GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

"Allah, God, is the greatest." But those who watch my remember his earlier advice as well. In America you had best float

down the street like a butterfly while being read- y anytime to sting like the bee.

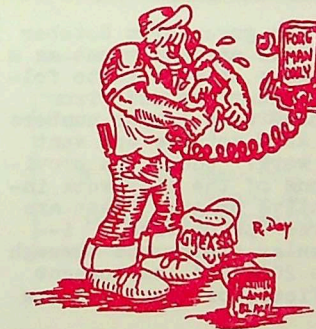
A DAY IN THE LIFE

(The following has been selected from a taped discussion among young workers in Windsor, Canada.)

One of the things a lot of us did when we were on the Chrysler assembly line -- where the body of the car came down on the frame -- was simply to try to get the job done as quickly as possible, and literally spend, say 3 seconds doing a job where it might take 15 pr 20 seconds some other time. So you put on five nuts each, or six or seven, whatever the number was, and then you simply tried to kill time by horsing around after you finished.

It depended on the circumstances, usually how things went during the day -- if there wasn't any trouble with the foreman or anything like this well, then we would spend most of our time horse playing like this, outside the structure, not really concerned with it. But if the foreman was particularly tough that day or something-- speed up this or better quality--well, then, we would content ourselves with ways of getting back at the structure by setting little traps.

Well, one of the things you do to the foreman is to put grease on his phone and then dial his number, and when he puts the phone to his ear, he would have an awful ear of grease.



Letters, cont.

This may sound flippant, but only because there is no real way that an independent paper like ours can be directly responsible to any ill-defined group called the "revolutionary community." The whole phenomena of the underground press is an anomaly. As a rule the 250-odd papers around the country did not grow out of the struggles or organizing efforts of anyone, but rather came from the individual initiative of movement people who saw the need for counter-media in a particular area.

So the question of control cannot be solved within the present context. The Fifth Estate, like all our sister papers across the country will continue to have its policy set by the small number of people who make up the working staff. The duty of the readership of these papers is to be continually vigilant to see that these organs of the people remain consistent to revolutionary principles. When they stray, that paper should be heavily criticized. In this regard the women we met with were "right on" in their methods.

The Fifth Estate does not view a "Sixth Estate" proposed by the women as a threat, rather we would welcome it as an addition to the people's media. Women's Power to Our Revolutionary Sisters Power to the People's Media All power to the People

Alan Gotkin
Peter Werbe
Cathy West
(Editorial Group, Fifth Estate)

The Fifth Estate welcomes response to its position. We are at 1107 W. Warren, Detroit 48201.

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(continued from page 5)

we may be sure, on a sudden appreciation of the need for these women to lead fuller lives or on a new estimate of women in general as equal to men in their rights to self-development and freedom.

In fact, the strategy is bound to have an adverse effect on the futures of both day care institutions and the struggle for women's liberation. We cannot witness these events with complacency in the smug knowledge of our immediate successes in liberation and cooperative day care. Because this mass effort of the state could "bury" us.

The past practice of keeping the AFDC mothers at home (on the theory that they "belonged" with their children) is being changed to a practice of forcing them to work, of separating them by compulsion from their children.

It takes no prescience to foresee what philosophy of child care will dominate the centers set up for the children of these women, what kind of regimentation will structure their lives.

Many of the features of Nixon's welfare scheme have been in operation since at least 1967 -- particularly the "work incentive" program, called "WIN" by its advocates.

As of June, 1969 Indiana was not one of the states participating in this program (38 other states and territories had involved almost a million recipients of AFDC money in work incentive programs)

But in October, 1969, faced with the loss of federal funds (1.5 million) if he did not have a project started by January 1, 1970, Whitcomb took action. He asked the Governor's Council for Private Action "to mobilize citizen efforts to create more child care centers in Indiana cities.

The council agreed to delegate a "task force" of "industrial executives and college students" to study the situation and "to find locations and sponsors for new facilities." They have a job before them. In Lake County alone, there are 14,028 children on welfare rolls and there are day care facilities at present for 350.

Later in October Whitcomb was asked to authorize a state expenditure of \$281,207 (to match the federal 1.5 million) for the work incentive program. In keeping with the provisions of the 1967 Social Security Amendments, these funds would pay for the tuition and training costs of the AFDC mothers and for the care of their children. Indiana's beginning is modest enough for the funds involved; the goal is "eight in-service training workers" and "nineteen stipend employees."

The governor's October actions are important as a presage of what is to follow under the new Nixon scheme when larger numbers of AFDC mothers are sent to work. Under the provisions of the 1967 work incentive program there are three "priorities." 1-- regular employment through the 2000 U.S. employment offices for those who are

presently "employable." 2-- job training for those found "suitable" for training, followed by entry into regular employment. 3-- special "projects" to employ those who are "unsuitable" for regular employment or training for it. These projects would be organized for "a public service purpose." Workers in them would be paid the minimum wage (though not necessarily the prevailing wage) if the work is covered by the minimum-wage statute. But whatever the work, the women must not compete on the job market with "regularly employed" workers.

Already in other states where large numbers of AFDC women have been regimented, expectable patterns have developed. In one southern state, any social worker who has a friend in need of a servant simply puts the screws on one of her AFDC clients. In Georgia, county boards have terminated AFDC mothers in coincidence with crop-picking sessions. Many workers "in training" have been used to provide free janitorial and maid service for participating employers, and even in the employers' own homes.

This chiseling on human rights, however, cannot be the whole rationale of the work incentive scheme. What is the need of compulsion when evidence taken from California to New York shows that AFDC mothers by a large majority (70 to 80%) would prefer to work if there were jobs available and adequate day care facilities for their children? Fortune magazine claims that the lack of day-care facilities in

the U.S.A., "a sorry situation," is a "carry-over" from the 1930's when "jobs for men were scarce" and the "thrust" of the AFDC program was to keep women off the job market.

Now, onto a scene where high government tacticians crowd enthusiastically over a rising unemployment rate (a hedge against inflation), where they help the process along by cutting down on federal construction, by closing down job corps camps, and other federal projects, where more than three out of five black men in the inner cities cannot find jobs, they will compel AFDC mothers to work?

What can be the purpose behind such a scheme? Some stopgap expediency (like the job corps camps)? Political maneuver (in answer to the welfare backlash)? Shortsighted stupidity? Perhaps all of these things. And more. An attempt to get control of a most restive segment of the population.

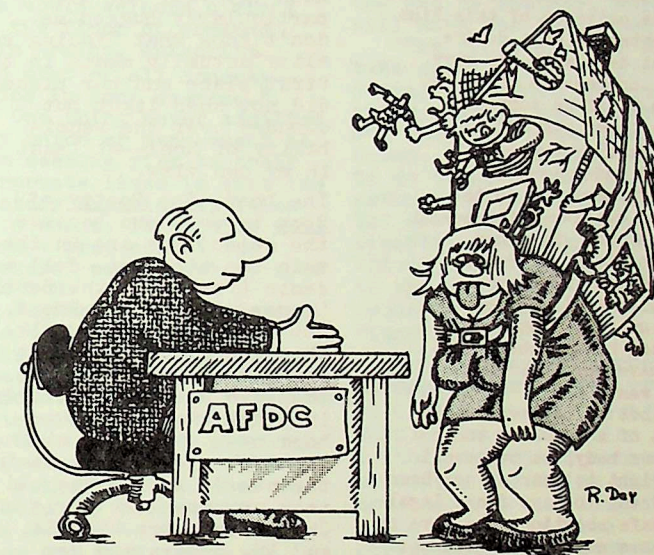
AFDC mothers have been on the move during the past few years. The degradations that they have suffered at the hands of welfare departments for decades now, as much as the inadequacy of the assistance they are allowed, have stung them into self-defense. All over the country Welfare Rights Organizations have sprung up (and their competence to represent welfare recipients has been established in the courts). Demonstrations of protest and campaigns for acting on grievances have mobilized hundreds of thousands of AFDC mothers.

They will need every ounce of their militancy in the days ahead. What aim is being served when people who want to work are to be forced to work? What prospect awaits them when they are channeled into a job market already overcrowded? What kind of day care will be afforded children of mothers who would have been delighted to have facilities made

available and who will now be compelled to use them?

The answers must logically be that the work is to be the lowest slave work of society, that the jobs will not be competitive goals on the free labor market, that the day care provided the children will be a source of heart-ache for the mothers.

Who is to WIN?



"THAT'S NO CLIENT, THAT'S MY WIFE!"

SPECIAL SUB DEAL

A year of Speak Out, plus a year of Radical America a monthly journal of the American New Left, published in Madison, Wisconsin. Both for \$5.50

Letters, Cont.

One of our sentences was omitted from the article, "Sixth Estate Anyone?" The sentence substituted was "If all one knew about women was what one read in the Fifth Estate, the view would be very lop-sided." The original line as written was "If all one knew about women was what one read in the Fifth Estate, it would appear that a woman's function is to stand BEHIND her man and engage in sexual intercourse whenever HE wants."

The omission of this line indicates to us a desire to not deal with the very real oppression of women. It is OK if we complain about lower pay for equal work or women's bodies being used to satisfy men. It is taboo to challenge the sexual status quo. Some men on the staff of "Speak Out" do not want to question their sex object status, want women to stay behind their man and have sex only when they want.

Since we believe in the right of a woman to control her own body, we believe in her right to bear or not bear children, to have free, legal and safe abortions, to have or not have sexual intercourse.

You are not doing The Women's Liberation Movement (or any group) a favor when you publish an article and censor key lines. You align yourself with newspapers such as "The Detroit News" and "Fifth Estate" who use their power to publish or not to publish unscrupulously.

Laurie Leasure, for the authors of "6th Estate Anyone"

(Ed. Note: Our apology. The line referred to above was cut because the Editorial staff felt that it constituted an unintentional reference to a sexual position.)

Music

My compliments to the chef. Each issue of SO displays a wider expanding of its consciousness and is always lively and provocative.

However, in much of my SO reading I feel that I am facing not reality but yet another sensibility. Eleanor Arnason's recent article "Old Society/New Society" (SO VII, No. 9), particularly bugged me. I don't know what "facing reality" actually means in the first place and her piece did not shed light but clouded over the sensibility of Rock--at least in my own view.

The book, The Poetry of Rock is put down because the selections are in the main too highbrow--dull academic types like the Beatles, Leonard Cohen, the Doors, Bob Dylan, "they may talk about revolution, but it isn't real to them; all they can see is what is dying, not what is being born. . . they are siding with the old society against the new." And so the old rock artists like Elvis and Chuck Berry are With It, and the others are Not With It. Two carefully selected examples are used to illustrate this grotesque idea--Elvis's "Heart-break Hotel" ("it got to me") and Jim Morrison's "Horse Latitudes," ("you figure out what he's talking about") Well, I would agree that as rock lyrics HH is great and that HL stinks, but these are bogus illustrations. Elvis's personal favorite during the HH period was "Don't Be Cruel"

(blegh!) and Jim M's Doors are not identified with HL but with "Light My Fire."

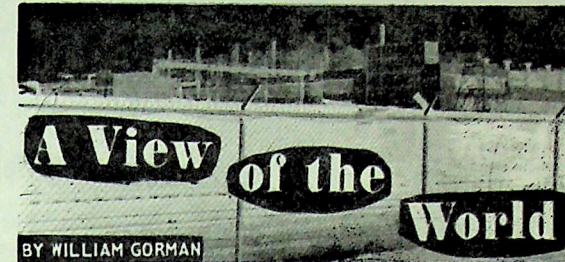
The entire comparison of Beatle and Beatle-oriented Rock art to Old Hat Great English Poetic Tradition is spurious. Rock has its own unique sensibility--which is made up in part by cannibalizing the GEPT, baroque and futuristic music, and raw R & B. The result is the opposite of what the author suggests; the Beatles and their best followers are not only of the New Society, they created it by melting down the past and casting it in a fresh mold. Their vision is Brechtian, apocalyptic, their sound continually ahead of the culture.

Singers like Joe Tex are not the New Society as the author suggests, but rather they are traditionalists, blues based. The song she quotes gets right down to it, but just as the blues has been doing for generations--like Leadbelly's "Bourgeois Blues" written in the forties: "Some white folks in Wash'ton/ they know just how /th'ow a colored man a nickel/ just to see him bow."

Rock is unique in that it cannibalizes all sensibilities, while blue collar rock generally sticks to traditional elements and sounds. Giants like the Beatles and Dylan do both when the spirit moves them, which is why they are damned by the left one week and condemned by the right the next.

In sum, I suspect that the author arrived at a firm and unyielding theory of Old Society/ New Society Rock long before she read The Poetry of Rock. I believe that the material in the book proves her wrong and that her own selections from it contradicted her case.

R. Dey



"Just a few weeks ago I went into the office and said to those two guys on the management team 'We are sick and tired of so many broken cutters, which is costing us a little fortune; we are sick and tired of machine breakdowns for days and days at a time; we are sick of needless repairs to completed parts, due to faulty equipment which no one cares to hear about. Above all, the thing that really concerns us with broken cutters, a sure safety hazard, our luck is going to run out and someone is really going to be hurt.'

I pointed out the solution to the problem, how to save cutters, how to save machine down time, save other equipment, parts, produce good parts, and in less time, as well as safety for the operators."

This story of a confrontation was presented in a local union newspaper. It continues:

"The answer from the meathead was: 'I know that you are honest, and you probably can do all this, but we cannot do what you are asking us, because that would make us a permissive management.'"

"I asked him, 'What the*#?X! school have you been going to?'"

Where capital commands labor to do its bidding, the habit of command dominates every expression of management. "These handful of vengeful, ignorant scums, so blinded with

hate, they have forgotten their duties and obligations not only to employees, but also to the company. . . ." Like the unionist he is, the reporter must plead for help to someone on high. "We would welcome a visit on the floor of someone with brains, authority and most of all honesty--which is long overdue."

One thing never admitted by union or management at the seeming risk to their corporate lives is that the factory experience, taken as a whole, is nothing more than a prep school for workers' management of production.

Beginning with honesty: the visitor the reporter asks for could not surpass that honesty found among production workers themselves. Authority over production is the essence of everyday grievances. The problem of authority can never be settled by a contract and has to be fought out over and over again. As for brains, no one in the factory is as universally condemned for their stupidity as the foremen responsible for production procedures--these foremen who actually have less protection than the workers from the concentrated malice of the Labor Relations personnel, and who think themselves secure on top of a non-human heap.

". . . If you members hear me use the word 'Scums' freely, I learned this from Labor Relations in referring to some of our members."

Management clucked their tongues at the union for allowing such words into their paper. The union had decided to publish its paper once every two months instead of once a month. One way or another, workers will have the last word.

"The facts are the workers take great pride in producing good work and cooperating. It is most unfortunate that under the present setup, they are not permitted to do this." What the new setup will be, nobody knows. But one thing is certain. Everything else has been tried, including articles in the union paper and swearing at Labor Relations personnel.

The impulse of workers to gain control over production will become evident when given provocation such as that described above--or awaits something much more serious and larger scale such as police strike-breaking, economic recession or governmental collapse from pressures emanating from outside the factory.

However delayed, however stimulated, the impulse is always there. Even if the quotes are multiplied by tens of millions of incidents, the depth of the workers' feelings about ordering his own life on the job could not help but be underestimated. Proof? The numbers of people who consider themselves "radical" in every sense but this one.

Hard Rock was "known not to take no shit
From nobody," and he had the scars to prove it:
Split purple lips, lumped ears, welts above
His yellow eyes, and one long scar that cut
Across his temple and plowed through a thick
Canopy of kinky hair.

The WORD was that Hard Rock wasn't a mean nigger
Anymore, that the doctors had bored a hole in his head,
Cut out part of his brain, and shot electricity
Through the rest. When they brought Hard Rock back,
Handcuffed and chained, he was turned loose,
Like a freshly gelded stallion, to try his new status.
And we all waited and watched, like indians at a corral,
To see if the WORD was true.

Hard Rock Returns to Prison

from the Hospital

for the Criminal Insane

BY

ETHERIDGE KNIGHT

As we waited we wrapped ourselves in the cloak
Of his exploits: "Man, the last time, it took eight
Screws to put him in the Hole." "Yeah, remember when he
Smacked the captain with his dinner tray?" "He set
The record for time in the Hole—67 straight days!"
"Oi Hard Rock! man, that's one crazy nigger."
And then the jewel of a myth that Hard Rock had once bit
A screw on the thumb and poisoned him with syphilitic spit.

The testing came, to see if Hard Rock was really tame.
A hillbilly called him a black son of a bitch
And didn't lose his teeth, a screw who knew Hard Rock
From before shook him down and barked in his face.
And Hard Rock did *nothing*. Just grinned and looked silly,
His eyes empty like knot holes in a fence.

And even after we discovered that it took Hard Rock
Exactly 3 minutes to tell you his first name,
We told ourselves that he had just wised up,
Was being cool; but we could not fool ourselves for long,
And we turned away, our eyes on the ground. Crushed.
He had been our Destroyer, the doer of things
We dreamed of doing but could not bring ourselves to do,
The fears of years, like a biting whip,
Had cut grooves too deeply across our backs.

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worker's production per unit, and while GM is naturally reluctant to allow the union to enter into these matters, the company had no choice once the union announced its supportive actions.

Union and management took the position that a "comparison formula" of work intensity, first proposed in 1962, was preferable to the more drastic action in the offing prior to 1970 negotiations with the three major auto companies.

THE NATIONAL CONTRACT

Coming negotiations will be taking place in the shadow of dropping auto sales and growing work layoffs. As far as formal negotiations are concerned, the union is in a weakened position. Workers feel their ties to the shops are due to end anyway, and recession simply gives the union less control.

Until this threat of general layoffs arose, the two most publicised demands circulating inside the union were "30 and Out," and a pressure for a tightened cost of living clause in the coming contract. The first is a favorite among some older workers who know that policemen and others have a guaranteed pension waiting for them after 20 years of service. If after all these years, the union cannot do anything decisive about work conditions such as speed-up,

then the best thing to do is to leave the factory entirely after a set time. Union leadership has neither said "yes" or "no" to this proposal. The demand for a tightened cost-of-living formula is the response to the speedy prices which make the three-year contract obsolete in terms of "meat-and-potatoes" unionism. The 1969 increase in prices was 6.8% in Detroit.

The record-breaking Flint strike has given the workers the initiative. Speed of production has been considered a grey area in the collective bargaining process. But it is the lifeblood of control over production. It is the means by which workers' energies are drained so that they can never fully enjoy spending their paychecks in the inflated market place, or the prospects of a well-pensioned retirement.

REMAKING HISTORY

Flint auto workers made their own history by taking over the plant itself in the 1936-1937 sit-in strikes. This takeover of two General Motors plants was the key that opened the door to the nationwide organization of auto workers. Aside from the strike relief that Flint workers are getting from their union, an educational program is being carried to the present generation by veterans of that 1936-37 Flint shutdown. Union heads ran down to Flint at the end of January to drum up supportive action. Whatever they think they are doing will never match what the workers once did for each other and can do again.

