

Nixon to Peking: 'Journey to peace' or to new alliance for world war?

by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairman
of NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

The Nixon speech that didn't rate headlines was his July 6th address to newspaper editors in Kansas City. Since no one knew then that Nixon's chief National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, was secretly flying to China with just such a "position paper" for the more receptive ears of Chou En-lai, the not-so-alert daily press missed the new stage in global power politics. Suddenly Nixon christened Mao's China a "superpower" that would determine the world "economic future and the future of the world in other ways in the last third of the century."

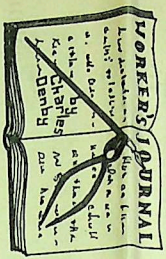
CHINA ABOUT TO RIDE ROUGHSHOD OVER NORTH VIETNAM

Within nine days Nixon knew how to rate headlines the world over. He asked for prime TV and radio time, letting none know what the speech was to be about, or how long it would last. Never before have 90 seconds so shaken up the whole world. The part of that minute and a half which announced Nixon would visit Peking was being made public simultaneously in Mao's China which, until that moment, had designated Nixon as "a god of plague and war!"

Whether or not what is now mere talk, will, in fact, become the global turning point of 'the century,' there is no doubt at all that the alleged super-revolutionary, Mao, has taken the actual super-reactionary Nixon off the hot seat on which he was placed by the Vietnamese most of all, but with them also by the massive US anti-Vietnam war movement as well as the Black Revolution.

None of the millions on July 15th who were listening to Nixon's 1½ minute talk (that took hours of meticulous doubletalk to work out) could have been more shocked than the Vietcong and North Vietnam. Mme. Binh tried bravely whistling in the dark. China would never, she said, settle with Nixon over the heads of the Vietcong. But soon the terror of a doublecross showed through. For how long can one cover up terror at betrayal when unexplained events of the past month fall into place?

Thus, clearly, (1) the reason Nixon hardly winced when his only "patriotic" covering on the hot seat—demand for release of American POW's—had been pulled



Black workers beat the machine

by Charles Denby, Editor

I am turning my column over, this issue, to a worker who asked me to let him write the following story of what happened at the Chrysler Macle Plant, because "many of us workers have been reading this paper for years and enjoy it. It is the only paper today that is concerned with workers and tells what we say without any ifs, ands, or buts."

Our local election was held several months ago, and there were some surprising results for the old Reuther Green Slate machine that has controlled Local 212 for the past 25 years. I have been an active member of their caucus for 12 years. Before the election we pick our candidates through the caucus. We elect five shop committeemen and one alternate committeeman. The alternate takes the place of a regular committeeman when one is absent or on leave because of sickness.

The workers at Mack are 75 to 80 percent Black. When I first started to work there, a Black worker was lucky if he was elected as alternate, and when one was elected as shop committeeman he was at the top in union politics. Several years ago they elected two Blacks. The election before last, three Black workers were elected and became the majority. When the caucus got down to picking candidates this year, another Black, Weldon Crawford, wanted to run. Our white financial secretary, who for many long years has controlled the caucus, got on the floor and said that we must have more whites, and accused us of wanting an all-Black shop committee. He never said a word all these years whites were dominating the committee.

GREEN SLATE SHOOKED

After some of the Uncle Tom Blacks in the shop committee voted him down, we got Crawford to run independently. He did, and got more votes than any others running. It shocked them so much they accused him both of using his Green Slate background and of acting like a Black Nationalist among the younger Black workers. They said that accounted for his victory.

Another Black, Harold Eccles, whom the Green Slate hates, ran on a slate of just a few workers. He had no financial backing, and had been out of the shop for nearly three years, but he came in sixth and got Alternative Committee. This was an even bigger shock, and a whispering campaign began. They said Eccles

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from under him by the Vietcong-North Vietnam peace proposals which offered to release all POW's; and (2) the reason Kissinger paid no attention whatever to the peace negotiators in Paris who had offered to meet him "in private," was that Mao-Chou were secretly negotiating with Nixon-Kissinger at the expense of the Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese masses had brought down the American Goliath, only to find themselves facing the enemy from within the Communist orbit! What Mao had in store for the Vietnamese came out when the Australian Labor Party leader, Gough Whitlam, that same week, reported that Chou En-lai favored a "Geneva type" conference, that is to say, a repeat of the so-called peace conference in 1954, at which China and Russia had compelled Vietnam, despite its victory over French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu, to accept the partition of their country into North and South.

The painted outcry of North Vietnam—and the solidarity of the anti-Vietnam war movement the world over with it—caused the China News Agency to claim that this was not what China meant. But this denial cannot be taken seriously, since not a single step has been taken to stop the secret dealings for the Nixon trip. The truth is that ever since the Sino-Soviet orbit became the Sino-

*See "Can There Be War Between Russia and China? the Non-Viability of State-Capitalism" in MARXISM AND FREEDOM, 1964 American edition, and 1971 British edition, which includes a new chapter on Mao's "Cultural Revolution, or Maoist Reaction?."

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ILWU strike: workers fight containerization

Los Angeles, Calif.—The latest Strike Bulletin of the International Longshoremen's Union, Local 13 reads—"31st day on the bricks." The month long strike may continue for many more days as the negotiator for the steamship companies, the Pacific Maritime Association, doesn't even want to talk. The last time that west coast longshoremen had to strike was in 1948—and it lasted 90 days.

At stake are the jobs of hundreds of men on the docks. The main issue is containerization. Instead of hand loading and discharging ships, more and more work is being handled by the use of huge cranes which lift containers on and off ships. Container ships are worked more quickly and with less men.

LONGSHOREMEN FIGHT TO KEEP JOBS

The longshoremen want to have the right to "stuff" and "destuff" those containers with the products to be shipped or unloaded. To not have those jobs would mean even more men being lost from the docks. The

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'No safety on the docks'

They preach one thing on the gangway, but down in the hole it's getting out tonnage that counts. On the gangway in the morning they say work safely. That means good housekeeping, so we go down and begin to clean up, but then the boss comes down and says to hell with that, get to work.

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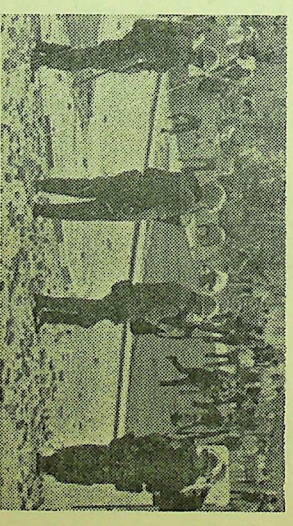
Soviet conflict, the possibility of war between these two state-capitalist giants calling themselves Communist has predominated over all else.*

The recognition of this as the centerpiece for the planned Nixon-Mao meeting led to North Vietnam finally fining its tongue. Still couched as an attack only on Nixon, it could easily enough be read as a questioning also of Mao. Thus, Nhan Dan, the official Hanoi newspaper, in its criticism of Nixon for "rumoring about wildly in search of a way out," stated also that "he has gone to the wrong place. The exit door has been opened, yet he has tumbled into an impasse."

Paris, the paper insisted, is where the representatives of the people doing the fighting are working out ways to peace, and it is with them Nixon must negotiate. The very description of what Nixon was doing, was pointing toward Mao "dividing the socialist countries, winning over one section and pitting it against another in order to oppose the national liberation movement and carry out a counter-revolutionary peaceful evolution in the socialist countries."

Now, no matter under what designation counter- (Continued on Page 4)

NEXT ISSUE — an analysis of Nixon's so-called "New Economic Policy" — a 1971 economic version of the Taft-Hartley Act.



Civil war in North Ireland

As we go to press, the struggle in Northern Ireland has reached the stage of open civil war, following raids by British troops in the pre-dawn hours of August 9. Over 300 citizens, including many socialists and civil rights activists not connected with the IRA, were arrested without charge, beaten and thrown into concentration camps for indefinite periods under the hated Special Powers Act. The struggle is not Protestant against Catholic.

Harry McShane, of the Scottish Marxist-Humanists, reported from Glasgow the second day of the raids: "Ulster is now a totalitarian sector of the British Isles. No less than 14 deaths occurred within hours of the start of internment. There is a drive in Glasgow today for IRA suspects. We are calling for an all-out protest in Glasgow, and for the withdrawal of British troops. It is a matter of urgent importance."

Women, and children as young as 10, have taken to the slum streets, banging on garbage can covers to warn of approaching troops, and showering them with rocks and petrol bombs. At the end of five days, with 25 dead and over 200 wounded, the British commanders have declared the situation "under control," only to be confronted with new mass demonstrations.

Equal rights for women in East Europe a lie

By our East European correspondent

I do not know any words more appropriate to describe the situation of women in Eastern Europe than those of Marx: "Capitalism has not torn the woman from the hearth and thrown her into social activity in order to proceed with her emancipation, but to exploit her more savagely than man."

During the fifties, in many of these countries—we exclude here the Soviet Union—there was great pressure to force women out of their homes into wage labor, a drive parallel to the forced collectivization carried out at the same time. Under the slogan of "equal rights" women suddenly got the same right to hard work, with no regard for their "home duties" or for child bearing and education, and with smaller salaries than men for the same or similar positions.

'WOMEN'S WORK' THE WORST

At present women represent 40 percent of the labor force in Poland, 43 percent in Bulgaria, 46.2 percent in Czechoslovakia, 40 percent in Hungary, 48 percent in East Germany. Entire industries are feminized to an unusually high degree—mostly light industries like textiles, shoe production, and food processing. By coincidence, these industries have suffered most from the policy of preferring heavy industry over light, and consequently they have the most obsolete machinery which in turn demands from the women far more hard work than men have to perform. A woman delegate at the recent Congress of the Czechoslovak CP told the Congress: "The machinery in our textile enterprise is 70 percent obsolete." Bulgarian research has shown that with the exception of mining industries, the greatest percentage of sickness are in the "women's" industries: hosiery, tobacco, shoes and synthetic rubber.

In spite of their numbers, women seldom advance to high posts. In Poland, most branches of the metal industry are entirely or to a very high degree feminized, but women represent only 0.6 percent of the foremen!

UNEMPLOYMENT HIGH

Poland is the only country within the Socialist bloc that has official unemployment records. According to recent data, 83,000 women are looking for work, while there are only 22,000 vacancies.

Creches and kindergartens for the children of employed mothers are insufficient. In Poland again, only 15 percent of those applying for vacant places were satisfied. In Hungary the situation is better: 40 percent of applications for creches and 50 percent of those for kindergartens were satisfied.

As far as working conditions are concerned, there is much to be desired. In Czechoslovakia, night work for women is prohibited, but there is no hope for such a measure in Hungary for the next decade. Poland is preparing some measures to limit night work for women. Recently, a Polish newspaper complained that in the south-eastern part of the country, women who finish their shifts on Saturday night are left without transportation. They either have to wait 5-7 hours for the next bus or go by foot.

After women leave their workplace, they have a "second shift" at home. In Poland, home and wage



**WL pickets
help win strike**

Detroit, Mich.—One hundred and fifty Detroit women marched on the Fisher Building here, in support of striking office cleaning women who had been out over two months in protest over layoffs of fellow employees, and demanding a new contract.

Women from the Detroit Guerilla Theater Women's Liberation group organized the demonstration, which attracted women from many women's liberation groups, from N.O.W. and the U.A.W.'s Women's Department. The cleaning workers, the majority of whom are older women, are members of the local 79 S.E.I.U. They had been picketing the huge Fisher Building almost 24 hours a day, and had received no strike benefits and little picket help from their union.

They were obviously delighted by the mass turnout organized by W.L., and were especially excited by the guerilla theatre skits put on by the theatre group. The Detroit Guerilla Theater Women's Liberation women came equipped with mops, brooms, dust pans and songs composed for the occasion, and put on a really great street theater about the layoffs and overwork.

The demonstration was joined by men and women from a wide variety of groups, including the UAW retirees, who call themselves "The Gray Berets", and members of The United Farm Workers who carried their own picket signs.

Two days following the demonstration, the company and union announced a settlement of the strike. Although the workers won wage and benefit increases, the big question—about an end to lay-offs—was not really settled. Eighteen women remained laid-off, and some chose to retire.

labor of an employed woman takes between 15 and 17 hours a day. Thirty percent of these women leave their home in the morning without having breakfast—there is no time for it.

Queues have not disappeared in Eastern Europe since the last war. A reader complained recently in a Czechoslovak paper that in her town, when babies' goods are delivered twice a month, battles are fought in front of the shop. "I get underwear for my seven-year-old daughter rarely."

A Slovak woman living in a regional capital of 40,000 inhabitants: "Services are insufficient; creches and kindergartens are bottlenecks. There is, however, not a single woman either in the district or regional administrative council. We have had enough of flowers and fluttering words on March 8 (International Women's day, celebrated throughout the Soviet Bloc.) That is not enough."

The Communist parties, anxious to have women's support for their exploiting policies, are now pressing for a greater participation of women in public offices. However, their own example is striking. There is not a single woman in either the Czechoslovak, Polish or Rumanian governments.

A Black woman writes . . .

I received a sample copy of your newspaper and was very much impressed. I am a Black woman and at first was dubious as to whether the issue of my liberation as a woman would be covered in your publication. I was pleasantly surprised.

You see, I'm not thoroughly convinced that Black Liberation, the way it's being spelled out, will really and truly mean my liberation. I'm not so sure that when it comes time "to put down the gun" that I won't have a broom shoved in my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have. I and I alone want to be the one to decide my life style now and tomorrow; that's why I see Women's Liberation as a necessary and crucial co-existent struggle.

I want to be sure that when the great day of liberation comes, I won't then have to start my own struggle for autonomy. By fighting for my liberation as a woman, I'm not drifting away anything from the Black Liberation struggle, because any gains made by me in my behalf, and on behalf of half the Black population (women), is automatically a gain for the entire race.

—N.X. Reader

ILWU workers strike

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men have watched the job situation on the docks become really bad during the last two contracts. In exchange for mechanization on the docks—the introduction of a lot of specialty equipment—the union got a mechanization fund.

It may have cost them several million dollars for early retirement, but it saved them many times that in loading and unloading costs over the same period. And it meant less and less men on the docks. The total work force has been declining as well as the size of the crew to work a ship.

The basic hand loadout crew has eight hole men. The company is trying to cut that number down. Now only two men are handling containerized cargo.

'NO MORE MECHANIZATION'

Another area where the companies have been trying to take control from the union is in the area of steady men. The usual procedure is for a ship to call in and tell when it will dock and what men it needs to unload. Then the Pacific Maritime Association will call the union local and ask for so many men to work the ship. But what the stewardore companies would like is to have more steady men—ones that they can select to work for them instead of hiring out of the local for each ship.

In this way they hope to select their men, to make them work how the company wants, rather than how the contract may read. It gives them a little edge.

But the key is self-contraherization. As one dockster said: "The company thinks it has a right to take a job away from a man. To them human beings ain't nothing. If we don't fight here we won't get anything."

Railroad worker's leaflet from LA picket line

I AM A CONDUCTOR-BRAKEMAN with 30 years' service with Southern Pacific Company.

MY JOB: Working on freight trains, Los Angeles to Bakersfield (165 Rail Miles).

AVERAGE TIME FOR TRIP (Los Angeles to Bakersfield): 12 to 14 hours (not 8 hours).

OVERTIME: My overtime starts after 13 Hours 12 Minutes (not 8 hours). The maximum overtime I can make is 48 minutes. Under federal law the company can not work us over 14 hours.

AT HOME: I am on 24 hour call (no pay while waiting). I must be available by phone 24 hours a day (no pay). I am subject to being fired if a call is missed. On receiving a call I am given

WORKER'S JOURNAL

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had his foot in the door but he must not be allowed to get in.

Years ago, the committeeman with the most votes was automatically chairman. Now the committeemen elect their own chairman. The chairman was a white worker, Joe Williams, and a month after the election, they found him dead in his house. Everyone thought that Eccles would automatically become a regular committeeman. But the powerful Green State decided that now they could push him back out the door.

SLANDERS START

They circulated a paper saying that the International Union had made a ruling in 1966 that an alternate does not necessarily become committeeman when someone passes on, and that there must be a special election held. Then they told Harold Eccles that if the planned to run he would have to give up his post as Alternate.

The Reuther Green State ran two chief stewards, one Black, the other White, and neither had to give up his office to run.

Many Black workers were pleading with Eccles to run. As soon as he announced he was running, the Green State flooded the shop with leaflets. They accused him of borrowing money from the credit union and going bankrupt to avoid paying his debts, and of suing an active Union member. This leaflet seemed to help Eccles more than anything he could have done for himself.

He had sued to get a job in the tool crib. Many workers knew he could not stand the glare from those electrowelding rods. He suffered with an eye infection for nearly two years, and was laid off on P.Q.X. until the company could place him in a non-welding department. He was out of work for two years, ten months and fourteen days. That was why he went bankrupt with the credit union. He sued the company for his right to be working, and if he had not sued, he would never have been called back. And if the Union leadership had fought for him, he would never have sued at all. Eccles ran again, and he won by nearly a two-to-one margin. The Black chief steward won Alternate. Many workers said there was no sense in spending Union money to have two elections, just to try to defeat one worker because he's not a yes man to the Union's white power structure. Everyone knew he had won the following day, because it was nearly two days before they posted the results on the bulletin board. Otherwise the results would have been posted before we got in the next morning. Now we have four Black and one white committeemen at the Mack Plant.

EIS workers keep up fight, tell boss to 'follow contract'

Middletown, Conn.—The 400 workers at the E.I.S. Automotive Co. have returned to work after their hard-won victory in a bitter, five-month strike, and their solidarity remains strong as they continue their struggle for basic workers' rights on the shop-floor.

Schwartz has nine months to implement the new-won contract language, and he is dragging his heels with every step. But the workers are in no mood to trifle as issues are raised and fought out on a day-to-day basis.

"For 35 years, E.I.S. has had its way," a worker told News & Letters, "but now the union is really in. Basically we are on our way as a solid unit. Solidarity is what we've got, and that's where it's at. I couldn't imagine we'd stuck together like that; it was the longest strike in Conn. for some time."

The most bitter issues are around the posting of jobs, getting job-descriptions straight, and enforcing seniority rights. For example, foremen still insist on giving out jobs arbitrarily and through favoritism, but in one case management had to back down and openly disgrace a foreman when they saw that the women workers were talking of wildcat. They knew the entire plant would back them up.

Nonetheless, management persists in the old practice of shifting people around from job to job in order to cheat them on rates, and there are grievances all the time. For example, it took over a month to get payment on medical drug insurance provisions. Other issues, however, have been won quickly through pressure against management, like the right to wear shorts on the job on hot days and an earlier starting time for summer.

1 1/2 hours to report, I am subject to being fired if late. One man was taken out of service for being 3 minutes late.

AVERAGE ROUND TRIP TIME: Los Angeles to Bakersfield and return: 36 to 46 hours or more.

AT BAKERSFIELD: My away from home terminal, I am subject to call after 8 hours (federal law).

I am subject to being fired if a call is missed. (I must stay by phone 24 hours a day, NO P.A.Y.) Average time waiting for call 12 to 24 hours or more.

NOTE: Room and meal allowance paid by company while away from home, maximum \$3.50 per trip. 12 to 26 hours).

Detroit DPW

'This truck doesn't work any overtime'

Detroit, Mich. — This year's five day long strike by Detroit's predominantly Black sanitation workers was the first this city has ever seen. The sanitation workers refused to give in to the city's policy of mass layoffs for some, followed by heavy workloads and forced overtime for the rest. They held a slow-down on the job for weeks before the strike, and refused to work the hated overtime. When their contract ran out, and all the city unions signed an agreement to continue working on a day-to-day basis, the sanitation workers walked out on strike.

A DPW WORKER TELLS HIS OWN STORY

We went out because we knew it wasn't fair for the city to lay men off and then ask the rest for overtime. There were two layoffs: 250 men lost their jobs in May and June. This was in addition to the first layoff. There is no such thing as "too much work" when there are enough men to do it, and then there is no need for overtime. This is why we held the slowdown and this is why we struck.

The public was with us this time. This is something new that we never had before. The public knew they faced the same thing where they work. We're supposed to be getting \$4.00 an hour retro-

Steel settlement did not include workers' grievances

Pittsburgh, Pa.—The contract is supposed to be settled, but nobody really knows what's in it. Nobody even knows when we will know. We know some of the money terms, but the local issues that the men were the most interested in, the questions about safety and grievances, are still the great unknowns.

The one thing that the locals were demanding was to have more part in the negotiations. Our local president was up there screaming about wanting things ironed out back home before anything was settled. What's going to happen when we find out what has happened to our local grievances and what the contract really says, nobody knows.

Nobody really wanted a strike. Some of the younger men were especially uptight. Everybody today lives close to their money. Who can afford to miss a paycheck? But the way it's worked out, almost everybody

active to when the strike ended, starting August 20. We have a three-year contract this time. When you spread out the money we won over three years, it isn't anything. It's just enough to keep up, but no real gain. Our contracts never used to be three years. They were always one. It's the worst deal I've ever seen.

OVERTIME IS 'ENCOURAGED' BY CITY

They've been pushing for overtime ever since we got back to work. There are a few workers who will give the boss overtime. Some men will work from 7:30 in the morning till 9:00 at night when the sun is down.

I've heard that there are city men following the trucks and watching to see who works overtime. They are going to bring in bigger trucks in October which will hold more and will only need two men instead of three to run them. I'm just waiting for more layoffs. They see how much work they can get out of us, and then they'll turn around and lay some more men off.

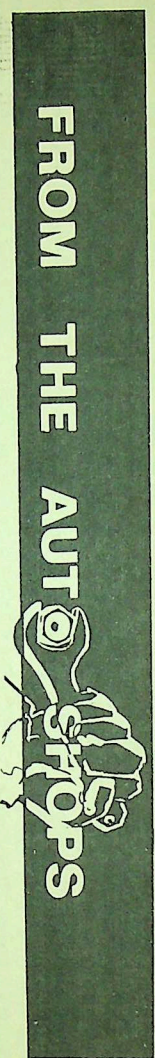
When a quarter of three comes around, whether you finished your assignment or not, you can say no and head for the yard. That's one thing we got. The men I work with, the whole crew, we decided this. Truck don't work no overtime. Everybody knows it. The foreman doesn't even bother to ask us any more. —Detroit DPW worker

is going to have to go without that paycheck anyhow.

Only a skeleton crew is back—men with 37 years seniority. Men with only 25 years seniority have been laid off with all the rest. They say it's because of a lack of orders. Companies stockpiled because they expected a strike, and now they say there are no orders coming in.

Everybody knows that bargaining is like horse-trading. Take the cost of living. We lost that a couple of contracts back. By now steel is so far behind that we really haven't gained that much with the new contract. It does seem that we may have a little better pension program. That may make it easier for some of the men to retire. If it's decent enough for a man to live on, I know 3 or 4 who will retire as soon as it goes into effect.

But the rest of us will just have to wait it out and see what we won—and what we lost. —Steelworker, Pittsburgh



Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — The week before we went down for changeover, a leaflet appeared all over the plant, signed by a new group called the "Fleetwood Revolutionary Workers Committee." It was everywhere, from the body shop to the sixth floor, and most workers thought it told the truth for the first time of what was happening in Fleetwood. We have just gone back to work, and things are no better now than they were then. Here is what the leaflet said:

'WE CAN'T DO ANYTHING FOR YOU UNTIL AFTER LABOR DAY'

That's what the president of our local union says. That's what the committeemen say; that's what the zone men say. They know because the International told them so.

The men from the International came to the body shop, looked at the jobs for a few minutes and went back to their air-conditioned offices. Then you get the word: "Walk with the foreman, like you're walking on eggshells until after Labor Day." It's not just the body shop either—it's the whole plant.

We wonder—if Local 15 and the International is willing to let us suffer until Labor Day, what is going to be different after Labor Day?

When we came back off the strike, every job had more work put on it. If you had to put in a detonator on the fourth floor, now you got four other jobs besides. If you had two guns in the body shop, you got five. Then we supposedly got everything "settled."

But as soon as the jobs were settled, the company broke the settlements and added more work again. How many people who are reading this had your settlement broken, and more work put on? How many have been out on sick leave or missed time because if you didn't you would drop dead? And what about the job they have on the fourth floor that is impossible to do, and when they want to get rid of a brother they put him on it?

How many have seen your committeeman given time off if he fights for you, but if he is no good he can sit up in the committee room all day, or even get a foreman's job? How many of the women have been

forced out of the plant, made to take early retirement or disability because of harassment by management and poor representation by the union? How many people have seen on paper the local settlement on your job on the production line. All our local agreements are just talk, you never get anything in writing.

Do we have to call on SCLC and Rev. Abernathy to come down here to Fleetwood to help us the way the sanitation workers did?

DO WE HAVE TO GO ON WILDCAT THE WAY THE SANITATION WORKERS DID?

WE ARE THE ONLY PEOPLE WE CAN COUNT ON TO LOOK OUT FOR US. That is why we have to stick together. If we don't, we are going to be in chains for the rest of our days. Even our children will be in chains.

—Fleetwood Revolutionary Workers Committee

Ford Rouge

DETROIT, Mich.—Ford has said that we have to lose one committeeman in the Dearborn Assembly. Plant because we don't have enough workers. In the contract it says that we get one committeeman for 250 workers, but in the fine print you find out that the Local 600 By-Laws come first. In the By-Laws of our union, the DAP is cut to one committeeman for 290 workers.

In fact, all the predominantly black units, including DAP, Engine Plant, Frame Plant and the Stamping Plant get one for 290, while Tool and Die, Glass Plant, Transportation, and Maintenance and Construction, which are mostly white, get one committeeman for 210 workers. If this not racism, what is the explanation?

Another problem that all workers in the DAP have now is heat. Many of the fans don't work at all, and it is 105 to 110 degrees in white metal and in No. 16 spray paint booth. The company does not seem to care if you fall out. Health and safety comes last for them. Many areas have oil on the floor, and if you get hurt it's too bad.

All Ford cares about is production. On the wheel-house chrome job, it is impossible to keep it up at 57 jobs an hour. Yet the foreman has been harassing the workers on this job. When is this job going to be settled fairly? —Black worker, DAP



There is no vacation from capitalism

by John Allison

Workers save their vacations to get away from production and the factory. This reporter found out there is no way to hide from capitalism.

To reveal what I mean, while I was on vacation in Roanoke, Va., Bell Telephone workers struck nation-wide. The morning paper, the Roanoke Times, carried a front page ad asking for strike breakers. They stated in the ad that they were seeking temporary help. The article was slanted toward the young Blacks, who were June graduates and unemployed.

MASTER AND SLAVE

Unions in the South are in need of much help from the labor movement. There are still families who own small shops. The relationship toward workers is still master and slave. Unions can help break this ungodly marriage.

A second strike was just ending, which was different from the first. The garbage workers won their strike from the city of Roanoke. Most of the garbage men are Black, but there are a few whites.

They waged a 100 percent strike. No one—not even the unemployed—wanted to take the job of the garbage workers. This made the difference. After a short work stoppage, the garbage workers won their demands.

And when you get back home, you see another side of the same capitalist coin. In Detroit, Chrysler makes huge profits while many Chrysler workers' one-year guaranteed annual wage has run out. Now the union, which told the workers that SUB would stop unemployment, says that management can't be trusted.

NEED MORE THAN SUB

In the next contract SUB is to last as long as seniority. SUB equals seniority. This is part of the answer. Unemployment benefits only last for 26 weeks. Workers would have to change the state law to give them longer protection. These days, workers are laid off, not for 26 weeks, but for years.

Postal pact: 20 yrs. backward

New York, N.Y.—On June 30, many big cities across the country held strike rallies, and if a strike had been called then, all the crucial mail centers would have been shut down. On July 1, the first official day of the "new" United States Postal Service, we took a strike vote in N.Y. There was no doubt about how we all felt, and for that reason the national union office immediately had the ballot boxes impounded, and also had a trusteeship ready to take over our local.

LEADERS PLAY POLITICS

From then on, our local leaders isolated themselves from us and tried to play politics with other rank-and-file leaders across the country. When Nixon and Blount and the USPS got those seven national leaders to sign one of the worst contracts in labor history, for 750,000 workers, all our local could tell us was that there was a conspiracy to break our union, and that if we struck it would be suicide.

We aren't under the protection of Civil Service anymore, and a worker may be suspended on the floor for a number of reasons, including the catch-all, "incompetence." He then has only 48 hours to appeal the suspension, and then is put in a non-pay status until his hearing, which may take up to six months. The only workers' grievances which are "legitimate" are those that violate the national contract.

PAY INCREASE TINY

As for our pay raise, it comes to about 4% here in N.Y., or less than \$200 net per year, with a laughable \$90 average cost-of-living increase. Seniority is gone; you can bid for an assignment on seniority, but once you get it, the boss can transfer you to another job the next day.

Management also got the right to introduce new machines whenever and wherever they want. We already have automated key-punch sorting machines in our station. The clerk must punch through a letter a second, and can't stretch, talk, smoke, or take his eyes off the letters going by.

In spite of these new machines and new uniforms for the carriers and a new name, the USPS is trying to take the postal worker back to where he was 20 years ago. We will be working harder and harder while the public will be paying higher and higher rates for less service. —N.Y. letter carrier

Nixon to Peking: 'journey to peace' or to new alliance for war?

(Continued from Page 1)

revolution is being carried out, it is the enemy. And it is that enemy that North Vietnam addressed when it said that the days are gone when Big Powers could "make small countries bow to their arrangements."

Are those days gone?

US ENTERS SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT

"10 years overdue," read the jubilant approvals of the new Nixon line of a rapprochement with China. When the Sino-Soviet conflict burst into the open in 1969, part of academia has been whispering into the ears of various Administrations that (1) there was no reason why "we" need fear that Mao's revolutionary verbiage was directed against the US; the contiguous enemy No. 1 for China, was Russia, not the US; (2) that the Communist world wasn't a "monolith," which meant the US had global elbow room; and that, therefore (3) peaceful co-existence with China was both possible and desirable. Why entertain illusions about the bear hug of a country astride both Asia and Europe who had placed missiles in Cuba?

The last person in the world, however, who academia thought would initiate a 100-degree turn in foreign affairs was Nixon who had risen to prominence under the McCarthy aegis, been a pupil of the Eisenhower-Dulles Pactomania grinding the globe, via NATO, SEATO and CENTO, not to mention Nixon's friendship with the ultra-reactionary China Lobby.

Yet, while the scholars were thinking of going at it "step by step," dreaming about China's admission to the UN with a seat on the Security Council (that is, with veto power), Nixon is moving on so many fronts all at once that he left out in the cold, not merely academia, but Taiwan and Japan, which means the whole of East, South and Southeast Asia. What is called into question is the "Nixon Doctrine" itself, from "Vietnamization" of an ongoing war to all sorts of reactionary alliances, stretching from Indonesia to South Korea and from the Philippines to Japan. All old alliances are now up for grabs.

Whether or not the Nixon trip to Peking comes off as presently planned; whether or not Mao's China can get North Vietnam to agree to a repeat of a 1954 type of Big Power conference (sans Russia); and whether or not a Sino-American alliance would ever become a reality, primarily against Russia, the fact is the very projection of a Mao-Nixon meeting discloses, if not several double crosses, surely the possibility of the most

fantastic political reshuffle since the end of World War II, Mao's conquest of power in China, and the Korean War.

THE WORLD CRISIS PAX AMERICANA, AND MAO'S 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION'

The 1960s ended with a disclosure that ever-widening world crises keep appearing in the post-World War II world even during periods of prosperity. First and foremost, there is the truth that world economic development, be it private, mixed, or state-capitalist calling itself Communist, is in a generalized state of stagnation. Not only has it been impossible to industrialize the technologically underdeveloped countries that are in chronic crises, but the Big Powers themselves, be they nuclearly armed like the US and Russia, or in a forced state of non-militarization and experimenting "miraculous" rates of growth, like West Germany and Japan, can nevertheless not reach "full automation," much less full employment, not to mention that, without militarization, they do not carry weight in this imperialistic world.

CHINA: VOICES OF REVOLT

Excerpts from the document "Whither China?," written by a revolutionary opposition group inside China itself, SHENG-WU LIEN. It is a strong attack on "the bourgeois state machine,"—OF CHINA!

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Put differently, extraction of ever greater amounts of unpaid hours of labor from living labor being the motive force of production, while the method of production calls for ever greater machines and ever lesser amounts of living labor, makes the crisis total. Thus, "affluence" notwithstanding, present-day capitalism is still faced with a drop in the rate of profit, no matter how lush the mass. The result is a generalized global state of economic stagnation which keeps the world in social crisis moving in a circle of perpetual economic recessions, phenomenal militarization, actual wars, and back again down the same path of crises.

Secondly, friendly trade wars being as characteristic of capitalism as actual class wars, the US is now being

all been waiting to "get back into China to do studies" and exploit the Chinese. They will be proclaiming the clean streets, on-time trains, nurseries and rural doctors as if that means everybody is happy in China.

Nobody seems to point out that these rural medical teams crop up when China has to get the rice crop in. It seems as though nobody but Marxist-Humanists care about the workers and peasants at the point of production.

Hospital Worker
New Yorker

Intellectual
New Yorker

The Pentagon Papers may seem not to have revealed anything new to revolutionaries who take it for granted that capitalist lies as well as cheats. But that's just it—plenty of people still believe in "democracy" and were not convinced by radical talk, but they were convinced by the publication of the Pentagon Papers.

One little human act undermined more than the "systems" analysts took years to construct. It killed the myth of capitalist "truth."

Engineer
Chicago

NIXON, MAO, AND STATE-CAPITALISM

I don't know what will happen with Nixon and China, but I think it will be a good experience for some of the younger movement people to watch the Maoists do flip-flops over the Nixon trip, as the Stalinists did with Hitler-Stalin. A lot of political lines are going to be changed.

Woman Worker
New Yorker

I wonder how many Maoists will be registering Republican?

Reader
New Yorker

Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of the historical development of Maoism is going to be more than ever necessary to keep in mind now, as all the old "China watchers" come out. They have

alliance for war?

subjected to savage competition from Japan and a challenge to its dollar standing by West Germany. So serious is the situation that Nixon, this January, created a Council on International Economic Policy to be the counterpart to his National Security Council which just initiated the Nixon-Mao talks-to-be. Computerized or otherwise, facts cannot hide the reality: the end of the Korean War did not regain for Pax Americana its place in the world market. From 1955 to 1970 the share of the US in trade of industrialized countries dropped from one-third to one-fifth of world trade. The Commerce Department last month announced that for the first time since 1950, not only had the US exported less than it purchased from abroad, but if the deficit continues throughout the year (and, with the Vietnam war expenditures continuing, so will the deficits), it would signify something that had not happened in the US since 1893!

With neither unemployment nor inflation abating, even the "hard hats" will not vote for Nixon in 1972. In a word, were even one not to look at the breaking points—the Black Revolution and Women's liberation, the anti-Vietnam war movement and Women's liberation, rank and file labor wildcatting and official strikes—it is clear that what used to be called the "American way of life," much less the Nixon Administration, is not the way of the majority of the American people.

As for the other Big Power, Russia has long since learned, that the state of economic stagnation, of militarization, of war, cannot be circumvented through the most grandiose Plans. Russia, too, was subjected both to economic crises and social revolts, especially in its satellites. Nor did this come about only in rebellious states like Czechoslovakia that fought for its freedom, and was crushed by the tanks of the superpower. 1970 ended and 1971 began with Poland, which had teed the line in the field of foreign policy, bursting out in strikes and uprisings against economic oppression, excessive price rises, uncontrolled inflation, a stifling life.

That nothing, nothing short of a social revolution can totally uproot the exploitative capital-labor relationship in the modern world can be seen also in that allegedly most revolutionary land, China, during the so-called Cultural Revolution. Ostensibly directed against "capitalist roaders" and "revisionists" it was in fact, a preventive civil war against the Chinese masses, including the youth who had taken seriously Mao's dec-

(Continued on Page 7)

Reader's

tion's economy more and more to that form. The situation is monstrous.

Worker
Chicago

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Three cheers for Bernadette Devlin, who has made it clear to all the world that she considers her private life (and morals) a private matter, and her political life alone a public one.

The interview she gave to Mary Cummins of the Irish Times was great to read. While she said that she could not justify abortion to herself, she made it clear that she considered it something "people have to decide for themselves." Her decision was no.

I was at the meeting in East London she addressed the day she announced her pregnancy, and there were dozens of news photographers there, all trying to get a shot of Bernadette (profile, of course), and flashing their bulbs all through her speech. One worker in the audience had finally had enough of it, and rose to demand the photographers either sit down and listen to Devlin, or leave the hall.

It was three cheers for him, too. Because they all sat down and let the audience hear what they had come for—a political speech by Mrid-Ulster's revolutionary representative, who just happened to be pregnant.

Correspondent
England

I was most interested to read the letter last issue on what Women's Liberation is doing in Ireland to get contraceptives. The political buffoons who are "friends of the fetus" are the same ones who refuse to provide day care for children, and abandon the fetus once it is born.

Reader
Illinois

Your committee is truly revolutionary.

The opportunity for a newer theory exceeds the primitiveness of the Trotskyists and so-called New Left. Are there people in communications range in Texas? We're planning a conference in fall, and past conferences have been invaded by Spartacists and YSA. If there's to be any real politics there will have to be more Marxist-Humanist organizers with real influence.

New Supporter
Texas

ISRAELI LEFT

There is a new group here called New Israeli Left which has organized the demonstrations against settlement in Hebron, on Golda's lawn, against the Gaza outrages, and lately has participated also in the Israeli "Black Panthers" activities. . . . Ideologically our people are very critical of both the U.S.A. and the USSR policies, both in the Middle East and in the world at large, and it's clear to us that China plays a great power policy, too. A Left Humanism, like your views, probably fits most of us.

Correspondent
Israel

DANISH LEFT

Denmark ranks highest in all of Europe in wild-cat strikes. Strikes mushroom all over. If you stick out your neck, they can fire you and blacklist you. One organization (Arbejder Solidaritet) has been formed with the purpose of building a strike fund, and as this is illegal, the police are registering everyone involved. Most are students who feel this is their cause.

Since 1968 many study circles and other political activities have sprung up among the workers. This has resulted in organized protest and joint action. Recently construction workers who are suffering over 30 percent unemployment in many areas, got together in a huge demonstration, during which the Prime

YOUTH FOCUS

TWO REVIEWS

Pretenders to the revolution

Ed. Note—Not a single element of the freedom movements, whether that be the Black revolt, the youth movement, anti-war or others, will remain untouched by the new world developments put in motion by the Nixon-Mao talks-to-come. These two book reviews, sent in by young student correspondents, reflect two of these areas in the "battle of ideas".

Stokely

Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism, by Stokely Carmichael, 229 pp. New York, Random House, \$6.95.

The greatness of Carmichael's first book (**Black Power**, written with Charles Hamilton) was that, while it was general abstract theory at best, at least it tried to build upon the struggles and toils of Blacks in Lowndes County, Ala., and elsewhere, who had made Black Power come alive. In contrast, Carmichael's second book, **Stokely Speaks**, a collection of his speeches, has little of this mass-rooted theory.

THE EDITOR ACTS as apologist for Carmichael and explains that "Stokely remains silent" to the anti-Stokely attacks that proliferated out of the Black Power movement in 1966 and that "... it is to Mr. Carmichael to turn a deaf ear to opponents of Black 'changes'..." (p. xii.) While it was easy for Carmichael to turn a deaf ear to opponents of Black Power, he could not turn away from the Black masses who insisted that he was running away from the problems at home.

Blacks had asked Stokely why was he "going away when we need him most over here." They asked him "what does that (Africa) have to do with us when Harlem is on fire over here." And one sister spoke for many when she asked if he "had gone over to Africa and found another cause" (p. xiii). This book is an attempt to answer these questions. However, Stokely succeeds in doing the exact opposite: the trail

Fidel

Guerrillas in Power, by K. S. Karol, Hill and Wang, 1970.

K. S. Karol's newest book on Cuba, **Guerrillas in Power**, has received international publicity, thanks to Fidel Castro's denunciation of Karol as "definitely a CIA agent"; the "implication" of Karol and other European intellectuals in the recent forced "confessions" of Cuban writers such as Herberto Padilla; and the whole international publicity surrounding the Padilla affair generated by the protests to Fidel by such left intellectuals as Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Susan Sontag.

WHILE THE BOOK has many faults, it is much more than a mere justification of state-capitalism with only enough reservations to make effective propaganda, as was Karol's earlier travelogue, **China: The Other Communism**.

It is a collage of interviews, anecdotes, summary history of Cuba, and attempts at analysis. The entire work is warped by a leader mystification most apparent in the section on Cuban history which ignores the masses almost completely. Significantly, Karol barely mentions that 1968, that phenomenal year of workers' revolts had its chapter in Cuba as well, when a wave of sabotage swept Cuban factories and some sugar mills burned, which Fidel denounced as the work of "parasitic elements" but, interestingly, not of CIA agents.

TO HIS CREDIT, Karol does point out and document how Cuba has been turned into an agricultural colony of the Russian empire, with early plans for industrialization having been scrapped in favor of increased sugar production. He also points to the root of the failure of the Cuban revolution by stating Gramscian's figures (1966-1968) that Cuban workers average only four hours of productive work daily, but then adding his explanation that "Cuba, like Eastern Europe," has this problem "because the relationship between man and society remains defective."

Karol's book ultimately fails to offer any constructive way out for Cuba or other Third World nations because it ends, not with an analysis of state-capitalism, but with a veiled appeal to Fidel to resurrect the idealism of the early July 26 movement and to join with "revolutionary" China. Marxists believe that just as Vietnam is not a matter of U.S.'s mistakes, so the wreck of Cuba is not a matter of Fidel's errors or failures as an individual, but rather its part and parcel of the era of state-capitalism, which this month has Karol's "revolutionary" Chinese friends inviting Nixon to visit while U.S. planes continue to terrorize the population of Southeast Asia.

—Reader, Hartford, Conn.

follows a Black intellectual from Mississippi and Black America to Guinea and Osegyelo Nkrumah's arms.

THE CRUCIALNESS of historical moments is completely separated from Stokely's talks, so much that he is removed from actual mass events on the historical stage. One speech, for instance, "Dialectics of Liberation" was given in England at the very moment Detroit and Newark burst forth with voices of revolt. Far from labeling Carmichael as a omniscent prophet, the fact that the blacks did this without cue from Carmichael and other "leaders," gives the lie to Carmichael's "dialectics" which is a "program" for revolt. After this great mass-actively Carmichael rose to take credit, but not until black people asked him "where were you, when we did our thing?"

Later, Stokely explained:

Many people said I was a coward. They said I ran. When I came back they said I was a CIA agent. Can't win for losing. Many said that I was in 'self-imposed exile'. Obviously that is incoherent nonsense. How could I be in exile when I am at home in Africa, where I come from, and when I left of my own free will? (p. 188)

Thus it is not surprising that the final essay, while not much of a summary of the book, is in itself, a summary of Carmichael's horizon. Where in the past, Black America did get a word or two, now everything is Africa, Africa, Africa. The fact that Carmichael packed his bags for adventurous Algeria and Guinea was not an accident. Nor is his absence from Black America during the revolts purely chance. It is rather that he has always been more interested in identifying with every place but Black America.

STOKELY IS SO conscious of his people's plight that he screams: more theory, more praxis. But the problem is Carmichael's very concept of what constitutes theory, and what his responsibility is in developing revolutionary praxis. History isn't yesterday's tales and quotes from Sartre and Mao. It is rather the record of the struggle of men for freedom not only yesterday but today, too. Stokely believes in talking to the masses, but a dialogue consists of talking and listening. Yet even that is not enough by itself. One needs to have a philosophy that meets those voices.

In true revolutionary praxis, theory is not just "speeches" but is practiced in everyday life. In praxis, Pan-Africanism is not running away to Africa, but developing one's internationalism by dealing with problems at home. Despite the fact that this book was offered as Carmichael's response to the challenge of the Black masses, the challenge has not been met. Despite the fact that it tried to show that "Stokely is with us," it only unfolded an ever greater gap between Stokely Carmichael and the Black masses.

Without an ear to the ground to listen to the voices from below, Pan-Africanism becomes an elite umbrella covering class, and cultural lines in the "third world." This is the umbrella that Stokely Carmichael seizes for shelter from the "storms of Black America" where unemployment, racism, and protest are rampant. Thus, "Stokely Speaks," but is anybody listening?
—Elliott Douglass

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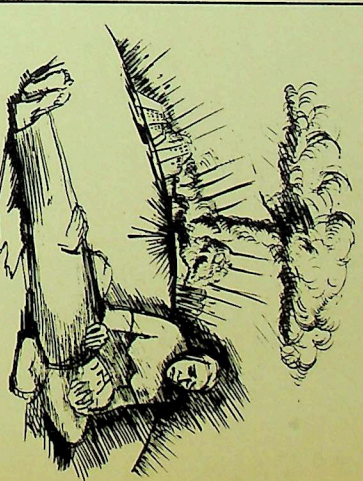
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LEST WE EVER FORGET — Hiroshima, Nagasaki

Paralyzed Vietnam GI marches against war

The Nixon-China developments appear to have already affected the anti-war movement, if the turnout at the demonstrations to commemorate the infamous 1945 atom-bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima on Aug. 6 and 9 is any indication. Many returning Vietnam veterans, however, continue to stand firm in their determination to end the war. The following story was given to N&L by a young white veteran at the Aug. 7 anti-war protest in Detroit.

We have no reason to be in Vietnam. The politicians have been getting rich in Washington, while the poor man has been getting poorer in the ghettos, and we have been getting killed in Vietnam.

Now that the veterans are coming back they can't even get jobs. I spent 13 months over there, four of them in a hospital. My arm is paralyzed. I've been back five days and I don't know when I'll ever get work. But I don't have it as bad as the guys with families to support. My family is keeping me. Who is going to keep all the others?

My dad was a captain in World War I and II. He's glad the young kids are doing something about this war. I think there might be a revolution in this country and the veterans will lead it. If something isn't done about the situation. With the cost of living going up more and more all the time, who can live on unemployment compensation?

I'm not so different from any of the others. When I got to Vietnam, I was just plain scared. Nobody knew where to turn. The sergeants and the generals—they didn't care. They said we were there to fight, not to be scared.

I didn't want to go in. I didn't feel I had the right to shoot somebody I didn't know. When we heard the news about the demonstration in Washington, D.C. last spring, everybody I talked to said they wished they were there. We could have told a lot. The newspapers only tell half the story.

I'm out now. But I want to see all the guys get out. Nixon says he's getting us out, but nobody really believes it will happen. How can you believe that when you read what is happening in Cambodia?
—D. T., unemployed veteran

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Nixon to Peking: 'journey to peace' or to new alliance for war?

(Continued from Page 4)

laration that "it is right to rebel." All one has to do to see the real conditions in China is to read "Whether China," the document of that extra-ordinary revolution-ary phenomenon, Sheng-wu-lien.*

At the moment, Mao and Chou take great pains to explain they have put down the "ultra-left," and, indeed, they couldn't move so openly, so shamelessly, into the dirty arena of class-compromiser politics had there been a "second revolution." Instead, the poverty, the exploitative relations, the workers demanding different conditions of labor, the actual strikes in the cities and general discontent in country, as well as the critical international situation, from the collapse of the Diakaria-Peking axis to near-war conditions with Russia, compelled the rulers to take a "deeper" look at the world as is.

At one and the same time, the rulers of China put down the "ultra-lefts", saddled the country with a Constitution in which the military is the decisive force and after Mao's death, Lin Biao is already anointed as the one to rule reversal is yet to come as they act out their "discovery", that Nixon is "less bad."

COUNTER-REVOLUTION BY ANY OTHER NAME

While this hardly equals the Russian accusation (not yet public, but sent to those who side with Russia in the **The Hunan Revolutionary Committee (Sheng-wu-lien) had three of its documents published in China, and these are now translated and reproduced in Peking and the New Left, by Klaus Mehnert, China Research Monographs, U.C. Berkeley, 1968. Key excerpts have been mimeographed by News & Letters.

BLACK-RED VIEW Trials—Angela, Ruchell, Huey

By JOHN ALAN

Blacks and whites paraded through the streets of Berkeley and Oakland on Saturday afternoon, July 31. Starting with about 200 participants, the march, organized as a show of solidarity for Angela Davis, increased to an estimated 800 people by the time the rally point at Bobby Hutton Memorial Park in Oakland was reached.

This was the first open rally that has been held in the Bay Area for Angela Davis and it was widely publicized on local radio station KDNA whose programming is directed mostly towards the Black community..

One of the features of the march was trucks loaded with simulated mailbags representing tons of mail which has been withheld from Angela by the Marin County authorities. An organizer for the march said "Over half a million letters from East Germany alone have been withheld in the past two weeks". Monitors of the march were members of the New Republic of Africa, an organization which advocates the setting up of a separate Black Republic within the bounds of the United States.

Sponsors of the parade and rally were: The Bay Area Committee to Free Angela Davis; Mayor Wideman, Councilmen Bailey and Simmons and Councilwoman Hancock of Berkeley, elected by the much publicized April 6 Coalition; The Young Workers Liberation League (a newly formed Communist Party sponsored youth group); the Oakland local of the American Federation of Teachers; and the Bay Area Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

'No safety on the docks'

(Continued from Page 1)

One example where a worker got hurt occurred not too long ago. There was an open hatch. The contract says you have to cover an open hole with a hatch cover or a steel plate. But they didn't want to take the time to do that, so the company threw a piece of plywood over the hole. A worker lifted the plywood because he thought it was just loose and in the way. The worker fell into the hole and almost all the way through. He caught himself by his shoulders and that stopped him from taking an 18 foot fall to the deck, but he was off the job for seven months because of the damage done to his shoulder. It will probably never be the same.

This whole safety thing is a farce as far as the company is concerned. The safety men have no power. It is the immediate supervisor who decides and he works for the stevedore company.

The attitude of the steamship companies is to get the tonnage out quick. They say get it out quick and you get to go home. Break your ass. But for what? To save the \$1,200 dollar a day dock charges for the ship. When it is in their favor, the company is always willing to break the rules.

—Longshoreman, Los Angeles

Communist world) that Mao's China, for "nationalist, chauvinist" reasons is allying with U.S. imperialism against Russia. It does disclose that China is ready to play the same game Russia has been playing with the U.S.

Why should the Movement be interested in games the rulers of the world are playing? Shouldn't it be all too obvious that to Big Powers, be they private capitalist or state-capitalist calling themselves Communist, the national liberation movements are expendable? Why for that matter "take sides" in breaks within the ruling class, be they the right wing critics of Nixon who claim that Mao-Chou are such shrewd bargainers that if we are sending such "novices" as Nixon-Kissinger, we better also throw in Vida Blue? Or be they the proponents of Nixon who claim that Mao is taking the Nixon Doctrine "seriously", believe he is "fully" withdrawing U.S. troops from Indochina, and, "therefore", China feels it can do business with the U.S.?

Any such concerns would only lead to the greatest delusion of all—the propagation of the view that Chou En-lai is only "flirting" with Nixon, but his heart, soul and "principles" are all in Vietnam. The only thing of China's that is in Vietnam is its double tongue. The single grain of truth that makes possible any willful delusion is that Vietnam is not the centerpiece of China's worry. Russia is. This being so, however, means that no price is too high to pay, including a sellout of Vietnam, if, in exchange, Mao can either achieve an alliance against Russia, or see Russia engaged a two-front war.

This should have been clear ever since U.S. imperialism started raining bombs on North Vietnam in February, 1965, and yet China refused a united front with Russia in defense of North Vietnam. Indeed, the aid

LITTLE SAID OF MAGEE

Aside from the chanting along the line of march—"I do know/what I believe/Ruchell and Angela, have got to be free!"—there was very little said about Ruchell Magee. This was definitely a rally for Miss Davis as the prime defendant, and since the separation of Angela and Ruchell as co-defendants, upon a motion offered by Angela's attorneys, the personality of Magee is being de-emphasized everywhere except in the pages of the Black Panther paper.

This motion, made by Angela's attorneys, and its prompt granting by pre-trial Judge Anderson, sent a visible shockwave through the audience of Blacks and whites who have been daily attending the tedious pre-trial hearings. Attendance at the hearings now consists of only reporters and court functionaries—the popular mass supporters so faithful until now are staying away.

The separation of the two cases may not be entirely due to Angela's wishes (it may even have been due to Magee's wishes), but it does indicate a culmination of the change of "tactics"—not just a change in courtroom demeanor on the part of the defense, but a sharp limiting of the method of defense by confining it solely within the framework of bourgeois legality. There is a marked difference between Angela's defense and the first trial of Huey Newton (not the second trial, which has just ended in a mistrial with a hung jury).

HUEY'S TRIAL AND GHETTO YOUTH

At that time the Panthers were coming from a totally different direction. They had absorbed the tremendous vitality, along with the frustrations of the brave and tragic experience of the Black people in the Civil Rights Movement, and had reached the conclusion, along with a large segment of that Movement, that the reform of capitalist society by the enactment of new laws would NOT root out racism and oppression, regardless of how hard the struggle was waged.

From the beginning, the Panthers identified the trial of Huey Newton with the plight of Black youth in the ghettos, building a defense both in and out of the courtroom, around the organic nature of racism and oppression in capitalist society. They got the Peace & Freedom Party to make the defense of Huey a main issue in their election campaigns.

Whatever advantage Angela's defense gained in the legal process by separating the defendants, Ruchell Magee did, and does, remain as a symbol of Black revolt to many young people who are no longer concerned with the subtleties of the law, which in their thinking and experience is already totally corrupted with racial and class bias.

This may not necessarily be the way the case will be conducted, if for no other reason than the Nixon-Mao detente—which will have its ramifications in the fact that the Russian-oriented Communist Party will now try to appear as more revolutionary than the China-oriented parties.

In the final analysis the real defense of Angela Davis transcends her coterie of lawyers and her particular leftist political supporters. The real defense is where there is total identification with the merging struggles for mass Black liberation.

he did give was nowhere on the scale. Mao's China gave Pakistan in its war with India when Chinese troops were moved to the border with India. And Mao is sticking to that alliance with West Pakistan when the enemy is not India, but the East Pakistani masses, against whom the fascist generals, with much military help from China, are practicing genocide.

As for U.S. imperialism, it has no intention whatever of withdrawing all troops and arms from Vietnam unless the American people compel it to do so. From Truman who aided French imperialism to try to hold on to Indo-China, through Eisenhower-Kennedy-Johnson who created American puppets and turned the civil war into a full-scale American war, to Nixon who has to face the reality of the American defeat and the massive opposition at home by withdrawing the main body of the "land army" in Vietnam, but keeping "a residual force," there has been no fundamental change in the basic line of keeping U.S. imperialism dominant in Asia, with or without Asian "allies". U.S. imperialism is out for global mastery. And this it cannot hope to achieve unless the present revolutionary opposition forces are destroyed.

It is here, at home, where the contest will be decided. There will be no peace abroad any more than at home except through social revolution. It is here that Nixon will meet his Waterloo.

THE ANSWER IS AT HOME

The wars abroad go hand in hand with the unceasing wars at home—against the Black Revolution, against labor against the anti-Vietnam War movement, especially the youth as its decisive force. Whatever illusions Nixon has about trying to win that 1972 election by going to Peking and thereby, he hopes, fragmenting the anti-Vietnam war movement, they will come to naught, provided the Movement neither falls into the trap set by Mao's "Cultural Revolution", nor, at home, separates the anti-Vietnam war movement from the class struggles as well as the Black Revolution, much less keeps the struggles separated from a total philosophy of liberation.

Therefore, the demand for total and immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam must show itself to be equally against any pole of world capital, East or West.

Therefore, the demand for national self-determination for South Vietnam must not be subordinated to North Vietnam. Indeed, the national liberation movement in South Vietnam fought many years before ever it finally got support from North Vietnam. Self-determination is violated when made dependent on any pole of the existing state powers, be it a bi-polar or a tri-polar world, or, for that matter, a world divided into quintuplicate by Western Europe and Japan likewise demanding their "spheres of influence."

This is the challenge the anti-Vietnam war movement must now face. Otherwise it will suffer fragmentation. The mere announcement of a projected Nixon-Mao meeting has already deflected from the courageous act of Daniel Ellsberg in making the secret Pentagon Papers public as well as blurt the impact of the revelations of three decades of deception of the American people. Just as we must not allow Nixon-Mitchell to railroad Dr. Ellsberg to jail, so we must not allow the Sino-Soviet orbit in conflict or otherwise, to channelize our thinking and our doing. Only a Movement independent of all existing state powers can remake the world on totally new, truly human foundations because only its banner will be unshuffled by exploitative power and have self-development of mankind as its motive power. That is the only freedom worth dying and living for.

"Some self-styled revolutionaries are ready to forgive Mao every crime in the book and leave a few blank pages for those he might invent later, on the ground that he is the foe of U.S. imperialism, which is the chief enemy of world revolution. They are ignorant of fundamental class divisions within each country, China included, and illogically think those opposites, war and revolution."

From new appendix, "Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'" in

New British Edition

Marxism and Freedom

—from 1776 to Today
by Raya Dunayevskaya

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By Eugene Walker

The myth of Pan-Arabism: Sudan, Libya, Jordan

WORLD IN VIEW

Far from any new Pan-Arabism emerging, despite the efforts of Libya's Colonel Muammar Qaddafi to be a new Nasser, the divisions, fe-dayeen and King, Sudanese "socialists" and Sudanese communists, corrupt monarch and the military, to name just a few, predominate.

On top of this comes the big powers who care nothing for self-determination either of nations or of people. U.S. supplies arms to Jordan's Hussein to use against his own people. It supplies them to Israel which uses them in its occupied territories. Russia gives arms to all against Israel and watches as they are used against Arab masses. China has also recently entered the stage with aid, trade and diplomatic recognition. Let us look at some recent developments:

Sudan—The coup and counter-coup which occurred over three days has resulted in the execution of 14 alleged leaders, the arrest of over 1,000 who are accused of being Communists or their sympathizers, and the seizure of books and propaganda including paperback works by Lenin and Marx. General Gaafar al-Nimriy after being restored to power called for the population to seize all "communists" and turn them over to the police.

The politics of the coup and counter-coup involve many parties inside the country, inside the Arab world, and perhaps further. Nimriy had earlier purged his government of a number of officers many of whom had opposed any joining of Sudan to a federation of Egypt, Syria and Libya. One provision of the federation specifically called for outside assistance to quell disorders or uprisings in any of the Federation countries.

Joining these dissident officers in opposition to any movement into a federation were militants of the Sudanese Communist party, the strongest in the Arab world. They along with other elements of the country, including the forgotten people in this coup and counter-coup, the Black Sudanese of the South, had stopped an initial Sudan entry into the Federation. But Nimriy had vowed to enter later this year. Meanwhile in both coup and coun-

ter-coup only lip service was paid by both sides to "the Southern Problem" and in new repressive measures now occurring they will be the losers. One third of the population is Black and lives in the three southern provinces. The other two thirds of the country of 15 million are Moslem Arabs.

"The Southern Problem" goes back to the 19th century when Arab slave traders flourished in the South. The rebellion has taken more than 500,000

Israel

Israel—The Black Panthers of Israel are activists who are largely of Oriental origin—Jews who emigrated from Moslem countries of North Africa and the Middle East. In demonstrations they have sought to bring attention to the poor living conditions of the Oriental Jewish community. Some 70 percent of those who start elementary school are of Oriental origin, and only 16 percent who finish high school are of the same background.

Israeli leaders say that they cannot cope with social problems within their society while there is the threat of war from a ring of hostile Arab neighbors. But in the four years since the '67 war when the country was under siege, the standard of living for the middle class has increased rapidly, with the number of automobiles on the road doubling and the travel of prosperous Israelis increasing. It seems that those under siege are now the 20 percent of the population that lives below the poverty line.

Latin America

Mexico—Last June a political riot in Mexico City left 13 dead. Some 1,000 right wing toughs (the Falcons) attacked a demonstration of 10,000 university students.

Investigation of the riot has shown that the Falcons appear to be organized, trained, armed and paid by conservative business interests and a faction within the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party. Shortly

lives. The Black Sudanese are demanding independence from the North, but the coup and counter-coup will mean a repression against any who oppose Nimriy.

Jordan—Over the last 10 months the repression of guerrilla forces in Jordan has been carried on relentlessly with the quiet support of the U.S. which supplies the arms.

The fedayeen for its part tried to carry on a struggle against Israel, against "reactionary" Arab states,

after an official investigation began which showed that the attackers had been carried in municipal trucks and that police had made no effort to intervene, the mayor of Mexico City and his police chief resigned.

Cuba—Fidel Castro, addressing a plenary meeting on production and establishing a National Trade Union of Maritime and Port Workers, called attention to the impelling necessity to push through progressive mechanization of port work. He stated there is an excess of personnel in the ports as a whole and he called for an increase in productivity and a struggle to eradicate absenteeism.

Asia

Ceylon—Some five months after a left-inspired rebellion, the government of Ceylon figures note that 1,200 were killed and over 14,000 arrested.

And no wonder. This "socialist" government in its year in power has done little to change the terrible conditions of unemployment and under-employment that the youth of Ceylon face. Of the 585,000 unemployed in a country with a whole total population of 13 million, close to 500,000 are under 24.

The "socialist" government and its police force have continued with repression including shooting of many young people. The counter-revolution is within the revolution with Trotskyists, socialists and Communists inside the country and the big powers of the United States, Russia and China outside the country, all supporting the Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike as she puts down the youth of Ceylon.

against "progressive" governments favorable to a negotiated settlement at the expense of Palestine, against the big powers. All without an order of priorities. Most tragic was its failure to take a clear stand against Jordan's King Hussein. Posing under the illusion that his objective was negotiations with Israel, his major concern was in reality to reassert royal authority throughout the country so he could then choose whether to make war or peace.

Europe

Czechoslovakia—A Prague dissident writing about the "barefaced fascism creeping into the day-to-day life" of his country discussed the cultural field where plays are censored, film makers cannot produce films, TV and radio programs have been cancelled. But his document is more than facts but an appeal to the Left in the West:

"When we in Czechoslovakia read the Western press whether it is Communist, Left, Center, or Right, we are shaken by a horrible doubt as to whether anyone is still interested in this country . . . Can people be aware that this 'Barbaria of the spirit . . . is a condition typical of all fields of endeavour . . . What of the Left? Does the international unity of the Left stop at the Elbe, merely because Czechoslovakia's problems are not the same as those with which the Left in the West is concerned? Let us hope that it is not so, for it would be too stupid, and even too dangerous, if it were."

Italy—Recent events in Italy give cause for some alarm. The Name—where: the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement had adopted as its emblem—has been bursting forth and attracting crowds of people at rallies and has recently picked up support in Italian elections, especially in Sicily. The constant unrest, the succession of scandals, the musical chairs that passes for government, including the largest Communist Party in Western Europe are contributing to a tremendous sense of frustration which many from the old fascist movement are taking advantage of.

TWO WORLDS Scotland, England, France—and Marxist-Humanism

(Continued from Page 5)

the other hand, are all so permeated with the concept of the "backwardness of the workers," that some told us that the idea of having a worker as editor of our paper was "fictitious" workers.

The idea that workers can not only speak for themselves but that they are the source of all theory seems impossible for those who consider themselves the "vanguard" to conceive. They are so concerned with becoming "mass" organizations, with influencing the struggles by proposing the best strategy, that they cannot see that "organization" begins with organization of your own thought. And for our age that means recognizing that there is a movement from practice—from the actual struggles of our day—to theory, which demands a theory to meet it. Listening to the thoughts of the workers, the minorities, the women, the youth, far from being intellectual abdication, is the beginning of a new stage of cognition.

That is why we felt that of all of the questions we were asked—and we were asked many—the most basic was raised by a young worker in Edinburgh, who asked simply: do you believe in the vanguard party? The conception of Vanguard party to lead equates the role of the revolutionary party with recruiting all of the advanced militant workers who, together with the leadership of the party, would lead the workers to socialist victory. All the workers would have to do is recognize that these leaders represented them and would create a new society in which the working class would be free. After the workers made the revolution, that is.

We pointed out the administrative mentality reflected in this conception of leadership, and the difference in the philosophy presented in the pages of Marxism and Freedom. But it is not easy to overcome such entrenched ideas. What helped to show the idea was our report of the continuing wildcat strike experience of



Workers marched in Glasgow to protest threat of closing Upper Clyde Shipyard.

the U.S. working class, and especially the revolutionary role of the Blacks both in industry and in life as a whole.

THE BRITISH AND the French editions of Marxism and Freedom were never more needed. The need for theory, as contrasted with the endless pursuit of the

"right tactics," or the "right strategy," to which so much of the Left has reduced its politics is made more urgent than ever by the objective situation, which is explosive.

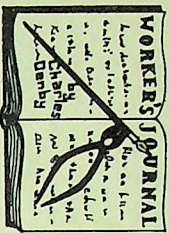
Your new introduction to the French edition, which analyzes that crucial year, 1968,—and the new appendix which reprints the Sheng Wu Lien document as the new voices of revolt from inside China—are essential for the French Left to grapple with. And Harry McShane's new Preface to the British edition puts the challenge on the level of urgent necessity for that country.

In fact, Harry, who added a tremendous proletarian and philosophic dimension to all of our meetings, bringing his life-long history of labor and socialist struggles to bear in all the discussions, made it impossible for anyone to brand theory as abstract or academic. He summed it up best at the meeting in Hull, where the dramatic situation of the Clyde Shipyard workers was being discussed. As Harry put it:

"The question that has been raised by the shipyard workers is a very important one, and it seems obvious that it cannot be solved by the shipyard workers alone. The crisis of unemployment all over the country, and especially in Scotland and Northern Ireland, raises the question of the final solution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a new social order. And that, of course, is the subject of Marxism and Freedom, where it is taken up without ignoring a single immediate issue. The immediate issue is bound up with the ultimate solution. When you ask, is industry to decide the future of man, or is man to decide the future of industry and control his own destiny, you are asking the question that motivated Marx all his life. There is a vital connection between theory and the actual class struggles that cannot be ignored any longer."

ON THE INSIDE

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**Bureaucrats
back company,
stop wildcat**

by Charles Denby, Editor

There was a strike recently at the Chrysler Jefferson plant in Detroit over production standards. The walkout began after some workers were fired because they objected to the continuous speed-up of the production line. "The fact of the matter is," as one of the strikers said, "this is about the third wildcat strike this year at this plant—all over working conditions. The previous ones just lasted a day."

"See, we have a new plant manager over production and he seems determined to show the company that he can get higher production than the previous plant manager. Our damn no-good union representatives seem to be more in support of the company's speed-up than they are in fighting the company along with us. This is why the strike has been going on for a week, and we mean to stay out until every fired worker is back."

In the old days of wildcat strikes, very seldom did one last over a week. Those were the days when the local union would support workers' strikes. When they did not support them, they still would not be on the side of management. Wildcat strikes would close down all other plants of the company in other states, and on the whole they were settled to the satisfaction of the strikers.

Today it is just the opposite. The union bureaucrats tell striking workers that the company will not sit down and bargain until the strikers are back on the job.

The strike at Jefferson started Wednesday on the afternoon shift, and the next day the day shift walked out in support. By Friday, the pressure from the company on the union began to mount. They threatened the union with an injunction if they could not get workers back on the job.

'WHY WE STRIKE'

On Monday morning, the bureaucrats were out in force, pleading to and threatening the day-shift workers. The workers would not budge, and they refused to go in. The bureaucrats passed out a leaflet they called "Important Notice." It stated: "Our officers and shop committee have been very diligently meeting with top management, trying to resolve this total problem. As a result of this suspension, several people in Dept. 9171 walked out of the plant, which caused the entire plant to close down. It is unfortunate that management has the right to refuse to bargain on workers' problems until the plant resumes normal operations."

One worker yelled, "Management has the same right not to bargain while we are working. That is why we are striking."

The workers' leaflet read in part: "Jefferson Assembly is a hell-hole to work in. The line speed has increased some 20 per cent in the last six months and our working conditions get worse and worse. Harassment has in-
(Continued on Page 7)

Indian activist tells meaning of Wounded Knee

The following article is part of a speech given by a young Indian woman who is a member of the Associated Indians of Detroit (AID) to a meeting of the Michigan-Louder Co. Alabama group. We think it is a unique and important view of the Indian struggle—Editor.

The situation at Wounded Knee began when the American Indian Movement (AIM) was invited to the Pine Ridge Reservation and Wounded Knee by three members of the 12-man tribal council. The three councilmen had sought to impeach their tribal chairman. They had gone to the local Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agent, but he had thrown them out and would not listen to their grievances. So they invited AIM to come and show support for their demands. AIM is not going to leave there until they set the wheels in motion to have their demands aired and met.

TRIBAL COUNCIL CORRUPT

The tribal council is a U.S. government institution imposed on American Indians. They're supposed to represent the reservation people. But the tribal chairman runs the whole show. If he does what the government wants, his family will have nice cars and big houses while the rest of the reservation remains hungry and underfed.

The newspapers don't say that Wounded Knee is on the Ogala Sioux reservation, and that the presence of Federal Marshals there is a direct violation of Indian rights. One person, the tribal chairman, asked them to come. It was not the consensus of the tribal council.

The take-over of the BIA in Washington last Novem-

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Two Worlds

Mao & Nixon move closer together

by Raya Dunayevskaya,
National Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

On March 15 Nixon announced that on May 1 a "Jiaison mission" would be opened in Peking and would be headed by David Bruce. If the euphemism of 'Jiaison officer' could possibly have fooled anyone, Mr. Bruce's super-ambassadorial past put an end to such delusions.

Ever since Nixon made his trip to China, a year ago, every writer has been stressing the somersaults executed by Nixon, the China Lobby man, the anti-Communist, the war hawk. But in truth, the greater transformation into opposite was Mao's embrace of "Henry Number One" in the specific person of what Mao's China used to call "that ugly imperialist chieftain."

Thus, nothing either of the internal crisis — which brought about nothing short of the death (execution?) of Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms and successor" Marshal Lin Biao — or the external condition that there is but one China, not the "two" Nixon sponsored in the UN and still recognizes as "China," i.e., Taiwan, was permitted to slow the speed-up of closer relations with the U. S.

Thus, the joint communique had originally stated that the U. S. would "progressively reduce its forces and military installation on Taiwan as the tension in the area (Vietnam) diminishes." Nothing of the sort was done. For that matter, hardly anyone believes that peace has come to Vietnam. China's anxiety to move ever closer to the U. S., however, is so great that no imperialist action by the U. S. against others can stop it.

No wonder that Nixon in the very same news conference in which he made his announcement of new relations with China, used his most authoritarian voice to warn North Vietnam that if the cease-fire ("violations" continue, he would not hesitate to bludgeon it back to acquiesce to Pax Americana.

MAO AND KISSINGER

Splashed over the front pages of all three major publications in China — The People's Daily, The Red Flag, and The Liberation Army Daily — were pictures of Henry Kissinger with Mao Tse-tung. Day in and day out, during the four days Kissinger spent in Peking, the Chinese press followed up the picture display of Mao and Kissinger with commentary that stressed to the Chinese masses that Mao was talking to a very good friend. They had talked for over two hours. That was twice as much as with Nixon. He was telling his very good friend to be sure to greet another and greater friend, the President.

Promptly the Western "specialists" began writing, "this aside was almost as significant as the meeting itself. . . . It set the stage for further development of Chinese-American relations" (David Bonavia, Times, London, Feb. 19, 1973). And so it did.

No wonder that Kissinger's smile upon his return looked like that of the cat who just swallowed the canary. This "canary" was no less than the chieftain of the vast expanse of China where one quarter of mankind live. The delusions that float in the brain of Dr. Strangelove Kissinger might well rival Mao's famous "great leap forward." By now, however, Mao is grinding for a global leap that he expects will put Russia in the shade!

If this is not obvious from the single statement that the official China News Agency issued, that Mao and Kissinger "had a frank and wide-ranging conversation in an unconstrained atmosphere," it is nevertheless this, precisely this "unconstrained atmosphere" which worries Russia. She is sure that secret agreements, directed
(Continued on Page 5)



—INS photo
Gallup, N.M. Indians picket to support Wounded Knee.

ber was only the beginning. The Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan was formed to go every place a treaty was broken—that means, every inch of the U.S.A. The newspapers also neglected to mention the number of elderly people, young parents and their small children that travel with the Caravan—it is by no means "a bunch of young male hoodlums."

You know I work with Associated Indians of Detroit (AID) which operates a small Indian center in the inner city. We provide a gathering place for American Indians, cultural classes, and a G. E. D. program. AID is affiliated with AIM, a national organization with chapters in mainly urban areas of the U.S.A. and just lately in Canada. (American Indian people do not identify with the border.) AIM was the first national organization to define the reasons for our problem, to define who the enemies were—first, Christianity; second, the BIA.

We say Christianity because it was Christian missionaries that came to the Indian people and converted them by fire and sword. But we believe that Christian concepts are very beautiful valid standards if Christian people would live up to them. We have seen Christians turning into "Churchianity." Until American Indians see Christians living what they preach, we cannot believe them.

MISSIONARIES AND THE BIA

We have seen priests and missionaries, by their very presence, divide families. We have seen structures built—churches that cost millions, and yet people are hungry and children die of malnutrition.
(Continued on Page 6)

WL needs new theoretic beginning

Two of the best articles I have read from the women's liberation movement are by Adrienne Rich ("The Archaic Feminist Woman," NY Review of Books, Nov. 30, 1972) and Branka Magas ("Sex Politics: Class Politics," New Left Review, March-April, 1971). Instead of dwelling on a single issue within the movement, they have attempted to take an overall view.

ADRIENNE RICH

Rich does not take M. Decter's attack on the women's movement ("The New Chastity" as her ground. Her point of departure is, instead, a "feminism that must imply an imaginative identification with all women (and the ghostly woman in all men) and that the feminist must, because she can, extend this act . . . as far as possible." She isn't saying "all women are my sisters"; rather, all women are subjected to some form of male oppression and are therefore "potentially the deepest of all questioners of the social order created by men, and the most genuinely radical of thinkers."

Rich's emphasis is on the newness and richness of thought in the women's movement. But, perhaps because she is a professor and a poet, she concentrates on professional women, and is not explicit in spelling out where we have gotten to now.

Rich is concerned with the women who do not "identify" with the movement; she wants to overcome this separation among women and ideas, but she remains abstract on whose thought she is building. She does mention Black and working women, but only as those who do not see the women's movement bearing any relationship to their own lives—not where they would give a totally different orientation and point of departure to the movement.

BRANKA MAGAS

Branka Magas is openly a Marxist and understands the need for an independent women's movement; she is also aware of the danger of single issues and reformism distorting the movement. Magas points out how the suffragette movement, precisely because it was centered only on the vote, reduced its vision so totally that it ended up collaborating with white supremacists to win support.

Magas emphasizes how necessary theory is to the women's movement and how it hasn't yet arrived at that recognition. But she herself has created no new ground. It seems to me this comes from her thinking being tied too closely to structuralism, which sees history as chronological epochs and not the movement of people for freedom. For example, she correctly criticizes the women who want to throw out Freud entirely for his sexism without seeing that in his historical period, it was revolutionary to talk about sex. But Magas' ambivalence emerges when

Lebanon: 'Right to kill'

Barry, Lebanon—A group of lawyers headed by Ms. Lohr Mofgnaizel has organized to have Article 562—based on the concept of women as property—eliminated from the penal code. This law upholds the custom whereby a man may kill a female relative who "dishonors the family," even though such conduct may be no more than an affectionate gesture. A father or brother who kills must be given a lenient sentence, often as little as two years hard labor.

All questions of marital relations and parental rights are presently under religious jurisdiction. The lawyers are working to have the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies—99 men—move this into the civil sphere. They want to have murder treated as such by the courts—not as a special right to kill.

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in San Francisco, Connecticut, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box, page 3.

Women fight work reports

Hartford, Conn. — Pressure, petty harassment and racism in my office reached their height last week for five women workers. The immediate issues were a new policy of individual work reports on how much time each of us spends working, and the racist attempts to fire the only Black woman in the department for "talking too much." The Black sister said "Slavery was abolished in the nineteenth century, and I'm not going to work as a slave for slave labor wages."

We went to Personnel and they sent us to the senior vice president of the department—a man. We laid it on the line to him that we planned to quit if the reports were demanded and if the pressure continued. For 40 minutes we described the buildup of tension and pressure on our Black co-worker, initiated by two low-level supervisors. He contacted the top boss of our department.

Returning to the office, we vowed to stick together in refusing to discuss the matter individually but only as a group. Our solidarity and anger bore its fruit in the withdrawal of the work reports and a promise to put an end to the petty harassment against us, especially the Black sister. We shall have to wait and see if the promises were serious or only appeasement. None of us will wait very long.

—Hartford Insurance Worker

all that she can offer are Louis Althusser's male chauvinist formulations on psychoanalysis—the exact opposite from the direction in which women are moving on this question.

I welcome this appreciation of the need for theory in the women's movement. But unless we begin with the new, both in the actual movement and in theory, there will be no new jumping-off point. The only woman theoretician who has established a new foundation is Raya Dunayevskaya. In her article in Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak In Many Voices she has expressed not only the validity of today's independent women's movement but also women as Reason as well as revolutionary force. What is crucial is that we combine on this ground; if we don't begin here, we will end up tailoring reformism, or worse.

—Mary Holmes

Abortion law: vigilance is still needed



The Jan. 22 Supreme Court rulings on abortion were a happy shock to the women's movement. Nixon's own Court invalidated the laws which severely restrict abortions in almost every state.

The Court based its decision on the constitutional right of privacy. It has long been obvious to women that their "liberty" must include the right to control their own bodies; but we also know that the Supreme Court interprets the same Constitution very differently at different times in history.

But, it is also true that there could not have been such a far-reaching decision at this time without the Women's Liberation movement, whose ideas have permeated the society far beyond its active membership.

At the same moment that we applaud this victory, however, we must immediately look to its enforcement. So far, the states have done little or nothing to make their laws conform. In some areas, doctors are threatened with arrest under the old laws, or medical societies still expect those who perform abortions. Undoubtedly, it will be years before abortions can be easily obtained everywhere.

And even that eventually is threatened by the proposed constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion. In today's political climate, it would be passed quickly if women let down their guard.

The decision itself, like every victory, can be used for reactionary purposes. It is still a long way from the radical position in WL of "free abortion and contraceptives on demand." Abortions may be artificially priced out of the reach of poor women. The concept of free choice which the decision now represents could be perverted by attempts to force women to have abortions or lose welfare.

The dangers of mis-using the decision are already visible in New York, which already had legal abortion. The NYC Dept. of Health, which was always lax about properly enforcing regulations as to the cleanliness, safety, etc., of clinics, is setting on the Court decision to be more lax, as if it meant that there can be no regulation of the physical conditions for the safety of the women involved.

Unfortunately, certain factions in the women's movement are also demanding no health regulations at all, not realizing that this could mean cut-rate butcher shops for poor women all over again. While it is true that the states will try to place limitations on the right to have an abortion under the guise of safety regulations, we must be careful that what we support cannot be used to exploit a certain group of women in the way that the equal employment laws are now being used to deprive working women of protective legislation.

—Molly Jackson

Just out

Rosa Luxemburg:

Revolutionary Theoretician

By Lee Tracey
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WAY OF THE WORLD

Nixon's reign means soaring food prices

by Ethel Dunbar

All over this country, people are yelling about the skyrocketing food prices, and there seems to be no end in sight. Ever since Nixon got back into office, prices have had a continuous forward jump every week, from three cents to ten and fifteen cents. In the inner cities, it is even higher. Some Black women who are day workers in the suburbs say they always buy their groceries where they work, because most food items are much cheaper out there, among those that can afford to pay it.

So much pressure has been put on Nixon to do something about the price of food, but he has said, leave it to the American housewives: when they get ready, they will do something. They organized and began to picket some food stores in Washington, D.C. The next day Nixon said he was opposed to this business of picketing by housewives. To me, it is the most effective way to fight those high prices.

Nixon is not against food companies getting high prices but he was quick to put a wage freeze on workers some two years ago. He has no thoughts about how workers should live, or concerning the millions of unemployed and other fixed incomes. As a factory worker said, we often discuss how it is possible for people that are not working to live. We read in the papers that some families are buying dog food, because that's all they can afford.

Now that people are buying and living on cheaper foods like peanut butter and sardines, scientists are saying that foods that do not have enough zinc in them are harmful to depend on. In order for the body to keep substantially strong, one must have meat which carries the necessary zinc. I wonder why the scientists just made their discovery after people stopped, or at least slowed down, buying meat.

L.A. rent strikers sold out

Twenty-eight families at the William Mead city housing project in Los Angeles have been on a rent strike for six months and have formed themselves into the William Mead Community Action Council. Below is their answer to a letter received from the Housing Authority and the Housing Authority Resident Advisory Committee (HARAC), which is an organization that is supposed to represent the tenants of the housing project.—Ed.

Los Angeles, Cal.—In February, the residents of William Mead received a letter from Housing Authority Chairman Ishihara and Executive Director Salzman which resulted from a special meeting of HARAC with the Housing Authority Board of Commissioners to discuss the problems at the William Mead Housing Development.

Why weren't the tenants of William Mead informed of the fact that there was to be a discussion of their housing project? The only people from William Mead present were the manager, Mrs. Sandoval and Mrs. Escobosa who, besides being HARAC representative from Mead, is employed by the Housing Authority.

At the meeting, HARAC representatives concluded that a letter would be sent to all residents telling them that the Housing Authority backed the housing project manager. Who does HARAC represent—the tenants or the Housing Authority?

Instead of backing the Housing Authority in its policy of making decisions without consulting tenants, we feel HARAC should move to see that the demands of the tenants of William Mead are carried out promptly: 1) Mrs. Sandoval's removal from the project; 2) adequate heaters in all the units, and 3) the renovation of the community center and play area.

Instead of trying to figure out how to "immediately remove those residents at William Mead who are causing trouble," HARAC should be fighting to see that the voice of these tenants is listened to by the Housing Authority. The point is not whether HARAC, whose members do not live in William Mead, back Mrs. Sandoval. The point is whether the residents of William Mead back Mrs. Sandoval. And they have spoken out loudly that they do not back her.

The people on rent strike are only a small portion of the opposition. We represent the hopes of many, many tenants. The people on rent strike are fighting for everyone's rights. It is not us, but the Housing Authority who is putting fear into the tenants, as well as causing trouble by not fixing the Community Center and playground; by not giving us proper heaters, and by keeping a manager who does not care about the residents of the project. We want to know, HARAC, are you for us or against us?

—William Mead Community Action Council

S.F. Pier 96 dockers say, 'job action only way'

San Francisco, Calif.—Bridges' attempts to merge the ILWU with the ILA and then with the Teamsters are often interpreted as attempts to solve the union's problems with the employers.

In my opinion this view is way off the beam—he is firmly in the employer camp where productivity is concerned. He has long accepted mechanization and containerization as progress, rather than seeing it as an employer assault on conditions and jobs of workers in this industry in order to increase profits.

While the news is of merger, working longshoremen have continued the process of getting control of their own job situation. Recently we were ordered from the hiring hall to Pier 96, a huge new pier for container-barge and mainly-container vessels, for 6:00 p.m. on the night shift. The companies are allowed six-o'clock gangs if there are 3:00 a.m. gangs to follow us — otherwise our turn-to time is 7:00 or 8:00 p.m.

When we learned there were no 3:00 a.m. gangs, we decided not to go to work at six. A union business agent was called, who then left with a company representative to arbitrate the dispute by phone.

The business agent came back about seven and reported that the arbitrator had ruled that the gangs should have turned to. He had left the question of pay from six to seven open, something to be decided at another time. The union representative recommended nothing, leaving it up to the workers to decide what to do.

Some immediately headed for the bus out, while the others stood around considering what to do. One young Black brother said, speaking to all, "If we let them get away with this they'll just do it again next time — job action is the only way." Some minutes later the rest of the longshoremen boarded the bus and left the job.

The employers are attempting to blame the above-mentioned business agent. They have demanded his de-registration, exclusion from the industry. But the longshoremen are giving him full support and will continue their attempts to control their own job situation.

Bridges' merger talks indicate that he no longer controls the top structure of the ILWU. The working longshoremen have been disenfranchised for a long time. The people at the top let him waste time on the merger

gamble because they knew he would get nowhere with the membership, and this would stall an out-front tangle with him.

At this time discussions are taking place among the longshoremen and ship clerks about joint action with the seamen and other longshoremen in the country — the working Teamsters aren't being left out either. Also, as pointed out above, the process of getting control goes on and on here!

—San Francisco Docker



Canadian farmers ask U.S. boycott of Kraft products

Kingsion, Ontario—The Kraftco Corporation is extremely difficult to deal with since it produces such a large variety of products. This giant U.S. company has the Canadian farmer in a stranglehold. Kraft controls not only the milk industry in Canada (80 per cent) but is the dominant force in the food industry as well.

Here in S.E. Ontario, Kraft and its allies in Canadian government are directly responsible for the rapid decline in family farms. In 1967 there were over 22,000 individual farms in Ontario, but by 1972 over 8,000 had disappeared. Now in 1973 they're going under at the rate of 36 a day due to crop failures last year. In Canada as a whole, according to federal government statistics, for the last two years farmers have been going under at the rate of just over 1,000 per month.

Perhaps you begin to see our problem. The boycott is going well here in Canada. Our picketing actions have met with great success in a good response from the public. However, since Kraftco is a multi-national corporation and Canada makes up less than 10 per cent of its market, we'll have to seek and get support in other countries. It would be nice to hear a loud, long squawk from the giant in his own backyard.

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE: For further information, readers can contact NATIONAL FARMERS UNION, 250 C 2nd Ave., S., Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. An information package is available for \$1 which includes a three month subscription to the newsletter, several pamphlets and a Boycott button from Kingston Boycott Kraft, c/o P.O. Box 701, Kingston, Ontario.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

GM South Gate

Los Angeles, Calif.—This year is an important one for GM workers—important because a new contract between the corporation and the union comes up for negotiations. Because of the possibility of the new contract becoming a mere renewal of the old, let's examine two articles from the present national contract agreement to see how severe such an occurrence could be.

"The right to . . . discharge or discipline for cause; and to maintain discipline and efficiency of employees; is the sole responsibility of the corporation . . . In addition . . . the schedules of production, the methods, processes, and means of manufacturing are solely and exclusively the responsibility of the corporation."

The above is an excerpt of Article 8 of the agreement between GM and the UAW. Now read the entire article carefully if you think they forgot anything: "The schedules of production," regardless of how burdensome on the line worker, "the methods, processes, and means of manufacturing," regardless of how unsafe or unhealthy, "are solely and exclusively the responsibility of the corporation."

The article says nothing about who makes conditions unsafe, unhealthy, or unduly burdensome. It is worded so that GM has absolute authority in these matters. It is also disturbing to see that the corporation has the "right" and "sole responsibility" in matters of discharge, discipline, and efficiency of employees. With this in mind, what real purpose does our union serve?

" . . . the Union will not cause or permit its members to cause, nor will any member of the Union take part in any sit-down, stay-in, or slow-down, in any plants of the Corporation . . . The Union will not cause or permit its members to cause nor will any member of the Union take part in any strike or stoppage of any of the Corporation's operations or picket any of the Corporation's plants or premises until all the bargaining

procedures as outlined in this Agreement has been exhausted . . ."

The above are excerpts from Article 117. Looking at this, we can see the purpose behind GM's Labor Relations and why all of our grievances must be "settled" even if it requires the use of the trash can. This article explains the incestuous relationship between our Shop Committee and Labor Relations, which results in selling out workers who have legitimate grievances. It also warns us that if we, the workers, try to solve our problems by the use of more positive means (strikes, picketing, etc.) we have virtually no protection guaranteed by the union.

One question remains, brothers and sisters: Do we want these provisions in the new contract?

—South Gate GM Worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—We have been boycotting the cafeteria for a week now at Fleetwood. The protest is just about 100% effective. Only four or five workers have gone into the cafeteria any day this week.

It started when a group of workers up on the sixth floor put out a leaflet and called the boycott over high prices for poor food. The prices have been going up and up. The cheapest meal is \$1.15—and it's nothing. A quarter-pound hamburger is \$1.50.

When the boycott started, the union put out a leaflet saying that the boycott was not authorized by the union. They didn't oppose it, they just stood off to the side. They said they would talk to the company that owns the cafeteria, Profit Foods. It is a concession contractor with GM.

Profit Foods (the name makes sense) says that if they have to lower their prices, they will move out. Everyone I know says, "Good, let them move!" GM says it's not their business, but GM's foremen and general foremen eat in a separate dining room where we can't go. I don't know what the prices are there, but I'll bet the food is better.

—Fleetwood Worker



Attrition vs. discrimination equals strike

By John Allison

Workers at the Chrysler Jefferson plant in Detroit went on strike because of discrimination—the kind of discrimination that makes for production speed-up. This is the way the UAW let Chrysler run the game over the workers.

When an old-timer retires, he or she is not replaced by another worker. The work is divided between the employees who are left. Young workers have got the message loud and clear.

ELIMINATE JOBS

There are a lot of ways this deal cuts. By the time some workers are at retirement age, some are on jobs that don't kill you. Through seniority, they get some of the better jobs, as they should. So when they retire or quit or die, and their job just disappears by being spread out among other workers, it blocks another worker from getting that better job.

When the Highland Park Chrysler plant closed down, they had an attrition pool that eased some of the burden in other plants of the corporation. When a worker retired, died or quit, there was someone from the pool who replaced the worker going out. Now there is no pool to help, and so production goes up and up, and workers get madder and madder . . . until you have a strike. Then management threatens the UAW, goes into the courts to get an injunction to make the workers return to work. Management, the UAW and the courts seem to be kissing cousins.

But while that romance is going on, the rank-and-file workers are catching hell on the production line, and those kissing cousins don't know a thing about what kind of hell that is. All they point to is that strike explosion with all that fire and brimstone, not what caused it. **ONLY RANK-AND-FILE CAN CHANGE IT**

They all know what caused it. But the company never cuts down on production, it always speeds it up. The UAW isn't going to do anything about it, because it means reorganizing production from top to bottom. And Woodcock and his gang aren't about to take on that job. We know the courts always back management, so there's no use looking there.

The only ones left are the rank-and-file workers, and they're something else again. They do want to change their working conditions from top to bottom. By now, it's pretty clear that they're the only ones who can do it. There just is no other way.

Cops and court abuse worker

Hartford, Conn.—An elderly Polish worker was falsely arrested and brutalized by Hartford police in January. He is now getting a bad deal in court.

A court-watcher came upon him waiting for his hearing, without a lawyer or any idea of where he was supposed to be. He told her his story. His neighbors had been having a violent fight, as often happened. As he feared they would injure themselves, he called the police.

The police came, charged into his apartment, grabbed him, knocked him around and threw him down the stairs. They then brought him down to the police station. He was booked, and told to go home — on a cold winter night, in his undershirt and slippers.

When he went to court, no one bothered to tell him his case had been postponed until the next week, so he waited in court all day for nothing. He did talk to a public defender, who listened to his story for a few minutes and told him that his best chance was to plead guilty. The fact that this man was innocent and a victim of false arrest didn't seem to concern him. He was just there to crank cases through as quickly as possible.

—Tom Dunn

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MONTREAL: Le Comité Humaniste-Marxiste de Montreal, PO Box 134, Montreal 600, Quebec

Readers' Views

STATE CAPITALISM

Nixon's brand of State-Capitalism sounds more and more like the Russian brand every day. I'm referring to the Nixon "Doctrine" on combating sky-high food prices: "It's patriotic to eat fish." Or, Schultz saying "Substitute cheese for meat." And, Brennan telling us to "Plant Victory Gardens."

Who are they kidding when they say they are against price controls on meat and other agricultural products because it will lead to "Black Markets," rationing, and (sic) "bread lines" as in Russia. What are Food Stamp lines anyway. If not sophisticated bread lines?

I wouldn't be surprised if, in the interest of national security and "world peace," we are soon told to eat egg rolls and Peking duck.

Young Gynic
Detroit

* * *

I was disappointed in "Russia as State-Capitalist Society" in two respects:— 1) It discusses the Russia of 30 years ago. I'm much more interested in the Russia of today. 2) The booklet is too highly technical (in the economic sense). If we had to wait for the socialist revolution until the number of people required to consummate that revolution understood your booklet without reservations, we'd have to wait several millennia.

A Friend
New York

* * *

I just finished reading Raya Dunayevskaya's original historical analysis of "Russia as a State Capitalist Society." I was amazed it was written 30 years ago. It seems so relevant for America today — with Nixon's stages and phases allowing him to put his fingers into everything that happens in the economy. Nixon's "game plan" is only a euphemism for a "five year plan." His instant global realignment — abandoning his own "sacred" principles of anti-communism and "free" enterprise and opening the door to Russian and Chinese trade while opening new antagonisms among our old "free" world allies in Europe and Japan — shows that the state-capitalism which Ms. Dunayevskaya caught in her early studies of Russia is the all-pervasive form in the world today.

Med Student
Detroit

* * *

All I have to say about the bill that would give the government a say in the content of radio and T.V. broadcasting is that this country is getting more like Russia every day.

Grocer
Connecticut

* * *

General Mobutu, the dictator of the former Belgian Congo who was responsible for the murder of Patrice Lumumba, was the latest in a long list of VIP guests in "Communists" China. He arrived in Peking surrounded by Belgian advisors. Evidently the Chinese govern-

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
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ment, which once tried to win the minds of Blacks and Africans with a claim to speak for the Third World, now prefers to deal with the puppets of the Belgians, just as the U. S. prefers to deal with puppets like Ky and Thieu in Vietnam.

D. G.
Connecticut

* * *

It was very exciting to read Raya Dunayevskaya's article on George Lukacs because it showed how much ideas live. The thought that Lukacs essays had an "underground life," as she called it, for all those years, in a totalitarian country made me realize the importance of that little letter from "Reader, East Europe," where they are reading N&L. It suddenly conjured up all kinds of things to me — people reading, people meeting, people living, ideas living.

Angela Terrano
New York

WOUNDED KNEE

There is an alternative to Wounded Knee — to the original one, to the many that preceded and those that followed it. Through the years, every time we try to take some recourse from the government on our treaties, the government sends task forces (BIA non-Indian workers) to investigate. They write volumes about it, return to their bureau where the data gathers dust and everything is kept quiet or forgotten.

We want our culture back. It seems every time someone wants to "help the poor Indian" I get calls that say "I have gathered some used clothing." That is not the way to help.

Full-blood Lemni Lanape
of the Delaware Nation

* * *

Nobody ever thought the Indians would one day revolt. I sometimes think that the Indians and the Jews have been the most oppressed people in this world. Nobody ever went to their rescue. But the Indians are saying they are just not going to take it any more. They have seen what the Black people in this country have been doing, and they have a chance to learn from the mistakes others have made.

Black Mother
Detroit

* * *

Wounded Knee isn't over with, it is just beginning. Nixon doesn't want to get involved with it right now. He is worried about the discontent over rising prices and the labor contracts coming up. Something like Wounded Knee could set the whole thing off before he is ready. The government is really getting ready to come down on the people of this country.

White Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

The average American does not hear about the murders of Indians in his own country. The average American does not hear how their murderers escape or evade justice. Pima County Sheriffs officers have killed a 19 year old Indian youth in Ajo. In Tucson only recently, there have been several cases of police beating Indian youths.

We are asking everyone to immediately raise funds for legal defense in both Tucson and South Dakota. Both situations are critical. In South Dakota, 36 Indians are facing up to 30 years in prison for protesting the slaying of an Indian by a white man. In Tucson, funds are needed to combat juvenile delinquency through youth centers, and funds are needed for test cases against police brutality.

Donations may be sent to:
Papago Cultural Research and
Halfway House
P. O. Box 7672
Tucson, Arizona 85725

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

A thousand women demonstrated at the Federal Building in New York recently to protest the upcoming changes in federal aid to child-care facilities. They called the demonstration "pre-registration for welfare" because the effect of the new HEW regulations will be to force working women with children on welfare.

The government is ending child-care subsidies for women who earn over \$4,300 a year. That means they will have to pay the full cost of \$60 per week per child or quit their jobs to qualify for the subsidy.

I believe Nixon is doing this purposely so that women will be forced out of half-way decent paying jobs, go on welfare, and then be required by welfare to take the same jobs in return for their meager welfare checks.

Reader
New York

* * *

The article on your WL page on 'Feminism vs. Marxism' had some loose phrases that bothered me, because I think they could cut off many women. Instead of talking about women being "chained to family or low-skilled jobs," I felt you really meant that women are chained to the family structure of capitalism.

And instead of low-skilled jobs, I feel you should have said "low-paying jobs." I don't think being a doctor or lawyer is better than being a wire-solderer. Marx talked about "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" — and though we can't achieve that under capitalism, I don't think he considered professionals better than workers.

Former Electrical Worker
New York

RACISM

When all those whites voted for Rizzo for mayor, they thought that the police would be used against the Blacks. Now they have found that the police can be used against labor. At least the teachers in Philadelphia can now understand the relationship between race and class in this country.

Politico Philadelphia

* * *

I'm a Black student at Long Beach State and I noticed the lack of activities and speakers on campus during Black History week. Although I would like to see special programs on campus concerning Black people, I think it is more important to develop some type of active Black student organization. We don't need anyone to tell us when to celebrate our heritage and there's no reason to limit ourselves to one week.

Black Student
California

* * *

The article by John Alan on Seaman Essex and the spectacle in New Orleans was very moving. If you watched that TV orgy of police shooting themselves and Essex and talking about conspiracies, and contrasted that to the Black community Essex came from, you saw two different worlds. It almost seemed that every Black person in this country must have identified with Essex, his frustrations, his life. Just look at the 30 cars of mourners at his funeral in a town where the whites kept insisting everything was "racially harmonious."

White Mother
New York

* * *

Dr. R. Wiley Brownlee, the white high school principal who was tarred and feathered here about a year ago, because he tried to improve race relations at his school, has just been fired by the Willow Run school board — even though students from his school were present with a petition supporting him.

Five members of the Michigan KKK

had been charged with the tarring and feathering incident, though they have yet to come to trial. Apparently, the KKK runs more than just their own little clavern in this neck of the woods.

Disgusted
Ypsilanti, Michigan

MIDDLE EAST TURMOIL

The fact that those assassinations took place in Sudan doesn't seem an accident. It was Sudan which has recently had an attempted coup by the Communists who were then crushed. Recently the Sudan has been moving closer to the U. S.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

* * *

A march and rally was held in Detroit on March 3 in protest of the shooting down of a Libyan airliner by U. S.-built war planes over the Sinai desert. 106 of the 111 people on board were killed. The rally was also to protest the invasion of Palestinian refugee camps in northern Lebanon by Israeli commandos. 31 Arab civilians were murdered in that attack. 200 people participated in the march condemning Israel and the U. S. for the atrocities committed against the Arab people in the Middle East. The rally ended with the reading of a poem written by a Palestinian refugee.

Arab Youth
Detroit

* * *

Recently 10,000 ultra-orthodox Israelis demonstrated in Jerusalem, over an interpretation of religious law. No recourse was taken against them. The government has long forbidden demonstrations and any Left demonstration is broken up and the participants jailed. However, a religious demonstration is "safe." It will not upset the status quo. It does not threaten the government's policies. It does not represent the forces which will change the existing society into a more human one.

Visitor
Israel

"THE MOVEMENT"

I was attracted to a leaflet of the National Caucus of Labor Committees announcing a course in Marxism here, because they criticized the New Left for thinking that workers and campus are "quiescent."

So who do they invite to their courses? "Socialist revolutionaries," not workers and welfare recipients. They are going to learn how to become the personnel managers of the revolution. "The course will present the theoretical, intellectual correlates of competent socialist organizing . . ."

What's so radical about somebody running our lives? The capitalists do it 365 days a year.

Marxist-Humanist
Ann Arbor

* * *

The UFW rally in N. Y. for Cesar Chavez was a great antidote to the meetings of various Leftists I've been unfortunate enough to attend recently. Chavez was completely the opposite of all those ego-tripping organizers and elitists. Throughout his entire speech, he stressed the role and force of the people in bringing about the successes and gains of the union.

Supporter
Connecticut

* * *

We're deep into the Seventies. Our ideas have been high, our sacrifices seem great, and yet there's no significant change. The rich are richer, the poor poorer, the rich more frightened, the poor more angry. Somehow it seems we've missed the point.

Peace is not just the absence of murder, for death is as cruel if it arrives slowly by starvation and disease as by a hydrogen bomb

Peoples' Voices
Costa Rica

TWO WORLDS

New links move Mao and Nixon closer together

(Continued from Page 1)

against her, are in the offing. What is of more immediate and painful consequence of the new global game between China and the U. S. — and in this Russia is equally guilty — is the sell-out of North Vietnam.

It is necessary to take a second look at the war that is now called "peace with honor."

VIETNAM, AGAIN AND AGAIN

Nothing so tells the might of U. S. imperialism than the fact that first they got Russia and China to work with them to bring North Vietnam to sign a Nixon-style "peace with honor," which meant that Vietnam was giving up its main demand for an agreement that would not separate politics from the military. Once Nixon's number one priority in Vietnam — keeping Thieu in power — was agreed to and the POW's were released, Nixon was free to test many other avenues of global realignment.

For that purpose, this time as enemies and always as Big Powers, China and Russia are lining up. In 1954, when they were "one," Russia and China worked in concert to compel North Vietnam to give up its victory against the French for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. In 1973, when they themselves are engaged in a life-and-death game, they still work equally hard to make North Vietnam the sacrificial lamb.

As the arrogant Dr. Strangelove Kissinger put it to Marvin Kalb of CBS: Vietnam took on "a different perspective" the minute it was recognized as only "an appendage to the land mass of Asia." Put into human language, it means that the Vietnam war, "localized," can continue on endlessly and not a single one of the three big super powers will give a hoot. No matter what, Vietnam will now be kept on the back burner, will not be permitted to influence global realignment, much less the timing or the plans for world holocaust.

Nothing demonstrates more clearly in our nuclear age not only that small countries count for nothing, but that there are Three (and only three, not five) Super Powers, than the disdain with which the international conference was held in Paris. First, it was clear that the international "peace" conference had been convened merely to sign what had already been worked out by the U.S. and agreed to, not so much with Vietnam, North or South, but with Russia and China.

Secondly, everything ground to a halt the moment Nixon announced he was dissatisfied with the delay in the release of the POW's and ordered Secretary Rogers to get North Vietnam moving faster and faster.

Thirdly, even while it was in farcical session, what really counted was Roger's meeting with China's ambassador on the matter of the \$250 million of private American claims against China, and the \$78 million that the U.S. had impounded of Chinese money. The fact that this too was agreed to so speedily shows that everything, absolutely everything, was subordinated to Mao's pre-occupation with getting Nixon to see Russia as "Enemy Number One."

THE SOMERSAULTS OF THE MASS MEDIA

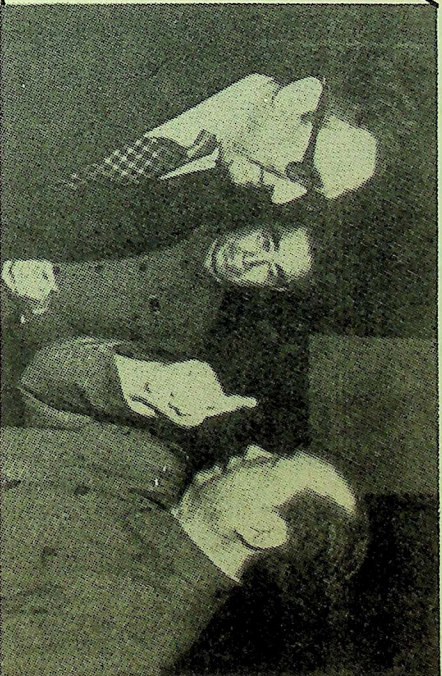
The daily press, the mass media, the "academic community" have, in concert, projected the counterpart to Nixon's political somersaults that rival brainwashings in totalitarian lands; moreover, they are self-inflicted.

So great is the fear of something worse even than the Vietnam nightmare, as "peace with honor" is shown to be a continuation of the war with slightly modified means that might end in a global holocaust; so absolute is the frustration at everything turning into its opposite right before their eyes while butting their heads against the stone wall of Nixon's retrogressions on the home front that, at one and the same time, an unperceivable cynicism pervades the land, and, with it, irrationally enough, the compulsion to compensate for the old capitulation to the China Lobby during the McCarthy period.

One famous columnist, Joseph Alsop, let one cat out of the bag. That super hawk anti-Communist has been writing like any true "Maoist" on all the super-achievements of Mao's China, especially so in the transformation of man himself—700 million souls at that. In summing up his great adventure of the month (NY Times Magazine, Mar. 11 and 18, 1973) he has admitted that the reason for his invitation to visit China evidently



Pictures of Henry Kissinger and Mao Tse-tung were given front page coverage in all major Peking newspapers.



was that he had been writing, exposing Russia's military buildup in Russia on territory facing China.

And, in truth, no sooner did he step off the plane in Peking than he was met by Chinese officials—first with the Foreign Ministry Information Department; then with editors of the People's Daily and the China News Agency; then the "brilliant" Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chiao Kuan-hua", and finally, "the climactic talk with Chou." All the conversations "were unquestionably planned as a unitary process," all revolving around and against Russia, all on the single topic of an alleged "preventive war" Russia is planning against China. Chou, Alsop reports, spoke grimly of Russians "seeking to organize support for just such an attack among other Western Communist countries."

No wonder that, rather than facing such a horror, every one from hawk to the true Maoist is ready to back up the vast expense China has been putting into building underground air shelters. Thereby they hope to create a besieged atmosphere to get their masses to work endlessly. All the while, the leadership is preoccupied with nothing short of an alliance with "the devil himself" — Nixon of the USA!

WILL MAO AND NIXON MOVE INTO AN ALLIANCE AGAINST RUSSIA?

Alsop also called attention to the fact that the British and Italian foreign secretaries — Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Giuseppe Medici — reported that this was "all but the exclusive subject" that Chou had with them. In a word, what is involved in the whole move towards relations with the U.S. is a feeler towards an alliance against Russia.

The collaboration with the USA is nowhere near such a fantastic stare. Cultural exchanges are hardly the equivalent of MIRV knowhow. Nor are the somewhat more important economic relations — be it China's \$150 million purchase of Boeing's airplanes, or the \$250 million of American business interests' claims against China and, in turn, the \$78 million America impounded that belong to China.

What is important is (1) the speed with which all this was initiated, and (2) that the international conference to co-sign the Vietnam "peace" was subordinated to the meetings that Secretary of State Rogers was having with China's Foreign Minister, Chi Peng-fei on these claims and counter-claims — outstanding for over two decades but resulted in two days. The door is opened to closer relations — but that is all.

Nixon is also keeping an even wider door open to Russia. And he is trying to mend the fences he broke down with allies — Western Europe and Japan — when he moved unilaterally against both as he faced money crisis and overtures to China. Nixon, the total retrogressionist on the home front against Blacks, against labor, against youth, moving simultaneously, both for and against state intervention in the economy, has not changed an iota his reactionary views of Pax Americana the world over.

Nixon's spectacular journey to Peking was to open doors and give himself, and himself alone—i.e., U.S. imperialism—new options for global realignment. This didn't mean only an opening toward China. As his "follow-up" journey to Russia showed, he wasn't closing that door.

Since then, the journeys by Kissinger and Spoto Af- from Japan to Thailand of U.S. imperialism's "continued presence." The intellectual Kissinger may grab more headlines, but Spoto Agnew's studidly quieter journeys "prove" to all the reactionaries in Asia, Nixon's abhorrence of "political vacuum," his clout to see no such vacuum exists, and his assurance to one and all that the is no "isolationist" and means to stand up to U.S. "global responsibility."

At the same time, the Nixon journeymen got both of the contending "Communist" super-powers to collaborate with him even as he was bombing North Vietnam. They forced North Vietnam to the signature table and gave Nixon his "peace with honor" by not demanding the removal of his puppet Thieu. As for the journalists, they do Nixon one better by writing as if China can prove her allegations about Russia's "threat of a preventive war" and as if they have proof that the Sino-Soviet conflict reached its high point only after Russia invaded Czechoslovakia. The facts speak differently.

SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY

There is no doubt about two of Russia's imperialist acts: one, the invasion of Czechoslovakia; and the other, the build-up of the northern frontiers facing China. Another truth, however, is that Mao's China took the

(Continued on Page 8)

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RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the Chairwoman of NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, which practices the unity of worker and intellectual, and of philosophy and revolution, and totally new human relations. NEWS & LETTERS is edited by a Black production worker, CHARLES DENBY. It was born in 1955, the year of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, on the one hand, and the wildcats against Automation, on the other. It is a monthly publication which does not separate reports of the activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth against capitalism, racism, sexism, and imperialist war, from the activity of thinking and working out theory for our age. Participation in the freedom struggles and the creation of a forum for all the new voices from below by the publication of the paper, pamphlets and books are all forms of activities we invite you to join in working out with us.

— YOUTH —

German youth revolt stuns Brandt

West Germany's Young Socialists (JUSOS) held their annual congress on March 10 and came out strongly against the politics of Chancellor Willy Brandt, leader of the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD). These Young Socialists, representing 250,000 members of the SPD, openly reject the capitalism of their "parent" party. Instead, they want to promote a "renaissance of Marxism" in Western Europe.

The JUSOS Congress adopted resolutions calling for the withdrawal of American troops from Europe, condemning Israel's occupation of Arab territory, and criticizing their government's refusal to oppose American policy in Vietnam. They helped organize a demonstration last week in which about 2,000 Germans marched near the Erlensee U.S. Army base protesting the continued presence of the 200,000 U.S. troops in their country.

These actions shocked the SPD and the Brandt Government so greatly that Brandt has publicly denounced

the JUSOS "Yankee-gohome" policy and even threatened to resign as Chancellor if this policy is adopted by the SPD as a whole.

The philosophical differences between the Young Socialists and the SPD leaders were revealed at the youth congress when Wolfgang Koth, JUSOS Chairman, accused Mr. Brandt of codding capitalists and ignoring West Germany's workers. On the other hand, Holger Boerner, Brandt's representative at the congress, reminded the delegates that the SPD had officially rejected Marxism in 1959 in favor of a program of evolutionary social reform. Mr. Boerner was booed.

The JUSOS program consists of a double strategy of working within the SPD and mobilizing workers and youth outside the party. This strategy is opposed by the other left groups who call it a sell-out to State Monopoly Capitalism.

Whether or not the strategy of the Young Socialists is a "sell-out" remains to be seen, but the JUSOS Resolutions and the anti-U.S. demonstration have forced Chancellor Brandt to run to Nixon to apologize and, so to speak, "forgive the rebelliousness of youth." The swiftness of Brandt's reaction to the youth reveals not only that the battle over Europe is a battle between the big, state-capitalist powers; but also that any revival of the youth revolts that swept West Germany and the rest of the world in the 60's can shake governments big and small to their foundations.

—W. Thayer

Wounded Knee

(Continued from Page 1)

We are only now, in the last 10-15 years, finding out that the reservations the BIA created were an attempt at total genocide. They are made up of the poorest lands. The family was torn apart as children were forced into mission schools 300-400 miles away, to become like white people.

American Indian people living in urban areas identify very strongly with what is happening with Black Mesa in the Southwest. The Black Mesa is on a Navajo reservation. About 20 years ago land was leased to a small mining company. At that time an agreement was made that they were to stay there only so long and use only a small amount of land in their mining. Now they won't leave, and the small mining company has become so powerful no one can get them off. They are killing all plant life. Sheep and cattle can't live there.

Now there is talk of constructing industrial plants there. While scientists have shown with their computers that one of these plants they are going to build will emit as much smog in one day as Los Angeles does in one year. And they are talking of building several.

Natural resources are a very big thing to Indian people. To construct these plants shows the misplaced values in the general society today. Love your brother, but step on him when it's convenient to get what you want. The white companies go in there and Indian people just have to get out of the way, even if they have no place to go.

We want to run our own education, which would be very different from the public schools. We want to teach our youth their own history and religion, and why it is not a bad thing to be an American Indian person. There are not enough of us to become a separatist people, but we have to recognize each other as one Red race of people. We can exist in general society. If we know who we are, because we become secure in that knowledge.

ANOTHER WAY THAN TO ASSIMILATE

Although we have assimilated to a degree, we are still considered second or third class citizens. The papers tried to discredit the leaders of AIM by calling them "ex-sons." This is true of many; it's why they are doing what they are doing today, so their young brothers and sisters won't have to go through that. They are showing them another way besides street life, drunkenness, another way to be happy than to assimilate.

The Blockade at Wounded Knee is still going on, but some food is getting through. I believe this is due to pressure from Indian and non-Indian peoples. But people should understand the urgency of the situation. "Peace" negotiations cannot go on while a bunch of well-armed white men stand around pointing guns at you. It is time that non-Indians know that American Indian people are very much a part of the life of the United States.

If you would like to help the struggle at Wounded Knee, please send your contributions to:

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At Boston U.

Students stop Marines

Boston, Mass.—On Thursday, March 1, several hundred Boston University students massed to protest the presence of a Marine recruiter on campus. In spite of several anti-military referendums by both students and faculty, B.U. President John Silber had invited the Marines on campus to interview "a few good men" (the fewer the better) for the Corps.

The students were well-organized and calm, but determined to inhibit the recruitment drive. One group of students signed up for all the interview spots for that day, filling the recruiter's schedule, and then did not go to the interviews. About 500 other students blockaded the entry to the building from 8:30 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon. There were also two attempts, led by women, to break through the police lines.

By the end of the day no one had gotten in to see the recruiter because of the human blockade. When the recruiter finally left, he had to run a 50-foot gauntlet of jeering students and an arch of "Hitler" salutes.

Hopefully, this action may signify a return of much of the spirit and courage which evaporated from the student movement after the massacres at Jackson and Kent State.

—B.U. Student

Quebec student strike faced brutal attacks

Montreal, Quebec—On Sunday, March 4th, after six bitter weeks of striking, the students of the University of Quebec at Montreal (UQAM) voted in general assembly to return to their classes and to continue the struggle there. The administration has been unusually brutal in trying to suppress the strike movement and to break the solid alliance of students, maintenance employees, and professors by police attacks, expulsions, outright seizures of scholarships and bursaries, arrests, firings of non-union employees, and injunctions.

The students felt that if they did not return the university would be closed altogether and everyone would be thrown out on the street. They voted to devote class time to political discussion and to "exposing the exploitative nature of the education system."

The issue at stake in the strike is the payment of tuition fees which the students want to see abolished altogether, as tuition makes this so-called "public" university very selective by excluding working-class youth. Secondly the administration is more interested in training servants for the system and is in no way interested in real education in which students could learn for themselves.

In answer to typical administration charges, one student said "We are not so stupid that we could be dragged around by some supposed group of 'agitators'—we are full human beings capable of thinking for ourselves. They don't seem able to believe that."

Numerous students talked about the hope of creating a coherent student movement, and a deeper one than in 1968, and had the hope that COPE (the strike committee) might be a start in that direction. This is the first time that students, maintenance employees, and professors have worked together so closely, and the first time that various unions have given more than "moral" support to a student movement.

Students are back in class now, but the story isn't over. Now the maintenance workers are out on strike. . . .

—R. Ladleche

Guyanese fight for land

Georgetown, Republic of Guyana — The present squating phase of the land movement has now ended. Following a government announcement on Jan. 22, squatters were given 48 hours to clear the land. Then police were moved in to wreck the temporary structures.

The African and East Indian squatters and landless have created the People's Committees and the Council of Landless Peoples. These are the only interracial organizations in the country representative of the people that are making any real progress in solving the contradictions between the country's two major races.

ASCRIA, an African group, initiated the call for the seizure of land from feudal capitalists "without money, without price, and at no cost." Since then, it was announced that all unused sugar land is being taken over by the government for development and distribution for agricultural and housing purposes.

It is the initiative of ASCRIA and primarily the peasant revolt and its method of fighting that have forced both the government and Booker's, a British sugar firm, into these changes. The campaign "not a cent for sugar lands" is now accepted as government policy "where before the government was merely talking about "cheap" prices for sugar lands.

The movement continues. On Feb. 17, a massive gathering of people met at Bachelor's Village to demand return of a 6-mile stretch of land "stolen" from the village by sugar interests, and that all increases in cane farming be given to cane farmers and not sugar companies.

—Reader, Guyana, South America

Athens students strike

Athens, Greece — Students in Athens have been on strike for more than a month over demands for greater academic freedom in a country controlled by a military junta. The strike has developed from the stage of grievances to the school authorities to mass confrontations with the police and the occupation of the Athens University law school. The military government has been trying every means short of mass murder to crush the uprising, including threatening striking students with losing their draft deferments.

The movement, however, far from subsiding, seems to be spreading to other sectors of the society. The Greek press, which has been under tight government censorship since 1967, has been reporting all the student developments, and is pushing the limits of government control to see how much freedom they can get away with. Already, one editor has been sentenced to three years in prison for "anti-government" statements. So far, no one seems to be intimidated by the obvious repressive measures, and the students are continuing their new activities.

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BLACK-RED VIEW

New Bobby Seale: old mentality

by John Alan

Regardless of the results of the April 17 election in Oakland, Cal., I am going to express my observations and opinions beforehand, because of the "paradoxes" presented by the election, plus the fact that Bobby Seale, co-leader and founder of the Black Panther Party and "insurrectionary," has hit the campaign trail in earnest as a major contender in the race for the Mayor of Oakland. This can either leave you tongue-tied or send you running for an answer immediately!

In case you don't know, Seale is running for the Mayor of Oakland as a registered Democrat. He has changed his beret and black leather coat for an expensive business suit, lowered his voice to a polite discussion tone, and has won recognition by the media and political opponents as a "New Bobby Seale," eager to work within the system of bourgeois politics by abiding by its rule. This is not a mere tactical posture, because by all evidence the immersion is complete.

FROM GUERRILLA WAR TO BOURGEOIS POLITICS

Seale is now setting out to accomplish, via the machinery of bourgeois politics, what the rhetoric or urban-guerrilla warfare failed to do—the directing of Federal Revenue-Sharing Funds toward social programs that will aid the poor, youth, aged, and minorities. And, where these funds are deficient, he proposes to slip various taxes on large corporate income.

During his pristine days of revolutionary fervor, Seale would have shunned any largesse from the state or federal governments because this would have been a cunning attempt on the part of the colonizers to bribe and brain-wash the people of the Colonial Chetlers. But now his whole political program is geared to the meager funds Nixon is allocating to the cities.

The question, however, is not Seale's obvious inconsistencies, because both his "revolutionary militancy" of the past, and his new brand of Populism, stem from the same philosophical roots: that a truly human society can be built by elitists, within the existing forms of capitalist society, by changing a law here and there, and placing the "right" people in office.

FIGHT IT, NOT JOIN IT

In today's society, where the interests of government and the giant corporate conglomerates are indistinguishable, one does not fight to join that exploitative club, even in the low capacity as the Mayor of Oakland, but opposes it from the outside.

There is nothing in Seale's 14 Point Program which could not be endorsed by any liberal Democrat—or even George Meany. In fact, it is nothing more than an attempt to realize the "Great Society" that the Nixon administration is dismantling daily.

In the city of Oakland, which is 60 per cent Black, the "experts" are predicting that Seale will garner about 20 per cent of the votes, forcing a run-off election of the top two, and eliminating all the other candidates, more than half of whom are Black—and leave the white incumbent, Redding, the winner again.

Only Black people in motion en masse can, in conjunction with the working class, become the opposition to stop this trend toward the great State Capitalist Society which Nixon is fashioning in Washington, at the expense of Blacks, poor, aged, women, and all other oppressed minorities.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

creased and there has been a crackdown in discipline. We are penalized for the most minor alleged infraction of company rules.

"John Miller was fired, and twelve others were disciplined after Dept. 9171 first walked out. When the company stated it would not re-hire Miller, we just walked out and shut the damn plant down."

"Management has already sent out notices firing eight to 16 or more workers. These people have not necessarily played any role whatsoever in the events of the past few days; but Chrysler Management, with the complicity of our local union leadership, is using this as an excuse to get rid of people they don't want around."

Monday evening, after the day shift workers had refused to work, the union leaders were desperate. They got every bureaucrat that had ever worked in the local, and every International rep, to be at the plant gates one hour before the workers.

BUREAUCRATS' ROLE

They were all walking around with loudspeakers in their hands, and would rush up to every carload of workers driving into the parking lot. These bureaucrats would say, "Please go in to work, or the company is going

AS OTHERS SEE US

Three French reviews of Marxism and Freedom

Excerpts from reviews in three French journals of the French edition of MARXISME ET LIBERTE by Raya Dunayevskaya.

From "La Revolution Proletarienne," Jan., 1973
(Revue syndicaliste revolutionnaire)

Here is a work which brings a bit of clarity and fresh air to the confusing debates which have unfolded around Marxism for a century. Former secretary of Trotsky in Mexico in 1937 and 1938, the author was a militant before becoming an author. Her style and her direct approach are an agreeable change from the pedantic criticism of the professional Marxologists who want to convince you that their teaching is more revolutionary and more creative than the practice of the class struggle in the factories, the offices, and the shops.

The principal question that Marxism and Freedom poses concerns philosophy and reality, theory and practice. MARXOLOGISTS like Louis Althusser, conveniently set up in cushy jobs, deplore that the young philosophers of their generation "are using themselves up in political tasks while losing time for scientific work." (For Marx, p. 17). Raya Dunayevskaya vigorously replies to the intellectuals and to the Marxist theoreticians that they must occasionally leave their ivory towers if they want to regain the liberating sense of the dynamism of Marxism.

In fact, the idea of the necessity of a vanguard party to lead prevents them from seeing that which the masses themselves see perfectly: all are ready to lead, no one is ready to listen (p. 28). But, progress, its future undetermined, is not evolved in the isolated office of the philosopher but at first in the daily practice of the class struggle, of the struggle for the collective appropriation of the means of production and exchange. The practice of the workers is always infinitely more creative than the most ingenious speculations of the philosophers. That is not to say that they do not have a role to play and an important role. By devoting themselves to serious theoretical work, the intellectuals can

contribute to extending the sporadic outbursts of revolt of the exploited classes. This role is not only to draw out the lessons of the workers' practice, but also to reveal the principles which will elaborate the science of change—social, political, economic, and psychic—permitting man to take control of his existence and his destiny.

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA studies the vicissitudes of this tentative, always renaissance course through the history of the workers' movement from 1776 until today in Europe, in Russia, in America, and, finally, in China. Marx, in the French edition of Capital, pronounced the theory of such an endeavor by taking account of the lessons of the Paris Commune.

A book to read with the buddies of "the R.P.," a book to have on the shelf of the militant to be able to consult it each time he risks losing the real meaning of Marxism as "a thoroughgoing naturalism or humanism," according to Marx's own words . . . an incomparable instrument to make easier an understanding of the struggles of the present.

—Pierre Aubrey

From "Les Livres," Feb. 1972

(Journal of the Ministry of National Education)

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S work is an ambitious one, since it attempts to explain the birth and development of Marxism, to follow its later vicissitudes through the Second International, the First World War, the Russian Revolution and to trace its further adventures up to the Moscow-Peking rift. The work is based less on historical analysis than on critical passion. Certainly the author has read a great deal, but the real evolution of Marxism is still full of dark spots and unknowns which make it impossible to completely accept an explanation based on the play of ideology and which occasionally establishes a correlation between proletarian struggles and those of colored peoples.

— F. Boudot

From "Projet," Dec., 1971

(a Catholic Journal)

Written by the woman who was Trotsky's secretary in 1937 and 1938, this work constitutes a broad mural of Marxist theory and practice, starting from an analysis of Karl Marx's works and ending with the Chinese "cultural revolution."

As for all studies of this kind, there is a big danger of sharp abridgments, simplifications, even errors. This one is no exception. The warp and woof of the whole work is that the humanist concepts outlined by Marx in his early works are the essence of his theory, so that there is a close unity between his most technical economic analyses and his philosophy. R. Dunayevskaya tries to show this in the first part of her work.

The following chapters are mainly devoted to a critique, based on the theses developed in the first part, of the Soviet and Maoist systems, which she calls State Capitalism. Between these two critiques we find, curiously enough, a chapter about the United States. Many of the comments and criticisms made by the author throughout the work are debatable and expressed in a polemical style which makes them hard to believe, despite the truth contained in them.

— Henri Chambré

Miners force UMW reform

by Felix Martin

Los Angeles, Calif.—The recent election in the United Mine Workers points out the necessity of change in organized working people in this country and all international unions. All of these unions have become big business themselves.

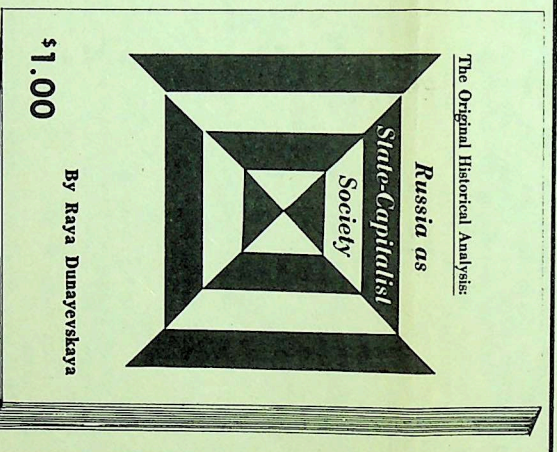
I go along with the idea of UMW President Miller in cutting back bureaucrats' wages, but I believe that real cutting would mean all the way back to what he made in the mines. His cut still gives the president at least three times as much as a miner makes.

We must rid ourselves of all the opportunists that are in the ranks of the international staff. Having the salaries kept the same as they were making before elections is the only way to have union people who would be working for the good of all. They would only have the same benefits as the workers they represent.

There has always been a conservative element and a militant rank-and-file element in the ranks of the unions. The conservative group becomes the company finks, the bootlickers and are always recruited by the managers to be their foremen, supervisors, etc., over the workers.

The ones not recruited to management have worked themselves into local unions and worked their way up into high places in the international unions. They are still company men whether foremen or union representatives.

When the miners first organized in this country they did it alone, without outside union support. They were treated like dogs. But they fought and won. Then they gave money and support to help organize the auto workers into the CIO. They were real pioneers in the labor movement. Today the miners have a chance to be pioneers in a new movement of labor—that of trying to get control of the unions back into the hands of the workers.



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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

France

The government of Georges Pompidou will remain in power as a result of the recent French elections, but his party, the Union for the Defense of the Republic which he inherited from Charles De Gaulle, suffered the greatest defeat of any French political party. It dropped from 293 seats to 181 and lost two cabinet ministers to the Communist-Socialist Alliance.

Pompidou will remain in power only because of his alliance with other parties on the right and center which gives them a majority of 274 seats to 181 for the Communist-Socialist Alliance. The centrist Reform Movement has 28 and the extreme right, 3 seats.

The Pompidou regime depends on the shopkeepers and conservative middle class for its support and has been plagued with scandals in its leadership, economic problems and great discontent with its nationalistic politics.

As the result of the intensive campaign waged by the Communist-Socialist Alliance, reforms which might be expected are: a minimum \$220-monthly salary, sex education in the schools, a more liberal abortion law, and votes for 19-year-olds.

The final run-off election which occurred on March 11, involved over 188 seats which were closely contested and which were bargained for by Pompidou, horse-trading with the Reformers, who withdrew their candidates.

The Communists won 73 seats against 34 in 1968 and the Socialists moved up from 57 to 89 seats, with the leaders of both parties winning seats.

Iraqi Anti-Semitism

In 1948 there were more than 200,000 Jews living in Iraq. Today about 400 Jews remain in Baghdad. There exists a reign of terror, aimed at eliminating the Jewish population and seizing their property, on a par with Nazi Germany in its heyday.

Prominent Jews are seized off the streets, executed in jails and their property confiscated by officials of the "socialist" Baath Party and the government which Russia and China are playing up as part of "the socialist third order." It is forbidden for any Jews to leave the country with more than 100 dinars. Real estate cannot be sold.

A prominent and wealthy lawyer, Yacov Abu Axiq, was arrested by the police. A week later they

came to his house and seized everything, claiming he had "left the country." Abraham el-Sayegh, one of the wealthiest Jews in Baghdad, was beaten to death with an iron bar and a few days later all his holdings were seized and a Baath Party official was seen riding around in his car.

The fact that rich Jews are getting it now is not a class question either in the sense that poor Iraqi are getting the goods, or poor Jews are not oppressed.

Vatican

The wealth of the Vatican has been caught speculating in the stock of the California firm of Veteo Industries, in which it invested over \$35 million at a profit of 50 per cent.

A California ex-lawyer salesman, Irving Eisenberger, who handles Vatican investments with broad discretionary powers, is being urged to surrender the profits made by speculation in the family-built concern through the Securities and Exchange Commission by Carl F. Huntsinger, president of the company, who discovered it was the Vatican that was manipulating the stock of his company.

Eisenberger has been barred by the SEC from dealing in the stock.

England

The Trades Unions Congress, representing over 10 million workers, has voted to conduct a one-day general strike against the government policy of curbing wages. The date will be announced later.

The militants at the Congress overrode the moderate leadership and called for drastic action.

The economic situation in England is similar to that in the U.S., with food prices out of control and wages frozen. Hundreds of protest strikes have taken place, but Prime Minister Heath shows no indication of improving the situation.

Back, back, back

In a move back to the dark ages and in line with his general philosophy, President Nixon has announced that he will seek legislation to restore the death penalty for some federal crimes.

The death penalty has been declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court and outlawed in many states since 1850.

TWO WORLDS

New links move Mao and Nixon closer together

(Continued from Page 5)

initiative against Russia long, long before the latter's invasion of Czechoslovakia. No sooner had Stalin died than Mao wanted to abrogate, not so much the Tsarist treaties, as the one he made with Stalin in 1950.

Whatever shock Khrushchev may have gotten from Mao's request that Mongolia be returned to China and whatever he put in the back of his head to be sure to remember if they came to blows later, it did not at once become the basis for their relations. On the contrary, what help China did get from Russia — and it was a great deal more than she ever got from Stalin — was during the Khrushchev period. The disagreements that came to a boil in 1960 were, again, due to Mao's initiative.

You may call them theoretical if you wish. You may call them revolutionary if you dare. The point is that by the mid-1960's, when U.S. imperialism rained bombs on Vietnam, Mao refused a united front with Russia to help Vietnam. He still kept up the claim that, not so much Vietnam as China was the besieged fortress. Nothing, not even his own Political Committee, could make him modify his line to boldly and sufficiently aid Vietnam. On the contrary. It is then, precisely then, he unleashed the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and even allowed that to stop some of Russia's shipments to Vietnam.

This doesn't mean Russia gave all it could to Vietnam. But to write as if it never dawned upon China to fight a war against a "co-Communist" until that state invaded another "socialist land" is to participate in one vast whitewash. Indeed, Mao has gone so far into playing global politics not only in Asia but in West Europe as to practically "approve" NATO, i.e., not to oppose U.S. presence in West Europe — anything, anything at all that might be used against Russia. The fact that Russia plays the same global game proves that neither is a "socialist land." Both are state-capitalist countries.

It isn't that Russia differs from China; it, too, pursues its own national interests which in our nuclear age includes Big Power imperialism. It, too, considers China "the enemy," as the military build-up and frontier "incidents" in 1969-70 show, and it, too, flirts with both Japan and the U.S. Above everything else Russia, like China, is in a big enough crisis at home to need everything from economic "aid" from the U.S. to possible collusion in any realignment of global powers. Nothing

has yet been decided. Everything is up, if not for grabs, then to be gotten at a very high price.

The worst thing possible would be for the New Left to take sides instead of striking out on an independent road.

THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENT, WHERE TO?

Two equally wrong tendencies vie with each other within the "New Left." One sees the "revolutionary nature" of any (especially the Chinese) attack on "Russian revisionism." The other concentrates on one thing and one thing only—to aid in the reconstruction of Vietnam—even if this means working somewhere within the establishment.

As if there hasn't been enough disorientation with

Argentina

The forces of Juan Peron, through his stooge, Hector J. Campora, have won 48.7 per cent of the popular vote in the March 11 elections and will gain power in the run-off election within the month.

The candidate, Campora, ran with the slogan, "Campora to government, Peron to power."

The present military dictator, General Lanusse, is retiring from both the government and the army, but the high-ranking army officials who have run the country for the past seven years have little regard for popular elections and will not relinquish power without a struggle.

Black Lung

The victims of the coal miners' dreaded disease, black lung, are entitled to collect \$81 a week for life after their claims have been approved by the federal government. A new state law in Kentucky will take over these claims after July 1, 1973.

The victims of coal mine conditions are now being victimized even further by the lawyers who press their claims. State Senator Kelsey Friend, a lawyer who is representing some of the victims, collected \$1,088,950 last year in fees for his services.

The fees are deducted from the victims' awards and are paid by the federal government. In most cases, the fee for the lawyer is 20 per cent, running from \$6,000 to \$21,000 for one case.

Robert D. Hawkins, chief counsel for the Labor Department Special Fund, stated, "It should be reasonable to assume that an attorney who made a million last year from black lung cases will make two million dollars next year." Friend is not an isolated case. Eleven other lawyers sucked fees of \$125,000 to \$810,000 out of coal mine victims.

The Kentucky lawyers conduct an assembly line operation. They have branch offices throughout the state, hire young lawyers to do the work, send the clients to doctors who are in on the racket and keep their waiting rooms full of the victims. One lawyer will interview, another write claim briefs, another takes dispositions, and the big shot is the one who appears in court. It took only 255 cases for Friend to earn his \$1 million last year. He can handle 15 to 20 cases a day before a judge. Being a state senator on a side line, he never lost a case.

For the victim, his \$81 a week drops to \$60 a week, not enough to live on, but enough to continue his dying.

"single-issue" preoccupation in the anti-Vietnam war movement, I. F. Stone (New York Review of Books, March 8 1973) now writes, "the peace movement has no more important task than to focus attention on the Church-Case and Birmingham bids" to the Nixon's hands against renewed intervention. It would also be the New Left's hands to a section of the bourgeoisie.

The only thing that will get us out of the mess of tailending any state power, least of all U.S. imperialism in its Nixonite era, is to recognize that, just as the enemy is always at home and so is the revolution, in that same integrated whole there is no way to separate philosophy from revolution without assuming the road, not to revolution, but to retrogression. It is high time to strike out on an independent road to total freedom.

—from *Maoism and Freedom*, Chapter 17,
"The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung"

MARXISM AND FREEDOM, from 1776 to Today

by Raya Dunayevskaya

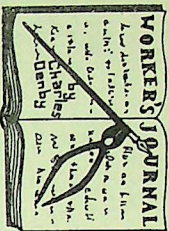
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ON THE INSIDE

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Wounded Knee: Ogilala Sioux speaks p. 7



**Politicians,
corruption
and drugs**

by Charles Denby, Editor

Some Black workers were discussing how the workers in this country is affecting the poor, whites as well as Blacks. They brought up Nixon Administration attacks on working people. One worker said, "I get frightened every time I think of what is at the end of these four more years with Nixon. He is a tricky politician, and seems to be surrounded by top racketeers."

"No one could make me believe that he did not know about the Watergate bugging of the Democratic Party office. What amazes me is so many political leaders just beginning to think there is a connection between the break-in and the White House. Practically every worker in our plant believed it when the news first broke."

"Some are saying the Administration did not need to bug the Democratic Party headquarters, because every poll showed that Nixon was going to win by a landslide. I think it was done because it would enable Nixon to grab more dictatorial power. The man seems to be drunk for power. To me, he is striving to be the first dictator in this country. The Senate and Congress are his stepchildren."

"FRIGHTENING"

"Nixon's Attorney General Kleindienst told Congress that anyone holding a government job would not have to appear before them to testify if Nixon did not want them to. Executive privilege would shield them. Man, that is frightening. Another thing that frightens me is former Attorney General Mitchell saying he can't wait to appear before the Ervin Committee to testify."

"Up to now everybody has been so reluctant to testify, I can't help but wonder if the White House has made a deal with Ervin on this committee members that makes Mitchell want to testify. I am still puzzled why no Democratic leader tried to force this investigation before the election. They went along with Nixon, and waited until after the election."

GOVT. PUSHERS

I was listening to a former drug addict lecturing on drugs at a meeting some weeks ago. He stated that there is so much money in the drug racket that neither state nor federal officials want to abolish it. The only hope of combating it is for people to organize themselves in their own community and fight to keep it out.

Money from the drug racket even ends up in Washington. The daily papers ran names of some of the leading drug suppliers in Detroit. They interviewed one of them, who stated that he paid over a half million dollars in taxes last year, which the government took with a snarl.

(Continued on Page 6)

At Eagle, UAW is

Long Island City, N. Y.—With contract time coming around this year, it is time now for my sisters and brothers at Eagle Electric to start thinking of ways to abolish sweatshop conditions that have prevailed here since 1920. As everyone knows, UAW local 365 is a real sweetheart union. I'm not against this love, but when it's between the company and the union leadership at the expense of our lives, then I think there's something to holler about.

The first and most obvious thing which must go is the piece-rate. People were not made to race clocks for a living. Most of the shops at Eagle are piece-work shops, and most of the workers here are subjected to that inhuman process. We produce hundreds and thousands of dollars worth of goods a day for Eagle. There is no reason why Eagle can't return the favor and provide every worker with a guaranteed living wage.

If the union has done anything to knock down the race, sex and language barriers between shops, I haven't heard about it. Where are the training programs for unskilled workers to move into better shops? There is no excuse for the ancient, rotting equipment, machinery and work areas. If anyone is getting badly injured 99% of the blame lies with the company.

Noise control is another necessity. Excessive noise, such as in the Stamping and Screw Shops, destroys hearing, causes high blood pressure, and works your nerves raw. Ear-plugs and ear-muffs, when the company bothers to pass them out, tend to become uncomfortable during eight hours of work. They also cause painful rashes in the hot shops during the summer. It may not be cheaper to buy machines equipped with noise-controls, but for Eagle to do otherwise is simply inhuman.

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"Human Power is its own end"

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MAY, 1973

Massive workers' strikes in Britain challenge both Tory and Labor parties

By Harry McShane

Glasgow, Scotland—The wage freeze imposed late last fall by the Heath Tory government in Britain to control a disastrous inflationary spiral

has produced a continuously growing revolt on the part of the working class which at times reached dimensions nearing a general strike. Since the beginning of the year, selective strike actions by millions of workers have crippled transportation, closed schools and industries, disrupted utility services, and for the first time in history saw civil servants, teachers and non-medical hospital workers never before involved in labor action, out on strike for a living wage.

Despite this massive and often spontaneous outpouring of working class opposition to the repressive Tory government, both Labor Party and union leaders have refused to seriously propose a united course of action which could challenge and defeat Heath's regime. Actually, the Labor Party is trying to keep up with the Tories who have made some concessions to pensioners and low-paid workers in order to divide the working class. The Tories are trying to use the low-paid to throw discredit on those who are going on strike in defiance of the anti-strike laws. The measures taken by the Government are similar to those taken by President Nixon in America.

LABOR AND TORIES BOTH LOSE

In Scotland and elsewhere, the Liberals and the Scottish Nationalists are winning a great deal of prominence because of their criticism of both the Labor and Tory parties. In Chester-le-Street, an industrial area in Northeast England, although the Labor Party candidate won the seat in a March election, the Labor Party vote fell from 71 percent in the general election to 53 percent. The Tory vote dropped from 28.4 percent to 8.4 percent. The Liberal Party candidate got 36 percent of the vote—the first time in 86 years that a Liberal candidate even ran for the seat. In Lincoln, also in the Northeast, a popular but unofficial Labor candidate defeated the official party representative. At Dundee East, a Scottish Nationalist ran a close second to Labor. Taking these results together, Labor's share of the vote fell from 57.4 percent at the general election to 37.6 percent, while the Tory vote dropped from 36.4 to 16.7 percent.

Closely related to these developments, of course, is the deteriorating economic situation, and the efforts of the Heath government to try to salvage whatever is possible. Central to economic survival is the U.S., with which Britain has a favorable balance of trade, a balance that Heath wants to keep. Heath wants all that can be gained from Europe without sharing any of the hardships that may spring from American stiffening of trade relations in response to Britain's entry into the Common Market.

Britain has been in the Common Market since the beginning of the year, but, in the field of foreign policy she has more in common with President Nixon than with her new partners in Europe. She is the only Common Market country that has not recognized the Government of North Vietnam.

MILITARISM CONTINUES

On another front, where there is concern among the political leaders of Europe over the possibility that America will reduce her military presence in Europe, British politicians, both Labor and Tory, have boasted that they make a larger contribution to NATO than any other country in Europe. And in the meantime, the Russians are making the most of the coming conference on European security, hinting of the possibility of much closer economic ties between the Common Market and the Russian-dominated bloc of East Europe nations—

(Continued on Page 8)



British museum workers in London join in widespread action as civil servants strike for first time in history.

a sweetheart union

These are just a few ideas. I'm sure that every other worker here has many more. Pass them around! Eagle Electric may be a rich and powerful company, but it would be nothing at all without us to run its machines. It's high time that we force Eagle into the 20th century.

—Building #1 Worker

Grape boycott resumes!

Delano, Calif. — In their continuing effort to break the United Farm Workers Union, California grape growers have signed a "backdoor" sweetheart contract with the Teamsters Union, after the growers three-year contract with the UFW expired. The new contract gives workers a basic wage 10 percent lower than the UFW contract. It will also eliminate the hiring hall and return to the old system of labor being supplied to growers by labor contractors, long known for their abusive and racist treatment of workers.

UFW President Cesar Chavez called on all consumers to begin an immediate boycott of table grapes produced by growers who have not signed UFW contracts. These growers include: Richard Bagdasarian Company, Mecca, California; Teneco Corporation, Chicago, Illinois; and L. R. Hamilton, Inc., Reddley, California.

Chavez charged that the federal government knows about cash payments from lettuce, grape and other growers to Teamster officials to intimidate UFW members into agreeing to work under a Teamsters' contract. Such payments are illegal under the Taft-Hartley Act, but the government has done nothing about them.

Women protest Nixon cuts in child care funds

Detroit, Mich.—Three hundred demonstrators marched in front of the GM Building here on April 10, as part of a nation-wide protest against President Nixon's cuts in federal spending for social programs, particularly day care centers.

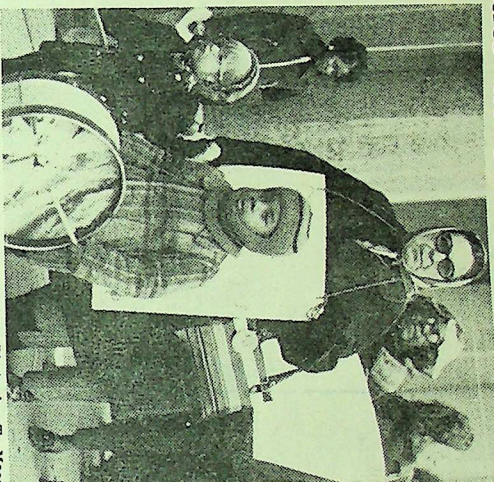
Working mothers and about 100 pre-school children were joined in their picket line by many concerned groups, such as Westside Mothers, National Welfare Rights Organization, UAW Retirees and others. Demonstrators carried signs saying: "Child care not welfare for working mothers," "Children are our greatest resource," and "UAW Grand-dads support child care."

The main purpose of the demonstration was to call attention to the fact that many working women and men would be unable to afford child care without federal funds and would be forced to quit their jobs to care for their small children if the proposed cuts go into effect.

While on one hand President Nixon talks about reducing the number of people on welfare, on the other hand he makes cuts in legislation which will force many low-income people who now have jobs and persons who are barely scraping by on "fixed" incomes to seek welfare in order to care for themselves or their families. With the new guidelines he has written it will be harder than ever for them even to become eligible.

One woman at the demonstration said she was encouraged by the number of different groups represented because people haven't been paying attention unless the issue directly concerns them or someone they're close to. She said, "Americans just don't understand what's going on and how this can happen in America. In other countries they have child care and old people aren't starving."

—S. Casey, Detroit N&L W.I.



—Photo by T. Moon

'Working women raises storm in insurance



Hartford, Conn.—The response to "Working Women," a leaflet written by women working in Hartford insurance companies, has been tremendous. On mornings when the leaflet was distributed, women walked from desk to desk discussing it and many kept it on top of their desks all week.

Two or three days after its distribution, stories began to come in from women at different insurance companies. One of the two daily newspapers printed a three-column story about the leaflet which included its address and philosophical statement in full. And although a male executive remarked, "Working women? I know a lot of women who get paid but few who work," one woman who took a copy summed up the women's response when she said, "Working women? That's us!"

Here are some excerpts from the leaflet: "We believe women's liberation is essential to human liberation. The answer to our problems as working women is not more women executives or women on the boards of directors, but joining together to demand our human rights in all areas of our lives. Through the force and reason of women fighting for human rights, all of society will be forced to make changes for the benefit of all women, children and men."

"The secrecy of job and salary levels in insurance companies works for the benefit of the company, not for the employees. Female employees are kept from knowing the salary levels of other jobs to prevent them from organizing and demanding both better jobs and higher pay. If you ask why they don't hire male clerical workers, the answer will be, 'Oh, men wouldn't work for that pay...'"

"Acceptance of low pay by women guarantees that women will remain second-class employees until we demand equal pay and refuse to work for anything less. And the best way to insure equal pay is to publish salary and job levels so that we know where we stand."

If you would like a copy of the leaflet or have a story to contribute, write to: WORKING WOMEN, P. O. Box 291, Hartford, Conn. 06101.

—Hartford Insurance Worker

Detroit welfare workers protest new rules

Detroit, Mich.—More than 250 welfare workers from seven offices in Wayne County gathered for a Unity Rally April 18th to protest work speed-up by the Administration. The rally resulted after several meetings between the Administration and workers to resolve the employees' grievances. Several new programs, such as the Health Screening program, are to be implemented in the near future, but no new workers are to be hired to service participating clients.

The head of General Assistance (GA) met with the workers at Kercheval, and when workers questioned why caseloads could not be decreased, they were told the Administration had the right to determine caseload, even if loads increased to 500 cases per worker!

In an age when the entire nation is boycotting meat, and the Administration suggests we eat "Fish for Patriotism," little attention has been paid to the less than poverty conditions of the welfare client. The budgets we are now using have not been updated since 1964. A client currently receives \$8.15 a week for food, plus \$-85 for incidentals — \$-55 if the client is a woman.

WAY OF THE WORLD

Nixon's peace: endless war

by Ethel Dunbar

When I saw the TV news where the U.S. is bombing Cambodia just as often as it did North Vietnam for years, who can say the war is over "with honor" as Nixon told the American people just a few months ago. A friend said to me then that Nixon is so unreliable, you can't believe most things he says. So much pressure is on him to end the war in Vietnam and bring the POW's home, that he will make some kind of agreement to get the POW's out and then find some excuse to start bombing again.

The news reported that civilians are suffering the worst from the American bombs, and the dead and wounded are uncountable. The U.S. government answered by saying that you must expect some civilian deaths in a war like this.

After this report they showed the pair of pandas that China gave Nixon as a good will gesture. The reporter said how Dr. Kissinger loved them and spent time with them. Here were these animals, the pride and joy of the Washington Zoo, so well fed and so well protected from any hurt or danger. And in Cambodia, living human beings are being annihilated every day by American bombs.

Nixon says he is fighting the Communists, but there is not one word of protest from China or Russia. He says he is the Number One power in this world. He also seems to have the American people afraid of his power.

Nixon can bring South Vietnam's dictator president here, and there is no mass revolt, not even one word from liberals or labor leaders against him. Then Thieu goes to Italy, France and Germany, and thousands are in the streets demonstrating and protesting against him. They reported Germany's President Willy Brandt refused to meet with him. That made me feel there are people in some countries who do not care what Nixon thinks. They will still show their resentment against fascism.

Nixon is cutting out many welfare programs that have been helping people here, and sending billions of dollars to keep this dictator in power in South Vietnam. I sometimes wonder what it will take to wake up the people in this country before it is too late, if it's not too late already.

ANNE DRAPER 1917 - 1973

Berkeley, California—Anne Draper, after a nine-month struggle against cancer, died at age 56 on March 25. The youngest child of a poor emigrant family she grew up in the ghettos of New York, was a rebel at age eight (when she refused to pull off her father's boots, even with the bribe of a quarter), and a Socialist since she was fourteen.

During World War II Anne was a steel worker on the West Coast, became a Union organizer for the S.W.O.C., then for the Hat Makers Union, and until her demise for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. There she skillfully utilized her position to further the struggles for the rights of women and all oppressed minorities, campaigning as a Socialist and as an organizer against all forms of dictatorship and exploitation.

At the Memorial Meeting, sponsored by Union W.A.G.E. (Women's Alliance To Gain Equality), speakers from all over the country testified to the impact she had on their lives. Her activities ranged from organizing the weekly caravans to Delano, bringing the nearly defeated United Farm Workers strike desperately needed food, clothing, money, and support, to appearing with contingents of women before the California State Assembly convincing them to pass the Equal Protection Laws amendment to the Equal Rights Act—which was vetoed by Reagan and is now being fought for through the Industrial Welfare Commission. During an early convention of NOW, she organized a caucus of women into forming the highly effective UNION W.A.G.E.

The Anne Draper Memorial Fund, sponsored by UNION W.A.G.E. at 2137 Oregon Street, Berkeley, California, 94705, is for the publication of a volume of essays and material on Women's Liberation and the working class movement. Friends are asked to send contributions and concrete material such as pictures, anecdotes and activities, "through which Anne can be seen."

Anne's non-elitist philosophy can best be described in her own words, in the last article she wrote, which appears in the March/April issue of UNION W.A.G.E.: "The liberation of women must come from within their own ranks if it is to take root and this goes double for working women. The economic rulers cannot buy off the working class. The struggle will continue and burst out, in one way or another. We have good reason to expect that women workers will be in the forefront of these struggles and nobody will stop them..."

ILWU bureaucrats begin seizure of SF local

San Francisco, Cal.—For several years there have been rumors to the effect that the International (ILWU) intended to take over the Longshore local here by placing it in receivership. Recently, in what may prove to be the first-step attempt in this direction, the International office brought back one of its long-time piecards from retirement and put him on the payroll to "investigate" the local.

The investigator appeared at a joint meeting of the Stewards' Councils of the Longshoremen and clerks and talked at us for awhile, "explaining" that his appointment was a response to a petition for intervention signed by "several hundred" members. If the statement was true then there is a special irony involved in this "democratic" response. The International ignores or tries to outmaneuver the whole thrust of the more than three thousand Longshoremen here — this is especially revealed by the fact that the overwhelming majority are opposed to steady men on the waterfront, the infamous 9.43 clause in the contract, about which the International does nothing, absolutely nothing. As against this indisputable fact an alleged "several hundred" can get a man on payroll for an investigation.

The Longshore local is regarded by the bureaucrats as being in chaos because no group controls the membership. What exists is a deep-rooted skepticism about the officialdom — and this remains so despite the undeniable fact that a number of those in local office now are trying to respond to the needs and demands of working Longshoremen. What must be most alarming and a sure indicator of "chaos" to the top piecards is the growing trend of the dockers to solve their on-the-job problems by job action.

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

SAN FRANCISCO: PO Box 77303, Station E, San Francisco, Cal. 94107

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LOS ANGELES: PO Box 24371, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

DETROIT: 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207 (961-1010)

NEW YORK: PO Box 5363, Grand Central Sta., New York, N.Y. 10017

MONTREAL: Le Comité Humaniste-Marxiste de Montreal, PO Box 134, Montreal 600, Quebec

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — They have hiring a lot of women here at Fleetwood. I can't say for sure just how many they are hiring, but I would guess that out of every 12 new workers they hired that five are women. The company is putting a lot of women in as trainees for supervision. This is something new. They never wanted to hire women before and you never heard of a woman in supervision.

I am surprised to hear some of these women say that they are not for women's liberation, when they would not be in the plant at all if it wasn't for women's liberation. The company is only hiring so many because there is a women's movement. They are putting some into supervision so they can say they don't discriminate. But mostly they think that women supervisors will help them control the new women workers better.

There is no woman in any important position in our local union. Years ago the FEPC was formed to fight discrimination. Now it is just a title. But I can't even remember what they call the committee that is supposed to handle the special problems of women workers. That is how inactive it is. In 1965 and 1966 when a lot of Black workers were hired they went down to the union hall and participated. I believe this is the reason that Joe Gaston is local president today. The bureaucrats are supposed to represent us, men and women, but they just hide from us in their all-male union hall.

— Black Worker, Fleetwood

GM South Gate

Los Angeles, Cal.—The night shift Body Shop held an important meeting which over 100 workers took part in. The major subject taken up was the medical needs in the plant. (Ed. Note: See N&L, March 1973).

At the meeting it was decided that there should be competent nurses and a doctor for each shift, and a fully-equipped medical rescue vehicle manned with trained personnel at all times while work is being performed in the plant.

It was further decided that the company should hire

An interesting feature of this "investigative" move is that while the Bridges group did it they don't control the International — another bureaucratic clique does. And although this move is unconstitutional (the International Executive Board is empowered to make moves like this, not the international office), the group that has basic control of the structure, the International board, does nothing decisive.

Whether the controlling clique ever asserts its control in a consistent way has little bearing on the interests of working Longshoremen. Some years ago at a convention it was to be decided who would get a spot in the International vacated by the death of one top official. Rather than an out-front fight on which group would have its man in the spot both groups agreed to create two jobs where there had been one before and the convention went for it.

These two groups had decided to keep their struggle for power "in the closet" and to achieve that, these people whose outstanding feature in the Longshore jobs department is to give them up, put on an extra man at our expense.

—San Francisco Dockers

Face long hours, low pay

Los Angeles, Calif.—One of the first things everyone should learn about the service station workers is the long hours we spend working to make enough money to survive on. Fifty, sixty, even seventy hours a week are not uncommon. Some companies pay overtime after 40 hours, but many do not. The reason most workers don't gripe about the long hours and low pay is that they feel if they can just stand the conditions long enough they will find another job.

Those that do pay time and a half for overtime will try and limit the hours to 40 a week. With the starting wage at \$2 per hour, a worker will gross \$80 a week.

After taxes, social security, etc. the net take-home pay of the beginning worker in our industry could drop to \$65 or \$70 a week. How in the hell can anyone expect a worker and his family to survive on starvation wages? Is it any wonder that apathy reigns in our industry?

It would seem obvious that as workers we would form our own rank-and-file organizations against these conditions. Well, it has been tried, but the companies make sure that workers don't even hear of the failure. A fellow worker told me about a local company where the rank-and-file organized themselves and won a government-sponsored election. But, the company got so scared it quit the retail gas business.

—Service station worker

and pay the medical personnel, but that the union should have the right to accept or reject them. The 300 workers who will be treated by the medical people should have the right to decide if their attitude toward us reflects their concern for our health, or GM's concern with production.

It was decided that our committeemen would take the results of this meeting to the shop committee so it could be brought before management. If in three weeks no action has been taken we are to hold another meeting to determine future action.

The February issue of the Assembler is a perfect example of how the union does not deal concretely with the issues that concern the workers. The main headline states, "SAFETY IS EVERYONE'S BUSINESS." But this is a meaningless slogan because GM's mad rush for production makes it impossible to work safely. The line is moving too fast for that.

—GM Southgate Workers Committee

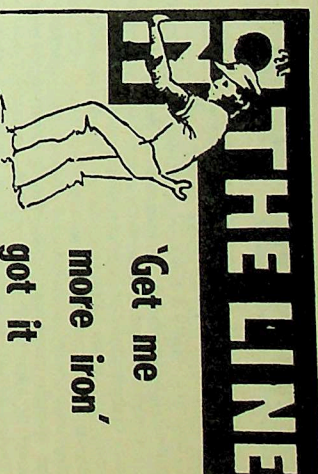
GM Ste-Therese

Ste-Therese, Quebec — Since the fall of 1971, there have been 1,700 layoffs at GM Ste-Therese leaving only 1,100 still on the job. And what's more, the company has flatly stated that these "layoffs" will be permanent.

One of the reasons for this is that part of the production of the Vega (called "Aster" here to make it sound Canadian) has been shifted to the Lordstown, Ohio plant where employees are doing obligatory overtime and where the line speed is faster. If this same production were transferred to Ste-Therese it would put 400 people back in work. Right now the Ste-Therese plant is working at less than half its capacity.

The Minister of Industry doesn't think that the situation is urgent and says that it will be dealt with "at the proper time," but his government keeps pledging to protect people's jobs and its intervention might certainly ease things temporarily. This just shows what an invitation to disaster this policy of crawling around on all fours begging for foreign investment is; for each job "created," several others are lost.

— P. Gouin



'Get me more iron' got it

By John Allison

This story had its beginning in the Highland Park plant. There was a very lazy young worker in the Piston Department. To everyone's surprise, he was made a supervisor.

From the very beginning, his theme song was: "Get me more iron. He became known in the plant as "Get Me More Iron." The workers under him were long-seniority workers who were not willing to risk their jobs to straighten the foreman out.

He was transferred to the Eldon Axle plant. He started out on the midnight shift with young workers, was made Assistant Superintendent on afternoon shift and now is Superintendent on days.

Now it happens that a young worker of three weeks' seniority did what "Get Me More Iron" has been asking for so long. He gave the Superintendent more iron—up side his head. When the story began in Highland Park we had no idea it would end in Eldon Axle. But we knew that one day someone would give him more iron.

The rank and file workers have been waiting to see what bold new concept the UAW is challenging the auto companies to accept at the bargaining table. Management sounds like the foreman who got the pipe up side his head. All they know to say is "More production. More Iron."

We realize that the union is so close to management they can't see the pipe just waiting to go up side the Big Three Heads. You can trace — beyond a shadow of a doubt — all workers' problems right back to working conditions.

Sour contract at Sweet-Life

Sutfield, Conn.—We just received a big raise over two years at Sweet-Life Foods. Drivers are supposed to get \$1.25 and the warehouse \$1.00. This is supposed to bring us to what other Connecticut Foods workers are getting, which is still way below what Teamster warehousemen and drivers in freight are getting.

When we had our first contract meeting, Business Agent Pete Rossano told us the union wouldn't sanction a strike for more than 5.5%, or about 25 cents an hour over the first year. When workers objected strongly and suggested that we might wildcat, he apparently changed his mind.

There are still a lot of problems with this raise. The women in repack still get 50 cents per hour below the rest of the warehouse, even though they do about the same work. When a woman raised this at the meeting, Rossano told her to go to the government about discrimination. She said that was what the union was paid for, to protect us, and all of the workers supported her.

We'll probably never see the raise, since it must be approved by the Cost of Living Council. That's why a quarter of the membership, mostly from the night shift, voted to strike until we actually see the raise. But the union and the food warehouses have set up our contracts so they all expire at different times.

If the union doesn't unite the foods workers so a strike could put some real pressure on the government, we may have to do it without them. The companies know this. That's why they had three cops and extra supervisors on the night shift right after the contract was approved.

Sweet-Life is making record profits. The labor leaders get fatter and more corrupt every year. It's only the workers who have to try to make ends meet with shrinking real income, and have to work under speed-up and conditions which get worse every year.

—Sweet-Life Worker

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Detroit, Michigan 48207

EDITORIAL

Nixonomic inflation, food boycotts and militarization

Despite attempts by newspapers and TV to find "the organizers," or the "lady who started it," it was obvious that the massive meat boycott that spread across the U.S. April 1-7 was a spontaneous outburst. Literally tens of millions of shoppers by-passed meat counters and butcher shops to register their protest against skyrocketing food prices. Supermarket chains reported that meat sales were off 50 to 60 percent, as women organized picketlines outside stores.

Boycotters were outraged, not only at high prices, but at Nixon's preposterous last-minute efforts to head them off by "freezing" prices on beef, pork and lamb. The protestors agreed that what Nixon did was to "close the doors after the cows were out of the barn." In the middle of "Boycott Week," Nixon repeated his contemptuous attitude by dining with Pres. Thieu of South Vietnam on prime ribs of beef and other luxuries.

NIXON'S TRAP: WORKERS VS. FARMERS
It was no accident that Nixon's "freeze" came at the end of March, after food prices had risen nearly nine percent in three months, or at an annual rate of 34 percent! Neither is there any accident when administration officials broadly hint that the farmers' "high profits" are to blame for \$2 per lb. steak and \$1.10 per lb. hamburger. Just as Nixon has spent four years trying to set white workers against Black workers, and "hard hats" against students, so he is now out to pit urban workers against small farmers.

American farmers, who have seen their numbers cut in half since 1950, as giant corporations gobbled whole counties and more than a million farm families were forced off the land, know that "high profits" are something they have never seen.

It is true that the prices paid to farmers rose significantly in the months before Nov. 7, as Nixon tried to insure the Republicans a big victory in the farm vote. But it was the agribusiness giants who reaped the lion's share of the benefits. The \$1.2 billion U.S.-Russia grain

deal exposed the truth. Small farmers were not even told of the deal until it was completed, while Nixon's favorite friends, like Ralston-Purina, were already counting their profits.

MILITARIZATION THE REAL CAUSE

The true culprits in U.S. inflation are not the hog raisers in Nebraska or the dairy farmers in New York, but the architects of militarization and devaluation in Washington. The fact is that this year's military budget is the largest ever, and is all the more obvious in this "era of peace", in which B-52's systematically massacre the people of Southeast Asia. The military drain on the economy is the real mammoth which is eating away at the wages of American workers.

Add to that the 18 percent devaluation of the dollar in less than a year and a half, which has forced up the prices of every product, including food. So anxious was Nixon to stem the falling rate of profits of tremendous proportions, that his "new economic policy" moves guaranteed a soaring mass of profits, while wages remained frozen. He succeeded in depressing real wages, and in accelerating speed-up in the shops. The result has been relentless inflation despite the high productivity of American labor. The economy remains in serious trouble, and Wall Street is already guessing about the timing of the next recession.

One thing is certain, however. There will be no relaxation of any sort in prices. Faced with the obvious fury in the ranks, every major labor bureaucratic has been proclaiming that he will not settle for the 5.5 percent wage increase allowed under the Phase III guidelines. But no matter how many pennies are added to Nixon's guidelines when the contracts are finally written, they will never make up for the dollars that workers have already lost to the inflation which has accompanied the Vietnam war since 1965.

Rising to the occasion, AFL-CIO big-shots George

Jimousines and all that. That's wrong. My work is made harder just because it's so boring.

The problem is, most people in this country still feel our only choice is between the system we've got, or a system like Russia or China. It's not.

Young White Worker
Connecticut

RACISM

Concerning the article "New Bobby Seale: Old Mentality," I agree that what they are trying to accomplish now through electoral politics is the same thing that they failed to accomplish with urban guerrilla tactics; I don't agree that their program or their party in its earlier days was merely an attempt to realize the Great Society by increasing the funding of the poverty programs in the black community.

While their old tempoint program was not a desirable nor even a viable way to revolution, it was an attempt at revolutionizing and raising the political consciousness of more blacks. I don't see how else a true revolutionary like George Jackson, for example, could have sided with them.

Black Woman Student
Los Angeles

You ask for my sub renewal to support your N&L: "The only paper edited by a Black worker" and so forth. Who cares if your editor is Black or a worker if he is no better than any of the complaining stock of militants with whom he seems to enjoy wasting his time. To help you realize that one needs not be Black or a worker or in Detroit to understand what's going on with car production and class struggle in the U.S. I am sending you a pamphlet about the Lordstown Strike of 1972 published by a small group of French radicals. Compare it to the paucity of your "From the auto shops." Whatever the color you use to wrap up your ideology, (Black, yellow or white) to sell it on the market, it won't fool the proletariat much longer, and you'll be crushed just like other militants.

J.H.D.
Paris

Editor's Note: The pamphlet was published by "The Friends of Four Million Young Workers"—who evidently don't believe that workers can speak very well for themselves.

News & Letters

Meany and I. W. Abel have chosen to "fight" inflation by raising anew the revolting racist threat of the "yellow peril," blaming the drop in wages and the rise in prices on the Japanese. Abel has even purchased TV time to warn of the threat to U.S. workers from Japanese "disciplined" labor, while Meaney demands higher and higher tariffs.

Just as workers can expect no help from these betrayers of labor, neither will they get any from the Democratic congress. There is no hope of legislation to stop the decline in real wages from a Congress which has failed in every "confrontation" with Nixon, from aid to the handicapped to the anti-poverty program.

The truth is that the only answer is in direct mass action which unites farmers and workers, and which refuses to accept any of Nixon's phony scapegoats as the enemy.

News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
National Editorial Board
Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor
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Readers

understanding can claim the title of Justice at all. For Justice Myers' convoluted logic amounts to the following:

First — Poverty is the cause of crime. (A brilliant deduction!) Second — The poorer you are, the more warped you are. Third — The more warped you are, the less likely you can be rehabilitated. Fourth — Since we cannot do anything about poverty (heaven forbid!) the only solution is to look up our poor warped Black brothers and sisters in our already overcrowded jails. We will, however, go easier on our white middle-class brethren, who, naturally, are not so warped. Fifth — All this is of course, unfortunate, but the judiciary, nevertheless, is not racist, for that would be outrageous indeed!

Student
New York

FRENCH REVIEWS

The three French reviews of Marxism and Freedom printed last issue were very interesting, especially the two that were critical. It was revealing that one used "passion" as an insult. They seemed to use that when they don't know how to oppose us. The other's reference to finding it "curious" to include a chapter about the U.S. shows what he thinks of internationalism.

Supporter
New York

ISRAEL

The saying current in many languages "a guest for a while sees for a mile" is, judging from the letter of "Visitor to Israel" in your February issue, somewhat rather misleading.

Immigrants to Israel — not only from Russia, are directed to the various towns and cities according to two main criteria: housing and employment. These aim at dispersing the population to all parts of the country, to avoid concentration within the narrow, already overpopulated coastal belt between Tel-Aviv and Haifa. Sometimes, however, where housing is available there isn't suitable employment, and vice versa. This ap-

CHINA-RUSSIA-USA

A local peace committee recently sponsored a Dr. Annette Rubenstein to speak about her trip to China. She is one of those weird creatures who have been popping up lately — a long-time Russian Stalinist turned Maoist. About 400 showed up to listen breathlessly to her glowing accounts of how the Chinese really all love Mao Tse-tung, love to dig canals 8,000 miles through the mountains with their bare teeth and red books, and how, although there isn't any freedom to speak of, at least no one is lonely!

The handful of youth in the audience were generally unimpressed. They were the only ones who agreed when I pointed out that if 20,000 Chinese youth escape to Hong Kong rather than be forced into the desert for life, something is grievously wrong with the Chinese system.

Two years ago when I tried to talk "revolution" to that peace committee, they screamed bloody murder. The other night they screamed when I merely called Mao's China a totalitarian dictatorship. I don't think that could be called "transformation into opposite." It's more like "transformation into absurd."

Young
New Jersey

A friend of mine who just returned from a month's travel in East Europe and Russia said that Poland seems to be the freest of the East European countries, and that it seems due to the workers' revolt of December 1970. The government of Giersek is attempting some open self-criticism, but only "attemping." The people openly discuss the revolt. He said the next time he hears a "dumb Polack" joke he's going to lay the guy who tells it out flat.

He also said that Lenin in Russia is worshipped like Christ is in the West. The real teachings of either one would throw a monkey-wrench into those respective systems if their words were ever put into practice. They are just used for public consumption to give the masses (East and West respectively) some meaning to their lives.

New Reader
Onedia, N.Y.

You have to read Marx and Lenin for yourself. All these Communists and Socialists change them around, they twist them all up. In those countries the guys who work with their heads still get paid a lot more, ride around in

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Editors Note: We have not written about Watergate up to now, not because the depth of the corruption is not horrifying — but because corruption is so inherent in capitalism that it is almost as characteristic of the system as the extraction of surplus value from the worker. The bright young manipulators that Nixon has drawn around him in the White House—the Deans, the Zieglers, the Haldemanns, the Magraders, the Ehrlichmans, et al.—are a breed we have seen before, as the "Two Worlds" written Feb. 20, 1954, during the McCarthy hearings, which we reprint below, dramatically reveals. The difference is that 1973 is not 1954, and Nixon is no mere Senator McCarthy. He is president of the most powerful, nuclear-armed country on earth. The danger of McCarthyism was one thing. The danger of a President whose sole-dictator-mentality is quite another. We ask you to read this 1954 article with 1973 eyes.

I remember when I first saw the announcement in the paper that Roy Cohn would be McCarthy's attorney on the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. It sent a shudder through me. Without even reading the story of his life, the picture revealed the type. The worldly young man endowed with brains and wealth, through no effort of his own, believing that he can, with no roots in any civilization, do anything and everything; believing only in his own personality and using it unashamedly to breeze through any opposition.

He was only 25 then, the son of an old-line Democrat, a New York judge. Too young to be in the second World War, he had whizzed through Columbia University and law school during the post-war period in three and a half years. Graduating so young that he had to wait a year

and a half before he could take his bar exam. Every college student knows the type, the opportunist with brains and connections who develops them as fast as possible in order to put them at the disposal of the highest bidder. Cohn didn't have to wait long. The moment he passed his bar exam, a job was waiting for him as Confidential Assistant to the United States Attorney in New York.

OUTSIDE THE LAW

The Government gave Cohn the opportunity he needed. The Communists were being prosecuted for conspiracy. While the legal forms were being maintained in Court, a special department was set up by the Attorney General to deal with all radicals. The boy who had been born with a silver spoon in his mouth was now worth his weight in gold. While other government attorneys hesitated to bring in anti-Communist radicals under the same law which prosecuted Communists, Cohn was uninhibited by any democratic tradition. The end justified the means, legal or not. The older more respectable attorneys protested, but in the end they always capitulated. Cohn knew that he could always sweep them along. All they wanted to do was go more slowly but their ends were no different than his. Cohn gathered around him a gang of younger men, as rootless and ruthless as he, anxious to put their highly-trained brains at the service of the most powerful bidder.

Now that his ability to bully his more liberal colleagues into illegal short-cuts had been proven, Cohn did not stay long with the U.S. Attorney. He was looking for more fertile fields. The new U.S. Attorney was anxious to move more slowly, to stay within the law. McCarthy needed a lawyer on his staff, as unscrupulous and as brazen and as shameless as he.

McCarthy and Cohn joined forces. McCarthy's smears are as unscrupulous as Cohn's, but his manner is shifty, sneering. Cohn brings to the proceedings the vigorous

Gang lawyer for the establishment

brassiness which paralyzes the opposition with its offensiveness.

INFORMERS' BEST FRIEND

The whole tradition of the American people fills them with horror and distaste for stool pigeons. But everything the Administration, Democratic and Republican, has done drives them towards identifying the informer with a patriot. When Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, Whitaker Chambers and the whole army of lesser fry stool pigeons take the stand to finger people, they are aware of the revision of the whole community. Cohn is there to give them the immoral courage to continue. Without any ifs, ands or buts he stands for the philosophy of glorifying informers. When he is present, they feel that

(Continued on Page 7)

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the Chairwoman of NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, which practices the unity of worker and intellectual, and of philosophy and revolution, and totally new human relations. NEWS & LETTERS is edited by a Black production worker, CHARLES DENBY. It was born in 1953, the year of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, on the one hand, and the wildcats against Automation, on the other. It is a monthly publication which does not separate reports of the activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth against capitalism, racism, sexism, and imperialist war, from the activity of thinking and working out theory for our age. Participation in the freedom struggles and the creation of a forum for all the new voices from below by the publication of the paper, pamphlets and books are all forms of activities we invite you to join in working out with us.

Views

plies equally to professionals as well as other skills and trades.

The sit-in at the Lod Airport your correspondent witnessed has nothing to do with persecution or discrimination. The comparison between Russia and Israel is rather far-fetched.

However critical one can be of Israel, at least one should remain true to the facts.

As a left-wing Socialist-Zionist, critical of many of the internal and external policies of the Israeli government (and there is plenty to be critical of), I, like many others, don't claim that Israel is a classless society. The struggle that I'm part of aims at achieving this goal, while fighting for the right of the Russian Jews for national self-determination and free emigration to Israel, against any discrimination of the Israeli Arab minority, national self-determination of the Palestinians and just peace with the neighboring Arab states.

Nahum Sneh
Israel

POSTAL WORKERS

April 15 to June 30 will be a time of negotiations for the U. S. Postal Service and the postal workers. I think we should pressure for improvement, not only in working conditions and benefits, but also in postal service. There have been many rumors of special retirement benefits to phase out more senior workers, and management wants to use the demand for area-bargaining to divide us nation-wide, especially city from rural and small town postal workers.

Our national union leader says he is committed to some of the things which we have been talking about in N. Y. that will help all of us. We can't let him beg off when he starts getting pressure from the White House and the U.S.P.S. We proved ourselves in 1970.

Letter Carrier
New York

I am disgusted with the press coverage of the Congressional hearing on the U. S. Postal Service. They deceived patrons who told about deteriorated service. They covered management who weren't reluctant to hang out their "dirty

linen." But they didn't cover the postal workers.

Management must be pleased with the timing of the hearings, since contract negotiations are coming up this spring. They remember the strike in 1970 and the full public support the postal workers got. This year conditions are 100 times worse, but management wants the public to think only about the lousy service.

Letter Carrier
Detroit

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

In your last issue on the abortion law, Molly Jackson pointed to the fact that it could be used against lower-class minority women in such a manner that they might be forced to either have abortions or get off welfare. Such an 'either/or' choice would suffocate the dignity of a woman who really wanted children and wished to control her own body and her own life. When blacks are "shouting genocide," it is not genocide "Nazi-style" that the blacks have in mind here but rather the "hidden" genocide that results from narrowing human choices to nothing.

The slow death of creeping imperialism is a lot deadlier than a swift one.
Black Student
East Lansing

While I agree with Ms. Holmes' article on WL, needing new theoretical beginnings, I feel that it is not enough to say that Raya Dunayevskaya is "the only woman theoretician who has established a new foundation." Ms. Holmes says that "What is crucial is that we continue on this ground" without ever telling us what "this ground" is. Perhaps this might make an interesting future article.

Feminist
Detroit

I've seen horrible pieces in WL books praising China, while revealing just what WL means there. Women were "freed" from their homes to live in collectives where instead of having to cook for a few, they cook for hundreds. Or they get to work in a factory under terrible conditions. It is held up as liber-

ation for a woman to leave her young baby with her mother and return to the factory, but what about the grandmother who is forced to care for the child? If child care means nothing but forcing women to work longer in the factory, who wants it?

Mother
New York

VIETNAM VETS

FREE FIRE ZONE, a collection of short stories by Vietnam Veterans has just been published by 1st Casualty Press. "Profits" are divided between our next book's cost, and the American Friends Service Committee hospital in South Vietnam, and the Bach Mai Hospital in North Vietnam. Please let your readers know they can help raise funds for medical relief for Indochina by ordering copies, at \$2.95 each, from:

1st Casualty Press Fund
PO Box 518
Covaulty, Conn. 06238

NIXONISM

The large oil monopolies have decided to get rid of us independent gas stations. They raised their wholesale price to us 4c a gallon last week, forcing me to raise my gas price by 2c. This week their wholesale price will go up another 5c. I will lose all my customers to those large name brands, and have to shut down. The oil corporations will thank us for getting out of the way, and boost their retail prices up to 60c or 70c. It's all well-planned and the government is in on it, just like the meat.

Owner/Operator
Connecticut

Boston's Mayor White is "regretfully" cutting social services and laying off city workers. Nixon is gleefully doing this on a national level to smash the minorities and the workers. The results are the same whether a liberal or reactionary does it, which only shows the total crisis of our system.

Correspondent
Boston

I saw a small news article recently about the arrest of a group of Blacks and Tuscarora Indians who were marching together in North Carolina to support Wounded Knee. Also, women have been writing to newspapers protesting their racist and sexist treatment of Sasheen Littlefeather. Maybe Marlon Brando

didn't make it to Wounded Knee, but the people know that the Indian struggle is our struggle, too. If we don't unite now with the Indians and force Nixon from Wounded Knee, he'll bomb us all "back to the stone age."

'Keep on pushing'
Detroit

LEADERS AND RANKS

The March issue of the Teamster Magazine is full of lies about how the Teamsters are organizing the Farmworkers of California. Everyone I talk to feels they are really being paid off by the growers to disrupt the organizing successes of Chavez's UFW.

They also reprinted a curious quote from the 1923 issue of the magazine. Part of it ran: "The great trouble with our conservative members is that they stay at home Sundays and evenings and do not attend the meetings of their locals. They have something else to do. But the firebrands attend every meeting."

Everyone knows the opposite is true. In my local only 100 or so friends of the bureaucrats attend these regular meetings. At one I attended, this unrepresentative minority took the "radical" action of giving money to the local Republican Party. But the reprinting of this quote must mean the leadership has been confronted by angry rank and filers at these regular meetings in other locals.

Teamster Member
Connecticut

PRISONERS' FREE PRESS

Men and women prisoners involved with the Prisoner's Free Press have suffered great harassment from prison officials in an effort to silence our paper. Two members are being held in Solitary Confinement under indefinite sentences, in the Western Penitentiary at Pitsburgh and our art editor is being held in the dungeon at State Prison at Huntingdon, Pa. We accept these risks because we know no struggle can succeed without someone making a personal sacrifice. We are determined to continue printing this paper no matter what the cost. To those who want to help us we need: money, postage stamps, typewriters, mimeograph equipment. We also need readers, and articles. Send what you can to:

Prisoner's Free Press
c/o James Mayberry
PO Box 4731, Phila., Pa. 19134

Youth

DOING
AND
THINKING

Students, workers shake up France

by Chris Norwell

Since the end of March, high school and university students have taken to the streets in major cities throughout France to protest new draft and education requirements. At the same time, mostly-immigrant workers at Renault, the nation's largest auto plant, have been on strike against unskilled jobs and monotonous working conditions, and there are indications that the two groups have caused a shake-up in French society that hasn't been seen since 1968.

The high school students went on strike to protest the abolition of draft deferments for students entering college. College students, at the same time, walked out to protest a new system of educational requirements that would result in the devaluing of their future diplomas. The demonstrations grew into mass outpourings of discontent as thousands of youth joined together in the streets to demand changes. The police, trying to break up the gatherings, started many street clashes that have so far brought injury to students and police alike.

Meanwhile, the Renault workers, at Billancourt, a suburb of Paris, are continuing their strike over working conditions despite the fact that their union, the Communist-dominated Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT), obtained a substantial raise for them from the management. The workers rejected that offer, saying they were not interested in money alone. The strike has now spread to other industries around France, including half of the 80,000 Renault workers. Workers in other plants, such as Peugeot in St. Etienne, Dijon, and Lille, have walked off in sympathy strikes.

Fourteen percent of French workers come from countries with high unemployment rates, such as Algeria, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Africa, etc., and are used by the French industries to keep wages low for all workers. The immigrant workers also end up getting all the lousy jobs and not being able to advance into the skilled trades. Recently there has been an increasing amount of unrest from these immigrants, including a couple of walkouts at Renault's plant in Le Mans.

The students and workers seem to be confronting France again with simultaneous, if not combined, actions against the society. The CGT, who in 1968 helped the counter-revolution by keeping the workers and students apart, has now come out with a resolution supporting the workers' wildcat and the students' demonstrations. The CGT is now running to keep up with its revolutionary rank-and-file. It seems like the immigrants don't listen to their union leadership, and are determined to fight for freedom despite them.

Greek youth murdered

As an update to your story on Greece which appeared in the April '73 issue, your readers should know that two students were killed by the Saloniki police during a sit-in. Many have been arrested and beaten, but the movement continues to grow in size and militancy. At one point, some 100,000 Athenians massed in support of the students blocking all commerce from Constitution to Omónia Square. Our correspondents and returning travelers report that for the first time, the people are speaking of being able to overthrow the gorilla colonels without aid from any outside foreign state.

The slogans of the students have been consistently anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist, more militant in terms of ideology than demonstrations before the junta which were dominated by the revisionism of the Greek Communist Party. Any readers who want to keep up on Greek affairs may write to us for a free copy of our latest issue.

Z. Nikiforos
The Front Line
Box, 5128, Clinton, N.J. 08809

PHILOSOPHY & REVOLUTION

Organization Builder

Includes: exchange of letters between
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and Harry McShane, Scottish Marxist-Humanist.

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Organizing for amnesty now

In the past year, three separate groups of activists, two in exile and one in the U.S., have been organizing a mass movement in support of a just amnesty for all categories of war resisters. Despite having different starting points, AMEX, Up From Exile (Sweden), and SAFE RETURN have arrived at very similar conclusions concerning the centrality of the amnesty issue.

The fact that the majority of war resisters were of working class background impressed both AMEX and Up From Exile with the need to re-define the nature of their resistance to this war from the narrow, self-conscious "middle-class" conceptions of morality.

The experience of "deserters" in exile (or underground) was a continuation of the oppression which they (and their families) experienced within the U.S. Not finding assimilation or even residence easily obtainable, they remain political exiles. For them, amnesty is not an abstract question or a luxury — rather a necessity. By coupling the right of resistance to the demand for "safe return," we can prevent the amnesty issue from becoming distorted into a question of whether they should be "forgiven" for their "crimes."

FAMILIES OF RESISTERS FOR AMNESTY
c/o Safe Return 156 Fifth Ave. #1003
New York, N.Y. 10010

H. S. frustration

Warren, Mich. — I would like to express in my state of frustration, how extremely dehumanizing and monotonous my typing class is. I just despise the thought of the next school day when third hour typing class comes around because I know that all of my previous assignments will be returned to me with great big E's on them.

One of the reasons why my grades are so poor is because the teacher refuses to let me work at my own rate and if I were to let myself go through the neurotic monotony of pushing those keys as fast as I can, I would go insane. I just wish that they would realize that I am not a productionist and that I am a human being!

Another thing that irritates me is the advice the counselors give to women students. They are constantly stressing to women "either go to college or become a secretary." Not only do I think that women students should have the right, but I also think they should be encouraged, to involve themselves in their own individual interests and creative abilities, no matter what they may be.

I think that something should be done about the instructors and the counseling staff at the school, because a student's life is much too valuable to be influenced by such ignorant, inhuman people that obnoxiously illustrate their complacent attitudes to their 8 to 3 jobs at the price of the students' future.

—Male Student, Fitzgerald High School

Warsaw Ghetto commemoration

New York, N. Y. — A contingent of Jewish Leftists was both verbally and physically attacked for carrying a red flag with a black Jewish star in a march commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on April 19. The flag, belonging to the Jewish Left Community coalition (JLC), brought an outraged response from a small minority of the predominantly older, European-born marchers.

Several of those protesting the flag shouted "Don't you support the Jews trying to get out of Russia?" and refused to hear any statement of position by JLC members. One man kept saying "No flags in this march. No flags — this is not political," while he held an American flag and that same flag stood on the speakers platform.

The history of the Warsaw Ghetto resistance itself creates the basic irony of the confrontation. On April 19, 1943, when Hitler began his final liquidation of the Ghetto, the resistance which arose was spearheaded by Jewish Marxists and Socialists in the Ghetto community. The commemoration march ignored the history of this freedom fight; the JLC, carrying on the spirit of its brothers and sisters of 30 years ago, was attacked.

— Marcher, N.Y.

Perspectives, 1972-73

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Introduction: Lord Nixon, or Super-Patriotism,
Last Refuge of Scoundrels

I—A "Pentagonal" World, or a State-Capitalist
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REVOLUTION

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

The former addict said his sister had also been addicted. Through connections, she got a job at the Post Office as a letter carrier. They stole over \$100,000 in checks, and had other connections to cash them. It took three months to start an investigation, and in that time his sister would be transferred to another room.

They were able to steal checks for nearly a year and a half before his sister was finally caught. They could never have gotten away with it without help from someone high up, who was getting paid off too.

This man said that some in the police department are connected to the drug racket, and the police are too. But there was no way anyone would ever get him connected with drugs anymore. "Drug abuse has turned this country into a jungle society," he said.

DRUGS VS. BLACK UNITY

Although drugs have been around a long time, it was after the rebellions by Blacks in the late Sixties that the authorities seemed to open the floodgates to drugs. Blacks were making some social and political progress through their unity. He felt the society had to do something to break up the solidarity among Blacks. Now in every large or small city, drugs are easy to obtain in the Black community, but drug use is spreading to the all-white suburbs, and some of them are beginning to yell that it is time to stop.

To get rid of drugs, we first must get rid of those that condone it, those who protect the pushers. To do that we will have to tear up this society from beginning to end, and build a new one that will have the interests of all the people at heart.

Detroit area readers:

CHARLES DENBY
will speak on
"The Share-cropping South and
the Industrial North"

Date: Wednesday, May 9
Time: 7 P.M.

Place: Oakland County Community College
Orchard Ridge Campus—Building "J"
Orchard Lake Road at 11 1/2 Mile

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BLACK-RED VIEW

'The Mack': exploitation flick

by John Alan

The scene is an Oakland, California, movie theater, just off the main downtown street—a movie house that would have been permanently closed because of the decline in attendance, but was given a new lease on life by the rash of Black exploitation films which Hollywood has been grinding out in the last few years, with the single-minded drive to achieve greater profits from its new-found market. War surplus search-lights sweep the night sky; Cadillac and Bentlys drive up to the glittering Marquee; out step hustlers, pimps, and "heer" women, dressed in the newest "pimp style" clothing which the "heroes" of so many of these films have popularized.

Across the street from the Marquee, looking at all this phoney glitter are the Black youth of Oakland's ghettoes. Hollywood is unveiling for them a new "folk hero"—one these youth can look up to by ponying up \$3.00 each at the box office.

THE PIMP AS HERO

This film is called "The Mack". The author of the film story says that the word "Mack" means pimp; that it is a true life story; and when he was growing up in the Black ghetto the pimp was the only successful character Black youth had to identify with.

The Star of the film arrives, he languishes in the back seat of his Cadillac for quite a long time, waving cameras intermittently pierce the interior of the Cad, revealing for all to see the smiling handsome face of the film's hero, the successful pimp. The Star gets out of the Cad, he announces to the press that: "This is really an educational movie".

And then, surprisingly, Bobby Seale, Black Panther, now a registered Democrat and candidate for the Mayor of Oakland. This is a surprise because he had previously denounced this film. "The Mack" as another Hollywood exploitation movie. He does not refer to this in his statement to the assembled press. Instead he says he "is at this opening because the people are here, and since the film was made in Oakland it provided jobs for the local people."

FILM VS. REALITY

"The Mack" is a dummer as a film. It is designed to get the money of Black youth by leading them to believe that they can escape the sordid horrors of the ghetto by sinking deeper into the even more sordid dehumanizing horror of pimpdom; that by selling the bodies of women they will be able to drive big automobiles and dress in expensive flashy clothes. To add to this life of violence and exploitation a false sentimentality about a pimp who is kind to his mother, and loves little children, is to be guilty of the same mendacity that Hollywood has pursued in the past, when it pictured all Blacks tap-dancing, happy-go-lucky fools.

The pimps this writer has talked to are hard-nosed entrepreneurs who deal in the bodies of women as if they were commodities for sale on the market. One pimp put it very bluntly: "A woman means nothing to me, other than what she can bring in".

Pandering, the legal term for pimping, is actually a form of chattel slavery from which it is very difficult to escape. Women often go from pimp to pimp searching for better treatment, or a larger share of their earnings. Such exchange of masters is not achieved amicably, it often entails violence, up to the point of murder.

ART AND LIFE

Above I describe the prototype "hero" which Hollywood is projecting in a dozen or more films — films which are almost exclusively shown in Black ghetto areas. The attraction these films have for Black youth may be only the glitter of the big Cads and fine clothes brought off the backs of whores, but some of the so-called "New Left" is claiming the pimp a "revolutionary force" a "hero". This is beyond comprehension. Friedrich Engels, writing about the art of the novel, (this can be applied also to film) said: "The novelist has acquitted himself honorably when, by means of an accurate portrayal of authentic social relationships, he destroys the conventional view of the nature of those relations, shatters the optimism of the bourgeois world and forces the reader to question the permanency of the prevailing order . . ."

Not one pimp film honestly portrays the life of the pimps and whores in the Black ghetto.

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The following is the statement of an Oglala Sioux woman who lives on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and who participated in the Wounded Knee occupation.

—Editor:

Pine Ridge, S.D.—The Federal Government has 14 armored personnel carriers (APCs) blockading Wounded Knee. There are close to 500 marshals, racists from Southern states, where the Black Movement has been going on. The APC's come up and shoot right into all those houses—we have little children that play in the streets. An old man with a serious head wound was unarmed, probably sleeping, when he was shot.

Two residents of the village, John Husman and Woody Richards, had set up their own roadblock, beyond the Federal ones, with the 100% backing of Richard Wilson, the tribal president. They claimed they represented the residents of Wounded Knee. They stopped medical supplies and food. A woman there with diabetes needs insulin, but refuses to leave because it's her home and she is behind our occupation. A new baby was born about a week ago. We want people to know that the residents of Wounded Knee do not back John Husman and Woody Richards. All families outside trying to get back in had written a petition stating that.

WE CALLED IN AIM

Dick Wilson says that the American Indian Movement (AIM) is "outside agitators," when it's the Oglala Sioux people who are trying to be heard, who are still in support of Wounded Knee. Our Civil Rights Movement called in AIM. They were trying to get Dick Wilson out. The tribal council's hands were tied because of intimidation to themselves and their families by Wilson and his goons. We met with the tribal elders and district presidents. We all voted for AIM. We needed a bigger place to meet so we went into Wounded Knee and took over that trading post and the church.

I was in Pine Ridge the day of Wilson's election. He furnished free booze, cars, and gas to people that would vote for him. Even then he had a goon squad saying, "You better vote for Wilson or else."

He has never done anything to create employment for the people to help themselves. We wanted to sell our land back to the tribe, even though we can get money from a white person. People have borrowed money on that land sale. Dick Wilson is holding it up—he is trying to get as much money off our land as we can. I think the BIA has something to do with it, and we want that investigated.

None of this was passed by the tribal council. Richard Wilson is sitting up there like a dictator. To me Richard Wilson and Richard Nixon could be the same person.

People should write to senators, congressmen, and the President asking them to look into BIA policies, the broken treaties, the dual system of justice, not only for

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

it takes guts to be an informer. He bathes their dirty work in the aura of being with the elite. His very presence reassures them that if they lie, he will find the means legal or illegal to protect them. The American public knows the gang lawyer, the legal brain who puts his skills, experience and connections at the disposal of the gangsters and fixes everything for them. It also knows the prosecutor who uses the state's witnesses against criminals. But the type who is both prosecutor and gang lawyer is a product of a world in which all society is in such total crises that the gangsters have taken over the government. . . .

LIBERALS ARE HELPLESS

Cohn totally disregards and demolishes all civilized values. Respect for the individual, respect for truth, respect for freedom; he has none of this and the prosecutor's only dissenters, not to protect democracy but to destroy one gang in behalf of another. The only question he is concerned with is this: whose side are you on? Anybody who is not in his gang, ready to go the limit with him, is on Moscow's side, to be moved down.

In the face of this totalitarian philosophy, the liberal is completely helpless. The liberal press shouts against Cohn, but all it could do when Cohn and Schme made their 17 day book-burning junket abroad was ridicule them as spoiled brats and wait at the cost to American prestige abroad. The liberals are genuinely anxious to preserve democratic rights. They despise, loathe and fear Cohn as a menace to everything valuable in the American tradition but in their minds also the only two worlds are Russian Communism and American Democracy. They cannot put up a resistance to Cohn's totalitarian gangsterism here any more than the liberal intellectual abroad can put up a resistance to the totalitarian gangsterism of Communism. They feel the crisis but they have no total opposition to the system in the concept of a new society built by the workers.

Wounded Knee: Sioux people trying to be heard

Indians, but for all minority and disadvantaged people. People should demonstrate and get coverage saying "We support Wounded Knee."

The government is trying to smother why we are there. They say the leaders are fighting among themselves. What leaders? We're all there together. We feel they are our spokesmen, yes, but "leaders"—somebody who stands there and says "do this, do that"—no.

They make fun of people whom they call sympathizers, but to me they are people brothers, too. Everyone who knows about Wounded Knee can identify with the occupants. They are trying to end AIM; they say it's "communist inspired." If that's communist-inspired then we were communist before Columbus discovered America; we must have been the basis for communism. Nixon understands that it's going to set a precedent. For the first time in history we've had Indians instead of government officials reading those treaties — Indians working with Indians.

We are fighting for the treaties that have been broken through the years, and not only trying to get Dick Wilson out but all the Dick Wilsons all across the country. All us people who believe something should be done about the injustices are finally uniting.

Money for food supplies and legal defense may be sent to: American Indian Movement, Wounded Knee Communications Center, 208 11th Street, Rapid City, S.D. 57701.

Frank Clearwater

Frank Clearwater, 47, was murdered by federal officials at Wounded Knee. He died in a Rapid City, South Dakota hospital on April 25 as a result of gunshot wounds which struck him in the head as he lay on a cot in a church on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Mr. Clearwater had traveled with his wife, Morning Star, from their home in Cherokee, North Carolina to support the occupation of Wounded Knee.

Clearwater's widow told officials in Rapid City that she wants her husband's body buried at Wounded Knee. Of the four Native Americans wounded by the government's continuing terror campaign at Wounded Knee, Frank Clearwater was the first to die. We mourn his passing.

Block the James Bay project!

Montreal, Quebec — April 9-15 is James Bay Week in Montreal, a week of protest and fund-raising activities organized by the "Save James Bay Committee," to fight the James Bay hydro-electric project which threatens to flood one-fourth of the province and to drive thousands of Indians and Eskimos off their land. The events will be climaxed by a gigantic rally and concert with well-known artists of many nationalities.

In contrast to the rising voices of protest are the racist rantings of Claude Jasmin, a supposedly "radical" novelist and art critic. On March 27, in his "Journal de Montreal" column, he made dire warnings to the "Artists of Quebec" not to participate in this movement; that behind it "are some very evil, very anti-Quebecois, very anti-French-speaking interests. . . . While Ontario has nuclear equipment to sell." Then he rages on to say that "the Indians and Eskimos are "being manipulated" by the English" against the Quebecois. He then says: "But know at least that anglicized as they are, they want understand a word of your songs and of your speeches." (1)

Here is someone who has spoken out so often against the conquest and oppression of French Canadians, but who now thinks that as a Quebecois he should have the right to do the same thing to two even-smaller nationalities. Unfortunately, this kind of "nationalism" represents the thinking of a certain number of Quebec's middle, who simply want to get rid of the old oppressors in order to take their places. This crude chauvinism has nothing to do with the genuine national question, inseparable from class and its underlying humanism. P.

Gouin

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Malloy

Nixon bombs Cambodia; do-nothing Congress frets

The heavy indiscriminate bombing of the civilian population of Cambodia is being carried on at a greater rate than at any time during the past ten years under the sole orders of President Nixon, who acts without any direct authority other than his own insane obsession to dominate the world.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield stated in Congress, "There are no legal or constitutional grounds for our becoming involved in any way, shape or form in the Cambodian Civil War." Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee stated, "There is no way that I know to stop Nixon except to impeach him, and I don't think we want to do that."

The corrupt regime of Lon Nol has lost more than 50 percent of the country and his capital, Phnom-Penh, is completely surrounded by Cambodian rebels. Every day over 3,000 tons of bombs are dropped from high flying B52 U.S. bombers who can neither see what they are bombing or care who or what they hit. Over 50 percent of the population are refugees from their bombed out homes and villages.

Lon Nol holds power only through the grace

of the support of Nixon and his military forces. At the time of Sihanouk's ouster in 1970, the Khmer Rouge forces totaled around 3,000. Since then, the rebel forces are estimated to number nearly 50,000.

Defense Secretary Elliot Richardson stated, "What it all amounts to is winding up of a residual aspect of the war in which we have been engaged."

In an attempt to salvage the Lon Nol regime, Nixon has given the green light to South Vietnam to supply the ground forces that Lon Nol lacks. On April 15, a column of 25 heavy tanks from South Vietnam was seen crossing the border into Cambodia. No reporters are permitted to observe the operation of these ground forces. U.S. bombing of Laos was begun on April 16.

The opposition to these activities seems to be strong in Congress, but neither the Congress nor the Senate have been able to muster enough agreement to pass legislation curbing the power of the President to declare unilateral war.

During the past year both houses passed bills aimed at limiting the power of Nixon to conduct his own wars. The Joint-Stennis-Bagleton bill passed

degrees of workers fired during the strikes are rehired and those that have been arrested are released. Never have the Italian workers shown such solidarity and such strength in the after-war period.

Everything ought to be much clearer if and when the center-left government that our capitalists are insisting upon comes into being. It will be extremely important to know what will be the final reaction of the workers and managers of the auto industry after this strike. It's Italy's key industry.

South Vietnam

When Nixon's friendly dictator of South Vietnam, President Thieu, visited Rome the Pope himself appealed to him to release over 100,000 political prisoners now held in his inhuman jails. The Catholic Thieu protested he had no such prisoners. Facts prove him a liar.

Two of these former prisoners are now touring the United States and Canada. Jean-Pierre Debiris and Andre Merrus were released from Chi Hoa prison in South Vietnam on December 29, 1972. They were school teachers arrested for participating in an anti-government demonstration in July 1970. They have lived in the prisons of Thieu and describe the beatings, torture and assassinations that occur there on a daily basis among men, women

the Senate by a vote of 68 to 16 last April and the Zablocki bill passed the House last August by 344 to 13. The overwhelming majorities with which these bills passed are an indication of the potential strength of opposition to the Nixon war policy. Yet, when it comes down to both Houses compromising on a common bill, their inherent weakness and vacillation predominate and no effective bill is written into law.

Both the bills passed and the dozens now pending in both Houses of Congress contain wide loopholes which do more to admonish than positively forbid the President to conduct his own wars. A bill now before the House asks the President to "inform them" whenever he commits troops abroad. Another gives him 30 days to conclude hostilities. In this nuclear age we could all be dead in less time.

Congress is in fact begging the vital issue. They are paying lip service to appease voters at home while in fact, collectively they have no intention of passing any bill which would stop President Nixon from deploying the immense military power of the United States in any part of the world, or in any domestic situation that he sees fit to do so.

and even little children.

John Amnesty Action, 200 West 72nd St., NYC to help these unfortunate victims of Nixon's war.

Yugoslavia

Tito's purge of Professors of Philosophy at Belgrade University is going very badly. In September 1972 he declared that the Professors who disagreed with his interpretation of Marxist Philosophy should be "pensioned or given some other job."

Eight Professors of Philosophy at the University are under his attack. Among them are such noted Marxist scholars as Dr. Mihalio Markovic, Dr. Svetozar Stojanovic, Dr. Ljubomir Tadic and Mrs. Zagora Pestic-Golubovic. The group are accused of "leftist tendencies."

Under Tito's rules for the University of Belgrade it requires a vote of the entire department of Philosophy to expel a member of the staff. The Party Cadre called a meeting to throw out the accused and not enough of the 70 Professors who were expected to attend showed up to reach a quorum to act on the denouncement of the eight "anarcho-liberal Professors." The philosophy of Marxism, in Yugoslavia, thus becomes the springboard of the struggle between academic freedom and the acts of the bureaucratic state power to suppress freedom of expression under Tito.

Massive workers' strikes in Britain challenge both Tory and Labor parties

(Continued from Page 1)

depending on the outcome of the conference, of course. But let us not forget that Sir Douglas-Home, the Foreign Secretary, accompanied Chamberlain to Munich when the notorious Munich Agreement was signed. No person with a grain of sense expects the coming European Security Conference to solve the problem of militarism in that part of the world. One reflection of this is seen in the report that the West European countries are going to increase their arms expenditure by five percent in the coming year.

A further mark of the deepening crisis facing Britain appeared in the exposure—in the wake of the recent massive strikes in South Africa—of the scandalously low wages paid the Black population of South Africa by a host of British firms. Illova Sugar Estates, a subsidiary of Tate and Lyle, pays native workers 29 pence a day, which with bonuses and overtime brings these workers a total of 55 pence a day. Also revealed was that British shipping companies pay Black workers about a third of what they pay white workers.

CONCERN OVER SOUTH AFRICA

The TUC (Trade Union Council) has sold all its shares in British companies with subsidiaries in South Africa. A number of companies are now rushing with promises to improve the wage levels of their colored employees. Peter Walker, Secretary of Trade and Industry in Britain, has suddenly decided to remind British business firms in South Africa of their obligation to African workers.

Everyone is pretending ignorance of the facts, but one Parliament member says he wrote to one of the firms about the situation last September. One indication of the low pay is seen in the call of the Trade Union Council of South Africa for a minimum wage of 10 pounds a week, or about \$25.

Official concern over the African problems was demonstrated by the visits by Douglas-Home to Nigeria and of Princess Anne to Ethiopia. Alarm is expressed over the Chinese presence in various parts of Africa. There is a cooling of British support of the Smith apartheid rule in Rhodesia. It is clear even to the Heath

government that Britain cannot win support in Africa if she gives Smith any further encouragement.

A further deterioration of public trust in the Heath government has resulted from disclosures of the high profits made out of drugs prescribed by doctors under the National Health Service and evidence of corruption in high government offices.

Most serious of all, however, is the unrest of the working class and their militant strike actions. A one-day general strike has been called for May 1 in opposition to the Industrial Relations Act, which outlawed strikes. This is a big thing, but notice must be taken of the call made recently by Hugh Scanlon, leader of the auto workers union, for the Act to be amended. This runs counter to the fight against everything in the Act, which is clearly designed to shackle labor and against which British labor is solidly united.

In still another indication of the sentiment turning against Scanlon's betrayal of working class principles, the auto workers have decided to go all out for a demand of 35 pounds (about \$87 a week) for a 35-hour week. Scanlon didn't like this. He wanted more talks with the government. Heath is also asking for more talks. It is clear that the labor leaders like going to Downing Street. They have been there too often already.

There have been some set-backs for labor solidarity. For months, the National Union of Miners demanded wage and fringe benefits which exceeded the government's wage freeze guidelines. Negotiations reached a standstill, and a ballot vote by the miners on a demand for higher wages turned down the call for strike action. The majority of miners in Wales and Scotland voted for the strike, but not in England. The government, smarting after the blow struck by the miners last year, took a threatening attitude while the ballot was being taken. And the hospital workers returned to work after gaining little more than the limit imposed by the Government.

HOUSING ANOTHER CRISIS

Another battle erupted over the Government action raising rents in Britain. None will deny that the Government has won the first round on this issue. Both the

Communist and Labor parties placed reliance on local city councils to defeat the legislation by refusing to implement the law. Several local councils decided not to implement the Act. This kind of action could achieve nothing without action by the masses. Lip-service was given to that. Within a short time the local authorities capitulated. Clydebank Town Council, which has four Communist members, made a spectacular show. A fine of 5,000 pounds was imposed, but there was a special fund of 60,000 pounds that could be tapped. That is what happened, and the struggle was dropped.

Another increase will be due later in the year. It should be possible to bring the masses into action on this. It is the policy of the Government to have the people purchase houses. With this aim in view, the output of new houses was lower last year than in any year since 1961. There is a shortage of houses and prices have risen to an unprecedented height. Owners of land, building societies and sharps of all kinds are enriching themselves as never before.

It is beginning to dawn on some politicians that we are well on the road to state-capitalism. Our lives are being regulated by the state bureaucracy. Unfortunately, this situation is seen by too many as simply an opportunity for electoral success, rather than an opportunity to create a fundamental change in our exploitative society.

WORKERS LOOKING FOR TOTAL CHANGE

This objective could be seen in the April elections in London and six other big centers of England and Wales. The Labor Party regained the control it lost over Greater London six years ago, and took power in the six metropolitan councils of Greater Manchester, Merseyside, Tyne and Wear, West Midlands, West Yorkshire and South Yorkshire, plus 11 other key councils.

While Labor Party leaders may wring their hands in glee, they are apparently blind to the significance of the fact that only 37 percent of the voters showed up at the polls—or about half the turnout expected at national elections. It is a clear sign that the people of Britain, and especially the working class, are looking for a change in their lives that is far more different than anything that either the Labor or Tory parties have to offer.