

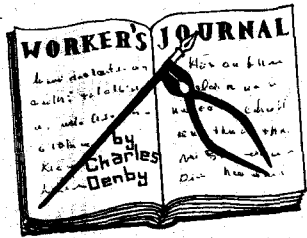
## ON THE INSIDE

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## Auto firms attempt steal of workmen's compensation

There is plenty of discussion among workers concerning the U.A.W. strike against General Motors. Some of the talk is about the company's attitude toward their employees, about rich people's attitude toward working people and toward the poor.

One worker had some figures which show how much we have lost in actual wages according to the cost of living index that is put out quarterly by the U.S. government. If the companies would agree to pay the U.A.W. workers for what we have lost since our last contract was signed, we would be paid at least sixty cents an hour more. This, he said, would bring us even.

He said that this is an unfair world towards workers and the poor. This is an unfair government. These companies can raise the price of their products, their commodities, any time they wish and no one can stop them. When workers ask for a few pennies raise, it becomes a National Crime.

### SPEED-UP DOUBLED, WAGES STAY SAME

An older worker began saying that this system is based on exploitation of the working people and the poor—extracting the maximum from them and paying them the minimum. That is why we have been sped-up beyond human speed. If every worker's production standards are doubled in the three year existence of a contract, your wages will not increase one dime.

But even if you are not speeded up, but are working at a normal speed, you still don't get what's coming to you. The worker pointed out that, despite the large amount of our wages that goes into fringe benefits, most workers never get to see that money. Take the money that goes into the company-kitty for workmen's compensation. If a worker retires in good health, or never was on the disabled list, he never gets a dime of that money back. Only a few workers have gotten some of their benefits after retiring.

But first they have to prove that they were in a hospital or under a doctor's care while working for the company and that their disability was caused by working in the plant. But to prove this you have to get a doctor's statement and then hire a lawyer. And the lawyer gets one third of whatever the company is willing to pay the worker. Yet it is the workers' money that is paying for this in the first place, why should he have to pay out nearly half of it to lawyers and doctors?

### FOUNDRY POISONS WORKERS' LUNGS

This worker said he is planning to retire soon, and he went to one of the UAW lawyers to discuss this.

(Continued on Page 2)

## EDITORIAL

# MIDDLE-EAST CAULDRON EXPLODES

The bloody civil war in Jordan has left thousands upon thousands of dead and wounded, in the streets of the cities where buildings lie in rubble, and in the miserable refugee camps where the pitiful tents and tin huts—and the refugees within—have been ripped to shreds with mortar fire. Like vultures waiting for the last gasp of life, the big powers—the U.S. most of all, and the little powers—Syria and Iraq as well as Israel, watch, waiting for their chance to carve up Jordan. In their midst stand the guerrillas, united and disunited, Arab "nationalist" and Maoist "internationalist".

Whether the vultures plan to intervene "to save" King Hussein, or to destroy him, their aims are imperialist. As American Revolutionaries, we oppose, most of all, any intervention by the U.S. Its aim is the same as Russia's: world mastery. Whether its interests are "just" oil or whether they are strategic, American imperialism must keep out of the Middle East.

We stood on the brink of World War III, which could mean the end of civilization altogether. It is not enough to stop at making clear what we are against, to stand opposed to imperialist war, no matter who is the "aggressor." It is not even enough to hold high the banner of the totally new society, based on human foundations, that we are for. It becomes of the essence to separate ourselves from those who also claim to be for a new society, but think that a social revolution can be achieved through terrorism.

### TERRORISM IS NOT REVOLUTION

The terrorists who held over 300 men, women and children captive on the Jordanian desert for six days;

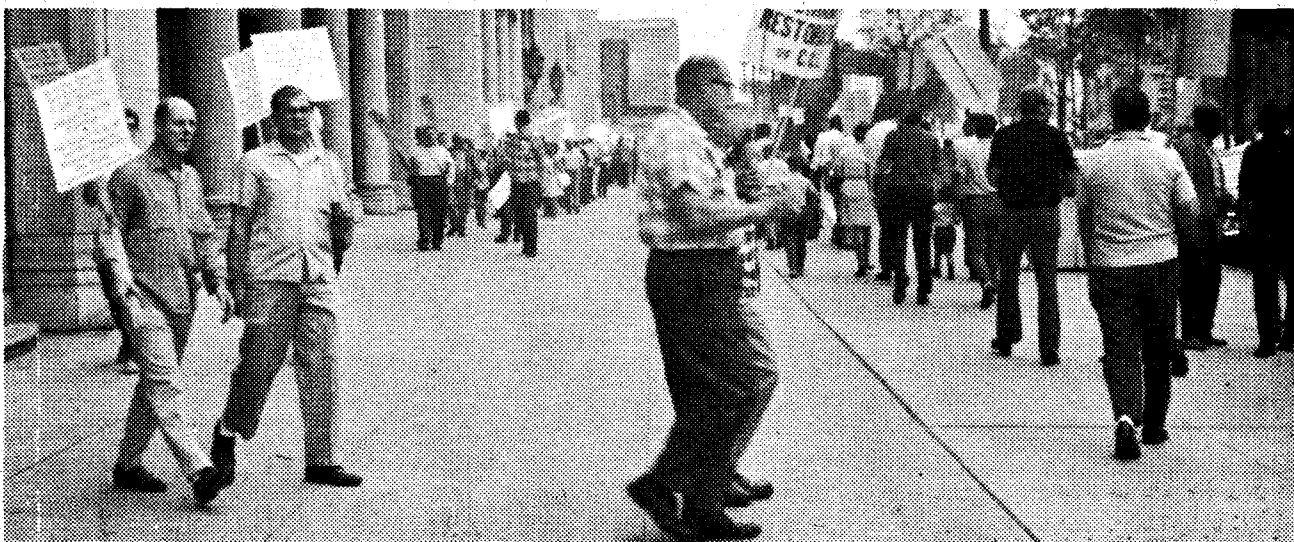
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OCTOBER, 1970



Detroit auto workers picket GM Building on eve of strike. —News & Letters photo

## Auto workers gird for GM showdown strike

by Andy Phillips

"Until midnight on Monday, GM was the most powerful company in the world; after midnight, it was nothing." These words from a General Motors auto worker after the United Auto Workers union struck GM at midnight on Monday, Sept. 14, summed up what every auto worker knows: nobody—not even the largest and most powerful corporation in the world—can do a thing unless the workers are working.

The worker, a rank-and-filer at the Fleetwood Cadil-

lac plant in Detroit, continued, "Most of the workers expect this to be a long strike. You could tell from the way the company was acting in the shop that they were encouraging the strike. In the 16 or 17 days we were back after the changeover, we had three times as much work on us as before. They always do this at model changeover time, but then they back off a little because even they know the workers can't keep up the pace. But not this time. They just kept pouring it on. Out of maybe 5,000 workers in the plant, there must be 4,000 grievances over work standards. And we all know they weren't trying to settle anything before the strike."

### MAIN CONTRACT ISSUES

Contract negotiations between the UAW and the Big 3—GM, Ford and Chrysler—started on July 14; they ground to a halt when GM, selected as the strike target on Sept. 13 by new UAW President Leonard Woodcock, refused to agree to union demands:

- "30-and-out"—retirement after 30 years of work, regardless of age, with a \$500 monthly pension.
- wage increases—61.5c hourly raise the first year; raises the next two years to be determined by
- cost-of-living—removal of ceiling set in last contract and under which workers lost 26c an hour in wages.

The latter amount was to be made available to auto workers under the last contract, but GM insists on including this amount in the new wage negotiations. In effect, GM wants to double the penalty on the rank-and-file workers. Not only has it cheated the workers in the past three years to the tune of about \$1,000 a year, now GM wants to include this amount in its "new" wage offer of 38c an hour.

### WON'T EVEN CATCH UP

In short, GM is offering the workers a raise of 12c an hour. This would not even keep the workers up with the inflation increases of over 7 percent in the past three years, let alone get ahead.

These are hard economic issues made harder by the failure of the Nixon administration to do anything about the spiraling inflation which has thrown the living standards of workers into a worse condition than they were three years ago.

There are other hard facts. Among them is that the UAW has a \$120 million strike fund, but this will not last longer than six or seven weeks when it pays out \$30 a week for a single worker, \$35 for a married worker and \$40 for a family—and there are nearly 400,000 GM workers out on strike.

(Continued on Page 7)

blew to smithereens \$50 million worth of jet aircraft; and then held in peril of their lives 55 of the hostages—most of them Jews, may think that they have exposed the "impotence" of the most powerful nation on earth against their relatively few guns and grenades. In truth, all that they have exposed is that their hijacking terrorism is as far from being revolutionary as their so-called "Marxist" Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is from being Marxist.

Destruction of the kind the bomb-throwers glorify is the type of destruction that leaves all relationships exactly the same—if not worse—when the dust and smoke have cleared. A few "symbols" of wealth and advanced technology may have been reduced to rubble; but not a single big power has been seriously affected. The "system" remains untouched. More important, the terrorists have shown such total disregard for human life, that their actions cannot possibly serve as a focal point for a new social order.

Despite all the emphasis on how "well" the comandos treated their captives, the stench of a naked anti-Semitism hung over the hijackings, as foul as it has ever been. The concentration camp atmosphere hovered over everyone as guerrillas separated Jews from non-Jews, and searched among the passengers for Jewish-sounding names from any country, not only Israel. One can hardly blame Jews, who still remember Auschwitz, from believing that the Arab threat of extermination, if they are given the chance, is as real as was Hitler's.

In the face of the new outburst of anti-Semitism,  
(Continued on Page 4)

## Strikes, layoffs hit Britain

Glasgow, Scotland — Redundancies (British term for "layoffs") are the main feature of affairs in Glasgow and the surrounding districts. About 2,000 workers from six establishments are being paid off this week. This is apart from dismissals because of strikes in the motor car industry.

On top of these redundancies, the "experts" are predicting a serious depression. In fact, the number of unemployed in Britain is on the increase. Some 660,000 are now unemployed and the new redundancies are not included in this figure.

The textile industry of Lancashire is badly affected. The workers at a factory in Clydebank, 10 miles from Glasgow, are on strike against redundancy. The Clyde-side shipyard workers are threatening strike action on the same issue.

In the industrial field, two car factories are faced with the threat of strike action for payment of full wages for men laid off as the result of strikes elsewhere. I understand this has happened in several places in America, but the demand is new here. It seems to me to be of vital importance.

The workers at Linwood, a motor car factory near Glasgow, have walked out on strike because of a speed-up in the conveyor belt.

In past weeks the principle of solidarity has been coming to life again. We had the dockers on the continent giving support to the British dockers. Now we have British dockers supporting the glass workers who broke away from the National Union of General and Municipal workers as a result of the betrayal of the workers during their strike. They tried to form their own union but the employers refused to recognize it.

—Harry McShane

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 1)

The lawyer told him that until they changed the contract some ten years ago, no worker had anything coming after retirement except his retirement wages.

He told the worker the way these benefits got started. It began in a small foundry plant which had some 200 or 300 workers. The management of the foundry went to the local union and said that they were closing down, going out of business. This stunned the local union officers.

Several months later the company came to the local union again and said that they were opening up a new foundry and they would hire as many of their former workers as they could, but only if the union would not insist on hiring by seniority. Rather than put everyone out of work, the union finally agreed.

As soon as the union agreed to this, the company laid-off the ten oldest workers, with the most seniority in the foundry. After some six months of drawing compensation, these older workers got jobs at the welfare department. They missed some days work because they were sick. The welfare department sent them to a doctor. The examination showed that they all had lung trouble, and they had it for years from working in dust.

### OFFICE FLOODED WITH CLAIMS

After telling the doctor where they had previously worked, the doctor told them they should go back and take it up with their union. They did, and the case came to this lawyer. He said management knew about their condition because they had been sending those workers to the company hospital and to company doctors. This was the real reason they wanted the union to agree to disregard their hiring policies so far as seniority was concerned.

The union sued the company for workmen's compensation benefits for these workers and won. This was the first case, although it was the only one for a while.

The lawyer said that the following week their offices were lined up with retired workers reporting their disabilities. He filed claims and got money for most of them. The companies are yelling against it now, and he doesn't know whether or not the UAW will give this up in the coming contract. If they do, there is nothing he can do to continue helping workers get money that is theirs.

He told this worker to come back to his office, if the union doesn't give it up, and he will file a complaint because they all know that any worker who has spent 10 to 15 years inhaling dust and smoke in a plant or foundry has something automatically wrong with his lungs.

A young worker said: "Man, I just began to understand why the union and the working people hated these companies so much in the early days of the CIO."

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## As others see us



The following book review is reprinted from YOUTH and NATION, June 1970.

Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach, by Evelyn Reed, Merit Publishers (1969).

Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices, a collection of essays from "News and Letters" (1970).

At its inception, the Woman's Liberation movement, perhaps wary of the factionalism that was splintering the New Left, was reluctant to prescribe one political ideology. However, the need for some kind of coherent theoretical basis in order to develop a program for major social change soon became apparent. The result was a number of pamphlets, leaflets, and assorted publications. Two of these are Evelyn Reed's pamphlet *Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach* and *Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices* which is issued by "News and Letters."

Miss Reed's work is a collection of four of her own essays written over a period of fifteen years from 1954 to 1969. *Notes* is a mimeographed collection of short statements written predominantly by working class women and students. Although both recognize that the problem being faced revolves around the oppression of women in society, the context into which they place this struggle and the approach they have towards the problem is exceedingly different, paralleling the split which now is being felt in many chapters of Women's Liberation.

It would seem that the basic point of contention is the question of the proper relationship between Women's Liberation and the Left. On one side are those like Miss Reed who believe that "The writings of the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, and of their disciples . . . taught that the oppression and degradation inflicted on women today could not be separated from the exploitation of the working masses by the capitalist profiteers. Therefore women could secure full control over their lives and reshape their destinies only as an integral force in the world's socialist revolution."

Others, as is stated in the Introductory Note to the "News and Letters" publication declare "We will no longer sit back and wait patiently for 'the revolution' to free us; we know that a truly human society will never come about unless we begin to fight for our freedom now. Only in fighting for our own freedom, in building and developing our movement, in working out our own theory, can we insure that revolution, when it comes, will bring a total transformation of all human relations." The ideological development is, thus, along two separate planes.

Evelyn Reed, consequently, is very concerned with subjecting the women's liberation movement to a Marxist analysis, drawing heavily on Engel's *Origin of the Family*, an anthropologically oriented study not currently accepted by many schools of anthropology as an accurate interpretation of the development of society. Positing that society originally was matriarchal, Miss Reed then credits women with being "the first workers and farmers; the first scientists, doctors, architects, engineers; the first teachers and educators, nurses,

## Women workers' sweatshop

Los Angeles, Calif.—The job I am working is really something. It pays \$1.65 per hour with no raise for six months. And then the raise is five cents. All the workers are women. I am called an injection molding operator. A machine melts plastic and molds it to a die. The machine opens up and the operator takes it out.

You have to keep up with a machine which is going pretty fast. Between working real fast and the heat from the machines, it is pretty hot. There are fans which make it bearable. There are about 16 machines, and the shop goes 24 hours, three full shifts. They never stop except on weekends or when they break down.

At the machine you have to stand. But even if you are not at a machine you have to stand, though they would get more work if you could sit.

What I do not understand is some of the older women workers. They do not want their machines to break down. Two women go so far as not letting you relieve them for a break or lunch if they think you are not good or fast enough. They would rather wait for someone else, or sometimes I think not have their breaks at all.

When I went to relieve one of these women she kept saying that I should go faster. She got me so nervous that I couldn't do anything. I stay away from her now.

I guess with these older women, after working so long where everything is the machine, they sort of accept it. It becomes part of them. It is really sad. It has become their life.

—Young Woman Worker

## Women's liberation and the left: two views

artists, historians and transmitters of social and cultural heritage." Asserting that it was the clan system which imposed on women the status of being the inferior sex she then insists "Only through class struggle will this problem of the great majority of women be solved."

Far more interesting for insights into the dynamics of the Women's Liberation movement today is *Notes on Women's Liberation*. Using much the same technique as the movement's consciousness raising sessions, *Notes* consists of a large number of personal testimonials interspersed with ideological-oriented articles. While a few have made the leap from a comprehension of individual identity as a woman to placing this experience into a political context, others are still groping in that direction.

A young Mexican American writes "The Women's Liberation movement has changed my thinking about a lot of things. I never thought about the freedom of women as a mass thing before. I thought that I could escape the oppression myself . . . I saw what happened to my Ma. I saw the kind of hell she had to live with and told myself that it wasn't going to happen to me. Now that I've recognized that this kind of thing happens to all women . . . and that women are beginning to organize against their oppression . . . I feel much stronger myself. I feel more determined to fight for myself."

Bonnie McF., a white student writes: "To recognize that a truly self-conscious, independent woman's movement may, in this period, be a necessity for a truly human society after revolution, may be crucial to the revolution." Although a divergence of views is represented, the majority of these women view this struggle as one which has the potential of cutting across class lines.

This, then, is the point at which the Woman's Liberation Movement appears to stand today. The ideology is only now beginning to take shape. Certainly more publications along the lines of *Notes on Women's Liberation* with its stress on the interchange of ideas would seem to be a positive way for such development to continue.

—Phyllis Gottlieb

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## WAY OF THE WORLD

### New attack on Panthers

By Ethel Dunbar

Some years ago, when the Black Panthers first began to have confrontations with the police in California, they said they were being attacked because the U.S. government wanted to destroy their organization and all "black" people that spoke out against racism." This was somewhat hard for me to understand then. I can remember when this same action was carried out against the Black Muslims before the Panthers came into being. Now I feel sure the Panthers were correct.

### MITCHELL THREATENS BLACKS

The federal government hopes to destroy them, and all blacks opposed to any of Nixon and Agnew's policies. I was listening to the national news several days ago. Attorney General Mitchell stated: "This country is going so far to the right that the American people won't recognize it."

That was frightening to me. And then I have seen on TV the latest attacks on the Black Panther offices in Philadelphia, Pa., New Orleans, La., and Toledo, Ohio. In all my life, I have never read of the police force in any city doing this to the KKK or any other racist right-wing organization, and they have committed more murders and crimes against blacks than all other hate organizations put together. After the KKK murdered Mrs. Liuzzo in Alabama, they paraded all over this country, boasting of it. Their offices were never shot up by the police.

### ATTACKS ON BLACK PANTHERS

Today, if a policeman is killed by a black, that city arms all of its police to go directly to the Black Panther headquarters and destroy it—every person in it. In Philadelphia, of the five or six persons accused of killing a policeman, none of them was a member of the Black Panther Party. The same was reported in all the other places.

If the crime is committed by some black outside the Panthers, why destroy the innocent, unless what Mitchell is saying is the policy. We can all sit and listen, but as soon as they finish destroying the Black Panthers, it will be blacks as a whole that they will begin to destroy, along with those whites who call themselves liberals and are opposed to what Agnew calls "the Nixon doctrine."

The only reason that the government has not completely destroyed the Panthers is that after that execution of two Panthers while they were asleep in Chicago, there was such a protest from black leaders and white liberals. But it seems they have been quite since, but the oppressors have not.

# Farm workers' massive strike wins contracts

Salinas, Calif.—A massive strike in California's Salinas and Santa Maria Valleys has brought the United Farm Workers two dramatic victories on the heels of its triumph in the grape strike.

The union mounted the most successful agricultural strike in history, virtually crippling the multi-million dollar harvest of lettuce, celery, broccoli and other highly perishable crops in this lush, fertile valley.

UFWOC Dir. Cesar Chavez announced Aug. 30 agreement on what he termed "the best contract we've ever negotiated." It was signed with Interharvest, a subsidiary of the United Fruit Co.

The union called for a national boycott of lettuce that does not carry the UFWOC label.

Interharvest is the biggest shipper of lettuce in the Salinas Valley. It employs about 1,000 workers, most of whom will be covered by the new UFWOC contract.

## STRAWBERRY GROWERS SIGN TOO

On Sept. 1, two associations of strawberry growers recognized agreements with the UFWOC, covering more than 2,000 workers. The two groups, Naturipe and the Watsonville Strawberry Cooperative, agreed to immediate negotiations with all economic benefits retroactive to the date of the recognition agreement.

The union has called off the strike against these growers and work resumed in the fields. Officials of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, estimated up to 10,000 field and packing house employees were idled by the strike. Growers said the figure was less, but conceded shipments of lettuce, a \$50 million-a-

year crop, were cut by two-thirds.

The Interharvest contract came as other growers in the area were insisting on sticking to the five-year contracts quietly signed with the Teamsters on July 27—10 days after the UFWOC had informed the growers of its majority status and demanded recognition.

## UFWOC BATTLES TEAMSTERS

The Teamsters signed contracts with nearly 200 growers who suddenly ended decades of successful opposition to any kind of unionization of their field workers. Chavez charged that there was collusion between the growers and the Teamsters just to keep UFWOC out of the farming industry.

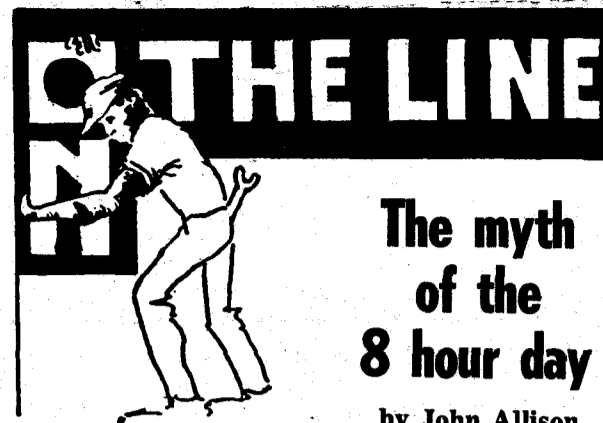
After those charges were made, the Teamsters and UFWOC signed a peace treaty, agreeing, in essence, to let UFWOC organize field workers. But the treaty did not specifically cover those contracts that the Teamsters had signed with the nearly 200 growers.

The Salinas strike seems to have pitted most of organized labor against the Teamsters and the bulk of the growers in the area.

Recently in San Francisco, nearly 1,300 union leaders shouted their approval of a call to rally behind Cesar Chavez's farm workers union.

The UFWOC Interharvest contract is for two years, with wage increases averaging between 25 and 35 percent.

In the UFWOC contract, the new minimum wage is \$2.10 an hour—compared with \$1.85 in the Teamster contract. And next year, the UFWOC minimum goes to \$2.15, while the Teamster minimum would have moved up to \$1.96 after four years.



## The myth of the 8 hour day

by John Allison

A G.M. worker asked this News & Letters reporter to raise the question of the eight-hour day. First of all, the union is supposed to be for the eight-hour day. All auto contracts are based on the 40 hour week. Wage earners are supposed to earn enough to maintain a family on that. However, in the world of reality, the eight-hour day is a fantasy.

The reason this problem still exists is that the union talks out of both sides of its mouth. Because all union representatives, in and out of the shops, receive pay for overtime work, the union will not close down an auto plant because of unreasonable overtime.

Working conditions are bad enough to take for eight hours. Taking the company's production standards for nine or ten hours is too much for a horse, let alone a human being. Yet management and the local union constantly try to use your past record as a wedge to force you to work overtime hours.

All of the talk about a good life in the auto shops is lip talk. No worker can forever escape overtime, because the week before the first of the month—when the bills are due—most workers are willing to work during that weekend, to make the paycheck stretch. Then they try to keep away from it the rest of the month.

There is a lot of publicity and talk about all the absenteeism in the shops these days. Management complains about it all the time. The reason for all the absenteeism is all the overtime.

The union agreed with management to put a cap on the cost of living—and now they want it off. Why can't the UAW negotiator put a cap on overtime, and make management live up to it? Time and a half, and double-time is not the answer. The workers and the public pay, with interest, for making cars on overtime hours.

Skilled workers work more overtime than any other workers in the shop. With the wages they are making, you wonder why? They may make high wages, but they are still not making a "living" wage. Skilled workers are the only ones who can own a car and a boat, for example. But they never get a chance to put the boat in the water, with the long hours they are working. So they wind up in the same shape as the production workers—who can't own the boat to begin with.

## Conn. teachers strike, learn solidarity hard way

Middletown, Conn.—For the first time in history, the public school teachers in Middletown have gone out on strike.

The strike was over an agreement that was signed between the teachers' negotiating committee and the Board of Education last March. A new Conn. anti-labor law gives city officials the right to veto such agreements, and the city, which at first favored the package, reneged on it after the school budget was defeated. On the first day of school, the teachers refused to work without a contract and voted to strike until the Board honored the March agreement.

Immediately, an injunction was issued against the Middletown Education Association and all the striking teachers individually. The Sheriff delivered over 300 injunctions and each teacher was threatened with a fine of \$1,000.00 per day. The next day, they began handing out Contempt of Court citations—the eventual total was 100—when the teachers refused to obey the injunction.

Shortly after, the teachers began to break down. On Friday, there was a demonstration of 80 parents and their children in front of City Hall supporting the teachers, urging the Board to honor the March agreement. However, at a meeting two teachers spoke out emotionally about how horrified they were that these parents had brought their children along. They accused the parents of "using" the children for sympathy. When it was suggested that teachers set up picket lines in front of the school buildings to discourage the 23 scabs, many teachers were scandalized and said this was a "union tactic."

It was clear that the majority of teachers were anti-union and considered themselves superior to the "common laborer," even though they had come a long way in both striking for the first time and defying the law. This elitist attitude prevented the strike from deepening and from reaching out to the parents and workers in the community.

Eventually, through a fancy maneuver between the Judge, the Mayor, and the Board, the teachers were forced to vote to return to work.

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—GM has sent out a lot of literature claiming it's the union's fault there is a strike, and talking about the foreign competition. But it looks to us like the company was encouraging the strike.

They had a big change this year in the model, and some of the jobs are new, though some remained the same. But every job had more added to it this year.

They have a lot of women coming down from cut-and-sew . . . they're pushing the women harder than anyone. One of them was given a job putting in a rear-seat speaker. She started passing blood. She had an ulcer and it was aggravated by this job. They're trying to make them all quit.

They always try to push you hard after a model change, but then they start to let up as they see what they can get. This year they just kept pushing.

The union has been talking about how great it would be if everybody would do different jobs instead of the same one all the time. But the guys say that it won't make any difference if they keep the speed of the jobs as high.

It's always harder when you break into a new job. You're working like hell on one job, and it's boring, allright, but if you're working like hell on three or four different jobs, that's even worse.

### Chrysler

Detroit, Mich.—They've found out the local grievances are tough to settle, and even if you have a national agreement, but have local issues hanging, you don't have anything settled. Key plants can really hurt the company. A lot of guys have been thinking out loud and wondering if there is any collusion between the union and the companies on the question of local agreements.

Every year Chrysler puts out a new line. They do it for a good reason. Every time they bring out a new line there are no production standards set on it. That's where they can really jump production. They get as much out of the worker as they can, until they have to back off. This is a mechanism they use for speed-up.

And where you have a new line you usually have young workers who have no experience about the plant. A good example is the Sterling plant, where the majority are young workers and the production pace is fantastic. A young woman I know who works there says that by relief time everyone on the line is wringing wet to the waist—men and women both.

This is one of the reasons the oldtimers are so insistent about 30-and-out. They know it's almost impossible for any oldtimer to meet the production standards they're putting on the young fellows.

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## EDITORIAL

## MIDDLE-EAST CAULDRON EXPLODES

(Continued from Page 1)

the New Left has chosen to either remain silent, or actually associate itself with a so-called "Arab Socialism" that has only its common anti-Semitism to cement itself together. To say, as Eldridge Cleaver has just done, that "Zionism and U.S. imperialism are the main enemies", is to follow the tradition both of Mao (from whom Cleaver had just come) and of Stalin, past-master of dressing anti-Semitism in the garb of "anti-Zionism." Most of all, it is the greatest diversion from the Black Revolution.

To blind oneself—as the New Left seems determined to do—to the meaning of this anti-Semitism; to think that the only way to fight American imperialism is to approve of the "Arab cause," even when that cause is the extinction of Israel; to make one of the other state-capitalist powers, Russia or China, the equivalent of the "new society"—is to blind oneself to the true forces for revolution that exist within each country.

## THE TWO WORLDS WITHIN ISRAEL

Take Israel itself. By no accident, the Israeli government has played right into the hands of the Arab commandos, who are as determined as Dayan-Meir not to allow peace to come to the Middle East. The Israeli government has not only procrastinated endlessly on its occupation of Arab lands, despite saying that it is willing to "negotiate" to ensure safe borders; it also dragged its feet long after Egypt finally agreed to a cease-fire; and rushed to leave the negotiating table as soon as Egypt's moving up of missiles was revealed. In short, they have made it clear they don't really want peace, which was already evident in the manner in which they fought the peace movement in their own country.

The peace movement in Israel gained strength rapidly in the past year. Even many young Israeli soldiers joined peace demonstrations when they were on leave. Though the original nucleus of opposition had come from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where, after the Six-Day War, a group of professors had founded the Movement for Peace and Security, the new voices of dissent came spontaneously from many divergent groups. These voices were not only reflected in almost all the media, but in recent Israeli literature as well.

When the cease-fire was finally announced in Israel, there was dancing in the streets.

It is precisely these voices of dissent which the commando attacks are helping to silence, as they help the Israeli government move further and further to the right.

## THE DISUNITY OF THE ARAB WORLD

At the same time, the hijacking terrorism thoroughly exposed the disunity in the Arab camp—and nowhere more than among the guerrillas themselves. There are some dozen Palestinian commando groups called, collectively, the "fedayeen." Only the actual outbreak of civil war in Jordan temporarily halted the jockeying between Dr. George Habash, head of the PFLP, which has been specializing in the hijackings, and Yasir Arafat, head of Al Fatah, which specializes in border attacks on Israel—as to who really "represents" the Palestinian refugees.

All that the blind anti-Semitism of Habash—who was willing to unleash World War III to gain the destruction of Israel—achieved, was the unleashing of Hussein's butchery against the Arab commandos themselves.

It becomes more imperative than ever for those who are trying to build a new world to stop trying to anoint the entire Arab world as "revolutionary" and to begin to see the struggle in global terms.

They had better learn that wild, mindless terrorism—whether of an Arab commando or a self-proclaimed "revolutionary" of the American New Left—not only does not wreck "the system." It provides exactly the fuel needed to stoke the fires of repression.

## THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT VS. SELF-DETERMINATION

They had better understand that Russia's own imperialist goal is to keep the Suez Canal open for both oil and for its struggle with China; Russia wants a shorter route between the Baltic and Black Sea ports and to India and North Vietnam. Russia is helping Egypt, not because she cares for the Arab states, but because she hopes Egypt can keep the Suez Canal open.

They had better understand that Mao's interest in the Middle East and his support of Arafat has little to do with considering American imperialism as the main enemy. It has everything to do with the Sino-Soviet con-

flict, and the power play between China and Russia.

They had better learn how to distinguish between their own opposition to American imperialism, and the Russian, Chinese, or Arab positions. And most of all, learn how to recognize the real forces of social revolution in each country, including their own.

Genuine revolutions for self-determination and freedom act as a catalyst for proletarian revolution—as the Irish Revolt of Easter 1916 did in inspiring St. Petersburg 1917. A genuine Arab revolution would release the revolutionary forces within Israel, as well. It cannot do so when it wraps its anti-Semitism in "anti-Israel." At stake is a world that wishes to be born anew, but lacks a truly independent banner of Marxist, not "Maoist," internationalism.

Marxist-Humanists work toward the goals of national liberation and social revolution for a totally new society. "A plague on both your houses" is a religious, not a human solution. But a separation from all plague-ridden houses is the only way at this moment to express the truly independent Marxist stand.

## News &amp; Letters

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A NOTE TO OUR READERS  
ON OUR MOTTO

Consciousness of language has led many Women's Liberation activists to ask us to change our motto: "The root of mankind is man" — a quotation from Karl Marx, which for many years we felt summed up the Marxist-Humanist content of our philosophy. We will, in the months ahead, substitute on our front page other mottos as they are suggested to us, and ask our readers to help us decide on the best choice. This month we carry a quote from G. W. F. Hegel: "The leap to freedom is from necessity."

## WORDS AND MEANINGS

I was very glad to see your article on language in the last issue. The thing that is so wrong with all the "four-letter" vocabularies today is not so much the "obscenity" in it, as the fact—as you say—that important ideas need a lot of words if you want others to understand what you are saying. A "lot" doesn't mean you have to be wordy. It means you have a lot of different words to choose just the exact ones that say what you mean . . .

For years the New Left went around calling everybody to the right of them "fascists." I was always very glad that you did not do that. When you call someone that, your readers will know it's for real.

Old Timer  
Detroit

\* \* \*

The replacement of Johnson by Nixon did not reflect a mass rightwards turn among the American working class but the disillusion of the liberal and trade unionist with the Democrats, which is no longer manifested in critical support . . . In precisely the same way, Wilson's replacement by Heath represented a similar stage in the workers' disillusion with the Labour Party. No doubt, in both countries, it is a stage where there are dangers from fascism; the fact that workers are disillusioned with their traditional organizations and have not as

yet built new ones means that a concerted attack might find them unprepared.

But it is stupid to start shouting, just when it is time to rejoice in the workers' growth of consciousness, suggesting that the worst is already happening. By yelling too soon you prepare the way for the sort of hysteria that leads to Popular Frontism and a neglect of the real struggle in an attempt to avert the immediate danger.

L.O.  
England

\* \* \*

Attorney General Mitchell can protest all he wants to that it was not "for the record", but just a "fragmentary and overheard conversation", when he said, that the U.S. was going to move "so far right you are not even going to recognize it." Everybody I know believes he not only said it, but meant it. Nobody thinks "it can't happen here." It is happening here!

Alarmed  
Detroit

\* \* \*

"Nixon's wars at home and abroad . . . a whole generation now opposes the imperialist war games . . . the capitalist planned recessions . . . the racist fabric of American life . . ." Your June-July issue was readable realism. Thank you.

Reader  
Nebraska

\* \* \*

I would like to compliment you people on Czechoslovakia, Revolution and Counter Revolution. The message was clear and loud. Unfortunately, it is not a prediction of conditions in this country, but more of a description.

New Reader  
New Orleans

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I'm so glad you exposed Cuba on the Woman Question. The SWP, as well as other groups, holds up Cuba as an example for women to follow. Women in independent Women's Liberation groups have always felt that we must define our own freedom and liberation and not follow any male-dominated group or country.

I saw the copy of Gramma you quoted and was struck by the sameness of the pictures of the "beauty stars". Not only did they look very much the same, they also exemplified the good old American standard of "white woman beauty." They were all very light complexioned. To have a beauty contest, and then have it "racist", too, shows what a lie the Cuban revolution has turned out to be.

W. L. Activist  
Detroit

\* \* \*

The demonstrations of the Women's Liberation Movement here have received wide coverage in the newspapers in Italy. L'Unita (the Communist paper) gave an entire half-page to the demonstrations. They said the movement shows that the myth of the American woman as being a privileged person dominating the house and husband has been abolished. . . .

It is hard for the Italians to understand these things. An anarchist friend of mine met with three women from one of the groups and concluded they were all insane. No one who has not lived in both the U.S. and Italy could understand the differences and the extreme backwardness of both men and women—even those who insist on the equality of the sexes—in Italy.

Correspondent  
Milan

\* \* \*

I want to thank you for the copies of News & Letters with the material on Women's Liberation. From Charles Denby's column in the April, 1970 issue, it would appear that some have had to accept Women's Lib as a rather strange and unwelcome bedfellow to other radical and/or liberal movements.

As one who suffered under the most oppressive conditions imaginable for 21 years, trying to live the life of a Southern white wife, I have to agree

## Reader

with him that one of the most flagrant social conditions today involving misuses of women takes place in the deep South. But at the same time, I want to warn him, it is an easy cop-out to see all the problems as existing a long way from home!

New Reader  
Oklahoma

\* \* \*

There is one thing a lot of people don't understand: I don't want to be the equal of a man. I have something better in mind.

WLM Activist  
Detroit

## THE ISRAELI LEFT

Israeli radicals and socialists do not have any illusions about the latest American peace proposals, or their Soviet counterpart. We know pretty well that it's part of the great powers' global game. In spite of this, we do see in these proposals a possibility and opening for a political solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and a stoppage of the mutual blood-letting. Any peace, even the most inadequate one, is more desirable than the continuation of the present state of conflict.

The cessation of hostilities will gradually clear away the clouds of mutual hatred and nationalistic frenzy presently enveloping the countries of the Middle East, and enable both the Jewish and Arab masses to focus their attention and energies on their social problems, eventually leading them to a common struggle against their native reaction and foreign big-power-imperialism.

It is for these reasons that Israeli socialists and genuine fighters for peace are directing their efforts, presently, not only against the outspoken groups and parties who propogate against any form of retreat from the territories occupied by Israel and a peace based on a territorial compromise, but also against those elements within the Israeli government who agreed to the

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

(Editor's Note: We print below an answer Raya Dunayevskaya sent to a correspondent who had written her, "The movement now is not primarily in the factory; the consciousness is not there nearly so much as in the rock-drug culture...")

I was glad to hear that your recent activity centered around the workers' strike, and sad to hear about some of the activism of the youth that they think is revolutionary. Let's begin with the activity of the youth that was great—the support of the strike—and the elitism in the conclusions they drew from it. To say that it was adventurous or utopian or chaotic or idealistic does not get to the root of the matter because any one of these adjectives, or all of them together, would still be only a partial answer. To get to the whole answer, we would have to see it in historic context. I'm referring to the talk about "a general strike nation-wide following the elections."

Who talked that way? Obviously, it was not the proletariat. Not so obvious, I'm afraid, is the wrongness of the conclusion that whereas the ones who talked that way were revolutionaries, the workers who did not talk that way were interested only in "bread and butter" questions.

FIRST OF ALL, so-called bread-and-butter questions aren't all that unimportant for those who must live only on what they earn in a capitalist society, although to petty bourgeois youth, poverty appears minor. Secondly, and more important, is the fact that it isn't true that that is all that concerns workers. As Denby has recently pointed out, where the labor bureaucracy is interpreting "bread and butter" to mean raises and wages, the workers are demanding changing conditions of labor and their right to control the speed of the line.

So sharp is the opposition of the rank and file to the labor contract that they have begun using the expression "run away shops" not, as in the past, to mean the shops that would go South because they could get non-union cheap labor there, but to the very shops right here in the North that are the most unionized by the "left" UAW.

Nevertheless, they are "run away", that is to say,

# Philosophy, 'life-style' and U.S. workers

run away from any control by workers because the labor bureaucracy is as one with management in signing away any control over the production line to management.

In a word, the way in which the workers interpret "bread and butter", the way in which the labor bureaucracy interprets it—and, unfortunately, the way in which also the elitist activist youth interprets it—are miles apart. It is this unbridgeable gulf (unbridgeable because different classes are involved, from opposite sides of the production line) that is the mark of today's "revolutionaries," who seem to think that activism, whether it is at a park, or at the point of production is one and the same thing and, since it happens more obviously at the park than at the point of production, that makes the workers "backward". Note, please, that I didn't go into the fact that you, yourself, admit that many of the workers are also anti-war but I will now go into the anti-war activities of the youth.

THERE IS NO doubt that this is the greatest event of this decade, that it has created a whole generation of revolutionaries and that, therefore, it has the potentiality of leading to a pre-revolutionary situation. But (1) that anti-Vietnam war movement did not, did not arise out of "sex, dope, rock music and communal living" It arose, first and foremost, in response to the objective situation, the imperialist U.S. bombing of Hanoi. (2) It came after the youth had experienced contact with the black revolution, from whom it learned, not only its tactics but also its black bravery. The concrete path led from the Freedom Rides through FSM (both as an affinity to the black revolution and an affinity to the Marxian concept of alienation) to the Ann Arbor teach-in.

In a word, the awakening of the youth, as a revolutionary force, was via the now much denigrated Civil Rights Movement. Of course, the recognition that the system will not be uprooted via Civil Rights tactics but through revolution is a great leap forward if revolution is understood historically, actually, philosophically, as a social revolution which, moreover, does not stop at the political phase, or on the day of revolution, but wants to make sure that the day after we are not confronted with a new statist bureaucracy but continue on uninterruptedly to totally new human relations which the

masses themselves establish and re-establish creatively and check on daily.

I do not mean to denigrate the Woodstock "nation." They certainly are a superior phenomenon to the Establishment. They certainly bespeak of the duality in the existing society, that is to say they show that, just as in a class-sense there are two worlds in every country, so in a generation-, a youth-, a culture-sense there are two worlds within the existing structure that undermine it. That is the proof of the dialectic, that every unit has the opposite within itself, and that the gravediggers of the old, the forces of the new, the combatants, culturally as well as in a class sense, are lined up for the life and death struggle long before they are "armed." Does that make the ones who are "armed" the revolutionaries? Even though their chaotic acts lead to the tragic blowing up of themselves, and even though it gives the Nixon-Agnew terrorists the excuse to conduct their preventive civil war before the objective situation and the subjective forces have coalesced to assure the victory of the social revolution.

THIS TYPE OF activism is not revolutionary, isn't very serious and isn't "the alternative society." I am using the word "serious," not in the derogatory Sartreian sense, but in the Hegelian sense of "labor, patience, seriousness, and suffering of the negative." Activism, putting one's life on the line, is most serious, when it means a revolutionary uprooting of the decrepit capitalistic (I'm sure you realize that I am including the state-capitalist as well as the private capitalist) system and not merely a violent spouting of 4 (or 12) letter words. Words must be as new, as multi-dimensional, as expressive of a whole human being as the new society that is truly human and wholly free. 4 and 12 letter words, on the other hand, are as alienated, fragmented and expressive of the old society as are the sundered human beings the class society produces.

As against the statist, elitist, Party-and-cultural-man which Mao's "Cultural revolution" has produced overseas, we need a total concept of philosophy and revolution, of freedom and self-development. Both individually and collectively, self-development has always

(Continued on Page 7)

## Views

American proposals under pressure from America, and who are utilizing the breaking of the cease-fire by Egypt in order to undermine and sabotage the peace talks.

It is also for the same reasons that genuine socialists, not only in Israel, should view with grave concern the attempts of the Palestinian terrorist organizations, to prevent any political solution to the conflict, based on the recognition of Israel by the Arab states. The latest wave of hi-jackings of aircraft without any concern and regard for human lives, and with special discrimination of Jewish passengers is precisely aimed at the prospects for peace. It had nothing in common with revolutionary politics and morals and should be condemned outrightly.

N. S.  
Israel

### LETTUCE BOYCOTT

Because of the great support we got for our grape boycott, that struggle was finally won. Now we are moving to other areas. Please tell your readers about the boycott on non-union lettuce. DON'T BUY UNLESS YOU SEE THE AZTEC EAGLE—our union label. Viva la causa!

UFWOC

UNITED  
FARM WORKERS  
ORGANIZING  
COMMITTEE

### THE G. M. STRIKE

I always felt that if the union was ever busted it would be through GM. The last long strike there was a test to push workers down so low that they would break. And the current unemployment situation fits into what I think GM's plans are. They know that people will have a rough time getting any other kind of work.

Nobody ever really knows how long a strike is going to last. But you'd better prepare for a long one any time you go out. I don't pay too much attention to the economists and what they're saying, because I know they're part of GM. They thrown statistics out to try to frighten workers. GM will try to start a back-to-work movement if it's a long strike, and this is where the real fight will come. Because that's the signal for trying to break the union.

By breaking the union I mean making the union come to their terms. It's true the company needs the union to control the workers but the union still has some independence, and if the company can get complete control of the leadership—which they would do, if they saw the workers going back—that's the end. If GM wins this strike, they will always be the ones to set the patterns.

Old Timer  
Chrysler Mack

The old timers feel they have paid their dues all these years, and they have bought and paid for that pension plan. They're entitled to it. They're supposed to have 160 billion dollars in the combined pension funds and the workers believe they're not getting a fair share of that fund.

The money belongs to the workers. But the phoney argument the company gives us is that they can't let all this experience go at one time.

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

How can you settle local issues without the people on the job having their say? If the union comes back and says all the local issues are settled, what does the man on the job have to say about it? I don't trust the way the Union is doing things.

Black Worker  
Fleetwood

### FROM EUROPE

I got to Yugoslavia at a rather dramatic moment, when a group of university students in Belgrade were starting a hunger strike out of solidarity with Bosnian coal miners—who for months received only a fraction of their wages, because of a reduced demand for coal.

During the summer I attended an international conference on Hegel in Europe... there were too many academic papers by German scholars and a number of German young radicals protested vigorously. A fight developed over whether abstract-theoretical subjects are adequate for a school in which the students were much more interested in problems of socialism than of pure philosophy... There was a very good discussion on burning issues of socialism in the French section.

Traveler  
Europe

### IRELAND

You probably don't know that an effort has been made by opposition parliamentarians in Ulster to unite their forces by forming a "Labour and Social Democratic Party." Eanon McCann has criticized this strongly.

McCann is the most outstanding leader of Peoples' Democracy. He is also chairman of the Derry Labour Party. His point is that the opposition move is not

in the interests of class unity, but to ensure their continued support by middle class Catholics. Rightly, in my opinion, he has denounced it as "sectarian." The leader of this move has been expelled from the Republican Labour Party.

The Irish Solidarity Campaign here is receiving the attention of the police. They stopped an open-air meeting with a threat that if it continued they would charge the speaker with a breach of the peace. I was not there, but when I heard of it I proposed that we go to the police. We met one of the chiefs who argued that the police were in their rights as the speech was of a "provocative character". We told him we would hold another meeting.

In Belfast, the reactionaries are divided on the issue of arms to the police. Craig wants Chichester-Clark removed. On top of this there are the bomb explosions. Many believe that the bomb that killed two policemen was planted by the element that wants to have the police armed.

The British press is positively stupid in its approach. They think the problem is solved if disorder can be quelled. They imagine that Partition is established for all time, and that it is only a question of reforms being carried through. While Britain holds on to a part of Ireland there will be trouble.

Harry McShane  
Scotland

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

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

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

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

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



# YOUTH

## Police attack massive Chicano Moratorium

Los Angeles, Calif.—The Chicano Moratorium of Aug. 29, which was called to protest the high death rate of Chicano soldiers in Vietnam—it is twice that for whites—was the biggest demonstration in the history of East Los Angeles. About 20,000 people marched more than three miles through the heart of the country's largest Chicano barrio to Laguna Park. There they were brutally attacked by the forces of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. So far three people—two demonstrators and Los Angeles Times columnist Ruben Salazar—have died as a result of the police action.

The vastness of the Moratorium was the result both of intensive preparation and of the growing resentment of the Chicano community against the effects of the war in Vietnam. Chicano soldiers, like black soldiers, are forced to do the most dangerous tasks in Vietnam. The war is bleeding the Chicanos worse than any other group in America, while subjecting them to an impossible tax burden.

### MARCH AGAINST EXPLOITATION

The Chicanos, a poor minority, know that they have nothing to gain from America's imperialist adventures. The demonstration was the result of the burning rage Chicanos feel against the exploitation and repression they feel every day in the barrio, not to mention the 20,000 Chicanos who have died in Vietnam.

The march was organized by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, and was supported by every community organization, as well as by the usual peace groups. Chicanos, not only from Los Angeles, but also from all over the Southwest and the rest of the United States, were out in force. It wasn't just youth—whole families were there. You could sense how unified the whole community was behind the Moratorium.

The spirit of the march was incredible—the kind of spirit you seldom see at white peace rallies. Cries of "Chicano Power!" and "Viva la Raza!" were heard all along the march. Everyone was cheering—older people, teenagers, and children. No one was kidding—they all meant it.

The main route of the march was west along Whittier Blvd., the main street of the barrio. Most of the stores were closed, as the Chicano Moratorium Committee had requested—some even had signs supporting the march in their windows. When we looked behind us on Whittier Blvd., the march went back farther than anyone could see. It was truly massive.

### POLICE PROVOKE MARCHERS

There weren't any major incidents before we reached Laguna Park. People filled the small, constricted park and settled down to wait for Cesar Chavez, Corky Gonzales, Rosalio Munoz, and other Chicano leaders to speak. Meanwhile, the cops provoked an incident at a liquor store that can't even be seen from the park,

and began driving people on the street toward the rally. Now that the cops had an excuse, they brought up reinforcements, declared the Moratorium an "unlawful assembly," and launched a full-scale attack, with clubs and tear gas, upon 20,000 peaceful demonstrators. In the hours of violence that followed, the cops caused the death of three people—two demonstrators and columnist Ruben Salazar, who was killed when struck in the head by a tear gas shell designed to penetrate a wooden door, fired into a bar full of people.

—Three participants

### • WORKERS ANGRY

Los Angeles, Calif.—The plant where I work has a high percentage of Chicano workers. A number of them went to the Chicano Moratorium. They were very angry with what they saw. One worker asked why does it take four policemen to beat up and drag away one youth. Another spoke about the right to have a parade without all those damn cops around.

There was a second march a few weeks after the Moratorium, on Mexican Independence Day. The marchers asked to use a community college football stadium in the Chicano community to hold a rally after the march. The use of the stadium was denied and violence broke out after the march. The Chicano workers wanted to know why the Anglos should have a right to deny the community the use of its own stadium. Where the police and the government officials spoke about outside agitators as responsible for the parade violence, the workers talked about the kids not having any jobs for the summer, and the Anglos denying the community the right to its own stadium. As one worker put it: There have now been two parades and on each occasion no speeches were permitted. What kind of free speech is that?

### • COMMUNITY UNITED

Los Angeles, Calif.—While police intelligence is still attempting to pinpoint the outsiders responsible for the "riot," community people are aware of the real outside agitators.

These include: the American government, the Anglo political combine in Los Angeles, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, the Los Angeles Police Department, the Board of Education and the news media. They are the outsiders, the bandidos, who have invaded and suppressed the Chicano community, not only on August 29, 1970, but on every day since the beginning of Anglo infamy in the Southwestern United States more than a century ago.

In order to justify its murder of noted Mexican-American analyst Ruben Salazar, the police establishment is using the televised coroner's inquest into his death as a platform for police practices and philosophy.

Perhaps the general Anglo community is impressed with the openness of this inquiry, but the Mexican people have demonstrated their disgust with this sham display of police rationalization by walking out more than once during the course of the proceedings.

## Black contractors win U. jobs with student aid

Middletown, Conn.—Wesleyan has agreed to a program allowing black contractors to consolidate the work at the university so that the contractors can build their own reputation on the basis of the campus work. Students here are currently involved in implementing a program to involve students at other schools in generating similar programs on their campuses.

Our connection with the black workers began at the beginning of June when a business agent of the Roofers Union of the Hartford Building Trades approached Wesleyan students, then on strike, to inform them of an impending walkout directed against the university with respect to its discriminatory and non-union hiring practices. This contact was initiated to secure the support of the Wesleyan students in the upcoming struggle against the university.

Representatives of Local 9 of the Roofers Union, Local 35 of I.B.E.W., and some black contractors set up an informational picket line outside the university's \$15-million new Science Center Project informing the union construction workers of the inequities of Wesleyan's hiring policies. By noon, the job was deserted.

Each morning a group of Wesleyan students joined the picket lines, their numbers varying from 10 to 30, and when negotiations with the university began, student representatives were present. After a good deal of chaos an agreement was reached: the university would allot all further renovation contracts on "Prevailing Rates" basis and would use black contractors. The effort now continues at other campuses.

## DOING AND THINKING

### Looking for a job?

By David Joven

Before summer vacation, I had been looking for a job. I did not have any luck. By the time summer rolled around, I came up with a brilliant idea. A classmate of mine and I decided to hire ourselves out as weedpickers.

It seemed like we could earn some good money that way because my neighborhood has some homes that need weeding. We got paid \$7.50 each for our first job, which turned out to be the end of our business partnership.

I had some better luck by myself. I was hired to mow a rather decrepit lawn once a week for \$5.00. That lasted for two weeks before the owner decided that her grass needed the attention of a power mower, which I did not own. The ten dollars I received for my work didn't last very long.

### DELIVERY BOY

I continued my habit of looking in the local newspaper for jobs, and I actually got one. Have you ever delivered junk mail? Have you ever inserted 500 little papers in plastic bags and then stuck them on 500 doorknobs? It's no picnic, and you better believe that myself and the other delivery boys dumped a large share of them in conveniently located trashcans. We had to be careful though, because our distribution manager kept driving around the area, making sure that nobody was loafing. And for this strenuous job we received \$5.00 for our efforts.

I can't even begin to describe how my legs felt at the end of that six hours. I think I should mention that the pay was not based on the time we put in, nor on the strain of the work, but on the number of pages which were in the plastic bags. Yes—you guessed it—after one day on the job, I quit.

### BUSBOY

As well as looking in the newspaper for jobs, I had also inquired at a number of supermarkets and restaurants. Lucky me was hired at the International House of Pancakes as a busboy. I feel perfectly safe in saying that the most physical strain is placed upon the busboy, yet he only receives \$1.50 an hour. If the waitresses are decent, then he gets ten percent of their tips.

I should also mention that I had the busiest shift, which included Saturday and Sunday mornings. The place was packed for about four hours each day usually with a substantial waiting line. This phenomenon, in my opinion, can be attributed to American laziness, since the food is terrible.

I had only been working there three weekends when I realized that it was almost time for school to begin again. Dreading the thought of awakening at 7:00 a.m. seven days a week, I said goodbye to the world of bustrays and dirty dishes.

And now I am back in school once more, again searching for a job. My latest effort involves a laundry service whose owner insists on dictating the appearance of his employees. From what I have heard so far, it sounds like he wants a Marine.

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## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

occurred through history, that is to say through actual class, generational and cultural struggles that have been carried on by live men and women who have been whole enough to wish to engage in a battle of ideas.

Your description of events have made me see even more clearly than before how very urgent is this need for the unity of theory and practice. When someone as brave and wonderful as your friend seems to have been ends up dead at so young an age, I am aroused, not only against this degenerate police-type of state, but also against the delusions that make a youth think that individual acts would bring about a revolution. Must the youth sacrifice their bodies to prove the repressions of this capitalistic society? Can't we go beyond aborted as well as soured revolutions? Can't we see that thinking, too, is an activity, that to think activity is only "doing," irrespective of the underlying philosophy, is not only as one-sided as the ivory tower type of thinking, but is precisely what the Establishment, what the power structures—on both sides of the Atlantic and the Pacific and the China and Red Seas and Indian Oceans—are counting on us doing? We, thereby, prove only one thing. We are as organically part of this society we were supposed to be uprooting as the society itself is, because we are operating within its pragmatic, philosophic structure.

THIS NOTE IS too long already but I do want to say one word, at least, about "living in communes." No doubt the youth think that this is very new, very revolutionary and shows that they are living in a different world, a totally different world from that of the Establishment. Unfortunately, it's also a very different world, and not necessarily for the better, from where the masses live and must live. It is a way of isolating oneself, not only from the workers who are the main revolutionary force but from the population as a whole AND it is, again, precisely what capitalism does want. That is to say, to break up the various revolutionary forces from ever finding each other.

Do you know that the Kaiser was the only one

## Philosophy, 'life-style' and U.S. workers

who knew what Lenin did not know, that he need not fear the Second International's opposition to the first world holocaust he was going to unleash because the socialists were so elitist, lived so much by themselves, had their own rituals for everything from marriage as "against" the bourgeois type, to naming of their children by revolutionary instead of biblical names, that they had no contact with the unorganized "backward" masses and this isolation assured capitulation? Not that the masses were "spontaneously" antiwar at that moment, and it is precisely at that moment that the socialists—had they not been isolated and therefore compelled to experience the division within their own ranks before the outbreak of war—could have played a revolutionary role. As it is, the fight of the revolutionaries to transform the imperialist war into a civil war came only after the Russian Revolution succeeded.

SO-CALLED COMMUNAL living is not new in America and is the very opposite of the Paris Commune "storming the heavens." The only ones in this country who attempted this, for a brave 72 hours, were the workers in St. Louis. As against that type of inspiration, the American intellectuals were inspired by the utopian socialists to build their "communes" at the very moment when the Abolitionists were trying to show them that

association with the blacks is the only "transcendental" gesture that meets the challenge of the times. Whether or not you would like to look into that period with Abolitionists' eyes, or only with eyes of today and as a poet, I would very much like to see a review by you of Hawthorne's *Blethendale Romance*.

No, I do not think that we're in an immediately pre-revolutionary situation, least of all resulting from the sex and drug culture, and neither does Nixon. What he does see is that he can take advantage of these chaotic actions to prevent any such possibility from developing out of the emerging class struggles and the possible transformation of the anti-Vietnam war movement into a fully revolutionary movement. I am enclosing our Perspectives of this year and I'm looking forward to your comments. A copy of the WL pamphlet was also sent to you; we are expanding and issuing it as a printed pamphlet. There is a new revolutionary force, and we, alone, are working to see that it does not isolate itself from the proletariat, from the blacks, towards mere escapism.

Yours,

RAYA

July 24, 1970

P.S. I'd like to recommend to you the study of one of the most beautiful works on China, especially the chapter on the "Nihilistic Revolt or Mystical Escapism." You will there see that "Being and Nothingness" had been anticipated by some 1700 years in the concept of Void. The work is entitled *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* by Etienne Balazs. It happens that when I was in Japan in 1966, I was asked by these modern day existentialists a very "superior" question on the "Oriental Void."

My translator on the platform informed me that it was a malicious question which merely meant to show up both Marxism and Westernism. I insisted, however, on answering it quite seriously, both as it first occurred in history, and why these modern existentialists have brought nothing new with their concept of "extreme situation." In any case, I believe it will help return you to historic situations as illuminators of the present.

### RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA on "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin"

in TELOS, Issue #5, August 1970  
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## AUTO WORKERS GIRD FOR GM SHOWDOWN STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

Beyond this, however, and tied in directly to the very great support given by the rank-and-file to the "30-and-out" demand, is the real heart of the most important issue to the worker: the conditions of work on the auto production line.

This is the most vital issue for the auto workers. They are concerned because of the wide publicity given to the matter of local demands. When the union and GM failed to settle by the strike deadline, UAW President Woodcock declared that local issues would have to be resolved before there could be a national agreement. Negotiations on the local level have been pushed ever since.

However, there is a big difference between local demands and work grievances. Local demands include such things as an extra water fountain or toilet, repairing broken windows or leaky roofs, providing adequate parking facilities, safety equipment . . . things which may or may not be related to the actual work situation. There are over 38,000 local demands in GM's 57 plants in the U.S. and Canada.

Rank-and-file workers are fearful that whereas local demands may be negotiated, their work grievances will not. And if the situation described by the Fleetwood worker is any guide, GM work grievances must number in the hundreds of thousands.

### CHANGEOVER SPEED-UP

All auto companies push impossible work loads on workers at model changeover time because job standards have not been set. Then the jockeying goes on between the workers and company time-study, with time-study trying to get the highest production quota possible, and the workers trying to set a rate that will not kill them because they know they will be working that pace day-in and day-out for a year. This is the real battleground for the workers, and they have been losing steadily in their desperate attempts to keep some control over their work.

Nowhere is the daily grind more horrible than in the GM shops. It is that daily grinding of the production workers which has made GM the richest, most powerful corporation in the world. Out of the backs of its 442,000 hourly-paid workers in the U.S., of which 400,000 are out on strike now, have come the \$15 billion dollars in assets that GM has; out of their backs came the 7,160,000 autos and trucks produced last year which brought in \$25 billion in sales to feed the ravenous profit appetite of the GM empire.

By now it is clear that GM is determined to crush the union and the fighting spirit of the production workers. Not since the bitter 116-day strike in 1945-46 has the UAW picked GM as a strike target. Then GM claimed the UAW demands were too high, and the union's strike slogan was "Open the Books" to prove that GM could easily afford the demands.

There is no question now that GM can afford the price tag set on the union demands. Money is not the

issue; power is, and GM is moving to strip the rank-and-file workers of every protection they have fought so hard over so many years to gain. The non-striking Ford and Chrysler workers know this well, and are pledging total support to the GM workers.

Meanwhile, lurking in the background is the Nixon administration, which is making its own contributions to feed the crisis. The tight money policies put into operation by the Nixon administration, in a vain effort to achieve economic stability, has instead fed the swelling unemployment rolls. This, however, comes as no great surprise to those who will remember that Nixon

### Uganda endangered by South Africa arms deal

Kampala, Uganda — The Ugandan government has condemned the proposed sale of arms to racist South Africa by the new Conservative regime in Britain. Dr. Obote threatened to take Uganda out of the commonwealth if the deal was completed.

Obote knew that Zambia and Tanzania had already taken similar stands—that is to withdraw from the commonwealth. (Editor's Note: Since this article was received, Britain withdrew her plans because of the wide protests.)

Frelimo, (the Mozambique liberation movement), now controls a substantial part of Mozambique. The Tan-Zam railroad project has nearly reached the construction stage; Zambia needs a free Mozambique and ultimately a free Rhodesia and Angola as well if it is to grow and prosper.

The Kariba Dam, Zambia's main source of electric power, lies on the border with Rhodesia with its generating plants on the Rhodesian side of the Zambezi. South Africa already has military bases in Malawi—these bases are being strengthened and already pose a threat to Freedom Fighters and free states alike throughout the surrounding area.

Any strengthening of the racist and fascist forces in Southern Africa will only tip the military advantage further in their favor and pose a grave economic threat as well to Zambia. It will take at least five years to complete Zambia's rail link through Tanzania to the sea—plenty of time for South Africa and Rhodesia via Malawi to thwart its progress and sabotage its completion.

The U.S. and Britain as well as France, Portugal and Spain are already deeply committed economically to the racist regimes in Southern Africa. This new military commitment by Britain to South Africa could have created a war situation of holocaust proportions or help South Africa to extend its power northward to create more Malawis and re-enslave other African states so recently freed.

—Student, Uganda

campaign on a platform that called for higher unemployment.

Then, of course, he said that only a "little" unemployment would be required to halt the galloping inflation. That is, whereas unemployment in 1968 was still a high 3.5%, Nixon said he was willing for it to go to 4% if necessary to halt inflation. At this moment, unemployment is at least 5.5% nationally, and is over 9% in Michigan. Of the nation's 150 economic areas, 31 are now classified as areas of "substantial" unemployment, where the jobless rate ranges between 6% to 8.9%. Last year, only six areas had "substantial" unemployment.

### BLACK YOUTH HIT HARDEST

For the young blacks the unemployment situation is one of unbelievable proportions. In the black 16-21 age group, unemployment is a staggering 30.2 percent according to Bureau of Labor Statistics data. Even the Bureau admits these are conservative figures, and says the black youth unemployment rate is much higher in many areas.

In the face of this growing unemployment, the so-called labor leaders have done absolutely nothing. Instead of joining ranks to demand an end to this swelling unemployment, the AFL-CIO misnamed labor leaders, with the greatest misrepresenter of all, Meany, leading the way, joined ranks to have a Labor Day dinner with none other than the one person most responsible for squeezing the workers—President Nixon.

Whatever else may be in doubt, this much is unmistakably clear: the Nixon administration means to throw the full burden of economic stabilization on the backs of the working class. If the economy grows too fast to suit the capitalists, Nixon's answer is to force unemployment up; if inflation keeps growing, Nixon demands that employers reject worker requests, take long strikes and make the workers pay the price in payless paydays on the picket lines.

The administration became so insistent in its urging of GM, Ford and Chrysler to refuse to settle with the UAW, that no one less than UAW President Woodcock felt compelled to call administration leaders to remind them that they were on public record as being "neutral" in the dispute. This, of course, is ridiculous. Nixon will pay as much attention to Woodcock as he will to the millions of unemployed workers out on the streets.

Nevertheless, the fact of the GM strike in itself will smoke all of these vermin from their holes and into clear view of everyone. Nixon has already shown his determination to break the solidarity of the workers by throwing a 60-day injunction against railroad workers who were set to strike for higher pay and job protection.

The battle lines have been drawn. This working class fight for survival against the financial power of GM and the resources of the Nixon administration will test the mettle of many who are yet untested in raw, open working class warfare.

By Eugene Walker

## WORLD IN REVOLUTION

## Ballot box revolution in Chile: rightists eye coup

If the presidential election victory of Salvador Allende Gossens is allowed to be confirmed by the Chilean National Congress, the first socialist ever elected to power in Latin America will take office. His election is one of the most significant events in Latin America since the Cuban Revolution of more than ten years ago.

Allende is the candidate of the Popular Unity Front, not a Communist party, but a ticket backed by Socialists, Communists and other groups on the Left. Some elements of the Communists were in fact attracted to the ruling Christian Democrat's candidate, Rodomiro Tomic.

Mr. Allende received less than an absolute majority of the votes cast and must be voted into office by the National Congress the first week in November. It appears that the Congress is willing to do this—it is allowed to do so.

All eyes are now on the three elements which may move to prevent Mr. Allende from becoming president. They are the right wing military elements, the aristocratic families holding the economic reins of the country and the United States. Economically the United States is closely involved in the Chilean

copper industry, with Anaconda Copper controlling huge mines. Politically it has no wish to see a socialist government in Latin America.

There is no doubt that there is pressure for a military coup. Alarmist stories about rushes on banks to withdraw deposits; companies were thinking of closing shop; and so forth have been heard. The spokesman for the national office of the groups supporting the losing conservative candidate spoke of "provisional election results" and appealed to "all those who are opposed to Marxism, and to all free men and women" to unite to defend their rights.

It is felt that the Right might try to set off street clashes in the hope of inviting military intervention. Business circles with foreign and especially North American links, big landlords and farmers opposed the proposed agrarian reforms of the current president. They certainly will not be happy with the policies of Allende.

But the key will probably be the United States. Will it insist on intervening as it has in Latin American affairs from the Monroe Doctrine to the present? The proposal to nationalize the copper industry has already started the copper men talking about how

copper is a highly complex industry needing an enormous amount of capital and skilled technicians to run the mines. Some Chileans view the recent arbitrary fluctuation in the price of copper and the decision of the U.S. to release its strategic stockpiles of copper as linked to the Chilean presidential election.

The U.S. government has also applied for visas for a number of military personnel to visit Chile. So many were asked for, that the Chilean government felt compelled to ask the U.S. for an explanation.

The election in Chile, indicates once again that Latin Americans are continually searching for ways to oppose U.S. domination of their countries, for ways to take control of their own country. The U.S. may dismiss it all as Communist subversion, but the Chilean people will not let that deter them from making choices independent of what the U.S. dictates.

The people of Latin America have not been fooled by the promises of U.S. democracy. They will hardly fall into the hands of another power wishing to dominate them. Socialism is not the property of the Communist regimes who subvert its meaning for their own uses. It is the goal of those seeking a new society free from domination by any super-power.

## Rotating strikes hit new government in Italy

I have received the following letter from a correspondent in Italy:

After the small "revolution" that broke out in the South, Reggio Calabria (see N&L Aug.-Sept., 1970), another small "revolution" broke out in a very different place: Porta Maghera. This is a city right next to Venice where the principle petrochemical factories are located in Italy and where the workers have made some of the most advanced strikes in recent years.

It started when a small group of workers—at the minimum 200 and at the maximum 500—were making one of their usual strikes that have been going on for several months. Each factory shop goes out for one day; then a few days later another shop goes out on strike. The effects are more or less the same as if all of the workers went out on strike, while the workers lose less pay. The police arrived and threw tear gas on these workers. The reaction was immediate.

A general strike was called, barricades were built, and the train tracks between the romantic city of Venice and the rest of Italy were blown up.

## NEW GOVERNMENT FORMED

In the meantime, the government has managed to put itself together again, but not because of the strikes but because the government of Libya decided to nationalize or "confiscate" all Italian property there and throw the Italian community out of the

country. (It was high time; these Italians have been living there like paschas since the days of fascism.) The Libyan government refused to recognize the Italian diplomats so the 4 parties that usually make up the government made an agreement, but their haste made it much more clear what the disagreement between and within these parties is.

The fight is between those who support large industry on the one hand, and the small entrepreneurs as well as the incredibly encumbersome bureaucracy on the other hand. The latter would like things to stay as they are. Finally, an agreement with the CP and with other unions would be very useful to the managers of large industries. One does not need to be a genius to understand that the CP would do everything in its power to stop the strikes if it were given even a bit of power.

The new government, however, does not seem to have in mind social reforms. Scarcely in power it stated effectively that it was broke and could not do anything. Now it is formulating a program to increase taxes in such a way that consumption will decrease and investments will increase. This is absolutely incredible since consumption has decreased so much during the last few years due to price inflation that it has become almost unsupportable for everyone, the small shop-keepers included. Thus, this government does not seem to have the possibility of a longer life than those that have preceded it.

## California GI's

There is a new look to the military in California. It is the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM). MDM is composed of black and white GIs who are openly protesting military life.

The movement is less than a year old, but has chapters located at a number of major Marine, Navy and Army bases in California. The organization is open only to active-duty GIs, but each chapter has a civilian support staff. Among their activities are publishing of underground papers for servicemen and off base rallies. More than 1,000 Marines joined a crowd of anti-war demonstrators near Camp Pendleton last December.

MDM feels its strength lies in the alliance between black and white soldiers it has built.

The military brass are shook up. They are calling the current dissent "a serious threat to the military and the defense of the nation." Any man identified as associated with MDM is called in for "counseling" by a senior officer not less than the rank of major. One member of MDM was shot from a passing car while attending an MDM meeting. Harassment and arrest by the military police and shore patrol is a constant occurrence. Still the movement is growing.

## Black-Red View: Three black conventions reveal reformism

By John Alan

Over the last Labor Day weekend three black conventions were held in the Eastern and Southern parts of these United States of America. In the coming decade these conventions may take on an aura of great significance, or they may be covered by the dust of history. However, these conventions did indicate three things: (1) a difference among black leadership as to what road to take for Afro-American liberation, (2) a reflection of the growing sense of power and confidence among blacks, (3) a continuing polarization between the black and white races since the "freedom rides and We Shall Overcome" decade of the 1960's.

At the first International Congress of African Peoples in Atlanta, Richard Hatcher, black Mayor of Gary, Indiana, suggested that Congress may "provide some answers, some ways and means by which black people may not only become Mayors of major American cities, but also redefine political jurisdiction."

## JONES EMBRACES SYSTEM

LeRoi Jones, the black poet and playwright, also spoke at Atlanta. But it was not the Jones that we knew or the last six years, spitting out with every breath bitter hatred toward white-racism. This was a new Jones, or Imanu Baraka—his adopted African name) who defied violence—and any "rush of revolutionary talk," a ones who has discovered there is virtue in working within the system.

Jones urged blacks to create a World African Party, build alternate systems, values and institutions." He suggests that this new party can make its force felt by running candidates in all elections, and by organizing blacks on regional and local levels. By doing this, he pines, "We can defeat Nixon." Here you have essentially the black middle class solution to the race problem in

America, the filling of capitalist forms with "black content."

The black middle class talks a lot about the Black Psyche, the rediscovery of African identity, values, and institutions, and without any sense of contradiction they subscribe to the outrageous American myth that ethnic groups in the country liberated themselves by "capturing" the capitalist political machinery of the cities, no doubt, like Horatio Alger. Where would the "liberation" be at this period in history when most American cities are huge black ghettos of super-capitalist exploitation?

## WORKERS IGNORE PANTHERS

At the Revolutionary People's Convention in Philadelphia there was some of the flavor of black and white unity of the 1960's. Some 6,000 delegates, black and white, new and old left, militant homosexuals and women's liberation elements, gathered in that racially tense city to hear Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, of the Black Panther Party, call for the drafting of a new constitution, unity of black and white workers and a Socialist America.

The Panthers, in spite of all their gun toting "machismo" do reflect the spirit of the totally alienated, disinherited, black youth of the ghettos of the large cities—a group that didn't even get mentioned at the two middle class black conventions, a group who daily face the raw facts of poverty and police brutality, and for whom no kind of constitutional subtleties have any meaning.

Newton's speech at the Plenary session of their convention was a naive description of how American capitalism developed from a democratic to a bureaucratic capitalism. At no time did he mention the long struggles of black people and white workers against the institution of slavery and capitalism. The speech was rather reformist and old fashioned, a speech that perhaps Upton Sinclair could have made. At one point Newton called for "A United Nations plebiscite to determine the will of Black people, as to their national destiny."

In spite of their talk about Socialism and the working class, the Panthers have attracted few black workers into their ranks, therefore they must rely on their "theory" of the lumpen proletariat as the vanguard of the revolution.

## CORE ATTACKS INTEGRATION

At Mobile, Alabama, Roy Innis, National Director of (CORE) Congress of Racial Equality, told the 25th leadership conference of that organization, "that forced integration is ineffective in obtaining equal status in American society, and that total integration would doom blacks to be perpetually in the minority, in a country that is run by majority rule." Innis went on to accuse the "civil rights aristocracy—the NAACP, the Legal Defense Fund, the Urban League, of conspiring consciously or unconsciously to sell out blacks, by pushing for integration." He called for black control of black schools.

It is true that integration is not all that good and blacks should control schools where the students are black, but Innis has been long proposing a curious kind of segregation, within the framework of the capitalist political and economic structure, that certainly outwardly resembles South Africa's "Bantulands." Innis envisions "A nation-like structure created by the sum total of all the areas that black people dominate" a collection of black islands woven together as a political entity. The serious fault in this idea is that this black political entity is doomed at its very outset to outside control by the dominant United States Capitalist society.

Indeed, they would be mere colonies, from which every morning black workers would leave to work at Ford, GM, etc., and return at night. Of course, black middle class politicians would have a free hand in developing a black ethnic program, so long as they did not disturb the capitalist mode of production.

Black movements of liberation can only become truly effective when they relieve themselves of any faith, no matter how small, in the ability of capitalism to bring about a human solution to the race problem.