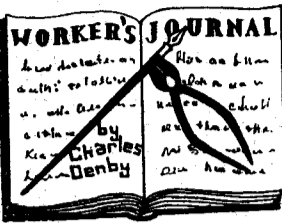


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**Whites hold  
selves and  
Blacks down**

by Charles Denby

**EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION:** This issue I am turning my column over to a white Southern-born worker, because of the profound ideas he expresses, through his own experience, concerning this society, our so-called labor leaders, and the blindness of the racism of white workers that has held back the struggle for freedom of working people as a whole. He reveals that it is much more than just a question of Black and white unity against the companies in the factory. What is involved is an understanding of the need for unity in order to make changes in our every-day lives.

Much of the blame for workers' racism belongs to past and present union leadership. When the UAW-CIO was first organized, the leaders could never get beyond a mere slogan: "Black and white, unite to fight." When Black workers demanded that membership meetings should discuss the question of racism, union leaders were constantly objecting on the grounds that it would make white workers more hostile to Black workers and drive them further apart. It was their own racist prejudices that caused them to object.

The white worker who speaks for himself, below, has grasped the total understanding of workers' struggle—and we can be sure that there are others. We would be happy to hear from them.  
—Charles Denby

Nixonomics started in 1968 and has worked up to where labor is going to come under control by the government. Our labor leaders have joined in and as far as I'm concerned they've sold labor out. They have 15 men on the Pay Board. Five are supposed to represent management and five represent the public.

I don't know who the "public" is in this country but it must be someone besides working people, because I haven't seen a working man on the board. All we've got is five labor leaders who are supposed to be representing labor. Labor to me is people who work. The people who are not labor, they own it; and if you don't own it in this country you're working for it. That's what I call labor.

**NIXON SMOKECREEN**

Nixon now is going to control inflation by jumping on wages and labor, which don't have a damn thing to do with what has created inflation. You never hear them talking about the real thing. I call that a smoke screen.

I was in the Navy during World War II, on small ships which would lay a smoke screen and make torpedo runs on enemy ships to sink them. What I see coming up for 1972 is a smoke screen to put Nixon back in the White House. He has to go back in because the oil magnates can't do without him.

Out of Southwest Texas there was \$150 million from the Hunts and other people that bought Nixon the job in 1968, not counting the \$30 million or so that other millionaires threw in. But the big money is never spent because Hunt can control about every radio and television station across this country.

And now we have the Supreme Court that's Nixon's court. They're going to back up the Wage and Price Board, which has been extended until April of 1973—after the election. With a system like we've got, we're not going to change anything.

In the near future—the next three or four years—the working man in this country is going to start looking like the worker in Czechoslovakia, or Russia, or anywhere else where the working man is controlled. We may go out on strike, so long as it is a strike that General Motors wants. But if we ever strike from now on and mean it—where General Motors is not loaning us money to stay out, like they did the last time—then we're going to see the government coming down on the people, and it is going to come down hard. It will make Russia look like a bunch of play kids, because his country's government is the most powerful, potentially fascist machine the world has ever known.

**BLACKS MOST MILITANT**

I don't feel I represent the workers in the shops where I come from, because I'm a white man, and I feel that most of the white people in this country now have become the anchor around the Black man's neck. He's dragging us. In my plant—and I think it pretty well represents the other plants—the most militant people who are searching and trying to do something are the Black man and the Chicano or Mexican. The most im-

(Continued on Page 3)

# 10¢ NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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FEBRUARY, 1972

## Nixon's program guarantees conflict at home and abroad

By Andy Phillips

The calm rhetoric of President Nixon's "State of the Union" address on Jan. 20 masked the most reactionary speech to date of any politician

aspiring to become the next President of the U.S. It is all the more alarming in light of the fact that Nixon's soon-to-be trips to Peking and Russia have been touted as steps aimed at achieving "peace for the first generation in this century."

Far from being a grand design for peace abroad or at home, the national course charted by Nixon in his speech is guaranteed to continue or increase tension and open conflict at home and in the rest of the world. There is, nevertheless, very conscious design in Nixon's demand that the defense budget be increased by \$4 billion! This demand, along with his down-playing of what anyone should expect of the Peking-Moscow summitry, is aimed at keeping the right wing of the GOP—and other reactionaries in the nation—in the Nixon camp.

**BIG BUSINESS PRIZES**

Nor is this all. Business interests can take added comfort in Nixon's pledge to introduce anti-labor legislation this year, clearly telegraphed, in his seemingly "off-the-cuff" remark that strikes such as that of the West Coast longshoremen "cannot be tolerated." Another big business prize is the Nixon promise to federally assist industries to use the technological discoveries of the space programs to increase worker productivity. Translated into everyday language, Nixon is promising big business that public tax money will be used to increase industrial Automation and speed-up workers.

But clearest of all is Nixon's determination to roll back the gains of the Blacks made in the past 10 years. A keystone in this effort is Nixon's declared opposition to busing of school children to achieve integrated quality education, and emphasized by him in his speech when he declared that there should be "local school board control over schools."

For Nixon to urge this course of action as national policy right on the heels of the court decision ordering student busing in the Richmond, Va., school integration case, reflects both a total disregard for the law of the land that the President swears to uphold, and an appeal for support from the most racist elements in society. If any doubt this, consider the fact that a President of the U.S. can give a 45-minute speech on the State of the Union, and never once use the word "Black" or "Negro." Anyone would never know that there are over 25 million Black people in the nation who are still trying to achieve the most fundamental rights of equality supposedly guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

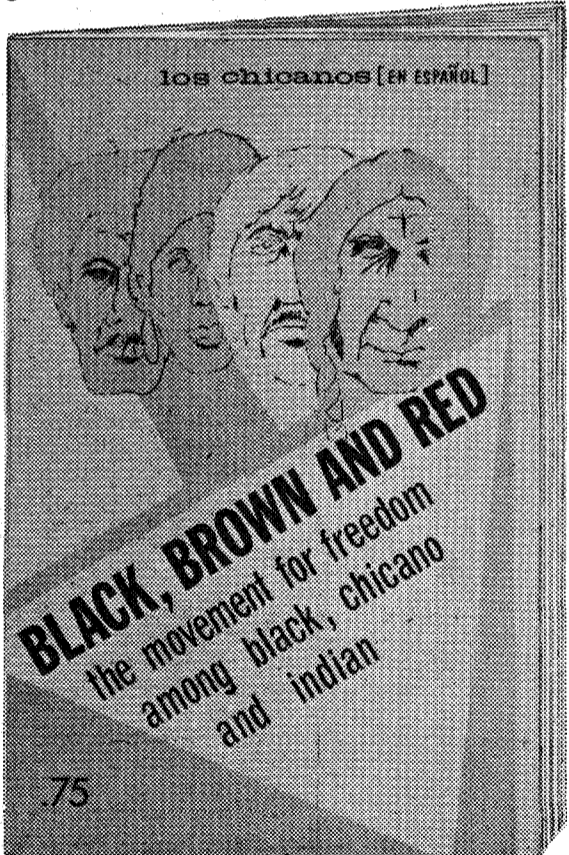
Clearly, Nixon has written off both the Blacks and labor in his second-term bid for the presidency.

**WAR AND UNEMPLOYMENT**

Just as important as the major issues Nixon referred to are those to which he did not: specifically, he did not once mention either the Vietnam War or government controls of the economy. Although Nixon devoutly wishes the Vietnam War to disappear as an election issue, the inescapable fact remains that after four years it is now Nixon's war—and he was elected President in large part on the promise that he would end the Vietnam War. But far from ending it, he has spread it to engulf two other helpless Southeast Asian nations—Cambodia and Laos. Because of Nixon's politics of world domination, matched by the aspirations of Russia and China, both Laos and Cambodia

(Continued on Page 6)

**JUST OFF THE PRESS**



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## Black women oppose oppression in many lands

by Doris Wright

In our eager desire to affirm our Black pride, we must be careful not to directly or indirectly condone religious or political institutions which are still oppressing the vast majority of our sisters around the world. For example, in the courts throughout Africa the one case which occurs most frequently is that of the runaway wife, for polygamy is still a widely practiced legal institution.

For those who might take the stand that one must not pass judgment on the religious or social practices of others and that "they're used to it so they like it that way"—listen to the activities of some of our Black and Brown sisters.

In 1968, the National Conference of Women, a branch of Guinea's Democratic Party, demanded the abolition of polygamy and President and Mrs. Sekou Toure marched with 2,000 women in support of this demand. In the same year, the Women's Society for Public Affairs in Ghana called for government legislation against polygamy. The National Council of Women in Tanzania have been holding a series of meetings designed to change the marriage laws, and in the Congo, the Union for the Emancipation of the African Woman was formed. Three of its aims are: (1) "to struggle against all backward customs which shackle women," (2) "to promote the participation of women in all national endeavors," and (3) "to raise the level of awareness of women to involve her in the economic life of the country."

The United Nations, which has gone on record against polygamy, considers it "contrary to human rights," and Rebecca Reyher, who has spent many years living among the Zulu women, calls the African woman's rebellion against polygamy "sister to women's liberation."

### RELIGIOUS FEMALE EXPLOITATION

The Moroccan feminist, Fatima Mernissi, discusses the role which the Muslim religion has played in woman's dehumanization. She shows how the Koran's concept of woman has been used "to give a divine stamp to female exploitation," even though Mohammed himself granted Muslim women what the Napoleonic Code did not grant French women until the late 1950's—the right to possess property and to administer it without any interference from her husband.

To underscore the intensity of the Muslim woman's predicament, the Algerian writer, Fadela M'Rabet, reports that the rate of suicide among young girls who refuse arranged marriages and seclusion has risen drastically since the end of the revolution.

Enlightened leaders such as former President Kwame Nkrumah and President Sekou Toure recognized early the importance of woman's emancipation. When in 1959, Nkrumah tried to hold special elections in Ghana in order to get ten women into Parliament to represent the interests of their sex, his actions were denounced by the opposition and he was accused of attempting to "impose politics on our women."

Throughout Africa women are protesting their lack of political control over their lives and are showing that they will not accept customs that are crimes against their human dignity. Organizing women is still a dangerous activity and in some parts of Africa a woman could pay for such insurgency with her life. These courageous Black and Arab women, who do not yet have the yoke of polygamy off their backs, are willing to take dire risks to acquire some measure of political power which will eventually lead to self-determination. From



nation to nation, our struggle may be on many different levels, but it is all one struggle.

In this country, the First Wave of Feminism culminated in women winning the vote. In this, the Second Wave, it is crucial that we not be swept away by whatever victories we win in areas such as employment, child care, or any of our other present demands. We must be alert enough to realize that no matter how many appeasement gifts we are offered, we have not won the battle until we have won control over our minds and until we have developed a respect for our womanhood and a belief in ourselves. What we do can make a difference in the world, and there is no more time to waste on hero worship or self-hatred.

## WRO group seeks right to fill out food stamps

Los Angeles, Cal.—Right now our Welfare Rights Office is concerned with food stamps. Most people don't like to go to the Welfare Office even to find out about the stamps because they treat you so rudely there. Banks get 90 cents for each food stamp transaction, and yet they still treat you rudely. So, Welfare Rights wants to become eligible to fill out the food stamp forms, but they won't let us.

Even though they won't let us fill out the forms, we now get Brinks to come to our office with the forms, and they fill them out for us. We treat it as a real service.

### JAPAN GIVES FOOD

Some counties either get food stamps or they get commodities. But we should be able to get both. Instead, things are getting worse, because they want to do away with Food Stamps by July, 1972.

Most people in this country don't know how to get food stamps or government commodities. Take Seattle for instance, Japan actually was sending them food and rice before the government made commodities available to them.

Welfare Rights is also trying to fight all of the new restrictions that will force people to go to work as a public service. But fighting it is hard work because people just don't want to believe that it is as bad as it sounds.

### SCHOOLS GIVE DRUGS

We have also been fighting with the school systems over the drugs that they are giving to our school children. The kids go to school hungry, and the teachers give them Dexedrin because they are considered "hyperactive" discipline problems. These drugs are being given to the children without their parents' knowledge. That is illegal. So, we are trying to get the parents more interested in what is happening at school.

For a long time now I've been telling the welfare women that they have a right to be "women." I tell them to respect their strength. And some of them have really come a long way. It has changed their appearance, it affects their self-image, and it affects their children's images of them.

Some of the social workers could do this; some of them try. But too many of the social workers are women who have accepted this job because it was the only job available to them.

At Welfare Rights we try to teach the women everything that we know, especially that by organizing we can get something. Women that didn't think they could be anything, are now finding their strength by fighting for their rights and the rights of others.

—Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organizer

## HS women: making selves objects denies humanity

High school women face a double oppression. Upon them is laid all the physical, social and emotional demands made upon women, and yet, at the same time, they have to "prove" that they are women.

For some, this takes the form of proving how sexy they are. Sex becomes the motivating force in their lives. All activities not directly related to their sexuality are ignored, except for routine activities such as housework and a minimum of schoolwork. If they hold jobs, it's usually as waitresses, models, or at best, menial office workers.

Their lives hold no room for creative activity, thinking about their world or even questioning themselves.

Most high school women feel that they must prove themselves by turning their talents and abilities to dressing correctly, walking, talking and acting correctly; i.e., becoming completely anonymous, sexless and submissive. In addition, they must learn to cook, clean, sew and take care of children. This is so they will make a "good wife."

Pursuits not defined as "womanly" are usually ignored. Whether these pursuits are what the individual needs or wants is never questioned. It is the way it is.

Both of these groups see women as objects, and in order to gain the privilege of adulthood, a girl must make herself an object. Whether a sex object or a housekeeping object, an object is not a person; and a person turned into an object is denied the rights of a human being.

—High School Woman, Oregon

## WAY OF THE WORLD

### The message of Baton Rouge

by Ethel Dunbar

When I heard about the bloody racial disturbance that happened in Baton Rouge, La., where four people were killed because of a demonstration by Blacks there, I kept thinking about what happened at Attica. For a long time Nixon has been giving out the message that anybody that dares to speak out against policies of oppression will be severely dealt with by the police force or the state troopers, and every corner of this country has got the message.

When I was listening to the news reports about how it started in Baton Rouge, it seemed as if everybody was trying to point fingers at the Blacks, and especially at "outside agitators" among them. They did the same thing at Attica. But after that massacre was over, they got busy trying to keep down the real truth, because it showed that all the things that were reported in the beginning were lies.

In Louisiana they blamed the Black Muslims for the trouble at first. Then they said there were doubts about that. The thing that the white South cannot seem to accept is the fact that Blacks down South have their own thoughts and act on their own. It seems by now they should have learned that much, after all the Black people have been doing for their rights throughout the years.

The white reporters never talked about any of the problems that Black people had there, or any of their grievances. You would think everything was just fine until some outside agitators came down to take over the city.

One Black man, a school teacher in Baton Rouge, said the Black people there have a desperate housing problem, and that it was the unemployment among the Black people, especially the Black veterans, that led to the mass demonstration they had, where hundreds of Blacks took part. He said many of the young Black people were willing to die rather than accept the conditions they have there.

President Nixon wants the public to accept the lies that everything is fine, and the American people have never had it so good. But he can't stop people from demonstrating. I wonder if there is anyone who believes him?

## Book review: Of migrant workers and Chavez

SAL SI PUEDES; CESAR CHAVEZ AND THE NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS, by Peter Matthiessen, c.1969, Dell Publishing Co., Inc., New York, N.Y. \$2.95

Escape If You Can is the English translation for the title of this book that deals with the rise of the first successful farm workers' union in this country's history.

Sal Si Puedes is the name of the San Jose barrio where Cesar Chavez, founder of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, spent a part of his life. That phrase typifies the existence of the migrant farm worker in California, the Southwest United States, and other depressed farm labor communities.

Peter Matthiessen, a New York liberal writer, describes in detail the ten days he spent with Chavez in Delano in August of 1968, along with the history of Chavez and the farm workers' union. He includes much of the dialogue he encountered there, letting the farm workers, union people, and growers speak for themselves.

AT ONE point, Chavez is criticizing a young Anglo volunteer for pitying the "poor farm worker" and thinking he must be a super human—"... you're here working with a group of men; the farm worker is only a

human being. You take the poorest of these guys and give him that ranch over there, he could be just as much of a bastard as the guy sitting there now . . . Don't pity them, either. Treat them as human beings . . ."

The farm workers, too, told their story—"Before the Union we used to work like a mule. Now we just do our day's work." "You had to work twelve to sixteen hours a day. A man workin' seven days a week for twenty, thirty years—I don't think that man is livin'." An old Black worker says, "A lot of discrimination in jobs they had, they don't have now . . . since the Union, it been lightenin' up a whole lot. I don't know anything would have helped it any better than the Union, and I wish everybody in the whole country would see it that way..."

ALTHOUGH I think Chavez is sincerely committed to helping the farm workers, he believes the final solution is to organize a strong farm workers' union. This is wonderful and necessary for now, yet it is not the final solution. Soon the farm workers union could turn into a large bureaucratic institution like all the other unions under capitalism.

What is necessary for gaining freedom and being able to live and work like human beings is for the masses of farm workers to unite their struggles with those of other freedom forces in this country, Black, labor, women, Chicanos, youth, Indians, and others fighting for a new, human society.



### UFWOC to show films on women

I am very interested in seeing your new pamphlet, "Black, Brown, Red" — I hope it is equal to the women's pamphlet, "We Speak in Many Voices". I think News & Letters has been one of the better forums for the feminist movement. People do indeed seem to be speaking from below — from their own experience.

UFWOC will be sponsoring some women's movies on Friday, Feb. 11, in Lower DeRoy Auditorium, at WSU at 7:30 p.m. They will be: The Women's Film (which has footage of grape pickers in California, and other working women); My Country Occupied (which is about the United Fruit Corp. and U.S. imperialism in Guatemala); She's Beautiful When She's Angry; and Growing Up Female. Donation will be \$1.

UFWOC  
3419 Michigan Ave.  
Detroit, Mich. 48216

# Colt workers, Hartford vets fight war machine

Hartford, Conn.—Colt's M-16 rifle has cost U.S. taxpayers millions. It has also cost the lives of large numbers of men drafted into Vietnam. Since 1967, GI's have been complaining that the weapon jams, malfunctions, and sometimes blows up, leaving some poor GI who has been drafted away from home and family, helpless under enemy attack.

Now we know why. Colt Firearms workers have just published a report showing how the company consistently fakes tests and inspections so as to deliver shipments of defective rifles to the government. Thus Colt increases its already huge profits by cutting costs on "quality control."

The workers, calling themselves the "Connecticut Citizen's Action Group," have revealed how the company consistently orders them to hide defects from government inspectors. They are ordered to sneak new parts into sample guns that fail on the testing range, for example. Thus whole shipments of similarly defective weapons go right by the inspectors.

Practices like banging obviously defective barrels on cement floors to make them look straight are not uncommon. The company, with complete disregard for safety or the lives of GI's drafted to defend U.S. capitalism's interests in Asia, will evidently stop at nothing to make a few extra bucks on defective parts or weapons.

Naturally, the company has always denied that their inspection standards are ever violated, and the government, far from cancelling the M-16 contract, has always helped to cover up the scandal. Yet even five years ago, men's magazines which sponsored tests of sample M-16's found them dangerous, inefficient, unreliable, and in most respects inferior to earlier model rifles of which the Army had huge stockpiles.

## HARTFORD VETS MARCH

Small wonder, then, that returned Vietnam G.I.'s, organized into the Vietnam Vets Against the War (not to mention active duty servicemen) have taken the lead in opposing the war.

Ironically, right here in Hartford the Governor tried to deny the Viet Vets the right to march on Veterans' Day on the grounds that they had "applied too

late." They actually applied two months in advance. With the help of the ACLU, they were able to parade, demanding jobs for veterans and total withdrawal now. When they marched down the street with their medals, berets, beards and tattered uniforms, most people cheered and gave them peace signs. Some morons, however, made comments like "Why don't you go to Vietnam?" and "Why don't you get a job?"

Unemployment here is about 10 percent and most jobs are in war production. Unemployment among re- turning vets is the highest of all, and many of these companies, having amassed huge war profits, are now laying off. The M-16 scandal only underlines the total indifference of government and industry to the lives of both workers and GI's, whom they obviously consider "dispensable."

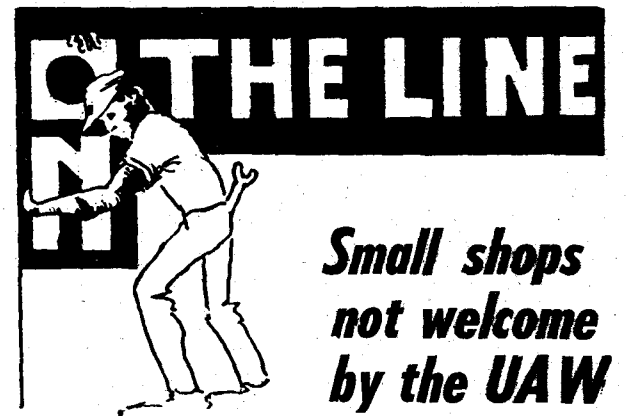
# U.S. Steel threatens Duluth

Duluth, Minn.—The U.S. Steel Corporation has pushed some very serious problems on working people in the Duluth area. The steel plant employs 3,500 people at full capacity. It is Duluth's largest single employer.

Just before Christmas, workers at the steel plant were all laid off, except for a tiny skeleton crew to do janitorial work.

The U.S. Steel Corporation is committing blackmail: demanding special tax-concessions or it won't restore employment. Unfortunately, working people are caught right in the middle of this power play between the politicians of the state legislature and the bureaucrats of the steel corporation.

A group of young steelworkers has started a committee in Duluth to fight this problem: A group of high school students at one of the working-class high schools in Duluth (the old nineteenth-century class divisions by geographical residency are still maintained in Duluth) also started a committee to fight this problem. Some people are saying that unemployment in Duluth will soon be twice the national average.



**Small shops  
not welcome  
by the UAW**

by John Allison

All UAW local unions are getting ready to elect delegates to the International Convention which will be held in Atlantic City in April. The cry has already begun: first order of business will be, as always, to organize the unorganized.

Three conventions ago the UAW leaders promised to set up and staff a department for small shops and parts. A Vice-President was supposed to direct the activities of the new department. As of this date, this has not been done.

My local union has two small shops under its charter. These two shops have the same grievance procedure in their contract as in the Chrysler contract. The UAW is like a giant magnet for these workers. They want the UAW a lot more than the UAW wants them.

The reason, I think, is that the big unions—like the big corporations—don't want anything that does not make money. The above-mentioned workers pay \$5 a month dues for the protection of the UAW. That is no more than what laid-off workers, who are on SUB, pay. Now it has become clearer why the UAW talks big about organizing the unorganized, but continues to leave all these workers unprotected—they just don't make the same wages that the Big Three Companies pay.

The AFL was never recognized by the working class as a force for revolution. The CIO and the UAW were considered a much greater force for change. But the UAW stopped fighting for the poor and the Blacks a long, long time ago—long before Walter Reuther passed on. By now every worker knows that all their talk about helping the unorganized is a big fat nothing.

# British unemployment hits all

London, England—Unemployment will be a continuous feature of the 70's if one is to go by the present soaring figures. However, the situation and the terms are somewhat different from the Hungry Thirties. One of the most striking differences is the social composition of those out of work today. These embrace the professional classes right down to the skilled manual worker.

The social security benefits paid to the pool of the workless are geared to continue to create basic needs for consumption to keep the level of expansion going. This is the "human face" of today's society in its endeavor to whitewash itself.

Before, the problem of unemployment would have unleashed an immense struggle, but now unemployment can be used to discipline the worker. Various governments have announced their intention of giving "a good dose of unemployment" openly . . . But this cannot solve the problem. It will induce new conflicts.

## COMMON MARKET—A NON-ISSUE

The gyrations of the Labour Party over the Common Market fiasco shows how little they can be considered an alternative to capitalist government by the Tories. Although opinion polls show a majority of the British people are opposed to entry into the Market, we would guess that this is misguided xenophobia, rather than constructive protest against the capitalist organization of government.

The Market is the greatest and latest non-issue dreamed up by our political leaders as far as the worker is concerned. It was sad, if somewhat amusing, to see chauvinists from both varieties of fascist party joining hands in protest against British entry. Recently the National Front and the Communist Party marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, along the route traditional to all Sunday afternoon demonstrations, to protect our sovereignty, of all things!

We ask, whose sovereignty? Since when were the common people of this country in a position to exercise sovereignty over anything beyond their own latrine? What does it matter, if you're exploited, whether the exploiter lives in London, Rome, Bonn, Paris or Brussels?

—Hyde Park Socialist  
48 Gilbey Rd.  
London, SW 17, London



## Chrysler Mack

I am your fellow co-worker who is concerned about the working conditions of the Mack Avenue Plant, or any other plant, where supervisors practice racism toward their employees.

Basically, as to my theory, the whole problem has been derived from a weakened union structure. It has been an established fact that union officers have made a fatal mistake, playing politics rather than doing their job. We are making a grave mistake by telling ourselves we are only interested in doing our job and retiring.

Perhaps, as you read this article, you will find this statement to be true. And so I'll say to you, "Visit your union hall and learn to know the potential of your officer. Is he a fighter or a politician?" Remember, there are many unscrupulous people who will do anything to get away from work. The politician will always find fault in a true fighter. A real shake-up should begin on election day. Only then will you witness better working conditions.

## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich—Here at Fleetwood the company is still breaking down jobs and laying men off. When the windshield wiper job was on the third floor there were three men doing it. They moved this job to the sixth floor and now there are only two men on it. They took two men off the fifth floor retainer job. And there are others.

It is true that they have eased up some on the fourth floor, where the company always pushed men harder than anywhere except in the body shop. Most of the grievances outside of the body shop came from the fourth floor. They put some of these jobs back the way they were. But they are taking up every bit of slack on the third, fifth, and sixth floors.

Layoffs go back as far as April 1971. Management may have merged Fisher Body into Cadillac Division but nothing has changed for us.

On the fourth floor, we got rid of boss Hatfield—and every worker there knows that's a real victory, but there a lot more slave drivers who have got to go.  
Fleetwood Worker

# WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

portant man is the white man because he's been holding down everybody in this country including himself.

And that started just after the Civil War in 1868, when they kept the white man holding the Black man down in the South. He's been sitting on the Black man ever since and here one hundred years later they're both sitting at the bottom of the barrel. This is not only in the South, now it's all over the country.

The way they did that was that the Southern Democrats, the conservative Democrats and the Northern Republicans formed a coalition and what they call a "gravy train" where they could have relief stuff coming into the South to keep these fellows from starving to death and use them as cheap labor against labor in the North where they were trying to organize unions.

My white ancestors went into the mountains of Kentucky because they believed in freedom. I'm a hillbilly, and I don't have too much education, but I know one thing. Until they put roads in there, we did have one little spot in this country where we did have freedom.

We had a jailhouse to protect someone who maybe shot a man, before the family could get to him. You didn't need a sheriff to go out and get him, because he ran to the jailhouse and hunted up the jailer to put

him in to protect him. Now this is our kind of "law and order."

## "FREE" ECONOMICS

My dad drove a truck and I learned to drive a truck.

We did a lot of hauling in the hills of government whiskey. This is how we made our living, and this is how the government finally got hold of us. When the roads came into the mountains, freedom ended.

That may not seem much like economics, but to me this is the most economic thing there is. Because we produced what we wanted, and for how we wanted to live. But now we are producing for someone else, and the government is in there trying to control it all.

thing. We don't need a Moses. We've had our Moses. We finally got the eight-hour but now we're going back to the ten-hour day. In the last ten years, I haven't worked an eight-hour day—I work a nine or a ten-hour day.

We're in one jar, one barrel; we're on one earth and we're one people. If we've got misery on this earth,

The workers—they are going to have to do some- we're the ones who created it because we're the majority and we let the minority do it to us.

G.M. Worker,  
Southgate, California

**READERS:  
DO YOU HAVE A STORY  
TO TELL? SEND IT IN!**

# EDITORIAL New Vietnam bombing slaughter renews anti-war movement

The sudden, ferocious attack on North Vietnam with which Nixon rang out the old year—and rang in the new, has surely dispelled any illusions that Nixon was “winding down” the Indo-China War. Within five days, 24 hours a day, no less than 1,000 sorties were flown by Air Force and Navy fighter-bombers, up to within 70 miles of Hanoi itself.

The attack should also have dispelled any illusions that are left that Mao would allow the fate of the Vietnamese people to interfere with his own plans for global power. Already, over three times the amount of bombs dropped by the U.S. in World War II in the European, Mediterranean and Pacific theaters combined, have been dropped on Vietnam.

Yet, just as Mao had refused to consider a united front with Russia to help Vietnam, when Johnson began to rain bombs on North Vietnam in 1965, so now he did nothing when Nixon began the new onslaught. Indeed, for Nixon to have ordered the massive bombing right on the threshold of his planned trip to Peking, meant that Nixon was completely confident that Mao would let nothing interfere with that meeting-to-be.

It is a different game than it was in 1960, when a U.S. U-2 Spy-plane was shot down over Russia, on the eve of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower “peace talks.” That summit was ended abruptly, as Khrushchev condemned the U.S. before the entire world for its blatant “act of aggression.” Yet—in both cases—the “game” is actually the same: a struggle for world power, with the lives of the peoples of the world the stakes.

## WITHDRAWAL DATE NEVER SET

Mao's silence about Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam is dictated by the same anxiety that saw Nixon line up with China in the India-Pakistan war—so quickly and so callously that even his own ambassador was stunned, as the Anderson Papers have revealed. In short, nothing is going to be permitted—by either Nixon or Mao—to divert from the global change in possible new alliances for World War III.

That nuclear holocaust is what all the preliminary “little” wars are mere skirmishes for. That is why Nixon has absolutely no intention of getting out of Indo-China.

even though the American people have forced him to begin the withdrawal of American ground troops. The question has never been whether a “residual force” would be left—but only how large that force would be: 25,000, 35,000? And now the military has begun to talk about 40,000 to 50,000. That is not a “residual force”—it is an occupation force.

The question has also never been whether the Administration lies to the American people, but how much it lies. The families of the POW's, whom the administration has often tried to use for its own propaganda purposes, are now nailing Nixon's lies that withdrawal from Vietnam is tied to the release of the POW's, emphasizing that no date for withdrawal has ever been set.

## VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR

The one force in the antiwar movement that has shown itself determined not to let Nixon get away with his pretense of winding down the war has been the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Their recent protests—which coincided with the very day that Nixon began his bombing of North Vietnam—turned out not to be needed to “put the war back on the front page.” Nixon, himself, did that. What their protests did do was to put the anti-war movement back on the front pages. Their message came through loud and clear as hundreds of veterans occupied the Statue of Liberty, the Betsy Ross House in Philadelphia, the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, a hospital ward at Travis Air-Force base in California, and a South Vietnamese consulate in San Francisco. (See stories, p. 6)

The message was an important one for the whole new generation of revolutionaries who were born out of the opposition to the war in Vietnam, and who cannot allow themselves to be diverted either by the rhetoric of other state-powers, or by the rhetoric of the politicians who will be bombarding us with their promises of peace as the '72 election campaigns go into full swing.

Nixon won in 1968 on a promise to end the war in Vietnam—and has succeeded only in widening it into a full-blown Indo-Chinese War, instead. The monthly civilian toll under Nixon is 130,000 human beings slaughtered, greater even than the 95,000 a month killed under Johnson. The monthly bombing tonnage has soared

to 90,000 tons—the most savage and protracted warfare against civilian targets in the history of armed conflict.

The only way the war will end will be if the American people compel it. That is the message for 1972. WITHDRAWAL MUST BE TOTAL AND THE DATE MUST BE NOW!

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## News & Letters

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## INDIA, PAKISTAN AND THE SUPER POWERS

By the time I got my copy of your January issue, the India-Pakistan War was “over”—but your headline was more current than the headline of my morning paper, which had become obsolete by afternoon. Because, though your lead article was certainly about India and Pakistan and the Bangladesh, all right—it was really about the whole game that the super-powers are playing with the lives of all of us. I just re-read that article over again, and found that I could see more in it now than I saw when I first read it and the war's headlines were all still too fresh.

Supporter  
Detroit

The UN debate on the Pakistan-India war was just another example of how the big powers can BS about their concerns for peace while real people bleed.

One of the accusations really turned my head. The American ambassador accused Russia of trying to humiliate Red China by vetoing certain “peace” proposals. One might almost shed a tear that poor Mao is being subjected to such-unfair treatment by Moscow, until you remember the millions of Bengalis who were “humiliated” by meeting the wrong ends of Chinese (and American) gun barrels. One would almost believe that the Indians (read Russians) were really coming to the rescue of beleaguered Bangla Desh by invading East Pakistan, except that again, one begins to wonder how many millions have died because of Indian saturation bombings of major urban areas.

Nothing has accentuated the Nixon-Mao Alliance more than the recent war. The big powers say they want peace. We'll have peace when they've blown us all to kingdom come.

Indignant Soul  
New Jersey

It isn't really funny and yet you can't help laughing at how the media is doing somersaults over China in anticipation of the Nixon-Mao talks. I remember when SDS, following their stupid Maoist line, asked all members to affirm support for Albania, and nobody

I knew in SDS even knew where Albania was. Well, when NBC gets the line, they do it right. The other night they had a whole special on Albania—including lovely pictures of the swimming resorts and all. To me that was even funnier than all the recipes for Chinese dishes we are getting in the papers these days!

Who's Laughing  
Detroit

It is really disgusting to see Nixon send his wife off to Africa to play “Great White Mother” to the African people, while in the other direction he is bombing the Indo-Chinese people off the face of the earth.

I don't go for calling everybody we don't like a “fascist,” but I call Nixon's ideas fascist because he doesn't seem to care how many human lives he destroys if they get in the way of his drive to control the whole world. When human life gets that cheap, what else can you call it?

Black Worker  
Detroit

## VETERANS RETURN

Indochina is being turned into an electronic battlefield even though American troops are being withdrawn. They have developed special sensory devices which are the equivalent of people sniffers. The rural population is being driven into the cities creating a large lumpen proletarian element. There is a collision course that all the big powers are on everywhere—India, the Middle East, or Vietnam, take your pick. All I know is that we have to get Nixon out, even though I know that is not the ultimate solution.

Vietnam Veteran  
California

So many of the returning veterans have turned out to be militant that the Federal government has financed a study of them at Southern Illinois University. The head of the project just reported that “veterans are more alienated and suspicious of ‘the system’ than is generally realized. They're having severe difficulties in education and work. They think nobody is interested

# Reader's

in finding out what's going on in their heads, and they feel used and manipulated . . .”

I guess the days are gone forever when returning veterans could be used by the Establishment to fight against the militants at home. The same thing happened in 1946 when the WWII GI's came home and turned out to be in the forefront of all the labor struggles that broke loose across the whole country. The only difference is that the crisis is even deeper now.

WWII Vet  
Detroit

How can they expect ex-prisoners to get jobs when there is so much unemployment and so many unemployed returning GI's? The GI's who are being hired—for example, at the post office—are getting the lowest paid jobs available.

Post Office Workers  
New York

## A WORKER'S STORY

During the Christmas season I worked at a small mail-order company in Hartford called Lewton Industries. Except for two foremen and a very few of the clerical workers, the pay ranged from 1.60 an hour for the Puerto Rican women in production, to a little over \$2.00. A majority of the workers were paid below Connecticut's minimum wage, which is now \$1.85.

A white set-up man kept the imprinting machines running God-knows-how since the company refused to spend anything for repairs. He was skilled and would never have been working at Lewton's except for the layoffs which have crippled most of the big machine shops around Connecticut.

A spring broke and a whole arm of the machine smashed his thumb, and would have sliced it off had he not reacted pretty fast. He had to flag his own ride to the hospital because the foreman had told everyone else to go

to lunch and then left himself.

When he came back to work he raised hell about safety conditions, and the foreman ordered a thorough clean-up for the first time in weeks. The following day he had a few drinks at lunch-time because his hand was killing him, and walked up to the only Black worker and said “you're Black”, in a pretty nasty tone. The Black worker slugged him in the jaw.

I think the story speaks for itself about this particular set-up man, poisoned by racism, who was unable to see straight as to who was trying to destroy his humanity. Lewton Industries makes thousands of dollars in profits every year and is deep in the corrupt politics of Hartford.

Jack MacBride  
Connecticut

## THREAT OF DEPORTATION

Immediate cessation of harassment of Mexican nationals working in the U. S. was demanded in a resolution unanimously adopted by the Fellowship for Social Justice at the year-end meeting of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles. Members pledged full support to the Chicano community and Mexican nationals in their struggle to be accorded the right of complete legal resident status in this country, inasmuch as the southwestern part of the U.S. was seized from Mexico by force in the war of 1846-48.

We are calling for the repeal of the laws which have resulted in thousands being thrown out of work and deported with their U. S.-born children. We especially support the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in their efforts to achieve 100 per cent unionization of all who work, regardless of immigration status. Through such solidarity unscrupulous employers will no longer be able to use the threat of deportation to reduce wage levels in this country.

Fellowship for Social Justice  
Los Angeles

**TWO WORLDS**

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

EDITOR'S NOTE: For the second time, LE MONDE has failed to publish any answer to their slanderous attack on MARXISM AND FREEDOM, which appeared in their issue of Sept. 3, 1971 in Paris. We print below an exchange of letters between LE MONDE'S reviewer and Raya Dunayevskaya. Excerpts from the review and Dunayevskaya's first brief reply appeared in NEWS & LETTERS, October, 1971.

September 25, 1971

Chere Madame,

I have received your letter concerning my review of your book in *Le Monde*. It's impossible for me to develop in a few lines the criticism that I could make regarding your undertaking, and I hope that we will one day be able to talk about it orally and clear up a number of these points. I will attempt only to enumerate some points of contention which are not only mine, but which are also shared by a number of my friends who have read your book:

1—Your intention is significant: to understand how Marxism, a theory of liberation, could give birth to repressive practices: Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. But your book makes use of all the anti-communist cliches and in no way analyzes the problems. You constantly speak of "communism's putrescent smog," of the "theory of slavery," of the "most barbarous regime on earth," of "toxic vapors that befog students." This is not an analysis.

2—The return to Marxism starting with the early texts is a myth. The texts of 1844 are without meaning unless considered within the ensemble of Marx's work.

3—Your historic analyses are often surprising: you associate facts which do not at all have the meaning that you give them; for example, the association of the intervention in Prague with the war in Vietnam, of the 1956 struggle in Hungary with the humanist revolt, of the workers of East Berlin with American Blacks.

4—Your analysis of the degeneration of Soviet Marx-

ism is not radically different from the thesis of Burnham . . .

5—That you were attacked by the McCarthyites does not prove your Marxist orthodoxy. Reich, raving mad, was also prey to these attacks, and he was an anti-Communist.

6—I would like to know your position on the Angela Davis question, for example; What do you think of her ideas?

7—I know little about your past and if you could send me some documentation on your work and your life, I would be happy to speak about it in the future in *Le Monde*.

8—I do not in any way dream of associating you with the present-day Burnham, who, as you say, is truly a neo-fascist.

In the hope of hearing from you soon, I send you my highest regards,

Dr. J. M. Palmier  
Professor of Philosophy and Sociology

October 11, 1971

Dear Dr. Palmier:

Your letter of Sept. 25, 1971, has just reached me in Canada where I happen to be on lecture tour. I was glad to see you dropped any reference to the American roots of Marxism as if that were an invention of mine; also that you no longer refer to Lenin as if I have placed him in the same category as Stalin, Khrushchev and Mao. Now then, the questions you now pose:

First comes the serious matter of the transformation of Marxism, a philosophy of liberation, into its opposite, the theory and practice of state-capitalism calling itself Communism. My theory of state-capitalism was first developed in 1941, was the first study based on original Russian sources—the three Five Year Plans, 1928 to the outbreak of World War II. The study of this data takes up no less than 46 pages (p. 233-278) of *Marxisme et Liberte*, which proceed to prove the operation of the law of value in Russia, and cite such horrendous new features as forced labor camps, all of which was being dished up as "socialism," where the law of value is supposed to be inoperative. Furthermore, the life in forced labor camps, far from being what you

call my cliches, is told in the words of the actual inmates during the uprising in Vorkuta in July 1953. And, may I call to your attention that the title of that analysis is not "putrescent smog" but, "Russia is More Than Ever Full of Revolutionaries" (p. 273).

CHAPTER 13, WHICH sets out the actuality and not just the theory of Russian state-capitalism, does end with an expose also of Russia's (not my) revision of Marx's theory of value. This revision too I had been the first to translate into English as soon as it appeared in Russia in the journal *Pod Znamenem Marxisma* (Under the Banner of Marxism), which had not arrived in U.S. libraries. The debate over this startling revision, which in the United States lasted for a whole year (1944 to 1945), reverberated on the Continent directly after World War II. (One of my articles, "Nouvelle revision de la theorie economique marxiste," appeared in *La Revue Internationale*, 9 octobre 1946. Another and later summation of my position that appeared in French is "Bureaucratization et capitalisme d'Etat," in *Arguments*, no 12-13, janvier-fevrier mars 1959.)

Because the practice of state-capitalism is a great deal more painful than the theory, I stressed in the Preface: "Russian Communism rests on the mainspring of capitalism—paying the worker the minimum, and extracting from him the maximum," (p. 32). Because this is central to my whole work, I proceeded to prove this contention in the context of the book (Part Five). Because theory is not at all the abstraction it appears to be to many, and Marx himself did anticipate such a development if "the law of motion of capitalism" went "the whole way," and because this affected even great revolutionaries who slipped off the fundamental ground of Marx's "abstract" analysis, I also dealt with the question in my analysis of crises developed by Marx in Vol. III of *Capital*. May I call your attention to the end of Chapter 8, which takes up Rosa Luxemburg's theory of accumulation of capital, and contrasts it to Marx's ("Appearance and Reality," p. 151-156)?

SECONDLY, I AM most sorry to see that you believe the 1844 Manuscripts to be "un mythe." This is your (Continued on Page 7)

**Views**

**THE FLQ**

Pierre Vallieres has quit the FLQ and denounced this type of activity. In a letter to *Le Devoir* he said: "No one has the right in the name of whatever theoretical principle to be so arrogant as to implicate an entire people in a confrontation which has all the chances in the world to end up in greater repression for the general population, and for revolutionary and progressive forces in wearing thin or even in complete annihilation." After the publication of his two letters, several "cells" sent out communiques stating that they, too, were abandoning this kind of activity and were reconsidering their thinking.

Correspondent  
Montreal

**HAPPY NEW YEAR?**

The company has been flexing its muscles. They've cut our hours, for the first time in 30 years, cutting us out of more than \$25 a week. They've been putting on the pressure, getting back especially at those who were most active in the strike.

They tell us at Union meetings to file a grievance on anything the company does to you. But when you do that the committee calls you a troublemaker. The union is sitting on the fence between the company and the workers.

To make this union work, we have to make the committee fight for us.

We've gone back to the way it was before the strike. If we let it slip much further, then those five months on strike were just wasted time. We can't let this happen. We can't let the company control our lives—we have to stand together and make the union support us.

E. I. S. Worker  
Connecticut

The first week of the year, 1300 workers at Minneapolis-Moline (who manufacturer tractor and trucking equipment) were laid-off, without warning. They were numb with shock when

I talked with some of them. One young guy said, "Things like this aren't supposed to happen anymore." Nobody knew what to do.

The city library workers have another story. At Thanksgiving there was an open threat to layoff 20 full-time and 170 part-time workers when the City Board of Directors began a fight about funding with the County Board of Directors. The threat continued until Christmas. Then the library workers got together, began to leaflet and talk to people to get some public support, and the city and county system came to a quick and quiet agreement. At least for the coming year, these people seem to have saved their jobs by a little self-activity.

Correspondent  
Minneapolis

After they cut our Christmas bonus, the president and vice-president were afraid to come out into the shop. They have just hired a new manager who is an efficiency expert and whose main technique is to intimidate everybody. The work is a lot harder than before.

There has been some talk about having a union, but some of the workers don't like the idea too much. For one thing, once you sign a contract you're "frozen" for at least a year, and then, most of the big unions don't find it very profitable to pay any attention to a shop where there are only about ten workers. Our so-called "industrial" unions are not very flexible and we could easily get classified out of existence. It would be easy to divide us into seven different unions, ridiculous as that sounds.

There is some fear that the company may try to bring in a union in order to "freeze" things here.

Worker  
Montreal

At about three o'clock, when we white-collar workers are nearly ready to go home, the cleaning women come on the job to begin mopping and cleaning up

the offices. Many of these women are Polish. They are always talking about the uprising of Polish workers against the Communist state last Christmas, when the authorities raised food prices and held down wages. They think this was great, and they want to know why, with wages frozen and prices spiraling, we don't do the same thing here.

Observer  
Connecticut

**OUR MISTAKE**

I just don't believe it! What auto workers got a \$500 raise from the Annual Improvement Factor in the UAW contract!

Engineer  
Detroit

I wish we could get a \$500 raise for our Annual Improvement Factor. But I think you made a mistake. Didn't you mean \$5?

Auto Worker  
Detroit

Editor's Note: Yes we did. We hope, just because we missed the decimal point that our readers didn't miss the point of the Mack Worker's letter.

**NORTH IRELAND**

It would be a ridiculous mistake to identify every Protestant with Orangeism. The vast majority would not be found dead in that kind of company. Orangeism has been kept alive because its existence has suited the purpose of a set of self-seeking politicians of whom Prime Minister Faulkner is one. On one occasion he described the Orange Order as "the background of Ulster." It is a political organization serving the cause of reaction under the cloak of religion.

It was easy to fan the flames of prejudice when jobs were scarce, as they have been since the Stormont government was set up. Membership of the Orange Order brought some advantages to many workers. It was this situation that enabled Tories to reign almost unchallenged for 50 years.

There is a tendency in the working class movement to treat the problem as non-existent. The Orange Order is declining in Scotland, but some try to keep it alive. A number of them turned up in Glasgow to attack those taking part

in our demonstration calling for the end of internment and the withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. A cleaver and a razor were among the weapons they used. We must face up to this very serious threat to working class unity. Remember how Hitler got power.

Harry McShane  
Scotland

In reply to your letter-writer (Oct. 71), who wanted to know why the British anti-war movement didn't raise a demand to "Bring the troops home now!" . . . most groups have posed this demand and initially opposed sending the troops. The Civil Rights' demonstrators in Ulster wanted British troops when the B-Specials and other Orangemen police grouping were operating as a heavily armed force for the persecution of the Catholics. Libertarians said we didn't believe that troops would be impartial . . .

Now, since the Army have been spending an enormous amount of time disarming the Catholics and since there are several hundred Protestant "rifle clubs", withdrawal of troops would involve the danger of a pogrom. That doesn't alter the fact that it is of course the only possible way . . .

I was arrested last Saturday in Belfast, for trying to hand out the enclosed leaflet to troops.

Libertarian Anarchist  
England

Editor's Note: Excerpts from the leaflet, published by the War Resisters' International, appear on page 7.

**"JOE HILL"**

I'd have liked to do a review of the movie "Joe Hill" which just premiered here, but I decided not to because it's so surprisingly good that I didn't want to spoil it for anyone.

You'll have to see it if it gets to Detroit. I say "if" because I have a feeling that Paramount is trying to pull another "Doubleday." The advertising is almost nil—you'd need a pretty sharp eye to catch the tiny ads in the *Daily News*. Workers have to see this film. It is instant radicalization.

Student  
New York



# YOUTH

## Veterans lead Viet war protests

New Jersey—The Statue of Liberty got the headlines and the front page pictures (with an upside-down American flag—a symbol of distress—flying from her crown), but it was far from an isolated act. All over the country different groups of Vietnam veterans were taking actions. Vets reclaimed several monuments of the American Revolution—pitching their tents at Valley Forge and invading the Betsy Ross "Freedom House" in Philadelphia.

At Fort Dix, N.J., a group of vets who had sat down just inside the perimeter had to be dragged off base by MPs. "I thought I didn't have any anger, that I had it together so I just didn't have any left," came the voice over the phone. "But when they started dragging away this guy with no legs and then freaked out and dropped him . . . We almost had violence then."

At Travis Air Force Base near San Francisco, a group of 25 GI's who had recently returned from Vietnam with a promise that they would be sent to hospitals near their home for drug addiction treatment, found themselves spending the Christmas holidays locked illegally in the Travis hospital. Other veterans joined them in occupying the second floor of the hospital for almost 14 hours, destroying much of it, and giving it up again without any charges being placed against them.

Another group seized the South Vietnamese consulate in San Francisco and used the Telex equipment there to send off a message directly to the South Vietnamese government in Saigon.

### IGNORED BY NEWS MEDIA

Several other actions that came off were ignored and hushed up by the establishment press, like the fact that a group had closed down the Chicago stock exchange for an afternoon on Dec. 27.

But on the whole the vets had to be happy with what



—LNS photo

### ANTI-WAR Viet vet splashes own blood over steps of Betsy Ross house in Philadelphia protest.

they had accomplished. The year ended with the war back on the front page—partly through their efforts and partly because Nixon had just resumed heavy bombing of North Vietnam. At any rate, the combination was enough to win them a warm reception from the people who had crowded around Times Square to greet the New Year.

Two hundred fifty vets standing with a coffin and body bags passed out leaflets urging people to make 1972 the last year of U.S. aggression in Indochina. "There were just no bad vibes," one vet explained excitedly. Another group sallied into the nearby Strand Hotel and draped a 28' by 15' banner across its facade. For almost half an hour until 15 tactical police finally gave up trying to catch the culprits and returned to remove it, the banner hung there—"SET THE DATE OR WE'LL ESCALATE!"

—New Jersey VVAW member (LNS)

## DOING AND THINKING

### Ego-centricism vs. mass creativity

By Elliott Douglass

The ego-centric self-styled revolutionist is only concerned with exposing two things, namely his ego and death. Those who impatiently grab at half-baked shortcuts would sooner force the world into chaos than accept the masses as source of creativity for a new society.

The technological advances of science and backward leaps of progress have led the media to declare this an age of "super-stars," "super-powers," "super-whatever." But the only true super feature of our age is its total crisis—politically, economically, socially—which demands total revolutionaries to meet the challenge.

Yet self-styled revolutionists can only see the subjective or individual crisis and, at that, only on a cultural level, as though it meant a shift of scenery or just equal distribution of wealth. If "alienation" were only a question of "culture," Marx should have left the analysis of capitalism where he found it in the beginning, and the true nature of the mass revolts of the last two decades would be obscured. If our "guerrilla warriors" can't see these facts, it is because they never bothered to ask Blacks, labor, women, etc. what they were fighting for.

### "TERROR OF THE COLLECTIVITY"

That verbal brick-bat that anarchists throw out about how mass movements are old hat and never go anywhere, can more accurately be thrown back at them. History shows that anarchist theory is older than Bakunin; even Marx attacked it bitterly in his day. Speaking of the "egoistic anarchism" of Max Stirner, Marx said: "He offers us an additional proof of how the most trivial sentiments of the petty-bourgeois can borrow the wings of a high-flown ideology." (Marx, Collected Works, I, 5, 236.)

Not only do we see that anarchism isn't so "new" and "Marxist" as some claim, but history unfolds the failure of "Bakuninists." The mass creativity of 1917 in Russia, is proof. It is the "terror of the collectivity" that leads to short-cut substitutes for thought and activity culminating in mindless bombings. Where it does not destroy people's bodies, this same "terror of the collectivity" produces destruction of reason through existentialism and other escapisms. Wanting to change society and wanting not to change it, at one and the same time, produces a theoretic void.

It is this theoretic void that has existed since Lenin's death that illuminates the challenges of our era. While self-styled revolutionists persist in their frenzied acts everywhere—be it Northern Ireland or Bangladesh, South Africa or U.S.A., Israel or Egypt, Chile or China—the mass movement for freedom has not stopped either. In the U.S., Vietnam Veterans have taken over the Statue of Liberty and other historic places; more than 200 Black women met in Chicago to discuss Women's Lib; and campuses are buzzing with students tackling serious theory harder than ever before.

With so much of the world crying for liberation, isn't it time for intellectuals to cease squeezing theory from books and revolution from bombs and give an ear to the masses' voices? Otherwise, even ego and death will yet exhaust this planet.

## Israel moves to suppress basic liberties

Israel — Israeli democracy had known hard times in the past. Nevertheless, at least as far as the Jewish majority was concerned, democratic freedoms were preserved and guaranteed. Today we cannot say that anymore.

In full public view, the police are destroying the "Black Panthers," a group made up of North African descendants fighting for rights of Oriental Jews. The police resort to violence in the streets in dispersal of demonstrations, beatings and pressure in jails, and an organized campaign of slander is conducted by the communications media.

A study of public opinion shows that close to half of the Israeli public justifies the demands of the Panthers for greater social justice. Some 40 percent of the public also think that in order to get some demands met by our insensitive rigid establishment, one has to "whack on the table!" Indeed, the very first demonstrations of the Panthers have achieved serious increases in welfare allotments and funds for building apartments for the needy and have created a genuine public interest in problems of poverty in Israel.

The Siah, a new left opposition organization, has demanded from the police a permit to hold street demonstrations in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The very fact that one needs to ask for a permit to arrange for a demonstration is in itself a limit on democracy. The suppression of liberties in our country is not yet comparable to Greece, Egypt or Czechoslovakia, but we are quickly approaching the state of affairs that exists in France, when all real opposition demonstrations end up in street fights with the police, with demonstrators in jail.

Amos Kenan has been sentenced to a 35 day term in a military jail on a ridiculous charge no objective person could take seriously. To jail a reserve service man

over 40 because of an obscenity to an officer is more than a public scandal. It is a sign that we have some "men in power" who can punish a man for most arbitrary reasons.

The incident served as a warning to the whole public of writers and artists: "You are all vulnerable, in one way or the other!"

### STRIKERS THREATENED

Our regime encourages astounding enrichment of the upper strata of the Israeli elite groups. In terms of the situation it is war-profiteering, indeed. Our workers have understood the hypocrisy of all the tales of "tightening belts" and begun to demand a cut in the national economy. Court injunctions were imposed and forced back to work tens of thousands of striking workers under threat of being brought to trial. The workers' wages were plundered by the devaluation of currency and rising prices.

Israel's first anti-strike law has been introduced in Parliament. The minister of defense, Dayan, has demanded a "strong authority" in social matters and has threatened to employ the army. The Prime Minister Golda Meir has hurried to announce that the real danger comes from within—because the Arab armies will never be able to defeat us, but an internal crisis perhaps could.

Almost all the government ministers are striking out loud and with self-righteousness against the crying workers: The enemy is at the gate! The war is not finished and you dare to strike! There is a monstrous logic in such things. The facts and their logic add up to a plain conclusion drawn from Marx's statement: "A people that oppresses another people cannot be free!"

—Mordechai Cafri

"Left Columns"  
8/12 Hanegev Str. Room 203  
Tel Aviv, Israel

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**BLACK-RED VIEW**

By John Alan

**and blacks speak for themselves**

(Excerpts from John Alan's introduction to our newest pamphlet, *BLACK, BROWN AND RED*, see ad on p. 1.)

In the voices that you will hear in this pamphlet you may recognize your own—not only as something that you have experienced, but also as the hunger for a philosophy of liberation that is as strong as the desire for freedom itself. It is this total opposition to the racist and exploitative society we live in that is the key to the problems in society as a whole. It is a cry against a society which refuses humanity its human quality. This need is not a desire for some shadowy abstraction, but has taken the form of a universal movement that would make freedom and reason the reality of the day.

In a most concrete and dramatic way, this seeking for a philosophy of liberation, is expressed in the new consciousness of self that has come into being among Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, women, production workers, students, and prisoners. By their activity they have forced the country to recognize their existence and thereby have made their cause the paramount political and the philosophical question of the day.

**SOLEDAD BROTHER** George Jackson, in the crisis of his imprisonment, discovered himself, his mind, and the world. He wrote in *Soledad Brother* that he and other Black inmates were "attempting to transform the Black criminal mentality into a Black revolutionary mentality." The crucial point is not that the Blacks at Soledad and Attica consider themselves "political prisoners," but that jails and penitentiaries are now included in the totality of the American capitalist crisis. And at the very center of this prison crisis, as in other facets of American life, is the Black Dimension with its consciousness of the need for radical social change.

**MARX LONG AGO** pointed out that man's consciousness is determined by his social existence, but at no time did Marx construe this to mean that man could not, by his activity, change both his consciousness and his existence. If, by achieving self-consciousness, man becomes aware of his oppression, he also becomes aware of its opposite, freedom. And it is this, the very idea of freedom, that has spurred men into both practical and theoretical activities toward that end.

The Black mass movement toward liberation always carried with it a movement toward "totality," that is to say, not only a change in the relationship of man to man,

but a change in the very quality of man himself. Franz Fanon saw the purpose of the African revolutions as, not to create another state, another Black bourgeoisie, shaped like the European bourgeoisie, but to create an entirely different man. What Fanon was getting at, in the context of the African revolution has been the crucial problem facing both Blacks and whites in this country.

**IT IS NOT** by accident that from his jail cell Soledad Brother George Jackson opposed the wild use of anti-white epithets and demanded that Blacks recognize that there are revolutionary allies among the whites. As he put it: "Who is the Black working for, who does he love when he screams 'Honky'? He would throw us into a fight where we would be outnumbered 1 to 14 (counting the Blacks who would fight with/for the other side in a race war). War on the honky, it's just another mystification . . ."

What this pamphlet aims to do is to bring the philosophy of revolutionary Marxist-Humanism into a direct dialectical relationship with the movement for liberation which is coming from Black people and other minorities, women, colonial peoples, and above all, the working masses who are the power that will decide the birth of the new world of men and women.

Black people today are living in the age of Nixon. Nixon is attempting to turn back the clock, attempting to re-segregate the schools, leading the most racist attacks against Black people on the welfare issue. White labor is also living in the age of Nixon, feeling the weight of all his anti-labor attacks, and angry enough to act.

**THIS PAMPHLET** does not pretend to have all the answers. What it does hope to show is the direction needed to work out the answers. The worker who tells of "A Black Worker's Life" wants to know: "What are we going to do about the things that are happening? We've been talking about organizing some kind of caucus. What we need is for workers to feel that somebody is behind them."

What we hope is that this pamphlet can become part of the mediation between the Black caucuses, the Chicano organizations, the associated Indian committees, the youth, the anti-war forces, the women's liberation groups—all directed to uprooting capitalist society, root and branch—and creating, at the same time, a new truly human society.

—John Alan

**TWO WORLDS**

(Continued from Page 5)

privilege, of course. However, I did not leave the question of the *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* (Chapter 3 of *Marxism et Liberte*) to its formulation by Marx in 1844, or to the Russian attacks on it in 1955, but carried through the Humanism of Marxism throughout the four volumes of Marx's *Capital*, to which I devote no less than four chapters. Thus, Part Three, "Marxism: Unity of Theory and Practice," lays heavy stress, not on the Humanism of 1844, but on "The Humanism and the Dialectic of Capital, Vol. I (1867-1883)." Again, it is impossible to divide theory from practice, and not just in Marx's day but in our own, when we deal with Marxism.

Therefore, what I emphasize is the actual appearance on the historic stage of Marx's Humanism in the Hungarian Revolution, 1956. It has remained front center on that historic stage ever since. I was most pleased to have been one of only three Americans asked to participate in the international symposium, *Socialist Humanism*, edited by Eric Fromm. I regret that you see no relationship between the Russian counter-revolutionary interventions in East Europe, either in Hungary in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the barbaric American imperialist actions in Vietnam. I doubt that those who have to live under Russian totalitarianism in East Europe see no parallel in these two imperialisms. And it is a fact that the American masses—Blacks and youth mainly, but not so distant from the rank and file labor as is made to appear—who are fighting their government's savage imperialism against the Vietnamese people, do see a parallel.

**NOR IS THIS** parallel seen merely for "propaganda purposes," as in the moving letter from a Birmingham jail in 1963 by Martin Luther King, Jr., who drew a sharp parallel between U.S. racism and Nazism, on the one hand, and on the other hand, between the Hungarian revolutionaries and the Black revolutionaries. Last year, for example, when the Polish workers rose up in strikes and demonstrations against their conditions of labor, we witnessed demonstrations in sympathy here.

In any case, insofar as I am concerned, I do not believe in the theory of the lesser evil. The one time that I participate in any actions with Communists is when the reactionary American government strikes out against revolutionaries here, especially Blacks. Thus, in the question that you raised about Angela Davis, I am of course part of the Free Angela Davis movement. This needs further explanation because I do think there is a misunderstanding in your conception of what my anti-Communism supposedly leads to. I fight the Communists, whom I consider state-capitalists, globally. Being an American revolutionary, this in no way stops me from fighting American capitalism.

As you no doubt noticed, Herbert Marcuse, who introduced my work, disagrees with me sharply, particularly on the role of labor, and I disagree even more sharply with him. Yet he felt that my analysis of "the Marxism oeuvre" was such an original contribution that someone in academia must introduce it. At the present moment, the C. P. is carrying on the most vicious campaign against him, but this has not stopped him from working for the freedom of his most important protegee, Angela Davis. In a word, neither of us consider either that we should hide our differences, or that our differences should keep us from working together against capitalism.

**YOU WILL PARDON** me if I do not go into still another discussion of Burnham. I would like to believe you when you say, "I do not dream of associating you with the present day Burnham." Why then have you dragged this neo-fascist into our discussion, when he nowhere appears in my book, and I am damn sure I nowhere appear in his? My theory of state-capitalism, which was never separated from its opposite, workers' revolutions, was never his, and his theory of managerial society, which he had considered "the new society," was never mine. Wasn't it bad enough that I had to explain my "past" (which has always been a revolutionary past) for *Le Monde*? Why should I again have to sink down to Burnham's ground of argumentation? Can't you see that *Le Monde* does publish my public answer?

Yes, I would like some day to meet and discuss more with you in person, but you must realize that I have suffered through many slanders and relegation to the status of un-person, both in Russia and the United States, ever since I became Leon Trotsky's secretary at the height of the most infamous Moscow Frame-Up Trials in 1937. I trust, therefore, that our dialogue can continue on the ground of my own work rather than on the ground of Other.

Yours sincerely,  
Raya Dunayevskaya

**British War Resisters' league appeals for troop withdrawal**

(The War Resisters' League has opposed all armies for over 50 years. It has leafleted American soldiers. In 1968 it sent teams to Moscow to protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. It has taken relief supplies to Bangla Desh. We print below excerpts from the leaflet recently given to British troops in Ireland.)

An Appeal to British Civilians and Soldiers to end repression and bloodshed in Northern Ireland.

- We urge:
  - 1—End internment and release all political prisoners.
  - 2—Withdraw British troops.
  - 3—Recognize the right of all people to self-determination.
- We appeal to all British citizens to consider the following actions:
  - If you are a civilian, write letters, give out leaflets at army barracks, displays and recruiting centres.

If you are a member of the British Army, make your views known . . . other actions may be extremely difficult. We are not in your position and can only raise questions.

If you are given a posting to Northern Ireland, try to find ways to avoid being sent there.

If you are already stationed in North Ireland, we appeal to you not to carry out inhuman orders.

. . . Consider whether you can in conscience remain in the army . . . The Algerian war came to an end partly because it was opposed by hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen, including soldiers, who refused to take part in it. Today the opposition of American people and American soldiers could bring the Vietnam war to an end. Your actions could help to end the bloodshed in Ireland.

—War Resisters' International  
3 Caledonian Rd.,  
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By Eugene Walker

## WORLD IN VIEW

## E. Europe—workers decline in Communist party

(Editor's Note: From our East European correspondent we have received the following report of the composition of the Communist parties.)

The Communist parties' claim of representing the working class is belied by their own statistics. Data made available in recent months by the Czechoslovak and Polish CP tell a story quite different from what these parties are publicly imposing on the already distrustful public.

Poland's *Trybuna Ludu*, the official party paper complained: "As recently as in 1956 workers were a majority in the Party. However, the years that followed witnessed a systematic decline in their numbers and beginning in 1959 the workers ceased to be the most numerous group. Attempts at remedying this situation brought no results. In 1970, workers have represented not more than 40.2 per cent of the membership. . . . Still less favorable was the workers' share of the party activists and officials."

In spite of the fact that roughly 900,000 workers

have been admitted to the party, their number declined relatively, for more than 51 percent of this number have been expelled.

The article explains these fluctuations by "deformations of social life" like the gap between the party leadership and the working class, "limiting of workers' democracy, lack of reaction to workers' criticism and workers' demands."

In Czechoslovakia, a similar picture can be shown for the Czechoslovak CP. Just before seizing power in February 1948, this party had 1,400,000 members. In an effort to secure its grip the CP started a drive for new members as soon as it took over the government. One of the steps in this direction was the absorption of the Social Democrats. Members of the Social Democratic party were offered the possibility to apply for CP membership before the end of August, 1948. Less than a third, 113,000, became Communists. However, over 115,000 members of the Czech Socialist party — a rightist petty-bourgeois party—were admitted as CP members. In the summer of 1948 the CP had more than 2,500,000 members. In 1946, workers represented 57 percent of the

membership. In 1948 after the big drive was completed, their share fell to 40 percent.

Between 1948 and 1955, the membership declined steadily, so that in 1955 the party had about 1,000,000 less members than in 1948. The percentage of workers fell as did that of farmers. On the other side, the "white collar" groups (officially called "engineering, technical and administrative personnel") made up 14.2 percent in 1956, but 23 percent in 1966.

No exact data have been published after 1968. A great part of the intelligentsia either left the party in 1968 or was expelled afterwards during the purge in 1969 and 1970. But according to newspaper reports a great part of those purged were workers as well. It seems, to be sure, that in spite of the emphasis now being put on increasing the share of the workers in the party membership, this share does not exceed today the 40 percent reached five years ago. Thus contrary to its claim, the Czechoslovak CP does not represent the working class, neither by its program nor by the composition of its membership.

## Africa

**SOUTH-WEST AFRICA**—Six thousand Africans have been carrying on a work and hunger strike at Winkhoek, capital of South-west Africa. The strike is over the contract labor system which workers say pays them a basic wage by white employers of less than \$15 a month. South-west Africa is illegally under the administration of South Africa.

**RHODESIA** — Hundreds of Black nationalists organized by the African National Council held a silent demonstration at the Salisbury Airport as the British commission to test the acceptability of the terms of the new "independence" settlement landed. The African National Council was formed in Rhodesia after the African nationalist parties, the Zanu and Zapu, were banned and their leaders put in detention or restriction. The demonstrators gave their answer to the new agreement by signs which called for "No sellout," and "One Man, One-vote".

## Asia

**LAOS**—The Plain of Jars until recently provided a living for a population of more than 20,000. It is now empty. Here's a brief description of what less than three years of intensive U.S. bombing has done to this rural area:

"In large areas the original bright green has been

destroyed and replaced by an abstract pattern of black and bright metallic colors. Much of the remaining foliage is stunted and dull from the use of defoliants. Black is now the main color of the northern and eastern reaches of the plain. Napalm is dropped regularly to burn off vegetation, and fires burn constantly, creating giant rectangles of black. During the flight plumes of smoke could be seen rising from freshly bombed areas.

"The main routes into the plain are mercilessly bombed apparently on a non-stop basis. There, and along the rim of the plain, the dominant color is yellow. All vegetation has been destroyed and the craters are countless."

Fighting in Laos has continued intermittently for 20 years.

## West Europe

**ENGLAND**—Some 280,000 coal miners have struck in the first national walkout since 1926. The immediate issue is that of more pay. The miners have watched their position drop over the years, from the highest paid industry to their present rank of 16th.

The National Coal Board which runs the nationalized industry has offered a small raise in wages and an additional small increase pegged to productivity increases. The call for productivity increase

will mean still more men replaced by machines and those that are left having to work harder.

The situation in British coal mines has some similarities to what has happened to the American mines in the fifties. Over the last ten years the British miners have seen their numbers drop from 536,000 to 280,000 and the number of working pits decline from 669 to 290. Throughout this period of devastation the miners were constantly held up as "models of responsibility", since they did not hold any nationwide strikes to protest job elimination. What it has really meant is that many of the top union leadership, Communists and right wingers alike, have taken a "don't rock the boat" attitude over the years and more or less let management have their way. Meanwhile the workers have suffered.

What support the workers will have from other trade unions and what the union leadership will do this time is not clear.

**GERMANY**—The German economy is in a slow down. Industrial production is falling and will probably be less in 1972 than in 1970. The gross national product gain is likely to be from 1 to 1.5%. The increase in foreign trade is very low. Along with this slow-down, unemployment, while low compared to other western countries, is 184,000 and beginning to be a problem. Some forecasts predict the jobless will be at 400,000 by the end of winter.

## Nixon's program guarantees conflict at home and abroad

(Continued from Page 1)

have been transformed into nations of millions of refugees, much like South Vietnam (see editorial, p. 4).

Nixon will not escape the consequences of his Vietnam War any more than did President Johnson. And further compounding Nixon's election problems is the overriding nightmare of the growing army of the unemployed.

The New Year's greeting from General Motors Corporation to over 1,000 mostly skilled workers in their Fisher 21 tool and die plant in Detroit was that all of the workers would be laid off and the plant closed within a few months. A sign carried by a picket protesting the action asked the question "IS THIS PHASE III?" Unemployment, according to official statistics at yearend, rose to 6.1 percent of the labor force — or some 5.5 million U.S. workers out of a job.

For the year, unemployment averaged 6 percent — the highest for the past 10 years. But this tells only a part of the true story. In every major industrial city in the U.S. — Pittsburgh, Detroit, Newark, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Seattle, Birmingham, Gary — the unemployment is often more than twice the national average. In Detroit, for example, the unemployment rate is 14.2 percent of the work force. In the inner city area, where most Blacks live, unemployment is nearer the 30 percent mark—while among the Black teenagers, one Detroit councilman estimated unemployment to be as high as 70 percent!

This is not unusual. The same pattern emerges in every one of the industrial areas. Unemployment keeps climbing — and the Blacks are hardest hit.

## ECONOMIC CONTROLS

As for the economic controls Nixon ordered in August, it is ridiculous for Nixon to talk about the voluntary cooperation for his wage and price controls. In the first place, the capitalists control the payment

of wages — and they were very eager to freeze workers' wages. Especially if workers had raises coming to them.

As for price controls, there simply were none. Unlike the capitalists who control workers' wages, the workers do not control capitalist prices. The capitalists also control those, and they did pretty much what they chose to do. They could do this because President Nixon had told them they could when he said there would be no enforcement machinery to check on the controls.

On the other hand, the labor leaders are supposed to represent the interests of the working class. Unfortunately, they have become arms of the Nixon administration. They did so when they agreed to participate on the pay Board. After they did that, Secretary of Labor Hodgson said it all when he declared that now that they were on the Board, "it was their responsibility to make it work." In short, the so-called labor leaders are now a part of the state apparatus which has as one of its main goals the control of the working class.

## LEADERS FAIL WORKERS

Leonard Woodcock, UAW president and one of the Board members, can criticize the Board president as being unfit for the job and threaten to go to the courts to get the Aerospace workers their negotiated wage raises. But what court is he going to take it to? He should know better than anyone that such an appeal will surely go to the Supreme Court — Nixon's Supreme Court, packed by his own appointees. In the meantime, the Aerospace workers, already hit by disastrous layoffs, are waiting to see if Woodcock will fight. It is clear that the administration deliberately chose the group hardest hit by unemployment to test Nixon's wage-ceiling game.

Along with putting labor leaders in his hip pocket when he set up his domestic economic policy, Nixon took action against the foreign capitalists who were competing effectively against American industry. His import tax of 10 percent threatened every trade nation doing business with the U.S., and served notice that Nixon was determined to take care of his capitalists at home — no matter what the cost in international relations.

The results have been staggering. Unemployment is rising in all of the European allied countries. Moreover, one of the most misleading statements — or outright lies — coming from this administration, is that the dollar devaluation will have little effect on the economic life of Americans. Many imports will cost 12 percent more — and the U.S. does an import business of over \$45 billion a year, of which more than half will be affected. This means an added cost to the American consumer of nearly \$3 billion that will be tacked on to the price of imported commodities.

In the meantime, the nation's cities are dying. Federal revenue sharing schemes proposed by Nixon will result in nothing. Every major city faces a chronic crisis. Schools have closed and public services have been slashed. At the same time, the welfare rolls are rising because of Nixon's ruinous economic policies. More of the same is inevitable.

In the shadow of the death of the American cities and of its people, President Nixon's priorities center on one point — to be re-elected as President. This he hopes to do primarily by opposing school busing to achieve an integrated educational system in the U.S. He is counting on white racism to divide the forces opposing him. The only way to keep Nixon from rolling back the clock of history is for these forces—especially labor and the Black masses—to coalesce and make the forward leap in history, instead.