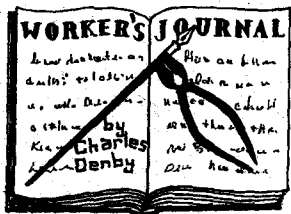


**ON THE INSIDE**  
**Marxist rebirth or revision?**  
**Critique of Ernest Mandel**  
 by Raya Dunayevskaya—p. 11  
**Anti-War demonstrations—pp. 7, 8, 9**  
**LA teamster-student strike cooperation—p. 2**



**The face  
 of fascism  
 in the U. S.**

by Charles Denby, Editor

Nothing in the history of this country has divided the minds and thinking of the American people as much as the Vietnam war. And nothing has pushed their thinking and action further apart than Nixon-Agnew's remarks about people who have opposed the war.

Never before have so many innocent young people been murdered on the streets and on school campuses. The Birchites and the KKK who have infiltrated all the law agencies in this country have been more than willing to carry out the hints that Agnew and Nixon have thrown out in their speeches about student dissent. What else did Nixon mean when he called them "those bums in the colleges," and said that the only good young people are the boys in Vietnam, that they are the only ones "standing tall."

**WASTED FOR NOTHING**

There are about 20 workers in one group in our shop, who work the same job. The majority are black, but there are several young whites, and most of the black workers felt they were racist and supported Nixon's policies—until a week ago. Then one of these young white workers came in and told us that one of his younger brothers had been killed in Cambodia. One of the black workers said sadly, "Will Nixon say his death was because he was standing tall?"

This young worker said that his mother received the news while she was in a hospital. He said, "She used to oppose those who demonstrated against the war. She resented hippies. She always talked of how proud she was of her son in the service. But now she said that if my two younger brothers are called she may take them to Canada, or let them take their chances in prison, instead of wasting their lives for nothing."

All the workers in the department pitched in and collected money for flowers for the family, and when this worker returned after the funeral he shook every worker's hand and thanked us all warmly.

**WORDS WITH NO MEANING**

When Nixon was campaigning for the presidency, he kept yelling that what this country needed most was a leader who could pull the people of the country together. What he did not say was that he wanted to pull them together in line with a fascist philosophy. He said he had a plan to end the war in Vietnam. One of the workers in our shop said he read an article that words will not have any meaning by 1978, and another worker said Nixon has beat the gun because his words have no meaning now. Workers call Nixon the greatest liar who has ever held office.

When the news broke about the murder of the stu-  
 (Continued on page 11)

10¢

# NEWS LETTERS

*'The Root of Mankind Is Man'*

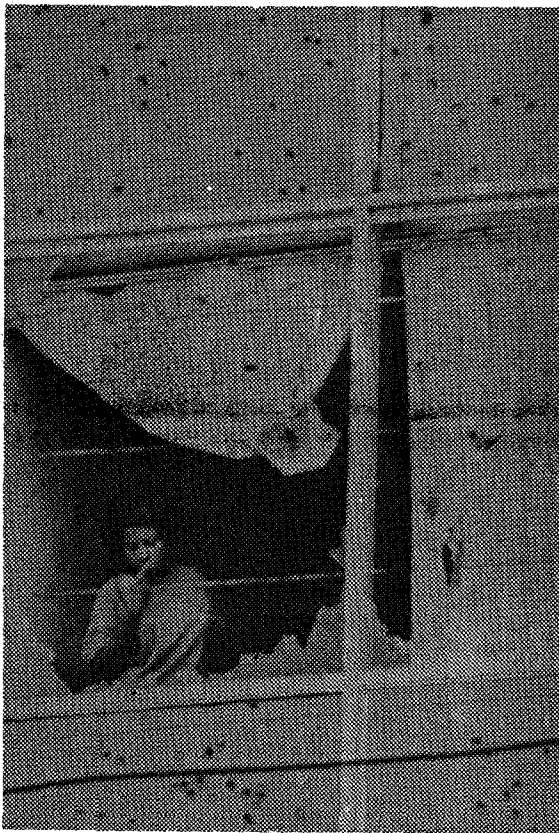
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**Editorial Article:**

## NIXON'S WARS AT HOME AND ABROAD



Riddled dormitory at Jackson, Mississippi.

By Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairman,  
 News & Letters Committees

Inseparable from Nixon's April 30 speech about the invasion of Cambodia is the preventive civil war he is unleashing against the American people. His excuse is an ominous one: "We live in an age of anarchy both abroad and at home."

Nixon's call for attacks against the anti-war movement as well as against the oppositionists to his whole strategy of war, recession, and racism, became all too obvious in the massacres at Kent, Ohio, on May 4, at Augusta, Ga., on May 11, and Jackson, Miss. on May 14.

It is necessary to begin with the events in Augusta, rather than Kent, because the events there expose the total deafness of these United States to the peaceful revolution that had been going on down South for a whole decade. The sudden hurried trip of our neo-fascistic Attorney General, John Mitchell, to Mississippi "to investigate" must not, under any circumstances, be permitted to wash off the blood from Nixon's custom-carved Southern strategy.

**TORTURE AND MASSACRE IN AUGUSTA**

On Saturday, May 9, a black 16-year-old, Charles Oatman, was tortured with cigarette burns on his feet, hands and buttocks and beaten to death in a jail cell. When the word got out and the blacks were getting ready to march on the city-county building, the white establishment suddenly filed charges against two black inmates for that murder.

The black demonstrators proceeded peacefully enough until they saw the state flag with its Confederate bars and stars, whereupon they tore it down and burned it. It is at this point that the cops, under the notorious Captain James G. Beck, moved in for the confrontation that erupted. They fired into the crowd and six unarmed "rioters" lay dead. The 25 wounded were likewise shot in the back.

Typical of the "rioters" is one of the dead—Charlie Mack Murphy, a 39-year old father of four, who had just left his miserable \$60 a week job, to go to his mother's for dinner. He had but recently returned home from Fort Lauderdale. His mother, Mrs. Carl Mack Murphy, wept bitterly as she spoke: "You know, it seems like he came home just to die."

This is U.S.A. May 1970, as Nixon's Southern strategy, and his imperialist Cambodian invasion, coalesce to bear witness to the new strategy of preventive civil war.

SCLC's Reverend Abernathy has called for a mass march. We will see whether it will be as massive as the demonstrations against Nixon's Cambodian invasion and massacre at Kent, Ohio.

**ANTI-WAR MASS DEMONSTRATIONS**

Great as was the outpouring of opposition to Nixon's Cambodian invasion and killings at Kent, the 100,000 who marched in Washington, D.C. on May 9 were only part of the thousands who marched throughout the country.

The dominant new feature that compelled even the double-tongued, deaf, superpatriot in the White House to listen was the sequence of events that began, not in Berkeley or New York, not in Los Angeles or Wisconsin, but in the heretofore staid mid-American small town, Kent, Ohio.

On April 30, just as soon as Nixon finished his forked-tongued speech about the U.S. imperialist invasion of Cambodia that "was not an invasion," the students took to the streets.

The second day, President Nixon, at the Pentagon,  
 (Continued on page 4)

## An urgent appeal to our readers

Nixon's wars at home as well as abroad are nothing short of an attempt at preventive civil war. They are an attempt by Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell to crush the forces for freedom and silence the voices of revolt that have been raised across the land. The Administration's extreme move to the right demands intense, total opposition and activity on the part of everyone—especially the Marxist-Humanist Left.

Our unique combination of worker and intellectual is attempting to work out a new relationship of theory to practice, which is urgent for the new stage of the anti-war movement that is not only against capitalism, but for a new world.

This special 12-page issue of NEWS & LETTERS—the first in our 15-year history—was demanded by the times. It will cost us over \$650 for printing alone. We have published it, though we do not have the funds to pay for it, because we are certain that our readers will help us raise the needed funds. They know that this is the only place the voices of labor, blacks, women and youth are heard not separated from a philosophy of freedom.

To stop the preventive civil war against the American people, the question the American movement must face is not just "solidarity" with blacks. What must be grasped is the vanguard role of the black masses, now and throughout history. The black masses are of necessity proletarian. It is no accident that News & Letters is the only paper of its kind anywhere edited by a black production worker. It is no accident that we are working with

white workers, as well, in their opposition to the labor bureaucracy. It is no accident that our pamphlet of Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices, is the only one that includes the voices of black women and working women in an attempt to help work out a theory of liberation for that movement.

We hope your response to this urgent Appeal for financial help will not only:

- 1—help us pay for this special issue, but
- 2—enable us to print an expanded version of our pamphlet on Women's Liberation, the table of contents of which appears on page 10, and
- 3—reprint our out-of-print pamphlet, American Civilization on Trial, which remains the only work anywhere that tells the true history of black and white America: the black masses as touchstone of history. We print an excerpt on page 6.

PLEASE, GIVE AS GENEROUSLY AS YOU CAN!

**NEWS & LETTERS**

415 Brainard St., Detroit Mich. 48201

I enclose.....as my contribution to help N&L  
 Name .....,  
 Address .....,  
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Students answer appeal of Teamsters Union workers in Los Angeles and join them in picketing.

## Wildcatting L. A. teamsters out six weeks

Los Angeles, Cal.—The idea of students on our picket line is great. That is the only time we got publicity and I think shook up the company. Unfortunately we didn't get the students four weeks ago when we were stronger.

We began our strike over the failure to include sick leave in the contract. I don't think the company was so worried about the issue as they could have taken that out of the cost of living. It is that they wanted to break the local. They had a lot of help. Help from the government, help from the NLRB, help from the employment office, the police department, rent-a-cops, scabs and even other unions.

About 400 work in this barn (Western Carload). All of us went out. After six weeks maybe about 30 went back in. The rest were scabs. At the most they were moving 20 per cent off the docks. We walked out for sick leave. We were all fired, and the strike became for amnesty. I know we didn't like the national contract. Maybe the company is not trying so much to break the union as to try and break the men.

### COMPANY POSITION

The students were absolutely great. You see they (the company) don't want the students around here. I think that is why they began to give guys papers with their seniority back. Before, they insisted that to come back you would have to first sign as a rehire. This was after they had given us termination slips.

The next step was a couple of days ago, after the students had been down and after we had gone up and shut down S.F. The company would now hire with full seniority and you didn't have to sign anything. If you had signed as a rehire it would be admitting that you were wrong. It would have meant loss of seniority. They could have fired you in 30 minutes if they wanted to. You would be on a 30 day probation period which could mean you would be let go after 29 days. I think it was the students on the line that made them restore the offer for seniority.

They were still trying to tear us up. They were giving some guys return slips with seniority, but others weren't going to get back in. The company was trying to pick and choose who they wanted back in. Say they took 80 per cent back, then they can fill in with the scabs.

Six weeks is really long, especially with no strike pay. A lot of guys were having financial problems and some began to go in now that the company was offering full seniority. I decided not to go back until I saw my

chief steward. We went out for sick leave which we have been trying to get since 1955. We haven't got it yet.

### ALL BACK OR NONE BACK

Now everybody is going back. This is because most of the men who went in for one day right after they got restoration of seniority didn't go in the next day when they found out that all the men were not hired back. The company was forced to take everyone back with full seniority.

We didn't get the sick pay yet, but we didn't lose any men. The students were a big help, and the actions of the men that all get back in or none of us ought to go in were the two things which stopped the company from picking and choosing.

—Striking Teamster

## Students join teamsters on wildcat picket line

Los Angeles, Calif.—Several hundred college students from UCLA and other southland college campuses joined wildcatting teamsters on the picket line at two trucking docks—Western Gillette and Western Carloading. With the strikes on college campuses over the invasion of Cambodia and the killings at Kent State, many students felt that the strike action should not be limited to the campus, but should try to move to other areas.

At UCLA some students saw the teamsters wildcat as a concrete and meaningful way of moving off the campus. The teamsters were limited by injunction to two pickets per gate and were thus helpless in stopping scab drivers taking their rigs right through. But 200 students on the line would be a different thing. So for more than a week the students were on the line before 6 a.m. at Western Carloading, a dock normally employing about 400 workers. The students marched at the gate for two to three hours with large numbers of teamsters watching from across the street rooting the students on.

Between eight and nine in the morning the company would try and run a convoy of 20 or so trucks through the line. With the help of about 20 cops, who pushed the students away, they would eventually get through. But the whole scene was great for the teamsters who saw the students on the line for them, and it was great for the students who saw the teamsters yelling at the cops to leave the students alone. And it really shook up the company who had all the bigwigs out early in the morning trying to get the trucks through.

I went to a couple of other docks where teamsters were wildcatting. The first thing the men wanted to say was for us to bring some students down to their barn and help shut it down. They were really enthusiastic and closely following what the students were doing at Western Carloading.

During the strike at UCLA and at Western Carloading several teamsters came to the campus to talk to students and gain their support for the strike. It may have been the first time rank and filers had had a chance to talk with students. The strikers also issued a leaflet asking for student support on the line.

The wildcat and the strike at UCLA are now both over, but the unity was a good beginning which should not be lost, but built upon.

—Striking student

## SWP office in L. A. vandalized

Los Angeles, Cal.—The offices of the Socialist Workers Party here were fire-bombed on May 27 by a group of men carrying guns. Four people were in the office at the time, but all, fortunately, escaped injury.

The neo-fascistic attack on the SWP headquarters cannot be dismissed as the act of an isolated madman. It was done by a group, in broad daylight, wearing no masks. Clearly, they felt at home in Mayor Yorty's city, in Governor Reagan's state, in Nixon-Agnew country.

In expressing our class and socialist solidarity, which we are sure will be shared by the whole Left, no matter that the ideological differences, what is important for the American people to see is that the line from Nixon's barbarous Southeast Asia war leads straight to a budding fascism at home.

## Columbia U. workers walk out to protest war

New York, N.Y.—There is a caucus of workers at Columbia which meets Sunday nights, and at our last meeting somebody brought up Cambodia, which had just happened. We talked and talked about it, but we couldn't decide what to do, so we did nothing then. The next day, Monday, the students had a big strike meeting—2,000 people or more—and several of the students were saying they should add some local demands about the workers to the three National Student Strike Demands.

We were so frustrated that one of us got to the mike and made an announcement that if 2,000 workers cross the picket lines, there really won't be a strike at Columbia. We said we couldn't speak for all the workers, but we asked all those workers present to come together in another room.

Thirty workers showed up—many new faces to us—and after a long discussion of the war and the student demands, we decided we didn't just want to support the student strike but wanted to do something as workers. Since we knew we weren't representative of anyone but ourselves we put out a leaflet calling for a mass meeting of workers for the next day.

We were really amazed when 200 or more workers showed up the next day. We went to the Business Manager's Office, and demanded a one-day paid Moratorium just like the students and faculty got. When he arrived, we presented our demand; he thanked us for our concern and said he'd answer in about an hour.

### STRIKERS RANKS GROW

While he was gone, we left a group in the Low Library Lobby and sent the others back to their departments to round up support. There were about a dozen people left inside, and they were really frightened that the others wouldn't come back, but at about 3:00 the others came back, each bringing a few people with him, so the group had really swelled to about 500 workers.

Then Nye, the Business Manager, came back and said we could, of course, have a day off, but, of course, it would be charged against vacation pay. We told him we were sorry, but he was penalizing us while the faculty was getting paid for not working. He said he couldn't do any more, so we said we would take our own Moratorium day and fight about getting paid later. In the meantime, we informed him, we would take the rest of the day off.

After that, the workers and about 3-400 student supporters began marching through the libraries. Most of the workers there got their coats and joined us; in fact, almost the whole library except for supervisors walked out. We then marched to the cafeteria to talk to those workers, but the supervisors gave us a hard time there and this depressed us a bit.

### WORKERS SET DEMANDS

That night 60 of us held a meeting, endorsed the three national demands (making clear we spoke only for ourselves), and decided to set up picket lines for the next morning. The next day, the library was shut, except for supervisors, and in the computer center the operators (1199 members) got together with the (unorganized) programmers and told their bosses that they were "taking the next three days off as a Moratorium on work and to discuss oppression both at home and abroad."

The next day, Thursday, while the students were having a big rally on campus, the Building & Grounds workers were demanding that their president (Local 241) demand a Moratorium too. He stalled them for an hour by pretending to be on the phone, then told them if they walked out they would be on wildcat. Fifty to 75 of them gave him their answer by walking out of the meeting with clenched fists shouting "On Strike." Also, that day the whole cafeteria walked out.

On Thursday night, Local 1199 got into the act and called a chapter meeting of Columbia workers to say that they were calling for a one-day Moratorium on work against the war and because Friday was to be a day of mourning for the Kent State students. This passed unanimously, and we even forced the union to fight for pay for that day.

On Friday, 241 had a meeting, but the president had not informed the membership of it so those on strike were told by the president that they could not pass any resolutions because they didn't have the membership there.

### SOMETHING NEW IN THE AIR

We don't exactly know what's going to happen on Monday and after that, but we do know that if so many Columbia workers can walk-out over the war—including cafeteria workers who won a union after 30 years of struggle and Buildings and Grounds workers in a company union which has always been quiet, make their political views felt like the computer center workers; force their union to back them; maintain unity on the lines of race, skill, and sex; and join the student strike as equal partners; then, something very new is "in the air" and needs to be unlocked.

## Teamster leaflet appeals for student picket help

### ATTENTION ALL STUDENTS!!!

We are inviting any and all college students, who wish to help support our cause for striking. As you know, this is an unauthorized wildcat strike. We are fighting for our jobs and our livelihood. Our families are suffering unnecessarily when all we are asking is sick leave and amnesty for our Drivers and Dock Workers who, because of this strike, have been terminated.

Please, we are pleading with you who, better than anyone, can understand our cause, to help us as we are in dire need of all the support we can get. We now have approximately fifty students helping us, but we need more! As many more as we can possibly get!!

So again, please . . . We know you are fighting a cause in which you believe. So please take it from there . . . we too are fighting for what we believe in. Just "X" number of sick leave days and amnesty for our Drivers and Dock Workers.

AGAIN!!! We beg you for your support. Our families are suffering.

WE NEED YOU DESPERATELY AT "WES-CAR TERMINALS."

Rank and file members, 208 and 357, thank you for what we hope we will get . . . YOUR SUPPORT!!! AGAIN, PLEASE . . . YOUR SUPPORT! What happened in New York will not happen here.

TEAMSTERS PROTEST COMMITTEE



# Wildcats shut auto plants for Reuther funeral

Detroit, Mich.—As soon as the company announced that they were going to shut down the production lines for three minutes the day of Reuther's funeral, many of the workers at our plant got angry. They felt that if half of the things they were saying about Reuther were true, the company ought to show more respect for him than a three minute shut down.

Many workers began to talk about shutting the plant down for the whole day. When Emil Mazey went on TV the day before the funeral pleading with workers to stay on their jobs because Reuther wouldn't want us to stop production, they got even angrier. The guys were all talking about walking out at 9:30.

## KEY DEPARTMENT GOES

The older workers weren't really sure what would happen because the union and company have been cracking down so hard on workers for wildcatting over the last few years. But the biggest department in our shop, the key production department, is mostly young black workers. The morning of the funeral, as it got closer to 9 o'clock, these young workers began yelling to each other, "48 more to go," and then, "30 more to go," and finally, "10 more to go." Everybody knew this was going to be a real walk-out this time.

Finally, a little after 9, one of the workers yelled out, "That's it." And that was the last job they did. Almost the whole plant walked out. Other plants shut down completely. And in Flint, several of the places didn't go in at all.

## TALK—AND PRACTICE

During the following week, many of the workers discussed Reuther's death. One production worker said that anybody with human feelings regrets the death of

someone you know, especially somebody who has gotten some concessions for the working people in the UAW. Another one said that as soon as someone passes on, all people want to talk about is what he did that was good in his life. He said all the talk now is about how good Reuther was to the working man. But he felt it was all a cover-up on the part of the companies and the union.

"All the things they say he got for us from the auto companies, they have got back double and triple-fold," he said. "He was smart, and one of this country's best speakers. But how much of what he said was put into practice?"

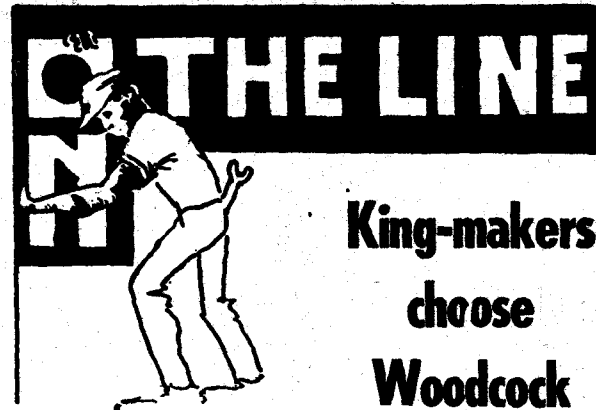
Another worker agreed: "Just look at the runaway shops, and speedup, and foremen working, and intimidating workers in production. Reuther yelled loud to the public that he was against this, but anytime the workers tried to put a stop to it, and put his words into practice, they would find themselves without a job. Many workers have died from overwork, and every new contract, when we got a few cents raise, the speedup has gotten worse. We produce more to pay for every raise we get."

After listening for a while, even the chief steward and the committeeman who were in on the discussion, had to admit that these workers were right.

Whitney Young probably gave the best eulogy for Reuther at his funeral. But he was outside the union, and never worked in production. It is true that Reuther was always giving money to black organizations and to the civil rights movement. He was always willing to talk up for equal rights when other leaders wouldn't. But it was his direct action that lagged behind.

The things the workers talked about will never be mentioned in any eulogies, or talked about much in public. Only among workers in the shops.

—Black worker



## King-makers choose Woodcock

By John Allison

Over a 24 year period, all UAW members had learned to live with Walter Reuther, for better or worse. That was the relationship the membership had with Walter. Now has come the painful experience of getting a new president. The guessing is finally over, and Leonard Woodcock is now the leader of the whole UAW.

This writer has talked to many workers about the question of a new leader for the union. Workers have been saying that there was really no choice involved, that seniority worked for Woodcock. The UAW seems to work like Congress. Come hell or high water, when the final time comes for a decision, the king-makers fill the jobs.

## NO RANK-AND-FILE CHOICE

It really doesn't make any difference whether someone else would do a better job. I feel that Doug Fraser was the first choice of the rank and file. But the rank and file was bound and gagged in this decision. They had no choice. The Executive Board spoke alone.

The fact is that the rank-and-file know that this change of leadership won't change the conditions in the shop. It will be more of the same on the production line. Some workers say it will be different outside the shop—that Woodcock will not speak out as strongly as Reuther did, and will be more conservative.

Most of the Union Reps have been saying that it is Emil Mazey who is calling the shots, and that Leonard Woodcock is his man. Until the fog lifts a bit, the membership is just waiting—in hope, but with lots of doubts.

It will be a long wait until the convention. In fact, all the contracts will be signed before we have a permanent president of the UAW. We already know that the UAW president is asking the auto makers to check-off double dues for three months to build a strike fund big enough to strike any of the Big Three auto companies. It is like taxes. Once on, you go through hell trying to get them off. So it will be with the new temporary dues structure for strike action.

## Chrysler truckers wildcat against time-study tyranny

Detroit, Mich.—"It got so that we couldn't stop for a cup of coffee without getting a foreman's report with time off," said one of the 500 truckers who staged a 3-day wildcat strike that crippled production at many Chrysler plants.

The strike brought out the union reps, trying to talk the picketers into returning to work, but the picketers weren't talking to anybody. Many grievances had been turned in and ignored by the Union. The ones the Union did take up it couldn't win. The workers decided they had had enough talk.

The trouble started when Meyers, the assistant head of transportation, and his time study engineers started pushing everybody. Everything is down to a specific number of minutes. "It's gotten so that you can't even go to the john because you have only eighteen minutes to switch trailers. Meyers never drove a truck in his life. The times he expects us to get from one plant to another are unsafe. I haven't had an accident, and I want to keep it that way."

On the fourth day of the strike the company got an injunction that barred picketing and threatened arrest for anyone who did. The workers have gone back but everything is very tenuous. The company is playing it cool. Already some workers have gotten back pay for time they got off for being written up. The strike has enabled the Union to win grievances it couldn't win before.

### Attention, N&L Readers!

Our supply of **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**, by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, is almost completely exhausted. We have back orders for several hundred copies from universities who wish to use it as a text. **CAN YOU HELP US LOCATE COPIES?** Please let us know where copies of any edition might be available.

# FROM THE AUTO SHOPS



## Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — At Mack they have huge freight trains that come right inside the plant to load the frames. They have a tractor that brings out the racks and loads the frames into the car. Well, a switchman was riding on the back of the first car backing in, and he was looking forward, giving the directions to the engineman.

They have some switches there that I'm absolutely positive haven't worked this year. But when a train comes in, a light is supposed to flash. It didn't.

There was one truck from Illinois loaded at the time the train was backing in. The truck was pulling out, and the train hit the cab of the truck and just squeezed it against the wall and hit this switchman. He was caught against the wall, and he stayed there for an hour and a half before they got him out. He was crushed from the waist down.

Everybody ran to help. My foreman came over and told me to go back to work. He said, "We can't stop the line just because one guy got hurt." Those were his words and it made me so sick I wanted to leave the plant.

They finally got the doctor from first aid, but they claimed they didn't have a hi-lo large enough to get the freight car off the track.

After they got the man out, and took him to the hospital, he died. But when it first happened, the guy was looking pretty good, normal. But after a half an hour, he turned blue, like all the blood stopped circulating. It took them that whole half an hour just to get a doctor to him. And Chrysler talks about safety!

Some big shots from the railroad company came out. The first thing they asked was about the switches—if they were working. So then the company got all the foremen and said: "Tell every worker to keep his mouth shut." The railroad officials knew the switch wasn't working, but the company claimed that it had been broken in the accident when the train hit the truck. They will lie about anything.

—Mack worker

## Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—Many of us in the Dearborn Assembly Plant are asking where Local 600 stands on the question of "30 and Out." Some workers went to Hood, the building chairman, and asked for leaflets and buttons on "30 and Out" to show Ford that we were united on this. He said no.

Then the Education Committee took up a collection in the shop to buy the buttons on their own. They bought 1000 buttons and asked the local to pay half the cost. This is \$15!

When the buttons came, workers lined up to get them. By 11 A.M., they were all gone and many more brothers wanted them. Several workers in my department asked the committeeman why he didn't have a button. The committeeman went around saying "This is undermining the union." Everyone knew that they were not really behind "30 and Out."

At the membership meeting Hood got up and agreed to have the local make up 2500 buttons. But he still refused to pay the \$15. He would never have done anything if the workers hadn't gone and made the buttons themselves.

—Black D.A.P. worker

Detroit, Mich.—The wet sand job has been changed over to dry sand and everyone is talking about the way the workers on that job have been treated. The company switched to dry sand just so they could save money on rubber gloves, boots and the water bill.

The dry sand job is still plenty dirty. But now Ford has taken away the 18 minutes prep time (clean-up) that they had before the switch. Now they get no clean-up time at all.

One of the workers put in a grievance on the loss of the prep time. But the union refuses to fight this grievance. At a union meeting, O. C. Elston told the wet sand workers that they had better not push the grievance because the company could cut their wages 10c an hour. Isn't this intimidation, just like the company?

—Production worker

## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Fleetwood is going to be down from July 2 to Aug. 23. This is one of the longest change-overs we have ever had. Last year's was only 3 weeks. I am really looking forward to a rest; I don't care how long we are down.

All year the plant has been hell. The politicians who talk about the "quality of life" don't know anything about the life in the auto shops. It doesn't have any quality.

This is why "30 and Out" is such a big issue this year. The union has made it second priority, but many workers, especially on the day shift, think it should be Number One. They say, "You can't last forever at Fleetwood, and 30 years—that's still a long time. What is left of you after 30 years in this hole?"

I am wondering if the union leadership is really going to fight for "30 and Out". A lot of young workers aren't waiting 30 years—they are trying to find ways to get out of the plant now while they still have their minds and their bodies.

—Second Shift worker

**Editorial Article:****NIXON'S WARS AT HOME AND ABROAD**

National guard bullets at Kent State College in Ohio killed four and wounded 11 students. Commanding officer in civilian clothes, at right, calls orders.



(Continued from page 1)

stressed the other inseparable aspect of the war speech—the war against American youth at home by referring to the dissenting students as “bums.” The students at Kent showed their intense opposition by burning down the ROTC building.

The third act of the confrontation began with Governor Rhodes' declaration of martial law—of which the students showed their disdain by gathering for an anti-war rally at the football stadium surrounded by National Guardsmen. It was then that the full fascist face of the Commander-in-Chief came through as the National

**Striking students turn toward labor, seek dialogue**

Wesleyan U., Middletown, Conn.—“Workers in the labor movement have been fighting for justice and human rights for over a hundred years; we university people have only recently joined the struggle, and we should remember this when we go out to talk to workers,” an activist told a group of striking students at a state-wide meeting here last week.

“We have our three demands: free Bobby Seale and all political prisoners, pull out of Southeast Asia, and university complicity with the war machine, and naturally we want to talk to people about them,” he went on. “But we must remember that we have a lot to learn from workers, who know more about political repression and exploitation, as well as organization and struggle, than we do. What we want is a dialogue.”

**STUDENTS TALK TO WORKERS**

The student strike was here at Wesleyan, a small liberal arts school, even before the news of the Kent State massacre reached us. We set up an open “town meeting” with an open mike, and by the end of one day, the whole community had voted nearly unanimously to join the national strike on the three demands. Almost immediately, everyone wanted to turn out into the community and various canvassing committees were set up.

The labor contacting committee was one of the first to get moving, but we realized our task was the hardest and meant working through the summer. We knew we had a lot to learn and many prejudices to overcome. Our first decision was to make sure we had both blacks and whites, men and women, workers and intellectuals involved in our work. Our second was to spend at least a few days listening to workers before our activity began.

Students fanned out to bars and coffee places near local factories to listen and find out what workers were saying. We also brought some workers in to our discussions. Several students had worked in the area and had contacts, especially students from Middlesex Community College, the working-class school in our town, with

Guardsmen (who had heard a right the Commander-in-Chief's reference to the American youth as “bums”) felt free to shoot into the unarmed gathering.

So totally isolated is the White House tower from the American people that Nixon still had the gall, 24 hours later, to talk out, not against the trigger-happy National Guardsmen who shot down the four youth, but against student “violence that invites tragedy.”

**“AN AGE OF ANARCHY”—NIXON'S**

The-shocked and dismayed national outcry at Nixon's callousness was so loud that it finally penetrated those impenetrable walls of the White House. Nixon's alter-ego,

whom we worked closely. Classes in labor history were held.

**ADVICE SOUGHT ON LEAFLET**

We recognized that contacting workers around our demands was not the same as just canvassing neighborhoods, since workers had a long tradition of organization and political discussion and were organized as a real force at the workplace. Our idea, contrary to the calls for worker strikes issued by Williams College, was that workers think their own thoughts and organize their own actions, which entail more risks and are more effective than anything students can do. We did not presume to tell them what to do, but presented our own ideas, listened to theirs, and tried to work toward an alliance.

Even such a simple thing as a leaflet was subjected to this method. Several drafts were written and then submitted to local workers for comments and changes before being discussed by the whole committee. The finished product was very different from what we started with after the workers added their ideas.

At the same time, we began asking workers and local union people for a chance to come and talk to them. Meetings with stewards in the machinists (IAM), with hospital workers, technicians, and aircraft workers were held. Although some people insisted on calling us “Com-mies,” much of this dialogue was fruitful and new relationships between students and labor are being created.

The students, some of whom were put off by incidents like the N.Y. construction workers' attack on an anti-war demonstration, were mainly surprised at the sympathy many workers showed toward them and by their willingness to talk and listen. They were also surprised at the concreteness and sharpness of the issues workers raised.

**Italians blast U.S. war move**

Milan, Italy—Needless to say, the decision of the U.S. government for total war in Cambodia has left the world thunderstruck. Immediately after Nixon made his incredible speech, demonstrations in all of the larger cities of Italy as well as in many smaller towns broke out.

These demonstrations have continued and enlarged with the demand for an open condemnation of the U.S. government's policy in Indochina by the Italian government. Naturally there were also signs and slogans of solidarity with the U.S. youth who immediately made plans for the March on Washington. The workers in some of the larger plants have gone on strike for the same reasons, strikes that usually last around 15 minutes for each turn of work.

One of the most unexpected results of the entire scene for Italy, however, was a speech made by the Secretary of the Italian CP, who made a plea in a pre-election speech for Russian-Chinese unity in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism.

**NIXON'S SPEECH HELPS MAOISTS**

This can only mean that the leaders of the Italian CP have understood one of the multitude of effects that Nixon's speech has made upon many people: that is, that many now wonder if the Chinese are not “correct” to spend their money for inter-continental missiles rather than for their 700 million hungry people.

It seems incredible that one person could create such chaos in almost one breath.

Spiro Agnew, was still cold-bloodedly declaring the tragedy at Kent “inevitable” when Nixon felt the boomerang sufficiently to call for a press conference “to explain.”

Far from explaining the tragedy, much less how the objective situation had so changed in the 10 days since he last announced that he would withdraw 150,000 GIs from Vietnam because “we finally have in sight the just peace we are seeking,” Nixon tried to present U.S. imperialism as the “peacemaker of Southeast Asia.”

Though he was now in front of TV cameras, and, supposedly, ready for a “dialogue” with dissenters, Nixon was, in fact, brazenly repeating the double-tongued description of the invasion of Cambodia that “was not an invasion,” even as he claimed that “bums” supposedly referred only to “violent rioters.”

The hypocrisy of his sadness at the death of the martyred young—Sandy Scheuer, William Schroeder, Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller—oozed out from the soft-spoken Nixon as nauseatingly as from the shrill-voiced Agnew. In a word, nothing, nothing at all could cover up the neofascist “democracy” of the Commander-in-Chief and his self-appointed moralist, Spiro Agnew, any more than the hawk-nosed Mitchell could keep his war-mongering diatribes issuing from his foul-mouthed wife.

It is clear, moreover, that Nixon, in opening the Cambodian front, was also having global dreams. It becomes necessary, therefore, to look at the Southeast Asian war in a world context.

**THE SINO-SOVIET ORBITS**

Now that our imperialistic government has committed its greatest blunder by the expansion of the Vietnamese war, we must face both the developing civil war in Cambodia, and its relationship to the Sino-Soviet orbits.

The satellite that China sent into orbit April 24 was the beginning of a new stage of world relations. The two nuclear titans, looking for single-word mastery, have become three. In no sense, therefore, can the Chinese feat be dismissed as “still not measuring up” to the two global powers. Whether the two state-capitalist powers calling themselves Communist will act as a unit on the Cambodian front, or follow separate paths to global conflict, the revolutionary opposition to war must not be tied to any state power if it is serious about uprooting exploitative class societies.

Truth is concrete and each conflict must be examined in itself as well as in a world context. In the specific Cambodian war, we need first to look at the new role not only of U.S. imperialism, but also of Prince Sihanouk. Having failed to establish a mass base for himself as a “neutralist” among the Cambodian peasantry who were, above all, concerned about their own poverty and misery, Prince Sihanouk is ready, via China, to collaborate with the “Red Khmers” who, if they should not be able to overthrow the new militaristic regime, can establish guerrilla bases in the countryside.

Or so Sihanouk hopes, on the conditions that North Vietnam and the Pathet Lao also aid. In any case, Chou En-lai met with all these forces to plan the next strategy. And Mao has just issued “warnings” about World War III.

This new alliance did not go unnoticed by the most reactionary governments in Southeast Asia, who responded to a call for a new “anti-Communist front” by that most murderous and counter-revolutionary regime in Indonesia headed by General Suharto. Thus far, nothing came of it, but U.S. imperialism is looking favorably at its antics. It becomes necessary once again to return to the home front and examine the conflicting forces at work here.

**MISSISSIPPI, AND AGNEW'S NEO-FASCIST “DEMOCRACY”**

On May 14, some 75 white racist cops and highway patrolmen in Jackson, Miss., facing a group of black male youth clustered before a black women's dormitory at a state college, “heard sniper fire” and began shooting up the dormitory. When the bullets couldn't penetrate the walls, they turned their guns against the unarmed males on the street. Phillip L. Gibbs, 21, a student at the school, and James Earl Green, 17, a high school student, lay dead. 15 others were injured.

The racist mayhem is not unconnected with Agnew-sticks such as “the spawning ground and sanctuary of the movement is the American University.” So great a favorite in the South has Vice-President Agnew become that he was chosen to be the featured speaker at a Confederate memorial.

Kent, Ohio, Augusta, Ga., Jackson, Miss.—12 dead and some 28 injured—all this has happened in the first two weeks of May, long before the hot summer has started, long before the student youth who will graduate will

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### Nixon's toll at home

In less than two weeks, early in May, the following Americans were slain in Nixon's war at home:

- Allison Krause, 19 — killed at Kent State, Ohio, May 4.
- William Schroeder, 19—killed at Kent State, Ohio, May 4.
- Sandra Scheuer, 20—killed at Kent State, Ohio, May 4.
- Jeffrey Miller, 20 — killed at Kent State, Ohio, May 4.
- Charles Oatman, 16, — killed in the Richmond County jail, Georgia, May 9.
- William Wright, Jr., 18 — killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.
- Sammie Larry McCullough, 20—killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.
- James Stokes, 19 — killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.
- Mack Wilson, 49 — killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.
- John Bennett, 28 — killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.
- Charles Mack Murphy, 39 — killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.
- Phillip L. Gibbs, 21 — killed at Jackson State, Miss., May 14.
- James Earl Green, 17—killed at Jackson State, Miss., May 14.

first find no jobs waiting for them, and long before the labor contracts will expire this year of recession.

Whether it is warmongering National Guardsmen, or racist cops who shoot, bayonet and beat and burn youth to death, the point is: who is inciting these "law and order" men to perpetrate these lawless and murderous acts? Who inspired the New York police to look the other way as some racist construction workers attacked the anti-war youth?

Who, if not the Agnew-Nixon Administration, is manipulating an alleged "silent majority" to lash out against the youth "with no more regret than we should feel over discarding rotten apples from a barrel"? If such Agnewsticks are considered vice-presidential prerogative, his "freedom" no less, then why shouldn't the armed Establishment feel they have the license to act against radical youth that Agnew dares call "the criminal Left that belongs, not in a dormitory, but in a penitentiary"?

And what is the purpose other than fascistic brainwashing for the studied and persistent attacks on the mass media, especially the TV, as they photograph these super-patriots and racists in their nefarious acts against dissenters? Who other than Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell — those polluted minds and foul mouths — have made "manhood" synonymous with warmongering, and recorders of facts synonymous with "an effete corps of impudent snobs"?

Where do we go from here? Is it possible to conclude anything else from these gory events than the fact that the President and his alter-ego have, from the moment they got into the White House, been preparing for the undeclared war abroad to be extended into a civil war at home?

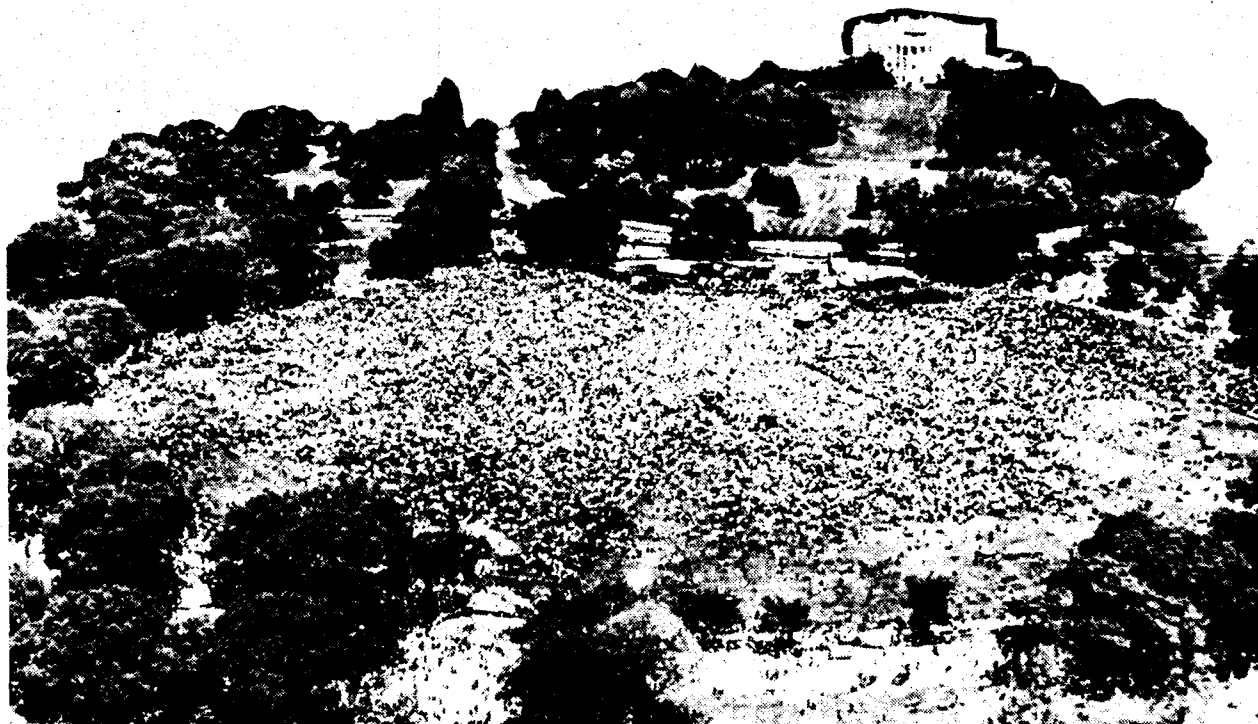
### LABOR, RECESSION AND WAR

Now that Nixon has shown that his wars abroad are but extensions of his wars at home, it becomes imperative for the New Left, the anti-war movement, the black liberation movement and women's liberation movement to take a second look at themselves, at their theoretical as well as practical activities, for there are danger signals here too. Not only is there an attempt to divert the anti-war movement into the political field — to vote for "doves" — there are also elitist opponents of labor who play up the fact that some construction workers had beat up anti-war youth demonstrators.

There is no doubt that the building workers' racist union, along with some longshoremen under Mafia control, are outright reactionaries who must be fought. But to portray these as characteristic of the labor movement at this time when strikes on the part of white and black workers — from the postal workers to the teamsters and from the teachers to the welfare workers — are at their most militant, is to fly in the face of the facts, as well as to fall into the old divisive capitalist trap of separating worker from worker, and workers from intellectuals.

Of course, there are some workers who oppose the anti-war demonstrators. So does part of the student body. Of course, there are some sectors, like the construction workers, who are reactionaries. So are the "Young Americans for Freedom." Neither facts can possibly take away from the full truth and that is that a whole generation now opposes the imperialist war games, the capitalist planned recessions and the racist fabric of American life.

More characteristic of the present stage of intensified strike and anti-war struggles are the two Los Angeles Teamster locals who distributed leaflets in opposition to the construction workers and, at the same time, asked the students to help them in their wild-catting against both management and the labor bureaucracy (see p. 2).



From his White House in the background, Pres. Nixon saw and heard the more than 150,000 who massed on May 9 to oppose his war-spending policies in Indo-China.

At the same time, it is clear that the struggle against the war must deepen to the point where it concerns itself with the struggle against the whole system which produces war — capitalism.

This stage of heightened labor struggles comes at a time when even the administration cannot hide either the fact of rising unemployment, or that the inflation continues despite the planned unemployment. The economic crisis in the country is inseparable from the growing black unrest. These two movements must be joined with, rather than kept poles apart from, the anti-war struggles.

### STUDENTS MUST LISTEN TO WORKERS

Some of the student Left better ask themselves why it is that, as against the mass demonstrations for the Kent martyrs when no less than 426 campuses were shut down at least in part, only 40 black students, and no whites, gathered at the University of Mississippi campus

at Oxford to protest the shootings at a Jackson college. It behooves the white students to contrast the fact that black students at Tuscaloosa sat down spontaneously to show their solidarity with the Kent students. But, thus far, few white colleges have sprung up to demonstrate their solidarity with the blacks.

Along with the revolutionary black dimension, what is needed in the expansion and intensification of the anti-war movement, is for the youth to begin to listen, seriously to listen, to the questions that workers raise. Thus, some of the workers who did not march said that they were definitely opposed to Nixon's war, wanted all GIs out of Southeast Asia, but did not wish to march under a Vietcong flag (see page 6). They were for self-determination of the Vietnamese people, but did not want to make it appear that they preferred Russia or China to the U.S.A. In a word, they were asking for an independent stand, both against the war and for labor's rights here, against both private capitalism and state-capitalism, which calls itself Communist.

The pragmatism that permeates the "unideological" Left, who consider any unity of anti-war forces to be above an underlying philosophy of liberation, cannot for long shut out concern for the international ramifications of the latest stage in the Indo-Chinese war as well as, and, above all, for the objective revolutionary forces and their search for a totally new way of life.

Marxist-Humanists know that the class enemy is at home. But they also know that, just as no country can be seen outside of a word context, so none can be separated from the underlying philosophy which will give the spontaneous actions of the masses their direction. In a word, the freedom struggles cannot be separated from the philosophy of freedom since only as they are united can the creation of the new go hand in hand with the overthrow of the old instead of, once again, having the revolution go sour the day after the conquest of power.

To fill the theoretic void in the anti-war movement has become a matter of life and death as we fight the repressive forces unleashed by the Nixon Administration against not only its open opponents, but against the masses who, in order to live at all, must fight recession and racism.

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PERSPECTIVES REPORT of the National Chairman to the NEB Meeting of News & Letters, Aug. 30, 1969.

### THE NEEDED AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

I Attitudes to Objectivity, to Science and to Philosophy

- 1. Bankruptcy of petty bourgeois thought.
- 2. 1969 is not 1968 either in France or China: either in Russia or Czechoslovakia, or the U.S.A.

II Black is Beautiful AND Revolutionary

III Dialectics of Liberation

- 1. Sheng-wu-lien (Hunan Provisional Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance).
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**WORKERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES ON THE WAR**

The auto workers at Mahwah, New Jersey do not all agree about the anti-war demonstrations. But just because some are opposed to things the students have been doing, it doesn't mean that they are for the war.

One worker told me that he was very much against the war, but he could not march behind a Vietcong flag. He said he didn't think what they had in Russia or China was any improvement over what we have here. From the things he said, I think he understood a lot more about war and capitalism than the college students that carry those Vietcong flags to every demonstration.

Marcher  
New Jersey

It was a good sign, I think, that the first two things Woodcock did when he was elected new president of the UAW were, first to go join the SCLC March in Georgia, and second to admit that he had been wrong to support the war when it first began, and say that he completely opposed it now.

Here on the West Coast some 451 different union members just signed a newspaper advertisement opposing the war.

What we need now is some action to back up the right words that a lot of the nation's labor leaders are now expressing.

Observer  
California

The Assembly Building at Ford Rouge has voted to support the anti-war demonstrations on May 30, but the union leadership is refusing to do any publicity about it. We are sick and tired of the union talking and not doing — so we have decided to organize the publicity ourselves. Nearly every worker in the Assembly Building is for the anti-war movement.

Black Worker  
Detroit

The men at the mill are disgusted with those construction workers in New York. We think the union is behind what happened there. Meany showed his true colors during the fight to get black workers into his union last year.

The construction workers may be great at the flag-waving now, but just wait to see what will happen if they don't get the kind of contract they want next year. They won't be waving the flag then, you can bet.

Black Steelworker  
Pittsburgh

I think it isn't only Nixon, but also Meany, who has met his Waterloo on Cambodia. We just gave Jacob Potofsky, the president of our 417,000-member union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a standing ovation for his speech to our convention, when he blasted the war policies of the Nixon Administration — and slapped down Meany and those construction workers who are pretending they represent "labor."

Mr. Potofsky said, "Our members, like the majority of all Americans, want peace. And they want peace now, without delay, without further military adventures, without more killing." He was right.

Garment Worker  
New York

Your May issue — though it came out before the construction workers got the headlines in the daily press—proves that they don't speak for labor.

A construction worker from Local 455 spoke to 3000 City College students expressing the opposition of many workers to the war. This other side hasn't been played up in the press. I think it's because Agnew has succeeded in cowering them.

The difference in the response of the media to the deaths of blacks at both Augusta and Jackson, and the deaths of the Kent State students was also painfully obvious.

Disgusted  
New York

# Reader's

**NORTH AMERICAN AVIATION**

Charges are being filed by a group of workers at North American Aviation, charging the Union and company with bilking the members out of their Extended Layoff Benefit payment, of \$75 each year up to 15 years. There have been heavy layoffs and downgrading at NAA plants.

Under the contract, the company was to set aside \$5.20 per month per employee, until a total amount of \$150 per employee was set aside. The charge against the company is for not paying the laid-off members with IOU's to be picked up when the fund has money in it again. Douglas is doing this and they are about four months behind in their payments at this time.

The charge against the union leaders is for fraud in not telling the members the truth on Feb. 22 at the Union Hall, about the possibility of the company paying in IOU's. Another charge is for providing an illegal ballot, because we had only one place to mark yes or no and we were voting on two things — ELB and dental plan.

A further charge is for not providing for the membership to watch the counting of the ballots as provided in Union By Laws.

NAA "Rank & File"  
Los Angeles

**GRAPE BOYCOTT**

The arrival of Union grapes will be sometime in the early part of June. The small percentage of growers under the contract (five percent) will make it difficult to determine which stores will be selling them. The consumer will be the key to success in policing the union grapes.

The help of our union brothers is needed more now than ever. Please ask your readers to enlist the support of the Retail Clerks and the Meat Cutters Union to report on the labels at their place of employment. These are the names of union grape growers: David Freedman Co., Charles Freedman, Wonder Palms Ranch, K. K. Larson, C. C. Larson, Roy Smeds and Son. The Union Label will be the only guarantee that the grapes have been picked under decent, sanitary conditions, safe from dangerous pesticides.

United Farmworkers  
Delano, California

Editor's Note: In Detroit report non-union grape sales to 2500 Howard St. Telephone 825-4811.

**MAKE SURE THE GRAPES YOU BUY CARRY THIS UNION LABEL!**

**TEACHER'S STRIKE**

I'm a reluctant radical, but I've learned a lot from our strike here.

We've experienced pure hatred from some of the local parents. The PTA is run by the people who live in \$30 to \$40 thousand split-level homes. Most of the students are bussed in. We've sent a letter to the 80 percent of the people who live in the canyons, most of whom are poor. The key is to get community support.

We succeeded in closing the school for one day because the principal is on our side. Most of the faculty is on strike, and most of those still at work sympathize with us.

In Pacoima, at a crowded ghetto school, teachers went door to door to tell people what was happening. Many of the parents support the teachers.

Striking Teacher  
Los Angeles

The students are right about the war. No war is good; I know because I was in Korea—the first "dirty war" that nobody remembers. Nixon is crazy if he really believes he can end one war by starting another.

But, as much as I hate war, I love my country; and those demonstrators who marched on Wall St. had better learn not to knock America when they criticize Nixon's policies. I was standing on the street as the marchers passed the construction sites. The workers there were wrong to throw down stuff. But I also saw some kids spit at workers.

The one who's really to blame is Nixon and his generals, who think of people as pieces to move around on their big checker boards.

Longshoreman  
New York

We have noticed that white workers were friendlier than they used to be, when we sold N&L at the auto factory gates here the week of the demonstrations last month. (The black workers have always been sympathetic.) The last time we had such a big sale at Chrysler Mack, for example, was last October, when we sold papers at the gate the day of the Moratorium.

Committee Member  
Detroit

The shock of the four murders at Kent State sent my blood-pressure sky-high. I recalled the three years I spent in the Illinois State Guard in the early 40's. I wasn't a socialist then, but I remember that at the threat of a race-riot in Chicago I informed my racist father-in-law that my sub-machine gun would spew at him if he attacked the blacks.

White Hospital Worker  
Michigan

There's been a campaign on here about "flying your flag." The U.S. Steel Company and Alcoa both got honors for being big patriots. What the steelworkers want to know is this: if they're so darn patriotic why don't they start paying their taxes instead of skipping out of it with all those loopholes?

Steelworker  
Pittsburgh

What will Americans gain in all the wars to take over other countries, when so many Americans are being killed and losing their souls? They will never come back to enjoy life here. This war is destroying other peoples' lands and our own.

The old rulers seem to think that the young people of America should do as they did in other wars, when they came back they could still say, "This is the greatest country in the world." Who could say that today?

The young people are not listening to the old rulers today. The black people are not going to allow themselves to be taken as fools. And now there are also a good many white women who are saying that white men will have to give up their old ideas that they are the greatest and are meant to be the boss over everyone. They all want to know why black people and women should be made to do all the hard work?

The white man is not having things go his way any longer. And there will not be peace until we all have equality and live in freedom on this earth. That is something the white man had better learn soon.

Ethel Dunbar  
Detroit

You can't say Nixon didn't do what he promised. He got the boys out of Vietnam—and sent them right to Cambodia.

Septuagenarian  
Philadelphia

**From 'American Civilization on Trial'**

(Below is an excerpt from our pamphlet, *American Civilization on Trial*, now out-of-print. We hope, with your support, to be able to reprint it in the near future. See *Appeal*, page 1.)

Negro Slave Revolts had reached a certain stage with Denmark Vesey in 1824 which led to a new approach to the attempts to gain freedom. An Underground Railway, which was neither underground nor a railway, was organized in 1825 to conduct runaway slaves to freedom in the North and in Canada. The following year the free Negroes organized the Massachusetts General Colored Peoples Association. Its paper, appropriately called *Freedom's Journal*, appeared in 1827, with its first editorial announcing, "Too long have others spoken for us."

The vanguard role of the Negro in the struggle for freedom helped bring onto the historic stage the most extraordinary of all phenomena of American Civilization: New England Abolitionism. The year that William Lloyd Garrison founded the *Liberator*, 1831, was the year also of the last and greatest of the Negro slave revolts—that of Nat Turner . . .

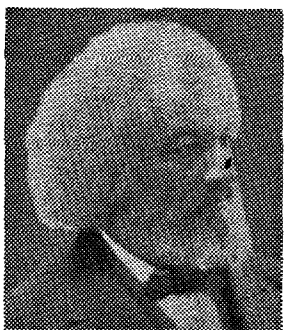
The movement renounced all traditional politics, considering all political parties of the day as "corrupt." They were inter-racial and in a slave society preached and practiced Negro equality. They were distinguished as well for inspiring, aligning with and fighting for equality of women in an age when the women had neither the right to the ballot nor to property nor to divorce. They were internationalist, covering Europe with their message, and bringing back to this country the message of the Irish Freedom Fighters . . .

Nothing has superceded this merger of white intellectual with the Negro mass with the same intense devotion to principle, the same intimacy of relations of white and black, the same unflinching propaganda in face of mob persecution—and even death—the same greatness of character which never bent during three long decades of struggle until the irrepressible conflict occurred, and even then did not give up the fight but sought to transform it—and succeeded—from a war of mere supremacy of Northern industry over Southern cotton culture to one of emancipation of slaves.

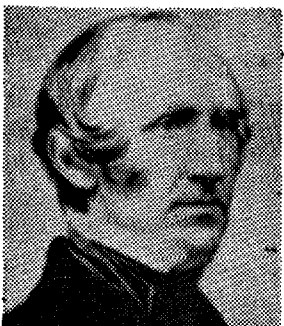
(From Part I: from the *First through the Second American Revolution*)



Harriet Tubman



Frederick Douglass



Wendell Phillips

# Views



Reprinted from News & Letters, March, 1968

Andrew Young gave a group of high school and college students here a lot to think about when he told them that the "intemperate statements of the Republican administration must be credited with establishing the climate which resulted in the deaths of four students at Kent State"—AND that if American students had become as aroused over the deaths of black students in Orangeburg South Carolina, two years ago as they did white students, the Kent State massacre might not have happened.

I suddenly remembered the picture you carried on your front page after those South Carolina slayings. How many more bullet-riddled bodies will this country endure?

Student  
Atlanta, Georgia

The cops in this country are on a rampage. Everywhere. You never hear about it unless it is so big — like the Augusta, Georgia or Jackson, Miss., or Kent, Ohio killings — that it makes headlines. But it goes on in every single black community all over this country.

A 14 year old black youth, Harvey Lewis, was just shot and killed here. Nobody was arrested, and the black

## PROTESTERS REPORT FROM M.I.T., WASHINGTON, COLUMBIA U., PHILA., RUTGERS, CAL., CONN., DETROIT

The situation here at MIT is very special because there is so much war research going on at this campus. The Administration has tried to "outsmart" the protest against itself by converting it all into protest against Cambodia, and then against the Kent State killings. (They don't worry about Augusta, or Jackson State.)

But three important things have happened. First, during the march to Harvard Stadium we got sympathetic support from many workers along the way — including a construction worker who waved us on from the top of a building.

Second, the truck drivers have all honored the student picket lines. And there are signs everywhere reading, "When students strike, there's no school. When workers strike, there's no war."

Finally, and maybe most important, MIT employees, who were not given time off for the march, demanded and won the right to have two-hour meetings every day to discuss the issues, and have organized them by themselves. They have been going on every day for several weeks now. They are very open meetings, with lots of discussion, and the political level of these meetings seems much higher to me than the student meetings.

Instructor  
Boston

Very few people were buying any papers at the Washington demonstration. Many groups were giving their papers out free but people were just taking them and throwing them away — the ground was covered with papers. The feeling at the rally was that this was not a time to read. I didn't agree because I feel ideas are very important to the Movement now, but there was nothing else to do but listen to the speeches.

The best point made by the speeches was the point about black-white soli-

community is positive the cops were responsible for the death. Several hundred blacks gathered — and were accused of "harassing" the cops, of course. How many more will be murdered until we put an end to it?

Angry Reader  
Kansas City

It was absolutely fantastic that Agnew chose Saturday, the day of the Washington demonstration, to dedicate a huge monument to the Confederacy.

Nixon doesn't give a damn what people think. The administration is just trying hard to make cleavages between what the students are doing against the war, and what the blacks are doing and what labor is doing.

Reader  
New York

Isn't it strange that Maddox "discovered" right away that "communists" caused the Augusta disturbances, and the next day that "the Panthers" caused it — but hasn't been able to discover yet which policemen shot the six black men in the back?

Reader  
Pittsburgh

delphians who weren't there were thinking of little else than Cambodia and the campus murders that day.

On my way home from the rally, a perfect stranger, a well-dressed woman about 50 years old, came over to sit next to me on the subway and talk with me about the situation in the country. I can never remember anything like that happening to me in Philadelphia before.

Marcher  
Philadelphia

Many people seemed to be very new to peace demonstrations. There were almost no interruptions of the speeches — many of which bored us because they did not seem to reflect the new stage of the situation and the new urgency felt by so many people.

We liked the speech by Jane Fonda because it was very concrete — she talked mainly about the GI movement and how we could support it.

Marcher  
Washington

The Mail-Room all walked out when the other workers at Columbia were protesting the war last week. I didn't go on any of the marches because they make me very tired, but I attended several of the rallies on campus. I thought many of the speeches were very good — especially because it's the first time so many workers got to talk. That was because the Union wasn't there to do all the talking.

Mailroom Worker  
Columbia U., N.Y.

There were close to 25,000 people jammed into the Mall at Independence Hall to protest the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State murders. They came from schools all over the Delaware Valley—colleges and high schools, in the fashionable suburbs and in the black ghettos.

Most of the colleges had already completed the semester but hundreds showed up from the 33 colleges that were represented nevertheless.

There were lots of signs—hand-lettered ones for the most part. And lots of papers and leaflets being distributed. Most of the crowd was young, but it seemed as though thousands of Phila-

Student  
Rutgers

### HIGH SCHOOL STRIKERS

About 600 students gathered at a lunch rally to protest Nixon's policies. A UCLA student talked about their strike and then and there burned his draft card. Many students, including members of the Radical Student Union of Los Angeles, urged the crowd to go on strike and leave campus, but very few people seemed ready to do so. The rally started to shrink as the end of the lunch period approached.

Then the police provided an incident.

High School Student  
Detroit

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

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

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

James Green, the 17-year-old youth who was shot down at Jackson, Miss., had been working for several years from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. weekdays, and beginning at 8 a.m. Saturdays and Sundays at the Rag-a-Bag, a grocery store near Jackson State. He gave his mother most of the \$12 a week and tips he earned. He was on his way home from work when he was shot.

What "violence" invited this tragedy, Mr. President—except the violence of being born black and poor in America?

Indignant Heart  
Mississippi

### ECONOMICS AND WAR

Mr. Nixon remarked recently, "If I had any money, I would invest it in the stock market." If Mr. Nixon had invested, say \$100,000 (50% of his salary), he would have been a loser by \$9,000 less than 10 days after his prediction.

Observer  
Boston

The faith of "investors" in capitalism is vast, their contempt for Karl Marx is enormous. Their faith leads them to believe that the continued growth in population leads to continued consumer demand, greater production and ever greater profits. Their disappointment in the recent performance of the stock market should teach them a lesson.

Stocks lost \$290 billion in value from April 1 to May 26.

They forget that stocks are worth exactly what people will pay for them, based on their confidence in the American economy. There is no confidence in the Nixon Administration even among the American capitalists.

Reader  
Detroit

A new group called Economic Action for Peace is trying to "bankrupt the war machine." They want individuals and institutions to redirect money now invested in the war and war-related industries to sectors of the economy which have been crippled by war expenditures priorities and war-caused inflation.

They say that U.S. savings Bonds are war bonds, that money in checking and savings accounts is used by the banks to finance defense spending, that tax money pays for the war. They suggest withdrawing money from these places and putting it into Savings and Loan Associations that will direct money to home and small business loans; into local credit unions with investments consistent with their goals; or into Peace Credit Unions which they are urging be established.

For information, write to:  
Economic Action for Peace  
20 Marie Ave., Cambridge, Mass.

As the UCLA student left campus, he was surrounded by plainclothesmen, who obviously intended to arrest him. When the students saw this, they began to surge down the lawn, and by the time the student had been taken to a police car, 500 students were blocking the street, and some of us surrounded an unmarked narc car. The student was eventually released on the condition that we return to campus. We moved back to the flagpole to continue our teach-in.

About 400 students stayed away from their afternoon classes, talking about Cambodia in particular.

High School Student  
Beverly Hills

Some highschoolers organized a rally on the green at Guilford here, where several students from Wesleyan spoke. They were subjected to terrible police harassment. Cops were there with riot guns, movie cameras and every kind of cop equipment to terrorize the few dozen or so who dared to gather. Some of the local townspeople were shocked by this treatment of local children, and plan to make a real stink about it.

Correspondent  
Connecticut

Immediately after the Kent State massacre on Tuesday, the SMC at Cass High School called a meeting to plan actions. They decided to strike on Friday. We decided to do something before Friday, since everyone was mad right then.

We contacted the Black Student Caucus and they spread the word around, too. When the SMC heard that everyone was going to walk out a day before they had planned for it, they got together with the BSC and co-authored leaflets for the Thursday walkouts. About 1000 students walked out, together. We hit the school Thursday night and Friday with more leaflets. Friday, a room check we made showed most classes practically empty.



# YOUTH

## S.F. area rocked by anti-war actions

Berkeley, Cal.—The greatest and most spontaneous mass movement in this country took place immediately after the voluntary dissolution of the national anti-war Moratorium Committee. In the greater San Francisco-Bay Area, actions of far-reaching consequence are taking place.

Mass demonstrations forced the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to adopt, by a 6 to 4 vote, a resolution similar to the McGovern-Hatfield bill: no funds for the war in Indo-China, with a statement of opposition to any wars not approved by Congress. (The two women and one black on the board all voted for it.)

Several hundred San Franciscans sat through the two long meetings, and cheered wildly at their final success despite the intimidating presence of the hated Tac Squad, who at the first meeting brutally assaulted as many people as they could reach.

### COLLEGES ARE ANTI-WAR CENTERS

The University of California campus at Berkeley (and elsewhere) defied Governor Reagan's demand that the University be closed down, and instead took it over. A meeting of close to 10,000 students voted to keep it open and "reconstitute" it as a center for anti-war actions and to protest against oppression at home.

Rallies, street theatre, demonstrations, picket lines, calls for unity with the working class, support of strike activities both at school and on the job, petitions and letters to the administration, speeches calling for humanist social relations, all abound.

The Department of Zoology called for "changing the directions of this country, its values and priorities, to clean up the environment, fix up the cities, provide jobs and decent housing for all, and first of all stop the war right now!"

The U.C. Academic Senate, on May 18th, in convocation of about 500 members, voted to abolish credits for the hated ROTC program. A student-labor strike committee is co-ordinating activities.

### THE NEW JOE HILL'S

The elite private Stanford campus has been one continuous teach-in, with students barricading and occupying the ROTC building, forcing it to move to another city. San Jose State initiated a National Student Congress,

## Black issues unresolved

East Lansing, Mich.—The strike here is still going on as of May 18, having gained impetus with the addition of an economic boycott—the "un-coke" campaign. Yet it appears that the strike has lost quite a bit of ground.

Early in the strike, when the strikers staged a sit-in in the middle of the campus thoroughfare, and the campus police were about to force a showdown, the strikers were debating among themselves whether this was the right tactic. This conflict over theory and practice has been noticeable throughout the strike.

But the biggest conflict has been over black-white solidarity. The strikers here included among their demands items involving minority students: free Bobby Seale; more minority students this fall; abolishing required curriculum courses. The black faculty here issued a statement refuting the strikers' demands, asserting that "to shut down the university without a specific program does not meet the needs of the black community. This plan was conceived without sounding out the black community."

This expresses the opinion of most black students here, who feel that whites don't understand why blacks can't afford to stop classes, and that they don't know how we feel about Bobby Seale, etc. Many black students see the minority demands as a bribe to get them to jump on the bandwagon for the heck of it. The strikers have failed to formulate a unified program geared to the whole community.

to co-ordinate anti-war activities, and within days students from all over the country were in attendance.

As the Joe Hill song goes, "from San Diego, up to Maine, in every mine and mill—what they forgot to kill went on to organize," and the Joe Hill's of America are springing up everywhere.

The society pages are filled with appeals from women of half a dozen peace and anti-war groups; columnists of the daily papers are speaking out with satire and sagacity. McCabe of the SF Chronicle, in answer to a letter from students said, on May 19th, "... these medical students wish to act within the system ... if I were a student I would find the revolutionary approach more attractive ... the future of the system does not seem that good ..."

Newspaper ads appear from Dushkin, a dress manufacturer, and individuals who say, "I refuse to be a good German and remain silent." A full page ad by the Bay Area Labor Peace Assembly, which heretofore had been a small voice within the ranks of organized labor, contained the signatures of 336 powerful trade union leaders, from Harry Bridges of the Longshoremen to the conservative former supporters of Nixon, who defy Meany now—the Building Trades officials. All say, "We've Had It ... stop the war NOW!"

### ARMED FARCES DAY

The G.I. demonstrations have been so widespread that they forced the cancellation in several areas of celebrations by the brass of "Armed Forces Day"—calling it Armed Farces Day. In San Francisco guards were posted around the Armory on the basis of a rumor that the G.I.'s were going to take it over!

For the first time in over 30 years the famous San Francisco Chinatown was the scene of a political demonstration, with over 500 Third World and Asian students marching to protest the war, confronting the powerful "6 Companies" and the Bank of America.

The Oakland College of Arts and Crafts remains open as a communication center for protestors, mimeographing leaflets and making instant posters for each new situation as it arises. In S.F. the University of California Medical Research Center convened a gigantic meeting of administrators, doctors, faculty, students, and employees, all united on "no business as usual until the war is stopped!" In Berkeley, the candidates for the Center Council of the Co-ops, six massive supermarket complexes with 50,000 members, are running on platforms calling for more active anti-war participation to demands for the establishment of a socialist society!

A philosophical understanding has permeated the young and the old—new energy is liberated—a new world will be born.

## 8 TO 3: HIGH SCHOOL PRISON NOTES



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and white students in Los Angeles  
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## DOING AND THINKING Chicano h.s students battle school system

L.A., Calif.—Training for Roosevelt begins before you even enter. In the ninth grade just before you graduate to Roosevelt, the counselor comes and asks the kids what things they would like. He asks, well do you like wood and kids say yes; and do you like electricity, drafting? Again, yes. "Well I think you ought to take a shop major."

They never give you a math major or a science major if you want one. Only if they think you are exceptional do you get this type of major. There are a lot of smart kids there, but they are all in business majors and stuff like that. From the beginning they tell you you are not going to college anyway. So you are programmed into not going to college.

To those who run Roosevelt we are dumb. But to us many of the teachers don't know what they are doing. I visited a class called Algebra S. The kids are smart, but they are stuck in Algebra S which means slow learner. The guy teaches the class like it was a kindergarten. "This is a new word. The lowest common factor." Stuff like that. Talking to the kids like they were third graders. They even had to read aloud. There are a lot of teachers like that. We don't have too many Chicano teachers; most of them are white.

### SCHOOL LIKE PRISON

The school in many ways is like a prison. It is about 80 per cent Chicano. They have "sweeps" at Roosevelt. There are two tardy bells. As soon as teachers hear the bells they lock the doors and if you were in between the hall and the classroom they will push you out and shut the door. Then other teachers will be patrolling the halls. They will make everyone out in the hall go to the cafeteria and sign a sheet that they were late. Then you go back to class, but by that time fifteen minutes of the class is gone. The first two times you are tardy you get warned. The third time they call in your parents and have a conference. The fourth time they suspend you.

The classes, besides being run at a low level, are distorted. We had a California history class which should have begun with the Indian's history; then the Chicano's history. But the only thing they did was to mention Indians in the beginning, then told about the Spaniards very briefly and then the Americans came. And that was it except for a short thing at the end of one chapter where they said Mexican-Americans are living in LA and in the 1940's they had zoot-suit riots, most Mexicans came for farm labor, wetbacks, etc. Out of the whole book there were about two pages on this. All the rest is white history.

### ROOSEVELT MOVEMENT

In response to these conditions there is a movement at Roosevelt which has been putting forward a number of demands. One thing we don't want is cops on campus. Cops are always on campus, without uniforms. They patrol the campus especially during lunch time, when they are at the gates.

We want bilingual teaching. They don't like the fact that a lot of students speak Spanish. They say you are in America and you should speak English. For those kids who don't speak English they stick them in English Second Language and make them use third grade books, even though the kids are in high school.

We are trying to get Chicano studies on campus. Right now there is only one class. This out of the whole curriculum, and you have to ask for it.

### FREEDOM SCHOOL

We have started a freedom school in response to the cops and administration busting our demonstration and arresting people. There was a need for the school when the students were demonstrating and had to have a place to go. They are going to have a lot of Chicano studies and help Chicanos not so much to get into college, but to have a chance to go to college if they want to.

I am for freedom, for stopping the suppression of every people. I know the Chicanos are a suppressed people. As I grew up I went only to the schools here in the Chicano areas, and then I went to a white school for a summer and I saw the tremendous difference in teaching and facilities. I don't consider their teaching better. In terms of their view of teaching it is better. But in terms of any kind of education I think the whole system is all messed up.

The whole government is running the system. You can see that when they force the pledge of allegiance on you. The whole system, the administration, the teachers. And they tell you if you don't follow it, how are you going to get a good job.

### WAITING FOR SOMETHING

I am just waiting to do something. I am tired of going to Roosevelt because once you really come into contact with how bad it is—when it really comes out in the open like it did when we demonstrated—it just turns you off to go back again. You just can't get back into it. If you did your spirit is broken. I am not ever going to really go back.

People's minds at Roosevelt have already dropped out. That is why all those percentages on how many finish school, how many go to college are meaningless. They just have a bunch of numbers and names, but we have contact with people.

—Chicano student

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## Teachers union settlement sells out students

Los Angeles, Cal. — Striking Los Angeles teachers returned to their classrooms but not to their students. Many young persons remained out of those repressive boxes which contained them before the strike and, in their estimation, continue to do so. Although the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) leadership claimed that the written contract was a measurement of the success of the strike, most students do not agree that the strike was a victory for them.

It was an empty victory which yielded a new vehicle of power for teachers but not for students, who don't believe that most teachers will share their newly won organizational rights. Professional improvements for teachers do not mean amelioration of student learning conditions. Democratic grievance procedures for teachers do not bring the termination of such policies as suspensions and transfers, which are instrumental in suppressing student dissent and rebellion against an imperial educational bureaucracy.

Typically liberal in the assertion that they want to do things for the students, not with them, teachers generally see themselves as a professional elite whose interests and esprit de corps separates them in a class sense from their students. It is ironic that teachers walked out in behalf of students and returned in behalf of themselves.

Virtually every student-oriented program including the ambitious reading saturation project was sabotaged in order to accommodate the Board of Education. No doubt out of a feeling of guilt, the teachers offered to exchange their guaranteed five per cent salary increase for a restoration of the reading program and a diminution of class size by four students. It is unlikely that the Board will accept this kind gesture and even if they did, the Superintendent himself admits that not all the funds would be allocated for student needs.

### LACK OF CONFIDENCE

What is significant is that the teachers' offer indicates their lack of confidence in the approved package and their squeamishness about its ratification. The lack

of articulate and forthright union leadership seems to have contributed to the acceptance of the compromise contract.

It is apparent to some teachers that the union leadership desired to fabricate an image of militancy while undercutting the membership by allowing management to persuade them toward the affirmative. The burden of the label "sell-out" would then rest with union members and not their leaders. A group of UTLA teachers from one high school has composed a letter to this effect and has sent it to the Board of Education.

Meanwhile back at the plant, conditions remain the same. Some striking teachers declare that their students have more respect for them because of the stand they took. Some students express the need for their own strike to liberate themselves from dull and unimaginative classroom programs conducted by both striking and non-striking teachers. Good teachers are abandoning the inner city schools with mostly black and Chicano student populations because they have lost faith in the ability of the system to answer the critical educational needs of these young persons. They are transferring to the west side of L.A. or out of state because they are convinced that they cannot be effective teachers in L.A. city schools even with the organizational guarantees in the new contract.

The hopeful sign on the horizon is the existence of a small but committed core of teachers on every faculty who intend to enforce every guarantee of the new contract in their local schools. These teachers experienced a camaraderie with their fellow teachers during the strike period. Picket lines, area rallies, small meetings and parties provided teachers with the rare opportunity of talking with each other without the professional mask. Out of this closeness has emerged a renewed sense of purpose and a commitment to action. However, any real movement toward change must involve students in a real way and concerned teachers must reject professional elitism and get with the truly oppressed segment of the educational scene, the students.

—L.A. Teacher

## Guard occupies Madison as students take action

Madison, Wisc.—The addition of the University of Wisconsin to the ranks of schools striking throughout the nation, also led to the occupation of another campus by police and national guardsmen.

Violence broke out following the initial strike rally, when three thousand people marched through the campus. Unsuccessful attempts were made to capture and destroy the Army Mathematics Research Center, but firebombings were successful at the Army ROTC building.

### PATTERN ARISES

The appearance soon after of close to 2,000 national guardsmen made mass actions such as these next to impossible; this, in turn, led to street actions of guerilla nature by small cadres. For over a week thereafter, a given pattern arose: a rally, tear gassing to disperse the group, cadre actions such as fire bombings and barraging police cars with rocks, more mass and indiscriminate gassing, and numerous arrests.

For the first time, local groups joined together to form operational vigilante groups. They, too, were armed, though with baseball bats, hunting rifles, and cherry bombs. It is held as belief by some, that police policy towards the vigilantes was little more than laissez-faire.

### GUARD DISRUPTS CAMPUS

The official University policy was much more than laissez-faire. It was stated that the police were there to protect the rights of the majority of students who desired to attend class, and the national guard was called to make the police more secure from any attacks. The guard responded by making the entire campus an occupied area.

They were positioned with weapons at nearly every entrance to a liberal arts building, administration building, and any structure of strategic value. They were also positioned atop buildings throughout the campus for surveillance purposes, and they employed two helicopters equipped with spotlights in order to locate areas of disturbances during the night actions.

By these actions, the administration foiled its own plan to maintain normal schedules. It was literally impossible to proceed with "business as usual" within the midst of an armed camp.

### NORMALCY IMPOSSIBLE

But now most of the troops have disappeared. It is unknown by most if they are still on campus at all. School continues, but not as normal. The University has lost a president; publicly, his resignation was not due to the campus disturbances here for the past four years, but it is conceivable that he was ordered to resign due to his lack of effectiveness in dealing with student disorders.

Classes cannot return to their previous state of normalcy. Even today there was a building that was evacuated due to a bomb scare. Final exams will not proceed as usual in most cases. Numerous academic options are being offered.

The administration's plan of repression and patience has lost. The strike's repercussions are being felt everywhere on campus.

## UCLA campus transformed into anti-war center

Los Angeles, Cal. — When Nixon invaded Cambodia and the National Guard killed four at Kent State, UCLA students, like those in hundreds of other schools, went out on strike. At the same time Governor Ronald Reagan closed all California schools for two days preceding a weekend. His hope was for business as usual on Monday morning. In this call for closing the schools he had the support of the administration and certain student leaders who also called for a "strike" or period of reflection and discussion—so long as everything was normal by Monday.

A large body of students on the other hand saw a very different strike, one that would be indefinite and raise both the national strike demands: U.S. out of S.E. Asia; free Bobby Seale and all political prisoners; end university complicity with the war machine; as well as local demands for the campus. These included ending specific university war research projects, ROTC off campus, a halt to the staging of McCarthy-like investigations of certain radical professors and an increase in minority enrollment.

### TWO STRIKES

Thus there were two strikes on campus, and the question became which one did the students support. An added question was that of cops off campus. Two days before the strike, police had come en masse on campus and arrested a number of people after students had marched around campus trying to shut it down.

The first decision made by the students was to open the campus. Reagan wanted the campus closed for four days and then open as usual. The students decided to keep the campus open for the four days, building for the real strike that would begin the next Monday. They proceeded to take over the Student Union and for the next four days and nights created a strike headquarters there. Discussions, meetings, committees, leaflets, began to be created. How to convince the majority of students to stay away from classes, how to reach out in the community to talk about the war at home and abroad, how to build for a real strike, became the questions.

By Monday morning there were picket lines everywhere. A call by the strikers for a campus-wide meeting brought out 10,000, and there was no doubt that the strike was still on. Tuesday also saw large numbers stay away from classes.

### FLOW OF IDEAS

The beauty of the strike was not numbers staying away from classes so much as the complete change of

atmosphere on the campus. There were discussion groups spread on lawn upon lawn all over the campus. People were finally talking to one another. Classes either did not meet, or the meetings were most often discussions of strike issues. In every department students formed committees and faculty met. Dozens of other committees were formed to perform tasks or begin activities the students felt important. Every day of the strike a mimeographed sheet was distributed on campus listing literally dozens of meetings or activities occurring around the strike. Counter-classes were set up for discussion of topics students found relevant. Some university employees went on a one day strike in support of the strike demands. In short there was a beginning of a flow of ideas that had not before been seen on the campus.

The strike is now over. But it was a good beginning at UCLA, especially in trying to reach out into the surrounding community and to reach workers by going to their strike (see Teamster strike articles page 2). The freeing of discussion away from academic topics will hopefully remain and be the basis on which to build.

## Student 'town meetings' unite black and white

Middletown, Conn. — When the news of Nixon's invasion of Cambodia hit this campus, nearly everybody was lying outside at a mass concert by the "Grateful Dead." Yet by midnight on Sunday, nearly 200 students and faculty managed to gather in the Chapel to organize a strike in support of the three demands put forward by students at the New Haven Panther rally over the weekend. Immediately a newsletter was prepared and plans made for canvassing in dorms, classes, and dining halls for the next morning.

We were apprehensive about community response as the canvassing began on Monday, but as the day wore on more and more positive responses began to be felt, and by 3:00 p.m. some 700 people (about half the campus population) gathered for a "town meeting" to decide on action.

After a few brief speeches by those who had called for the strike, the mike was opened to all present, and for over an hour a wide variety of people spoke out about their feelings on the strike and the national crisis.

At the end, people voted overwhelmingly to join the national strike, with only thirty "No's." The next day the faculty, whom the students had canvassed in every possible way, also voted overwhelmingly to join and support the strike.

Nearly the whole of the original 700 showed up for the first strike organizing meeting. We decided to dispense with any kind of leadership or steering committee and continue with the open-mike town meeting form on a daily basis. The main thrust was to get the strike off campus and begin to speak to the people in the area about ending the war in S.E. Asia and freeing Bobby Seale and all political prisoners. Committees to

canvas homes, church and ethnic groups, schools and labor were set up.

### CRISIS IN THE STRIKE

The big crisis in the strike came over the question of how to present the Bobby Seale—political repression issue to the community. Many white students either didn't understand it or were afraid of "turning off" the community by talking it up, and wanted to soft-peddle it. Others tried to show how oppression abroad and repression of blacks at home were in fact the same problem.

Meanwhile, the black students, who had been hesitant from the first about joining, began to doubt the seriousness of the majority of the whites. The crisis was overcome however when blacks and whites got together at the town meeting and spoke out about the history of racism and police terror in this country and how we were all potential "political prisoners" under Nixon's terror. A new stage of political consciousness was reached and for the first time blacks and whites told the truth to each other on this campus that is 20 percent black.

### MASS CANVASSING OF TOWN

The work in the self-education political workshops and the mass canvassing and speaking out at shopping centers, in homes, churches, labor unions, etc. has been an education for us all, and we have already reached thousands in this area. Plans for a summer "communi-versity" and workshops continuing their work of canvassing have been made. Students returning home are also preparing to work in their own communities.

Plans for establishing a Free University and a Radical Students program here for next fall are being debated, and everyone is invited to come here and join us. This place will never be the same again. For more information, call 203-347-4421, ex. 688.

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# ARA and union harass women fighting discrimination



Detroit, Mich.—The women who work for Automatic Retailers of America at the Great Lakes Steel Division have been fighting discrimination on their jobs for a long time. ARA employees service the food vending machines in thousands of plants and offices throughout the country. At Great Lakes

Steel, several ARA women now have cases pending with the Civil Rights Commission, but it looks like a long, hard fight.

One woman hired in as a vending attendant, and later started training for a serviceman's job, which had never been held by a woman before. The attendant's job is to give change, clean machines, and fill them. The serviceman's job (which the CRC now requires be called "vending service job") is almost the same, except that you drive and load your own truck, and pull money; and it pays more.

This woman was allowed to bid for the job when one opened up, and got it, but you have to work 30 days on a job before you are qualified for it. On her 30th day she was disqualified, not because of her work—she did a good job—but because she couldn't move the machines.

## CRC TAKES THE CASE

The contract states that moving machines is a repairman's job, so she filed a complaint with Equal Employment in Washington. They referred the case to the Civil Rights Commission, who set up an agreement with the company to put her back on the job, with back pay.

She got \$1550 in back pay, but the company still owes her \$675; she went back on the job, but a man with more seniority bumped her off it. She didn't get any help from the union (United Catering, Restaurant, Bar and Hotel Union, AFL-CIO) at all. They didn't even take the case to arbitration. She now works as a truck driver.

## HARASSMENT FOLLOWS

The women who have been fighting for upgrading have faced all kinds of harassment. Another woman who had filed with the Commission, and had more seniority, is on the service job now. But they added more work to make it harder on her. During her 30 day trial, they followed her around and spied on her. The machines hadn't been cleaned for ages, but she was blamed for anything that was wrong with them. They gave her a list of about 30 things to do, something that had never been done to any man on the job.

The women are made to go through much greater training, and to qualify for many more jobs, than the men do, whenever they try to get upgraded. As one of the women put it: "They want to burn us out."

What angers the women most is that "the union doesn't seem to fight for the women the way they do for the men." They say the contract "seems to get worse

every time one is negotiated."

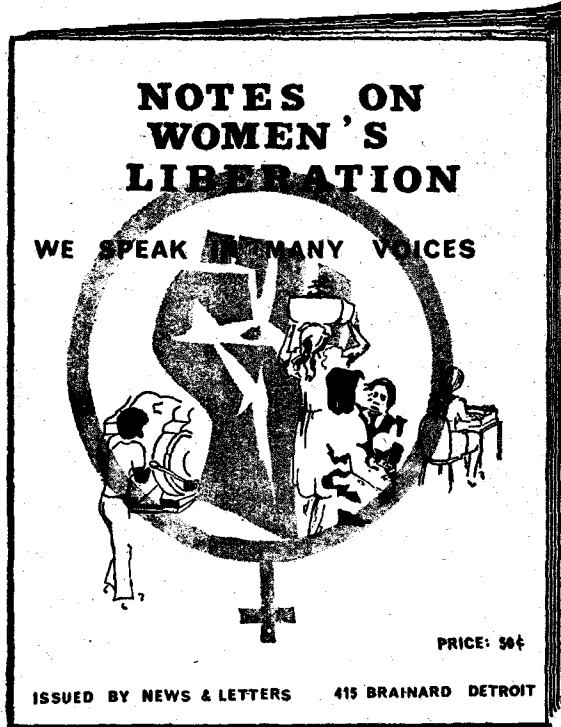
## EVERY CONTRACT WORSE

Women have been truck drivers here for at least 15 years. This year when the contract came up, it said that the truckdrivers had to change flat tires. There is a service station which had always done this before. The girl who bid the service job went in one morning and found a flat on one truck. There were plenty of other trucks available, but she was told she'd have to take the one with the flat. It wasn't her truck — but she changed the flat anyway, just to show them she could.

One of the older women who has top seniority, and has been a fighter for years, had been helping some of the younger women with their cases. She was on sick leave, as a result of an accident at work. They suddenly put in the contract that if you're out on leave over two years, you're eliminated. Everyone believes it was done as retaliation.

The women are still fighting. They have now filed harassment and retaliation charges, and women from the Women's Liberation Coalition of Michigan have joined with them in a demonstration at the CRC.

## Be Sure to Read



### PART I—THE NEW VOICES

An Analysis from the Inside—Mary Ann Murphy, Women's Liberation, Detroit	2
"Where Have You Been All Your Life?"—Rachel Woods, black hospital worker	6
Women's Liberation and Black Liberation—Julie H., white student, N.Y.	9
Women: Black and White, Young and Old—Ethel Dunbar, black worker	11
The New and the Newer—Molly Jackson, white working student	12
History and the Need for Women Theorists—Barbara B., Women's Lib., Detroit	16
"Barefoot and Pregnant"—Ester Serrano, young Mexican-American	18
One View of the Movement—Judy M., white student, N.Y.	22
A Response from a Participant—Terry Moon, Women's Lib., Detroit	24

The Theoretic Challenge of Women's Liberation—Bonnie McF., white student	27
<b>PART II—WOMEN'S LIBERATION SPEAKS IN MANY VOICES</b>	
"Freedom is Something That All of Us Need"—Mabel Hobson, WRO, Detroit	36
What It's Like in a Shop—Pam N., young white worker	39
Until Our Minds Are Free—Nasara Arabi, California	42
Clothes and Women's Liberation—Nancy Homer, Women's Lib., Detroit	44
The Factory Pits Women Against Each Other—Joanne M. Jackson, black cannery worker	46
Fighting the Company and the Union—Betty Thomas Mayen, union activist	49
Black Working Women Will Rebel—L.D., black student	51
Women Can't Be Free Till All Are Free—Estelle E., white office worker	52
"We Shall Not Be Sold"—Anne Chapdelaine, white working student	53
How Long Must We Wait?—Mary Curry, black hospital aide	55
<b>PART III—THE HISTORIC PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE . . . AND THE NEED FOR PHILOSOPHY</b>	
Women and the Old Radicals—Raya Dunayevskaya (excerpts from unpublished 1951 essay)	57
Women's Liberation in China—Jade, refugee from mainland China	60
Pages from a Shop Diary—Olga Domanski, Graduate, Fisher Body Assembly Line	65
The Need for a Unity of Theory and Practice—Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman, N&L Committees	70
Excerpts from "Private Property and Communism" Karl Marx	75

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## Dissent Article: 'Leninism and social-democratic reformism'

(Editor's Note: The following letter was received from France, as presenting "the point of view of communist groups of Paris, Vincennes, Nanterre, Argenteuil, Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, Lyon and Toulouse." We print it as dissent from our own point of view.)

In France (as elsewhere) today, the consequences of the year 1968 are twofold: on the one hand, there is the appearance of a radical minority within the working class, and, on the other, a concern for theory and organization. Thus, our analysis could be summed up as follows:

Broadly speaking, one could say that the historic period which goes from the Russian Revolution to our day, and with it the ideas which expressed and criticized it, are beginning to be shaken up. The history of the workers' movement since 1914 is characterized both by the persistent reformism of the working classes within the advanced countries, and by the appearance, from the Russian Revolution to the Cuban, of new forms in the development of capital that have integrated the workers' movement within them and left it crushed and bureaucratized.

Revolutionary theory, while remaining more or less linked to the limited revolutionary practice of the working class, has, in its critique of the basic aspects of this period, failed to see its limits, its nature, and its global importance.

IN PARTICULAR, it pointed to Leninist ideology as a justification for the organization, leading, and "encadrement" of the "masses" and for the special place accorded to the seizure of political power outside the context of a real communist transformation of society. But it didn't see that such a conception and such a prac-

tice only reflected the impossibility of destroying capitalism in their epoch. At the same time, it pointed to the capitalistic nature of the social revolutions which have taken place up til now without seeing the revolutionary character of this development of capitalism.

Leninism and social-democratic reformism (to which the former is intimately connected in its theory and praxis) are, finally, merely the means suited to a particular historic epoch for resolving the problem of the existence of a workers' movement which is occasionally powerful (the unions and parties) but which is incapable of making revolution.

Precisely because it is a real movement, the workers' movement exists and asserts itself even when the conditions for the destruction of capitalism do not yet exist; it is integrated with the development of capitalism under one form or another, and the ideologies (Social-democratic "reformism" and "revolutionary" Leninism) only express this diversity. It is their unity which it is now necessary to recognize, and one can begin to analyse this as such because the period it represents is entering its decline . . .

THE ORIGINALITY of the present period is not the liquidation of this epoch, which seems far from being terminated, but to represent the first serious crack, the first important sign of the ripening of the communist revolution. Capitalism is in a period of readaptation qualitatively different from the previous ones because this time we have to deal with a capitalism which is developing throughout the whole world.

From now on, the problem is no longer the extension and generalization of capitalist production, but the difficulties it encounters on a global scale. Will capita-

lism surmount this step without too many jolts? Or will it resort to a big economic crisis like that of 1929? And will we see the revolution in a relatively short time? No one at this point can answer these questions . . .

THE IDEAS WHICH were born by and for the period which began with the Russian Revolution are beginning to be rejected. This theoretic jolt would not be possible without the major fact of the present phase of the workers' movement: the birth of a fringe revolutionary minority in the working class.

Thus the practical critique of Leninism is beginning: by rediscovering and realizing the theoretical critique made years ago by a few revolutionaries (the Italian Left, the extreme Left in America, the ultra-left in Germany and Holland, etc . . .) it reveals at the same time the restrictive character of these theories and demands that they be superceded.

Nonetheless, the present situation remains limited (up til now), as witness the paradoxical renewal of Leninism and the incomplete critiques of Leninism. It would be ridiculous to depict an overthrowing (of this theory) when it does not exist. There is at present only a very slow process of theoretical clarification and practical unification. These two complementary aspects express the rebirth — or the birth — of a revolutionary movement and are only comprehensible when seen in relation to one another. The young generation ("young" not in the sense of age but of historic period) is beginning to understand that its role is at once to participate when they can in those forms of revolutionary organization created by the working class, and to work at the necessary theoretical elaboration.  
April 9, 1970



# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

## Part II

(Concluded from last issue)

Ernest Mandel\* did finally call attention to the fact that Russian economists had "for a long time" debated the survival of "economic categories" in the USSR. (The quotation marks are Mandel's way of not revealing that Marxian categories are shorthand for capitalistic, and only capitalistic, production relations.)

This attempt to cover his flanks after his failure to deal with the startling 1943 revision of the Marxian law of value cites meetings of academicians, "notably . . . in 1951, in Dec. 1956, and in June 1958." The post-war (1946) Varga controversy was not an un-notable event. Since, however, his memory conveniently extended back only to 1951, he also manages to ignore it. Yet that involved the entire staff of the Institute of World Economics which Eugene Varga headed. (4)

Changes in the Political Economy of Capitalism Resulting from the Second World War, by Varga, raised the critical question so dear to the heart of Mandel—the possibility that state intervention, even under private capitalism, could prevent economic crises. And, for a moment, the issue in dispute extended itself to the problem Lenin first posed during World War I, that of state-capitalism, a question that Mandel avoids like the plague. (5)

Our concern with Mandel's studied disregard of the Russian revisions, as well as of the theory of state-capitalism, is not just for purposes of expose. Although it explodes his claim to objectivity, to a "scientific" analysis, it is not Mandel's subjectivism that is of moment. What is at issue is the non-Marxist nature of his economic theories which rests on the illusion that the state intervention in the economy, "is an involuntary homage rendered to socialism by capitalism" (p. 541).

Inexorably, this has led Mandel to see a change of goals for the proletariat during what he calls "the epic of capitalist decline" which, nevertheless, "educates the working class to interest in the management of enterprises and the regulation of the economy as a whole . . ." (p. 536).

### THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE PLAN

Because Mandel doesn't see today's problems, the class struggle exists for him only as something past. Thus, the section that deals with class struggles turns out to relate mainly to a non-capitalist era.

He begins with slave uprisings from Spartacus to the "black slaves used by Arabs to drain the Shatt-el-Arab who arose in revolt (868)" (p. 175). The erudite Mr. Mandel then tells us about the first recorded strike in history, that of "Egyptian workers who were working, about 1165 B.C., under Ramses III, at Dehrel-Medina, on the west bank of the Nile, near Thebes" (p. 176, fn). He then goes into the peasant revolts in China. And even when we finally reach an industrial year, 1853, it turns out to relate, not to Europe which had been uprooted by the 1848 proletarian revolutions, but to Japan, beset by peasant revolts for 250 years: "No less than 1,100 insurrections occurred between 1603 and 1853" (p. 176).

No doubt all this sounded very revolutionary to Mandel. Hadn't one of Marx's most famous statements been: "All history is the history of class struggles"?

The trouble with Mandel is that the working class exists for him, not as subject, but as object. His pragmatism makes hash out of both theory and history, of the universal and the concrete, and, most of all, of the class struggle and the plan. He seems to be totally unaware of the fact that, unless the new stage of economy is grasped in strict relationship to the self-activity of the workers, and their mode of resistance, the crisis at each stage of production which is in need of solution is "solved" technically, that is to say, through new ways of extracting more unpaid hours of labor.

This "technical trap" waits any Marxist who fails to see that the workers' resistance to the "Plan" is due to the workers' superior knowledge, that what is "ideally" the Plan is, in fact, the undisputed authority of the capitalists. Private or state, the hierarchical structure—from "lead" man on the line, through plant managers (and including political economists)—is the command to obey the dictates of the automated machines.

To Mandel, however, even when he deals with the present epoch, and though he describes it as one of "long-term stagnation" (p. 531), state intervention still acts as "stabilizer." And so great are the glories of state intervention (plus, of course, the organized workers' ability to extract a rise in real wages) that it serves Mandel as a sort of a transition point to the Russian economy, which he declares "does not display any of the fundamental aspects of capitalist economy" (p. 560). This fetishization of statified economy holds him a prisoner to such an extent that he even accepts, as necessary, "capitalistic primitive accumulation" (p. 561).

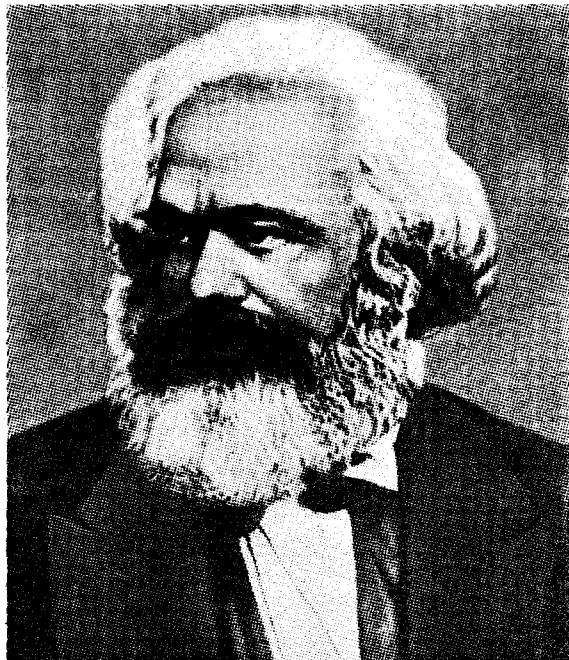
\*Ernest Mandel, *MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY*, (\$15, Monthly Review Press, N.Y.)

# 'True rebirth' or wholesale revision of Marxism?

He does admit that, at least in the distributive sphere, the Russian economy displays "the bourgeois character of the phenomenon of inequality of the norms of payment for work that exists in the USSR." (p. 565). That is to say, it is OK for wages to be poor, poorer even than under private capitalism. Nothing about the conditions of labor, not even the existence of "the system of forced labor camps" (p. 597) seems to disturb Mandel enough not to fetishize nationalized property as "transitional to socialism"!

As we see, Mandel's silence on the matter of the theoretic revisions wasn't a mere question of theory. It was a question of failing to recognize the counter-revolution in the relations of men at the point of production which came to full theoretic bloom in the revision of Marx's greatest work, *Capital*.

The most telling consequence of the revisions of



KARL MARX

Of those who misrepresented his philosophy in his own lifetime, Marx said: "If they are Marxists, I am not."

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 1)

dents at Kent State, and we discovered that they were white students, black workers were predicting that the next demonstration black students held would be mowed down. When the news broke about Jackson State, we knew that the blood-thirsty cops in Mississippi had got the Nixon-Agnew message. So had the KKK cops in Georgia, who killed six blacks and wounded 25 more, shooting them all in the back to show the fascists in this country how brave they are.

One worker said, "When I hear Nixon claim that violence invites tragedy I want to know what violence were the four young black children causing in the First Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, when they were bombed while they were sitting in Sunday School? What violence were the Kennedy brothers causing? What violence was being committed by all the blacks who have been lynched throughout the South because they were black? Nixon has caused more violence than any other president in the history of this nation."

### NIXON'S VIOLENCE

Several weeks before the invasion of Cambodia, Nixon was saying that he was not going to send troops there, nor even supply that country with ammunition. After the American people revolted so strongly against his decision he said the Army was there to protect Cambodian neutrality. How can a country be neutral when it is being torn to pieces, when thousands and thousands of innocent women and children are being killed—and most of them by an armed force that has been sent from ten thousand miles away? The worker was right—Nixon's words have no meaning.

Nothing would please the Nixon Administration more at home than to be able to drive a wedge between white students and black students and start a war of racist whites against those he calls radicals. The Administration must have found joy and happiness from the Mafia-controlled, racist white construction workers in New York. This is the same union that has barred black workers for years. When black workers demonstrated, they were treated to the same violence as the young peace marchers just received.

I can never believe that all white workers feel the same as the construction workers in New York. What Nixon is afraid of is that the student movement will find allies among the working people. This is a much needed alliance for the anti-war movement, and all efforts should be made to unite these two forces, along with the black liberation forces and the Women's Liberation movement. Unless that happens the fascism that is on the forward move in this country will strangle us before we strangle it.

the Marxian law of value, insofar as Mandel's work is concerned, can be seen in his theory of crises under private capitalism.

### CRISES

On the one hand, Mandel goes to great lengths to expound Marx's central point about crises—the decline in the rate of profit. He illustrates well the question of the rate of profit as a relationship of surplus value (unpaid hours of labor) to total capital (constant capital, or machinery, plus variable capital, or labor power). Since constant capital grows faster than variable capital, whereas surplus value comes from variable capital only, there is no way to escape the decline in the rate of profit.

The many counteracting tendencies—the growth of the mass of profits, the increasing productivity of labor, big capital eating little capital—allows the capitalists to luxuriate in the mass of profits, unmindful of the decline in the rate of these profits. But that overriding, contradictory fact of capitalistic production doesn't "go away." The cyclical crises keep re-appearing to prove there is no escape from the ultimate reckoning of capitalist production as a production of values and surplus values, accumulation and expansion of surplus value, without which capitalist production stops.

On the other hand, as we've indicated previously, Mandel says, at the same time, that it is the "lack of monetarily effective demand" which is the cause of crises. He also holds the view that organized labor is able to gain a substantial increase in real wages at the expense of capital's extraction of surplus value; that is to say, even when there is no rise in the productivity of labor. He thereby forgets altogether Marx's principle that "the diminution of unpaid labour can never reach a point at which it would threaten the system itself . . . Accumulation is the independent, not the dependent, variable." (6)

### DEVIATIONS

This does not end Mandel's deviation from Marx's theory of crises. He also holds that the "fundamental contradiction of the age of capitalist decline (is) the Contradiction of over-capitalization" (p. 521), as if the failure to invest is due, not to insufficient profitability at the point of production, but to lack of markets. So bedazzled is Mandel with the refinements of bourgeois political economy in market mechanisms that he falls prey even to the spurious "multiplier" and "accelerator principle."

Obviously, he has read altogether too many books by bourgeois economists on the market phenomena of crises. Contrary to bourgeois economists, however, he has a guilty conscience about remaining so long with the epiphenomenal. He waspishly reproaches them for ignoring the law of uneven development which, to him, is not only "a universal law of human history" (p. 91), but also the key to crises.

There is one thing he has failed to note. This "new" way of expressing the disproportionality between the two main departments of production—means of production and means of consumption—is the very problem that Marx deliberately excluded from consideration. This was so, not because Marx didn't know it as a fact of production, but because it isn't the key to crises. On the contrary, it would have diverted from the supreme reason for capitalistic crises—the exploitation of labor by capital through the instrumentality of the machine. That is to say, the payment of labor at value (the minimum it takes to maintain him and reproduce his kind), the extraction from him of the maximum of unpaid hours of labor through the ever greater expansion of machinery and ever decreasing use, relatively, of living labor.

No wonder that the bourgeois reviewers were so pleased with Mandel's view of the market mechanisms acting as "stabilizers." Mandel wanted to synthesize the overproduction, underconsumption disproportionality theories of crises with Marx's, which is related strictly to the law of value and surplus value. But as Marx said of Proudhon, "He wishes to be a synthesis, he is a composite error." (7)

Footnotes to part I and part II

- (1) *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 48
- (2) The article from *Pod Znamenem Marxizma (Under the Banner of Marxism)* "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union," along with my commentary, was published in the *American Economic Review*, No. 3, 1944
- (3) The *Textbook of Political Economy* was published in 1954
- (4) The *Stenographic Report of the Discussion* was published in English by Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C.
- (5) This is not just a question of calculatedly disregarding crucial Russian debates, much less a matter of "slighting" me who happened to have been the first to expound the theory of state-capitalism from original sources of the Five Year Plans (See "The Nature of the Russian Economy" in *The New Internationalist*, Dec. 1942, Jan. 1943, Feb. 1943). There is outright dishonesty in the one and only reference to a work on state-capitalism — *The Nature of Stalinist Russia* by Ygael Glickstein (Tony Cliff) — and another by one holding a state-capitalist position, Amadeo Bordiga, writing in *Dialogue with Stalin*. Instead of stating simply that both are Marxists (and one, Bordiga, was nothing less than a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International during Lenin's, not Stalin's, lifetime) the reader has been led to believe that the authors were "sociologists." Contrary to what is alleged by a number of sociologists, who try to make use of the Marxist method of analysis, reads the Mandel text (p. 560). To complete the deliberate befuddlement, Mandel has, between the two works by revolutionary Marxists, sandwiched in a book by a social democrat—*The Real Soviet Russia*, by D. Dallinger.
- (6) *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 679.
- (7) *The Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 137.

By Eugene Walker

## WORLD IN REVOLUTION

## Czechoslovakian people lose freedom under Russian domination

I received the following letter from a Czechoslovak freedom fighter in Prague:

The sovietization of Czechoslovakia seems nearly complete. An official confirmation can be seen in Brezhnev and Kosygin leading the Soviet delegation in Prague, ready to sign a new treaty on friendship and cooperation.

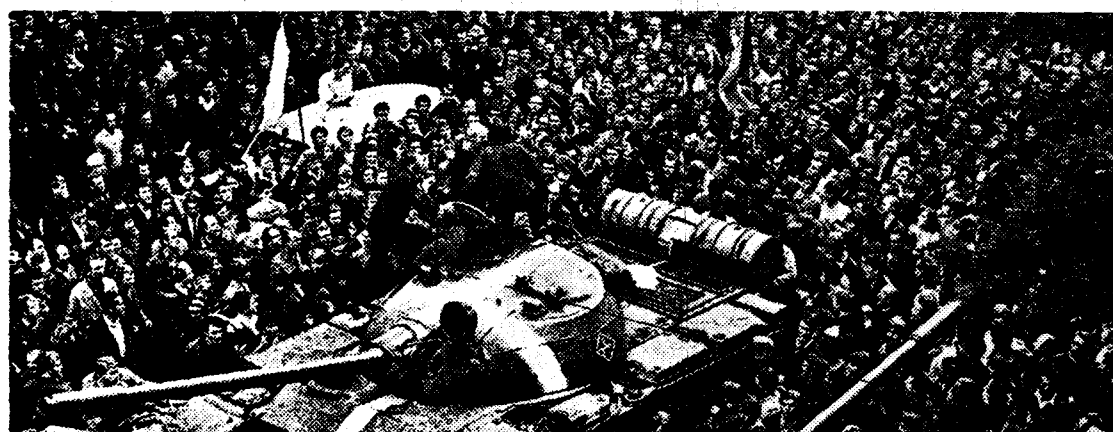
The sovietization has both external and internal aspects. Externally, the incessant stress put on anything Soviet—Soviet economic "help," Soviet friendship, Soviet liberation in 1945, etc., etc.—is being overplayed and is annoying to a great part of the population. Mass media pound daily with a deadening weight of propaganda on a public still deeply resenting most of what it regards as Russian. The ruling group would like to make believe that it was not the people who saw the Russians coming as enemies of their freedom and aspirations in August, 1968, but only a small segment of "rightists" and "enemies of socialism."

## CENSORSHIP IS TOTAL

However, it is the other, "internal" aspect which is more dangerous to the freedom of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The CP displays very harsh forms of its rule, far harsher than those used during the last days of Novotny before January, 1968. Censorship is extremely severe; it extends from censoring of private mail with foreign countries (illegal under the present constitution!) to the mass media, where it is total. It includes banning dissenting artists from appearing on TV, prohibiting expositions, preventing books from being published.

All those who had been prominent in the progressive movement during 1968 and 1969 are forced by every means possible either to denounce their previous attitudes or to retire. Foreign newspapers—except the Communist ones—are confiscated if they contain any single note adverse to the Soviets or the Czechoslovak regime or any other of the "brother" Communist countries. Travels to the West (including Yugoslavia) have been reduced more than was the case in the fifties.

Trying to discount rumours about political trials, Husak has proclaimed there are 5,000 unoccupied places in Czechoslovak prisons. But he was careful enough not to tell any figure regarding political



Czechoslovak masses surround invading tanks during August, 1968, Russian invasion.

prisoners. Indeed, with all the measures quoted above and many more to be realized or in preparation, Czechoslovakia is becoming more and more a vast prison for a whole people.

## WORKING CONDITIONS WORSEN

With no other freedom than to say yes to Party policies, working conditions for the working class are also legally restricted. Gradually, the 42-hour-week introduced in 1968 is being extended again under the pretext of economic "consolidation" and "bad labor morale." Wage increase has to be kept at no more than 1.5 per cent annually—the smallest increase of the last twenty years. Change of work-

place is very much restricted. "Discipline" is being stressed more than at any time before. Trade unions have been gradually reduced to supporters of production policies and stimulations of "socialist emulation."

We omit here other elements showing the subservience to which the policy of the ruling group of the CP reduced Czechoslovakia. Suffice it to say that the number of voices is growing who assert that should an occasion arise of a radical change of the system, the CP, as freedom's worst enemy, would be reduced to a political party of no great significance.

## Freedom Notes

SAIGON—Schools in Saigon were ordered closed because of unrest among students . . . Saigon soldiers burst into the national pagoda and opened fire on about 600 monks, nuns and students who were occupying the building. Between three and ten militant anti-government Buddhists from the pagoda were killed.

BOLIVIA—It appears that the Gulf Oil Co. which was nationalized in Sept. 1969 may get into Bolivia by the back door and thus get full compensation for its Bolivian holdings. The Bolivian government announced an agreement between itself and the Spanish oil company Hispanoil granting the Spanish company commercializing rights to former Gulf Oil controlled deposits.

Hispanoil is a semi-public company controlled by the state-run National Industrial Institute (INI) and a private consortium of which Gulf is a member. INI approval will be needed for all Hispanoil decisions and the relationship between INI and Gulf Oil is so close that INI could just as well be described as Gulf's agent. The oil will move from Bolivia to Gulf's refineries in Los Angeles, U.S. bookkeeping will manipulate revenue figures for the

sale of Bolivian crude oil so as to provide Gulf with more compensation for the takeover of its Bolivian holdings.

UPPER VOLTA—Five years after the military ousted the government in Upper Volta there appears to be no movement towards return of civilian rule. A proposed new constitution specifies that the President of the Republic must be a member of the military chosen by the officers, and that the army must be guaranteed representation in the country's political life.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—Jacquin Balaguer was reelected for a second four-year term as President of the Dominican Republic. He did so with the help of a police and army reign of terror in the final weeks of the campaign. Nearly 100 people, mostly leftists, were murdered during the campaign by extreme right-wing paramilitary groups linked with the army and the government. The left parties called for a boycott of the election and nearly 40 percent of eligible voters stayed away from the polls despite direct and indirect pressure to vote.

## Read

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## Black-Red Discussion: Bay Area black students link issues of war and racism

By JOHN ALAN

(Because of the crisis in America, I am deferring the conclusion of my article on Cruse and Cleaver, begun in last month's News & Letters, to next issue.—J.A.)

The events of the past few weeks have been both exciting and revelatory. On the bright side, in the interest of humanity, a considerable section of the American people, led and inspired by the spontaneous anti-war protests of students across the country to the spread of the war into Cambodia, have shown that they can deflect the war course of the callous and morally irresponsible government in Washington.

Nixon, struggling with his "conscience" over the weighty decisions he must make, is laughable, and his newfound willingness to "listen" to war protesters is no doubt a "calculated political risk"—fraudulent to the core. But, it does indicate that the deep persistent anti-war activity of black and white youth can no longer be denied or ignored by watching a football game.

Too, Nixon's restored "hearing" and fatherly concern for youth may well stem from the fact that his appeal to the "silent majority" has not brought sufficient reactionary racist forces to the front to quell the opposition, growing daily, to the war and racism.

## NIXON'S HOLLOW PLOY

The hollowness of his ploy, that the administration would listen to anti-war students, was revealed in the San Francisco-Bay Area when a group of University of California law students returned from Washington, D.C., and told a press conference that they could not develop any meaningful discussion with the Nixon officials, and that they, the officials, spoke a different

language from the students, and that their aims were very different. One law undergraduate summed it up by saying, "The crisis is no longer Cambodia, but what is going to happen in the United States."

Indeed, the question is: WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN THE UNITED STATES?

The majority of both black and white students, in the Bay Area, are in no way taken in by the government's attempts to mollify their protests and demands. They know that the "philosophy" of the administration has not changed: wars of imperialist expansion abroad, generalized and malignant racism at home and a frenetic hatred for student dissenters.

If any have doubts about this, recall what has happened within a short two weeks—the wanton slaying by National Guards of four white students at Kent State, the murdering of two black students by racist cops in Jackson, Mississippi, the massacre of six blacks in Augusta, Georgia, shot in the back by cops.

The Black Students Unions, both at University of California at Berkeley and Laney College in Oakland, have given their utmost support to student anti-war activities, but with certain reservations. These reservations flow from some obvious things which happened during the anti-war protests and strikes. At the time the four white students were killed at Kent an Ad Hoc faculty-student peace committee held a gigantic protest rally in the Greek Theatre, attended by an estimated crowd of 15,000.

## RACISM IN MOVEMENT

Although the deaths of the four students were not mentioned in the proposals to strike and reconstitute the University as a center for organizing against the war, it was obvious that the size of this meeting was

not only a reaction to Cambodia being invaded, but also a reaction to the tragic events of Kent.

However, when six black people were shot in Augusta, there was neither a handy Ad Hoc committee to organize a protest, nor any outburst of indignation on the part of white students. Not more than 200 white students turned out to denounce this newest outrage against black Americans. They formed a picket line around California Hall, where Chancellor Heyns has an office. To black students this lack of real action is an expression of liberal white racism.

Too, black students do not want to limit the protests only against the war in Southeast Asia and the war related activities of the University. They are demanding that the students also struggle against racism, poverty and the oppression of black people in this country. Otherwise, there can be no really effective struggle against American imperialism.

## BLACK LEADERSHIP ROLE

These demands by black students are not easily accepted by the vast majority of white students, who view the war and American racism as separate entities, to be taken one at a time. Some hostility has arisen from white students whenever black students raise these demands. At some protest meetings the leaders of the Black Students Union have been booed when they raised these issues.

Black students, who form a small minority of the student body at the University of California have influence far beyond their numbers and generally have assumed leadership of Asian and other minority students. To what extent they can influence the adoption of more complete opposition to the war will be revealed in the coming weeks as the movement solidifies.