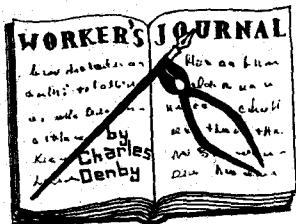


ON THE INSIDE

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UAW attack on Meany betrays labor

By Charles Denby, Editor

One of the most shocking statements any worker heard in the history of the U.A.W. was that blistering attack by the U.A.W. leadership on the President of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, for his actions and attitude toward Nixon during the recent AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach.

The older workers were taught, in the early days of the U.A.W., that management and big business are on opposite sides of the fence from the workers. If a worker had the wrong position, or was guilty of some mistaken action, we were instructed still to defend that worker. Even if we had to point out to the worker what he did wrong, the issue was never settled in the presence of management or the public. If we could not find any ground on which to defend a worker, we kept silent.

U.A.W. TURNS AROUND

Workers are saying that either Douglas Fraser was not around the U.A.W. then, or else the policies of the U.A.W. leadership have been completely reversed, turned into their opposite. We must recognize where Fraser was and to whom he chose to blast Meany: a group of businessmen and community leaders in rich Birmingham, Michigan.

From the onset of Nixon's wage freeze, many workers recognized that his strategy was to use all the labor leaders of this country to impose his policies on the workers. Nixon seemed to understand that it would be impossible to force his policies down workers' throats without the aid of the labor leaders. And if he could not get them in his pocket, then it was a question of dividing them. Workers experienced the same thing years and years ago.

It appeared from the start that Nixon had made some deal with the Teamsters Union boss Fitzsimmons, because he seemed to accept Nixon's line—hook, line and sinker—from the very beginning. At that stage of the game, the U.A.W. was talking about a general strike if the union contract with the auto companies was tampered with in any way. The union was also saying there would be no more three-year contractual agreements; they would be one-year from now on. Many workers thought the U.A.W. would be in the forefront of the fight against government control over labor.

FRASER ATTACKS MEANY

But as Meany seemed to object to Nixon's policies more, Woodcock and his staff began to play ball with the Nixon doctrine of taking workers' wages and putting them in the companies' pockets. Fraser said that Meany was guilty of bad manners and lousy politics; after his attack on Meany, the news reports said that Fraser would be running for U.S. Senate from Michigan. If that's not lousy politics, what is? Maybe he knows he has the businessmen of Birmingham on his side!

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NEWS

LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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And China makes Three

Super powers line up as new war explodes between India, W. Pakistan

by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
 Chairman, National Editorial Board

Open war broke out between West Pakistan and India on Dec. 3. Prodded by the U.S., the Security Council of the UN rushed into special session to consider the Resolution calling for "a cease fire." It displayed an alacrity it failed to show either when the U.S. rained bombs on Vietnam, a bestial imperialist war it keeps up to this day, the seventh year, or when Russia invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968. Whether the present speed is due to the fact that now that China is in the UN, there are three super-powers, or whether it is easier to deal with middle powers, the rush was useless. The veto power of the super-powers exposes the UN's built-in impotence.

U.S., CHINA, RUSSIA

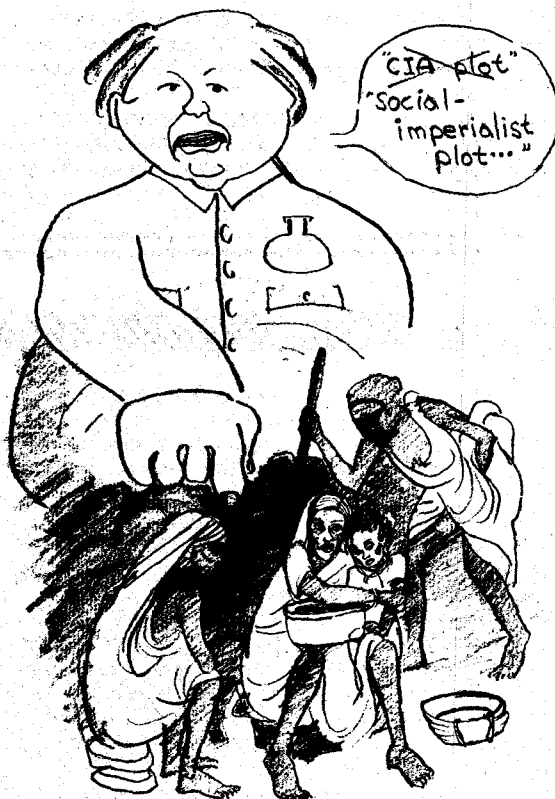
Russia vetoed the Resolution in an emotionally-charged speech about the issue at stake being neither West Pakistan nor India but the liberation of East Pakistan. It most assuredly is true that the question in Pakistan is the East Pakistani mass struggle for independence from its Big Brother, the exploitative West Pakistan state which had invaded the Bengali nation after it voted overwhelmingly for autonomy. For India, much less Russia, however, it is not true that they support it because they are great exponents of the national liberation struggle. Rather, they began to support it only after they discovered a way to use it for specific chauvinistic purposes even as China is supporting West Pakistan for its global purposes.

In a word, the tragedy is the same as befell the Spanish Civil War. Just as Nazi Germany and Stalin's Russia were using that struggle as the European testing ground for World War II, so now the East Pakistani liberation struggle is being used—this time by three superpowers—as the Asian testing ground for World War III!

At first the U.S. tried speaking out of both sides of its mouth. "Absolute neutrality" means accusing India of "aggression," though it also had to admit that "the beginning of the crisis can fairly be said to be the use of force by Pakistan." It is not accidental, of course, that Nixon found it easier to recognize an affinity to the West Pakistan fascist military junta that had unloosed a genocidal war against the East Pakistanis for voting for autonomy from its Big Brother. No less than 10 million East Pakistani refugees streamed into India.

China, however, understood perfectly. It voted for the U.S. Resolution, did not ask for a vote on its own Resolution, and proceeded to lobby unrestrainedly not only for calling India "the aggressor" and totally absolving the West Pakistan military junta, but also for demanding the end of Bangla Desh (the Bengal Nation), the national liberation front which it declared to be a "social imperialist plot." (Before the new-found love between Mao and Nixon, China used to call it "a CIA plot!")

In the specific instance of China it is also a way to bring the Sino-Soviet struggle into the UN as well as "teaching" the UN that when it comes to global



New Quotation from Chairman Mao

Rahway Prison rebellion avoids Attica massacre

Rahway, N. J.—The rebellion in New Jersey's Rahway State Prison started Wednesday night, Thanksgiving Eve., following a movie in the prison's auditorium. One man jumped upon the stage and began speaking about society's injustices. When prison guards tried to subdue him, 100 of the 500 inmates present reacted by capturing or routing the officials.

The first person to be captured was Warden U. Samuel Vukceovich, who is hated for his tough, unsympathetic treatment of his prisoners. Vukceovich, accidentally knifed by one of his own switch-blade-wielding guards, was not, however, seriously wounded.

PRISONERS TAKE OVER

The number of rebels grew quickly as the take-over extended to all wings of the main section of the prison. No more than 500 out of the total population of 1,200 actually participated; the rest simply stayed in their unlocked cells and dormitories.

At least eight factions of opinion appeared on the question of what to do now that they had control. Some wanted a long siege, Attica style, until all their demands were met by the state. Others, the majority, merely wanted to inform the public of conditions at Rahway, hoping that public opinion would force state officials to take positive action on prisoners' grievances.

Governor Cahill, headquartered a mile away at the Woodbridge School for Mentally-Retarded Children, was

prepared to order an assault by battle-gearred State Troopers, but prison authorities were able to convince him that the situation could be ended peacefully.

DEMANDS PARTIALLY MET

The rebellion did end peacefully, about 24 hours later, when Cahill let three newspapermen talk to the prisoners and carry out a petition of grievances. Cahill also promised that a commission of authorities and elected inmate-representatives would investigate conditions at the prison, and that no reprisals would be taken against participants in the rebellion.

The first promise is being kept, elections will take place soon. The second promise is being broken. Cahill is convening a grand jury to bring criminal charges against several inmates.

Less than two weeks before Thanksgiving, some of the most revolutionary elements at Rahway had assured this observer that the prisoners wouldn't take such drastic steps to gain publicity as they eventually did. The occasion was the monthly installment of "Forum," an intra-institutional radio program where people from the outside were allowed to come in and discuss various topics with any inmates who wished to take part.

SHOW AMAZING KNOWLEDGE OF ATTICA

Forty minutes of the hour-long program were spent discussing Attica and its relation to Rahway and other prisons. The inmates displayed an amazing amount of

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On Black womanhood: the dual road to freedom

by Doris Wright

The Black woman is advised by some to work only within the confines of the Black economic struggle with the claim that all her problems are rooted in her economic status as a Black person. Her personal battle for self-determination is derided, and she is warned that she will "drain" off energies from the "bigger" struggle if she strikes out in her own behalf.



This charged and purposely slanted assertion never quite explains how the efforts of a woman fighting for the right to abortion on demand, quality child care for her children, and an end to discrimination against her sex (which, by the way, is over half the Black population) in any way interferes with the co-existent struggle for Black liberation. On the contrary, it logically follows that instead of draining from the common struggle, any gain made by her on behalf of her sex is automatically a gain for the entire race.

The Black woman, like all women, has got to develop her own individual sense of worth. Liberation begins in the mind. First we must purge ourselves of the rubbish we have been fed as women which has limited our scope and expectations of ourselves. We must next put our lives on a new track whereby we no longer work to sabotage our own development by helplessly landing in and out of destructive personal relationships with people who, because of the painful circumstances of their own lives, are incapable of being supportive to others.

NOT MERELY ECONOMICS

Certainly, much of the misery that afflicts the poor Black woman can ultimately be traced to her lack of economic power, but to view oneself as a victim almost guarantees that one will be victimized. The woman who is liberated in her mind has at least a fighting chance to make the proper choices, and the desire to direct what happens to one is the first step toward liberation.

Shirley Chisholm says in her autobiography that women "like the Black population have cooperated in their own enslavement." They have "submitted to oppression, and even condoned it." She maintains that women have "to dare the sanctions that society imposes on anyone who breaks with its traditions."

In terms of the waste of woman power, she states, "The amount of talent that has been lost to our country is appalling." The amount of talent that can now be lost to the Black race by women not stepping forward and playing active leadership roles can do irreparable damage to the Black cause.

Black feminist, Cestelle Ware, in "Woman Power," shows that the Black militant attitude that whites were irrelevant to the Black struggle because they should "look to their own oppression" was, indeed, a forerunner of woman's realization that whatever other causes she may give her energies to, she must finally come face to face with her own oppression. She can turn her back on it, or she can join the struggle to resolve it.

Woman views abortion march

San Francisco, Calif.—The demonstration organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition was not as massive as anticipated. About 2,000 women marched in San Francisco and 3,000 in Washington, D.C., on Nov. 20.

I think the action would have been more successful if it had not been limited to one issue. The program was restricted to abortion, which is basically negative. Women want jobs and better pay and better care for their children. They don't want an abortion except as an emergency measure when all else fails. The Coalition slogan to repeal all restrictive contraception laws is also negative. We should have affirmative action that will make contraceptive information available to every woman who needs it, when she needs it (that's before she reaches child-bearing age). Free contraceptives, too.

As a representative of UNION WAGE (Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality), I was the only speaker to raise the issues of free abortion on demand and free contraception, and I got tremendous applause for what was presumed a minority point of view. While the leadership of the Coalition rejects economic issues, this does not appear to be the feeling of the women who participate.

—Joyce M.

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In our explorations of our Black heritage, we Black women must carefully examine that heritage and recognize any aspects of it that are injurious or destructive to our dignity. Let us not delude ourselves or put on blinders when encountering unpleasant truths for fear that any questioning on our part might be taken as disloyalty to our Blackness. For the future growth and development of our race, no one segment of it can be allowed to assume exclusive power to dictate the limits and bounds of our goals. We are women, and we must look at every tradition, current or past, in light of its respect for our womanhood.

(To Be Continued in Next Issue)

ARA women keep up battle

Detroit, Mich.—There was a hearing in Federal District Court here on a motion to dismiss the suit of six women workers from the ARA Great Lakes Steel Division against the company and Local 1064 of RWDSU. The suit—which is a class action, representing all the women working there — charges that women are discriminated against in job classifications and promotions.

It was really something to see the company and the union lawyers sitting at the same table and battling on the same side against the women's lawyer, William Haynes. The company lawyer asked that the suit be dismissed on the grounds that the company had never received notice that any grievance had been filed, except in the case of the first woman named in the suit. He pleaded that he didn't want the Federal Court "cluttered up" with these kinds of cases, that should be settled elsewhere.

The union lawyer insisted that the union had even less knowledge than the company of any notice on the charges, disagreed that this was a class action, and argued that if the charge is that the union failed to represent the women, it belongs with the NLRB, not Federal court.

The women's lawyer reviewed the long history of the actions which have been brought against the company—a story which News & Letters has carried for two years, and which has taken the women through the CRC (Civil Rights Commission) and the EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunities Commission) before they finally filed their suit in Federal court.

The judge, who has not yet given his decision on the motion to dismiss the case, noted that Women's Liberation cases are fast becoming the most prolific kinds of cases in the courts. If and when the case does come to court, it should have wide-reaching applications.

—Court Observer

Male prisoner writes of thoughts on WL pamphlet

Thank you for your pamphlet on Women's Liberation. I have read and reread it many times. Some of my fellow inmates have discussed many of the passages. I wrote down many things that women had written to try to improve my outlook and understanding and improve myself as a human being.

Reading other articles on Women's Liberation my first thoughts were of resentment and sometimes anger. But your book was beautiful. If my sisters are trying so hard to make me aware it's an example for me to follow.

I don't believe either in the mental or physical inferiority of women, for I have known many young ladies much smarter than I am, and when I was doing farm labor in Arizona, chopping lettuce, which is back-breaking, there were many women who out-worked me. Maybe it is because I disassociate myself from the system that I can be critical and against their oppression. But when it comes to relating to women as human beings, I have a problem.

My background has done much to form my outlook. Most of my life has been reform schools and prisons. My brothers and I looked upon women as objects, someone to be used. My wife put up with a lot from me when I was released, and left when I was caught again. But this time when I came back to the joint, things had changed. I could see that the present system was unworkable, and that was when I became aware of women and their struggles.

There are quite a few brothers here who have also taken an interest in fighting their own chauvinism. We help each other. The one thing I have come to believe is that the women's movement is strong and very together, one of the most together movements today. It's this respect I feel for my courageous sisters that has been of great help to me.

—Prisoner California

All-white jury chosen for Soledad Brothers case

San Francisco, Cal.—The two remaining Soledad Brothers, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette, will have to face an all-white jury in San Francisco, a city which the defense wanted because of its diverse racial components. Defense lawyer Floyd Cilliman protested that the panel contained no Blacks, youth, Third World people, or prison inmates or ex-inmates.

The harassment of courtroom spectators, (as reported in News & Letters of October in the column where "Soledad Mothers Speak for Themselves,") has finally been challenged in an action filed by the American Civil Liberties Union. Three courageous white women testified about the search techniques they were subjected to. Agnes McFaddin told how a matron insisted she remove both pantyhouse and panties.

Marie Chapman complained about the police technique of "mugging" every spectator; she asked a policeman, "Am I the criminal?" "You're right, you are the criminal," is what the officer replied. Suzan Fine told that she had been obliged to remove a sanitary napkin.

If the nine white women selected for the jury had to go through the same experience as women attending the trial, would it affect the verdict?

Which side is Abel on?

Pittsburgh, Pa.—USW Pres. I. W. Abel showed up at a meeting of my local last month. All of us were very anxious to hear what he would say about Nixon and Phase II. Abel's message turned out to be that we should go along with Nixon's program. He said that American steelworkers are going to have to produce more to compete with European and Japanese workers. He said we had to co-operate to help save the economy.

To me, this seems like what the company is always telling us. Ever since the contract was settled this summer, they have been pushing us like crazy at work. There are a lot fewer men to do the jobs because there are many workers who have been out on lay-off since August. I believe that there is cheaper Japanese steel, but I wonder: couldn't the U.S. make steel a lot cheaper if they got rid of some of the foremen in the mills? There are so many of them that you could trip and fall and you'd hit one.

—Steelworker, U.S. Steel

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

You have to wonder where politics in this country is headed. Take a look at Secretary of Treasury Connally, who was a staunch Democrat. He now tries to out-Republican all the Republicans; he says he is still a Democrat but he defends every word that comes from the President's mouth. This seems to be the trend in American politics today: to be a good Democrat, one must be further to the right than the Republicans.

The convention of the AFL-CIO was for the union delegates, and whether Nixon was invited or went on his own, he should not have expected the red carpet treatment, especially since Meany had already attacked him. But he felt sure that just because he is President, he should get a rousing ovation, hugs and handshakes so he could go on TV and say the workers at the convention supported his wage freeze, in opposition to their leader Meany. Workers felt Meany was correct when he gavelled the delegates to order after Nixon spoke, and said "let's get on with Act 2".

WHEN RIGHT IS LEFT

Workers know that Meany is one of the furthest right of all labor leaders. Many Black workers have accused him of racism because of his lack of support of civil rights struggles. In the fight between Reuther and Meany, many workers supported Reuther because he was trying to push Meany to the left.

But when labor leaders attack each other across class lines like the U.A.W. is doing, it appears they are ready and willing to work for Nixon against the American working class.

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EDITORIAL

Phase II: speed-up and layoffs

As Phase II is finishing its first month, layoffs have hit auto plants all across the country. In Detroit, GM, Ford and Chrysler all put workers out on the streets. Instead of the 25,000 new jobs in the auto industry promised by Nixon when he announced his New Economic Policy, there are now less jobs than there were four months ago. This is the reality of Phase II; it is detrimental to poor and working people.

The soaring unemployment is not just in auto either. In aerospace-dominated Seattle, it is so extreme that malnutrition has broken out in serious proportions, and neighbors are feeding the children of the unemployed. And in Pittsburgh, many steelworkers laid-off in August are not back to work in the mills yet, and Pittsburgh's unemployment rate is still climbing.

The new unemployed are not just people looking for "Christmas" jobs, (and there are none to be found this year); they are victims of Nixon's little agreement with big business on Phase I and Phase II. As one Detroit auto worker put it: "In Sept., Oct. and Nov., when the freeze was on, they worked us like dogs. They yelled if you went to the bathroom too long, or if you got coffee too soon. Every day there was some new work added on the job, and every day we worked overtime. Now it is Phase II, and workers are being laid-off, and there is no overtime at all."

What the companies have been doing is building up huge inventories of cars during the cheap wages of the freeze, so that later on, in Phase II, they can dump them on the dealers to sell at the new, higher prices. But for young auto workers, it means that they are the ones who get "dumped" just when they are most in need of Christmas money.

WOODCOCK'S PHONY TALK

At the UAW Special Convention in Nov., Woodcock pretended to sound militant when he pledged that as long as the freeze is on which could affect contracts, the UAW would sign no contract for longer than one year. In fact, this is a much weaker position than he

had back in August when the freeze was first announced. At that time, he said that the UAW would strike if the contracts were affected. Now, you don't even hear him talking about this business of one-year contracts.

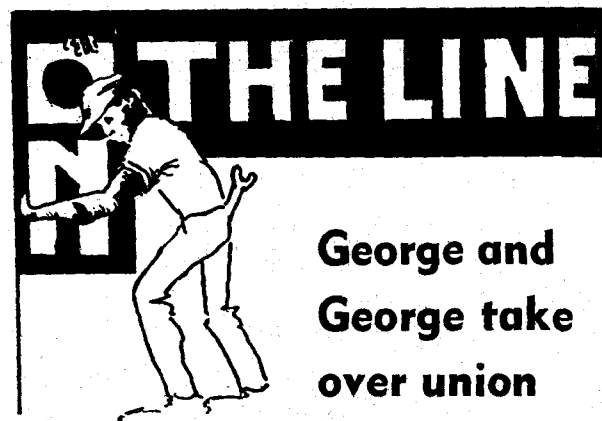
Meany, who has always been considered a reactionary by workers, now is sounding better to many than Woodcock. At least Meany is still talking the good fight against Nixon, even if he is still on the Pay Board and discouraging strikes. Woodcock doesn't even talk like there's any problems for workers.

WORKING CONDITIONS THE ISSUE

No one, not Meany or Woodcock, not Abel or Fitzsimmons, and not even the radicals, is talking about the real issue of Phase II: the conditions in the shops. While it is true that union members want the money that is due them, that money is not the biggest issue. Every worker knows that 10 cents here or there is not going to help much today.

What workers all over the country are saying is that what Nixon's New Economic Policy means to them is speed-up on the line, more work on every job, more accidents and poorer treatment at Medical. The heart of Nixon's policy is not the wage freeze, but the 10% investment credit given to big business, to use for the purchase of ever-more automation, to keep U.S. capitalism "competitive." It assures that next year in the shops there will be more, not less, speed-up; more, not less, accidents; and more, not less, workers added to the already huge lines outside every unemployment office.

If the "labor leaders" on the Pay Board have made their peace with Nixon's policies, the rank-and-file has not. The miners and the longshoremen who battled the companies and the government during the wage freeze showed that labor is not about let Nixon have his way. Tony Boyle did not tell the miners to shut down U.S. coal production; nor was it Harry Bridges who led the longshore strike. The rank-and-file in every union knows the same thing: the only way to fight Nixon is to do it yourself.



George and George take over union

by John Allison

Maybe the final chapter in the long history of UAW Local 490 is being written. The UAW waited until Chrysler reduced our membership down from 3,000 to about 200 members. The Highland Park plant moved to Perrysburg, Ohio, and at the same time, Automation was causing layoffs.

After all of this, the International came in and took us over. We are now in receivership. This means that they run Local 490 for the good of the UAW, and not for the good of Local 490.

This is being done by Jimmie George, former president of Local 490 and now an International Representative, and George Morelli, director of UAW's Region 1. George and George have come in and taken over Local 490—lock, stock and barrel.

Since Local 490 has had an amalgamated charter, and has a couple of other small plant units included in the field of membership, we asked the UAW to assign some other small locals to 490. We were called in and told that they were running the local. They froze all of our local's money, just like Nixon has frozen our wages. If there is any local union work to be done, we have to do it on our own time.

We have a new building near the plant, but it's a matter of the old con game—now you have it, now you don't. And now we don't. We can't even control what can or can't be done in our own building. Now it's the UAW's building.

What has happened is that our local union hall is rented out for use by another local union. They in turn rent the local out and make money for the International and themselves.

We cannot even rent our own local union hall to anyone—but somebody else can.

We don't know how this is all going to end, but we know we are seeking help from other local unions who can see clearly that the UAW is waiting to gobble them up like they have gobbled up Local 490. We are suffering inflation, Automation, Nixon and two Georges.

Black, white loggers unite: win strike in Mississippi

Laurel, Miss.—A three-month strike has won a pay increase for 2,500 woodcutters who supply wood to the big paper mills in Southern Mississippi.

The strike also forced the Masonite hardboard plant in Laurel to restore a pay cut put into effect on Sept. 1. Woodcutters said the pay cut had amounted to a 20 to 25 per cent reduction in the price paid for logs.

About 200 cutters had quit hauling wood to Masonite in protest against the cut, thus starting the strike that eventually spread to 3,900 cutters at wood yards across the southern half of the state. In the settlement, Masonite also agreed to measure wood by a cord weighing 5,400 pounds, which had been one of the demands of the strikers.

The Masonite strikers and others in Southern Mississippi won in the face of racist attacks and red-baiting by newspapers and broadcasters in the state. Half of the strikers are black and half are white, and their unity surprised the companies and the news media.

James Simmons, president of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, to which most of the woodcutters belong, said: "What it amounts to is that the other woodcutters helped Masonite workers to get their pay cut back, and the Masonite workers helped the others to get their pay raised to the Masonite level."

Aid in the form of money and food is still needed, because 1,200 cutters are still boycotting 15 wood dealers who have refused to pass on to the workers the \$2 raise given by the paper mills. The dealers sell logs to the companies after buying them from the woodcutters. Help should be sent to the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, P.O. Box 754, Laurel, Miss. 39440.

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

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—There have been quite a few problems with Medical at Chrysler Mack. One worker I know in 9790 was standing in front of the racks when a hi-lo knocked the rack into him and knocked him down. It caught the back of his heel and he was numbed.

They took him up to the small first aid and wrapped it up and sent him to the main first aid. When he got there, the doctor looked at it and gave him two pain pills and walked away. That's it! The nurse took the record down and then she walked away. So this worker asked the X-ray technician and the nurse whether they were through, and they screamed at him. Finally the doctor told him to leave, but nothing was put on the wound at all. This is a very common story at Chrysler Mack.

Another worker was hit by a 175 pound frame falling off the line. It put a big gash in his leg. He went to first aid, but they sent him back to work and made him finish the day, even though he was in great pain and dizzy. He went to his own doctor, and he said the man should stay home. This is the way things go at Mack; you get hurt by their unsafe conditions and mistreated by their first aid.

Recently everyone was talking about a black worker who dropped a heavy ladder on his toe. It swelled up terribly. But when he went to first aid, this white X-ray technician told him that he had eaten too many pork chops on the weekend and had the gout. This is the kind of racist insults you get.

If you're a foreman, though, they give you the best service in the world. One foreman bit his tongue eating a submarine sandwich, and they worked on him for half an hour. What I would like to know is when first aid is going to treat patients like human beings. If they acted like this in a private practice, they wouldn't have a single patient coming to them.

—Production worker, Chrysler Mack

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The company has been killing jobs in every department. On the fourth floor, there used to be three men who attached lock covers inside the trunk. Now there are only two. We filed a grievance on that job, but the union gave the same old line: there was nothing they could do because the job had been settled that way.

They killed another job by replacing a tube from a drain hole with a simple flap, then adding that work onto other jobs. They can put a new-hire on a job with

work added onto it, and by the time he has seniority and can file a grievance safely, the job is settled. Enough jobs have been eliminated that all the new-hires have been laid-off.

The union has still not distributed copies of the local agreement. Many things are different from the last agreement, but workers can't find that out until they are sitting down in Labor Relations under some charge. The committeemen don't have copies to pass out now, and can't get one from the union hall. Since it seems like you can never find a committeeman when you need him, we need to know ourselves just what we can stand on.

—Dept. 11 Worker, Fleetwood

GM Southgate

Los Angeles, Calif.—In 1927 GM had shop rules. Today, over 40 years later, we still have shop rules. These 45 shop rules are what is ruling us today. Let look at some of them:

"6. Absence without reasonable cause." The only reasonable cause for GM is one involving a doctor's note. Personal business is not an excuse.

And what happens in the wintertime when there is a lot of flu going around and men are sick and cannot come in. Does GM really care? No, instead those that are left are being punished for being there. What happened to the pool of workers to take care of absent workers? It doesn't exist. Nowadays they shift and shift men around until they can get someone to do enough extra work to cover the missing man.

"17. Making scrap unnecessarily, or careless workmanship." This like a lot of the other rules is a catch-all that they can use to harass us with. If you 78 your shop, (write it up for too much work) then GM will come around and try and pull something like rule 17 on you. Too much scrap around your work area, or "careless workmanship."

We all know these conditions, these tricks that GM uses against us. The point is what can we do about it?

We can do plenty if we can get together. We have to start talking among ourselves, rank-and-file workers. One idea I hear floating around that sounds like it is worth discussing is Shop Stewards. The contract has no provision for them, but why not among ourselves elect shop stewards to help represent us. We need some type of network to fight these shop rules, to fight the disputes right on the job rather than just filing a grievance and waiting a month or more or never hearing about it. We need something on the shop floor to deal with the grievances right at the point of production. Maybe each section—like the metal finishers, the door fitters, sanders, grinders, welders—should get together and elect their own steward to represent them. Give our backing to this man on the floor when a problem arises.

—GM Southgate Worker

Reader's Views

MISSION TO PEKING

On the eve of the Nixon visit to Peking every paper and magazine I pick up is filled with traveler's tales extolling the virtues of the new China, the happy people, the vast improvements, etc., etc., etc.

It reminds me of the day when Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union. The first task of the U.S. Ambassador was to write a book and produce a movie "Mission to Moscow," which was a repetition of the lies of Stalin and a blessing on the notorious Moscow Frame-up Trials as "the truth."

It looks as if history is about to repeat itself.

Old Radical
California

FARMERS AND WORKERS

We have a new Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz. I'm beginning to think it's really true that Nixon searches the country for the worst man for any job.

American farmers remember Butz well. He was the allocation hatchet man for the infamous Ezra Taft Benson in the 50's, when tens of thousands of small farmers went bankrupt and were forced off the land. All this, so that agribusiness giants, like Ralston-Purina where Butz is on the Board of Directors, could get complete control of the farming business.

Since Richard Nixon became President, the rate of farmers going broke and quitting has gone from about 200 a month to nearly 2,000! I suppose numbers don't mean much, but if the farm is all you have in the world, what happens to you and your children when you have to move to the cities looking for work during this recession? On the road where my uncle's farm is located, there were eight farms back in 1960. Today, there are only two.

The so-called liberals in the Senate have no courage at all. They let Butz get in, and Nixon just smiled. Maybe he is planning to get rid of every farmer by election day, so there won't be a "farm vote" to hurt him.

Disgusted
Detroit

I got a \$500 raise last week from the Annual Improvement Factor in the UAW contract. When I looked at my check, I saw that \$1.70 had been already taken out for taxes. With the cost of living what it is now, a raise like that is no raise at all.

Chrysler Mack Worker
Detroit

Last month's "On the Line" column about Chrysler fixing up its plant to look good for Open House really struck home with me. The auto companies really have good PR men because nobody but the men and women who work there will believe how terrible working conditions really are.

When my husband began working for GM all our relatives thought it was

great. They had taken a tour of an auto plant and found it to be "clean, neat and efficient." If the plants are so neat and efficient, why are there so many injuries? Why are so many out on sick leave any why does everyone hate the Medical Dept.?

Another thing they told us about was the UAW's great 30 yr. retirement plan. It's great all right—if you can last 30 years. Last month my husband was working nine and ten hours a day. Now he's been laid off. GM may be able to "snow-job" the public but they aren't fooling the workers and their families.

Auto Worker's Wife
Detroit

FROM CANADA

The employees of La Presse who are presently out of a job put together a newspaper called *Quotidien Populaire*. It first came out on Nov. 2, the day of the huge mass meeting at the Forum. It was the largest meeting ever held in Montreal. Among others, the firemen were there, and the whole meeting was very militant. I have never seen so many clenched left fists.

There is supposed to be a one-hour to one-day general strike by all members of the Montreal CNTU (CSN) here in solidarity with the La Presse strikers. A great many FTQ unions are also sympathetic to the idea.

There seems to be a difference in the way the unions fit into the picture here and in the U.S. The rally of 12,000 might be less possible in an American city than in Montreal. The unions here are not integrated into management as they are in the U.S., even if they are places where opportunists abound. Perhaps it is a different stage of capitalism here, where the economy plays a very subsidiary role to the American economy on this continent.

Correspondent
Montreal

FROM CHILE

Don't be surprised if this place goes through a reversal some time soon. The left sits around and talks about "democracy" while the army and the police are autonomous and armed to the teeth.

Visitor
Chile

AND FROM ISRAEL

Life here is very segregated. On the kibbutz there is equality in working and living, and everyone gets along well there. However, the situation for Arabs and Oriental Jews in the cities is much different.

The Arabs are treated mostly as second-class citizens. They are taken advantage of by owners in many instances. People aren't afraid of Arab citizens, but there is a feeling of hesitation and cautiousness when dealing with them. What causes a big feeling of separation is that they live in their own villages. There is very little integration in the cities . . .

The Oriental Jews are also considered lower class citizens. They are composed mostly of immigrants from North Africa. Many of them are crowded together in a section of Jerusalem, which, although it may be paradise in comparison to the conditions that they came from, nevertheless is a slum. They are poor and uneducated, and consequently they don't reap the benefits of other citizens, such as police protection, good jobs, fair treatment by the government, etc. They have large families, poor schools, a high The Israeli Black Panthers were formed by Oriental youth in an effort to improve the conditions Oriental Jews live under.

I am convinced that the solution here is the same as all over—a classless society is the only answer.

Student
Israel

NORTH IRELAND

When Thomas MacGiolla, head of the Sinn Fein, spoke here, he blasted the U.S. press for spreading the illusion that if the British troops were withdrawn there would be a blood bath in Northern Ireland. He affirmed his belief that both Catholic and Protestant workers will work together and that what they want is a United Socialist Republic under a workers' and farmers' rule.

When some vanguardist radical got up to say that the Irish struggle was a bourgeois action and that the British working class should free Ireland, Mr. MacGiolla's reply was right to the point: if the British workers did so, it would be fine, but the Irish people are not waiting on it.

Observer
New York

The Irish question is in the forefront. The Compton Report denies that internees were tortured, but the admissions it does make are astounding. It is becoming clearer every day that the partition of Ireland must go.

Correspondent
Scotland

Christmas is the festival of peace and goodwill to all men. Yet for many families in Ulster this Christmas there will be no family re-union or celebration.

Over 500 men are interned without charge or trial and their wives and children will have barely enough to meet their day to day needs, let alone the extra expense of Christmas comforts. Hundreds more will spend this Christmas in the dreary refugee camps set up by the Government of the Republic. Money, toys and food parcels are urgently needed to give these unfortunate people a happy Christmas. Please help us to help them. Please send donations to:

Northern Refugees' Christmas Fund
c/o 30 Gardiner Place
Dublin 1, Ireland

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

I disagree with Denby and Dunbar's support for Shirley Chisholm. She was quoted in the *New York Times* last year as saying that there are too many Jews on the New York State Democratic ticket, and in another article as saying that when Blacks attack Jews they are attacking them because they are members of the Establishment and not because Blacks are anti-Semitic. In addition to this anti-Semitism, though she boasts of being unbought and unbossed, she voted for Hale Boggs, and even worse for Joe Wagner, a notorious racist, warhawk and reactionary, for Democratic Party leadership positions, in order to get a good committee assignment!

Correspondent
New York

I was pleased to read your open letter to Shirley Chisholm. Most of the reactions to her have been very revealing. A lot of so-called liberals have called her an "arrogant" person. What they probably wanted to call her, but didn't dare, was "uppity." None of them seemed really concerned with the issues she was speaking to.

Woman Student
Detroit

My feelings are mixed about Shirley Chisholm's candidacy. I'm not so sure that no matter how hard she tries, she can separate herself from the politicians. And if she does, I'm afraid for her, because every real spokesman we Black people have had, has been "wiped out" sooner or later. All I know is that we need a spokesman—and we need it badly.

Black Working Woman
New York

As a former member of SDS and CORE, as a third-camp revolutionary socialist, as a white man who has supported the Black and women's liberation movements from the beginning, I strongly disagree with your endorsement of Shirley Chisholm.

When Shirley Chisholm runs for president as a Democrat, she is channeling the energies of thousands of militant women into a political death trap, when these energies could go to organizing workingclass women to take independent political action as a step toward breaking working women from the two old capitalist political parties.

Greg Alden
New York

Editor's Note: We thought the "Open Letter to Shirley Chisholm" in our October issue had stated clearly that "as Marxist-Humanist revolutionaries we know that only in the coming together of the forces fighting for freedom can this society finally be overthrown, and a new one built on new foundations. We don't believe in playing bourgeois politics." When we make exceptions for labor and Black candidates, the support we give is always critical support. This critical support is given when the situation is such that these candidates allow new forces to gain expression.

In the case of a Black woman presidential candidate, the situation was so unusual, that it certainly represented a new stage. If it elicits a genuine, mass support, there is no doubt in our minds that we will continue to support Shirley Chisholm. If, on the other hand, it develops that she is just using her candidacy to ask for support for the Democratic Party, she will have proved that she is not a manifestation of what the Black masses want. It is masses in motion that determine the course of history.

YOUTH AND THE WARS AT HOME AND ABROAD

I can not begin to tell you how glad I was to read Ethel Dunbar's column in last month's *News & Letters*, "about busing."

It is an old saying that the old start the wars and the young die in them. This was never more true than now. With the announced approval of the President, racist "leaders" like Irene McCabe are trying to force our children to fight out their (Mrs. McCabe's) race war in the schools. It used to be that they couldn't make you fight in a war until you were 18. Mrs. McCabe is trying to see that basic training starts in the nursery. Because given her way, the war will start in Kindergarten.

White Father
Detroit

It was fantastic that 18 months after four students were shot down in cold blood by the Ohio National Guard, the State of Ohio was still trying to put the blame on the students. It was good to see that as soon as the first trials of the 25 accused by a special Potage County grand jury began, one case was dismissed when the defendant could not be identified, the second case of assault was also dismissed, and another student found guilty only of a misdemeanor in obstructing a fireman. It was even better when the prosecution finally gave up and dismissed all the rest of the cases for lacks of evidence. What bothers me is that the guardsmen are still at large and all investigation of their activities has been stopped.

Engineer
Michigan

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Super powers line up as India-W. Pakistan war explodes

(Continued from Page 1)

purposes, civil wars may be reduced to the Maoist version of "a social-imperialist plot."

THE BANGLA DESH

China did more than turn a deaf ear to the mild telegram Maulana Bashani of the Awami Party had sent to Mao in April. "The ideology of socialism is to fight oppression . . . and if Mao refuses to protest against the atrocities of the military junta, the world may think you are not the friend of the oppressed." China was at that very moment aiding the West Pakistan military junta in its continued massacres of its own people as well as assigning Pakistan a prestige job: arranging for the secret trip of Kissinger to Peking.

With such superpower attempts for new world realignments in the works in April, of what concern was the Bangla Desh to the "pure revolutionary" Mao?

None can know the consequences of the Bangla Desh "Government" now that it has allowed India to use it for its own war with Pakistan. Indeed, those two governments will, in turn, become pawns of the three superpowers aiming for world mastery.

We are yet to see what happens to a national liberation movement like that of the East Pakistanis when it subordinates its movement to another capitalist government, instead of working out a common front with the West Pakistan masses who are equally exploited by the same military junta—and who were carrying on a struggle against its rulers that was strong enough to undermine Ayub Kahn. Some West Pakistani scholars in this country not only had great sympathy for the East Pakistani struggle, but full awareness of the global implications.

Thus, one, Eqbal Ahmad (1), wrote: "The leaders of the Awami League in East Pakistan failed to understand how important West Pakistan was to the Nixon-Kissinger strategy of building an informal anti-Soviet alliance of dependable clients around the Mediterranean and Indian oceans—from Spain and Portugal, through Greece and Israel, to Iran and Pakistan." Meanwhile it is the Indian and Pakistan masses who are the victims. The war goes on while superpower plots are hatched.

NIXON'S CHANGE OF COURSE

Judging by the present U.S. action in the UN what had originally appeared as accidental—the first Kissinger trip to Peking via Pakistan—now discloses a pattern. Clearly, nothing—absolutely nothing—is permitted to divert from that global change in possible new war alliances.

Thus, though crucial to that change in course was the possibility that Mao could get Nixon off the hot seat in the Vietnam war, there was no deviation in the main course even when North Vietnam made it as clear to Mao, as to Nixon, that it would under no circumstances become a pawn in a new Big Power game simply because the locale would be changed from Geneva to Peking. The time between the 1954 "peace" and 1971 war has been endless war for the Vietnamese—not the Chinese or Russians, but for the Vietnamese alone.

Thus, when Congress was shocked at the callous Nixon policy of not cutting military hardware to Pakistan in face of its barbarous war against its own people and voted an end to monies set aside for Pakistan, Nixon still found ways to keep doors open to the military junta China supported. This is further reaffirmed by the U.S. delegation's present maneuvers in the UN.

Thus—and this is above all—Nixon was so anxious to assure Mao of non-concern about the power struggle WITHIN China, and anxiety about his own trip, that no sooner did rumors appear about the fall of Lin Piao than Kissinger was once again rushed off to Peking. This time he finalized the date of the trip—the eve of Washington's birthday!

The stakes must be high indeed to account for such persistence in the wooing of China and for Mao's embrace of Nixon in face of the U.S. continuing war in



MUKTI BAHINI freedom fighters in Bangla Desh fight with ancient and modern weapons.

Vietnam, not to mention his own previous "philosophy" of U.S. imperialism as the world's Enemy No. 1. Involved in such historic global turnabouts, who among the rulers has time to pay attention to a national liberation movement as that of the East Pakistanis? All rulers are interested in but one thing: how to throttle the national liberation movement and keep it from spoiling the big game!

CHINA, IN AND OUT OF THE UN

In these first three weeks of China's presence at the UN, the one subject on which China seemed to act its old self regarding U.S. imperialism, as well as playing Chou En-lai's low profile role of a non-superpower, was the vote with the majority of the UN against the U.S. decision to trade with Rhodesia. Unfortunately, for any who knew China's past—is it only past?—on the question, it, too, contained a joker. Back in 1966, when not only had the UN called for an embargo on trade with racist Rhodesia, but Mao himself had engaged in "one more battle—in many ways the most audacious and astounding of his life" (2)—the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—China bought some 18 million dollars' worth of Rhodesian tobacco!

It is this type of fake, retrogressionist, pseudo-leftism which was manifest in China's present announced stand for the "Palestinian revolutionary cause." Chiao Kuan-hua had separated himself from the UN Resolution which had called upon Israel to return all lands occupied by it in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, pointing out that China "resolutely" supports Palestinians to regain land lost to Israel in 1948.

In a word, Mao's China does not recognize the creation of Israel and is for her being driven into the sea. China gave free reign to the outright fascist and open anti-Semite Al-Shukary to propagandize that drivel from its shores. Shukary, in turn, stressed how outside of the Arab countries, China alone had never recognized Israel. He had not bothered to inform his Arab listeners in 1967 (3) any more than had Chiao Kuan-hua in 1971 called the UN's attention to the simple fact that Mao's China itself had not yet been born!

All these hidden chickens will first come to roost later. For the moment what is crucial—not only in relationship to the India-Pakistan war but also, and above all, globally—is the power struggle within China and it is to this we must turn if we are seriously to grapple with the new relations-to-be between the U.S. and China.

LIN PIAO AND MAO TSE-TUNG

Following the grounding of all planes in China, the cancellation of the annual mammoth Oct. 1 celebration of Communist victory, and the continued failure of any public appearance by the designated heir of Mao—Lin Piao (whose investiture as Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms" is part of the Constitution itself)—all we have got from the official Chinese press are a few cryptic notes about "plots," and how there will "always" be people who "hatch plots."

Whatever it is that China will finally tell the world, one thing is sure: China cannot stand another such

"victorious Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" as it took to remove from power that other "close comrade-in-arms," Liu Shao-ch'i. And yet nothing would be more incorrect than to conclude from all this merely that Mao is a genius at miscalculating "closest comrades-in-arms," whom he nevertheless has a consuming passion to designate. It would be too easy a way out. It would tell us nothing at all about the objective situation in China and how she sees the world she "rejoined," and it would lead us into the subjective trap of viewing it all as a "mere" power struggle.

A power struggle is never "just" a power struggle. It always reflects the state of the economy and politics as well as global aims even if not of the actual relations. Even if Lin had lost out in the power struggle "precisely because" he was concerned "only" with assuring his becoming "No. 1" when Mao dies, the greater truth would still be that such personal delusion could emerge because the Army was the force that assured Mao's victory (not so much over "capitalist roaders" as from the actual Left the Cultural Revolution unloosed); because the decisive force in getting workers to work hard and harder was, again, the Army; and because, finally, it was the Army that brought order out of chaos and power back to the leadership so that Chou En-lai could resume the office of foreign affairs, of global politics, not empty-handed.

If "the Party that controlled the gun" switched violently from U.S. imperialism as "Enemy No. 1," to Nixon as "less bad," that also was no surprise to the head of the Army. After all, what was the Cultural Revolution all about if it was not to train the Chinese that RUSSIA, NOT THE U.S., was Enemy No. 1?

Put differently, even if the fall of Lin Piao was not a result of any change in line leading to China's entry into the UN and intensified flirtations with U.S. imperialism, even if it was "only" a power struggle, "purely personal," its significance is not what did or did not, will or will not happen to Lin, but what has happened to Mao's China, as people, as "Thought," (4) as time. And on that high level, the fall of Mao's "closest (Continued on Page 8)

(1) See his "Letter to a Pakistani Diplomat" in *The New York Review of Books* (September 2, 1971).

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(2) See "Mao and the New Mandate" by Edgar Snow (New Republic, April 10, 1969).

(3) "U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit" (News & Letters). So blind to the lacunae in "Mao's Thought" are the "Left" scholar-specialists in China studies that one defended to me China giving sanctuary to the likes of Al-Shukary on the ground that it was done "only for politics and not because there is a grain of anti-Semitism in Mao"!

(4) And we do mean "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung," and not just his personality. From the very start of the Cultural Revolution we posed the question whether Mao was being "deified or mummified." (See "China's Self-Created Turmoil," News & Letters, October, 1966.)

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YOUTH

Report from East Europe: revolt continues

Editor's Note: Sibylle Plogstedt is a German revolutionary student who was living in Czechoslovakia in 1968, during both "Prague Spring" and the Russian invasion that followed in August. She was arrested in January, 1970, spent 17 months in Czechoslovakian prisons, and recently toured the U.S. to speak to students here. Excerpts from her report follow.

The opposition of the whole population of Czechoslovakia to the Russian invasion showed the sympathy of the masses for the reforms that Prague Spring had brought forth. The people had taken a real interest in what was going on, and had begun to read all the newspapers in which they found, for the first time, not only the official declarations of the Party, but a freedom of discussion.

STUDENTS AND WORKERS UNITE

One result of the invasion was a student and workers' alliance which tried to coordinate all the actions of the movement. In November '68, a student strike took place throughout the country, which wanted to mobilize the liberal wing of the CP. But the liberal wing did not take any interest—they continued to try for a balance between the demands of the Soviet bureaucracy and the demands of the masses. They reacted only to the strength of those pushing them. So the alliance between students and the Party was impossible.

But there was an alliance between students and workers, and many committees sprang up. These committees tried to avoid the official structure of the trade unions and find their own structure, based on free discussion.

The group to which I belonged was founded during the student strike. It renounced from the beginning any legal activity, because legal activity meant just to use the official structures of the Party and trade unions. It was the hopelessness of the situation which pushed the group into this action.

NOT REAL SOCIALISM

Because we saw the difficulty of theoretical analysis in Czechoslovakia, and we saw how few people knew about the theoretical approaches of larger groups of theoreticians which worked in Western countries, or even of theoreticians who worked in Russia and who had been persecuted, we tried to work out a documentation which gave the basic information of an analysis of the system. We gave out texts by Kolontai, Bukharin, Trotsky, Markovic, Modzelewski and many others.

When we were arrested, this documentation was evaluated by the indictment this way: "In this work, the defendants claim that the political and social system of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic has nothing in common with real socialism, and that this system contradicts the interests of the working people of this country. The content of this anthology unambiguously demonstrates the attitudes and tasks of the anti-organization."

It seems that the judges understood quite well what we wished to say in our work.

The group was arrested after infiltration by a police agent. We were arrested at the end of '69 and in March '71 finally had our trial. The sentences given

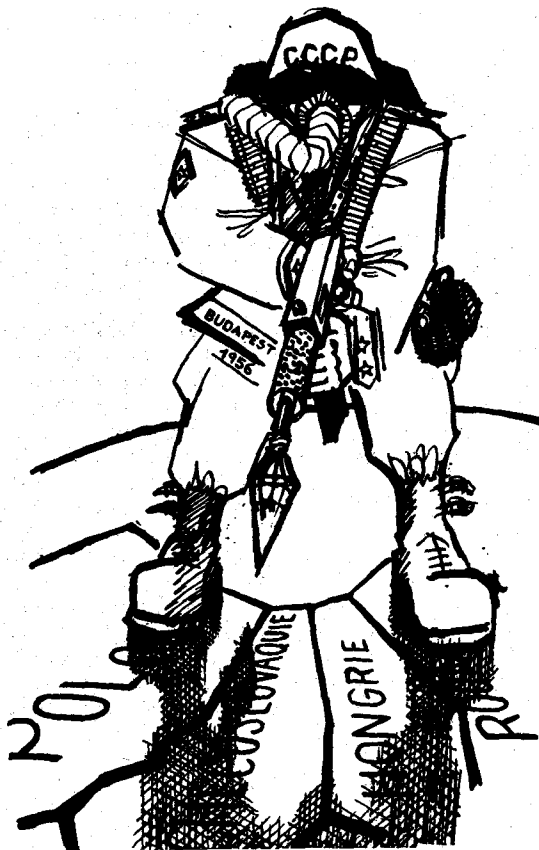
Berkeley backs sailors

Berkeley, Calif.—The U.S.S. Coral Sea sailed on schedule, but 35 sailors of the 1,200 who signed the petition to S.O.S. (Stop Our Ship) were not aboard, and three officers have resigned in protest solidarity. The pre-dawn show of solidarity of civilians was 1,500 strong.

Support for the sailors came in from sister ships, sailors on Treasure Island, peace and church groups, student campus organizations and, with an action unprecedented in American history, the Berkeley City Council voted 6-1 to provide sanctuary to sailors from the Coral Sea. The motion provides that a church group will work together with the city of Berkeley to "find appropriate facilities and provide housing, subsistence and protection for persons acting according to the dictates of their consciences."

The motion for sanctuary opened a can of worms, one usually not so visible in a "democracy." State and Federal attorneys have threatened all types of prosecution against the Berkeley City Council, claiming that two sections of the U.S. Code are in violation. Fines or imprisonment can result for encouraging desertion, disloyalty, mutiny, refusal of duty, etc.

The Council refused to rescind its motion, which it claims was "purely symbolic," but no charges have been preferred, especially since the sailors, knowing what was in store for them, refused the sanctuary and have all gone "underground" for the time being.



were for one year to four years. I was given two and a half years, but was released after 17 months, because I was a foreigner, and that was the best way to keep a foreigner from coming back to the country.

REVOLT IN EAST EUROPE

The tour on which I'm speaking is not only to ask solidarity for this group—but to give an understanding of what is going on in the revolutionary movement in Eastern countries. From '65 we have had Modzelewski's group in Poland. In '68 there was the student strike in Warsaw. After some time of quiet—surface quiet—when everyone thought the movement in Poland had been re-integrated, we saw the sudden demonstrations of workers on the coast. The workers asked the Polish students to join the movement. They sang the "Internationale" in the streets. Opposition is directed as much against the bourgeoisie as against the Communist Party bureaucracy.

The repression in Czechoslovakia has not been a repression against the liberal wing of the Party, but against those groups that worked through illegality. In Slovakia a smaller group has been sentenced just for translating and reading Marcuse. In Bulgaria, a group was sentenced just for translating and distributing Cohn-Bendit. It shows that the influence of the New Left in those countries is quite big.

Every growing conflict in which the wages grow smaller and the prices higher can produce a crisis in which the conflict will break out. The population of Czechoslovakia has refused collaboration with the existing system of bureaucracy. When workers go to the factory, they do their work as poorly as possible. Even the political police told us that this kind of resistance by the workers was learned under fascism, and they are still utilizing it. It is quite evident that although it seems quiet in Czechoslovakia, the Party has great difficulty in establishing order.

Chicano picket at MSU

East Lansing, Mich.—"Racist ads must go! Close the State News!" read some of the picket signs carried by Chicano students here recently, as they marched outside of the building where the campus newspaper office is located.

The Chicanos were protesting the publication of a racist ad for a Mexican restaurant in the State News. One Chicano explained, "The Chicanos of MSU are protesting this type of advertisement because it perpetuates the stereotype that we are lazy, always happy, fat, stupid-looking, and are known for our food."

The Chicanos resorted to picketing after a confrontation with the manager of the paper. They were simply asking for a verbal and written apology to the Chicano community, and a free ad the same size of the restaurant ad to reply to it. His response was, "Hell, no."

Another Chicano student explained the picket line by stating that self-respect is important to Chicanos and that they will not allow any racism to try to destroy them.

DOING AND THINKING

Students should know: Two classes in China

By David Joven

At a recent meeting of a local radical student group, it was decided that a letter welcoming the Chinese delegation into the United Nations should be written. Their feeling was that at last the rightful rulers and representatives of the Chinese people would take their proper place in the international body. It is very true that since 1949 the regime of Mao Tse-tung has been firmly entrenched in power. A little common sense should tell us that the Communist regime should have been recognized a long time ago, and that Chiang Kai-shek does not rule over the 800 million Chinese on the mainland.

The common sense I refer to is the reasoning of well-meaning bourgeois democrats, not of socialist revolutionaries. There is no doubt that no such letter would have been written if the U.N.'s newest member did not claim to be Socialist. Unfortunately, this claim is accepted by most radical students, many of whom cannot be considered Maoists.

The fact that China has suffered at the hands of Western barbarism, including the United States, cannot be denied. The great achievement of the Chinese Communists was that they threw out all foreign rule and completed the nationalist revolution. However, that does not mean that there no longer exists a domestic class rule in China today.

It is ironic that some of the same ones who are so quick to criticize anything that the "Trots" do actually have a very similar position on China. The Trotskyist Socialist Workers' Party is quick to condemn the political leadership in China, while at the same time defending that regime against Western imperialists. It's kind of like playing the Nixon-Humphrey lesser of two evils game on an international scale.

Some students think that it is wrong to criticize "Socialist" countries like China because it diverts people's attention away from the "real enemy"—American imperialism. Believe it or not, that idea has a lot of support in Peking, where government leaders are not much different than anywhere else in the world, in that they are always pointing to an enemy outside their own country.

Criticism of state capitalist "Communist" regimes in no way detracts from the necessary attack on American capitalism. The world can be seen more objectively if we don't have to carry another country's flag in order to oppose the U.S. rulers. Freedom is much too great an idea to be confined to the power politics of the United Nations or the Little Red Book of Mao Tse-tung.

La Raza Unida acts

Los Angeles, Calif.—Chicano students at several Los Angeles area campuses have been busy organizing La Raza Unida, an Independent Chicano party. The students spend a lot of time in the brown community talking to people, trying to convince them of the need for Chicanos to have their own party. During a recent congressional election, La Raza Unida was able to get two per cent of the vote. La Raza volunteers are confident that their support will increase as more Chicanos become aware that there is such a party.

The political platform of La Raza Unida is a reaction to the everyday problems of the Chicano community, something which the Republicans and Democrats have not done anything about. Over 320,000 Chicanos, or 40 per cent of the brown population in Los Angeles, are now receiving welfare.

Then there is the problem of police brutality, involving over 10,000 complaints against individual policemen. Not one police officer has ever been convicted for a crime. Not even the murder of Ruben Salazar, a well-known L. A. Times reporter, was enough to get a conviction. La Raza Unida is asking that the community have a part in controlling the police.

Competing with the party machine of the Democrats is not an easy task, but the unshakable determination of the Chicano students just might break the monopoly of capitalist politicians in their communities. Most members of La Raza Unida don't have much faith in the electoral process; they see the party more as an organizing tool. Elections have already been won by independent Chicano parties elsewhere in the Southwest. If the Chicano moratoriums are any indication of what the Chicano masses are thinking, then the barrios of the nation's third largest city could be lost to the Democrats forever.

How the party relates to Chicanos as workers will have much to say about its success. One militant Chicano Teamster said there is a rank-and-file caucus in his union which he supports, and that outside the union he is an enthusiastic campaigner for Raul Ruiz, who is endorsed by La Raza Unida. Chicano worker power, especially together with other workers, is a much more concrete and powerful social force than just the idea of the Community.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The ruling class press gave scant notice to the investigation which the Congressional Black Caucus conducted on racism in the armed forces last November. Hearings were held on 10 military bases across the country, and then an "international hearing" and summary reports on the extent of racism in all branches of the America armed forces in the U.S., Europe and Asia, were presented at the Rayburn Congressional office building in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 15-16.

The summary of evidence obtained from these hearings—at which hundreds of irate Black enlisted men and officers testified, with the corroborative support of a few score white enlisted men—scored the age old complaints. Blacks are discriminated against in enlistment, promotion, personal practices, discharge policy, equal opportunities and in the dispensation of military justice.

PASSIONATE DENOUNCEMENTS

The most passionate denouncements occurred when Black enlisted men enumerated incident after incident where white officers and NCOs acted prejudicially in dealing with them on every level of army life, a practice which is institutionalized in every U. S. military base around the world.

The cases related ran the gamut from "pure crackerism" to studied forms of malicious racist practice. In the cases of a haircut, certain bases charged \$1.25 for a G.I. cut, but charged \$4.50 for a "natural." In the army (although it is permitted in the air force) Black enlisted men are forbidden to wear the narrow black bracelets which "show our unity for one another," or to carry the metal combs for natural hairdos inside their uniform pockets. "You may wear a cross around your neck, but anything relating to Black identity or solidarity is illegal," said a Black soldier.

So-called military justice came under fire from both Black enlisted men and Black officers. But their styles were different. Black officers gave cogent, well thought out criticisms of military "justice" and often they read from typed scripts on how the system operates unequally. They pointed out that white Commanding Officers applied article #15, (Company punishment) too frequently

Racism: Pentagon's bitter pill

at the slightest violation of discipline by Black enlisted men, often failing to use it if a white enlisted man committed the same infraction. And if a white and a Black are involved in a fracas it is only the Black soldier who is punished.

OFFER REMEDIES

Remedies to correct these injustices were offered: a review of every punishment given under article #15 by the Judge Advocate General's office and more Black officers to be available for service on court-martial trials.

Representatives of the Darnstadt 50 (the 50 Black enlisted men who were threatened with court-martial because they protested the racist application of military "justice" in Germany) saw the whole thing differently from the officers.

To them, military "justice" was merely the extension of military discipline. A system where the accuser is both prosecutor, judge and jury. "The officers who are selected to judge you are the same ones who socialize, drink and play tennis with your accuser." These men would replace this court with a court which is selected at random from the entire command, making the appearance of an officer on a court martial hearing a novelty.

MILITARY—DEHUMANIZED MONSTER

At the final day of the hearing in Washington, a Black West Point graduate, who had resigned his commission, passionately chastised the Black Caucus for trying to find methods of solving the problem of racism with the military when he said: "The military is a monster which needs to be abolished. It is no place for a man or a woman. It is dehumanizing."

Congressman Ron Dellums of California ventured to answer the young ex-officer by saying that his, Dellums', head was in the same place that the young ex-officer's head is, but the people's head is not there, so the Black Caucus must seek reform on the legislative level, where the people's heads are.

After listening to testimony at the bases and three days at the hearing in Washington, D.C., this writer can only conclude that the heads of Black enlisted men are far ahead—they want out now.

Good typewriters not wanted

Detroit, Mich.—I work at a typewriter parts shop. Our main business is recovering the rubber roller that gets typed on. Our customers are mostly office machine repairmen and dealers.

Several weeks ago, a guy came in with a roller covered with plastic. He wanted us to grind it down to size for him. He explained that with a plastic roller, the machine will never need recovering, and will reproduce the typed image better than rubber.

We had a few problems in working with the plastic, and the boss then told the guy that it was impossible to do. "Sorry, it was a nice idea, but it will never work." Several of us later wondered why the boss said this. The problems we had could be worked out with a little time and research; they weren't that hard. It would be worth a little effort to have a better-working machine.

We then realized that the boss didn't want this project done. If someone came up with a new, superior roller that would last the lifetime of the typewriter, the company would soon be out of business, because there would soon be no market for rubber rollers!

I can see now why the auto companies won't stop pollution or improve the safety and performance of their cars. If they did they would in some way drastically lose money or go out of business. It's a sad thing when we have to live with inferior products in order to preserve the economic system.

—Young Worker

Perspectives Report to the National Editorial Board Meeting of News & Letters Committees

NIXON AND MAO AIM TO THROTTLE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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Rahway Prison rebellion avoids Attica massacre

(Continued from Page 5)

knowledge about the massacre, considering censorship measures by the administrators.

They leveled searing indictments against the penological practices which caused the rebellion at Attica, against the racist massacre, and against Rockefeller and Nixon. They believed, however, that an Attica-style rebellion was an impossibility at Rahway.

"We do, of course, have the same general problems here," said one man, "but the tensions are not at all as acute as at Attica. If we are going to beat the system, we will have to do it by their rules." He waved a small black book which contained the N.J. State Prison Codes. "They break their own rules; we've got to catch them in the act to effect positive change."

EMPHASIZE CORRUPT SYSTEM

While ruling out mass rebellion, the inmates made it clear that every day of their lives in prison brought new insights into how corrupt the prison system and the ruling system of society really are:

"We are battle-hardened soldiers. We can see what they are doing. We will remember what they do. We will fight them for all we're worth, and we will win!"

Another said, "You folks on the outside have to get together in big rallies to say something against the system. We on the inside stand each alone. Each individual stands brave in the face of oppression and reprisal to make any blow he can against the system."

The remaining twenty minutes of the discussion centered on parole proceedings. An inmate who'd walked in late had just come from learning that his parole was denied. He explained the parole system as follows:

"You first come up for parole after one-third of your term has elapsed. You are assigned a field parole officer, who is supposed to investigate your family and home, your job potentials, etc. You go through a five-minute psychological interview and a medical examination. The only question the doctor asks is, 'Are you ready to face parole?' If I had two broken legs, I would say yes! When you go before the parole board, you have three men there who ask you rote questions for five minutes and then tell you that they'll inform you of their decision. Two weeks you have to wait, and then they send you a piece of paper saying whether you're free or not.

"In my case, I had 17 letters of recommendation from people on the outside. These included two promises of employment, one fully paid car, an apartment, a set of clothes, and the services of the Fortune Society to help me readjust to society. The board ignored all this. There was no record of a report from the field officer. In the past seven years, I have committed no serious infractions, and they ignored this, too."

PLAN COURT BATTLE

This man's case will go to court soon in a constitutional suit. Hopefully, it will lay the ground-work for an end to the nonsensical parole system in this state.

The Nixons, Rockefellers, Cahills, etc. might want their captives to stay quiet. The inmates of Rahway State

Prison made it clear that they won't be quiet until there are some changes. Until meals are substantial enough so that blood banks won't turn down inmate-donors for calcium deficiencies. Until vermin are exterminated. Until medical aid consists of more than band-aids and aspirin. Until violent racism is not encouraged by the administration. Until treatment facilities are opened for men with drug problems. Until vocational training consists of more than soap-making, license-plate-stamping, and floor mopping. Until mindless bureaucrats are expelled. Until convicts are released as free human beings into a free society, rather than as animalized criminals into a society under siege.

—Steve, N.Y.

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Compounding Third-World dilemmas

Wars and weapons

All the wars in the last 25 years have been fought in the poorer parts of the world, and the "weapons used in these wars have come almost entirely from the industrialized nations of the northern hemisphere," reported the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. The United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France have supplied 90 percent of the major arms to the Third World countries.

The United States has been the largest supplier. Since 1950 over one third of the total major weapons acquired by Third World countries have come directly from the United States. Nearly half the world's total trade in weapons can be accounted for through the United States.

The export of major weapons—aircraft, naval vessels, armoured vehicles and missiles—to the 91 Third World Countries has jumped sevenfold between 1950 and 1970. This represented an average yearly rate of increase of nine percent, nearly twice the average increase of the gross national product of Third World countries.

The leaders of the developed world seem quite happy to fight to the last Asian, African, Latin American.

'Aid' to poor nations

The United Nations has set an aid target of one percent of each rich nation's gross national product per year, to be contributed to the development of poor nations. No contribution of any nation approaches this amount. France with 0.65 percent does the most. The United States ranks 12th on the donor list with 0.31 percent.

Even more disturbing is that the aid is aimed not to help developing countries, but as a way to promote influence and especially exports and investment.

The estimated 149 billion dollars in aid of the United States from 1946 to 1971 is the best example:

- Arms, worth \$41.5 billion. All were U.S. made. The ten percent that were sold helped the U.S. balance of payments and subsidized the domestic arms makers.

- Food for Peace, worth \$19.7 billion. All was grown in the U.S. and most was surplus which, if sold cheaply abroad, would have created chaos on world markets.

- Economic aid (including funds that support military efforts, as in Vietnam) worth \$88 billion. It was largely spent in the United States for goods and services. American business gets almost \$1 billion a year from this.

Far from the industrialization of poorer countries being the main goal, subsidizing American industry had the highest priority. Where industrialization did occur, as under Marshall plan aid in Europe, it meant that billions could be invested by American business in Europe and profits could be brought back to the United States.

Castro in Chile

Despite the American press' panning of Castro in Chile as unimportant and as receiving only a lukewarm reception, the television newsclips showed a very different picture.

Castro, who for 12 years has been banned from any Latin American nation, spent over three weeks in a dramatic tour of Chile from North to South. Fidel was the object of admiration and respect as he met daily with groups of workers and of students. While his exhortations at the mines about the necessity of higher productivity is something the Chilean workers alone must consider, there can be no doubt about the affection for Fidel's Cuba as a road separate from the domination of Latin America by the United States.

U.S. aid in 1971

This year the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) spent \$1.66 billion, to help poorer nations. Over 90 percent of it was spent at home.

Over \$960 million bought goods and commodities in the United States. It paid for 2.3 percent of total U.S. exports.

More than \$80 million was spent in California. Stockton, Calif. was eighth among American cities receiving dollars from AID, a total of \$11.7 million. The biggest portion—\$9 million—went to the Connell Rice & Sugar Co.

About 25 percent of U.S. shipping revenues came from transporting these exports.

The rest of the AID money for 1971 went for technical assistance (\$570 million) and to international agencies (\$130 million). Almost all technical aid funds went into contracts to U.S. private firms and colleges.

AID seems to aid American business more than anyone.

Rhodesia

The new agreement between Britain and the white government of Rhodesia appears to be a further sell-out of the five million Africans. For the five years since the minority white government of Rhodesia declared its independence, the British government has done little to stop it from carrying on its racist policies. The agreement is designed to get Britain off the hot seat and at the same time to solve some of the credit problems that Rhodesia was having.

For the five million Africans it means that any chance for obtaining control of the government by legal means is years away—if it can even be done in this century.

The British government is more interested in its pending entry into the Common Market, in Berlin, in four-power talks with Moscow, than in any move toward African rule in Rhodesia.

Super powers line up as India-W. Pakistan war explodes

(Continued from Page 5)

comrade-in-arms," who initiated drenching the masses in "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung," originated long before the Cultural Revolution.

Ever since 1956-7 the Revolution in Hungary, on the one hand, and "100 Flowers" campaign in China, on the other hand, forced Mao to face reality: the overwhelming truth that the revolutionary masses were moving away from Communism; that the Opposition in Communist states came, not so much from the right as from the left. As one who had been a revolutionary, immersed in "permanent revolution," and was now a Communist ruler, Mao searched for ways "to get there faster," with or without the proletariat. It wasn't too hard a thought, since he never had much confidence in the proletariat, though he had thought the peasants were revolutionary. In any case, first came "The Great Leap Forward." But far from achieving "20 years in one day," the country, with the help of natural disasters, came to near-famine. Then, in the 1960's, with the birth of a Third World, came the Sino-Soviet conflict. Counting on "the new storm centers of the world" to help him make China the center, Mao worked for a new global axis (Peking-Djakarta). Finally, came the "uninterrupted revolution" that gave an indelible tinge of revolutionism to Mao.

In actuality, however, the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was preceded by that year of crises, testing and judgment—1965. That was the year that began in February with U.S. imperialism raining bombs on Hanoi thus making it, not Peking, the testing ground. The year ended in October with the collapse of the Djakarta-Peking axis. This time the pressures for a change in line came not only from the masses, but also from the leaderships; and not only from other countries that sided with China in the Sino-Soviet conflict, but also from his own Political Committee that evidently had not excluded a united front with Russia, at least insofar as helping Vietnam is concerned. In a word, the dictum that, not the U.S., but Russia, remained Enemy No. 1 in spite of the totally changed world situation had to be "taught" all over again. By the time Mao launched the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" it wasn't only Khrushchev that was being attacked but "China's Khrushchev," Liu Shao-ch'i.

BACK TO REALITY: THE TIMING DEVICE

The final straw was added when the youth who had taken Mao at his word, worked, indeed to pull down the "Red capitalists"—headed by Lin Piao and Chou

En-Lai.(5) It was then that Mao turned completely around and, with his "closest comrade-in-arms," struck out against the masses he now called "the ultra-left." He called a Congress to re-establish state power, military order, foreign realignments.

Put simply, once you move away from the masses; once you hit the jackpot, with Nixon taking the initiative to establish "a dialogue"; once the global vision is not world revolution, but world power—the road through the UN, leading to big power politics, beckons.

The shock is not that state-capitalist China calling itself Communist took that road. The shock is that the "Left"—and not only in the UN that dared not oppose China's H-bomb test on the very day "disarmament" was being discussed and China attacked Russia "from the left"—but the independent anti-war and revolution-

(5) See *Whither China? Manifesto of Sheng Wu-lien.* (Excerpts published by News & Letters in *Voices of Revolt from China.*)

ary movements proceed with their delusions about "revolutionary Maoism."

Whether it is full global realignment or just markets (plus, of course, 1972 election) that Nixon is looking to, the high mountain on which one must stand "to watch the fight of the tigers" begins and ends—for Nixon, for Mao, for Brezhnev—with time. It will not be India-Pakistan, or Arab-Israel, or Rhodesia-Zambia that will be allowed to set the timing device, and certainly it will not be any national liberation movement! The super-powers have but one preoccupation: it is they, and not their masses, who must rule. Unless the masses, however, do have the last word, it isn't any "timing device" that will be the victim. Time itself will be thrown out of joint as the world blows itself up.

It is this we must stop now, must stop, to begin with, by turning away from the super powers' ground. Otherwise, neither the dialogue nor the action can possibly uproot this exploitative world, whether it has the private capitalist form or the state-capitalist form calling itself communist.



"The odd mixture of Mao's opportunism and adventurism, the ordinary imperialist power struggle (both within the Communist world and outside, as in the conquest of Tibet, incursions into Indian territory, and covetous glances cast from Burma to Vietnam, and from Nepal to Laos) cannot be separated from the struggle for the minds of men. It is here that the irresponsible abuse of Marxist language—on the question of "revolutions without pause" proceeding in a straight line from State Plans to "Communism"—makes it imperative to show the blind alley into which the dialectic of Mao's thought has led and from which it may catapult the world into a nuclear holocaust..."

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

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