

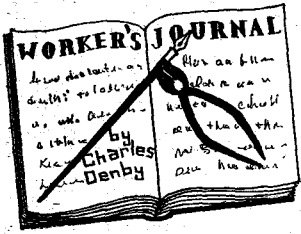
## On The Inside

Economism vs. Marx's Humanism—P. 5

by Raya Dunayevskaya

The My Lai Massacre—P. 4

Big Layoffs in Auto—P. 3



## Workers not surprised at massacre

By Charles Denby, Editor

There was plenty of discussion in the auto plants among black workers concerning the Songmy massacre in South Vietnam by American soldiers over a year ago. "Part of the U.S. public is stunned and shocked over it," Calvin said, "but I was not surprised at all. I had seen on TV several years ago what was happening to those civilians over there, and anyone would be a damn fool to believe the reports of how many Viet Cong the Americans say they have killed every day since this country got involved in that war. The counts include the lives of old people, women, children and babies, helpless people, I feel sure. President Johnson and many around him knew it all the while."

### WHO CAN BE SURPRISED?

"So did Nixon and many of his staff members, they knew it from the beginning," another worker said. "This is why Agnew wants to censor the press, radio and TV." He added, "I would think that the American public would be raising hell over why the massacre was kept a secret for all this time, why it was not brought to public attention when it happened."

Before we admitted that our troops were in combat—six or seven years ago, the government was telling us that we were only aiding the Saigon government in training their men. I remember seeing on TV a Viet Cong getting wounded in a rice paddy by a copter. A voice in the copter said, "Should we pick him up or finish him off?" Another voice said, "Finish off." The copter circled and a machine gun opened up. Americans who have seen this and many other things on TV cannot be surprised at what the military is doing to innocent people.

Another thing black workers know is that the Vietnamese are not recognized by this government as white people are. We know what they have done to black people in the South, without the excuse of calling it a war. "How many black people have been murdered in the South?" said one worker. "No one in this government attempted to raise a complaint until the black revolt exploded, so I cannot be shocked at the actions of the Army in Vietnam."

### LOW REGARD OF LIFE

Calvin said, "I was shocked by the statement of the Saigon government, saying it did not happen, that one or two civilians were killed, and as far as they were concerned, it was a closed case. We know the white American soldiers' attitude toward the Vietnamese people is racist, since they call them Gooks. The upper class, in the Saigon government, must have the same attitude toward its own citizens. It has a very low regard for human life."

The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese regulars have a very low regard for civilian lives also, since they, too, have committed useless mass murders. The differ-

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# NEWS LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

Vol. 15, No. 1

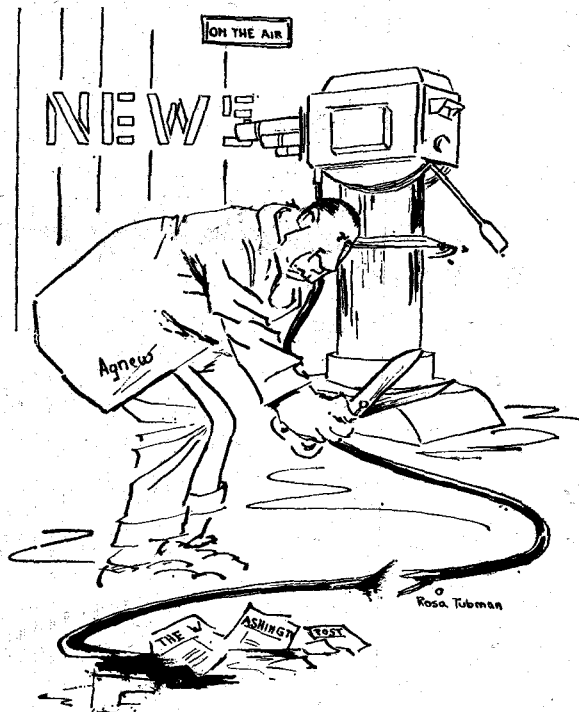
Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

January, 1970

## AGNEW-NIXON ATTEMPT MUZZLE OF MEDIA TO CRUSH ANTI-WAR FORCES

by Peter Mallory

The three major TV networks, before the Dec. 8 press conference of President Nixon, of the Agnew-Nixon administration, showed every indication that they would adopt a "no-comment" attitude after the attacks on them by "private citizen" Vice President Agnew. Only CBS announced that they would defy Agnew and comment after the event (they summarized Nixon's remarks for five minutes—without comment); NBC said they would comment "if they had time" (they summarized without comment for about 10 minutes); ABC chickened out altogether and did nothing.



The result: Agnew gained the victory he desired. The TV networks censored their opinions and censorship of the mass media becomes part of the American "struggle for democracy"—without a struggle!

The chain of events touched off by Nixon's Nov. 3 defense of his hated Viet Nam war, which was received in the press and on TV with indifference and hostility, has led to a series of outbursts by Spiro Agnew against the mass media—TV and the press—as well as against the youth of the country. Agnew has blossomed forth as—to use Senator Eugene McCarthy's concise expression—"Nixon's Nixon."

### AGNEW TRIES ROUSING LYNCH SPIRIT

Agnew began his attacks against the mass media by first attacking the TV networks for giving "instant" criticism of Nixon's Nov. 3 speech which, clearly, was speaking for peace, but preparing for war. Agnew's attacks began by lashing out at specific TV reporters, all of whom are doves and none of whom have any power. Yet his attempts at censorship, while making disclaimers, tried to present the Vice-Presidency as if that was the job of a citizen—a citizen of a so-called "silent majority."

As such, he went into a vituperation against "effete snobs" that could only result in what Agnew intended: an outpouring of hate letters against anyone who opposed the Vietnam war. In a word, it was not only censorship, but, as one Canadian paper put it: "Mr. Agnew, it seems, prefers a good old fashioned lynching." Even Senator Fulbright received mail telling him "to go where he belongs"—presumably to a foreign country rather than the South he comes from.

Happy with the hysteria of the bigots, Agnew struck the following week against the press, this time singling out The New York Times and The Washington Post, before an audience that reads neither. He chose, as his locale, Montgomery, Ala., the capital of the Confederacy, the home of George Wallace, whose votes he seeks, and thus the center of the Agnew-Nixon "new" southern policy to let Dixieland ride again. Clearly, this audience was all too happy to agree with the Vice-President that anything short of total submission of the press to the war needs of the Agnew-Nixon Administration, anything short of approval of the totalitarian needs of Nixon, amounts to "treason."

### THE PRESS FEARS

The surprise, and the new element, in the press' defense of itself, was its low tone. Not only was its defense not done in the spirit that freedom of the press is the greatest achievement of "democracy, especially American democracy," but the defense was surrounded with all sorts of approvals of criticism of the press.

Not that they meant by this the right of "all" to either the air waves or the press. To labor, the black revolutionaries or radicals, THE NEW YORK TIMES has never been the paper that news "all the news that's fit to print." Judging by the press' current disregard of the nationwide GE strike, there is going to be no change in that policy of disregard for labor. Why then the sudden "guilt feeling"? Surely, it wasn't over the Pinkville massacre. Although they are giving the atrocities good coverage now, it took an underground press news service to discover it and print the news before the bourgeois press discovered the shame.

Moreover, not a single paper bothered to point out to the Vice-President that his charges against a "slanted"

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## Stop the attack on black America!!

A nation-wide move is underway by the Justice Department, the FBI and the police to destroy the Black Panther Party. In less than two years—between January, 1968 and December 4, 1969—28 members of the Black Panthers have been assassinated. The entire leadership has been murdered, jailed, or forced into exile.

Chicago, Dec. 4: Fred Hampton, 21, Deputy Chairman, machine-gunned in his bed at 4:45 a.m. Mark Clark, Defense Captain from Peoria, 22, murdered in the same attack. Four Panthers, including Ron Satchel, 19-year-old head of the free medical clinic, critically wounded.

Los Angeles, Dec. 8: Over 300 special riot police attacked Panther headquarters for five hours, wounding three and arresting 25.

New York: Twenty-one Panthers are being held in the Tombs, one of the worst prisons in the U.S., on \$100,000 bail, accused of a plot to bomb department stores and the Botanical Gardens.

New Haven: Fourteen Panthers are in jail, three of them pregnant women, on alleged murder charges.

David Hilliard: Last member of the leadership still free, arrested Dec. 3 for rhetorical comments made at the Nov. 15 San Francisco anti-war rally.

Bobby Seal: Held in solitary confinement and beaten in a San Francisco jail, following his arrest on orders of the racist Judge Hoffman for alleged contempt of the Chicago Conspiracy Court.

Huey P. Newton: In jail for two to 15 years on

manslaughter charges after being shot in the stomach by the Oakland police.

Eldridge Cleaver: In exile.

Nothing has so united the black and chicano communities in Los Angeles as the unprecedented attack on Dec. 8. Thousands rallied to demand an end to the shootings. In Chicago, thousands more—who have not before been sympathetic to the Black Panther Party—attended the funeral of the slain young black militants. So blatant and premeditated were the murders in Chicago that even the black Chicago police demanded that those responsible be brought to trial.

Those responsible are highly placed in the American establishment. The guilt begins with Nixon-Agnew and Attorney General Mitchell. Their search and destroy operations against the black masses have been pursued on many fronts with increasing ferocity: from Mitchell's first attempts to sabotage the already 15-year-delayed school desegregation order, to his new threatened repeal of the voting rights act—for which literally scores of freedom fighters died in South USA; from Nixon's planned recession, which will hit black America first and hardest, to his planned extermination of black militants in every urban center.

White labor and white youth cannot remain spectators on the sidelines in this war against the forces for freedom. They are the next targets on the wall in the White House war room.

STOP THE ATROCITIES AT HOME!

## Miners who knew them rejected both Boyle and Yablonski

Morgantown, W. Va.—The vote is in, but the counting isn't over in the recent election held by the United Mine Workers to choose their president. Reported election figures from the UMW headquarters in Washington, D.C., show incumbent president Tony Boyle with approximately 80,000 votes to some 45,000 for his challenger, Joseph Yablonski.

Yablonski charged that this was "the crookedest labor election in American history," and demanded that Labor Secretary Shultz impound the ballot boxes immediately and begin a federal investigation into the election.

Whether or not Boyle had "stolen" the election, as Yablonski charged, there does seem to be clear evidence of ballot tampering. Yablonski pointed to the fact that where he had poll watchers, he made a good showing, but where he did not, the results were completely one-sided, with votes reported to be as much as 50 to 1 in favor of Boyle.

But perhaps the most indicative count reported by UMW headquarters was the tally from Kentucky and Tennessee, where the results were claimed to be 3,337 for Boyle to only 87 for Yablonski. On the pure face of it, this is simply unbelievable, because the UMW leadership has created great bitterness among the miners in that region. The bungling of the national and local UMW officials played a big part in the literal destruction of the union in southeastern Kentucky. The result is that miners there are forced to work under unbelievably horrible conditions for unbelievably low pay.

What is significant about the voting, however, is that the rank-and-file miners who have had direct experiences recently with both Boyle and Yablonski rejected them.

Yablonski won three admitted districts: the anthracite (hard coal) miners in northern Pennsylvania, and two districts in West Virginia. The anthracite min-

ers have many grievances—not the least being that a hard coal miner's retirement pension is only \$30 a month! In West Virginia, the miners this year had to fight against their own union and Boyle to get legislation passed which recognized black lung as an industry disease to be covered under compensation laws.

However, Yablonski lost in his own District 5 in southwestern Pennsylvania, because the rank-and-file miners there know him as a bureaucrat and their enemy when they were forced to go on wildcat strikes because Yablonski would not fight for them.

Whatever the outcome will be of Yablonski's charges or the final decision on the election, this much is certain: the miners have made it crystal clear that whoever sits in that president's chair had better learn to listen to what they want and do something about their everyday problems in the mines.

## Columbia U. workers clash with union bureaucracy over demands

New York, N.Y.—The workers at Columbia University have plenty to be unhappy about. Columbia simply is not living up to many of the demands of our union contract and people are still being harassed, just as they were ten months ago when, after a bitter struggle with management, 500 of us became members of Local 1199 (Drug, Hospital Workers Union, AFL-CIO).

About one month ago, a group of workers met to discuss these problems. Each time we met, the group grew until it reached 80 people. This group handed the union a list of five major grievances on which we wanted immediate action. When a week went by and the union had not made any real attempt to solve our problems, the rank-and-file group met again and voted on having a one-day work slow-down.

### RESOLUTIONS PASSED

This action was later postponed to another time when we had no other alternatives. Instead, we worked out a list of resolutions to be voted on at the regular union meeting, called for the following week. The group of 80 organized the remainder of our co-workers, and at the union meeting 125 workers voted unanimously to accept all ten of the resolutions, which are to be binding on the union bureaucracy.

The ten resolutions, briefly, concern the following:

- (1) Switch from semi-monthly to bi-weekly payroll.
- (2) Right of membership to ratify union contracts.
- (3) Right of ten percent of the membership to call a union meeting.
- (4) Job training program.
- (5) Responsibility of union to enforce "union shop" clause in the contract. (Columbia has been hiring two non-union part-time workers to replace one full-time worker, in order to bust the union.)
- (6) Responsibility of union to finish negotiations of job classifications for the library workers immediately.
- (7) Right of workers on the second shift (4:30 p.m. to 12:30 a.m.) to attend all union meetings.
- (8) Right of cafeteria workers and office workers to have joint meetings. (Now two separate divisions meet separately, basically a division between blue-collar and white-collar workers.)
- (9) Reinstatement of two cafeteria workers fired without cause.
- (10) Right of non-union (student) employees to paid holidays. (This will prevent student workers from having to scab on holidays and keep us from earning double-time-and-a-half.)

The union vice-president chaired the meeting and made every attempt to manipulate us into fighting with each other. But we saw through his tactics and refused to be split or sidetracked. He was shouted down several times when he criticized us for trying to take power in the union. The most repeated outburst heard from the workers that night was: "You work for US! WE are the union!"

## Venezuela imperialism grows

Caracas, Venezuela—The Dominican Republic Trade Association met recently in order to protest to their government the installation of a fertilizer plant made by the I.V.P. (Venezuelan Institute of Petro-Chemistry), a state-management factory of Venezuela.

Venezuelan capital is meddling in the Dominican Republic, over the protests of a part of the Dominican national bourgeoisie. This is not the only aspiration of Venezuela. At the same time the Venezuelan government is claiming half of the territory of Guyana, a country situated to the east of Venezuela.

Recently, the Venezuelan president, answering a Guyanes declaration said: "Venezuela will act with respect to Guyana according to the Venezuelan people's feelings." While this civic declaration was made, a big nationalistic hate campaign was going on; it is accentuated at the schools by showing the children maps of Venezuela with the aggregate of the claimed Guyana zone.

These two events demonstrate that while there exists men's exploitation of men, the scene will be repeated: big fish eating little fish eating the littler ones. And little countries have as much imperialist appetite as big countries have; in this way there is no difference between Venezuela and the U.S.A. —"Internationalism"

## AT CITROEN Belgian auto workers' 3-day strike wins partial demands

Forest, Belgium—A month ago, there was a three-day strike at Citroen auto for an increase in wages and year-end bonuses, and also for better working conditions. The workers got satisfaction, but this strike was not publicized.

In reality, the unhappiness remained. Besides the usual bad working conditions, the workers have a particularly corrupt union delegation.

### BOSS REPRESENTATION

The plant employs about a thousand workers. About 80 percent are foreigners, mostly Italians, Spaniards and Greeks. The union delegates, however, are chosen among the Belgians, and are generally the foremen and shift bosses. One of the demands of the workers was to be able to choose delegates of their own nationalities.

Management wanted to transfer an Italian worker from his line to separate him from a Spanish friend who was considered an agitator. The worker refused and was given his notice. Nevertheless, on Wed., Nov. 19, he showed up at work. Then he was virtually "kidnapped" and disappeared totally. Supposedly, he was arrested.

At 9:30 a.m., 90 percent of the workers stopped work and demanded the reinstatement of this comrade. There were scuffles with about 40 workers, mainly Belgians, who wanted to work. The police made their first appearance (local police are controlled by the mayor). Everything stopped, the strikers stayed where they were.

### THREAT FROM MAYOR

The mayor of Forest, Mr. Welemans, a right-winger and a brewery-owner, entered the plant and threatened to "take the workers to the border" if they didn't resume work by the 12:30 shift change. He was ignored. The strike continued when the next shift came.

Then the management called the police with the consent of the union delegates. (Of course, the union denied it. But even a conservative Catholic newspaper said that the delegates turned over the "agitators" to the people.)

Sixty-two "agitators" were arrested; they were let out several hours later. Twenty-one got fired. (The union protested this.) Work resumed in the afternoon.

## Letter from French auto worker

(The following excerpts are taken from a letter in La Base, the paper of the Citroen Action Committee.)

I have worked at Citroen for three years, and you can imagine all I have had to endure in that rotten barracks. I want to bring you up to date on what I've heard. I write this way because, as you are well aware, the police at Citroen are all over the place and I'm afraid of being cornered . . .

On the second shift at Javel, we have a foreman, Godrey, who is a real beast. He and the supervisor spy on us all the time and treat us like dogs. The French workers get it just as much as the immigrants. The speed of the line is infernal; and they don't even allow us time to go to the toilet. . . .

One of the union delegates who was very "militant" in the CGT in May 1968 and walked the picket line with us, is now informing on his comrades to management. He is surely getting paid something for his treachery.

There is also the problem of the Citroen centers. Did you know that hundreds of workers have been thrown out of the Chatenay and Villejuif centers, presumably because they had lived there a long time and there was not enough housing for the new immigrants who were supposed to arrive? They were told of this on Thursday, and on the following Saturday a fat cop drove up and demanded that they leave the center. Some foreign comrades refused to leave, but the next day they were kicked out by the cops. . . .

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

ence, if there is any, is that we are supposed to be over there helping South Vietnam fight for freedom, but the truth is we are trying to crush a civil war. Knowing this, our government orders the American troops to kill anyone that might be in sympathy with those opposed to their oppressive government.

It is the easy way out, to blame one person or a few individuals as the scape goats. After things have been exposed to the whole world, they yell to the public that it was not government policy. When young men here refuse the draft, saying the war is immoral and they refuse to go there to kill innocent people, they are branded as renegades. Cassius Clay was the most attacked and persecuted of all, for refusing to go. This shows how deep the crisis is in this country.

Another worker said, "Now I can understand the opposition to this war better than ever before, and the demonstrations against it. I am all for them. I can better understand why the government leaders are afraid that it may lead to a revolution in this country. I have a feeling that is what we are headed for, because everything is so clear now. The government leaders cannot continue to fake and lie forever."

The workers in our shop all seemed to agree, "The change will come in this world when there is a successful revolution here."

## WAY OF THE WORLD

### Panther murders can't stop us

by Ethel Dunbar

When the news came on the radio that two more Black Panthers had been shot in Chicago, black people everywhere knew they were aiming at us. If there are ten million people marching for a cause, the men who are in power in this country will send in a force to kill off whoever they can, to try to stop the millions.

The people are fighting for something that is their right. They wouldn't have to shoot and kill Black Panthers, or anyone else, if the so-called leaders in this country felt they could speak to the people and win their minds. It is because they know they can't defend their way of life with words and ideas that they have to try to kill us off with guns and bullets.

### THEY WANT YOU KILLED OFF

Here in Detroit the TV had a story about a black man who came back from Vietnam without his arm. He went to each company he could think of and to all the factories to get a job. He asked for anything—a janitor's job or anything they could give him. The only place he got anything was some small place that offered him such a low pay he could never support his family on it. He isn't the only one this has happened to. His story got in the papers, but there are lots of black men who have been treated the same way.

They want you to get killed when they send you to Vietnam. They as much as tell you, don't come back and expect to be able to live here if you get hurt. They want to get rid of us.

### KKK BEHIND THE PANTHER KILLINGS?

Why are they trying to wipe out the Black Panthers? The Ku Klux Klan hasn't been touched. The Black Panthers are fighting for a reason, a cause. The KKK only exists to keep the mess we are living in going on. The black people I have talked with all believe that it was the KKK who ordered the killings in Chicago. The Chicago police force is full of KKK and John Birch members.

How can the big leaders keep pretending that they will bring about peace, when they continue to take their orders from the most racist people in the country? The government never tries to control the KKK. Even the President of the U.S. never goes against the KKK. The KKK tells THEM what to do.

The KKK has been able to force the government to do what they want, no matter what the government says it wants to do—because the government has never said No to them, and fought against them. That is the way it always goes.

The Attorney General's wife, Martha Mitchell, has been calling all the Senator's wives to tell them what they should do. She wanted all of them to get their husbands to vote for Haynsworth for the Supreme Court. Somebody like that is dangerous if she gets away with it. But she can only get away with it if the others don't stand up to her and put her in her place.

There are thousands of people who don't agree with the Black Panthers but who went to the funeral of Fred Hampton to show how they felt about what the government is trying to do to them, and to all the black people. Just look at how many whites went to Rev. King's funeral, to show where they stood. Just look at how many blacks went to Robert Kennedy's funeral. They were telling the world: we don't intend to let the KKK get away with it forever.



## 9-week Norris strike ends as local officers steamroll meeting

Los Angeles, Calif.—The nine-week strike we were on at Norris is over. At the strike meeting to vote on the contract, the union leadership had come prepared to sell the contract to the workers. It was essentially the same contract the workers rejected two weeks earlier over the leadership's objections. The only difference was an improvement in medical care.

The union had arranged the program well; their speakers were ready. Everyone on the stage was for it. The secretary read all the unimportant things we already knew about: we still had our half-hour lunch break; we didn't have to wear our badge in the plant, etc. The local president said a few words on the health plan changes; an international rep spoke on retirement changes.

### PREPARED SPEECHES

When they opened the floor for discussion they called on people with little prepared speeches. One prepared speech in opposition to the contract came from a worker who had been on the old union leadership which had been kicked out after they negotiated the last contract.

After he spoke, the chairman of the local got up to answer him. His answer was to talk about what a sellout the previous contract was. Now the whole atmosphere changed. No longer were we discussing the new

contract. It was now just union politics of the old regime vs. the new regime. All of the bargaining committee denounced the leadership from three years ago. It was one big petty fight and meanwhile the contract went out the window.

In fact, the opposition of the old regime to the contract may have been enough to have people vote for the contract as a sign of disgust with the old leadership.

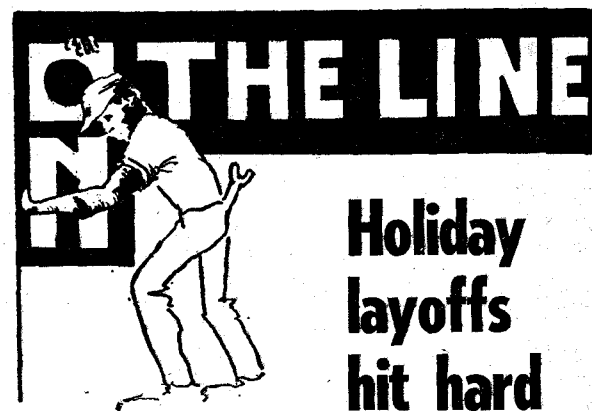
### THE VOTE

There were hints that the earlier rejection vote was somehow illegal. I don't think so, but the vote they had this time was very difficult to oversee, with around eight counting stations.

The point is not whether there was cheating. The union leadership was determined to get an approval even if the workers were opposed. The whole meeting was run in a manner to assure a yes vote.

The union leadership had said that some who voted in the first vote had not participated in the strike, had found other jobs and didn't care whether the strike ended. Well, we are now back in the plant, only a lot of workers have not been called back and may not be back for quite a while. So it seems that some who voted yes on this last contract many not have had a job to come back to.

—Norris Worker



By John Allison

On short notice, Chrysler management notified the union that the Highland Park plant would be closed down Thanksgiving week. As per the contract, all workers received holiday pay for Thanksgiving. But since the corporation took the action to shut down for the week, we interpreted the contract to mean we would also receive short work week benefits—Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB), as well as our regular unemployment pay.

However, to our surprise, we wound up with only one-day pay and a waiting week with the Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESCC). In this move alone, workers in Chrysler plants lost wages to the tune of \$1.3 million.

### HOLIDAY LAYOFF

This is just the beginning. Chrysler is now working to slow down production and reduce inventory by punishing its workers where it hurts. They are now planning to be down from Dec. 19 to Jan. 5. That means no New Year, holiday pay. We have about 1,000 workers left at the plant, and at least half of them are going to be laid off.

Workers are saying Nixon, Vietnam, Chrysler and taxes are equal to Hoover, Ike and World War II. We in the labor movement who work for a living know the signs: lay-offs, short work-week, speed-up, threats that all old timers have heard: "You are lucky you are working. We wish we could lay you off and bring back your sisters and brothers who are hungry."

It has been bad enough for the workers in the shop during the past few years of so-called good times. Management always makes sure that the workers know their place, you see it everywhere. Workers have to go and relieve themselves in stinking, uncared for toilets; bosses have clean, tiled facilities. Bosses have paved parking lots; workers have mud holes. Bosses have neat, comfortable lunch rooms; workers have areas filthy with oil, scrap and other litter.

### OPEN SEASON ON WORKERS

Now the screws are going to be turned tighter against the workers. Old timers who have developed a good sense of smell are saying Nixon is giving the auto capitalists open season on the working class. We look for no help from government. And some, but not enough help, from the international union, because they live more with their fears than they do with their action.

As a matter of fact, it is due to the international union that the workers lost out on their short work-week pay. The workers, and even most local union officers, were all sure that the contract guaranteed the workers to be paid in a situation where the company closed a plant down like they did Thanksgiving week. But the company went to the international and got a favorable decision. So what happened was that the international worked hand-in-hand with the corporation to cut down on the legitimate pay of the rank-and-file workers.

The record is still unbroken: when the corporation can't get agreement with the rank-and-file workers or local union officers, all they have to do is go to the international and get what they want.

But everything isn't a total loss. In the last issue we reported that Chrysler management at Highland Park was laying workers off out of line of seniority. The uproar this caused was very great, and a grievance was filed for every single worker laid off out of line of seniority. And it was a victory. Now management is laying workers off according to seniority. The message is clear: all power to the working class, for the root of mankind is man.

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—The assembly building is predominantly a black building, but we have only one black general foreman in the whole D.A.P. They hire all the racist cats on the line, though, into foremen's jobs.

The black foreman we do have on the line is known to jump on black workers and whip them. His name is Gus, he's well known—and he's a big guy! Last week Gus told a guy to get off some stock, and this guy wasn't even in his department. The guy said he was going to get off, but the next thing he knew Gus jumped him, and beat him something pitiful. The company kept Gus and fired the employee. These Uncle Toms and racist foremen are something else.

Sometimes you get a good foreman—black or white—next thing you know he is "too nice to the workers" and he is gone. This is true even though he gets out production 100 per cent, because the men like him.

In the last three weeks we have had shootings, knifings, foremen knocked out cold. You have mostly younger workers who have been there two years or less and they won't take anything—no nonsense. They fight back and they don't care what happens.

In one incident, though, a guy had 30 years seniority, and his foreman kept riding him. Finally he laid his tools down and hit the foreman in the mouth; naturally the worker was fired. This is just what the company wants. Now they don't have to pay this man's retirement benefits.

Whenever a foreman and a worker get into a fight, even if the foreman started it, the worker gets fired and the foreman gets a reward. One foreman got a fifty dollar a month raise after a fight. He is always

inviting workers outside. One time about half the plant was out there waiting on him, but he didn't show. He has to get escorted back and forth into the plant.

Production Worker

### Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—The news concerning the cutback in production and the big layoff swept throughout the Mack plant today like a prairie fire. Those of us with less than three years seniority with the company think that this may be our last week.

It was only a month or so ago that we were working seven days a week and ten to 15 hours a day, and the older workers kept telling us that we were only hurrying our time to be out in the street. They said that when they had a union that had some interest in the workers, it would never have sat still and let the company force all that overtime on us. But as of now the union has not uttered one word of complaint. In fact, they were encouraging workers to work all that overtime.

Now Christmas is here and most younger workers will not have a check for the holidays. The union didn't tell us a word about this coming layoff. They did take out the extra money for union dues before we received the pay raise on our weekly check. I think they thought we were going to be laid off last month.

One of the older workers was talking about how the workers fought for and won the right to an eight-hour-day years and years ago. The labor leaders have given that right back to the company, along with every other right workers have won in the past. I think the younger workers should get together and try to do something about what is happening to us in this plant today.

—Low Seniority Worker  
Chrysler Mack

## One Fleetwood worker writes... another answers

DETROIT, Mich.—The body shop is a place to work. It isn't the jobs that are so hard, it's that we make them hard. There are no easy jobs. You have to find a way to make them easy. A black man can always find a way to do it. So can a white man.

Many jobs are hard at first, but when you learn the job it becomes as easy as sitting down and getting up again. It's not the person, or the foreman, it's the machine. When it won't work right, you have to blow the whistle and sometimes two or three cars pass by.

The next man sees it, and the first thing he says is that man isn't doing his job, and that puts more work on the other man. He calls a committeeman. The committeeman jumps on the foreman. It isn't the foreman's fault . . .

I work in the body shop. My foreman is good and tries to treat everyone right. He gave everyone a fair chance. It isn't the work or the foreman, it's you and the machine, and your pride—whether you want to work.

There are so many of us who don't want to work. So we get mad at the foreman, and call the committeeman. We are hurting ourselves when we call the committeeman. He jumps on the foreman and that will make the foreman push you that much harder. Think about when you call the committeeman.

If you get laid-off or fired it is for a reason. Too many absences. You hurt yourself, not the foreman or the committeeman. You have to accept the organization. They come to you, you don't have to go to them. Everybody says "I don't like the body shop." Why? Because of the noise. If you can't stand a little noise you don't need to work. There is a little noise on every job.

DETROIT, Mich.—The man who wrote this letter is a potential foreman. For every one you find at Fleetwood who thinks this way, there are ten or maybe 20 who think the opposite. This kind of man doesn't mind working himself to the bone, just so he can get ahead.

He says that sometimes you have to let two or three cars pass by. Well, at Fleetwood if you let two or three cars pass by, you will get taken down for an interview or the foreman is all over your back.

It is people like this who hurt us the most. They are dangerous to the other workers. The foreman will say: "If this man can do so much, why can't you?" Well, you can't do any more because you are exhausted already.

No foreman, not even the best, is fair. How can he be fair when he is just a puppet on a string?

This man tells us not to call the committeeman. Well, many times the committeeman does not do what we want, but if you didn't have the union you wouldn't have any rights at all.

If you want to know why workers are angry at Fleetwood, and why they need some good representation, you should look at the body shop. It is not only noisy. It is also hot, nasty, and dirty. Working in the body shop is like combat Vietnam. You work like a slave in there.

Whether you are black or white, if you work in the body shop you are in danger of losing your life. As long as we are working, like we are now, there won't be any changes worth a damn for the black man. The only change there will be is that the company will make more money.

I hope that the man who wrote the letter wakes up before he drops dead from the work that he likes so much.

The following list of pamphlets are not NEWS & LETTERS publications. We print them as an exchange ad. Order from Burkett, 217 West Ave., Ithaca, N.Y., 14850.

### Solidarity Pamphlets

Socialism or Barbarism	.10
The Meaning of Socialism, by Paul Cardan	.10
The Workers' Opposition, by A. Kollantai	.50
Modern Capitalism and Revolution, by Paul Cardan	.50
Kronstadt 1921, by Victor Serge	.10
Hungary 1956, by Andy Anderson	.50
Mt. Isa (the great Queensland strike)	.20
What Happened at Fords, by Ernie Stanton (NUVB)	.20
Kronstadt Commune, by Ida Mett	.50
Paris: May '68	.20
Labour Government vs. the Dockers	.10
The Rape of Vietnam	.20

**EDITORIAL****My Lai: who are guilty ones?**

The responsibility for the massacre at My Lai lies here: Commanders-in-Chief Lyndon Johnson and Nixon-Agnew; Generals Westmoreland and Abrams; Secretaries of Defense Clifford and Laird — these are the men who must be brought to trial. They cannot be allowed to use as their scapegoats either the dehumanized GI's who actually pulled the triggers of the M16 rifles and M60 machine guns and slaughtered the men, women and children of My Lai, or even the brute-like officers who ordered the extermination of an entire village — though they bear their own heavy guilt.

**CLIMATE FOR MASSACRE**

The climate for massacre was created by the military with the full approval of the very leaders in Washington who are now claiming shock and dismay at the atrocity. "Search and destroy" has been the military's prime tactic in Vietnam; it is the systematic occupation and destruction of villages suspected of "disloyalty" to the Saigon government. In October, less than a month before the disclosures of what happened at My Lai, some 13 villages in that area were destroyed in one week. They were burned to the ground by special "Zeppo squads". The inhabitants were given 24 hours notice to clear out and move to barbed wire enclosed resettlement villages.

The very fact that so many "disloyal" villages have had to be destroyed, the very fact that it was considered necessary to exterminate My Lai, reveals that the war in Vietnam is, indeed, a civil war against the Saigon dictators — which both the LBJ and Nixon Administrations and the military have consistently refused to admit. They have insisted instead that the true representatives of the South Vietnamese people are Thieu and Ky — those self-admitted Hitler-lovers. This admiration for Hitler's admirers has now moved the American military to the very use of Hitler's tactics themselves.

The climate for massacre was created also by the racism that infects all of American life. So racist is the attitude of the military that it was clearly evident

in even their official charges against Lieut. Calley: "... murder of an unknown number of Oriental human beings . . . by means of shooting them with a rifle."

**MY LAI AND LIDICE**

American "civilization" cannot be allowed to pretend that My Lai was an "isolated incident". It was an exception only in that with My Lai, the absolute limit of atrocity was reached. After the extermination of every last baby of My Lai, what further stage of depravity is left? What difference is there between the extermination of the Czechoslovak town of Lidice by the Nazis in World War II, and the extermination of the Vietnamese town of My Lai by Americans in 1969?

Those who cling to the claim that "genocide is not a national policy" — that these were just war-crazed soldiers — refuse to see that the American soldiers who took part in the massacre could do so only because the war on Vietnam is so totally without any principle, without any justification, that ordinary men become dehumanized. It is a sign that if this war is allowed to continue, the country is headed toward a stage in which My Lai will not be any exception whatsoever.

Already the disclosure of My Lai revealed more and more other atrocities against the Vietnamese people. Who can any longer deny that the entire war, from its beginning, has been an atrocity?

The true heroes were those GI's who refused to take part: the soldier who raised his gun, and could not fire; the GI who shot himself in the foot in order to be medically evacuated; the sergeant who walked away; the helicopter pilot who ordered his gunner to keep a gun trained on another officer in order to rescue 15 Vietnamese children hiding from the slaughter; the veteran who finally broke the conspiracy of silence that covered up the atrocity for a full 20 months.

**THE MEANING AND THE DANGER**

The full meaning of Nixon-Agnew's attack on the freedom of the press can be gauged by the fact that it was the press that finally forced the news to national, public attention, after it was pushed by a tiny non-establishment news service which actually broke the story.

The full danger of the times can be gauged by the fact that after viewing a GI's eye-witness account on TV,

a senator, like Colorado's Peter Dominick can ask, "What kind of country do we have when that kind of garbage gets put on the air?"; that a commentator like Howard K. Smith can try to turn the attention to Vietnam atrocities instead of the My Lai's; that a significant number of white, middle-class Americans can try to bury their heads in the sand and "explain it all away."

It was the middle-class in Germany who paved the way for Hitler. They cannot be allowed to pave the way here. "That 'silent majority' Nixon claims to have — the ones that are flying their flags in support of what's being done in Vietnam — they're as guilty as all the rest," in the words of one Detroit auto worker. It is the anti-war forces, not Nixon's self-created "silent majority" that is the true measure of the masses in this country.

The apologists must not be allowed to hide behind the abstraction that war is hell. This war is concrete. So is the question of who is responsible. Johnson, Nixon-Agnew, and their generals — these are the men who must be brought to trial.

**News & Letters**

Vol. 15, No. 1

January, 1970

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Telephone: 833-1989. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby ..... Editor  
O. Domanski ..... Managing Editor

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**MASSACRE AT MY LAI**

My Lai is not hard to believe when you live in a country where churches are bombed in Alabama, and little black girls are killed. The black people and the poor people of this country do not find the massacre hard to believe at all.

Black Auto Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Men can be turned into madmen with enough pressure. That is what happened to the GI's at My Lai. We see it happening every day in the shops right here. The company puts enough pressure on the foremen, and some of them become absolutely mad—mad for production. It is a tragic thing to do to a human being.

Committeeman  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Agnew puts out his feelers for censorship. All sorts of harassments are put on people who are dissenting. My Lai is exposed. And the dissent grows. Then all of a sudden, the Establishment announces that they are not going to use the concentration camps they have had in this country since the McCarran Act.

That was the most frightening of all. Anytime somebody starts talking about concentration camps that people didn't even know existed—it sounds to me too much like "the lady doth protest too much."

Conscientious Objector  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Songmy is a clear manifestation that the end result of America's actions will be the deVietnamization of Vietnam. Whether it is a rifle shot to the head of a Vietnamese woman from a distance of three inches, or a thousand pound bomb dropped on an occupied hamlet from a mile up, the destruction of a people and their land is the reality of this war.

Instructor  
Los Angeles

**THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT**

The first day of the MIT actions in November, the university locked up its Center for International Studies (whose principal work is the theory of counter-revolutions, and its practice both here and abroad). The students responded with a sit-in, followed by a march around the instrumentation labs, where the

MIRV and other weapons are turned out through contracts with the Department of Defense.

A thousand students marched behind the NLF flag—that was a first for Cambridge—and got some applause from workers on the way (truck drivers and people in factory windows who gave us the V sign). I felt we got cheered despite some bad politics, because workers know that bosses lie to them, and the imperialist war we are in has become the sort of gross lie they are no longer prepared to swallow.

The GE strike here is a healthy demonstration of that feeling, and to shut down GE is better than to shut down MIT.

It is the sixth time in 20 years that the workers have struck GE. The strike has been tough. Food and housing in the Boston area cost dearly, and wages, here in particular, have not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living. But GE is a "defense" industry, and the pressure is on.

Instructor  
Cambridge

\* \* \*

I feel that inflation and recession are going to bring more open activity among white labor. The problem the Left must answer is how ready it is to join with new elements in labor, or whether they will just try to manipulate and destroy the new voices that are bound to arise.

Tenant Rights Worker  
New York

\* \* \*

When you talk about a million people, as a number, it doesn't really mean anything. But when I was standing at the Washington Monument and saw a million people it was too much to believe. The city was just too small to hold everyone pouring in.

It was unbelievable the number of different kinds of people who came. Mixed together with the hippie-types there were mink coats and business suits—hundreds of them—and all wearing peace buttons. There were thousands and thousands of older people—especially older women, over 50. Half of our Resistance bus was filled with older people.

We didn't see any of the troops that

**Reader's**

they had told us were going to be all over Washington. Just the city cops, in their fancy suits. I think all the publicity about the troops was just a gigantic scare to try to keep people from coming.

And after the rally everybody joined in the clean-up. It was amazing to see thousands and thousands of people picking up other people's trash. You couldn't believe what happened, unless you were right there. And even then, it was hard to believe.

Wayne Student  
Detroit

\* \* \*

It was refreshing—if you will pardon the cliché—to read your article on the Moratorium, after hearing so many of the so-called Left wailing at how "backward" and "reformist" and "liberal" it all was. As usual, they think they are the only ones who have the answers, and want a "revolutionary situation" handed to them gift-wrapped, so they can lead it to victory!

It was really an eye-opener to me to learn that the "fragmentation of the ruling class" as you put it, that the Moratorium revealed, was considered by Lenin as a facet of a developing pre-revolutionary situation.

Marcher  
San Francisco

\* \* \*

With as little publicity as possible, federal employees who took part in the demonstration are already beginning to feel the reprisals. So far two have been fired (one employee at the Dept. of the Interior, and a staff member at the Dept. of HEW). Others have been asked to submit written reports to their supervisors explaining their actions. Long before the Moratorium, federal employees had been warned that their participation would not help their "careers."

Now Senator Fulbright has made public that ever since Agnew's recent

speeches the Congressional doves are beginning to get more and more hate mail. Joe McCarthy's corpse apparently lives on in new bodies.

Alarmed  
Washington, D.C.

**THE ELECTIONS**

Molly Jackson's perceptive election analysis in your December issue is a civics lesson we must study. Youth should put it on the agenda for discussion at their meetings.

Nixon, as she said, congratulated other Republicans who won office, but didn't mention Lindsay's name. Nixon also sent a congratulatory wire to Kiesinger, but Willie Brandt defeated him anyhow.

I wish someone in Atlanta would write what's cooking there with a Jewish mayor and a Negro vice mayor. That city could easily become USA's most exhilarating happening.

Reader  
Nebraska

**FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS**

Sorry for the delay in writing. I was in jail for four months, first accused of burning the town, later condemned for articles written in Vito. But all has turned out well. Together with the black laborers of Curacao, we formed a political party and right now I am what you call a senator. That's a funny joke, of course, but it might be the beginning of our freedom at last. If you are still interested, I'm willing to write a report. N&L is a great help to us.

Stanley Brown  
Curacao

Editor's Note: Stanley Brown was one of three Socialists elected, for the first time in history, to the 22-member Parliament of the Netherlands Antilles. Two were elected from their jail cells: Stanley Brown, editor of Vito, and Wilson Godett, black longshoreman.

\* \* \*

There are a lot of things going on here. A teacher national general strike is on,



# TWO WORLDS

# Economism vs. Marx's humanism

**By Raya Dunayevskaya**  
 Author of *Marxism and Freedom*  
 Chairman News & Letters Committees

This\* is a most disappointing book. Or perhaps the more correct description would be: a most revealing book. In part, this is due to its sheer length (364 pages), which allows the author (Paul Mattick) to make explicit what, heretofore, as essayist, he left only implicit. But the more fundamental reason for the revelatory character of the book is the timing: Ever since the Hungarian Revolution moved the Humanism of Marxism front-center of the historic stage, it has become impossible for **economism** to hide its underlying anti-Marxism.

Thus, though there was no backtracking on the part of Mattick from his wide knowledge of Marxian as well as Keynesian economics, and though the lucidity of his style in book form is as illuminating as it has been these many years in essay form, the full book-length form, and the timing, revealed a shocking truth: his anti-Leninist obsession is, in reality, anti-Marxism.

Should this description of a Marxian economist sound defamatory, the reader must listen to Mattick himself. The revelation of his rejection of Marx's Humanism is his, not mine. It is he, not I, who is appalled at "the recent vogue of the socialist humanism of the young Marx, who considers the alienation of labor in capitalism a result of the 'alienation of man from his true nature.' This unMarxian Marx well fits the welfare state and can even be used in the ideological war against the ideological Marxism of the state-capitalist adversary." (p.282. Emphasis added.)

### THE REWRITING OF HISTORY

How like the state-capitalist ideologists calling themselves Communists—as well as today's Trotskyists—Paul Mattick sounds! His rewriting of history, no doubt, has different motivations than either those holding state-capitalist power, or hungering to do so. But this does not turn untruths into truths.

\*Marx and Keynes, *The Limits of the Mixed Economy*, by Paul Mattick. (Extending Horizons Books, Boston, Mass.)

It was not the "welfare state", but the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, the proletarian revolutionaries, who brought Marx's Humanism from the dusty bookshelves onto the world historic stage. It is not "the recent" welfare state ideologist's "use" of the "unMarxian Marx" that has produced the "vogue", but the ceaseless East European revolts, from East Berlin, 1953, to Czechoslovakia, 1968, that keeps Marx's Humanism alive. The "young Marx's" philosophy of liberation became, also, the underlying philosophy of the African Revolutions against Western Imperialism. Nor did Marx's Humanism, in circling the globe, come to a standstill as it reached the so-called welfare states. On the contrary. In reaching the world citadel of the "welfare states", the U.S.A., the theory of alienation of the "unMarxian Marx", far from "fitting" the welfare state, gave birth to a new generation of revolutionaries, black and white, who sought and are seeking to uproot it.

Indeed, to come from the sublime to the petty, even the aloof and mature Paul Mattick has been compelled to acknowledge the history-making long-life of the now famous 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, albeit in a slanderous form.

No doubt "the mature" Marxist economist had known of these long before now (1969, the year of publication of his *Marx and Keynes*). No doubt he knew about them long before the very first "East" European uprising of the East German workers who dared challenge both Russian Imperialism and their own state-capitalist overlords of the productive process. Simultaneously with that movement from below in the birthplace of Marx, a few brave intellectuals also confronted the Communist ideologists with Marx's Humanism. This dual movement, from practice and from theory, however, had no more effect on Mattick's economist interpretation of Marx than the very first discovery of Marx's Humanist Essays in the late 1920's by the great Marxist scholar, Ryazanov. It needed a social revolution as great as October, 1917, before it became possible to pry this unpublished heritage of Marx from the vaults of the Second International where they had lain buried since the death of Engels.

In a word, at no time from their first discovery,

through the period they made history anew in live class battles, until today, did the authentic voice of Marx—of Marx, not Lenin, of Marx's philosophy of liberation, not of Lenin's theory of the "vanguard party"—cause Mattick to question his economist interpretation of Marx.

On the contrary, instead of facing the reality of his failure to fully comprehend the philosophy of Marx, he stoops to Stalinist-type of amalgam-building. The "vogue" of Marx's Humanism, he now dares claim, "fits" the welfare state!

### WHAT IS ECONOMISM?

Paul Mattick's presumptuousness in declaring the authentic voice of "the young Marx" to be that of some "unMarxian Marx" has one salutary effect upon the reader who has had to struggle through 282 pages before being thrown this curve. Till then, he had been wondering why the lucid author had thrown 42 chapters at him without doing so simple a thing as dividing the many chapters into a few leading parts to give the reader some indication of where the author was headed. Now the reader, having been wiser by this unexpected curve, feels compelled to return to the beginning of the formless book to see what is Mattick's comprehension of Marxism.

The first chapter where Paul Mattick deals directly with Marx on Marx's own, not Keynes', foundations, is Chapter 3, "Marx's Labor Theory of Value." This, and the chapters on "Accumulation and the Falling Rate of Profit" as well as the two chapters on "The Realization of Surplus Value," and "Capitalism in Crises" are the best in the book. Mattick has always written seriously when criticising Marxists who departed from the "materialism" of Marx. On that point he is even capable of escaping his own narrow economism.

Thus, in taking other Marxian economists to task, he writes: "When Marx speaks of the 'law of value' as relating to a deeper reality which underlies the capitalist economy, he refers to the 'life process of society based on the material process of production.'" (p. 29) Thus, also, he criticises George Lichtheim for identifying the Ricardian and Marxian law of value while heaping empty praise upon Marx as 'the last, as well as the greatest

(Continued on Page 7)

# Views

soldiers and police inside or outside high schools. (In some, the soldiers are in, the tutors out. In others, the tutors are in, the soldiers out.) There was a tutor killed by the police at Zulia University. Another university has been invaded by the army. They are still there.

Two weeks ago a student died because of tortures in an eastern anti-guerilla field. That is why there was a lot of rioting and demonstrations at universities throughout the whole country. Afterwards, during the invasion (most students knew there was going to be one, and left the campus) one soldier died, a lieutenant and two other soldiers were wounded. They were wounded by themselves, because there was no fire from the inside.

Student  
Venezuela

Almost every day there are strikes here in France. All of them are sit-ins. It is getting harder for the unions to control the workers. But the unions seem able to recuperate once the strikes are under way—this is the greatest problem.

As we write there is a strike at the Saclay Atomic Research Center. The essential character of this strike is the union control and the effort to break away from it. The employees at Saclay are very rigidly selected and the union is in tight control. At the outset of the strike, a group of about ten employees started organizing around this problem of union control. During the strike they grew to about 50 employees.

Here also is a copy of the Citroen Action Committee bulletin which is distributed at factory gates. This action committee is one of the last left over in the factories from May 1968. Some of the publications of the Committee are translated into Yugoslav, Portuguese and Spanish.

Correspondent  
Paris

Editor's Note: For two articles translated from *La Base*, the Citroen Action Committee Bulletin of Nov. 25, see p. 2.

### FORD ROUGE FACTS

A guy who bought the paper from me at the Ford Rouge factory gate started telling me that it was the best paper he ever read, how he waited for it every month. He went on and on. He sounded like a commercial. He said nobody ever writes the truth about what happens in the shop except this paper, and the day it is sold outside the gate you know it's going to be an interesting day inside, because everybody is going to be running around talking about it.

Committee Member  
Detroit

### "DETRACTORS OF LENIN"

When there is so much misconception being spread everywhere about what Marx and Lenin really stood for—and when everybody (for different reasons) from RYM II to Cohn-Bendit, Mattick, and Cardan seem bent on equating Leninism with Stalinism—it was great to have an article like the "Two Worlds" in the last issue demonstrate what Leninism actually is, in Lenin's own words.

Student  
Los Angeles

Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the "Detractors of Lenin"—from Paul Cardan to Paul Mattick to Daniel Cohn-Bendit—was really excellent. You titled the article a "Footnote"—but it is really they who will prove the "footnotes to history." The article is worth printing separately as a special tribute to what Lenin really stood for in this 100th anniversary year of his birth.

Supporter  
San Francisco

Editor's Note: The Scottish Marxist-Humanists are planning to do just that. The article will appear along with Raya Dunayevskaya's "Marx's Debt to Hegel," in a special new pamphlet they are now getting off the press, as a commemoration of two anniversaries this year: Lenin's 100th and Hegel's 200th. Orders can be placed with Harry McShane, 31, Balbeg St., Glasgow SW1, Scotland.

### BLACK HISTORY

There must be a million books coming off the presses about black history these days, and most of them aren't worth picking up. But I finally found a really great one — *The Chronological History of the Negro in America* by Peter M. Bergman, published by Harper and Row. It's a record of 500 years — from 1441 to 1969. But who can afford to have it in his library? It cost \$12.

Writer  
Chicago

### A THANK YOU FROM CHAVEZ

There are limits to what can be expressed through paper and ink. However, we are bound to those limits as a means of saying to you a personal, "Thank you!" In face of the mounting opposition from the power class of our nation, survival of those seeking peace and justice is victory. You, Brothers and Sisters, are the means of our survival . . . our clothing, our food, our Freedom and our Life.

Peace and Justice.  
Cesar Chavez, UFWOC  
P.O. Box 130  
Delano, Cal. 93215

### AND OUR THANKS TO YOU

Enclosed is a small donation of \$5. I wish I could give more. We need a lot of money and a large organization to get rid of the Spiros in our midst.

Supporter  
Michigan

I am retired and fighting inflation. I wish I could do more. Here is a dollar to help a little.

Retired Worker  
Santa Monica, Cal.

I hope to have more at the end of the year and will mail you at least a few more dollars as a contribution because I really like your paper and want it to continue.

Worker  
Cleveland, Ohio

I think you must be just about the only ones left who haven't increased your sub-rates since you began, which I think is great. I'm a firm believer in "from each according to his ability . . ."

Here is \$25—please renew my sub for the year, and use the rest to send N&L to others who may find even the \$1 you charge too much in this affluent society of ours!

Reader  
Illinois

Our thanks to all those readers and friends who responded so generously to our Appeal. If you forgot to put NEWS & LETTERS on your gift list — why not do it now?



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

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

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

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

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



# YOUTH

## Felony convictions against black students

Los Angeles, Calif.—Twenty black students at Los Angeles' San Fernando Valley State College have been found guilty of one or more felony charges stemming from last year's sit-in demonstration. Some of the students face prison charges of up to 25 years.

This is a landmark case because it is the first time in this country that college students have been convicted of felony charges resulting from "crimes" committed during an incident on campus.

### ATHLETE HARASSED

The students were on trial for the past month due to last year's incident, which began when the school's freshman football coach was accused of racist actions against a member of the team. The head of the Black Students Union went to confer with the head of the athletics department, demanding the firing of the coach.

Upon finding that only the president of the school had the power to fire the coach, the black student leaders, the head of the athletics department, and many members of the Black Students Union went to the president's office, where they conferred with him for several hours.

### STUDENTS ARRESTED

University administrators, alleging that the president and the head of the athletics department were being held against their will, then called in the police, and the students were arrested.

The students were charged with kidnapping, false imprisonment and conspiracy—all felonies. At their trial the defense demonstrated, through the testimony of the witnesses, including college personnel, that the administrators had not been kidnapped, and that the charges were unsubstantiated.

They also made the point that the trial was a form of racial harassment, claiming that, if the students had been white, they would have been charged with less serious crimes, misdemeanor forms of the same offenses.

## Washington moratorium

Detroit Mich.—When I was in Washington, D.C. in November, I became aware of a feeling that wasn't present at any previous demonstration—that is the feeling of hopelessness. Several of my friends and I realized that a march on Washington (or any other place for that matter) would have no effect in stopping the war, especially whilst our beloved President watched the football games on television.

The only way that the "silent majority" can become other than silent is to mass together; and there are only two things that masses can be as a unit—a large, peaceful demonstration, or a riot; and most of the people who were at Washington were far from being as crazy as the Weathermen, and therefore refrained from causing a conflict.

### UNIFYING AGENT

The rally that Saturday afternoon served as a good unifying agent, it brought straight liberals and freak radicals together in an almost carnival-like atmosphere, and showed them that there is no vanguard-elite, that they were there as a unified whole for one purpose, one objective—to act as a body to express their disgust at the people behind the killing everywhere. It showed expressly that the movement toward peace is and must be a mass movement.

The old (long time) radicals realize that what they did in Washington and what they do in future such moratoriums will be ignored or disregarded by the government, but they also realize that the continuing series of demonstrations is a tool to draw more new people into the movement, and only by involving more and more people can anything be accomplished.

### MOVEMENT GROWS

The main psychological force standing in the way of people who might join the anti-war activities is that most people want to, at all costs, retain their individual identities; and to them, joining a mass movement means a loss of individuality; they feel that they will be conforming, "just going along with the crowd".

The anti-war movement is obviously gaining momentum, what with the growing number of family type people and an ever increasing number of youths, not only of the freak variety, but many straight youths, the type of person who will be able to influence even more people to join the movement. The straight youth will be able to talk to more people, if only because he does not have long hair or does not wear gaudy clothes. The straight radical will be able to break through some of the roadblocks of the bigotry which a freak wouldn't even be able to climb.

Wilson Buckholtz

This point was constantly disputed by the district attorney during the month-long trial which was conducted without a jury, but a knowledge of the situation shows that the charge was probably correct.

### NEW REPRESSION BEGUN

The guilty verdict on felonies is the start of new repression against college students in their struggles against the universities. This case is already being used by the police and the universities as a precedent, as can be seen from what happened at UCLA at the end of November. Students, sitting in at the office of one of the Associated Student Body administrators to protest the firing of a black food services worker, were arrested and charged with false imprisonment and conspiracy, both felonies.

The charges at both Valley State and UCLA were obviously blown way out of proportion to the "crimes" committed. The California courts, by convicting students of felony charges stemming from a college "disorder," have opened the door to a new wave of repression against students and workers in their battle for control of the universities and other institutions of this country.

—Richard Crowley

## Texas h.s. students hold anti-war march

Grand Prairie, Texas—The Nov. 15 Moratorium went well here despite many barriers. First a ban was put on the wearing of black arm bands at the Dallas area high schools. A temporary injunction against the ban, requested by the local ACLU, was refused on the phony grounds of insufficient reasons.

The next attempt to disrupt the scheduled activities was an injunction against the Moratorium Committee, restricting them from using the names of war dead in the planned funeral procession without obtaining permission from relatives of each first.

Next the funeral route was changed on account of a football game and foreseen traffic problems. Also a limitation on the number of cars (100) was imposed.

### STUDENT UNION ATTEMPTED

All of these restrictions were to no avail however, as nearly 500 turned out for the main demonstration which was held in the middle of Dallas. In my high school (Grand Prairie) over 200 wore black arm bands despite an "emotional devotional" held that morning in an attempt to appeal to students' deeply rooted false patriotism. Total enrollment at my school is 1,700.

Our main activities center around the people's lack of information and credible literature. We also attempted the formation of a student union to combat the numerous new rules restricting our personal as well as civil rights. We met with limited success. Our largest rally was 104, but we were never able to generate enough action to accomplish anything.

The only advancement really achieved was to heighten the student awareness of any alternative at all to the unreasonable restrictions put on their personal freedoms. Perhaps this will prove to be of more benefit to the individual student than if we had accomplished our demands.

### ARRESTED IN PARKING LOT

The last "activity" I was involved in occurred a few days ago in the school parking lot, when I was arrested for "racing my car's engine." (Or in the pig's oink, I was operating a motor vehicle in a disorderly fashion.) When I first received the citation I questioned it on the grounds that a number of cars with loud pipes had just passed. Taken back by my un-humble attitude and sound reasoning, he responded normally.

In my brief but enlightening stay in the pen I met a black youth, 20 or so, who had been held for six days without being charged with anything. They were being held on suspicion of attempted robbery.

*"Dunayevskaya's book goes beyond the previous interpretations. It shows not only that Marxian economics and politics are throughout philosophy, but that the latter is from the beginning economics and politics."—From Herbert Marcuse's Preface to Marxism and Freedom.*

## MARXISM AND FREEDOM

by Raya Dunayevskaya

(preface by Herbert Marcuse)

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## DOING AND THINKING

### Will minimum wage for youth be lowered?

by Bernard Wendall

Early in November, Secretary of Commerce Stans announced that the Nixon administration was considering a proposal to reduce the minimum wage for teenagers from the \$1.60 an hour adult scale to "about \$1.20 or \$1.25 an hour."

Stans claimed that the purpose of the plan was to reduce unemployment among teenagers, and to bring more youth into the labor force. He cited the October statistics on unemployment—3.9 percent overall, 13 percent for workers between the ages of 16 and 19. Though he didn't mention it, unemployment among black teenagers still ran about 25 percent.

While noting that such amendment of minimum wage laws would make companies tend to replace adult workers with teenage workers or hire only youths, Stans said, "There's nothing wrong with that."

Of course what he didn't mention was that many of the adult workers who would lose their jobs as the result of lowering the minimum wage for teenagers have families to support, and with jobs scarce enough already, would be forced to live on inadequate welfare checks.

### NO NEW JOBS

But this hard reality is concealed under the abstraction of "reducing the disparity between the employment of youths and adults." The Nixon administration wants to do this, not by creating more jobs for youths, but by taking existing jobs away from adults.

Another fact makes it clear that this plan is merely another aspect of Nixon's policy that "a little unemployment is a good thing," and that it is not intended to increase overall employment. A very large proportion of teenagers work at service jobs in small businesses that aren't covered by the minimum wage laws in the first place. Thus lowering the scale wouldn't even create any new jobs there.

### DIVIDE THE WORKERS

The real purpose of Stans' proposal, which is now being considered by Secretary of Labor Shultz, is to divide workers along lines of age and race. The idea is to turn youth into a cheap labor force with which to replace or at least threaten adult workers, thereby increasing hostility between older workers and the youth, especially black youth.

Another related purpose of the proposal is to "get youth off the streets" where they can form a dangerous radical force. This is especially true of black youth, who have been in the forefront of ghetto revolts from Harlem to Watts to Detroit, and it is also true of white youth, who not only make up the bulk of most peace demonstrations, but are also beginning to organize radical street gangs as in Chicago, and comprise the majority of Berkeley's "street people."

Stans wants to make youth "safe" to the system by putting them to work. Yet young workers are the most radical force in the shops today. Thus teenagers are even more dangerous to the system on the job than in the streets, unless they can be divided from the older workers. Stans hopes that lowering the minimum wage for youth will provide a wedge with which to isolate and neutralize young workers, and thus break the present wave of growing militancy among rank and file workers.

Stans claimed that the plan would receive "a lot of support," and that opposition would come "mainly from labor leaders." Nothing could be further from the truth. It is the workers as a whole, especially young workers—not just the labor leaders, who will not allow this to be done.

## Students support Norris strike

Los Angeles, Calif.—At a high school SDS anti-war rally here, that attracted perhaps 200 students, it was announced that those who wanted to, could go down to industrial Vernon and picket in support of the Norris strike (see Norris worker's account of strike, p. 3). I was one of the 30 students who went along.

It turned out that we were picketing, not Norris Industries itself, but rather Ducommun, a nearby plant which millionaire Frank Norris had subcontracted to do work normally done at his own factory. We were only supposed to stop trucks from California Cartage, a company trucking parts for Norris.

During the briefing I found that picketing here had started the day before, when four Cal Cartage trucks were stopped by half as many students as were now on the line. Though we picketed for nearly two hours, none showed up this time.

A second support action was planned for Friday, Dec. 5. Students were to maintain an 8:30 to 4:30 picket line at Choli Air Force Base, which is now used as a warehouse for Norris and other companies. This action, however, was canceled when it was learned that a second vote on the new contract was to be held that Sunday. It was at that meeting that the contract was accepted and the strike ended.

Although the action was brief and involved a fairly small number of students, it was very important nevertheless because it was one of the first times in Los Angeles that students have gone out to support workers on strike.



# Chrysler's h. s. program just cheap labor source

Detroit, Mich.—Chrysler Corporation likes to present its role in the community as that of a benevolent corporation which not only provides jobs but seeks to solve the community's problems. As chairman Lynn Townsend said: "In this community we have consistently looked to problems as opportunities."

Spurred on by the Detroit riots of 1967, they have "adopted" Northwestern High School as one of the opportunities. The idea is to go into the schools and recruit the "hardcore" unemployed to work in the plants.

The question I am now raising is whether Chrysler is helping these youth or whether they are merely gaining at both ends: first, by being awarded pre-employment training contracts by the government, far in the excess of what is necessary; second, by latching onto a steady source of assembly line labor.

## ENCOURAGE DROPOUTS

To understand the real significance of Chrysler's exploitation, we must first look at Northwestern itself. Northwestern has an enrollment of 2,685 students, all blacks. The per cent of those who go on from the 10th grade to graduate is only 43.6%; 56.4% drop out before then. What then, does making it a recruiting center for an auto company do to the drop out rate? Offering students an immediate job certainly does not seem to encourage them to stay in school and go on to college.

And while they are in school, what kind of an education are they getting working part time? For instance, students actually receive credits towards a degree for working 12 to 25 hours a week in Boron Oil Service Stations. This is done under a cooperative program sponsored by Chrysler and Boron Oil. The entire work/study program is being carried out with the approval of the Detroit Board of Education, and as one critic put it, the Board "has sold out its school to private enterprise."

Another thing that must be looked at is the program itself. First of all, there is no selectivity. All trainees take the same tests before beginning the program and no matter what the score is, all go through the same remedial training which consists of basic grade school math. Various sections of training are: playing baseball to "get them fit for work," punching a time clock to "get them used to it," and going through a program of mental torture called "MIND" for basic education. "MIND," which costs a fortune in equipment, consists of listening to a single voice on a tape recorder teach math for hours at a time.

One trainer consistently refers to black youths as "boy," and most of the women are afraid of their students. Another thing is that these programs are carried out by one department inside another department. Many times this means the trainer trying to do his job in opposition to the plant managers who are opposed to the whole program. They resent the trainees as getting "special treatment." One manager wouldn't let the trainees out of the classroom for an entire eight hours a day. They were forced to take breaks and eat lunch right in their seats and were not allowed to amuse themselves by playing cards or anything of the sort.

## TRAINING BY TORTURE

One trainee had a foreman who was particularly hostile. His job was bolting under the line. Others who did this job before had always knelt on a pad but the foreman wouldn't give him one. He rode the trainee and made the job impossible so he had to fail.

The final point is the result of this training program. As Owen Frazier himself (Chrysler's man-on-the-scene at Northwestern) admits: "Most of the jobs we've gotten for boys happen to be on the assembly line." Trainees have mass graduations with fake diplomas and all, and the overwhelming majority go on to line work. As one youth put it: "I felt stupid telling people I was being trained for this many weeks to work on an assembly line."  
—Anne Chapdelaine

# TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

of the classical economists". Mattick comments: "Even though Marx accepted and developed Ricardo's value theory, he was not the 'greatest' of the classical economists, but their adversary." (p. 28)

Here he himself draws a sharp distinction between narrow economism and Marx's concept of the "life process of society based on the material process of production." Nor does Mattick limit his criticism to reformists, but extends it to revolutionary Marxists. Thus, he hits out against Hilferding for reducing Marx's materialist conception of history to the value theory: "... the materialist conception of history is not identical with the labor theory of value. It discusses social development in general, of which capitalism is only a special case." (p. 34)

Nor, Mattick continues, is it "merely a question of conscious as against unconscious regulation." (p. 35) **The law of value, and, inseparably from it, the law of surplus value, applies to capitalist societies and only to them.**

It is true Mattick conveniently skips over my expose of Stalin's open break with Marx's theory of value in 1943 at the time it happened, but, at least in 1969, he does write of it. It helps him also to expose Paul Sweezy's apologia of Russian state-capitalism as if statification of industry plus "the principle of planning" is all that is needed to establish "socialism." But, while Mattick hits away at reformist and Communist economists, he himself does not break out of economism's confines in the full tradition of the revolutionary Marx who did not separate philosophy from economics because his Promethean vision of a classless society united, instead of divided, materialism and idealism into that new human dimension he called "a thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism."

## WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?

So foreign, to Mattick, is the integrality of Marx's philosophy of history with his economic categories that he makes a total hash out of Marx's original economic categories. Mattick forces into identity Marx's split of

# Economism vs. Marx

classical political economy's category of labor into abstract and concrete labor, and the further singling out from labor, as activity, its commodity-form of appearance, labor-power. Where Marx speaks of the twofold character of labor, Mattick "restates" it as "the twofold character of labor-power." (p. 57)

The obtuseness of Mattick to Marx's philosophic analysis of the all-pervading fetichisms of commodity-form, literally calls for him to make such false identification as if it were, indeed, the commodity rather than the activity which "produces" value and surplus value. The two-fold character of the commodity—use-value and exchange-value—is of course only the phenomenal expression, the cover-up of the exploitative relationship at the point of production, all of which Mattick "knows" very well. Then why attempt, with a single stroke of the pen, to do away with the fetichism of commodities by identifying Marx's analysis of labor, as activity, with labor-power as commodity?

Had the mature Mattick followed Marx into the labor process itself he could not have mixed up "economic categories" and could not have escaped seeing the labor-capital relationship as not only an exploitative one, but also a perverted one. Throughout the four volumes of *Capital*, the most mature Marx pounds away at this capitalistic perversion — the reification of labor, the transformation of man into thing and the revolt of the workers against this.

Evidently, for the knowledgeable Paul Mattick, the commodity-form holds no secrets; labor and labor-power may appear synonymous to one who doesn't feel the full weight of the capitalistic perversion of subject to object, of man into mere appendage to machine, of the transformation of concrete labor into the abstraction, value. But Marx, after laboring more than a decade with the exposition of the fetichism of the commodity-form which, on the surface, appeared so simple that all "took it for granted", was still dissatisfied even after the first edition of *Capital* was published in 1867.

It was only after the workers had shown themselves anew as creative "Subject", and not merely as exploited "substance," by "storming the heavens" and creating a totally new form of workers rule—the Paris Commune; and only after Marx himself analyzed this greatest revolution of his lifetime—*The Civil War in France*—that he again reworked that most famous section of Chapter 1, "The Fetichism of Commodities" in the French edition of *Capital*, 1872-75. Only then was he finally satisfied with the simplicity of his answer to the question: Whence the fetichism of commodities? "From the form itself." **The whole point was that not only is the form "fantastic" that makes "social relations appear as material relations between things", but that, under capitalism, that is what "they really are."**

Without full comprehension of this philosophy, Mattick ends, not only by separating what Marx had united—philosophy and economics—but, inescapably, isolates himself from the voices from below in his era and thus falls prey to Keynes. This is so, not because he doesn't, as a Marxist economist, criticize Keynes as bourgeois. It is so because, in his preoccupation with Keynes, he proceeds undisturbed by proletarian attitudes to the decades from the 1930's to the end of the 1960's; that is to say, from the Depression to the technological revolutions culminating in Automation.

The result is that his only "original" category for world economic development of our era is "mixed economy." Even the concept of state-capitalism becomes subordinated to the "theory" of the mixed economy. No wonder he falls such easy prey to the Keynesian "revolution" in economics that he reverses history itself to make it fit the economic theories of Keynes. "Though carried out in the name of Marx," writes Mattick (in referring both to the 1917 Revolution and to the imperialist adventures of present-day Russian Communism, as well as the African Revolutions\* which broke out spontaneously, (totally unconnected with Communism), "the state capitalist or state socialist revolutions would be better described as 'Keynesian revolutions.'" (p. 279)

## MATTICK'S HOSTILITY TO THE PROLETARIAT

We have no time to waste on exposing such a fantastic turning upside down of actual social revolutions which produced phenomenal changes in bourgeois economics, not to mention Mattick's retiming of history so that Keynesian economics, which was not born until the 1930's nevertheless "fits" 1917. What is of importance is that this has led him to bring into the open, his anti-proletarian "philosophy", which both objectively and subjectively, does indeed fit in with state-capitalism and "welfare state" ideologists as well as with all who have departed from Marxism.

Like all of them, he abuses Marx's vision of the revolutionary nature of the proletariat—"The proletariat is revolutionary or it is nothing"—in order to shout loud his hostility to the proletariat: "At present it (the proletariat) is nothing..." (p. 337)

It is this anti-proletarian attitude that is his one true underlying "philosophy," be it in his analysis of Marx whom he is supposed to be following, or of Keynes whom he is supposed to be opposing; be it in his professional anti-Leninism or in his deliberately ambiguous degrading of the African Revolutions. It is this hostility to the proletariat that has caused his self-paralysis every time he faces the integrality of philosophy and revolution.

\*For a discussion of the African Revolutions, see my *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and The Afro-Asian Revolutions*. For an on-the-spot report directly from Africa, see my *Political Letters*, Nos. 34 thru 39. Both are available through *News & Letters*.

**a = (a) + (-a)**  
ray ford

for Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg—in January the month of their births/deaths.

<p>once spoke a ancient one whose words though they came softly from his lips struck like thunder upon my mind for i had heard but did not understand</p> <p>("what is now was then what was then is now and between the two lies what is/was to be")</p> <p>i was old then but not ancient like he for wisdom had yet to come thus i could not solve the puzzle of the words</p>	<p>("what is now was then what was then is now and between the two lies what is/was to be")</p> <p>but now i am young and know the meaning of his words having myself passed through history becoming ancient like he and all humanist before and after us with the wisdom to answer the riddle</p> <p>("what is now was then what was then is now and between the two lies what is/was to be")</p>
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# WORLD IN REVOLUTION

By Eugene Walker

## The Oligarchy, the Military, the U.S.

### Rockefeller: remolding the triple alliance in Latin America

New York Governor Rockefeller has just issued a report for the Nixon Administration on Latin America. It comes after he was hooted, booed and almost run out of a number of Latin American countries when he undertook a fact-finding tour for Nixon this past summer.

What was under challenge by the Latin American people at the time of Rockefeller's tour was that old Latin American triple alliance of the oligarchy, the military and the U.S. The alliance has been bruised in the last decade or so. The rise of Castro in Cuba was a beginning. The massive demonstrations against Rockefeller were one of the latest manifestations.

#### OLD DAYS ARE OVER

Rockefeller in his report acknowledges that the old days of Latin American countries as our client states are gone. He even identifies some of the new forces responsible for change—"Student participation in demonstrations and violence is becoming a major force in all countries." The Catholic church is among the "forces of social and political change in the other American republic."

But recognition of these forces does not mean support for them. Rather it is a signal for raising the magical word that has time and time again been the pretext for continued U.S. intervention into Latin America: "subversion."

It is everywhere and all knowing. "Subversive forces working through the hemisphere are quick to exploit and exacerbate each and every situation," we are told.

Thus according to the report, a substantial segment of labor is "communist led" and is "less concerned with the national productivity than with

the overthrow of existing institutions, public and private." The church and the young are "in some cases vulnerable to subversive penetration; ready to undertake a revolution if necessary to end injustice."

#### WANTS TO RESTRICT FREEDOM

The workers, the students, even the church, are, according to Rockefeller, being threatened not so much by dictatorial regimes as by too much freedom. "Man has demonstrated in the past that he can endure regimination. The test today, perhaps, is whether he can survive his freedom."

These new forces under "subversive influence" present the threat of "a Castro on the mainland," something which we are told must be avoided at all cost. This now lays that basis for putting some new life into the old triple alliance. We are now supposed to accept the "realities" of Latin America, including the military dictatorships. The regimes in power are supposed to be supported by the United States—even if they are authoritarian.

Such support means support for the military, "the single most powerful political grouping in society" in many Latin American countries. The Rockefeller report speaks of "a new type of military man that is coming to the fore and often becoming a major force for constructive social change in the American republics." But it is an "ideologically unstable" group which may be swayed by Marxism. The challenge is to see it is swayed by U.S. imperialism.

There is a new element to the military in certain countries. But its newness is its attempt to move away from U.S. domination. In Bolivia, the holdings of the U.S. Gulf Oil Company were taken over. In Peru, the newness of the year-old military

coup is that it did not wave the anti-Communist banner or claim it had come to save democracy.

#### NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE

This summer the new Peruvian military government passed an agrarian reform degree. Its first target was the large sugar plantations owned by the U.S. But nationalization is only a beginning. On some plantations it has meant only a change from company boss to government boss. The wages, the working conditions, the control of labor has not changed. As one labor leader in Peru stated: "Perhaps their first intention was just to nationalize the plantation. But we put on the pressure, and the Government is committed to making them cooperatives for us." In some areas the land owning oligarchy was shaken.

Whether it remains only a question of change of ownership or becomes a change in a social system where two percent of the population controls 90 percent of the land, depends precisely on the activity of those new forces—workers, peasants, youth—which Rockefeller says are so vulnerable to subversion.

It is they who will truly test this "new military man." And it is just this which Rockefeller wishes to stop. With his proposals for continued supply of armaments to Latin American countries he hopes to keep the new military in the coat pocket of the United States. His proposals for better trade relations with Latin America means little so long as the U.S. is intent upon propping up the oligarchy and the military throughout Latin America.

Social change in Latin America must have as its first step freeing of the continent from United States domination. The Rockefeller report is concerned with how to continue that domination.

## Coup in Libya

Libya underwent a coup Sept. 1 that could mark a turning point in North Africa. At stake are some of the richest oil reserves in the world and whether the Libyan population will benefit from them. Libya is on the verge of becoming the world's third-ranking producer of oil after the U.S. and Russia.

Private U.S. investments in Libya are close to one half billion dollars, second in Africa to U.S. investments in South Africa. Twenty-four of the 38 oil companies operating in Libya are American and the rest are British and Western European. Investors have been receiving returns of nearly one billion dollars annually from Libyan oil.

In addition, both Britain and the U.S. have military bases in Libya. The Sanuzi monarchy, which until recently had ruled the country, was established by Britain and the U.S. in 1951. The discovery of oil meant \$900 million in royalties to the government and its friends and should have guaranteed the West's interests.

#### POPULAR COUP

But the fact is that the Sept. 1 overthrow was welcomed with popular rejoicing, especially by the urban poor. Oil revenues had enriched the country and promoted advances in various sectors. Illiteracy was down; public education was up. But the main function of the oil revenues was to create or sharpen social disparities.

The petroleum industry employs only two percent of the labor force and provides prosperity for at most ten percent of the total population. Some 70 percent depend upon a decaying agriculture for their subsistence. While the per capita income is over \$1,000, the annual income of peasants is less than \$45. In short, it was only the monarchy and a few others who benefitted from the oil discoveries.

After World War II and before the oil boom, Libya had a largely nomadic population and no sense of being a nation. But by the 1960s, with the discovery of oil, came also the formation of a unitary state to manage the oil investments, urbaniza-

tion, the birth of a proletariat and the decline of nomadism.

#### NATIONALISM GROWS

The emerging state found itself governed by an absolute monarch and his corrupt followers. Those internal forces plus the emergence of other Arab nations free from monarchy brought forth a sense of nationalism.

The coup by junior officers in the army is the product of this nationalism. It is as yet unclear whether it is a changing of the guard or a turning point in North Africa.

The new regime has indicated that it will not renew the military bases agreements with Britain and the U.S. when they expire. It is taking steps to free Libya from foreign domination, by stipulating that at least 51 percent of the holdings of foreign banks must be held by the state and that a majority of the board members must be Libyan nationals.

While reappropriation from outside forces is a necessity, it remains to be seen whether this will result in real change within the country.

## Agnew-Nixon attempt muzzle of media to crush anti-war forces

(Continued from Page 1)

press—and his claim to represent an "open" administration—could hardly stand up in the light of the administration's cover-up of the massacre. (See Editorial, P. 4.) Quite the contrary. The Vice-President's third diatribe, coming after the Song My atrocities mentioned not a word about it, but proceeded to hit out against the youth rebels as "appeasers" (sic!). To dare to say that the youth who are fighting against the war are the ones who don't care for "future generations," as against Agnew's administration that has made war a way of life, reveals Agnew as a demagogue. But the press brought none of that out in playing down his attacks on the youth and playing up his claims about "being for" dissent.

What is bothering the press? What are its fears? Why is it that, as against the time of the Bay of Pigs debacle when Kennedy asked for self-censorship of the press and, to a man, they attacked him, they are now so formal in their own defense, so mild in attacking possible censorship?

From two very different sources—George Wallace, and *The New York Times'* C. L. Sulzberger—we can get to the real reasons, provided that we know how to read not merely what they say, but also what they mean.

#### THE TOTALITY OF THE CRISIS

On Sunday, Nov. 30, George Wallace appeared on TV. The darling of the segregationists and war hawks had just returned from Vietnam with the conclusions that the war was "winnable" if we only would give the military brass "full freedom"—that is, freedom to

proceed with renewed bombings and more killings. At the same time, he was also full of praise for Agnew and the new turn of the Nixon administration. He said he should have copyrighted his campaign statements, for then he would be collecting big royalties from the Agnew-Nixon speeches. (He forgets the lack of differences transfers his votes to Nixon.) He rightly linked together the war, the Southern strategy, and the no-holds-barred attack against the youth.

For anyone who thinks this vicious imperialist war is "winnable" at this late stage, when the anti-Vietnam war struggles have moved from battlefield to home front, no-holds-barred IS the road to totalitarianism.

As against the racist Wallace, *The New York Times'* sophisticated foreign specialist, Sulzberger, wrote from Copenhagen, on Dec. 7, that what worries Europe (he means the NATO powers) is not so much the Vietnam war—not even the horrors of American behavior revealed in Green Beret murders and especially the Pinkville massacre. What worries these allies most, said Sulzberger, are Nixon's means of "establishing for himself a reassuringly strong position in a divided country."

Allegedly, Nixon's policies may be wrong but "not wicked," while the war protesters may be right, but still "harmful," and "therefore" what is needed is "unity," even if that means with Nixon.

To speak in plain language, what both passionate observers are saying is that the Nixon administration is evidently desirous of a divided country—that is of a civil war against the American masses. Toward that end, the Agnew diatribes—and we have not heard the

last of them—were unloosed; toward that end, a lynch spirit is being prepared against new emerging revolutionary forces of the youth, the Blacks, and the anti-Vietnam war movement—and against opposition even as respectable as that stemming from the Senate and the bourgeois press.

Sulzberger apparently concludes that the press had better reconsider its "softness" on the radical anti-Vietnam movement, in the interests of "cleansing the American name."

Thus, the press's opposition to censorship was not, and could not be, done along high, principled lines, even though at stake may be their own lives and the lofty principles of a free press, the greatest achievement of bourgeois democracy.

Thus, where even the most Uncle Tom type of Negro leader fears to take a job with the Nixon Administration—the latest to refuse was a Republican officeholder in Michigan—the TV networks are being prepared to play down the open murders of Black Panther leaders, now numbering 28.

What the masses must be prepared for is their own defense, for the next target—and this time not only of the Agnew-Nixon administration, but the mass media—will be Nixon's desired civil war against the American people.

Thus, the totality of the crisis—be it the endless war in Vietnam, or runaway inflation; the black revolution or rebellious youth—is compelling unity along CLASS lines.