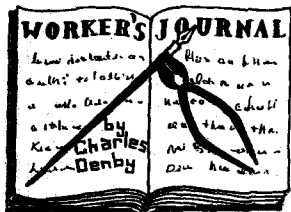


ON THE INSIDE

Marx, Lenin and their detractors
by Harry McShane, page 5

No cease fire at home or abroad
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Black culture is freedom, not fadism
Black-Red View page 7



Auto workers denounce use of terrorism

by Charles Denby, Editor

A production worker reported a bomb threat in the auto plant where he works. He said it was the most frightening experience of his life. He had heard about terrorism and the threat of it throughout the country, and he had seen some of the results of its destruction on TV, but he had never thought about being blown to pieces while working in an auto plant. He said the tension of all those policemen and F.B.I. agents around was as nerve wracking as the bomb threat.

One worker said, "They asked us questions and interrogated us as though we should have known something about it. How could they possibly think we could know about it and still be working here, taking a chance on losing our lives?"

TERRORISM MAKES THINGS WORSE

An older white worker said, "I do not know what is going to happen in this country. When I first heard of the Students for a Democratic Society, I was for them. I know we need a change, especially for working people in production, black people and all other minorities and oppressed people. I used to wish for the day when those young people with all their knowledge would join with us. But then I read about the splits, and how some became Weathermen, and their policies were violence and terrorism. I opposed them, because I felt this would only lead to getting many innocent people killed and themselves destroyed, and would leave working people and other oppressed people in even worse shape than they are today.

"When I saw on TV that the Nixon administration just passed some of the most reactionary laws this country has ever known, I knew this was made possible through the acts of those young militants. Those laws will only be used against them and workers, blacks, and other oppressed minorities. No policeman, not even J. Edgar Hoover, is going to force his way into a rich person's home and search and seize anything in it without a search warrant—not even the home of a big leader of the Mafia."

K.K.K. BOMBS TOO

A black worker said, "You're right. The K.K.K. has been bombing black people's homes and churches ever since the Civil War, and no law was passed requiring the death penalty for them, or allowing search and seizure without a warrant. I am against terrorism by these young militants too—because I do not think that

(Continued on Page 3)

Trudeau imposes police state rule

Canada has been under martial law since Friday, Oct. 16. The French-speaking Province of Quebec is a virtual police state, brought on by the political kidnapping of a British trade official, James Cross, and the Quebec Minister of Labor, Pierre Laporte, by two different cells of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ), a terrorist separatist group.

On Oct. 5, one cell kidnapped Cross, and sent communiques to French radio stations stating the conditions for his release. Their primary demand was the release of 23 political prisoners held by the Quebec government for bombings and bank robberies executed in the last few years, including the bombing of the Montreal stock exchange last year. The FLQ also demanded that a Manifesto, attacking the English capitalist domination of Quebec and sell-out French politicians, be broadcast by the media.

On Oct. 11 another cell of the FLQ kidnapped Quebec Labor Minister Laporte. His body, garrotted by the chain holding a religious medal he wore around his neck, was found the day after Prime Minister Trudeau declared the War Measures Act. **QUEBEC A POLICE STATE**

The Act, which outlawed the FLQ, placed Canada under martial law, and permitted the army and police to search and arrest without warrants. Those arrested can be held incommunicado for up to three weeks before ever being charged. After they are charged they can be held for 90 days without a trial.

The police are not required to reveal who has

been arrested. A person can be arrested and disappear for weeks without any explanation to his family, his attorney or the newspapers. Newsmen, for example, were refused the names of Montreal residents among the 304 people arrested in the first three days the Act was in effect. Since then, 59 of those arrested were released, but who they were and why arrested, nobody has been told. There is no recourse, under the Act, for false arrest.

The Act likewise prohibits all political gatherings which might be construed as having anything to do with the FLQ, its programs or demands, and makes it illegal for the mass media to print or broadcast anything which might aid the outlawed organization.

LABOR LEADERS SEIZED

Trudeau proclaimed the War Measures Act, without consultation with the Parliament, at 4 a.m. Oct. 16.

One of the first arrested was Michel Chartrand, the popular socialist president of the Montreal Council of the CNTU (the labor federation to which most French workers belong.) A squad of police entered his house without warning, ransacked it and seized his personal papers. Many whose names and addresses were found in Chartrand's address book were picked up later in the day.

Of the 400 or more in police custody are popular French-Canadian singer Pauline Julien; a famous poet, Miron; a candidate in the upcoming Montreal election, Jean Roy; and a number of other labor

(Continued on Page 8)

10¢

NEWS

LETTERS

"A person is person because of others"

VOL. 15—No. 9

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NOVEMBER, 1970

Nixon's Mediterranean 'gun-boat diplomacy' embraces Franco-Spain

By PETER MALLORY

Nixon's Oct. 7 nationwide TV appearance, which he personally advertised as "the most comprehensive analysis of the Vietnam war," lasted for a mere 15 minutes. Its brevity, how-

ever, didn't stop him either from promising "a generation of peace," or its opposite—the readiness of repeating the Cambodian adventure, without notice, anywhere in the world.

The immediate threat of an escalated war — the Middle East—the confrontation of Russian and U.S. troops as opposite "allies" of Israel and the Arabs, was not mentioned. Nixon's generals no doubt informed him that two wars, each thousands of miles in opposite directions from the U.S., would be crazy. In any case, it influenced him to avoid mentioning his trip to the Mediterranean.

However, the total effect was to present the old Nixon image: the Cold War, professional, reactionary anti-Communist. Only this time, Nixon was the man in power, preparing the ground for a confrontation of the world super-powers.

To grasp how drastic the change has become, we must roll back the film by a month.

The activities of President Nixon over the past month, his travels, his choice of friends, his speeches, promises and threats are best analyzed when taken as a whole, with the single events serving only to illuminate the general picture. They can be best summarized by stating that they try to pull a cloak of peace over his threats and preparation for World War III, while using the international crisis to gather votes for Republicans in the November elections.

BLOWING HOT, BLOWING COLD

Prior to his European trip, things seemed to be going well internationally. As late as Aug. 28, Leonid Brezhnev, Russian Communist Party chairman, speaking in Alma-Ata, refrained from condemning the U.S. warmongers in his analysis of world affairs. Talks were progressing well at the Strategic Arms Limitation Conference, a cease-fire had been arranged in the Middle East and there was talk of increased trade with Russia. We were about to enter a period of sweetness and light in Russian relations.

Within a month all had changed. The Russians were accused of building a submarine base in Cuba, which they have denied in strong language; a civil war took place in Jordan in which countless thousands died; Nasser died; and the cease-fire agreement appears about to suffer the same fate—while the U.S. supplies arms to both Jordan and Israel, and Russia furnishes the materials and prepares the groundwork for the army of Egypt to cross the Suez and resume the war.

What happened in that fateful month to turn back the clock?

Nixon's Mediterranean trip, far from being a goodwill mission for peace, was in reality a repetition of old-fashioned imperialist "gun-boat diplomacy" used for years to cower the natives of Africa, India and the Far East.

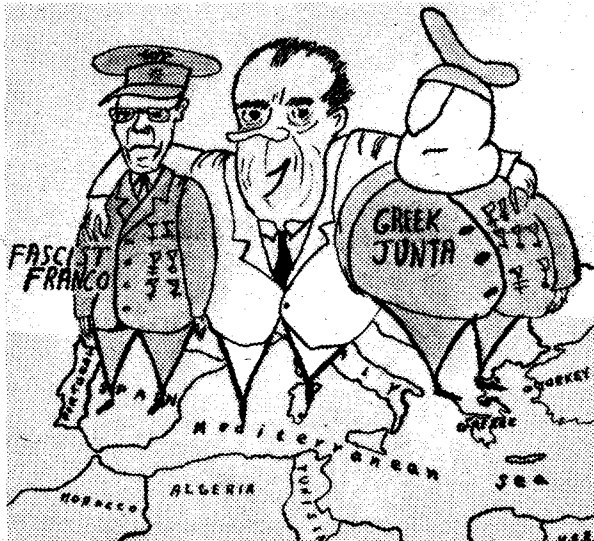
The initial visit to the Pope reminds one of the troops being blessed by the Holy Father before they go off to war.

The planned naval maneuvers in the Mediterranean called for a massive display of U.S. military strength. The U.S. navy and air force were scheduled to put on a full show—including dropping of bombs and filling the sky with aircraft in full view of the new Russian Mediterranean fleet and the Arab leadership to display who is boss in the Mediterranean.

DEATH OF NASSER, EMBRACE OF FRANCO

The display had to be cancelled due to the untimely death of Nasser, who, in passing, left a void in the Arab leadership and upset Nixon's plans.

(Continued on Page 8)



Nixon's new alliance for freedom

Union denies discrimination . . .

The following letter was received by N & L:
To The Editor:

The undersigned is the attorney for United Catering, Restaurant, Bar and Hotel Workers Local 1064.

I have been asked to write to you to correct the misstatements contained in your June and July issue of your paper. On page 10 of this issue appears the headline, "ARA and union harass women fighting discrimination." It appears to us from reading this article, and others in your sheet that you displayed the same lack of responsible reporting that typify our local newspapers which I am sure you would call the "capitalist press."

Since you chose to run the story about Local 1064, responsible reporting and common decency would have dictated your making an inquiry from the union as to whether or not the information that you had received was accurate.

THE UNION you chose to write about has a history of being in the forefront against discrimination practices of employers because of race, color, sex or any other kind of discrimination.

The cases you wrote about contained a degree of truth in that the employer initially resisted the right of women to bid on jobs which had traditionally been restricted to men. The tradition also had some basis in law and regulation in that women in Michigan were protected by law from lifting heavy objects.

When the first female employee at ARA sought to bid on a serviceman's job, the union insisted she had a right to do so.

The union processed the female employee's grievance and reached a settlement with the Company and the manner in which the dispute would be resolved without the necessity of arbitration.

THE EMPLOYEE refused to abide by the agreement and went to the Civil Rights Commission where an identical settlement was arrived at.

To say that she did not get "any help from the union at all" is a complete falsehood.

Your implication in the story that subsequently a man with greater service somehow improperly bumped the employee from the job is likewise false.

Your statement that "the union doesn't seem to fight for the women as they do for the men" and that "the contract gets worse every time it is negotiated" is likewise false.

The fact is that each contract has been an improvement on the old in many respects.

The statement that a woman who was on sick leave as a result of an accident at work is likewise false. The employee in question had not worked for two years from an illness unrelated to her job.

Just prior to the signing of the last agreement the undersigned participated along with the union committee in settling all outstanding disputes which related to sex discrimination.

THE EMPLOYER recognized in the bargaining session, that the past action of some of its supervisors was improper, in their dealings with women employees who desired to bid on what had previously been male jobs. In that bargaining session, the Company agreed to establish identical criteria for both sexes in their opportunity to bid on all jobs.

Insofar, as I am presently aware, the question of

sex discrimination at ARA is a closed issue.

The last Collective Bargaining Agreement was ratified by a State Labor Mediation conducted vote with only five dissenting votes.

We want to say finally that, the women whom you wrote about are welcome members of our union. The union recognizes that some of them pioneered in breaking down sex discrimination in this unit.

However, for either you or they to say, the union has failed in its responsibility to them cannot go unchallenged. In the event you choose to "headline hunt" in the future and pick upon this union as a target, we would appreciate your getting your facts straight.

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM MAZEY

. . . ARA women answer

Mr. Mazey:

Your letter about irresponsible reporting leads us to believe that you are either ignorant of the facts or have been misinformed by Local 1064. The statements in our story are true; there are good reasons why four separate cases of sex discrimination, harassment and retaliation have been filed by women members of your client-union with the Michigan Civil Rights Commission and the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.



One of those cases involves the woman whom the company disqualified for a "serviceman" job after she trained 29 days and she needed one more day to qualify. You say her grievance was settled without arbitration. That is true, but only because the union settled in a way agreeable to the company but not to the union member!

The settlement said she had to do 15 more days of training; obviously, the company could disqualify her again during that period. Not only did she refuse to agree to it, but it was contrary to the union contract, which specified the 30-day period, and to past practice—no man ever got such treatment!

THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION did not make the same settlement. It told the company she was eligible to be a service vendor (they ordered the name changed), and was to be paid the difference in wages from the day she was disqualified.

Your obvious misinterpretation of our article is apparent when you misquote it by adding the word "improperly" to the sentence about her that reads, "But a man with more seniority bumped her off it" (a job).

A second woman did get a vendor job after filing a grievance with the union, but she never got her back pay. There have been several more grievances about various forms of discrimination against the women who tried to get vendor jobs; these were "settled" at contract time by throwing them out. And that was after you stated you would take them to arbitration.

THE UNION HAS DONE NOTHING about the constant harassment of these women in retaliation for their going to the Civil Rights Commission. For example, one woman finds the hours cut or the job eliminated, and the days-off changed, on every job she takes.

As for the woman who has been on medical leave—if, as you say, she was not injured on the job, how do you explain the fact that the company offered her a settlement for that injury? This woman was eliminated by the company and the union by a special provision in the last contract, just because she was helping other women fight discrimination.

YOU SAY THE UNION CONTRACTS are getting better. It is true that we got up to 35c raises, but working conditions are getting worse and worse. The company is combining jobs, putting more work on people, so that you don't have time to get your work done.

You say that in a bargaining session the company agreed to establish identical criteria for both sexes in bidding jobs, but where is that language in the contract? We think it may be fun for you to go through it and try to find even the word sex.

You say, "Insofar as I am presently aware, the question of sex discrimination at ARA is a closed issue." Are you kidding?

ARA WORKERS

WAY OF THE WORLD

Crime and unemployment

by Ethel Dunbar

Crime and terrorism in this country have everyone nervous. That is true among black people as much as whites. Everyone is talking about Rev. T. S. Boone, a nationally known black minister and pastor of King Solomon Baptist Church in Detroit, who was recently robbed and stabbed and taken to Ford Hospital unconscious. Right after that, another leading black man, the owner of a big black super-market was robbed and killed.

There are many more things that happen to the poor black people, but do not get into the news. Black people are saying that this is becoming the American way of life.

SERIOUS TROUBLE

I was talking to an older white woman after a motorcycle club on the west side of Detroit was bombed. She said she thought the violence in this country got into high gear after John F. Kennedy, Rev. King, and Robert Kennedy were killed. She also blamed a lot of the violence on the unemployment among young people. It is already over 35 percent nationally among black youth. In some areas it is even higher than that.

Nixon said some unemployment would be good for this country. But the poor black and white people know we are in for serious trouble. When a big clothing company has closed 27 stores on the East Coast, and hundreds of people line up in California for one job, how can that be good for this country?

POLICE STATE AHEAD?

The real cause of the crime and terrorism is the way the so-called big leaders, especially Nixon and Agnew, are leading us.

Nixon and Agnew are taking advantage of all these things to pass their reactionary laws. They want to turn us into a police state.

All those vicious laws they are passing will not stop the crime and terrorism. There has to be a real change in the government and in the way people are forced to live. And it had better come before it is too late for all of us.

College secretaries win strike

Warren, Mich.—Secretaries at Macomb Community College struck the campus for four days, and were joined on the picket lines by students and a few professors.

The 128 women who make up the Macomb College Association of Office Personnel took action after 42 bargaining sessions failed to produce a contract to replace the one that expired last June. Their four-year-old, independent union picketed until they won a cost-of-living allowance as well as a ten per cent wage increase.

During the strike, the campus was dotted with handmade picket signs. Students stayed out of the cafeteria, and some helped picket the doors.

The professors seemed upset at the unusual situation. One sought out his secretary on a picket line and asked her where she kept the coffee cups. "In my desk," she said. "But your desk is locked." "That's right," she said, and kept on walking.

Before the strike, some women took home as little as \$67 a week. Many earned only \$5,000 a year. Although the school had offered them a wage increase, it was the cost-of-living which they wanted most.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.		O. DOMANSKI

National boycott launched against non-union lettuce

Delano, Cal.—The California farm workers are striking not just to have a union but to have the one of their choice.

In 1965 the Delano Grape Strike began. In 1966 the United Farm Workers of America and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee merged into United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. As a victory took shape in that area, the Salinas workers asked for union elections. The growers ignored their request, brought in the Teamsters, and signed "back-door contracts" with them. But as one company spokesman put it: "Teamsters have our contracts but UFWOC has our workers."

MASSIVE STRIKES

Recently, on Aug. 11, the Teamsters signed a jurisdictional contract honoring UFWOC's rights to organize farm workers, but growers refused to release the Teamsters from their contracts. Massive strikes began in the Salinas Valley and Santa Maria. The strike, involving 5,000 to 7,000 workers nearly crippled lettuce production in that area.

A United Fruit representation election held on Aug. 30 proved once again that workers wanted UFWOC and their contract demanding \$2.10 per hr., a hiring hall, grievance procedures, job security, pesticide clause, etc.

United Fruit attempted to get an injunction against the strike, claiming it illegal, but the judge ruled that the strike was not jurisdictional since the Teamsters could not present any evidence that they represented workers. Finally, on Sept. 4, all strawberry growers in Salinas Valley—except the largest, Pic'n Pac—agreed to negotiate. United Fruit began to ship union label lettuce, and others also recognized UFWOC.

Since then a judge issued a permanent injunction

against the strike, and Cesar Chavez promptly announced a nationwide boycott of non-union lettuce grown in California and Arizona.

The Salinas strike is not just a legal jurisdictional battle between two unions. It represents the struggle of workers for self-determination in electing their own union. The Teamsters' intervention is just a deliberate attempt by company and union to frustrate the workers' desire to have their own union.

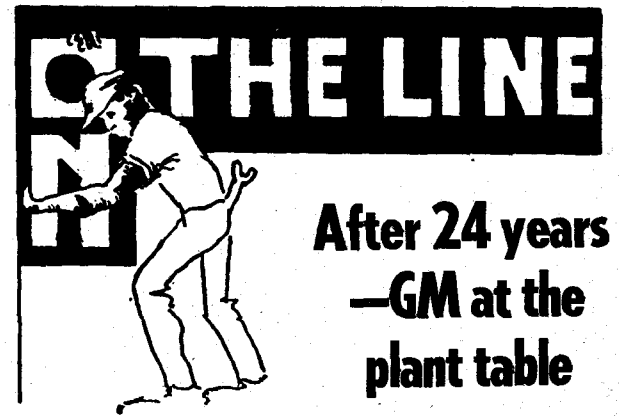
The five-year struggle has succeeded so far largely because of massive nationwide support. Boycott all stores that handle non-union lettuce and ask your friends to do the same. A victory can only be won with continuous support.

ATTENTION DETROIT READERS!



Great Scott, Farmer Jack and Chatham are all carrying UFWOC Union packed lettuce. The only store that has slammed the door in the face of the UFWOC workers is Kroger. Wrigley has promised to try to get union lettuce and A&P was carrying New York lettuce, but has since carried scab lettuce.

IF YOU CAN JOIN THE PICKET LINES TO MAKE DETROIT SCAB-FREE, Call 825-4811, or drop in at the office: 3419 Michigan Ave., nr 23rd.



After 24 years
—GM at the
plant table

By JOHN ALLISON

The great change in the United Auto Workers and G.M. contract negotiations shows itself in a real way when the rank-and-file get a chance to vote for the kind of representation they respect and want. This was proven when workers at the G.M. Technical Center did not take the advice of the UAW negotiators and refused to cross their own picket lines to return to work.

These are workers who G.M. says it wants to go back to work on anti-pollution devices for automobiles. Management is claiming in the press that the UAW leaders and the workers aren't really interested in pollution because these technicians won't cross the picket lines.

The striking workers laugh at this. The fact is that G.M. has fought like a mad bull against every anti-pollution law ever mentioned that dealt with autos. Workers know G.M. for the fake it is better than anyone else. As one picket said, "Where it comes to pollution, every day we're on strike we do more against pollution than G.M. ever did. When we're not working, all that waste stuff isn't coming out of the plants and going in the air or in the streams and lakes."

One fact stands out in this strike. The G.M. workers have waited for 24 years to bring G.M. to the "little table" and bargain on the worst working conditions in all of the auto shops in the entire world.

Plant managers in G.M. have denied workers drinking fountains; they have made bonuses for themselves by saving monies they already had in their budget to run the plant by refusing to make even simple improvements that the rank-and-file needed. These robbers of workers are now face to face with workers at bargaining tables trying to get local contracts signed.

This, and this alone, is eating the time.

We all know how easy it is for a free-loader to forget human principles. 1. The UAW leaders forgot as they tried to get workers to cross their own picket lines. 2. G.M. plant manager free-loaders forgot how to bargain with the working class. 3. G.M. top labor relations free-loaders have not been in G.M. plants since the last contract was signed.

But now it's all turned around. Only the rank-and-file production workers have not forgot anything. They remember the slave-driving pace of the production lines very well. They live with that inhuman pressure every day, not in some big easy chair behind a big desk in a nice air-conditioned office.

Maybe the G.M. workers can't all get into that air-conditioned office this time around, but they sure have got the plant managers and the labor relations free-loaders off their high horses and right into the world of the production line. And the rank-and-file don't mean to let them go back until they improve their own conditions. Even if it takes until next year.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—Working conditions are worsening in the Dearborn assembly plant as we work on a day-to-day, no-contract basis. Many workers are becoming angered and disgusted at the plantation type tactics being used by management and labor relations representatives.

Recently a group of workers just got sick and tired of the company's harassment. They decided that if they could not get gloves to work in they were going to walk out. The word filtered through the plant and many of us were ready to go; but a militant Local 600 officer came into our building and was able to get a quick compromise. The men got only one glove apiece, and they had been used.

The company's fight against absenteeism has lost all sense of reasoning. Workers who are off because of sickness have returned to work to find that the company will not accept their doctors' letters.

Workers are being penalized for absenteeism and even given as much as 30 days off without written grievances being presented to the company.

It is pretty clear to most of us what is really going on. While our grievances are being sold out at the local and in-plant level, we see some of our bargaining committeemen and district committeemen working out of their classification and being paid premium time that should be rotated equally among the workers.

Recently Walter Dorosh, Local 600 president, asked our unit for help in selling bumper stickers supporting GM workers. The idea was to sell 50,000 bumper stickers at one dollar apiece to raise \$50,000 for the GM workers and their families in Flint who had been in a prolonged strike prior to this one. There were very few committeemen who tried to sell these bumper stickers because they were afraid of what the company might think.

Some of the workers have formed a caucus in the plant and are raising funds to take their sold-out grievances against the union and the company to civil court.

Fleetwood

We're worried about these plant negotiations that are going on in G.M. The big worry is about the work standards grievances.

The way G.M. was pushing us before the strike, almost everyone in the plant had a work grievance in against working conditions. We didn't work on our jobs long enough on the model changeover to be able to establish any standards.

This is the main point for all of us who are in production. We are all for getting the local grievances and demands settled before we go back to work. But we don't see how our work standards grievances can be settled. How can the union representatives negotiate on this one when they don't have enough of the facts to work on?

In this kind of situation there are a lot of pressures. You have the UAW international leadership and you have the corporation putting pressure on you to get the local demands and grievances settled. We know from past experience that our local union representatives haven't always been the greatest fighters for our rights, and we don't know if they know how important this matter of speed-up is to us.

What we do know is that nobody can take the kind of punishment we did before the strike for very long. Unless this is settled so we can get the quotas cut down, nothing else we might win will matter. We'll all be dead or so worn out that we won't be any good for anybody.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

is the way to bring about a change in this government. The K.K.K. did it all these years to maintain the status quo! If those dumb young people start planting bombs in factories and killing working people, turning workers against them, they are finished. What can happen is the racist right wing in this country may do such things in order to blame it on the Weathermen or some black nationalist group."

Another black worker spoke. "You all know they have had this wide spread yearning for Law and Order, ever since the racist governor from Alabama made it his main campaign pledge in the last presidential election.

"We here in production know that without us there is no production. Look at General Motors today. The most powerful corporation in the whole world, and with no workers in those plants, there is not one car being built."

The point is to unite workers' power with youth's idealism and energy. For that, the youth, especially their leaders, must begin listening to workers, and stop looking down on us as backward. They must unite with blacks and all other oppressed minorities. Then and only then can there be a successful social revolution.

Every worker said that was true, and it sounds so understandable, why don't those young scholars understand it? When I read and hear of the fights they have in these movements, I wonder what would happen if we had a successful revolution in this country.

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EDITORIAL No cease-fire in Nixon's wars--at home or abroad

The Nixon administration's rush to denounce the report of its own Commission on Campus Unrest and to threaten "a stern hand" against "disruptive students" before the school year had even begun, made it clear that Nixon had his "answers" long before he was compelled to create the Commission.

The Commission — chaired by former Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton — was hardly composed of leftists. It included a police chief and a general. But such is the nature of Nixon's regime that you do not have to be accused of being a Communist — as in the McCarthy era — or even a "radic-lib", (Agnew's term for liberals in Congress and elsewhere), to draw this fire. All you have to do is disagree with the administration.

ON TRIAL—AND GUILTY

Despite its composition and its origin, the Commission on Campus Unrest could not help but come up with findings that showed the totality of the crisis of American civilization, which has been on trial — and found guilty:

- The Mississippi police who murdered two black students at Jackson State "fired shotgun, machine gun, rifle, and armor piercing shells" into a crowd at nearly point-blank range.

- The killings at Kent State were "un-necessary, un-warranted and inexcusable."

- The turmoil on campuses is not the result of subversion, but is caused by racial injustice, the continuing war in Indo-China, and lack of democracy in the universities.

Nixon's answer to the recommendation that he take the lead in solving these problems was contained in his trip to Europe as well as in his Oct. 7 speech on Vietnam when he returned. (See lead article, page 1.) He made it clear that he has every intention not only of continuing the war in Indo-China, but is also preparing another one in the Middle-East.

The daily tonnage of bombs currently being dropped on Laos alone is greater than were ever dropped on North Vietnam at the height of the "bomb Hanoi campaign." And his proposal for an all Indo-China peace conference revealed not his desire for peace in Laos, Cambodia or Vietnam, but his determination to maintain

the U.S. war in all three countries until they are carved up to his liking.

Above all there is no cease-fire in Nixon's War At Home. It is growing more vicious every day because the opposition to the war, to racism, to the recession will not cease.

THE BLOODY ASSOCIATION

When South Vietnam's little Hitler, Vice-President Ky, was invited to attend a Washington rally of right-wingers, the administration had to send no less than a Kissinger to keep him away, so desperate were they not to be embarrassed by their bloody association with him before the Nov. 3 election.

The Republican campaign this fall has in fact been, from coast to coast, an attempt to cover their war, their recession, their racism and their repression, with a whipped-up hysteria for "law and order." The police-state they are proposing is not just talk. They are trying to implement it.

They have rammed through Congress a so-called "anti-crime" bill with such blinding speed that their floor-leader, Arkansas Senator McClellan, was not even able to answer any questions about it. This bill contains a clause mandating an additional prison sentence of 25 years for any defendant found to be a "dangerous special offender." It also provides for one thousand additional FBI agents with no other task but to police the campuses of America.

MITCHELL EVOKES VIGILANTE TERROR

Attorney General Mitchell has admitted that the government is "rapidly expanding its use of wiretapping." Court-authorized wire-tapping is up over 100 per cent this year and the Justice department refuses any figures on wire-tapping "in the national security" for which they need no court order or explanation.

But Mitchell's most horrifying words were reserved for the day after Canada put into effect its War Measures Act. He suggested that "America may one day need armed vigilantes to defend itself and our way of life." This mailed fist is the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell solution to the war in Vietnam and rampant racism. They have no other solution to offer.

The freedom forces in this country — above all, the black masses — do. So determined are they to wipe out racism once and for all that black soldiers have been

forming "black-power" groups within the Army — all over the globe. There are already a score of organizations in Germany, groups calling themselves the Unsatisfied Black Soldier, the Black United Soldiers, the Black Action Group. Most of them grew out of a mass protest rally by close to 1000 black soldiers at Heidelberg University last July 4. "Just end racism," one soldier was quoted as saying, "and we'll stop organizing."

They insist on an end to discrimination not only within the military — but to an end of racism in the U.S., as well as an end to the war in Vietnam.

New opposition to the war within the army has appeared even in such organizations as a Concerned Officers Movement, the first anti-war group of officers in U.S. history. And at home a Gallup poll reports two-thirds of the population for the removal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam this year.

The anti-war demonstrations scheduled for Oct. 31 are only one measure of the opposition to Nixon's Wars At Home and Abroad. The deepest manifestation of American civilization on trial and judged guilty, is in the black revolt that is so severe right within the army that Nixon will have to confront that before he can launch any new adventures in the Middle-East.

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A NOTE TO OUR READERS ON OUR MOTTO

Consciousness of language has led many Women's Liberation activists to ask us to change our motto: "The root of mankind is man" — a quotation from Karl Marx, which for many years we felt summed up the Marxist-Humanist content of our philosophy. We will, in the months ahead, substitute on our front page other mottos as they are suggested to us, and ask our readers to help us decide on the best choice. Last month's motto ("The leap to freedom is from necessity") was not a quote, but a paraphrase from G.W.F. Hegel. This month we carry "A person is a person because of others"—a Bantu saying.

THE GM STRIKE

I almost choked when I read about GM's condemnation of the Local 160 workers who refused to return to the job that relates to anti-pollution devices. Who is GM trying to kid? Those pollution control devices are the ones that GM admitted (in a U.S. government consent decree) it conspired to prevent development on for twenty years!

Reader
Detroit

* * *

Ford is stepping on everybody. Conditions have never been worse since we're working without a contract.

Ford Worker
Detroit

* * *

They're trying to make trucking a production job. We're working without a contract, and the company is really pushing everybody.

Chrysler Truck Driver
Detroit

* * *

Everybody knows about university complicity with the war. Some students are now trying to expose university complicity with corporations like GM. They have been pointing out GM's investment in South Africa, that only 2% of GM's

white collar jobs are filled by blacks, and that there are no women in major decision-making posts.

The New University Conference group at U of M is presenting the following demands to the Regents (many of whom are rich politicians with connections to big corporations):

- 1—Scholarship aid for the sons and daughters of strikers who attend U-M at Ann Arbor, Flint, and Dearborn.
- 2—An end to University research done for GM and the auto companies.
- 3—A University boycott of all GM products during the strike.

- 4—A declaration that no company where workers are on strike, be allowed on campus to recruit.

- 5—A joint student, faculty, rank-and-file worker committee to recommend ways to bring in more working class students to the University.

- 6—The re-establishment of the Labor Institute that will do for workers what the Bus Ad school and other U departments do for businessmen, namely, help them in their struggles.

Student
Michigan

* * *

THE MIDDLE EAST

With the Jordan bloodbath and the passing of Nasser, one can only hope that some sane and popular leadership will emerge in Israel, Jordan and Egypt as well as in the other countries. Because of the successful suppression of anyone of caliber in Egypt, that country's future is gravely in doubt. Between the U.S., USSR and their puppets, who in the whole area will have a chance to be free?

American Student
Africa

* * *

So powerful is the state-capitalist, petty-bourgeois mentality at this point in history that even organizations claiming to be the "vanguards" of the struggle for revolution in the U.S., the Panthers in the black community, and almost every old or new left group, find themselves lining up on the side of these guerilla groups. It is this debasement of the idea of revolution, which we must

deplore not just because we refuse to take sides in imperialist wars, but because those who would confuse the "Maoist internationalism" of the guerillas with the genuine Arab nationalism which led to the outpouring of human feeling at Nasser's death, would also confuse bomb-throwing and cop shooting and 1000 programs which read like the Little Red Book for real revolutionary activity here in the U.S.

The Middle East is part of a worldwide struggle. The real power plays are by the U.S. and USSR, with the whole world and the entire balance of power at stake.

Activist
New York

* * *

In the October issue of N&L I notice one thing missing in the Editorial "Middle-East Cauldron Explodes." There is no mention of the problem of the Palestinian refugees. The editorial deals with only the commandoes and the commando leaders, as far as the Palestinians are concerned. What should a Palestinian refugee do? It's a real problem, and keeps the cauldron boiling.

Concerned
San Francisco

* * *

Your editorial on the Middle East (and the "new" left) was the most unhysterical analysis I have read to date. I hope further articles will be forthcoming.

A woman/a Jew
Detroit

* * *

Nixon's visit to Italy was not welcomed by the majority of the Italian people. The demonstrations in the major cities and the small towns alike were massive, especially in the North. Most of the slogans said: "The Italians won't help you with your wars" and "Nixon, go home."

Nixon was put in a helicopter at the airport that landed in an enormous pub-

lic square (already cleared away by the police) in front of a government building. He was greeted by several hundred soldiers and the Ministers of the government. In his speech on TV he said he was here because he knew the Italians wanted to collaborate with the U.S. in bringing peace and democracy to the Middle East, and he continually insisted on the fact that it was necessary to use "force" to do this. In the Italian translation, transmitted immediately after he spoke, the word "force" was left out.

Exactly what agreement the Italian government made with Nixon has not been made public. But it is extremely difficult to believe that the Italian government, weak as it is, would agree to use Italian armed forces in the Middle East. Such a decision would be like asking for partisan warfare within this country.

Correspondent
Milan, Italy

* * *

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I was enraged when Marlene Dixon (the professor whose firing by the University of Chicago in 1969 triggered a sit-in that really "launched" WL there) used her platform at the Women's Teach-In at Wayne State University to deliver a harangue on how the WLM can only be converted into a revolutionary force by supporting Angela Davis, the Black Panthers — and the FLQ! Apparently now that she is teaching at McGill University, she is not only an "expert", but a self-appointed spokesman for the French Canadians.

It is alarming that someone like this could get up before several hundred women and tell them that the reason the WLM has been turned into a "monster" is because it has become a mass movement, and therefore crosses "class-lines" — and then deliver a Maoist harangue on how to be "revolutionary." I'm surprised she didn't propose Bernardino Dohrn as our model. The WLM

Reader's

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

EDITOR'S NOTE: We reprint below the Foreword written by Harry McShane for the special pamphlet published by the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Group to mark Hegel's 200th and Lenin's 100th birthday anniversaries this year. The pamphlet contains two articles by Raya Dunayevskaya: "A Footnote to the Detractors of Lenin" and "Marx's Debt to Hegel."

MARX PLACED man on a higher level than that of being a cog in a soul-less machine. Man was seen by Marx as the creator of a new society with all his attributes and faculties directed toward the attainment of freedom and human development. In the first of the two articles (according to when they were written) Raya Dunayevskaya deals with the relationship of Marxist theory to the philosophy of Hegel, but because of the attention which Lenin is receiving just now we reversed the order of the articles. Both articles go a long way to dispell illusions prevalent in the minds of those who know little or nothing about the extent to which Marxism has been distorted.

No one, nowadays, calls on the workers to join "the Party of Lenin and Stalin," but there are many who place the name of Lenin alongside that of Stalin for discreditable reasons. They would make Lenin take share of the responsibility for the savage policy pursued by the Russian leaders during the reign of Stalin, and inherited by the bureaucrats now ruling over the Russian people. It should be noted that the Communist Party avoid contrasting Lenin with Stalin while, of course, deploring the cult of the individual.

RAYA Dunayevskaya takes Paul Cardan, author of *The Meaning of Socialism*, as being representative of "the detractors of Lenin." Like others, Cardan ignores the persistent struggle made by Lenin against bureaucratic rule from above. Unfortunately, little is known in his part of the world about that struggle. The charge that Lenin stood for bureaucratic domination is completely demolished by the writer who shows that Lenin, in his discussion with Trotsky, insisted on the workers retaining their own organization for the purpose of pro-

tecting themselves "from their own state." She quotes from Lenin to prove conclusively that, above all else, he wanted "the workers themselves to draw up, from below, the new principles of economic conditions." He did not live to see the state he founded going in a direction opposite to what he desired. Russia has lessons for every man and woman who is really concerned about the future of society.

No limit was placed on the amount and viciousness of the slanders hurled at Lenin from 1917 onwards. Apart from a number of incurable reactionaries, no serious-minded person now questions his integrity or his devotion to the cause of human emancipation. In the field of political theory his writings reveal him as a giant compared to the political leaders, on both sides of the Atlantic, whose careers are dependent on their efforts to introduce the appearance of stability into an unstable social order. In her book, *Marxism and Freedom*, the author refers to Lenin having turned to a study of Hegel during the first World War—a point that has relevance to the subject of the second article which deals with the bearing of Hegel's philosophy on Marxism.

THIS ARTICLE will not be welcomed by those "Marxists" who refuse to look beyond the Party directive for political wisdom. It may be spurned by those who, having seen Marxism distorted to justify acts of oppression, turned away in disgust. Those who take the trouble to read it will attach greater importance to Marxism than hitherto, and they will find that the emphasis placed on the philosophic foundations of Marxism gives it a new meaning for all prepared to play a part in the struggle for freedom.

RAYA Dunayevskaya, bringing scholarship to the subject, places emphasis on the dialectic and its relevance to world events. She takes account of events from the East German rising of 1953, right down to the Vietnam war. She does not, and cannot separate theory from practice.

Getting to the heart of her subject she declares that Alienation was central to the Hegelian philosophy, and was also central for Marx. Readers will be impressed by her description of how Marx, when taking up what was central in Hegel, applied it to the real world of ordinary human beings living in a particular social order. She denies, however, that Hegel was completely divorced from the real world and claims that on the contrary,

he had "his finger on the pulse of history." She makes the point that Lenin found the revolutionary spirit of the dialectic in the works of Hegel.

ON READING this article one wonders how some of us could dismiss Hegel without knowing much about him. We were content to learn that Marx turned Hegel upside down and to leave it there. No thought was given to Marx having accepted Alienation and finding its roots in capitalist production. That is where the worker sells his labor power as a commodity, and where he is dominated by the products of past labor taking the form of capital. There the worker loses his individuality and becomes the most essential element in a system of production under which human freedom is impossible. The concept of Alienation is truly revolutionary. With Marx it is a call for the overthrow of the present social order.

It is rapidly becoming obvious to most workers that emancipation does not come automatically with the abolition of private ownership. Conditions have become intolerable where private capitalists have been replaced by a brutal state machine. Alienation, which Marx detected under private capitalism, exists also under state capitalism. The masses under both systems are dominated by their products. The hope of the future does not rest with the doings of top politicians, or with technology, but with thinking and acting human beings. These articles justify our placing reliance on the struggle from below.

Harry McShane

Two Articles by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

- A Footnote to the Detractors of Lenin
- Marx's Debt to Hegel

with a foreword by **HARRY McSHANE**

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Views

needs some theory — and fast. Without it, these elitist so-called "revolutionaries" will kill it completely as a real revolutionary force.

Disgusted
Detroit

I just read the article "Women's Liberation in China" from the booklet you published called *Notes on Women's Liberation*. Unfortunately, the men who have done most of the writing of Chinese revolutionary history have included almost nothing about the women's movement there.

Reading your booklet, which you say is a first attempt at writing for many of you, is very exciting to me.

New Reader
Minnesota

I know there is a lot of feeling for the "Equal Rights Amendment" in the Women's Liberation Movement. And I know that there is a mixture of liberals and reactionaries lined up on both sides, in the debate.

What struck me with the most force in the arguments pro and con, was a brochure I was handed at a Women's Teach-in, which listed what were called "A few thoughtful questions." It pointed out that the Amendment not only does not create new rights for women, but actually could destroy some important woman's rights — like wiping out laws fixing minimum wages, maximum hours, and safety standards for women.

What made me stop to really think about it more carefully was the list of people who had signed this leaflet, people like Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta of the UFWOC, and unions like the IU Electrical Workers, Textile Workers Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the ILGWU, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers.

When there are that many trade

unions urging rejection, I think we'd better stop and think twice.

Woman Student
Detroit

REPRESSION ON CAMPUS

The repressive atmosphere which pervades the University of Tennessee campus is apparent in the recent regulations passed by the Board of Trustees which require each student to carry an I.D. card. Certain activities are being checked to see that outsiders do not come onto the campus. The regulation reads that no outsider is allowed unless he is a guest of a person recognized by the administration as part of the university program. Two young men have been pointed out by name as being "persona non grata" on University property.

Forty-seven people have been arrested since the Graham-cracker crusade at which Nixon appeared. The courts are still holding that these young people disrupted a religious service. We contend that the service was not religious since Nixon brought only Republican candidates in an election year and presented them on the platform of a crusade that had otherwise been orderly.

The students are also complaining that the administration had no communication with them about setting up the crusade, which was scheduled for examination week in the stadium which also doubles for student dormitories.

New Reader
Knoxville, Tenn.

I was really shocked when Craig Morgan — the Kent State student body president, Air Force ROTC cadet, and leading exponent of non-violence on that campus — was one of the first arrested on indictment by the grand jury that exonerated the National Guardsmen, who murdered the four students at Kent last May.

Over 3000 students packed the audi-

torium to hear the student government call for a nationwide, nonviolent moratorium to protest the indictments and discuss what is happening to civil liberties in America.

Some of the students have begun wearing their blue plastic university ID cards on strings around their necks, dogtag style, as a symbol of solidarity. One member of the Student Senate explained why by referring to the Star of David that Jews in Nazi Germany were required to wear. He said, "It's our yellow star, our black skins. The grand jury has branded us."

Some of the students are also selling white tee shirts with "Kent Police State University" in red letters on the front. The \$3 proceeds go to a legal defense fund.

Student
Ohio

The chairman of the Michigan GOP, McLaughlin, recently attacked those who plan to cross party lines and vote for U.S. Senator Philip A. Hart or Sander Levin, the Democratic candidate for governor.

"Such Republicans" he said, "are criminals, just like the criminals walking the streets."

And they talk about student terrorism!
S. V. G.
Detroit

VIETNAM

The peace proposals presented in Paris by North Viet-Nam two weeks before Nixon's speech have yet to be presented to the American people, or discussed publicly by Nixon. The essence of their proposals seems to be that the problems of Viet-Nam should be settled by the Vietnamese not by foreign U.S. troops.

The demands that the U.S.-supported, corrupt South Viet-Nam government should not remain as the dominant force in the country during any proposed elections seem quite reasonable. Without a reasonable discussion of their demands, the Nixon proposals seek a table talk victory which does not represent the reality of the military situation in Viet-Nam.

Observer
Boston

The U.S. can get out of Vietnam and still carry on the war, as in Cambodia, with air support and military supplies. Nixon can change the game though he's still playing cards. Maybe he wants to set up a coalition like the German-Balkan arrangement with aid sent in any time there is danger of disintegration.

Anti-War Activist
New York

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

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



YOUTH

Courts move to stop all dissent...

in Florida

St. Petersburg, Fla.—Some of the activists who attended an anti-war rally here last April are paying a heavy price for it. Prof. Robert Canney, 42, has been sentenced to two years in prison for "resisting arrest with violence," and has been fired from his job at the University of Florida.

Zachary Taylor got three months on one charge and is still awaiting sentencing for "hurling a deadly missile" (a pop bottle). The maximum sentence is ten years for that charge. Eleven others arrested during the April 18 rally have not been tried yet.

They were charged in the wake of a peaceful demonstration that turned into chaos after five policemen jumped Canney from behind. He had just finished a speech in which he used the words: "Bring the goddamn war home."

POLICE RIOT

Canney didn't know what was happening and he struggled to free himself. His panic was communicated to the crowd. People began hurling insults and then bottles, as police dragged him to a paddywagon. Then more than 100 helmeted police swept the park, beating people and arresting 11.

Canney's supporters charge that his conviction and firing are part of an attack by local and state officials on movements for peace and black liberation. They point out that one day after the April 18 rally, police arrested four black youths for murdering a white woman in April of 1969.

Police said the four were members of the militant black organization, JOMO (Junta of Militant Organizations). JOMO was one of the groups which sponsored the April 18 anti-war rally; it has been under attack by local officials ever since it was founded in 1968.

in Kentucky

Washington, D.C.—Alan McSurely was sentenced to a year in prison and Margaret McSurely was ordered to serve three months for contempt of Congress on Oct. 20.

Kentucky State Attorney Thomas Ratliff started the attack on the couple three years ago when he arrested them and three other persons on sedition charges. These grew out of a fight against strip mining of coal in Eastern Kentucky.

The sedition charges were dismissed, but Senator McClellan ordered the McSurelys to bring to Washington certain documents seized by Ratliff in a raid on their home. McClellan said he needed these documents for his investigation of uprisings in U.S. cities. The McSurelys were cited for contempt when they refused to give the papers to McClellan. They have been freed under bond pending appeal.

It's the teachers who need the education

I am a senior at a high school in the San Fernando Valley of Los Angeles. This is an all white, upper middle class area. I am writing strictly about my experiences at this school, as a radical, and as a woman.

I am a woman seeking a college career. To prepare myself for this goal, I must take certain college-prep classes such as biology, chemistry and trigonometry. In these three subjects I've had male teachers. In these classes, other female students as well as myself have been treated in much the same way.

The attitude of most male teachers is that female students are taking up desk space. In these teachers' minds is the archaic idea that all girls are in the college-prep classes to find suitable husbands and nothing else. To illustrate this I will give an example which occurred in a chemistry class. A boy asked a question on something he didn't quite understand, and the instructor went into a very lengthy explanation. When a girl asked a question on some other matter of equal importance, the teacher replied, "Honey, all you have to do is look pretty and you've got it made." He then proceeded to go on to another matter.

In the history department, teachers have now become aware that current political events must be discussed in order to give a student a well-rounded education and a basic understanding of their government. It has been my experience that male teachers tend to discriminate against girls as they limit their number to one or two per discussion compared to twelve to fifteen boys. It is my opinion that these teachers believe that the woman's place is in the home, making beds, cooking meals, and taking care of the babies, and that women should leave the running of the government to the men. It is this idea and the one previously mentioned which I feel must be overcome before there can be any kind of an effective revolution.

As for the administration of the school, they seem to have somewhat liberalized it over the years. With a little determination and a good fight, girls can now take the so-called "boys' classes" such as auto shop, drafting, and graphic arts, whereas before it wasn't even open to discussion.

However, the most encouraging aspect of the senior high schools are their students. They seem to be free thinking individuals in respect to woman's equality. Girls seem to hold the same number if not more elected offices. High school Students for a Democratic Society was run by women, the Radical Student Union (RSU), a group of Los Angeles high school radicals, had a woman president, and I was the chairman of the RSU chapter at my school. We women were just as highly respected as men holding equivalent offices.

It seems to me that most of the Women's Liberation effort should be directed toward the reeducation of the adult males who retain the old idea that the woman's role in building a nation is exclusively one of taking care of the home.

(Included in NOTES ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION —see ad p. 2)

3 high school views

(Excerpts from the pamphlet, "8 to 3: High School Prison Notes.")

Roosevelt High—a brown view

The school in many ways is like a prison. It is about 80 percent Chicano. They have "sweeps" at Roosevelt. There are two tardy bells. As soon as teachers hear the bells they lock the doors and if you are in between the hall and the classroom they push you out and shut the door. . . . The teachers are always watching you like cattle. Especially at nutrition and lunch when you have a little time to talk with your friends, there is always someone not too far away . . .

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

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

Roosevelt High—a black view

High school is something to do during the day. They don't teach you that much. They will tell you that you have got to know this or that. Like in history they tell you about who died. I don't want to know about who died. I want to find out what is happening now. Today . . .

There was a Black Student Union on campus but it wasn't going together. They talked about black culture. That's all right, but what good is it doing now. The blacks and Chicanos get along alright, they see the school as the enemy of both of them. Lately I forget about most groups and just go for myself. I think many people feel the same way . . .

The way I am going I might be a gangster. I know that I am trying not to end up going to Vietnam. I had a cousin who acted crazy and he made it. Maybe I will do that. Maybe I will try and join the merchant marine. Ever since I was small I thought, when is the war going to come to an end? They just keep going.

Beverly Hills — a white view

Beverly Hills High School actually has a fairly extensive history of radical activity. Unfortunately, most of it has never led anywhere. . . . The biggest activity on campus this year was the October Moratorium against the war in Vietnam. It was also the largest and most successful activity that the radicals have ever organized at Beverly. . . . When the students at Roosevelt High School went out on strike, a support action was quickly organized at Beverly. Two hundred students boycotted classes for an hour and we collected about \$25 for the Roosevelt bail fund. . . . We won one significant concession from the administration: to have an assembly with student speakers from Roosevelt to tell Beverly students what was going on.

8 TO 3: HIGH SCHOOL PRISON NOTES



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Czechoslovak purges now hit government apparatus

Prague, Czechoslovakia—After the "exchange of party cards" a purge of the government and economic administration apparatus is underway. That means a purge of any organization or institution financed by the state—from schools and academic institutions to local authorities. All non-party members are to be included as well.

Those who have been active in trade union committees in the academic field are among those who have least "purified" their ranks, according to official accusation. They emerged outside of the formal structure of the trade unions, and since they kept to their so-called "rightist" (that is, anti-Russian) views up to the end of last year, they have often come under fire in the press. They will no doubt be "eligible" for some sort of "rectification."

SURFACE SECURITY

This purge of the government apparatus seems to be one of the very last steps of "normalization." Already a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, issued after the "exchange of party cards," calls for a resumption of "normal party methods." The ruling group may thus feel rather secure in its position. As usual, however, this is but the surface.

For as far as one can hear and see, a great majority of people of any social stratum have no sympathy for the present rulers, to put it mildly. Though repressed, these feelings remain.

The command system in economy has quieted down the most phenomena of catastrophic development like inflation—but has not yet tackled genuine roots of economic disequilibrium. A new wave of massive over-investment such as had ultimately led to the 1964 crisis is on its way already, and foreign trade developments are critical as well. Agricultural output is being maintained only with the greatest effort.

HIDDEN FACTS

Figures of the 1971 plan to be published shortly may throw more light on some of the issues, but there is no doubt that both party and government will do their best to hide from the public anything unpleasant. They have to maintain the myth of their ability to avert all difficulties and of a "fully normalized and consolidated country" whose people "is rallying behind the Communist Party."

Black American GI's in Germany give "black power" salute to white officer. Racial tensions have reached a crisis point in all branches of U.S. military services. See also editorial, p. 4.



Black-Red Views

Black culture rooted in freedom struggle, not fadism

By JOHN ALAN

In the past half-dozen years we have heard and seen much about Black culture and art in the United States. In fact, the popularization of Black culture has almost reached the proportion of television commercials—those ideological hawkers of exchange value—and therein lies the danger of the perversion of a meaningful development of the culture of a people.

Afro-American culture was not born in this decade with the Afro-bouffant hairdo, the sporting of a Dashiki and other African type apparel which symbolize the appeal the African Revolutions have for American Blacks, but was born in the heart of brutalized slavery and matured during the "part-free" status of the Black people after emancipation. Because of the "part free" status of the Blacks in the United States and the continuing struggle of the Black masses to achieve freedom, Black culture is the most original and the most enduring of all the cultural expressions of the various ethnic groups who came to these shores.

It does not take any great sociological insight to see the American "pop" culture is dominated by the music and dances of Black people. In fact, it has been said by the expert critics in this field that this music and style of dancing and a romantic imitation of Black life-style has done much toward liberating white middle-class youth from the economic and cultural values of their parents and the "establishment." If Black culture has meant anything in America, it is because of its umbilical connection to the struggle for freedom. It has always been potentially revolutionary. Potentially revolutionary because it always expresses "soul"—that inner drive of the Blacks for humanity and freedom.

It is this very potential which is looked upon with suspicion and fear by the established capitalist order, which in turn drives them to tame these cultural expressions and then turn them into an acceptable "whitened" version as a commodity which can be packaged and sold, like dry cereal, with the essential nutrients removed.

FADISM HURTS ARTIST MOST

When the above happens, and it happens every day, the Black artist, along with the Black masses, goes through a second alienation. Not only is he not free in body, but his inner-most cultural expressions are taken from him and distorted, very often causing serious traumatic displacements to occur in the artists.

With this watered down commoditization of Black culture, the Black artist faces the dire prospect of becoming a fad, to be exploited by the fast buck operators of the modes of mass culture.

This dehumanizing aspect of imperialism which treats culture, and the artists who produce it, as so much yard goods and "meat balls", certainly must be a great factor in the sudden physical and mental cracking up as well as the tragic deaths at too early an age of so many brilliant Black musicians and singers.

Examples are the premature deaths of great artists like Billy Holliday, Charlie Parker—and more recently Jimi Hendricks, death at age 27. The more recently critics of the jazz and pop cultural scene consider such deaths as an occupational hazard of the entertainment industry. Yes, the word is industry!

HIP CULTURE EASILY BOUGHT OFF

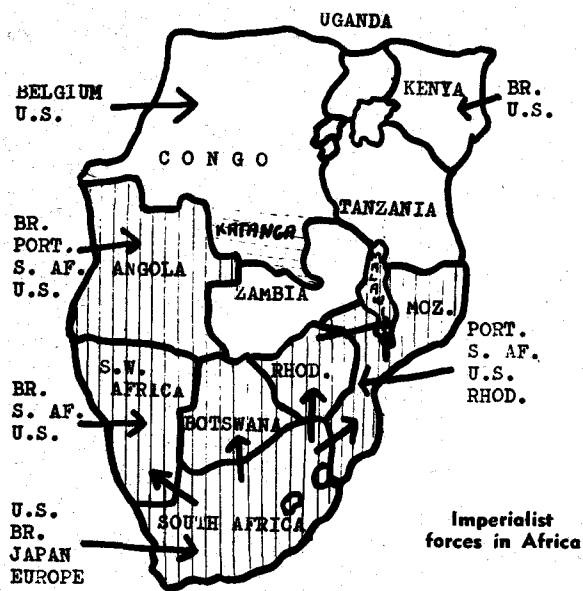
In no way can we equate the richness and durability of Black culture to the sub-culture of the Yippy and the Hippy world. Even the hipculture derived much of its style and inspiration from the Black revolutionary movement; in fact, it may never have come into existence without it, and it is a good example of what happens to cultural expression which has no real roots in the struggle for freedom and seeks only a passive hedonistic existence. When the history of hip culture is written it will be a sorry tale of capitalist exploitation, even though it was purveyed to be an anti-capitalist culture.

Sad to say, every facet of that culture, from music to posters, was reduced quickly to saleable items, and the final culminations, the blatantly commercial ventures like Woodstock and Altamont, backed by rich entrepreneurs who know how to lure the youth culture into dollars, is a long way from the original free for all "love-ins" and "be-ins" filled with "flower-children" protesting the establishment. At Altamont a Black boy was beaten to death by the fascistic Hell's Angeles, (who had been hired to protect the musicians!) while thousands of drop-out youths looked on, and stayed dropped-out.

CREATIVITY IN BLACK MASSES

The Black revolution of the last decade has been a great inspirational drive toward creativity among Black Artists. We have witnessed, in the wake of the Freedom Marches and Sit-Ins, a Black renaissance of the Arts which is far greater than anything that happened in Harlem during the 1920's. At this point in history the Black artist is constantly reminded of the origin of his new creativity—the Black struggles for Freedom, and indeed he should ponder the fate of those Black artists of the 1920's who obscured the connection between the "New Negro"—the "talented tenth" and their outpouring of literature, music, painting and dances—and the mass movements of the Black people directly after World War I.

African confab tackles threats of imperialism



South Africans have military bases in Malawi and patrol Lake Malawi with gunboats. They control the mineral riches of southwest Africa and have military bases close to Angola, Zambia, and Botswana. Recent plans have been made to move large numbers of troops into Angola and Mozambique, ostensibly to protect South African investments in two major dam projects.

ZAMBIA THREATENED

South African troops are already visible in Botswana and Rhodesia (South Africa's junior partner in the area). The attempted secession of the Katanga region of the former Belgian Congo would have completed the military encirclement of Zambia except for a 120 mile border with Tanzania.

The recent acknowledgement by Britain of its economic, political, and military support for South Africa; the increasing volume of arms sales from France; the continuing support of Portuguese colonies via NATO; the rapid expansion of U.S., British, European Common Market, and Japanese investment in southern Africa—all point to a developing crisis of major proportions.

In the end the fate of Africa depends on the cooperation of all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. Without such real help, the northward march of the new colonialism is inevitable.

Black majority, white violence

Earle, Ark.—As local elections approach, white retaliation is increasing against the black community of this small, rural town. Black people make up 80 per cent of the population.

Jackie and Ezra Greer were badly beaten during school demonstrations in September. They are leaders of the Crittenden County Improvement Association (CCIA), a grass-roots group that has been organizing the black community of Earle for two years. On Nov. 3, they will run for mayor and alderman, respectively.

The Greers believe the violence was a response to the growing political power of the black community. More than 60 per cent of the registered voters are black, and if the voting is fair on November 3 they could win the mayor's and alderman's seats.

This area of Arkansas still has a plantation economy. The men who control the political life of the town—the mayor and the school board—are plantation owners.

In June, 1968, the CCIA started a selective-buying campaign to force the hiring of black people. Some people who took part lost their jobs; others were evicted from the plantations on which they lived and worked. The same thing is happening now, in the wake of the school demonstrations.

Uganda, Africa—The upcoming meeting of non-aligned nations at Lusaka, Zambia, will revolve around the central development of all non-aligned states: economic development and independence in the face of international imperialism.

The peoples of the former colonial "third world" have rapidly been achieving political independence, but the colonial economies are structured in economic units so fragmented and balkanized that the small states are incapable of survival without foreign "aid" and massive outside investment. The problem is that this aid and investment has gone, over the past decade, to develop the imperialist powers rather than the so-called developing countries.

SOUTH AFRICAN THREAT

Trade within Africa itself largely follows colonial patterns and is almost nil between the independent African states. The fastest growing and most neo-colonially penetrated state in Africa is South Africa (U.S. has \$800,000,000 invested there; second only to Britain with \$3,640,000,000).

When this growth, controlled as it is by the imperialist powers, is compared to the minimal growth of the rest of Africa, it shows the great dangers posed by South Africa to the rest. The two-pronged attack of neo-colonialism, directly into the poor balkanized north and indirectly via South Africa, could stop any further progress toward African independence.

By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Nasser's death: end of an era

The spontaneous outpouring of millions in the Arab world over the death of Gamal Abdul Nasser was an emotional experience to watch. In his death there was a brief period of the unity in the Arab world that he had sought to achieve for close to twenty years.

His death creates an altogether new situation in the Middle East. The vacuum of power in Egypt has not necessarily been filled by the rise of Anwar Sadat to the presidency. A hard stance vis a vis Israel with the danger of another war may be his or a rival's way of securing power.

That the conflict with Israel rather than the conditions within Egypt is the focal point for those seeking power is an indication of the incompleteness of the Egyptian Revolution eighteen years after King Farouk was deposed.

THE GOAL: FREEING EGYPT

During the first Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestine War of 1948, the young army officer Nasser's focal point was far different. In *Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution* he writes that "we were fighting in Palestine, but our dreams were centered in Egypt." There certainly was no

love for Israel then, but the primary question for Nasser was freeing Egypt. When he was involved in armistice negotiations with the Israelis after the Palestine War his main interest was not the negotiations but the struggle of Israel against the English and how they organized the underground resistance in Palestine.

In 1952 Nasser and other young Army officers overthrew Farouk. Nasser recognized what stage his revolution was at when he wrote that every people goes through two revolutions: "a political revolution by which it wrests the right to govern itself from the hand of tyranny . . . a social revolution involving the conflict of classes." Egypt, Nasser said in the early fifties, is caught between the millstones of these two revolutions.

The overthrow of Farouk was a political revolution. But it has been the failure to do more than take a few steps along a social revolution before stopping — the incompleteness of the social revolution — that tells why Egypt today is concerned more with anti-Semitism, anti-Israel than with the Egyptian Revolution.

It was not that Nasser did not wish a social

revolution. But to whom can one go to build such a social revolution when one's concept of the masses of one's country is as follows, the very day of revolution? "The spark had been struck, the vanguard (Army) had taken the fortress by storm; we were waiting for the hallowed march of the masses. . . Crowds without end were flocking around. But how different was the reality from our illusions! The masses were divided and disordered. . . We needed unity and discord had arisen in our wake. We needed zeal and ardour, but in these masses we found sloth and inertia. It is against these things that the Revolution set up its slogan of 'Union, Discipline, and Work' "

DIRECTIVES FROM THE TOP

With this concept of the masses, a social revolution is an impossibility. All Nasser could turn to was the Revolutionary Council made up of young Army officers and his own personal leadership. The philosophy of this inner circle was not socialist, but nationalist.

The Egypt that Nasser began to rule was desperately poor. Land reform was necessary for any meaningful social change. But because land reform became a directive from the top down, rather than from the practice of the Egyptian peasantry, it has not altered in a basic way the life of the still largely landless agricultural laborers.

The Aswan Dam project may have greatly helped the economic state of Egypt, but giant projects are still not a substitute for a change in the social relations of a country.

THE GOAL: DESTROY ISRAEL

Instead of turning to the question of social revolution, the force that would have united the Arab masses throughout the Middle East, Nasser turned to a different unifying cement — anti-Semitism.

So harsh was the call to destroy Israel, that it has set back any chance for social change within Israel and only pushed the Israeli position further to the right.

This anti-Semitism, anti-Israel campaign has rather served to keep in power many Arab leaders who resist social change in their own countries. It has served to divert the question of social change within each Arab country to the external question of Israel.

Where fifteen years ago, Nasser may have sought solutions among his fellow army officers instead of the masses of Egyptians, today after the last Arab-Israeli War and especially after the death of Nasser, we are witnessing the presentation of "solutions" by Russia, by Mao, by the United States and by all their substitute players in the Middle East from monarchs who launch civil wars to Ba'ath socialists whose origins were in Nazism, to guerrillas who feel terrorism equals revolution.

Meanwhile the question of social revolution remains the one that none but the Arab masses can answer.

Trudeau imposes police state rule

(Continued from Page 1)

leaders. The offices of several socialist and separatist organizations have been searched and political literature seized. Clearly, the Trudeau government is using the mindless terrorist actions as the excuse to attack all the voices of revolt in Quebec, especially the trade unions.

QUEBEC UNEMPLOYMENT WORST

Increased agitation for independence of Quebec from Canada, along with increasing militancy of the trade union movement, has developed in the past few years as a result of the drastic economic situation facing workers in Quebec. Quebec has slightly more than a quarter of Canada's labor force, yet 41 percent of Canada's unemployed live in Quebec.

Most industry in Quebec is owned by English or American capital. The average income of English-speaking workers is 40 percent higher than that of French-speaking workers. English is required for most white collar jobs.

Bi-lingualism in Canada means only that native French speakers must know English to get jobs. The situation has gotten progressively worse throughout the 1960's. Separatism has arisen out of the economic and cultural domination by the English, and is strongest among the working class sections of the population.

In the last Quebec Provincial election, the separatist party, Parti Quebecois, won 25 percent of the votes, yet because of the districting, which favors rural areas, they won less than 7 percent of the seats.

It is likely that Prime Minister Trudeau, himself a French-Canadian, and at one time a supporter of the liberal intellectual movement for special status for Quebec within the Federation, was elected to head the Liberal Party because of the strength of the separatist movement. It was thought that he could hold Quebec within Canada.

TERRORISM AND REPRESSION

The terrorist actions of the FLQ, which are not representative of the mass separatist movement, have given Trudeau the pretext he wanted to try to crush the mass movement, via the War Measures Act. When the War Measures Act was first imposed, there was mass opposition to it from the people of Quebec and within the Canadian Parliament—from both the Conservative and New Democratic Parties. But after the murder of Laporte, the opposition to Trudeau and the War Measures Act he imposed was effectively killed, also.

The real essence of Trudeau's reactionary moves can best be seen by its reflection in the U.S. Nixon not only rushed to praise Trudeau's action, but also has been using the Canadian events in his cross-country electioneering speeches—in an attempt to put the anti-war demonstrations in this country, in the same mold as the single terrorist act of one cell of the FLQ.

Therein is the danger for everyone. Far from stopping it, acts of terrorism aid the move to the right, which is seeking to crush the true mass movement for freedom everywhere.

Nixon's Mediterranean 'gun-boat diplomacy' embraces Franco-Spain

(Continued from Page 1)

Hastening to Tito, Nixon re-assured him that if he remained neutral, he could expect further expansion of U.S. trade as well as financial and military assistance as might be required.

While Nixon was talking to Tito, his War Minister, Laird, was in Greece assuring the fascist military regime that they could look forward to further full support from Nixon—and please, did they have another shopping list of military goods that he could send them? After the trip it was revealed that during the so-called "embargo" on arms shipments to Greece, the U.S. military had secretly kept them well supplied with arms and tanks to keep themselves in power and prevent the people of Greece from establishing a truly independent state.

To anchor his Mediterranean bastion, Nixon next turned to his old friend Franco, a Fascist from way back. Without U.S. financial and political support, Fascist Franco would long ago have lost his power to the democratic forces within Spain. With Franco's help, friendly ports and airfields provide the U.S. with military bases on the western end of the Mediterranean while Fascist Greece provides the same accommodations at the eastern end. What Nixon did was to echo the words of Mussolini when he called the Mediterranean "Mia Nostra" (our sea).

After a day in London as mere bluff to cover up the Spanish plot, Nixon stopped off in Ireland, not to see it, but to prepare his Paris Vietnam negotiators for the "New Offer" he was to make.

The "peace" plan presented by Nixon over nationwide T.V., offering a stand-still cease-fire in Vietnam to prop up the Thieu-Ky regime, satisfied no one but Repub-

lican politicians who hope to "talk peace" to gather votes in November.

As against the politicking for Republican victories in November, the flexing of military muscles had global implications that Russia answered in kind.

ARE U.S., RUSSIA READYING FOR GLOBAL WAR?

At the very moment when it began to look as though the sudden—all too sudden and well-timed—"discovery" of an alleged nuclear missile base at Cienfuegos might bring about a Kennedy-Khrushchev type of eyeball to eyeball nuclear confrontation, each of the nuclear titans backed away.

For all of Nixon's belligerence with words, he was well aware that, as against Russia's 100 ICBMs in 1962, the latter not only now had 1,300 ICBMs, but its ships were in all seas. For all of Brezhnev's new confidence over his penetration in the Mediterranean, Nasser's sudden death disclosed that Arab passions went far beyond Nasser's patience.

No one could any longer discount the new Middle East forces: the guerrillas who, at least in part, were ready also to question the Arab governments. However, Russia was not quite as obtuse as the U.S. on the question of the power of ideas, especially when it is Mao-tinged.

At the same time, Russia, as a global power, is not limiting its rivalry with the U.S. to the Mediterranean. The center of industrial confrontation remains Western Europe, and the key to that remains Berlin. And at the same moment as there was still another building up of tensions over Berlin, French President Pompidou was being entertained in Moscow in a manner that befits a possible new axis.

Pompidou's attempts to out-deGaulle de Gaulle went hand in hand, first, with not extending an invitation to Nixon to visit Paris. Secondly, and more important, are his global pretensions. One would indeed have thought that, instead of negotiating a trade pact with Russia, Pompidou was fashioning nothing short of a Franco-Soviet axis to rival deGaulle's visions of a Europe from the Rhine to the Urals. It isn't that Nixon was fooled by such empty posturing. But his annoyance was manifesting itself in wild statements against Russia that helped keep the world on edge—until he hurried home and began talking peace for home consumption. Nixon knows well that his home front is hardly ready for any further military adventure, least of all, a nuclear one.

It is to the home front, which is always the decisive one, to which we must now turn. (See also Editorial, Page 4.)

NIXON'S WARS MUST BE STOPPED AT HOME

Nixon is adept at talking out of both sides of his mouth. His forked-tongue speech on Vietnam is but one example. Suddenly he has found that he is not only against the youth, but "for" it—if it can be made to vote Republican. Hardhats notwithstanding, he can have few illusions that the majority of labor would vote for him at a time of recession and when labor is militantly on strike. Above all, there is the black community's total rejection of Nixonism, not only in the ghettos, but in the army, and not only in Vietnam but in West Germany and wherever the U.S. flag flies.

Should he be deluding himself over Congressional passage of the so-called "anti-Crime" Bill and think he is now in a position to unleash a preventive civil war, we must disabuse him of the Big Illusion. Nixon's wars can and must be stopped—at home!