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NEWS

LETTERS

'Positive Humanism, beginning from itself'

the new British
edition
from Pluto Press . . .

Excerpts from Preface to new British edition

By Harry McShane

The publication of *Marxism and Freedom* marks a departure from the dull and stereotyped material sent out by those who seek to be regarded as the authorized custodians of Marxist wisdom. Raya Dunayevskaya has produced a work that will be of great service to all who are ready to involve themselves in the struggle for a free and humane society . . .

Marxist theory never found a foothold in Britain. Mr. Morgan Phillips was not entirely wrong when he rated the influence of Methodism on the British working class movement higher than that of Marxism. The religious evangelism, financed by the ruling class, after the fall of Chartism, did not prevent the rise of working class militancy, but it did have a retarding effect. Most of the working class leaders had a religious outlook which favoured a policy of restraint rather than one of struggle. In later years, the Labour movement took on a semi-religious character.

The readiness of the British workers to battle with their class enemies gave encouragement to the Marxists who, despite their heroic efforts, were unable to stop the spread of opportunism which is now a fully developed feature of British Labour Politics. The Marxists were handicapped by the fact that the works of Marx, such as were available, did not receive the attention given to those of Hyndman, Bax and Kautsky. Ideologically, the British movement lagged behind most other countries.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION stirred up a new interest in Marxist literature. Serious-minded workers grabbed at the works of Lenin and found that there was more to Marxist theory than that contained in the publications put out by the various Socialist organizations. The inspiration that came from Russia had a gratifying result when the British workers took a stand against their own government making war on Soviet Russia.

Unfortunately, internal forces in Russia destroyed what Britain and her allies were not allowed to destroy. The Russian workers became a subject class under the domination of the One-Party State. The British Communist Party, like its brother parties elsewhere, churns out literature which makes use of Marxist phraseology to justify the enslavement of the Russian workers. Having covered up every criminal act of Stalin, these so-

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JUNE-JULY, 1971

Steelworkers prepare for strike, as labor fights Nixon recession and repression

by Michael Connolly

The battle lines have all been drawn long before the July 31 deadline in the negotiations between the steel companies and 350,000 members of the United Steelworkers. The impending struggle is so much a key to U.S. labor unrest that the Nixon administration has emerged as the third party at the bargaining table, exhorting the steel companies to fight, denouncing the settlements just won by workers in the aluminum industry as "irresponsible and inflationary", and demanding that steelworkers settle for less.

"The men are all very bitter against Nixon for trying to tell us what can and can't be in our contract," said one angry steelworker at U.S. Steel's Homestead mill. "The government is always hard on us when the contract is up, and with Nixon it's even worse."

A worker at McLouth Steel in Trenton, Mich. reported that workers there were preparing for a strike. "The newspapers say that we are making piles of money, but I'm taking home \$205 every two weeks; I can't live on that anymore. We've had three men die from the conditions here in the last year. The dirt and fumes are so bad you choke all day long."

STEELWORKERS' DEMANDS

Steelworkers are demanding a wage increase at least equal to the 31 percent over three years won by the aluminum and can workers, and the return of their full cost-of-living allowance, which they lost in the 1959 contract. These raises would only bring workers back up to the wage levels of 1968. Many rank-and-filers feel that the most important issue is the return of the right to strike on local issues during the contract. The removal of this right two contracts ago left steelworkers without protection even against health and safety hazards. Workers are also angry about increasing Company subcontracting of steel jobs to outside firms at lower wages, some with non-union labor.

It is true that the domestic steel industry has been hurt by foreign steel cutting into the U.S. market. Last year total foreign steel sales in the U.S. ranked only behind the giants, U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel. It

is not true, however, that the wretched wages paid to Japanese workers are the cause of domestic steel's troubles. While American steelworkers are paid more, their productivity is also higher. No, the trouble lies elsewhere. The fact is that the domestic steel industry is full of fat—and the fat is all in management.

"Whenever management wants to cut costs," said a worker at U.S. Steel, "it's labor that gets cut. Yet they are so overloaded in supervision that you have three men working and one big-shot standing there all day watching them." Workers say that another reason the steel companies are in trouble is automation. "They have computerized everything now and taken steel-making out of the hands of the workers, and it's supposed to be more efficient. Instead they get more scrap and off-grade steel than I've ever seen."

The problems in the American steel industry have some steel executives looking longingly toward outright state-capitalist intervention. The Vice-Pres. of Armco Steel openly called for government partnership to "match

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BLACK-RED VIEW

Mass protest at Travis AFB exposes racism

By John Alan

"By far, the most explosive of its problems, (The United States Army in Europe), is the racial one" . . . This statement, taken from a leading weekly news magazine, was not referring to the U. S. Army at the end of World War II before President Truman "desegregated" (sic) the Armed Forces, but about the U.S.A. Armed Forces today. And the relevancy of this statement applies also to the troops in Indo-China and the continental United States. It should be underscored here that the magazine singled out the racial issue above drug addiction, desertions, 'fragging' (bombing of Officers and equipment), and the generally low morale of all American troops.

On Monday, May 24th, 1971, at Travis Air Force Base, in Solano County, California, this festering 'problem' of race broke out into mass protest. Black Air Force Men, incensed by a long series of racial taunts and the inequal way in which so-called military justice was being passed out, marched on the Base stockade to demand the freedom of three Black soldiers who "were just busted for nothing."

The stockade was immediately ringed by Air Force

Riot Police. The Black Airmen retreated, and in the course of their retreat became involved in a number of fist fights with white Airmen, during which some car windows got smashed.

The reaction of the Military authorities was to call in fifty civilian lawmen to assist the Air Force police. Units of the Base fire department drove up and down the Black-occupied barrack streets and sprayed anyone who stuck his head out of the window or doorway with a water cannon. A fire of unknown origin caused some \$5,000 worth of damage to the bachelor Officers' Quarters, and when the fracas was over, one fireman had died of a heart attack, 72 Black and 25 white Airmen were arrested.

"BARE FACTS" IGNORE RACISM

These are the bare facts as given out by an Air Force spokesman. Like all 'bare facts' they fail to give any hint toward understanding what really was taking place, other than to justify the draconian action authorities take to maintain 'law and order.'

The story that Black Airmen had to tell dwelt very little on that day of violence. It was a story of racial discrimination as practiced at Travis Air Force Base; specifically the inequal punishment of Black soldiers for offenses which were overlooked when committed

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ON THE INSIDE

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by Charles Denby, Editor Page 3

Soledad brother wrong on Black women's "role"

I've just read a letter from George Jackson's book of *Prison Letters*, the letter written to his mother dated February 25, 1965. He says:

"In the society of our fathers and in the civilized world today, women feel it their obligation to be ever yielding and obedient to their men. Life is purposely made simple for them because of their nature, and they are happy. . . . In the civilized societies the women do light work, bear children, and lend purpose to the man's existence. . . . Their job is to train the children in their early life to be men or women, not confused psychotics! This is a big job, to train and propagate the race! Is this not enough? The rest is left to the men: government administration, the providing of means of subsistence, and defense or maintenance of life and property against any who would deprive us of it, as the barbarian has and is still attempting to do.

"The white theory of 'the emancipated woman' is a false idea. You will find it, as they are finding it, the factor in the breakdown of the family unit. . . . Let's not create an atmosphere of competition among ourselves as they have done. There is too much for us to restore to its proper order and we are too wise."

I feel that George Jackson is sincere, but in order to come to some type of agreement or unity I must state why I disagree with the above concept of woman.

I disagree that Black women should be ever yielding and obedient to their men because this makes life "simpler." And I don't think it is the "nature of women" to be submissive.

Women have the capacity to think, analyze, and come to conclusions just as men have, so why delegate women to a position where they cannot actively participate in government or anything else besides rearing children? Because we have the ability to bear children, does that mean we should be excluded from developing and using all of our other numerous and equally important and fulfilling abilities?

George Jackson wrote that the concept of the emancipated woman is a white concept, but I think the idea of delegating women to child-rearing positions is more



Letter from Italy contrasts

I read the pamphlet, "Notes on Women's Liberation," with great interest. I feel it necessary to attack one of the articles which seems to me to represent a current within the movement. The article is entitled, "History and the Need for Women Theorists."

First of all, the writer attacks Marx and Engels because "the revolution does not include women." This is ridiculous. Engels wrote directly on the fact that private property (capitalism, feudalism, etc.) depended on the subjugation of the woman. Marx and Engels believed without question in the equality of the sexes, because they believed in the self-freedom of everyone.

Engels talked about a society in which men and

WAY OF THE WORLD

Raising families alone

By Ethel Dunbar

The Women's Liberation movement is bringing out a lot of good points about how our "leading" men are trying to keep the poor white and the Black women down and backward. By now everyone has learned that men were not put here to rule the whole world. Yet this government of white men thinks it must make people think the way they think, even if it is wrong as hell.

By now everyone also knows that women have the biggest load to carry in every way. Men don't seem to understand that so many women today are raising their children without a husband. The government has just come out with some new figures that show that by now there are five and a half million families headed by women. These women have a lot worse problems than men. Many of them are very poor. That is because of how crooked everything is stacked against Black people and white women.

Many people seem to think there is a difference between the white women's struggles and the Black women's struggles for their rights. This is because back in the old days when the white man kept the Black man under his control, Black men were kept working so hard and paid so little that they couldn't treat their wives like the white wives were treated. And the white man was glad to make his wife think he was treating her so much better than the Black man treated his wife.

But Black people have stopped taking all this mess from the white man. When the Black race started to fight for their rights and the white women saw how many gains the Black people were making, they were ready to stand up for their own rights.

closely emulating white society. In this society people are delegated to positions regardless of their own personal aspirations; Blacks are delegated to manual labor jobs; women are delegated to child-rearing and housekeeping, and these positions disregard the abilities of people as human beings.

It is dangerous to state what the function of a human being is going to be without considering what that human being wants to be.

I think a society, in order to be free, has to be based upon the ideal that every human being is going to be encouraged and allowed to develop his or her potential to the fullest. This could be the function of a new, redefined family unit instead of the present one which channels children into playing roles.

"To train and propagate the race, is this not enough?" No, it is not enough because women have more than one ability and therefore more than one ambition. It is not enough because Black women have and are contributing more to the struggle than an increase in the population.

—Black woman high school student, L.A.

Office cleaning women strike

Detroit, Mich.—The women who clean some of the fanciest buildings in the city have been on strike for three weeks. The 90 members of Local 79, S.E.I.U. have been picketing the block-long Fisher Building almost 24-hours a day, in an attempt to appeal to the office workers and theatergoers who use the building.

The women, who yell in Polish at the people going in and the cops watching them, make around two dollars an hour. The company has offered them a raise of 10 cents an hour for the year! One of their demands is for everyone to be paid the same for the same work.

What started the strike and concerns the women most are lay offs and speed up. Thirty people were laid off previously, and now the company wants to lay off 18 more. "We'd rather have less of a raise and not have anyone laid off," one woman said. "We all need jobs; we all have children to support."

Another demand concerns their insurance: the company has been paying less and less of it.

Marx and Freud on W.L.

women worked according to their ability—having a child is work, washing a floor is work, sitting here alone and writing an article is work—and all of these things have a social value if they make up even a little part of other people's social needs.

To consider these things in terms of how much money one makes and not in terms of their real value is absurd; it has importance only because our society has taught us that making money by itself is important. No one can escape it. In this way the woman living off her husband is in the same position of a worker who has to live off a boss; one of the most human relationships becomes one of the most inhuman.

Both Marx and Freud discussed the problem. Freud compared money to the first excrement that a child produced: the child is happy because he has produced something all by himself. Marx, instead, saw money as a mystification of the real value of a person's work, and thus gave us the formula of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

This leads me directly to the second part of our writer's work. She uses anthropologists (mostly women) who have been completely endorsed by Freudian psychology. Freud believed that society had achieved a certain point—patriarchal society—and that this was the best of all possible worlds because it was essential for creating a super-ego; that is, that the father figure would destroy all of our natural instincts so that we wouldn't be bad but would do our duty for society.

I think that if we want to be free—no matter what sex—the first thing we should do is get rid of our super-ego. More important is that Freud analyzed human activity as unchangeable. Thus, things like fear of blood, menstrual huts, the females' inability to go hunting, are considered today, by some modern anthropologists, as important as they were a thousand years ago!

The fact is that we are living in the 20th century. Fear of blood, etc., undoubtedly has importance because we are human beings, but one has to understand that social and psychological attitudes change according to the historical conditions in which one lives.

In other words, Freud ignored fundamental historical changes, while Marx understood that the various "forbidden fruits" would be different as society progressed from one level to another. —Italian woman

Notes on Women's Liberation
We Speak in Many Voices
Black, White, Chicana and Oriental Women
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Indians protest at Mackinac

Mackinac, Mich.—Over the Memorial Day weekend, Indians from the Great Lakes region staged a protest at Fort Michilimackinac in northern Michigan. The two main targets of the demonstrations were the annual Boy Scout pageant which shows the Indian as a stereotypical bloodthirsty savage and the sacreligious, dehumanistic display of the bodies of our grandfathers.

In the Boy Scout pageant, the capture of Ft. Michilimackinac by the Indians from the white exploiters is portrayed. In the re-enactment, however, the Indians are shown to be maniacal savages, who killed women and children as well as the men. This is a historical inaccuracy. This problem was fairly well worked out with the director of the pageant.

The main issue was the illegal and indecent display of our ancestors' bones. At a place known as the "Old Indian Burial" in St. Ignace, Mich. there is a sign proclaiming, "Exposed to view—52 skeletons in a single grave!" The sacred burial grounds had been transformed into a capitalistic venture, with the "owner" of the property, Earl Richardson, getting 50c a head for tourists to view and snapshot the bones.

After seeing the graves, one white sympathizer said it reminded him of Auschwitz. Richardson was told in no uncertain terms that he must close down his tourist trap and return the bones to Mother Earth. He indicated that he would cooperate; time will tell.

The sickness of white society was illustrated by the fact that the towns of Mackinac and St. Ignace were absolutely terrified by 60-75 Indians, some of whom were small children. When we went to see the Indian burial grounds, we were followed by six cars of police armed with riot shotguns.

The struggle of Indians for their dignity was summed up by a young Menominee woman who said: "In 30 or 40 years they will have the Calley State Park in S.E. Asia where you can see the bodies of the natives in their ceremonial burial ditches."

Gary M. Wilson
Lac du Flambeau Chippewa

Amin turns Uganda around

Kampala, Uganda — On May 1, 1970, President Obote took over 60 percent of the banks and major businesses, and 100 percent of export and import. Just nine months later his government was overthrown by the army with the support of the Baganda and foreign business interests (primarily British and Israeli). Now on May 1, 1971, the government of General Idi Amin Dada has announced an incredible 49 percent/51 percent deal with the same businesses.

Beyond the expectation that the businesses would be returned to private hands, Amin says that Uganda will acquire 49 percent interest, thus supplying almost half of the business capital and leaving the power of decision completely in private hands.

This amounts to the most massive swindle of public funds by private business interests known anywhere in "independent" Africa—primitive accumulation of capital at its most blatant.

This swindle along with the announcement of the head of the Ivory Coast that he will visit South Africa for talks with its racist Prime Minister Vorster is more unwelcome evidence of the African states' growing political and economic dependence on imperialism.

—Correspondent, Uganda

Quebec suffers language bias

Montreal, Quebec—On May 4 a federal consulting committee recommended that for federal administration, Canada be divided into unilingual (read ENGLISH) and bilingual districts. Funny thing, but there are no unilingual French districts at all in the plan.

The entire province of Quebec is projected as a bilingual district while the city of Toronto which has nearly 100,000 French-Canadian residents and thousands more migrant youth who speak French is supposed to be in a unilingual area. It doesn't meet the 10 percent mark they tell us. Just another example of the crude racism of the federal government.

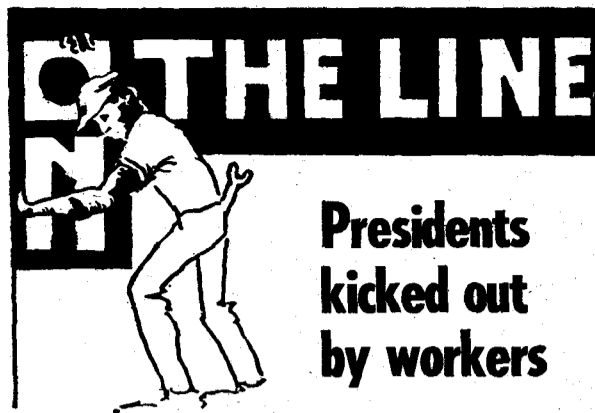
The population of Povungnituk, an Eskimo village in the province of Quebec have appealed to outside help to get rid of Father Andre Steinmann, a missionary who had been throwing his weight around in their community. They sent a letter, in their language and in French, to the Quebec-Press where it was published in the May 25 edition.

It appears they had already asked the government to help but with no result. One of their most important grievances is that Father Steinmann had destroyed the good relation which they had had with the white of the area.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Workers fear 4-day week is Chrysler trick



Presidents kicked out by workers

by John Allison

The main thrust of local union rank-and-file members in this election year seems to be aimed at poor working conditions and union misrepresentation. So far, without exception in Chrysler plants, the same pattern shows up in plants where unrest led to wildcat strikes. The wildcat strikes had to be called because the United Auto Workers union will not authorize a strike unless they want something from the corporation.

For example, Eldon Axle had a wildcat and UAW bureaucrats ordered the striking workers back to work. This same Chrysler plant was the scene where two bosses and one worker were shot to death in the plant by another worker who had been harassed by management and then sent home for disciplinary action. (This trial recently ended, with the jury judging the worker innocent of murder for reason of insanity—after they visited the plant and saw the conditions the workers had to work under, and this was after management had been working night and day for weeks to clean up just the filth in the factory, to say nothing of the speed of the work.)

The rank-and-file of this troubled plant defeated the president on the first ballot.

SAME SCRIPT

Next door, at Dodge Forge, there had been a strike over poor working conditions. There was the same script: the president went along with the UAW bureaucrats in ordering the men back to work. The membership defeated this president on the first ballot.

Sterling Stamping plant had a wildcat strike. The UAW said "Return to Work!" The president of the local union said "Hell No!" Result: the president was re-elected by a big vote.

Chrysler Centerline parts plant had a wildcat strike and many young workers were fired. The UAW said to return, the president said hell no. The president was re-elected.

REPRESENTATION — NOT RACE

Absent from these elections was the question of race. Whites replaced some Blacks, and Blacks replaced some whites—where it took the votes of all to win. The workers were looking at the records of their officers, not their color this time as much as they have in the recent years.

E.I.S. workers win strike Bulletin!

Middletown, Conn.—"We beat 'em!" That's the whole story," a jubilant auto worker told us in the Hibernian Hall, where preparations for a giant strike victory celebration were under way. After more than 20 weeks (143 days) on strike, the 401 workers of the E.I.S. Automotive Corp. had just voted a contract which appeared to include almost all their original demands.

Many workers are very much concerned over the proposal by the U.A.W. leadership and Chrysler to, as they call it, "try out" a four-day work week of 10 hours a day. Many remember that only a few short years ago, the U.A.W. was agitating loud and long among workers to fight for a four-day work week with 40 hours' pay—that is, a 32-hour week with 40 hours pay. Although it was Reuther's opposition which started the propaganda or that, the idea was so much what workers wanted that Reuther started saying the same thing. But in the end, the U.A.W. leadership always seems to do what the companies want.

AUTO COMPANIES CALL SHOTS

For example, some of us remember now dead set Reuther was originally against cost-of-living, what they then called the escalator clause in the contract. I heard vicious attacks by Reuther supporters on their opposition because they insisted it should be a bargaining point. Then, suddenly Reuther and his followers came out with the escalator clause in a contract with G.M.

The workers couldn't get the U.A.W. leadership to think in those terms, and the opposition could not budge them, but as soon as G.M. offered the escalator clause, Reuther grabbed it and praised it as his new-found idea. And U.A.W. President Woodcock was part of all of it.

Now, without any agitation from workers for a 10-hour day, Woodcock and the company alone are saying we will try it out, and if workers reject it then it won't last. It's all because the company has been yelling about absenteeism, especially among the younger workers—that it has been interfering with production. The U.A.W. agreed with the company about absenteeism in the same newspaper article in which it was first

mentioned! Many workers feel the proposal of 10 hours a day, four days a week is the way the union plans to help the company combat absenteeism.

THE CATCH: STRAIGHT TIME

Woodcock stated in the paper a week or so ago that most of the older workers are against the idea, but younger workers will accept it. Maybe he is correct, because younger workers have not had all the bitter experiences with the labor leaders that older workers have. Many of the older workers are asking this, without any answer coming from their leaders: Will the company continue to pay time-and-a-half for any work we put in after eight hours a day? This is the catch—that we will have to work 40 hours for straight time, and after that, if we are called on the fifth day and do not yet have 40 hours, the fifth day will be straight time also.

One worker said, "This will be a big help the union will be giving the company, at the expense of the workers. It will save the companies millions in a year not to have to pay overtime. And 10 hours a day is just too long for a worker to have to keep pace with those automated machines. But more important yet is the fact that those workers who are steady on the job every day are going to be punished because there is some absenteeism in the plant."

Another worker said, "I'm against the sweetheart proposal. I believe in the old saying that a bird in the hand is worth more than all those in the bush. It's not what we want. We must force these union bureaucrats to take more concern with what we propose instead—to correct speed-up and working conditions, things they don't want to tackle the company about."

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—Henry "Hank" Wilson has been elected President of the Dearborn Assembly Plant. He won the run-off in a landslide, 1217 to 758 for Abe Ellis. There were five candidates for the Pres., and three of them had held office before, including Abe Ellis. The membership was just fed up; they didn't want any of the old crowd.

Abe Ellis had the backing of Local 600 (Dorosh), and he plastered the plant with posters and letters promising everything. But people remembered that when he was Pres. you couldn't find a committeeman, there were foremen working, and grievances never got settled. Ellis tried to turn the white workers against Hank, by a whisper campaign that said he was a "Black Panther" and that if he was elected white workers wouldn't get any help. It didn't work, and I know many white workers voted for Hank.

Everyone is waiting now for Hank to take office, so we can get some changes made. But the company is making trouble already. The rumor is that we will cut back to 1968—200 workers laid-off—after our "forced vacation." They have cut back now, and the line is still running 56 an hour. People are also being intimidated for writing grievances against foremen working.
—Day shift worker, D.A.P.

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Things have gone from bad to worse in the body shop. The company is running wild and you can't get any help from the union. Several workers in the body shop have been doing loaners' work—filling in for men that are off—but not getting loaners' pay.

They have got some of the workers with high seniority on the worst jobs in the body shop, and yet new workers are on the easier jobs. I think that there is something rotten going on with the 63B's, because some people with low seniority are getting transfers ahead of workers who have been there 15 or 20 years.

Nearly every job has had more work added on. I know one man who is on the wheelhouse job. The way it is set up now you have to lift the parts off the hooks, put them on the table, put on a strip, weld them, and still catch and load the line. You don't even have time to catch your breath or go to the bathroom.

There are men working on jobs in the body shop who are sick, with bad backs, or legs, or some condition. They bring a note from their doctors for "light duty," but it doesn't mean a damn thing anymore. The company just keeps you on a job that hurts you. And then they wonder why that Johnson went and shot people at Chrysler. Well let me tell you, it could happen to you or me, where they drive you until you don't care about anything you're so mad.
—Body shop worker, Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The company is trying to completely break the union now. There wasn't much left to break, but they are going full speed ahead. Several committeemen have been given time off in the last month, just for attempting to represent workers. I know at least three—in Dept. 3, the body shop; Dept. 21, the warehouse; and Dept. 11, on the fourth floor. They were charged with insubordination.

If a foreman cusses out a committeeman, nothing happens, but if the committeeman argues back at him, out he goes. GM knows that the union is in trouble and they are taking advantage. Management is also breaking the work standards settlements as soon as they are made. The way it is now, a settlement is what you do until they find some more work to put on you.

The final straw was when Bobo, a body shop committeeman, was given 30 days off for throwing a cigarette on the floor. The next day about 150 body shop workers on the second shift called in sick. Foremen kept the line going, but the company was sure worried. Tensions are so bad that one rotten foreman on the fifth floor was badly beaten up by a worker he pushed a little too far.

One thing I know for sure. If the union doesn't fight back soon, it won't exist at all.

—Afternoon shift, Fleetwood

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EDITORIAL Monetary crisis, militarized economy, stagnant production

The fifth international monetary crisis to erupt in the last three years is developing further, despite all pretenses by the Nixon Administration that it has weathered the storm in the speculator's teapot.

The value of the U.S. dollar in terms of the West German mark, the Dutch guilder, the Belgian and Swiss francs has dropped. The "central bankers"—the world's dominant banking monopoly—are keeping a watchful eye, not wishing to disturb the "Eurodollar" as to cause an American and, therefore, a world crisis. France, fearful of West Germany's economic might, is not only not rocking the U.S. dollar just now, but also is moving to allow Britain to enter the "Common Market" as a counterbalance to West Germany's economic strength in the whole of Europe. And at first glance, the effect on the American workers seems to be nil.

However, in relationship to the workers' inflated and therefore lowered take-home pay, and even in relationship to the strictly monetary issues in the long run, this international monetary crisis does reflect an internal crisis both in production and continuous unemployment as well as in the relationship of Big Capital to little capital.

EURODOLLARS GALORE

Take the question of the so-called Eurodollars: \$50 billion of these uncontrollable Eurodollars are floating around the world. These represent a potential demand for U.S. gold. But Fort Knox itself has "only" about \$15 billion in gold to back up all U.S. currency. Of the two reasons for the excess of Eurodollars in circulation—"industrial helotry" which allows American capital to build abroad cheaply and make European capital pay dearly, and U.S. military spending—the militarization is the biggest drain. Were we even not to take into account, for the moment, the \$30-billion spent yearly in destroying Vietnam, the truth is that 25 years after World War II has ended, in peaceful Europe, not war-torn Vietnam, there is a U.S. occupation army of no less than 250,000! It is these "NATO troops" that the U.S. is demanding that Europe, especially West Germany, begin to help pay for. Hence the "benign neglect" U.S. imperialism has shown to European capital every time it starts screaming about the worthlessness of the American dollar.

The reason the present crisis, the worst in the past 40 years, has met with "benign neglect" is that, temporarily, it helps Nixon by making U.S. goods less expen-

sive in Europe and European products more expensive in the U.S. and thus helps Nixon with his balance of trade problems.

In a word, what Nixon couldn't achieve by asking NATO "to share the burden of defending" the so-called free (sic!) world, Nixon is achieving by this inter-European squabble over the American dollar.

FRANCE, WEST GERMANY, BRITAIN

European capital is aware that, instead of deeply hurting the U.S. dollar abroad, West Germany's "brave" move to challenge the U.S. dollar has helped Nixon continue on his mad militarization. The vaunted U.S. Trillion Dollar economy may be farcical if the dollar is worth only 50c, but who exactly dares challenge that monetary might even at half price?

Not only that. It is a fact that the two biggest losers of World War II—Germany and Japan—are now the greatest economic giants, and part of it is that they need spend no fantastic sums on militarization since U.S. "guarantees" their defense. It is a fact that, compared to American workers' wages, the Japanese workers' wages and even the West German, are low indeed. As for the Italian workers (not to mention that part of the East European working class that is permitted to take jobs abroad, and the Algerian, and Black African) their wages are lower than British workers'. This worries the British workers. The British masses now oppose entry into the Common Market. It is here where the latest Franco-German crisis is to be seen.

To put it differently, there are so many inter-capitalistic conflicts in Europe, and, above all, so many internal crises with the proletariat in each country, that the "benign neglect" is just what they are hoping for from their own proletariat.

After all, soon after the last international monetary crisis—Spring, 1968—when De Gaulle tried for a role independent of the American dollar, it only ended with a near-revolution from his own proletariat. It is to the key American economy and especially the American proletariat that we must now turn.

AMERICA THE STAGNANT

The last few issues of *Business Week* have had a special bite in its usual diatribes against the American workers, first against "the world's highest paid steelworkers" (See the lead article, p. 1), then against minimum wages. And, in the latest issue (June 5, 1971), it threatens labor with recession if labor doesn't accept a

wage-profit spiral in the direction of more profits to stop "a faltering economy."

What is the real truth about this "faltering economy" in which, even as the economy moves upward, unemployment expands—presently well over 6% "in general" and no less than 20% to 30% among Blacks?

First and foremost stands the militarization of the economy. No less than 45% of the whole national budget goes to war production in peacetime! The \$70 billion annually the U.S. expends for destructive purposes is not merely a question of "morality." It makes U.S. expanded production stagnant. It drains the country of goods and services, creates inflation abroad as well as at home, destroys the natural resources, again both abroad and at home, creating at the same time so fantastic a national debt that neither we nor our children nor grand-children could hope "to pay back." When Marx, 100 years back, said the only part of the national wealth that belongs to the people is the national debt, he could not have imagined just how that millstone about the necks of the masses would also undermine capitalism itself. It is up to labor to see that America the stagnant is not allowed once again to recover at the expense of the masses of the American people.

News & Letters

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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.

The quotation on our front page this issue comes from Karl Marx's "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic": "Only by a transcendence of this mediation, which is nevertheless a necessary presupposition, does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself."

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Memorial Day was observed this year in New England with antiwar protests by hundreds of veterans. They began in Concord, stopped overnight on Lexington Green, and then went on to Bunker Hill monument. At Lexington they were arrested for violating the Green's curfew.

The night before many residents had argued at a Town Hall meeting that the curfew should be suspended, but the selectmen voted against it 3 to 2. About 400 town residents came out to be arrested with the veterans. They were released the next day after paying a fine.

By the next day, authorities decided not to arrest the veterans at Bunker Hill despite a ban on camping.

Observer
Boston

A "March and Rally for Peace, Jobs and Justice," timed to coincide with the last day of protests in Washington D.C., and put together by an informal group of Vietnamese veterans, trade-unionists, H.S. students, Black militants, and local radicals, drew a surprisingly large crowd of over 400 here.

Most of the reactions of passers-by were friendly, although there were lots of plainclothes cops taking pictures to try to intimidate people. The local Viet-

nam Veterans Against the War carried the U.S. flag upside down as a sign of distress and the portrait of a Vietnamese pacifist who has been jailed by the Ky government.

The organizers had only local speakers and excluded politicians and big-shots of every kind so as to let people speak for themselves. After the scheduled speeches, the mike was left open, and debate and discussion continued for quite a while.

N&L Committee
Connecticut

The Winnipeg Committee to Assist War Objectors has just issued a current information sheet for those who are considering choosing "Canada as an Alternative" to military service. It gives information on the Canadian scene, on Winnipeg, on the ways the Winnipeg Committee can help new arrivals, how to obtain permanent resident status, documents you will need, etc. Copies can be obtained from us.

Winnipeg Committee
175 Colony Street,
Winnipeg 1, Manitoba,
Canada [phone: (204) 774-9323]

QUESTIONS OF LIFE & DEATH

In some ways the lives of those murdered migrant workers in California were worse than their deaths. To know that 25 men could disappear from the face of the earth, and not even be missed, is to know the nameless, faceless, inhuman lives they were forced to live. The question is not even so much who was guilty of their death, but who was guilty of their life?

Reader
California

Most of the guys in the shop have been following the trial of James Johnson, the worker who shot and killed a foreman and two fellow-workers after he had been fired. The lawyers are trying to prove that the working conditions in the shop drove him crazy.

Nobody I know thinks of Johnson as a "hero," but they all can understand how

he could have been driven to do what he did. In fact, everybody knows somebody in every plant who could be driven mad the same way.

What the killing proved was how little the company cares about the lives of any of us. They just keep driving people until somebody cracks and starts shooting.

Black Worker
Detroit

CHINESE PING-PONG

I was recently surprised to read, the other day, how the famous symbol of Chinese diplomacy, the ping-pong ball, actually has been put to use. Everybody is conscious of how this little game has been used to promote the image of pacified Chinese to the outer world.

But who ever would have thought that Chinese refugees on their way to Hong Kong would use ping-pong balls stuffed inside of plastic bags to give themselves buoyancy during the swim toward freedom?

The article also stated that at least 300 Chinese have swum to freedom in the month of May alone and that "hundreds more are waiting" to take the chance. The voices of revolt that spoke in the Sheng-wu-lien document, a few years ago are getting louder. And no ping-pong ball is going to be able to hide the self-contradictions that exist in Chinese or American state capitalism.

Reader
East Lansing, Mich.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Detroit Edison Electric Co. has been shutting off service to ADC recipients even though they pay the full amount allotted to them for utilities. The company has shown no enthusiasm in working out a plan so ADC families may have electricity in their homes. They are protected by the government from any real competition. They should not abuse poor people. We would like those who are in-

terested to call Detroit Edison and ask them why they cannot work out a reasonable payment plan with ADC mothers.

Westside Mothers
Detroit

I attended a Women's Conference here, where about 150 to 200 people showed up. One of the speakers, who was a black intellectual, said that black women don't relate to the WLM because it is white middle class ("white middle class women stay home all day and say it is boring, but black women say they would like to stay home in a nice house out in the suburbs . . ."). She also said that the black woman is "freer in mind" than white women; and that Third World Women see their struggle as a triple one—race, class, sex.

I can understand the term "Two Worlds" when you use it to show that there are two worlds within each country—but the term "Third World" as she used it baffles me a little.

What puzzled me at the Conference was that not one word was said about Welfare mothers, or white women workers. They spoke as if all white women are middle class and all black women are working class. I know that there is a big difference between the black middle class and the white middle class, but I think what is needed is the seeking of a bond with the white working class women. The movement as a whole seems to disregard them as if "they have not reached consciousness" yet, or something.

White Woman Worker
New York

There were daily demonstrations by about 30 service workers at the U of M last week because the University has violated the new contract. Our 20 minute paid lunch period was taken away and we have a 30 minute unpaid lunch period, and have to work 30 minutes longer.

The union filed an unfair labor prac-

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

PART II

Like the removal of an incubus from the brain, the death of Stalin, in March, 1953, released fantastic, elemental creativity on the part of the proletariat. Within three short months, the first uprising ever against Communist totalitarianism erupted in East Germany. This initiated a totally new epoch of freedom struggles in East Europe. The "Polish October" had not actually developed into a full revolution, but the ideological struggles, especially among the youth, were opened, many-sided, passionate and brought Humanism of Marxism onto the historic stage.

The revolts culminated in a full-scale revolution in Hungary in 1956. With the establishment of a new form of workers' rule—Workers' Councils—the workers had created also the decentralized form of relationships for all other sectors of the population so that we had Councils of Revolutionary Youth, Councils of Intellectuals as well as a proliferation of parties, newspapers, free minds.

No matter what one's point of concentration was in those three-years between the East German uprising and the Hungarian Revolution—before the Russian tanks moved in to crush the revolution, when the Russians feared the possibility of revolution, they had launched

(4) See "Marx's Working Out of the Materialist Dialectics in the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of the Year, 1844" by V. A. Karpushin. This article (*Voprosy Filosofii* #3/1955) has never been translated into English. Although many other attacks appeared, none were as "strictly" philosophic. Nor is it possible, now that Khrushchev has become an unperson and the 21st Congress of the Party has been played down, to see, how from open attacks on the Humanism of Marxism, the bureaucracy suddenly tried to usurp it for its own use by having the reigning philosopher, Mitin, then declare Khrushchev's report to contain "the magnificent and noble conception of Marxist-Leninist socialist humanism" (!). I have traced through the changes of line on the subject of Humanism for the years, 1955-59 in *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the African-Asia Revolutions*, pp. 22-29. (Left Group, Cambridge University Labour Club, England, 1961.)

'CULTURE', SCIENCE AND STATE-CAPITALISM

a deliberately abstract discussion of the dialectic, "the negation of the negation" (4)—there was no doubt whatever that the masses in revolt were a new breed. Even so simple a slogan as "Bread and Freedom" pointed to new ways of uniting economics and philosophy.

The historic, the unique, the new initiated in East Germany in 1953, climaxed in Hungary in 1956, reborn in the 1960's throughout East Europe and culminating in Czechoslovakia in 1968 (5), and, as the Polish strikes at the end of 1970 showed, the resistance has not yet ended. All these epochal developments have yet to be grasped by intellectuals for what they were, are: a movement from practice both to freedom and to theory, a still developing new dialectics of liberation.

Paradoxically, the state-capitalist tendency which had looked towards just such spontaneous outbursts, had enthusiastically hailed the East German uprising, failed to meet the challenge to theory from practice. While I had begun to pose, the moment Stalin died, the question of the relationship between philosophy and revolution, the working out of a new relationship between theory and practice that would be rooted both in actuality and in dialectics, (6), the co-founder of the Tendency was moving away from open Marxism. Whether that was due to the fact that McCarthyism was in full bloom in the U.S., or was due to his changed attitude to nationalism, the indisputable fact is that he glorified, first West Indian nationalism, then Cuba, and then raised Nkrumah to the level of Lenin, if not a notch above.

[When I first read Johnson's statement, "In one of the remarkable episodes in revolutionary history, he (Nkrumah) single handedly outlined a programme based on the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Gandhi . . .", I wrote: "I admit that combining Marx, Lenin and Gandhi is quite a feat. But for a pamphleteer like J. R. Johnson who thundered so for the Soviet United States of Europe, Soviet United States of Asia, world revolution, the struggle against bureaucracy 'as such,' the self-mobilization of the masses and for new

(5) See *Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*. (News & Letters Pamphlet, 1968.)

(6) "An Exchange of Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea" (May 12, May 20, May 22, 1953) which appeared as Appendix in the mimeographed edition of *Extracts of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks* (News & Letters, November, 1955).

passions and new forces to reconstruct society on totally new beginnings—to end with Nkrumah as representative of the new, the new, is rather pathetic. There is nothing to add but to say with Hamlet, 'Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him'." (*Afro-Asia Revolutions*, supra, p. 9ftn.) (7)

Naturally this not only did not stop the Tendency's full development into Marxism-Humanism, but also, and,

(Continued on Page 7)

(7) Perhaps this is the place to comment not only on what J. R. Johnson had written on Nkrumah, but also on his sudden rewriting of the history of the state-capitalist tendency.

Johnson's pamphlet from which I quoted p. 77, was called *Facing Reality* and carried, as Appendix, a fantastic rewrite of the history of the state-capitalist tendency upon which I did not bother to comment. The deafness to reality calling itself *Facing Reality* has since then, however, not only rewritten the history of, but published the Tendency document itself, *State-Capitalism and World Revolution*, as if it were a product of C. L. R. James alone. If we are to believe Martin Glaberman, who writes the preface to this new publication, "the author was C. L. R. James. Perhaps this will help to place James, who wrote for a number of years under the pseudonym of J. R. Johnson, in a truer light as a major inheritor and continuator of the Marxist tradition."

One thing can be said for Martin Glaberman. As against the sudden long list of names appended as pre-factors to the republication of the document in England in 1956, all of whom had nothing to do with the writing of the document, and some of whom were adherents, not of the state-capitalist tendency, but of bureaucratic-collectivism, Martin Glaberman is an exponent of the state-capitalist theory. Too bad that since his grandiose pronouncement, above, he too has separated himself from James, who had not only split the state-capitalist tendency, but also split from the co-author of *Facing Reality*. It was left to Paul Buhle and *Radical America* (Vol. IV, No. 4, May, 1970) to present "with the encouragement of C. L. R. James" a new collection, without any compunction what ever to cite which are Tendency documents, and which are individual writings, on any subject whatever. It is a mishmash worthy of not-so-radical American eclecticism.

Views

tice against the University, and we plan more demonstrations. The University sent us a letter stating that anyone who left work would be fired. The demonstrations are being made by the janitors, not the union.

After the disappointment of the last contract, the rank and file—about one third of us are women—formed our own policing committee, consisting of 10 workers.

Woman Janitor
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Groups in Dublin, Cork and elsewhere in Southern Ireland have written us, "The initial obstacles are much more primitive here . . . the legal inequities still huge . . . the contraceptive laws are brutal." They have undertaken action to pressure the Minister of Finance for reform in the treatment of widows, deserted wives, and unmarried mothers.

Last month they took a train to Belfast, where contraceptives can be purchased legally, and brought back hundreds of all varieties to challenge the archaic laws of Dublin. In front of the customs officials they swallowed their pills and dared the officials, "Now, confiscate that." Dozens of women waved their purchases over their heads, and created such a scene that the embarrassed customs officials finally let everyone through as quickly as they could.

WL Activist
New York

CORRECTION FROM JAPAN

There was an unfortunate mistake in your report of the Japanese elections in your last issue. You reported that "In Osaka, they kicked out Ryokichi Minobe." Ryokichi Minobe is the governor of Tokyo, a socialist, and he got a sweeping victory. In Osaka, it was Gisen Sato who was kicked out. (He is no relation to Prime Minister Sato.)

It was not only in Tokyo and Osaka,

but also in many satellite towns that socialists, supported by communists, kicked out conservatives. Even in the country they got far more votes than in the last election.

At the end of June the election of members of the House of Councilors will be held.

Correspondent
Tokyo

ON COMMUNICATION

I have just read *Marxism and Freedom* for the fourth time, and this time it is sinking in much more. I argue a great deal with some of the "revolutionaries" here. They have no sense of a global or philosophic view, and no sense of where ideas come from. I don't always feel comfortable about the word "dialectic," but to think dialectically is really the difference between being alive and being death-in-life.

Some of the "revolutionaries" are so interested in what they call "imperialism" that they have forgotten all about capitalism. Some of them seem to feel they have to be in a "commune" to communicate. They talk about an "atmosphere of communication." All they mean is that they don't want to have to talk to other people. They don't give a damn for 90 percent of the people here, and just live off the fat of the land, especially the Americans. When they are interested in listening, then I'll be interested in "communication."

Youth
Quebec

Write on! I have just recently freed myself from the "school" system here. I'm afraid that if people really want to be educated, they will have to get together and do it themselves. That's what we're working on here. I enjoyed your sample copy. Everything is more news-worthy and journalistically complete than I can find in most other national

information sheets, free or established. I am looking forward to future issues. Thanks.

S.W.
New Jersey

I work at an academic job because it pays well, and I don't have to punch a clock. When I compare the vitality of *News and Letters* to the sterile word-world that my job is, I feel sick to my stomach.

Sympathizer
Ann Arbor

The great power of N&L is that it is the only organization on the Left that is not involved with some state power. Organizations that get more attention are unbelievably ineffective in terms of what has to be done. There is no danger involved that they could "take over" and set up an elitist state. They couldn't possibly do what they set out to do, because they have no links with what the people in this country want.

Most kids in this country feel there is something basically wrong with the system we are living under. Most workers, I am sure, feel the same. We have to have something different, and soon, or we are going to have a police state.

SDS was an unbelievably promising thing at one time, but it turned into its opposite because it didn't have a theory that led them anywhere. I don't question people's motives—it's just that it is very difficult for someone growing up in a middle-class life to see what the real contradictions in this society are, and what you can do about them.

Marxist-Humanism has to be able to explain things to people who are looking for answers. Nobody else is doing it.

High School Student
Los Angeles

FARMWORKERS BENEFIT

We would like to extend a personal invitation to all our friends who may be in California on Saturday, July 10, to attend a Benefit Concert for farmworkers on that date at Spartan Stadium, San Jose State College. Joan Baez will sing, and there will be a fine afternoon of entertainment for the whole family.

Tickets are \$3, and all proceeds will go to the farmworkers movement. Advance tickets can be ordered from:

Fiesta Campesina
c/o Pete G. Velasco
PO Box 130
Delano, Cal. 93215

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 FOCUS

Valley State students arrested



Los Angeles, Calif.—On May 5, 1971, one year after the senseless murder of seven students at Kent State University in Ohio, hundreds of students at San Fernando Valley State College participated in a non-violent demonstration designed to show solidarity with the Vietnamese people against America's continually escalating aggression.

By the end of the demonstrations there were 77 people arrested, many severely beaten by batons. Most people arrested were charged with misdemeanors—failure to disperse, illegal assembly, disturbing the peace and participating in a riot.

BANK OF AMERICA

The day began with speakers from the Committee for New Corporate Priorities whose Bank of America Task Force had intensively researched the role of the bank in both foreign and domestic exploitation. The students decided to march to the nearby branch of the B. of A. to distribute informational leaflets and speak with customers and employees about the part which such institutions play in the imperialistic policies of the United States.

Approximately 500 students went into the bank carrying signs. Several people burned their draft cards, bank books, and Standard Oil credit cards. After about 30 minutes a dispersal order was given by the deputized bank manager. When the students exited without trouble, they found outside the bank some 100 members of the Tactical Squad of the Los Angeles Police Department who were massing on the other side of the street.

The police declared the assembly illegal and ordered the crowd to disperse immediately. The students moved across the street and began to march toward the campus, while motorcycle pigs yelled at them.

A few rocks were hurled when the police entered

Stuck in Juvenile Hall

Los Angeles, Calif.—Central Juvenile Hall in Los Angeles probably does more harm than good to most people who pass through it. In the receiving unit things are loosely run, with the girls allowed to spend much of their time in the dayroom.

Most of the counselors are understanding and willing to talk to you. Still you have no privacy and little freedom. You do as you are told because there is nothing else to do—except go to lock-up.

But when you are transferred to a field unit, the atmosphere changes. All written material is confiscated. Just when you have made a friend or two and might need them, you will be deliberately separated from them.

In the field unit we were supposed to have co-eds; have a chance to talk with the boys being held. But the co-eds were cancelled half the time for one reason or another. Any AWOL attempt would result in having a co-ed cancelled. Any time the counselors thought we were being too noisy, or if we really did act up, a co-ed was cancelled. Furthermore, even if the co-ed was not cancelled, you had to be out of confinement for 72 hours to be able to go.

Showers at Central had no curtains and there was a mirror so that the authorities could see what you were doing on the toilet. You were not allowed anything with sharp edges or metal in it.

All mail is read before being sent or received. Any time they don't like what you write, they send it back; if they don't approve of a letter sent to you, you don't get it.

In general you are locked in, your individual identity is of little or no importance and therefore your individuality is repressed. You are stuck in Juvenile Hall until a group of authorized strangers decides what to do with you, many times until a licensed stranger wants you. the campus where a crowd of about 1,500 had gathered.

They then moved back off campus and called for reinforcements. The arrests now took place.

The City Attorney's office, in an effort to weed out so-called radical leaders at Valley State, has added to the complaint against five of us a charge of inciting to riot.

TRIALS AHEAD

The trials will be beginning shortly and will probably last throughout the summer. Money is desperately needed to help pay for legal defense, and we appeal to the anti-war community to contribute as much as they can to support those students who put their bodies on the line to demonstrate against Nixon's catastrophic foreign policies, and racist oppression which is Tricky-Dick's domestic program.

The action against the Valley State students is a pre-determined effort to intimidate the growing anti-war movement on the campus and in the community. All Power to the People!

Phil Melnick
Chairman, San Fernando Valley State College
Students Legal Defense Committee

Anti-apartheid protest

East Lansing, Mich. — A protest march against apartheid policies in South Africa, the war in Vietnam and the suppression of Black Panthers, turned out to be one of the most significant mass rallies held in East Lansing all year. The rally, in observance of African World Solidarity Day, brought out a crowd of about 200 Blacks and whites to condemn racist policies in the "wars at home and abroad."

The rally, which was supported by groups like the MSU Black Veterans, was also in protest against MSU involvement with General Motors (stock-holding shares) and against the American policies of compliance with Portugal and South Africa (in the forms of military aid.)

Students and faculty walked in drizzling rain from the International Center (where they demonstrated in front of the African Studies Center) to the Student Union, where they flocked to hear speakers. State Rep. Jackie Vaughan (D-Detroit) linked up the repression in Southern Africa with the repression in the case of Angela Davis.

People's College at Fisk U.

Nashville, Tenn.—The Black students here at Fisk and elsewhere in Nashville have formed an off-campus school called the "People's College" which serves the purpose of politically educating Black college students (usually from a Marxist point of view) and providing a place to analyze and participate in movements in the community.

Originally designed only for college students, plans are now to include political education classes for high school students and local workers. Eventually we hope to form a United Black Student Front encompassing all Black college students from local colleges, Black and white and students from the local high schools.

As for the community itself Black people in Nashville are presently boycotting white businesses as a lever to alleviate some injustices suffered by Blacks in this city. The Black Community Conference (a coalition of organizations) is spearheading this struggle and has held Saturday marches for the last four or five weeks.

As for the movement itself I can't claim to speak for everybody here at Fisk but there seems to be a need nationwide for a uniting of revolutionary theory and practice to move the Black masses as during the early '60s.

—Black Student, Fisk

DOING AND THINKING

Rock establishment killed Jimi Hendrix

Rock and roll began as a driving, visceral expression of youthful energy trying, however unclearly, to go beyond the limits that American society imposes on us. But at the same time the powers that rule the society, personified by the record companies and the mass media, constantly use rock music as a means of short circuiting the energy that called it into being. They attempt to pervert our desires in order to make this society somehow acceptable to us, and they promise us a happiness that this society cannot provide.

There are two main fantasies that serve this purpose. The first is the idea that a really new way of life can be built without a total transformation of society, without a social and political revolution. The second is the concept of "making it," the idea that liberation and happiness can be achieved by an individual if he succeeds in this exploitative society. The latest version of this second fantasy is becoming a rock star. Jimi Hendrix was martyred for this fantasy.

ISOLATED FROM BLACKS

The music industry and the media did two deadly things to Hendrix: they reified him, turned him into a thing, a superstar; and they intentionally isolated him from black people. The way that Hendrix was crushed by the role he was forced into reveals both the way that this society turns people's accomplishments into an independent power opposed to them, and America's complex schizoid fixation with black people—one of simultaneous attraction and repulsion.

White people always related to his music more than black people did, and Hendrix tried to break out of this isolation from his own people. But whenever he tried to make political statements he was stifled, and when he tried to turn his money over to the Black Panther Party and set up a black artists' collective the record companies stopped him. These frustrations brought his feeling of desperate frustration to a head, and this is what killed him.

Music, especially rock music, must become a way of relating to people, rather than an ego trip. It expresses the desires of millions of people, and we've got to use it as a way of really fighting against the old society, rather than as an energy drain that leads us back into futile fantasies of individual salvation in an inhuman society.

—David Payne and Bernard Wendell

BLACK-RED VIEW

(Continued from Page 1)

by white soldiers. No officer with any authority had ever acted on or would even listen to their grievances. One Black Airman related, "... on Base Alert I was late, and got fined \$15, but the white boys did the same thing, and they got nothing..."

Among the demands that the Black Airmen presented to their white Officers, (who after the riot wanted to know what the problems were!) were release of the three Blacks who were jailed, and that every Black man on the Base be released with an honorable discharge until race prejudice is stopped! When asked about their 'leaders', (since in all cases like this only leaders may negotiate) the Blacks answered: "Our group has no name and no leaders."

What happened at Travis Air Force Base is happening in varying degrees around the world where American troops are stationed. In Viet Nam Black troops have demonstrated in praise of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. Last winter in Hanau, Germany, after a young Black soldier was murdered, Black troops invaded the Orderly Room, belted the Officer of the Day, and declared a "day of outrage."

DRAFT EQUALS PRISON

These growing actions of discontent, seemingly motivated by an instance of outrage, are only the top of the iceberg of disenchantment with the Armed Forces and that dirty war in Viet Nam and Southeast Asia. For many Black youth, being drafted is tantamount to being sent to prison, without having committed anything criminal. And, they are well aware that many white youth escape the Armed Forces because of their privileged status; as students, as sons of the wealthy or influential politicians, or by having knowledge of the loop holes in the draft laws.

For the Nixon administration to appoint a Black Admiral, and a Black General, in no way mitigates the ugly fact that American Capitalist society is fundamentally racist on every level, and no amount of "legal" desegregation can change that reality.

The protest of Black GI's at Travis Air Force Base and all over the world, and the white Veterans Against the War in Viet Nam who demonstrated in Washington, D.C. and at Bases all over the country, are simply saying that this Administration, this Capitalist society, this country, greatest of all imperialist exploiters, is no longer acceptable to humanity, and they, the troops, are no longer willing to be used for conquest abroad or suppression at home.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

above all, the objectivity of the specific form of Marx's philosophy of liberation was embraced by great masses of people having nothing whatever to do with ideological battles that appear in factional form, and everything to do with their spontaneous struggles for freedom under a concrete banner of liberation. The socialism "with a human face" was embraced first by the East Europeans who were fighting for freedom from Communism, then by the African Revolutions gaining freedom from Western imperialism, and even, at first, by Castro defeating both internal reaction and U.S. imperialism. (8)

(8) The New Left Review, Jan.-Feb., 1961, reproduced Fidel Castro's 1959 declaration: "Standing between the two political and economic ideologies or positions being debated in the world, we are holding our own positions. We have named it humanism, because its methods are humanistic, because we want to rid man of all fears, directives and dogmatisms. We are revolutionizing society without binding or terrorising it. The tremendous problem faced by the world is that it has been placed in a position where it must choose between capitalism, which starves people, and communism, which resolves economic problems but suppresses the liberties so greatly cherished by man . . . That is why we have said that we are one step ahead of the right and the left, and that this is a humanistic revolution, because it does not deprive man of his essence, but holds him as its basic aim . . . Such is the reason for my saying that this revolution is not red, but olive-green, for olive-green is precisely our color, the color of the revolution brought by the rebel army from the heart of the Sierra Maestra."

Preface to British edition

(Continued from Page 1)

called Marxists now try to bring the British workers to the support of the present Russian regime on the plea that the principles of the Russian Revolution have been adhered to. The change that has taken place in Russia is tragic in its consequences for the world.

A situation like this makes a re-statement of the fundamental principles of Marxism a necessity. That is what this book consists of. "Marxism," says the author, "is a theory of liberation or it is nothing." . . .

THE EFFORTS of the supporters of the Russian regime to make that regime acceptable to British workers have been helped by the widespread belief that the state ownership of capital is the guarantee of freedom. Britain has made a big contribution to this misconception . . .

The transfer of capital to the state places the workers in the same relation to capital as in Britain and America. The constant renewal and extension of capital by labour is as real in Russia as elsewhere . . .

Nothing has happened since Marx was working on **Capital** that detracts in any way from the conclusions he arrived at . . .

Those conclusions are confirmed by every move to deal with Britain's present crisis. The ruthless legislation directed against the militants on the factory floor reflects the determination of the ruling circles to curb the efforts of the workers to improve their conditions of labour. They demand more production from workers who, despite three agreed cuts in working hours since 1919, have been working longer hours than before the first world war. They want a greater proportion of production to go towards profits. The Chancellor of the Exchequer complained that "the share of company profits has fallen from 14½ per cent in 1964 to about 10 per cent in 1970."

THIS COUNTRY has a Labour movement that is numerically strong, but weak in the important field of theory . . .

The top leaders of the trade unions differ little from those of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The struggles that gave rise to the trade unions have no meaning for them. The unofficial strikes are not seen in the setting of growing resistance by the workers against the conditions of capitalism. That, they think, is impossible without the guidance of leaders. In this regard the points made by the author of this book on the self-activity of the workers during the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, apart from what else it contains, makes it worth reading . . .

For Marx, the welfare of humanity rested in the hands of the oppressed workers. Stalin and his colleagues appalled the world by the crimes they committed — in the name of Marx. They riveted the chains of slavery tighter than ever while they posed as the undisputed champions of freedom . . .

Marx stands out in contrast to those pygmies who make long speeches at Party Congresses, allegedly de-Stalinized, first by Khrushchev and now by Brezhnev.

THE HUMAN passion for freedom is recognized by the author, who, because of that, chose the apt and proper title for her book. She connects Marx more

(Continued on Page 8)

'CULTURE', SCIENCE AND STATE-CAPITALISM

The whole new, Third World that was born sans any "leadership" from the Communist world led to the historic split in that orbit, not because either the Russian or Chinese Communist Parties were moving together with these new "storm centers of world revolution," but because both state powers were fighting for direction of and control over, (especially the latter), a world movement which emerged elementally, independent of all existing state powers—East and West, private capitalist, or state-capitalists calling themselves Communist.

It is true that, at first, Mao's Communism appeared as the greater force of attraction—in theory, with its dictum that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun"; in practice, with the "Great Leap Forward" which promised to skip both capitalism and socialism, and go "directly" to Communism. When, however, it had become clear that the "Great Leap Forward" had ended in great disaster, and when U.S. imperialism chose to throw the gauntlet (filled with devastating, barbaric bombs), not to mighty China, but to little North Vietnam, the Third World kept away from both ends of the Sino-Soviet conflict, solidarizing, instead, with North Vietnam.

1965 ended disastrously for all of China's "foreign policies," be they for Asia or Africa or Latin America, not to mention as contender for leadership of the whole Communist world. Yet the launching of a preventive civil war, called the Cultural Revolution, soon after the collapse of the hoped-for Peking-Djakarta axis to counteract both the U.S.-NATO Axis and the Moscow-Warsaw Pact Nations, was not so much the result of "foreign policies" as the product of a retrogressionist philosophy which originated in the failure of the Great Leap Forward, and now held that, in place of "one day equals 20 years," it would take no less than "a century"—"or more" (!) to establish socialism. What preceded the "Cultural Revolution" of 1966, and may, indeed, be called its first form—the Socialist Education Campaign (1962-3)—rested on an attack on Marx's Humanist Essays. (9) Though, in the 1960's, it was directed mainly against "Russian revisionism," the truth is that both Russia and China decided jointly to call the East European Freedom Fighters "revisionists." The Russian theoreticians maintained their leadership of the Communist world and grounded the struggle with alleged revisionism in a "critique" of Marx's Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts because that had become the banner of the revolutionary proletarian opposition to existing Communism.

The only contribution the Chinese Communists made to this struggle with revisionism was to constantly accuse their dissidents of wishing to establish "Petofi circles" in China (10). Then, when the Sino-Soviet conflict erupted, the Chinese added the adjective, Russian, before the noun, "revisionism," without, however, erasing either the adjective, Hungarian or Humanist. Clearly, a spectre is indeed haunting Communism, haunting it from below, from practice—the spectre of Marx's Humanism.

Both giant Communist state powers were alike also in substituting science for the self-activity of the masses as the "proof" of the "superiority" of their social order, thereby proving, instead, the correctness of Marx's Humanist attack on science: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie."

THE LIE OF SCIENCE

This is where where state-capitalism calling itself Communism shows its affinity to private capitalism. Since, however, science's "equalizer" (the H-bomb) notwithstanding, Russia (much less China) has not yet "caught up" with U.S. industrial might, both Communist powers are looking for trade. And, since there is no way for U.S.'s industrial might to escape economic crises and strikes and opposition movements from youth to anti-war to Black revolutions, it too wants trade. The present mild flirtation with China has, of course, other "balancing" features in mind as it competes with Russia for world mastery. But nothing changes basics: the non-viability of state-capitalism, as of private capitalism, due to the exploitation of labor, reveals the more clearly science's impotence.

In a word, the lie of science shows itself nowhere more glaringly than in the attitude to labor. Thus, Khrushchev, at the height of his power, proclaimed: "It is only logical that the country of victorious socialism would have . . . blazed a trail into outer space." When, however, the paeans of praise to science came down to earth, they turned out to be pure capitalistic admonitions

(10) See especially Mao, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

(9) See Chou Yang, "The Fighting Task Confronts Workers in Philosophy and the Social Sciences," speech delivered at the 4th Enlarged Session of the Committee of the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Oct. 26, 1963: "The modern revisionists and some bourgeois scholars try to describe Marxism as humanism . . . In particular, they make use of certain views on 'alienation' expressed by Marx in his early Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844 . . . in the early stage of development of their thought, Marx and Engels were indeed somewhat influenced by humanist ideas . . . But when they formulated the materialist conception of history and discovered the class struggle is the motive force of social development, they immediately got rid of this influence."

for workers to work hard and harder. (11) Thus, while Mao canonized the superiority of science into the Constitution itself, the dictum for labor remained what it had been through "Great Leaps Forward," all on the backs of that labor, most concretely spelled out: "Each person must work ten hours and engage in ideological studies for two hours a day. They are entitled to one day of rest every ten days."

By no accident whatever, glorification of science is the mark not only of the ruling classes in the age of "scientific and technological revolutions," but also of theoreticians busy revising Marxism. Not the deliberate statist misnaming of revolutionary proletarian opposition as "revisionist," but the genuine historic revisions have always used "science" in the fight against "the Hegelian dialectic" which turned out to be the fight against the proletarian revolution, for the "defense of the fatherland." Eduard Bernstein was the first, back at the end of the 19th century; Louis Althusser is the latest but he is sure not to be the last since, of necessity, these proponents of "science" and opponents of "philosophy" are sure to keep reappearing so long as capitalism is not torn up, root and branch, the world over.

What concerned us here was, on the one hand, the achievements of the state-capitalist theory which kept revolutionaries from tail-ending Stalinism into imperialist war, and, by relating the new stage of world capitalist

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development to the specific forms of workers revolt against it, aligning with the latter. On the other hand, the inadequacy of the state-capitalist theory which, without development into Marxist-Humanism, could not cope with the actual movement from practice that refused to be only the muscle of revolution and let the intellectuals do the theorizing.

The masses—the new forces of revolution—have shown how different proletarian "subjectivity" is from petty-bourgeois subjectivity. They refuse any longer to be only the forces of revolution, for they are also its Reason, active participants in working out the philosophy of liberation for our age. Now that they have done so, isn't it time for intellectuals to begin, with them, to fill the theoretic void left in the Marxist movement since Lenin's death? At no time has this been more imperative than now when a new generation of revolutionaries has been born, but is so disgusted with "the old" as to turn away from both theory and history as if actions, without those unifying forces of historic and theoretic continuity, can devise shortcuts to revolution. Jean-Paul Sartre's advice to youth to reject history notwithstanding, a "newness" that treats history as if it weren't there dooms itself to impotence. A Hitler with his *Mein Kampf* could break with history; a revolutionary youth movement cannot. Nor can one continue to delude oneself that theory can be gotten "en route." To turn one's back on philosophy is as big a lie as is the lie of science separated from life.

Marx foresaw the impasse of modern science not because he was a prophet, but because he had made the human being the subject of all development and saw that there was no other answer to: can mankind be free in an age when the machine is master of man, not man of machine. There is still no other answer. It is from this ground that we today face what Hegel called "the birth-time of history" and Marx called the unity of theory and practice, of philosophy and revolution, of mental and manual labor, the new human dimension, "thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism."

May 1, 1971

(11) The just-concluded 24th Congress of the Russian Communist Party reiterated that it was most based on the 22nd Congress. Though none of the promises have been realized which were made at the Congress a full decade ago, the full concentration on labor productivity remains. And the 1961 Program was most explicit:

" . . . it is necessary to raise the productivity of labor in industry by more than 100 per cent within ten years . . . To increase labor productivity and reduce production costs . . . implies a higher rate of increase in labor productivity as compared with remuneration . . . (and in) the second decade every family, including newlyweds, will have a comfortable flat conforming to the requirements of hygiene and cultured living."

By Eugene Walker

Jo-Etha Collier gunned down in Drew, Miss.

"The car started. It was full of young white men . . . I felt something hard and cold smash me between the eyes. It was an empty whisky bottle . . . The white men piled out and stood over me . . . 'Yeh're a lucky bastard . . . yuh might've been a dead nigger now.'"—Richard Wright, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 1938.

Jo-Etha Collier, young, Black, just graduated from high school, was gunned down in Drew, Miss., by whites in a passing car on May 27.

Despite assurances that the killing was "an isolated senseless act," the murder pointed more to the fact that the barbarism which has always been at the heart of the white southern way of life has yet to be rooted out.

If further proof was needed, all one had to do was move from Drew, Miss., to Chattanooga, Tenn. There, a few days prior to the Mississippi shooting, a revolt by the black population was put down by the police and National Guard. The newly elected "moderate" mayor, part of the "new southern image," could only analyze the revolt as the "work of hooligans and criminal elements," and certainly not a racial problem.

The Chattanooga police killed an intoxicated Black man during the revolt, claiming he was advancing on them. Witnesses and an autopsy proved he was shot in the back. The mayor reported the police version of the incident as the official one, and has had no further comment.

In Drew and nearby Ruleville, Miss., Blacks reacted to Jo-Etha Collier's wanton murder with anger and began demonstrations. Over 2,000 attended her funeral. Almost no whites came.

The Black anger and power is the force which is

determined to tear out, root and branch, the racist character of America. The mayors of the South or North who see no racial problem are blind to the meaning of Chattanooga, as are the generals of Travis Air Force Base who proclaim that the armed forces believe in equal opportunity for all, as they quell fighting between Black and white servicemen.

The Black revolt is in permanence. Sometimes it is in the open: the Brownsville Welfare riot in New York; Black GIs demonstrating in South Korea

New Cuban line: crackdown on workers

Cuba has come up with a program with a different name: "two new revolutionary tasks." An editorial of *Gramma*, official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, explains the new law passed March 31 which requires all able-bodied men of working age to be either working or studying. Somewhat more than five percent were doing neither.

Revolutionary task one: Those who did not sign up for work "will have to face the cool-headed, firm and inflexible action of revolutionary power . . . will have to accept the correctional and rehabilitative measures imposed on them."

Revolutionary task two: The new workers have a "program":

"For assignment to a permanent job, the background of the reservist and his conduct at the work center where he has been working temporarily will be considered, as well as his level of cultural and technical knowledge and physical condition.

and West Germany. Sometimes it is quiet; Black junior and senior high school students in California wearing "Free Angela" buttons; George Jackson writing his family from Soledad prison.

It cannot be stilled by a President's almost 100 page report of evasions concerning the Black question. Nor by the liberals and white radicals' "benign neglect" of the race question in favor of the anti-war movement. It remains the touchstone of all movements for freedom in America.

"It would be a mistake to think that just because they have started to work they will automatically acquire the discipline, habits, sense of responsibility and productive efficiency that our country requires of every worker.

"Certain new workers will require special aid for their reeducation and formation.

"The administrative leadership must organize the new workers and demand observance of discipline and fulfillment of the production norms in effect at the center."

Not many months ago the Chrysler Corporation began a program to try and break in new workers. The program was supposed to teach the workers labor discipline, cut absenteeism and result in more workers sticking it out. It seems that many of the new young workers thought the factory system was crazy and quit shortly after being put on the line.

Factory regimentation—at Chrysler or in Cuba—breeds the same thing: revolt of the workers against oppression.

Steelworkers, U.S. labor fight Nixon recession and repression

(Continued from Page 1)

the financially powerful government-business combines in Japan and Europe." Nixon is already headed in that direction. Government take-overs of all rail passenger service; the funding of the bankrupt Penn Central Railroad; and now the proposed bankrolling of Lockheed, one of the 25 largest corporations in the U.S. and the largest war contractor, are reminiscent of Britain's nationalization of its coal and rail industries after World War II. It is a sign of the maze of crises in which U.S. capitalism is lost.

The Congress, always willing to debate legislation for weeks or months on end, showed that Nixon's "game plan" was not a purely Republican phenomenon when they bipartisanly rammed through a bill to stop the nationwide rail strike in less than 48 hours last month.

The strike was called by the railway signalmen, representing only 2 percent of the rail workers, but their picket lines, often "invisible," were immediately respected by 540,000 other rail workers, shutting down all rail traffic across the U.S.A. The congressmen made much of the 13.5 percent raise they "gave" the signalmen, not once acknowledging that the men had been working without a contract for the past 21 months. In steel, the administration is the third party at the table; in rail, it is, in practice, the company negotiator.

NIXON'S ANTI-LABOR BILL

Secretary of Labor Hodgson used the rail strike as an excuse to revive the administration's Transportation Labor Bill, which would make them company negotiators in fact. This bill is designed to enslave workers in the railroad, trucking, airline, longshore and maritime industries. Not only would it extend the 80 day no-strike period another 30 days and give the President the power to authorize partial operation of the struck industry forever, but it would allow a panel picked by Nixon to force the union to accept the company's last offer—whatever it is!

It is not accidental that sections of the bill bear striking resemblance to the hated Tory labor bill proposed by Prime Minister Heath in an attempt to curb British workers' unrest. The Tory bill has sparked massive protests, including one-day general strikes in Britain. The bill has been vigorously supported by America's own Henry Ford II, who threatened to end investments in Britain if workers there continued to strike his plants. Auto workers in the U.S. know Ford's tricks quite well, and the latest proposed deal between his buddies at Chrysler and the UAW on the four day, forty hour week is not fooling many in the shops. (See *Worker's Journal*, page 3).

Unfortunately for the bosses, there is no trick they can dream up to stop labor unrest in the U.S. In the last two months, strikes have been called on the railroads; in newspapers in Pittsburgh and Newark; at United Parcel in New Jersey and New York; against the school system in San Francisco; and against Western Union nationwide.

The struggles of the past months and those in the months ahead take place against the background of ever-mounting unemployment, among public workers

as well as those in industry. The figures for May show that at least 6.2 percent of the work force is on the streets, while unemployment for Blacks is 11 percent. Among Black youth, 35 percent can't find jobs! In Detroit alone, there are now 100,000 out of work in the inner city.

Nixon's planned recession has resulted in the layoffs of thousands of state and municipal workers in nearly every major city in the country, as the funds which should have gone to the decaying cities are spent on the war and the ravenous appetites of the Pentagon. In Detroit, where sanitation men saw 600 of their union brothers laid-off, workers refused overtime again and again, despite court injunctions, threats from the Mayor, and the pleas of their union leaders.

Their fight, not for their own jobs, but for the jobs of those now unemployed represents a new level in the struggle for jobs which could have far-reaching implications.

Preface to new British edition

(Continued from Page 7)

closely with Hegel than do the hack writers on Socialist philosophy. Freedom is the connecting link . . .

Despite the well-known facts of Marx's activity—from the Chartists to the Workingmen's International Association—in the workers' movement in Britain, there is a popular misconception that the only British institution he appreciated was the British museum, where he worked on *Capital*. The truth is that before he ever came to Britain he wrote enthusiastically about the Levellers as the predecessors of the modern proletariat and its philosophic conceptions. "We find the first appearance of a really functioning communist party in the bourgeois revolution at the moment when monarchy is removed," he wrote in *The Moralizing Criticism And Critical Morality*. "The most consistent republicans—in England, the Levellers; in France, Babeuf, Bounarroti, etc.—are the first who proclaim these 'social questions'." While our own pragmatists have overshadowed the characteristic dialectic trend, especially in Scotland, Marx never forgot his debt to Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society 1767*. It is often quoted in *Capital* as a seminal work on the philosophy of history.

MANY OBSTACLES stand in the way of the goal visualized by Marx, and pointed to in this book. The level of struggle reached in 1970, and in 1971, in British industry, and in Northern Ireland, has forced the defenders of reaction to erect new barriers to freedom . . .

The British Army, with all its paraphernalia of war, has failed to crush the spirit of revolt in Northern Ireland. James Connolly, the leader of the Irish Rebellion of 1916, an event that had an influence on Lenin, has more followers now than when he was alive. The call for an Irish Socialist Republic becomes louder in all parts of Ireland. The names of Marx and Lenin are heard more frequently.

And in New York, where Lindsay laid off 4,000 workers and threatened to get rid of 90,000 more, and where the Rockefeller state legislature has abandoned New York City, the working class showed that it has resources of creativity and courage. Teamster draw-bridge operators locked the bridges open and walked off, while AFSCME highway and parks workers abandoned trucks on the highways, virtually shutting down the city.

American workers are demanding a human system in the mills and shops. Arrayed against them is a right-wing government and the richest and most powerful capitalists in the world. They have dictated the unemployment, the inflation, the racism, and the poverty. In the months ahead the steelworkers and others will be tested severely. If Black and white, employed and unemployed, can unite, then the future may not lead to more misery, but to a new stage in the fight for freedom.

Marxist thought is about the future of man and takes us far beyond the aims of the existing reformist parties. Marxist theory seeks realization in the self-activity of the masses. The author makes use of the Paris Commune to demonstrate what that means.

There is something thrilling about this chapter, which, for reasons of space, can only be referred to briefly. No reader of the book will skip over that chapter. There is a sentence there worth memorizing. It reads: "This act of self-defence was also the act of self-government."

What she says about the Paris Commune takes us far away from anything put out by the parliamentary socialists. It is an exposure of the pretensions of Mao Tse-tung, about whom there is a special chapter in this edition of the book. Mao is now faced with opposition calling itself the Sheng-wu-lien of Human. In English, that is Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionaries Great Alliance. This body has issued a manifesto headed "Whither China" in which it is confidently stated that the victory of the broad masses is inevitable.

THIS, TAKEN together with the 1956 rising in Hungary, events in Czechoslovakia and Paris, confirm the desire of the masses for freedom . . .

This book, by its theoretical approach, performs a service in the present situation. It raises the banner of theory without letting us forget that the working class struggle is the source of all theory. Let us hope that this book will lead to a new flow of Marxist literature to counteract those publications that distort the meaning of Marxism. The British Prime Minister told us, recently, that we are all dependent on the production of profits. He may never see this book, but he may be hit when the principles enunciated here are put into practice by those who produce the profits. We should be grateful to Raya Dunayevskaya for writing the book, and to the Pluto Press for publishing the British edition.