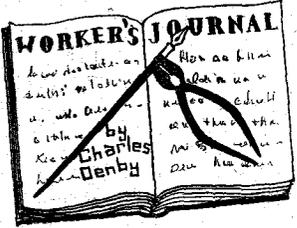


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Pollution threatens human race

By Charles Denby, Editor

Many workers seem to be more concerned over the question of pollution than leaders of the government and state and city officials are. One worker said, "They give us reports on pollution, but never say anything about what and when they are going to do something about it. For nearly two years I have watched the weather report, and every day, without one exception, the weatherman gives the MURC (measure of undesirable respiratory contaminants) index of air pollution. Not one time has he reported that we had clean air, and as a whole, he reports that the air was worse than it was the day before."

FOOD POISONED TOO

"When people say that many foods are contaminated with pesticides, what they are saying is that there is poison in it," he went on. "This frightens me. I remember several years ago, when the grape pickers began to boycott the growers in California for better wages and working conditions, and the strikers reported that so much pesticides were being used by the growers that it had caused death to some workers. The leader of the strike protested to the government, and after an investigation, the government reported that there were some pesticides. It instructed the grape growers to use less. And they claim water pollution is much worse."

Another worker said, "That I can believe, because for the past 20 years I have been fishing in Lake Erie and the surrounding rivers. Until about eight years ago, we could go out and begin fishing at six in the morning, and by ten, everyone would have as many fish as they could bring home. Today 50 fishermen fishing all day will not catch as many fish as one did in four hours 15 years ago."

"When we first began fishing, I thought we would soon catch all the fish in the lake, until a fish expert told me that one fish lays as many eggs as all fishermen

(Continued on Page 7)

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Recession, Repression, and Revolution

THE STATE OF DISUNION

By Michael Connolly

The memorial celebrations of Martin Luther King's birthday on Jan. 15, by every bigshot in the white establishment, from the Nixon Administration to Mayor John Lindsay of New York City, revealed only their own hypocrisy and insensitivity to the feelings of black Americans. The same politicians were throwing Dr. King in jail from the Montgomery Bus boycott in 1956 to the Memphis garbage men's strike in 1968.

They are the ones who are silent on the real question about his murder: that he was killed when he tried to unite the black revolution with labor, because he knew that black America must have economic freedom or it has no freedom at all.

It is Nixon's planned recession, which is hitting black workers first and hardest, that shows he believes in no freedom at all for black America. The recession

is no longer a threat or a possibility; it is here now and it will get worse.

Unemployment has passed four per cent nationally; but in Detroit's inner city it has passed 15%. It is the same or worse in every urban black ghetto area. In the last quarter of 1969, the economy showed no real growth at all. What Nixon has termed "an adjustment of the economy" means real hardship to millions of workers, white and black.

SWEEPING LAYOFFS

Layoffs have swept the auto industry. Over 7,000 production workers are out of work at Chrysler, and in some plants the layoff includes every worker hired in the last ten years. At GM, over 4,000 workers got their notices. Ford, which had triumphantly claimed that they had not laid off anyone, permanently closed their Dallas assembly plant, throwing 2,000 more workers out of a job. They followed this on Jan. 19 with a layoff of fully 20% of the workers at the Woodhaven Stamping Plant.

The numbers increase daily.

Throughout the city of Detroit, nearly every auto worker who was hired with great fanfare in the program "to help the hard-core unemployed" after the 1967 rebellion is now out of work. Not a single production job in auto has been advertised for over three months in Detroit. And many of those still working are getting only three or four days work a week.

The recession is, of course, not limited to Detroit or to the auto industry. Boeing has announced that it will layoff 18,000 aircraft workers in Seattle. And NASA projected a cutback of 50,000 to 100,000 jobs in the space industry this year. Even white collar workers are in trouble as Nixon has vetoed the HEW appropriations bill, which provides funding for hundreds of thousands of workers in education and research.

PROFITS VS. WAGES

Nixon's argument that his policy is necessary to "curb inflation caused by wage demands" is a lie every worker can see through. Since the end of World War II, every period of sharply rising prices has been accompanied by fat increases in corporate profits.

Wages have never once increased before the start of these inflationary periods; in fact, they were often declining when prices began to rise. Workers have fought back with demands for higher wages simply to preserve the standard of living they have. Real wages are lower today for American workers than they were back in 1965.

The current skyrocketing inflation, which has continued even while recession sets in, began in 1965, the same year that Johnson escalated the war in Vietnam. The truth is that the war is the cause of inflation, not wage demands. As long as Nixon continues the war, inflation will continue. His policy assures war, inflation AND recession all at the same time.

WAR ON LABOR, YOUTH

If the cause of inflation is the war in Vietnam, the cause of the recession is Nixon's war on labor, blacks and youth at home. Every recession since World War II has been used by the capitalists to attack organized labor, beginning with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act during the recession of 1949-50. This one will be no exception. Already General Electric, the nation's fourth largest manufacturer, has forced more than 150,000 workers out on strike for over three months and is refusing to bargain seriously. In Flint, Mich., the workers at GM's Fisher Body No. 2, have been on strike even longer and there, too, management refuses to bargain. It is the longest strike in the history of GM.

Workers in Flint point out that GM is just using the strike as "a cheap layoff where they don't have to pay benefits." The capitalists are very well aware that the two biggest labor contracts—auto and trucking—

(Continued on Page 8)

WAY OF THE WORLD

by Ethel Dunbar

Soujourner Truth

Who fears who in this last part of the twentieth century? Since the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the black mass revolt of the 60's, white southerners are more and more saying that in the Deep South the white man fears the black, the Jew fears other white men, and the black fears no one.

We may not know if they are saying it out of hatred or mixed with surprise and respect. But one thing we know. Anybody who knows our history knows that every movement for freedom, since America was born, has had black people in the forefront.

I was reading a book on a Woman's Rights Convention held in Akron, Ohio, in 1851, before the Civil War. It showed how these early suffragettes were mocked by newspapers and ministers alike. Sojourner Truth, a black Abolitionist, was part of that convention. This is how Mrs. Gage, president of the meeting, described it:

"The leaders of the movement . . . were many of them almost thrown into panic on the first day of the meeting, by seeing a tall giant black woman, in a gray dress and uncouth sun-bonnet, march deliberately into the church and up the aisle with an air of a queen, and take her seat on the pulpit steps. A buzz was heard all over the house. . . .

"The second day, the work waxed warm. . . . Ministers of all denominations came in to hear and discuss the resolutions brought forth. One claimed superior rights and privileges for man because of superior intellect; another, because of the manhood of Christ; another gave a theological view of the sin of our first mother. There were few women in those days who dared to speak in meeting; and these august teachers of the people, with long-winded bombast, were seeming to get the better of us. . . .

"Slowly from her seat in the corner rose Sojourner Truth, who till now had hardly lifted her head. 'Don't let her speak', gasped a half-dozen in my ear. She moved slowly and solemnly to the front, laid her old bonnet at her feet and turned her great piercing eyes upon me. I rose and announced, 'Sojourner Truth', and begged the audience to keep silence. The tumult subsided at once, and every eye was fixed on this almost Amazon form. She spoke in deep tones, which, though not loud, reached every ear in the house.

"Well, children, where there's so much racket there must be something out of kilter. I think that 'twixt the Negroes of the South and the women of the North, all a-talking about their rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all this talking about? That man over there says that woman needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over ditches or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place."

"Raising herself to her full height, and her voice to a pitch like rolling thunder, she asked, 'And aren't I a woman? Look at me. Look at my arm,' and she laid bare her right arm, to her shoulder, showing its tremendous muscular power. 'I have ploughed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me. And aren't I a woman? I have borne 13 children, and seen most of them sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard, and aren't I a woman?'

"Then they talk about this thing in the head. What do they call it?' 'Intellect' whispered someone near her. 'That's it, honey. What's that got to do with women's rights or Negroes' rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full?' She pointed her finger and sent a keen glance at the minister who had made the argument. The cheering was long and loud.

"Turning to another objector, she took up the defense of Mother Eve . . . 'if the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down, all herself alone, all these women together ought to be able to turn it back again and get it right side up again, and now they are asking to, the men better let them.' Amid roars of applause she returned to her corner."

This happened in 1851, but young people today are taking up right where Sojourner left off. Black people have caught up with what white people have been doing to them all these years, and the young black people are explaining it so well, in their own ways, that white people are finally beginning to understand—at least the YOUNG white people. When things are being brought out so plainly, things have got to change.

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Women hardened by attacks in two-month Fruehauf strike

Detroit, Mich.—"The first month on the picket line, we just stood there and waved, but then we got mad. The scabs all say, 'We're with you, but we have to feed our kids.' Well, most of us have children too," said one of the women who walked off their office jobs at Fruehauf Corp. two months ago to force the company to negotiate a contract.

Ever since Nov. 19, nearly 300 striking workers, 80% of them women, have been picketing Fruehauf every day, in spite of police violence and large-scale scabbing. The women are full of determination, talking back to the harassing policemen, singing union songs, and hurling strong language at the strike-breakers. Several also manage to use water pistols, filled with something smelly and hidden under coats, on the scabs.

COMPANY VIOLENCE

It has been an unusual strike, because they are office workers, because they are mostly women, and because they have been met with huge squads of shotgun-carrying police.

The police stand at every door with their clubs drawn, escorting in the scabs and ignoring company-inspired violence which has injured several strikers. One worker said it is because a high company official is the brother of the County Prosecuting Attorney, William Cahalan.

The strikers are members of UAW Local 889, which they elected last May. At the contract negotiations that followed, they say, "Fruehauf either didn't come or came and refused to negotiate." The NLRB has issued several unfair labor practice charges against the company.

Winchester strike ends, but work conditions are worse

After nearly four months, the strike of over 3,000 IAM workers at the Winchester Arms division of the Olin Corporation in New Haven was settled in mid-November. (For first-hand accounts of the strike by Winchester workers see November and December 1969 News & Letters). The return to work has been slow, and the contract, signed only a few weeks ago, has not yet been made available to the workers. Below, a Winchester worker gives his impressions of the settlement and return to work.

New Haven, Conn.—Things just aren't like they used to be in the shop and people aren't very happy. They've put time-clocks on all the machines, so they're watching you even when the foremen aren't around. Relations used to be friendly, but they aren't any more.

Hot seat: taxi automation

New York, N.Y.—I drive a cab and I want to be treated as a human being, not a machine. But, it's getting harder every day to fight the automation of this society.

This year, taxicabs were automated by putting in a device called a "hotseat" meter. This meter is wired to the seat so when the passenger sits down, he starts the meter. This new machine insures that every ride gets recorded so drivers can't cheat the company of fares, but the side effect of the "hotseat" is to make the driver more a machine than a man or woman.

What I mean is this: if I make a wrong turn or get lost, I pay! I can't shut the meter off until I stop the cab, so one wrong fare can ruin a good day. Or, if I lean too heavily on the passenger seat next to me—oops, the meter "trips" and I'm out 45¢! It's bad enough fighting traffic, noise, and pollution all day; but to have to screw yourself up like a pretzel to clean your windows on the inside or not be able to make a mistake—that's too much.

I once read that "To err is human," but the taxi owners who put in this new meter don't think so—or else they think of us, the drivers, as machines.

NEED IMPROVEMENTS

The women are striking for improvements in working conditions and fringe benefits as well as higher wages. "We want an increase in the present retirement benefits of \$25 a month, guaranteed maternity leave, and an increase in health insurance, which now pays \$5 a day for a doctor when you're in the hospital."

They have many complaints about discrimination against women and male chauvinism on the job. One woman said, "Men are paid more than women for the same job, and some jobs are not open to women at all." She described one woman, a full-fledged accountant, whom the company refuses to promote out of clerical work. Another striker told how the company hired a man at a higher salary than hers, made her train him to do her job, and then "promoted" her—without a raise.

A third woman said, "My boss used to yell at me, throw paper clips and rubber bands at me, and then say he was sorry—but he wanted me to be perfect!" One striker summed up Fruehauf's attitude as, "You're nothing if you file."

CHANGING ATTITUDES

The strikers have turned around the company slogan, "Stick and stay and make it pay," and apply it to the strike. Yet some of them had been opposed to unionism until a few months ago. One woman said she had voted no in the representation election.

Now all that has changed. One striker argues constantly with her husband, who ridicules the women's effort. Another said, "This is the first time in my life I've been on a picket line. At first we laughed a lot—now we've learned to be nasty."

—Molly Jackson

We haven't seen the contract yet and I can't remember all the good things and the bad things, but it was pretty good. We won 40-60¢ an hour for the first year in the lowest categories and 17¢ the second. We also got more paid holidays — we now have 10½ — better insurance, and the right to have grievances arbitrated, which was very important to us.

SAVED COMPENSATION

But the company could have given us all that in the beginning. I think they dragged on the negotiations because they just don't have the work and didn't want to pay unemployment, so they let the strike go on.

You can see this by what happened after the strike. I only got back to work in the middle of December, and a lot of people are still laid off.

Many foremen have had to come back into the union and other company people lost their jobs. I think only 1,700 have come back to work. The 11 to 7 shift is barely working at all, and I don't know how long any of us will be working.

SHOULD BE ALL OUT

It's hard to say why they settled when they did. It's true that people from other shops and some students had joined the picketing, but I just don't know if that was why. I do know one thing: this business of some striking and some working is no good. We should have closed down the whole place with nobody going in or out.

And all those cops the company had in front of all the gates, paying them \$6.25 an hour. That shouldn't have been. You'd think it was a riot or something. And they were always arresting people for nothing.

We heard about the agreement on the radio and in the papers. There were about 2,000 workers at the meeting to vote. There wasn't much discussion and only a few hundred voted against the contract.

I do think we should have been able to read it first, though. Right now people aren't very happy and many have quit. I would take another job for less even, but I've got a lot of seniority and I don't want to change, although I may have to. Also, getting a job is not as easy as it was last year.

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Longshoremen blast losses in new contract

On the waterfront in San Francisco a new agreement on the handling of container cargo has come into effect. The agreement was opposed by many men who saw it as lowering wages and as further removing control of working conditions from the men on the docks. Below are excerpts from two leaflets put out by longshoremen who fought against the approval of the container agreement.

The proposed Container Contract is the result of long hours of hard work by honest men. But it is not enough! Why?

1. **Wages:** It starts out lower and it gets worse. A longshoreman now makes \$36.72 a day. A Container man would make \$34.40. A year from now the spread is 20 cents more. No travel time and car-fare!

2. **Conditions:** When you go to work for a Container Station, you have to be there every morning unless you are sick. Really sick. This means that you can't call up and replace yourself anymore.

3. **Hiring Hall:** Section 6.11 (Steady Men) states: "The employer shall be furnished a basic complement of Utility men in the number determined by the employer to fill his needs." These men will be there when the boss tells them to be there and they will do everything from drive fork-lift to sweep up. It doesn't say whether or not they will punch time clocks, but one thing is certain — they won't see the Hiring Hall again unless they are fired.

For these reasons we are against the container contract.

What do we want, then?

1. We want the present Pacific Coast Longshore Contract for all container work done on the docks.

2. No steady men—except for gear men.

3. Keep the categories—fork-lift drivers, etc. Dispatch everyone from the Hiring Hall, and back to the Hall after a maximum of one week.

4. All longshore seniority and job protection shall prevail.

Rank and Filers Against the Container Contract

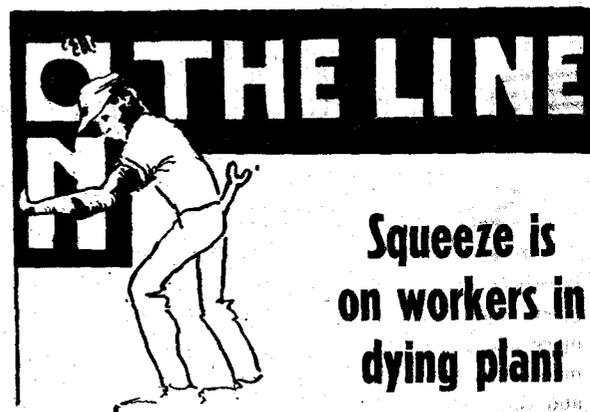
The following are excerpts from a leaflet which was run off after union officials did not read it at the Ship Clerks' Stop Work meeting after being requested to do so. Brothers:

I find myself in agreement with most of the critical comments that many dock workers have been making against the projected Container agreement as the document pertains to wages, conditions, and hiring hall.

It seems evident now that we were given a big shock when we were told that we couldn't avoid mechanization, that it was progress and that all we wanted was a money share of the machine in return for work-as-directed practices (how long the employers had been demanding that). The employer application of machinery has little to do with our interests, human progress in the form of working conditions under our control, and relates only to profits, his. Impressive statistical analyses have already shown the decline of our work in the cargo-work hours equation and that's what the employers were always up to in their twin demands of mechanization and work as directed (true, they also wanted a docile work force, but that's hard to come by among waterfront workers).

The main arguments that I've heard for the Container Agreement have to do with getting our foot in the door and alternatives. From the standpoint of the hiring hall it strikes me that the agreement is more like the door being slammed in our face. The other argument, alternatives, is important because there is now no easy way out of the entire problem, the one compounded by the capitulation on the mechanization plan of the employers. We need a resurgence of rank-and-file militancy and control of the entire situation—work-as-directed be as damned by us as the men of the past handled it. And it is my impression that this resurgence is now taking place right out front where it's clear (and I think it's been growing for a long time).

We are the power on the 'front' and I don't mean this in the intimidating sense. I urge that we take the first step on a new course by voting the Container Agreement down.



By John Allison

The Nixon administration and Chrysler Corp. have set the stage for the final movement of the Highland Park plant to the Toledo machining plant in Ohio. The union assured all workers who did not want to move to Ohio that they would be transferred to other Chrysler plants in the Detroit area.

However, what was promised by Chrysler management and the union and what is now happening to workers caught in this squeeze is quite a different matter. The news media is daily reporting the sad news of the big and long layoffs in Chrysler plants in the Detroit area, and this means a long wait for employees with 25 years of service or more before they will be able to go to work.

DYING PLANT TRAGEDY

The long fight to protect workers caught in a dying plant now ends in tragedy. This is so because of the way seniority operates. These old-time workers at Highland Park, because they had long seniority, could stay on at the plant to the end. And so the workers with less seniority have been transferred to other plants the past few years as the plant production lines were phased out.

Since there is no company wide seniority, it means that when you transfer to another plant, regardless of how much time you had at Highland Park, you have zero seniority in the new plant. You're just like any worker who starts there on that day.

What this means is that no Highland Park worker can transfer to any plant where any workers are laid off, because every one of them has more seniority at that plant than the Highland Park worker. Actually, this looks bad only on the surface. The fact is that a Highland Park worker with 25 or more years of seniority would be entitled to some 90-95 percent of his wages, paid by unemployment compensation and supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB).

ONE PLACE LEFT

This would mean money out of the corporation's pocket, and management will never allow this to happen if it can help it. As it happens to be, there is one Chrysler division which is working well, and that's the truck division. So you can easily figure what Chrysler management is doing with the high seniority workers leaving the Highland Park plant: they are being transferred to Chrysler truck plants.

But others aren't so lucky. Old timers who have gone through strikes and long layoffs are saying this year's model cars have just about had it. The hope for spring sales to pick up so workers can return to the auto shops across the country is very dim.

Phones are ringing. Workers are talking about summer and the streets. If layoffs continue into the summer months, look out for trouble in the land. The old game of wait-and-see is over. Action seems to be the mood of workers in this uncertain period.

Cut grades of Norris workers

Los Angeles, Calif.—Many people who were on strike at Norris were faced with an immediate layoff after the strike. They never got called back. They are beginning to call some back now. But what they are facing in the plant is a cut in grade. Guys who were working as grade seven before came back as grade four. Others who were grade 15 came back as grade eight.

We have plant-wide seniority. This is good in that it prevents a paternalistic system in certain departments. But what it means when you have an extensive layoff such as we have had, is that guys with 10 or 15 years seniority find themselves cut down to some of the lowest paid jobs in the plant. They still have a job, and a lot of guys don't, but they are working several grades below where they were working.

That's the trouble with this whole system. You fight hard for protection by getting plant wide seniority so the company cannot pick and choose who it wants or doesn't want, but when a hard layoff comes, we don't seem to have any real control over what happens.

The contract we have is such that if the company puts you on a higher grade on Monday morning and keeps you there all day, then they have to pay you that grade all week—even if they transfer you to a lower grade job. But if they instead transfer you to a higher grade job in the afternoon, you don't get paid for the higher grade. With lots of people laid off, the company has been using this little rule to its advantage in switching people around on jobs.

—Norris Worker

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—It looks like the company is definitely going to begin moving Department 10 to Ohio beginning next month. Everyone in the plant is talking about it now, not just the workers in Department 10. The union invited us to a meeting for Department 10 workers at the union hall. A black woman worker at that meeting was insulted by local Vice-President Garrison. The union and the company were saying that the workers who would lose their jobs would be given a chance to get jobs at Ternstedt or Livonia.

The workers in the department (cut and sew) know that this is just talk. Most of the workers are women, and they would not be allowed to work on the new Eldorado jobs at Fleetwood. And you can't go to Ternstedt or Livonia because they are laying-off—not hiring. This is GM's policy: "more work and less workers."

The lady who was insulted at the union meeting passed out some handbills against the union not doing anything about our problem. It was an open letter to V.P. Garrison. Everybody responded beautifully to it. They even collected money to get a lawyer to see if there was anything on legal grounds we could do. They have also circulated a petition in "cut and sew" to try to save the jobs of the women workers.

The workers who are most affected are ladies with low seniority. Some have three or four kids, and were on welfare before. They can't move to Ohio, and they might have to go back on welfare. This is something nobody wants to do.

Everything is getting worse in Department 10. The union writes up a grievance, but they know it will be thrown out when the department is moved, so they don't really fight it. You can't scare a foreman with a grievance, because they know a grievance means nothing anymore.

The union is selling out. Everybody knows this. They are willing to let hundreds of women lose their jobs with no hope of getting another one. This is what is so shocking to all of us.

Dept. 10 Worker

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—Lately there have been so many foremen in the plant they are getting in everyone's way. One worker I know was on repair. A foreman came over and asked him to leave repair and go help out on pick-up because they were short over there. About 45 minutes later he was sent back to repair and his foreman started yelling, "Where have you been for the last 45 minutes?" The worker told him to ask the first foreman and to get it straight.

Many workers are disgusted at being bounced around from one foreman to another. Since Reuther sold out in the last contract, whenever you lose workers you lose stewards. But Chrysler has not been laying off

the foremen with the workers like they used to, because they have been making more profit than ever and they can afford to keep them.

Now you can have three foremen on your back, but you can't find a steward anywhere around.

Since automation, they get so much productivity out of every worker that the company makes enough to keep the foreman on during cut-backs, waiting until production starts up high again. It's our work and sweat that is paying to keep these foremen on our backs.

Mack Production Worker

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—People who work in auto plants have long been aware of the many abuses and contract violations that occur daily. Most of us have felt the deep anger, hate, and frustration that results from being stepped on by the company.

I am paying \$7.98 per month (\$95.76 per year) in union dues. Our building, the Dearborn Assembly Plant, pays an approximate \$28,000 per month to the U.A.W. What do we get for our money? We get excuses from our union officials and pleas for "more time to solve the problems facing us." Our main problem is the U.A.W. and its racist structure, its arbitrary raising of our dues, sweetheart contracts with the companies, and the way it uses the millions of dollars of OUR money that it controls.

Our building is predominately black. Brothers in the D.A.P. pay thousands of dollars annually to the white-controlled U.A.W. Little or none of the money is used for the betterment of the black community. It is invested in white banks where it is used to make a few select whites richer while the black community steadily decays. Millions are squandered on political campaigns, special conferences and conventions, expense and travel accounts for high union officials.

All we get for our money is excuses. A prime example of this is a black brother who has been penalized 30 days off for abstenteeism. He has been off a number of times, but each time he brought in a doctor's letter. In each case, his letter was refused and he was given time-off. Four of his previous grievances have not reached the second stage. The latest one was denied in second stage and the bargaining committee refuses to appeal it to the next stage.

This particular brother for many years has fought both the company and the union. He has a great deal of influence among young black men in this plant. He stands an excellent chance of gaining office in the next election.

Clearly the company and the union consider him a threat. For this reason they have joined forces in a conspiracy to get him fired.

This is just one of the many examples of elected officials playing petty politics with a man's job and the security of his family.

—Black Worker, D.A.P.

EDITORIAL Yablonski murder brings out anti-labor forces

The triple murder of Joseph Yablonski, his wife and daughter as they slept in their Clarksville, Pa. home during the first weekend of the new year has put many forces in motion among the coal miners and in the Nixon administration. Yablonski, who had carried on a bitter seven-month long campaign for the United Mine Workers union presidency against incumbent President "Tony" Boyle, lost the election held on Dec. 9 by a reported margin of some 45,000 votes for Yablonski to 81,000 votes for Boyle.

To be sure, many coal miners who did not have first-hand experience with Yablonski, but who knew the truth of his charges against Boyle and the UMW leadership, did support him. And as Yablonski claimed after the election results were in, almost all of his votes came from working rank-and-file miners. It is entirely probable that Yablonski got a majority of the votes of the rank-and-file. Boyle's reported margin of victory almost certainly came from the retired soft coal miners.

Everything changed with the murder of Yablonski, however, because his death was indeed a repetition of recent history, and is still another confirmation of the almost total degeneration of present capitalist society in America. As one West Virginia miner expressed it, "It just seems anymore that when a man stands up to fight for anything worthwhile, he is assassinated." And he pointed to the examples of Dr. Martin Luther King, President John Kennedy and his brother Bobby Kennedy. To this, we can add the increasing reports of the murders of Black Panther Party leaders.

While Yablonski aroused strong feelings in those for and against him, once the election was over, these feelings were losing their edge. With the murder, they gained a new force and sharpness, and some 20,000 coal miners in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky went out on a wildcat strike. That strike was not for wages or for better working conditions. It was against both the union and the coal companies, to be sure, but it was more than that:

It was against a system of life, this system of life called capitalism, which is so distorted and vicious that it readily produces willing murderers to kill individuals expressing ideas opposing the status quo.

Because Yablonski's murder is having a powerful and divisive effect among the coal miners and the UMW, it also provides an opportunity for the anti-labor Nixon

administration and reactionary Democrats to move in and deal heavy blows to labor as a whole. They have already begun to set the stage for their assault, and will use the "investigation" of the murder of Yablonski to prepare their ammunition.

LIFE AND DEATH DIFFERENCE

Secretary of Labor Schultz, who had refused to investigate the UMW election when a live Yablonski demanded that the Labor Department do so, has now launched an investigation inspired by a dead Yablonski and the anti-labor publicity such a probe offers. How much anti-labor opportunity there is in this issue can be gauged by the immediate reactions of two of the most notorious enemies of labor in Congress: Senators Griffin of Michigan and McClellan of Arkansas.

Griffin, reactionary co-author of the hated Landrum-Griffin bill, which already can destroy every established labor union in the U.S. if it is fully enforced, was the first to jump in. Referring to his earlier bill, Griffin declared that it required amendment to more fully "safeguard the rights of workers," and that he would be seeking such legislation. Every worker in the U.S. can be sure that if Griffin succeeds in getting the legislative amendments to Landrum-Griffin that he seeks, the labor movement in the U.S. will almost certainly be dealt a death blow.

But should Griffin fail in his own efforts, there is always the certainty that Arkansas' Senator McClellan's Senate Investigations Subcommittee will give its all to carry the anti-labor ball should Griffin fumble. For hard on the heels of Griffin's renewed declaration of war against labor, McClellan panted to keep up with the commitment that his committee would also initiate an investigation into Yablonski's death and the mine workers' election.

Fortunately, the coal miners are not made of the kind of stuff that Nixon, Griffin or McClellan would like to think they are. Nor are the rest of the workers in this country—both black and white. The coal miners have not been called the "shock troops" of American labor for nothing. They have always been in the front lines of working class struggles for progress, regardless of how far behind their leaders may have been. The same is true of the rank-and-file workers in every industry.

And if there is one thing that coal miners, in particular, understand very well, it is that both union and party politicians are long on promises and short on delivery.

This was sharply brought home just last year when the West Virginia miners were forced to fight against their own union, the UMW, in their battle for black lung compensation legislation. In this battle something very new emerged: the political wildcat strike which closed down every mine in the state, and won passage for the legislation.

The power of this tactic was not lost on either the miners or the Nixon administration. Thus, now that the opportunity has presented itself through the murder of Yablonski, the anti-labor Republican administration and its Democratic allies are moving to divide and crush the power the miners created in their united actions last year.

Coal miners, however, are not easily crushed, and they are the ones who will decide many issues in and out of their union. They have much to say, and they will be heard from.

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ENDING THE WAR

Combat is the only place in the U.S. where there is real integration, because if you don't help your black brother, it's your own life you're playing with. But all GI's come back feeling the country owes them something after fighting that useless war, and so do I.

One thing is for sure, we all wanted the war over as soon as possible, and all that stuff about us being against protestors is a lot of lies. After you've been in Vietnam, you couldn't help but be anti-war. The GI's who are refusing to go are the ones the Army is really scared of.

Vietnam Veteran
New York

On Moratorium Day some young people were gathering names for a petition against the war in Vietnam. Some of the signers were responsible adults with children right in the middle of the fray . . . Later rumors, which here are more reliable than the newspaper, said these petitions were sent directly to the Pentagon, where retributive actions would be instituted. Whether or not the rumors are accurate is incidental. The fact remains that here is one more reason for the much decried "apathy" of the American Public.

D.C.
Massachusetts

Lt. William L. Calley Jr. has been charged with mass murder at Songmy. He may be guilty but he is not alone. What of the officers under whom he served? What of the government officials who launched this brutalizing war which turned our youth into killers and exiles?

But also, what of us, who, with our tax money bought the bullets used at Songmy? Every month our telephone bill carries a 10% federal tax, a tax originally imposed to help raise money to pay for the war. Why not, this month and every month as long as the war lasts, deduct 10% from our phone bill before paying it? Let us stop buying the bullets.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
New York City 10012

I see the black workers and women and some white workers marched here and there against the war, but why don't the black and white workers get

organized into one union, such as the IWW, and march to the jobs where the tools of war are made. What the hell is the use of marching to some building. I say, march to some place where it will do some good. Or stay at home and starve. As far as I am concerned the tools of war are made on the job. What do workers want leaders for? If they have any brains, they ought to be their own leaders.

Old IWWer
Vancouver

THE BLACK REVOLT

On Feb. 1, 1970, it will be exactly ten years since the day that black people let white America know we were no longer going to accept white racism or second-class citizenship in this country. For it was on this day in 1960 that four black students sat-in at a lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C.

It was this single act, more than any other, that made the 1960's the decade of change and turbulence that it was. Those four students started the Civil Rights Movement which not only turned into the Black Liberation struggle of today, but also sparked the Free Speech Movement that led to the radical youth movement of white youth, which in turn has given birth to an even newer movement, Women's Liberation.

Out of that event on Feb. 1, 1960, came some of the greatest leaders that black America has ever had: Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Eldridge Cleaver, and others. But most of all, it reaffirmed the role of the black masses as the vanguard of the needed American revolution.

Black Revolutionary
Detroit

Every TV station is talking "revolution this, revolution that." But there'll be no real change until poor whites and blacks unite. I'm convinced that racism is worse than slavery. There has always been slavery, whether it was the Africans brought here in chains or the bondage of the Jews in Egypt. But with racism, it is your mind that is in chains, not your body. And that's a lot worse.

Black Worker
New York

Reader's

BIAFRAN TRAGEDY

The news coming from Biafra now makes you aware of the lack of news coverage in the past year. It's as if the U.S. didn't want all those pictures of starvation shown to us. For the richest country in the world to allow millions of children to die of starvation and do nothing, is barbaric.

Law Student
Chicago

The Left in Britain is great with their rhetoric against America (and with good reason) — but what did they do about their own country's actions in the Nigerian-Biafran war?

Anti-war Student
Detroit

Somehow I feel that the UN was as much responsible as anyone else for what has happened in Biafra. They are supposed to defend oppressed nations, aren't they? But oil was more important than the lives of millions of black Africans. And I can't help feeling that if they weren't all blacks that were involved, more would have been done about it.

Black Worker
Detroit

The guilt of Russia and Britain in the Biafran tragedy is obvious. But it was a world tragedy, and it is the conscience of the whole world that should be shaken, so far as I am concerned.

Reader
West Virginia

TODAY'S YOUTH

How many adults recognize the burden our youth carry on their backs? How many understand why they have grown up so fast, and take life so seriously? It hit me hard when I wanted to celebrate my son's 16th birthday only to have him say: "What is there to celebrate about being 16? All it means is that they're going to try and draft me in two years."

The youth of today who are so con-

cerned with our society's ills and so eager to create a world free from wars, poverty and racism are under constant attack. To the government, they represent a threat because of their resistance to this system's inhumanity.

The seriousness and intensity with which the youth view the conditions in this country are unacceptable to many adults because of the standards of value this system has set up: money, personal possessions, more money. The human being is overlooked.

The youth refuse to be hypocrites. They will not go to imperialist wars. They do not count material things as important. They will not live and work in a segregated environment.

Working Mother
Detroit

I did pretty well with the last bundle of papers. Please send a bundle of 25 of the new issue.

Here in Grand Prairie, we are hard at work again. We have set up a radical library and meeting place for all area radicals at a comrade's house. At my high school we've begun a boycott of school lunches to try to re-open the campus. We're also trying to obtain a table to sell socialist literature from. We're considering running a candidate for school president on a socialist ticket. Except for mobilizing for the anti-war protests here, that's about all.

High School Student
Texas

ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

It was the young workers more than anyone who carried on the strike at Norris.

The company used every division they could think of to stop the strike: Skilled vs. unskilled by using a percentage raise rather than an across-the-board raise, and a jump in grade for some skilled workers. Men vs. women by still not giving women a half-hour paid lunch period.

The union itself gave women workers only the traditional jobs in the strike kitchen and secretarial work in-

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

(I am happy to print in my column this issue the following letter I just received from a worker-colleague —R. D.)

To most leftists and intellectuals I have met, the expression "two worlds" means the struggle between the two super-powers, Russia and the United States, or state-capitalism and private capitalism. Nothing could be further from what it means to me. For as any worker or oppressed person can tell you, "Two Worlds" means, to us, the world of the capitalist and the world of the working class as a whole which exist within this one physical world on which we live.

I, for instance, have never thought of this country as being one, but as two separate and distinct ones, worlds apart, and at constant war with each other. First, because I am black, and ever since I was old enough to understand, I saw white standing for racism, oppression, and exploitation (against me and all black people). As I got older and started to work for a living, I found an even larger and more antagonistic division; the one between me and my fellow workers on one side, and the capitalists and their lackeys on the other.

I MUST admit that for a while even I fell into the trick bag of viewing "Two Worlds" as the struggle between the U.S. and Russia. That is only because, when I did so, I was still young and politically unaware. I knew I didn't like anything about America, and thought that the state-capitalism (under the guise of socialism) of Russia was the way society should be. I soon changed my mind, however, after reading about how Russia crushed the Hungarian Revolt in 1956. After reading how a so-called socialist state stepped on the workers of another state, I realized that there must exist two worlds within the Communist bloc also, and that there was no difference between the U.S. and the "free world," and Russia and her allies.

And today it is even more clear to me that these two worlds exist the world over, after having grown in political knowledge. We need only to look at Vietnam and Santo Domingo on the "free world" side, and Czechoslovakia on the Communist side to see it.

'Two Worlds' are in every country

And more than any recent event to bring this fact out clearly is the tragedy of Biafra. For here we had the free world, in the presence of England, and the Communist world, via Russia, cooperating hand-in-hand with each other to aid Nigeria in its war of genocide against the Ibos of Biafra. It is so plain to see that the "Two Worlds" that divide this one on which we live are the one of the ruling classes of Russia, America, China, Europe and their allies and lackeys, and the one of the workers, peasants, national minorities, and all oppressed peoples of these and every country. So I can't see how the leftists and intellectuals limit the meaning of "Two Worlds" to just the geographical struggle between Russia and the U.S. and the ideological one between state and private capitalism.

IF THEY need further proof of what I am saying, they need only to ask the women of their own organizations. For women, too, have to confront two worlds in their daily lives: not only the class relations but also the male-female ones. As for the black woman, you might say three worlds, for she not only has to deal with class and male chauvinism, but with race too. There would not be (nor would there be a need for) a Women's Liberation Movement of both black and white women who are in and out of the movement if this were not true.

There is a second aspect of what "Two Worlds" means, in relation to theory. Again, this is something that leftists and especially intellectuals don't want to look at.

TO MOST intellectuals (who live and think in ivory towers, away from the real world and the class struggle), "Two Worlds" means that of science and that of the humanities or art. This is a superficial manner in which to treat the question of culture. To them, science and the humanities are twin cultures that are opposed to each other. To me this is a big joke which isn't funny at all. The reason I say it is a superficial way to treat the question of culture is this: they are right when they say there are two worlds in culture per se. There is the culture of the ruling classes of each country, of which the intellectuals' twin cultures (science and humanities) are a part, and

the culture of the oppressed (either fighting imperialism of a so-called "mother country" or the class struggle within a country). Thus their whole thing is superficial and abstract, since in the real two worlds of culture, science and humanities are one and the same.

But this is not surprising, really, when one considers the fact that whenever intellectuals bring up the struggle of opposites (and this is exactly what two-worlds-in-one is, a battle of contradictions), be it in history, art, the class struggle, or national struggles, it is never an objective movement through contradictions, but a petty-bourgeois "criticism and self-criticism" type of thing.

THIS IS in effect on a par with Stalin, who ordered Russian intellectuals to substitute criticism and self-criticism for the Hegelian dialectic, and Mao who says that contradictions can be "handled"—if you have his thoughts to guide you. All of this is a lie, for as Marx said, you can't have one basis for life and another for science (or in this case philosophy, which is the science of thought). But none the less, intellectuals and Mao among them, try their hardest to do so in spite of the dialectical law that proves you can't divorce theory from practice, i.e., real life, the class struggle.

And this is exactly what many leftists and revolutionaries, like the intellectuals, are doing. They are developing theories all over the place and even adopting those that have already been shown to be counter-revolutionary and anti-working class, without once looking or listening to the voices of those who will make the actual revolution. A prime example of what I am talking about are the Weathermen, who exist not only in a theoretical but also a physical world of their own.

SO HERE too it can clearly be seen that "Two Worlds" exist, the intellectuals and "revolutionaries" in one, and the struggling masses in the other.

I could never understand why so many intellectuals I've met didn't get the meaning of the class nature of "Two Worlds" or why it paid so little attention to culture. Writing this letter, however, has made clear to me the why of it. As the Chicano brothers say,

Viva la Raza,
Acidi

Views

stead of having striking women workers on the picket line with striking men workers.

Norris Worker
Los Angeles

I sent a short letter to the Socialist Leader complaining about a headline: "William Thompson — the man who taught Marx Scientific Socialism." While I think Thompson was an outstanding pioneer, it is just plain daft to say that he taught Marx anything. Thompson was truly a fighter for the emancipation of women. He saw that capitalism created class divisions, but did not see the proletariat as the "gravediggers."

I am anxious to get a copy of "Notes of Women's Liberation". Here we have Agnes McLean, a Party hack, who has earned a certain amount of prominence over the equal wages campaign. Deference is made to the I.L.O.

H. McShane
Glasgow

I'm feeling bad because I don't know anything about News & Letters. I ran into a booklet titled "Notes on Women's Liberation" with your address. I'd like to get this and anything else you might have on Women's Lib. Please rush — I'm leaving for traveling and would like this material. I'd really like to get these things before I leave so I can spread your name on my travels.

M. J.
Washington, D.C.

RECESSION

My neighbor watches children of working mothers during the day. Well last week she had no children to watch. All the mothers were out of jobs.

Black Worker
Los Angeles

The City has been cutting the budget. In the Health Department there has already been a big cut back, with no publicity at all about it. In two weeks time we have had ten people transferred from the special hospital where I work to the

general hospital. Plus there are people being laid off — civil service employees.

The cut back is mostly affecting women. People are very upset — this is their means of living, and all of a sudden, boom. Especially affected are black women nurses, who took civil service jobs for the security and are being laid off. They are also making people change shifts all the time.

Black Hospital Worker
Detroit

I am a welder—which used to be a pretty good job in terms of available work. But that is not the case anymore. I was laid-off from one company and began looking for another shop. But they are few and far between. The paper used to have lot of listings, but now there are very few. I went down to one advertized in the paper. I got there the same day the ad was in the paper, but 18 welders had applied for one position before I got there.

Unemployed
Los Angeles

What Nixon calls slowing down inflation, the workers in our shop who have just been laid off call a depression.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

GRAPE STRIKE

This news comes late, but I just heard about it and think it deserves publicizing. Last June in Thompson, Manitoba, Canada, the local steelworkers union, after hearing of the grape boycott and strike in California, took it upon themselves to do something about their union brothers. Within one week all — and I mean all — grapes were removed from Thompson. Union leaders and rank and file members all threatened to buy their groceries from stores outside of Thompson, honoring the boycott, unless the stores removed the contaminated fruit.

Student
California

The boycott is having effect. Grape shipments are running about 30 percent behind last year's shipments, according to the Consumer and Marketing Service of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, indicating grape growers may get stuck with several million pounds of grapes they will not be able to sell this year. We hear that some growers have just stopped picking grapes, because of the overload in cold storage houses. Viva la causa!

Grape Strike Supporter
San Francisco

PAUL MATTICK

I have just read Raya Dunayevskaya's review of Mattick's book, *Marx and Keynes*, in the January issue and although it seemed a little too rough on Mattick, I fully agree with you. It's a shame that there is such a lack of decent works on economics these days.

Professor
New York

A lot of book reviews just let you know whether you want to read the book yourself or not — or whether you agree with the reviewer, if you've already read it. But reviews like the one on Paul Mattick's new book are such a basic course in the fundamentals of Marxism that you wind up wondering "what book?" by the time you are through. I

hope Mr. Mattick gets to read that review. He would learn a lot, too, I think.

Student
California

NOTES FROM ABROAD

The working class struggle in France continues, but very divided, the movements being isolated one from another . . . Several conflicts in metallurgy developed, in St. Etienne in particular. For two weeks some "pistoleurs" (men who paint the cars with bombs), stopped production in Peugeot's factories. Recently there has been strong agitation in the Sud-Aviation factories, where for the moment, the workers limit themselves to several periods daily of hammering on metal plates, a noise which momentarily prevents any work in the factory. All are, of course, wildcat actions, outside of the union organization.

Correspondent
Paris, France

I like it here in England, travel a lot and meet a lot of good people. We've been working to establish a group of workers and intellectuals, which is quite difficult because of the super-elitist class system of education here . . . You'll be glad to know that *Marxism and Freedom* has been widely read here and that Marxist-Humanism seems to have an incredibly sound base — much better than what I'd seen among Movement people in the U.S.

Student
England

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

Five days of conflict that shook Japan

Tokyo, Japan—After the struggles that shook Japan during November, Hatano, the chief of police, said the "ultra-leftist" movement had been crushed. Radio, TV and the newspapers sang the same song in chorus. But events have proved them wrong.

On Dec. 14, a memorial meeting was held at Hibiya Park, for Takayuki Kasuya, a student activist of Okayama University, who was beaten to death by police in November. About 12,000 students and workers attended, and made a long demonstration to Tokyo station.

At other mass political meetings held during December at the City Hall in Tokyo and Osaka, attended by thousands of college and high school students and workers of several industries, plans were made for continuing the struggles in 1970. These may include: in January, a struggle to prevent the government from building a new airport at Sanrizuki, with peasants who are forced to give up their land; in April, a struggle against automation and mechanization in the factory; in June, a struggle to abolish the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

FIVE DAYS THAT SHOOK JAPAN

From Nov. 13 to 17, over four million people shook Japan with militant protest actions against the Nixon-Sato negotiations, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and Japanese and United States imperialism.

On Nov. 13, about four million union workers—railroad workers, telegram and telephone and postal workers, government office workers and teachers—went on strike. These unions belong to Sohyo, the General Conference of Trade Unions, dominated by social reformists. They were forced to call the strike by the rank-and-file young workers, who are organized into Hansen, the Anti-War Youth Committee.

In Osaka, Sohyo held the protest meeting in Ogi-machi Park, where about 8,000 union workers gathered. The radical students of Zenkyoto (Joint-Struggle Committee) joined in. That is when the young student Kasuya was beaten to death in the confrontation with the riot police. (Zenkyoto was born in the barricaded strike of Tokyo University the year before. Since then it has been organized in every college and university.)

On the same day, in Okinawa, almost all the union workers went on strike. About 150,000 workers, students



Masses pour unendingly during Tokyo demonstration.

and citizens held a protest meeting in the capital and then made a protest demonstration at the U.S. military port, invaded it and occupied the base for about five hours.

BATTLE CONTINUES

For the next three days protest meetings continued in Tokyo. About 50,000 young workers of Mansen University and college students of Zenkyoto, and high school boys and girls struggled for 18 hours against the riot police, from Nov. 16 to Nov. 17, trying to occupy Haneda Airport.

The police mobilized 25,000 riot police and ordered residents near Haneda to organize "vigilance committees" in order to keep "law and order." The riot police were told to shoot pistols if necessary. The offices of revolutionary groups were under constant watch.

Under conditions that were like martial law, militant students and workers assembled at the plazas near Haneda and tried to break through the wall of steel shields of the police. The streets were full of blood and fire. Over 2,000 students and workers were arrested.

These were five days that shook Japan.

High school Radical Student Union formed

Los Angeles, Calif.—A three-day student convention was held Dec. 26 through Dec. 28. The organization that called the convention was High School SDS (Students for a Democratic Society); the organization that emerged from the convention was the Radical Student Union (RSU) of Los Angeles.

Three student groupings effected this transformation, restructuring the organization and replacing the old leadership which was ideologically dominated by RYM (Revolutionary Youth Movement) II, the "most reasonable" of the Maoist factions into which the SDS has split.

These insurgent groupings were the Revolutionary Socialist Caucus (RSC) which was formed by high school members of News and Letters Committees and International Socialists, along with a few independents, the Radical Student Union Caucus from the San Fernando Valley, and students from Venice and Culver City.

REVOLUTIONARY OPPOSITION

The Revolutionary Socialist Caucus counterposed a revolutionary Marxist perspective to the Maoist rhetoric of RYMII and its high school sympathizers. While the Maoists prefer to talk only of state power, preferably for the party of their choice, we raised the issue of workers' power.

In our three position papers we also opposed the Maoist idea of the "primary contradiction" which reduces the American movement to a simple support group for Third World revolutions, preferably ones with Communist leadership. And, on an organizational level, we accused the SDS high school leadership of refusing to organize students on the basis of their own oppression.

The RSU Caucus from the valley and the people from Venice and Culver City had opposed the RYM leadership from the beginning. High School SDS was formed at a

convention in September, which in fact had begun as a high school student union convention.

NATURAL ALLIANCE

During the convention, a natural alliance developed between the RSC and the RSU Caucus, since building an open Radical Student Union flowed logically from the revolutionary socialist idea that people must be organized on the basis of their own oppression. We were not just advocating narrow "student power," because only a mass student organization could effectively support the black struggle and the Third World revolutions anyway.

The way the convention was set up, there was no real discussion of high school issues; there weren't even chapter or regional reports on what members had been involved in. Not only was the discussion completely abstract, but a floor fight had to be waged just to get speakers other than RYM II-type people into the agenda! The high school convention seemed to be totally isolated from high school issues.

Though we defeated the RYM supporters only by a narrow margin on the last day of the convention, our victory was very significant. The student movement in Los Angeles has burst the narrow confines of a RYM II-dominated High School SDS. If the RSU organizes a large number of white students and is able to relate to the black and Chicano youth of Los Angeles, a real movement may emerge.

—Bernard Wendell

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

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

by Raya Dunayevskaya

(preface by Herbert Marcuse)

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DOING AND THINKING

Rock n' Revolution, II

Los Angeles, Calif.—In my last article last month, I hoped to show why rock 'n roll, besides being just good music, has a place in the movement for human liberation. Rock is the main driving force of youth culture, but there are elements in that culture that are basically distractions.

If people can get together with each other in a spirit of co-operation and if this spirit can be directed against the forces which fragment people and keep them apart, then cultural revolution can be made into human revolution.

However, if the ethic of "do your own thing" means a concern for freeing your own head at the expense of coordinated action; and a replacement of an old in-group by a new "hip" one in creating cultural fads, then the cooptation practiced by the capitalists on the movement will come to its logical and complete conclusion.

JEFFERSON AIRPLANE

This whole dichotomy can be seen in the new album by Jefferson Airplane, *Volunteers*. The Airplane was the prime force behind the original San Francisco music explosion, played more free concerts and political benefits than any other band, and was the first to say "Up against the wall, M... F..." on nationwide TV (which many rock writers seem to feel was the first time middleaged working people had heard the word). As Grace Slick, the Airplane's lead singer said, "A bored socialite can do the same thing."

The new album is a work of unquestioned power and beauty, but its political stance is ambivalent and creates the same problems the Airplane faces in their personal positions as wealthy rock n' roll superstars.

Their "up against the wall" song ("We Can Be Together") and the title cut seem to support a kind of elitist streetfighting party version of revolution ("We are the forces of anarchy and darkness, volunteers of America... out in the streets") and a "generation gap" attitude ("One generation is old—the other generation will take it from you").

CREEDANCE CLEARWATER

The attitude of Jefferson Airplane contrasts sharply with that of another S.F. band, Creedance Clearwater Revival. Unlike the bourgeois origins of the members of the Airplane, John Fogarty and the others in Creedance come from a strong working class background.

In concentrating on "simple, basic music" and the singles market they have reached a true mass audience; kids in white working class high schools, young factory workers.

In their work, Creedance has moved from their bayou music phase to deliberately political songs. In their new album, *Willy and the Poorboys*, they reach a realization of what a revolution is and who makes it that so far has escaped most rock groups ("Who takes the food from the ground, who takes the salt from the earth, who makes the promise he don't have to keep, don't look now it ain't you or me").

STILL PART OF IT

In a song on an earlier album, Fogarty deals with the question of cynicism in a way differing from the Airplane's, as a person struggling with the horror, angry and frustrated, but still part of it ("We could have saved a million people, how can I tell you").

Fogarty does not see himself as a political revolutionary (though his masterpiece of paranoia, "Bad Moon Rising" has been adopted as almost an anthem by many leftist groups), but the beauty of Creedance is that they have not separated themselves from the masses of the people.

—David Payne

GI coffeehouse put off limits

Louisville, Ky.—Staff members from GI Coffeehouses around the country met in Louisville, Ky. from Dec. 28 to Jan. 1 to exchange information on the exploding GI movement within all branches at the Armed Services.

As a first priority, the group organized a national campaign on behalf of the Shelter Half Coffeehouse near Fort Lewis in Tacoma, Washington. The Shelter Half recently received notice from the Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Board that action had begun to place the Shelter Half off limits to all servicemen.

The conference, consisting of GI's, civilians, and veterans, discussed actions on and around military bases in response to the move to put the Shelter Half off limits. A large demonstration has been planned, and the conference gave notice that "If the Shelter Half is put off limits, Fort Lewis will be put off limits."

A statement circulating underground at Fort Lewis and already signed by hundreds of GI's says, "Putting the Shelter Half off limits is not the answer to the morale problem in the Army. The answer is the immediate end to the war in Vietnam and ending the way the rank-and-file enlisted men are treated like animals."

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1960-1969

by Eugene Walker

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BLACK-RED DISCUSSION ARTICLES

Strategy to destroy Black Panthers backfires

San Francisco, Calif.—Since January 1968, over 20 members of the Black Panther Party have been shot and killed by the police of this country, bringing the total to 28 young black members of this militant group to be annihilated. More than a score are being held in jails across the country. The extremely high bail demands of the courts cannot be raised by the Black Panther Party and its sympathizers, while those out on bail are scheduled to face trial during 1970 for serious charges and even capital offenses.

The police raids last December, resulting in the murder of Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago, and the arrest of 13 BPP members in Los Angeles, after a five hour "fire fight", aroused overwhelming support in the black community for the Panthers.

PANTHER SUPPORT GROWS

This support has cut across all political boundaries and philosophies. This unanimity of black support caused the San Francisco Chronicle to editorialize on Dec. 21, "that the effect that the Los Angeles and Chicago police has sought to achieve by the raids, **THE ISOLATION OF THE MILITANT BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAD FAILED**, and in fact, insofar as the Black community was concerned, it had the effect of 'hardening of Black mistrust of white police', a fear that what happened to the Black Panthers today may happen to the non-militant, non-violent black man tomorrow."

Of course the real reason for this war of attrition against the Black Panther Party was not raised in the editorial. Granted, the police had not anticipated the strong black support the BPP would gain by these murderous assaults. The question remains, what is the underlying political reason which motivated them in the first place?

The Nixon administration is openly dedicated to a "program" of eroding the civil rights gains the blacks fought for and achieved. This was virtually the administration's campaign promise to the racist-reactionary forces in this country, both North and South, disguised under the euphemistic cloak of "Law & Order" (freely translated as "Keep the n - - - r in his place").

PLAY ON FEARS

Too, it was further calculated to placate and acerbate, at the same time, the fears and insecurity of the white working class in urban centers. Subtly and not too subtly, black militant action was pointed to as the cause of the major problems of the cities, if not a dire threat to the white workers' shaky economic security.

The narrow percentage by which Nixon gained the presidency was four votes per thousand. For the next elections he must show larger gain. By a cold blooded campaign against black civil rights, and using the Panthers as a scapegoat, he hopes to win the racist Wallace followers.

The appointment by Nixon of John N. Mitchell, a Gung Ho "Law & Order" man, to the office of Attorney General was a signal that there will be no compromise with black militancy.

Since the summer of 1966 the FBI has been collecting intelligence about the Panthers. But it was not until Mitchell took over the Justice Department in January of 1969 that the Black Panther Party was declared by the Attorney General to, "be a threat to National Security . . ." and as such, subject to wire-tapping by the FBI. Later in the summer of 1969, a special agency dealing with the Panthers was set up within the department of Justice. All "information" collected about the Panthers by the Justice Department through use of wire-tapping and spies was fed to the local police departments. "Police Departments" as quoted by a high ranking N.Y. policeman in the Dec. 14 New York Times, "that hardly needed any encouragement to go after the Panthers."

POLICE PLAN EXPOSED

In the San Francisco Bay Area last August, the news media was headlining stories about a plan the Berkeley, Cal., police had designed to attack the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party in that city. The document somehow fell into the hands of Jim Hill, a white Oakland Tribune reporter, and was readily admitted by Captain Plummer, a senior officer in the Berkeley Police Department, to be a bona fide police document.

Here is the plan, as summarized by "Ball & Chain" a San Francisco black monthly journal: "The Berkeley police attack plan, in brief, is of classic military line: Eleven officers commanded by a patrol lieutenant surround Panther National Headquarters and lay down a heavy barrage of gunfire designed to pin the 'enemy' inside. Launchers lob in gas grenades and survivors are ordered out. Die hards remaining are subjected to a murderous clean-up barrage during which sub-machine guns and shotguns blow open doors and windows. A three-man assault squad, wearing gas masks and bullet-proof vests enters the building through door or windows and sprays the upper floor with machine gun and shot-

gun bullets. The plan includes appropriate standby ambulances and equipment to carry away wounded or dead, black men and women. Black Berkeley community leaders and some white liberals were disturbed at the plan's emphasis on heavy, sustained gunfire in this black community with a typically high rate of children . . ."

The above plan fits the newspaper description of what happened on West Monroe street, in the wee hours of the morning on Dec. 4 when Chicago police raided the apartment of Fred Hampton.

The spontaneous response of the black community to what happened in Chicago and Los Angeles indicates emphatically that the police assassination of the blacks, regardless of their political philosophies, will not be tolerated. Because the political support of the Panthers came mainly from white radicals, the police and the Justice Department wrongly assumed that they were fair game, and would be eliminated without black protest.

Knows the oppression that makes a Panther

Los Angeles, Calif.—The people I know are not Black Panthers but they understand the conditions which go into making Panthers. Most have a lot of sympathy for them. I doubt if you can find a black person who has not felt the oppression that makes Panthers.

Take what's been happening to me over the past ten years. I thought that when I went into welders training, I would be able to get a decent job and make a living. It hasn't turned out that way. In the last ten years I have been going from place to place with layoffs in between.

NON-UNION PLANT

At the last job, I was laid off even though I had higher seniority than others. It was a non-union job and they hired at low wages. The only way you could make any money was with a lot of overtime. The union sometimes tries to get into shops like these, but there are spies around and if you want a union you will get laid off fast.

I was the only black welder in the place. They had had one black welder before, but he died from a heart attack when he was in his thirties. I don't know if there was any connection, but the ventilation in the plant is very poor and people sometimes got sick from the welding fumes.

After working there a while, I was transferred out to another job. While I was gone, everyone got a raise except me. When I came back I asked about it, and they said it was a paperwork bottleneck and would be fixed. When I asked again, they said I was a troublemaker. Soon after, they laid me off.

AIRCRAFT PLANT

I have worked at a couple of aircraft plants in the past few years. At one, I had to go down five times after applying for the job in order to get in. Each time I was supposed to take welding tests, but the man who was to give them wasn't around. Finally another worker said, "Are you going to hire him or not, he has been here five times." So they hired me as a maintenance welder.

The supervisor, who was not there when I was hired, came back to work, looked at me, went into the office, came back out and stared at me and then said to me, "I guess you know we do not need three maintenance welders."

So he sent me over to tool and die and had me weld something with three guys in ties and suits looking at me. They said the place I welded was about as good as the welding done by people in the department, but that they were looking for someone a little better than that.

I was then sent to production and after a while a foreman came over and said he wanted to give me a quality check. He gave me a cold plate to weld. It is hard to weld without warming up the plate, but that was what I had to do. It looked good except for a small surface crack. I asked to do it again and he said no, it was only a quality check. But later he came back and said I did not pass and wanted to fire me.

30 DAYS MORE

The union got the company to give me 30 days more. On the job another worker gave me some test samples to work out. During those 30 days I went out to another company and passed all the welding tests they gave. I went to the other company in order to have some tests on file if the aircraft company tried to say I failed the next test. There was no trouble the next time around.

I could go on with a lot more companies. It seems that either a black welder isn't hired, or if he is, he gets lots of harassment and is soon laid off.

—Black Welder

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

catch in a week; thousands of eggs come from one fish. So it is pollution in the water that has destroyed practically all the fish. And many of those we catch today taste different from those we caught in the early days." I have heard workers say they have caught fish that tasted oily.

OCEANS NOT SPARED

The report is correct that says Lake Erie is a dead lake. We know that from experience. But other Great Lakes are also dead because of pollution. I feel it is the same in the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, with oil and other pollution. I saw on T.V. where some hundred and fifty whales swam far out of the Atlantic Ocean to a sandy beach on the Florida coast, preferring to die there than in the polluted water of the ocean. The whales were found alive on the beach and were carried back out into the deep waters of the ocean. They swam directly back to the beach.

I could not accept the biologists' theory that those whales just had decided to commit suicide, or their thoughts had turned in reverse. I am sure what caused them to do this was something wrong with the water and air where they were in the ocean, and the statement the biologists gave was in order not to frighten or arouse the public.

Some months ago a group of scientists were speaking on the subject of air and water pollution, and how we are at the danger point. They showed pictures of a tour of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans during which every pelican nest they came upon had eggs with shells so thin they would crush when touched. They said the birds could not sit on those eggs to hatch them, and many were crushed as soon as they were laid. In the next four or five years there won't be any pelicans or sea gulls in the Atlantic Ocean as a result of the pesticides and water pollution.

35 YEARS OF LIFE?

One worker told about a conference of scientists held in Sweden at the same time the first two astronauts were landing on the moon. At the conclusion of the conference, a leading scientist gave a report on pollution, and he stated that at the present rate, life on this planet has from 35 to 100 years to survive. He said that some disagreed with his timetable, but everyone there agreed with his conclusions. He said if mankind does not want to destroy itself, we better stop now, turn around, and begin to do something about it quickly.

With the knowledge and know-how in the world, with its wealth, there is no need for this condition to exist, just as there is no need for a large part of the peoples of this world to go to bed hungry, to live in poverty and misery, while the small minority have an abundance of wealth taken from those in poverty. This seems to be the basis of science today.

REVOLUTION THE ONLY WAY

There must be a complete change in those societies that produce only for wealth. This means a revolutionary change, with the unity of science and labor and those in poverty to make conditions stop and turn around, to solve the world crisis and begin to correct the inhuman conditions that exist in the world today.

If it is all left to the capitalists to feed people, to correct poverty and pollution problems, then they can also stop and throw the world back into the same condition. But if the change comes through the revolutionary struggle of the unity of science and workers, this would mean that workers and science achieve it themselves, and no one can take it away. The power must be taken out of the hands of a few masters and put in the control of the masses. Only then can we solve all the problems, including pollution, that are affecting us so badly today.

Health industry like any other

For the past few years this writer, a health industry worker at an Ann Arbor, Michigan hospital, has shared the Marxian idea of a sane society with co-workers of many shops (departments).

Their individual reactions have been reflective, of course, of personal experiences. House-keeping, laundry and dietary (kitchen) workers—relegated to the lower caste (money) levels of our class-divided society—relate most readily to the robbery or exploitation aspect of their labors. Maintenance (engineering), technicians, nurses and doctors of the higher caste divisions of this class-divided society have indicated more concern about the destruction of our natural environment, including people.

Like the students who are workers-in-training to do their money thing, many health industry workers, whose work is the production of the most vital commodity, reasonably healthy and therefore exploitable people, are turning on to the need for meaningful involvement in policy-making or working rules.

Recently a nurse concurred that the growing chaos in our industry is a result of planning by people outside of working areas. Like some school teachers, I am interested in the idea of their election of principals and other administrators. This nurse was thumbs-up for such a concept of industrial democracy. However, said she, "O.K., but then we will need to own the hospital!"

—A Health Industry Worker
Ann Arbor

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

By Eugene Walker

BIAFRA!

Biafra! Egyptian mercenaries flying Russian planes bombed its last airfield as Nigerian federal troops using British-supplied arms moved in.

Biafra! For 30 long and horrible months it had fought for self-determination. White imperialism sought to dismiss it as "tribalism" and "Balkanization," but for the Ibos it was a fight for life. Its necessity began in the ugly reality of northern emir-dominated, neo-colonial Nigeria where some 30,000 Ibos were massacred in July of 1966 and two million others were driven back to the Eastern Region. Thus ended a Nigerian nation which had fought for long years to oust British imperialism.

Biafra! Its struggle for self-determination, which is as valid and as historically important as Ireland and England, Czechoslovakia and Russia, black people in America, Vietnam and the United States, was made impossible with the discovery of oil. White imperialism entered directly and deci-

sively. The Russians, planes; the British, arms and military advisors. France gave arms to Biafra, but with the hope of exploring for oil in its territory.

Biafra! Its black gold was worth more than its black people.

Biafra! The African nations which had fought for their self-determination against imperialism would not support Biafra's fight for self-determination.

Biafra! The tears shed for it now by the big powers are indeed hypocritical. Those capitalist nations, Russia and Britain, who supplied arms, are now running around talking about food stockpiles and other relief supplies for the emaciated survivors. The United States could well afford to be "neutral" by denying to both sides what it knew the federal Nigerian troops were getting from other sources.

Biafra! Genocide for its people has been a constant threat throughout the 30 months of its existence. What the arms from the imperialists did not do, the lack of food supplies accomplished. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, have died.

Biafra! Genocide for its people may now be close to a reality. General Gowon, chief of state of Nigeria, indicates he is in no hurry to have relief supplies flown in. An international white military inspection team takes a fast three-hour tour of Biafra and proclaims no one is starving and any who "are not so stupid as to run away" will be fed. Later, eye-witness reporters expose the truth: atrocities, massacres and starvation are worse than had been feared.

Black Biafra! Beautiful Biafra! Your fight is the fight for life. Your ideas, the ideas of life. Neither can be killed without crushing all of human life.

Vietnam GI newsmen fight armed forces censorship

The dramatic broadcast of G.I. Robert Lawrence, an Armed Forces Vietnam Network (AFVN) newsmen, who told his soldier TV audience in Vietnam that, "We have been suppressed and I'm probably in trouble for telling you tonight the truth. I hope you'll stop censorship at AFVN and any station under military rule," exposed the tremendous effort the Army is undertaking to control what information on Vietnam is being sent to the U.S. and what information the American soldier in Vietnam is given, and the opposition to it.

News of a Saigon peace demonstration, of black market activities, of certain activities of the Saigon government are not permitted to be broadcast to American troops in Vietnam. Stories on the war which have been seen on U.S. television were not allowed to be shown to troops on networks under military control.

The revolt against this censorship by Robert Lawrence and another young armed forces newsmen, rather than causing an investigation and charging those responsible for the administration of censorship, has instead resulted in the removal of dissenting newsmen and investigation of them for "insubordination." G.I. Lawrence was removed from his assignment and pressed to submit to an inspector general's interrogation without legal counsel. When he refused to answer questions he was put in a small room with two tape recorders and four army colonels and again pressed to answer questions.

His and other newsmen's protests against the armed forces censorship policies are part of a new generation of American soldiers. This new generation is a reflection of what is happening with American youth today. They are revolutionary and won't be stopped by having to wear the unwelcome U.S.

soldier's uniform. From desertions and G.I.s who organize anti-war demonstrations in the army to anti-war underground newspapers put out by the G.I.s, their bravery against the U.S. military might is showing.

To counter this, the armed forces in Vietnam have instituted restrictive information procedures that give greater "command control" over G.I. newspapers. Radio and television stations are under strict military management. In Saigon there is a "clearance and analysis branch" at command headquarters where all news releases and articles dealing with military operations must go before use.

What comes out for more than 140 unit newspapers and 18 full color magazines is all "good news" which is supposed to be read by G.I.s in the field and then sent back home. In these publications Americans seldom lose battles, morale is never low and mistakes are almost never made.

These policies often affect what information is received in the United States on the war. Many of these news releases which have gone through the "clearance and analysis branch" of the Vietnam command find their way into American newspapers. On many occasions army information officers have accompanied civilian reporters when they went to interview troops in Vietnam to be sure nothing improper was said.

All of this fits well with the Agnew-Nixon Administration's efforts to manage the news at home. American history has shown other attempts to muzzle what is said and vigorous opposition to the muzzle. The peace-time sedition law of 1798, the Smith Act of 1940, were both aimed at those who spoke and wrote in opposition to the government in power. An outcry from the public caused the Sedition Law not to be renewed two years

later. It took many long years for the Smith Act to be declared unconstitutional.

It is time those who try to institute controls of information, rather than those who protest these controls, be put on trial. It is President Richard Nixon who is Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and as such he is responsible for Vietnam, from the massacre of civilians to the control of the press.

The young army newsmen as well as the thousands of protesting G.I.s are taking steps to bring this government to trial. That trial will yet take place.

Freedom of the press

Czechoslovakia—Hundreds of journalists have lost their jobs in 1969 and virtually all managing editors were replaced.

Greece—All newspapers must adhere to numerous government imposed rules. Re-entry of foreign newsmen whose articles have displeased the government has been banned.

Israel—Twenty years of military censorship.

Egypt—All news dispatches are subject to "blind" censorship in which a correspondent is not informed of the material deleted from his report.

Taiwan—Government officials ban almost all Japanese publications because they fear both their politics and the appeal they might have to Taiwanese who lived under Japanese rule for 50 years.

Yugoslavia—Communist party editors and writers must not deviate from objectivity as the government sees it.

South Vietnam—Fourteen papers were suspended from publishing in 1969 by the South Vietnamese government.

United States—Agnew-Nixon.

THE STATE OF DISUNION

(Continued from Page 1)

are both up for renegotiation this year, and they mean to use the recession as a weapon in negotiations.

Nixon's attack on black America and labor is not confined to the economic front, however. On the contrary, this administration has shown that they intend to pursue their "Southern strategy" to the limit. Not satisfied with their unsuccessful attempts to appoint the anti-labor and racist judge, Georgian Clement Haynsworth, to the Supreme Court, they have appointed another of the same breed. By nominating Judge Harold Carswell, of Florida, for the Court, they are saying to the black and working people: "We will appoint as many right-wing judges as it takes to get one approved."

DESTROY BLACK GAINS

In the Congress, Attorney General Mitchell's "voting rights" bill was rammed through the House, and Nixon is now arm-twisting to get it through the Senate. This infamous bill would destroy many of the gains won with the blood of freedom fighters both black and white in the civil rights movement, while blocking the growing political power of blacks in the South.

And in the ghettos, the police assassinations of members of the Black Panther party were only stopped after a massive outcry by every segment of the black community, even including all the black congressmen and the black police officers association in Chicago.

Youth has not been exempted from the government attacks either. The continuing farce of justice in the Chicago conspiracy trial run by racist Judge Hoffman is another side of the attempt to swing the judicial system to the right. With the new Nixon appointees on both the Supreme Court and lower Federal courts, it is not at all impossible that the defendants will actually go to jail, even though their innocence is obvious.

PLAN ATTACK ON MASSES

The Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell team is no longer calling, "bring us together." They know that is impossible. Now, instead they want and hope for a civil war against the American masses, calling to their side the military; the racists not only in the South, but in the North; and all the right wing elements who demanded Goldwater in 1964 and Wallace in 1968. This is their so-called "great silent majority."

Many in the shops are saying that Nixon's policy for 1970 is "the two R's: RECESSION and REPRES- SION." Recession to drive down the workers' standard of living, increase the permanent army of the unemployed and launch new attacks on organized labor. Repression to club into submission the massive anti-war movement of youth, the deepening alienation and revolt of black America, and the loud demands of rank-and-file workers for human conditions and living wages.

Nixon's administration represents the politics of some of the most right-wing elements of American capitalism. They are banking on recession and repression to terrify the people into submission.

COLLISION COURSE

It is not by accident that they have chosen this course. It shows that they are desperate enough to try even civil war to stop an America so sick of them and their policies that the masses are no longer under control.

It is these very policies, however, which are driving together the forces of workers, blacks, and youth which they would at all costs like to keep apart. If they are united, the Nixon-Agnew team may yet find themselves confronted with a third "R"—revolution. And one that no amount of recession and repression can contain.

EXCERPTS FROM

"American Civilization on Trial"

(We are forced to remove our pamphlet *American Civilization on Trial* from our publications list because our supply is exhausted. We will print excerpts from time to time such as the one below. The pamphlet is available in many school and public libraries across the U.S.)

"... The great New Englander, Wendell Phillips, was fully aware of the fact that not only Negro leaders like Frederick Douglass or Harriet Tubman, but white Abolitionists like himself and even the founder of the LIBERATOR, William Lloyd Garrison, were "so tall" because they stood on the shoulders of the actual mass movement of slaves following the North Star to freedom. Without the constant contact of the New England Abolitionists with the Negro mass, slave and free, they would have been nothing—and no one admitted it more freely than these leaders themselves. The Abolitionists felt that strongly because they found what great literary figures like Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville and Whitman did not find — the human force for the reconstruction of society . . ."

"... This is what led Karl Marx to say that a speech by Wendell Phillips was of 'greater importance than a battle bulletin.' This is what led the great Abolitionist, Phillips, after chattel slavery was ended, to come to the labor movement, vowing himself 'willing to accept the final results of a principle so radical, such as the overthrow of the whole profit-making system . . ."

"The spontaneous affinity of ideas, the independent working out of the problems of the age as manifested in one's own country, and the common Humanist goal made inevitable the crossing of the paths of Karl Marx and the Abolitionists."