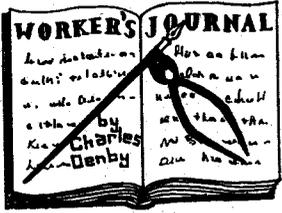


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Conditions the real issue in GM strikes

by Charles Denby, Editor

I was having a discussion with some General Motors workers over the strike situation that is going on there now, and they began by talking about what the union meant to workers when it was first organized in 1936, and what it means to the average worker today. In these early days, union representatives would really try to represent workers. A worker could take his grievance to the steward or the committeeman and nine times out of ten the complaint would get settled there on the job.

G.M., assisted by the leadership of the UAW, was the first of the Big Three to abolish the steward system in the plants. Then these same UAW leaders went on some years later to take away local autonomy. This took away the local union's right to settle the workers' complaints and gave that power to the International.

GRIEVANCES THROWN OUT

Today, 95 percent of the shop grievances never get to the International, and 85 percent of those never get to the local union hall. This is not because they get settled, but because they get thrown in the wastebasket. Stewards and committeemen used to be encouraged to write grievances. Now, both the company and the union discourage our representatives from writing up workers' problems. Because workers are living human beings, there is just so much they can take without hollering. If one or two workers yell, the company doesn't care, but when you see a strike you know that the majority of workers are yelling and yelling loud.

G.M. workers have been hit with conditions that are getting worse and worse each year. The only thing that will stop G.M. is for workers to take back control of their union again, and I mean full control.

If you read the papers today, you see that Woodcock, the president of the UAW, is already talking about a short strike in the plants that have walked out. He says they will go back in a week whether there is an agreement or not, because the union doesn't want to pay so much in strike benefits out of the union treasury. Already he is saying to G.M. that he is more interested in the union treasury than he is in the safety and welfare of the workers.

NO END TO SPEED-UP

One of the G.M. workers I was talking to said, "There will be nothing solved by these union leaders. All they are hoping to get is for G.M. to agree not to push production any higher than it is. You know that no auto company has ever reduced its work standards on any workers. No worker has ever read or heard of a company agreeing, as a part of a settlement, that it was willing to roll back the speed of the line."

There was a Black woman worker who was hired at the Chevy Gear and Axle plant several weeks ago. The machine she had to operate was so fast, and the work

(Continued on page 7)

New attacks launched against farm union

Oakland, Cal.—The iron heel of agri-business is once again trying to stomp out the achievements and objectives of the United Farm Workers. The latest fomenter of every dirty method known to U.S. capitalism is the Buttes Gas & Oil Company, a billion dollar corporation and the new owner of the White River Farms which operate five vineyards in the California San Joaquin Valley.

This enormous property, employing thousands of workers, was formerly owned by Schenley Liquor Corporation, which was among the first to sign a union contract with the UFW. Buttes refused to recognize that contract, forcing a strike by the unionized workers which has now become a lockout.

UFW HEADQUARTERS ATTACKED

Supporters of the UFW held a sit-in at the Oakland headquarters of Buttes G&O to force negotiations on the six-week strike-lockout, and 20 were arrested.

Earlier, the UFW headquarters in Tulare County was shot into, windows were broken and the office vandalized, but the local sheriff refused to investigate or make any arrests. Dolores Huerta said the union will demand a federal investigation. She claimed the im-

mediate reason for the attack was because the union is exposing the grower-sponsored repressive Proposition 22 in California—which calls for secret elections on whether farm workers want union representation and prohibits strikes during harvest time.

UNIVERSITY CENSORS FILM

On another front, the University of California bared its fangs when President Charles Hitch refused to investigate the deletion of all the footage on the UFW and Cesar Chavez from the film, "Mexican-American Heritage and Destiny." It had been purchased by the University-run Agricultural Extension Services to "educate and inform AES employees about the problems of Mexican-Americans." AES director, George Alcorn, claimed "The Chavez section might have a disruptive effect on the relationship of AES and the growers."

The California Labor Federation, of which the UFW is an affiliate, said, in a letter to Hitch: "Such deletions might be appropriate under a dictatorship but have no place in a publicly financed educational agency . . . Censorship has long been one of the basic tools used by employers to promote their own self interest and the AES action demonstrates their total subservience to the whims of the state's wealthy agri-business interests, who have fought to deny workers adequate wages, working conditions and fringe benefits."

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NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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NOVEMBER, 1972

China-Japan treaty paves way to build new world power axis in Asia

by Peter Mallory

The brief communique issued after five long days of discussions in Peking between the Prime Ministers of China and Japan from Sept. 26-30 conceals a great deal more than it reveals of the new world situation. It was clear from Nixon's journey to China that even cold-war warriors had decided that the time has arrived to brush away the ruinous nonsense of ignoring the most populous nation on earth, and begin to face reality. But the speed with which Tanaka concluded a new agreement with China was a shocker.

Although all pretended it was but a "natural follow-up" to Nixon's earlier journey to Peking, the truth is that not only is the China-Japan treaty a great deal more substantive, but a wholly new power-relationship has arisen in Asia.

For one thing, Tanaka wasted little time in establishing diplomatic relations, while Nixon employed more "face saving" gestures than Orientals commonly use. For another, the trade advantages will be both substantial and immediate.

OF TRADE, MILITARISM, AND OTHER THINGS

This is not only a question of the usual capitalistic lust for lush markets Japan hopes to get in China, or to ease the U.S.-Japanese balance of trade, which is such a total disaster that U.S. put extra pressures on Japan to sell its goods elsewhere. Rather, Tanaka's leap into trade was way in advance of anything conceived by Nixon.

Nixon may have thought that he was using China to discipline Japan by threatening possible new alliances, and then humoring Japan by showing it new avenues for the surplus Japan had been dumping on the American market. Bound by such grandiose illusions empires fall.

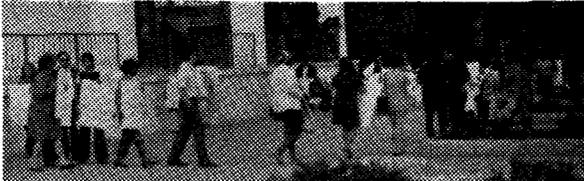
Neither China nor Japan, however, were following Nixon's script. Quite the contrary. Japan is now using China to get some elbow room from U.S.'s overpowering grip, even as China is using Japan to gain some elbow room for itself away from Russia's grip. Meanwhile neither the U.S. nor Japan's "abandonment" of Taiwan means any break in trade relations with Taiwan. The billions invested by both in Taiwan will not be withdrawn. Gradually the missions will be named "trade mission" and the output of Taiwan will continue to flow into the markets of the world.

The real elbow room is not in Taiwan. The first thing Tanaka did upon returning to Tokyo is announce that Japan will double its military budget by 1976, beginning the increase at once and beginning at once to build her own fighter planes instead of depending wholly on the U.S. And that trade U.S. imperialism did wish, but the urging that Japan should continue to buy all jet fighters from the U.S. because it was "cheaper" was disregarded by Tanaka.

WHY IS CHINA READY TO FORGET ALL?

The Joint communique issued by China and Japan on Sept. 29 expressed joint "friendship." While Japan had to do no more than say it was "sorry" for its past aggressions against China, China in fact gave up a great deal. Nothing was specified of the 41 years of Japan's attacks against her, beginning back in 1931 with the seizure of Manchuria, nor even the outright continuous military invasion 35 years ago, and continuing through World War II. Moreover China gave up all claims to war reparations. Considering how much other

(Continued on page 8)



Welfare recipients and supporters picket Michigan Consolidated Gas Co. in Detroit. (See story p. 2.)

Detroit welfare mothers put heat on gas company

Detroit, Mich.—We've been picketing the Michigan Consolidated Gas Company trying to get back the budget plan to make sure that people have heat this winter. Two years ago we started to try to get a budget plan for ADC recipients. At that time it didn't seem possible, but we kept negotiating with the Department of Social Services and the Gas Company. They finally agreed to give the budget plan to ADC recipients in Wayne County for a 12-month trial.

The plan called for recipients to pay the amount in their welfare grant for heat, and if there was a balance owed to the Gas Company the Department of Social Services would pay it at the end of 12 months.

PLAN WAS WORKING

The plan worked beautifully. More than 15,000 families signed up for the budget plan in August, 1971. Approximately 12,750 of those 15,000 paid the amount that was in their grant for heat.

Only about 15 percent didn't pay or were late with their payments. The Gas Company tells us that's why they are cancelling the budget plan. This plan was supposed to be in effect for a year. Yet, they started cutting people off in April of this year and won't accept anyone else on the plan.

If 85 percent of the people paid the amount that was in their grant, and some of the people even received a refund for overpayment, then that makes us believe that this plan works and the Gas Company made money out of it.

People don't get enough money for heat in their welfare grant if they are living in houses that are poorly insulated. When you don't have storm windows or doors, you don't get enough money to pay those large gas bills.

So now there is no plan, there's no nothing. People's gas is being shut off and I'm told that people's doors are being kicked down. The Gas Company is going in and taking meters out.

PRIVATE MEETINGS

We have been asking the Department of Social Services to do their part. One thing that I don't like is that the Gas Company is meeting with Social Services and the legislature, and the people who are involved and are suffering don't know anything about these meetings. They have had meetings, so we are told, in Lansing and right here in Detroit, and they didn't invite anyone from the Welfare Rights Organization. I feel since I am the one who is suffering through this, I should know about these meetings.

No one knows better than I do what affects me most and what is harmful to me. The man who's got plenty of heat in his home and is keeping warm in warm clothes doesn't know what it's like to be without heat. So if they'd let me be there, I could give them the truth.

—Welfare Mother
West Side Mothers

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in Connecticut, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box, page 8.

NY abortion fight continues

New York, N.Y.—Women's Liberation went on the offensive over the abortion issue in New York again, when a few hundred women picketed the headquarters of "Right to Life" on Oct. 2. The demonstration against the anti-abortion forces, (which just happen to have been meeting in the Catholic Archdiocese building), marked the beginning of the new legislative year's fight to save New York's liberal abortion law.

Just a few months ago, New York women were caught unawares when the state legislature voted to severely limit legal abortions, and only the governor's veto saved the present law. Women's Liberation had been lulled into complacency by their success in getting the law passed two years ago, and had allowed the single-issue SWP-dominated WONAAC to control the issue and stop its development to deeper levels, such as demanding free abortions.

The Catholic Church is politically very powerful in New York state, and there is real danger from the combination of it and the reactionary politicians who take their cues from Nixon. He took the rare action of a President commenting on state affairs when he sent a letter to the Church supporting their position last year.

Although the demonstration was called by WONAAC, it was notable that women from varied WL groups were in attendance. And while it was not massive, it served notice that this year the women are going to be prepared to fight, especially in the light of new statistics which have shown an enormous drop in the rate of maternal mortality during the second year of the law.

—Marcher, New York



AS FORCE AND REASON

WL fights sexist textbook

Women have long known the paternalistic chauvinism of the medical profession, but when the News & Letters Los Angeles Women's Liberation Committee discovered a newly-published textbook of anatomy, 800 pages of blatant sexism, it gave us a place to work and grow in the women's movement.

The *Anatomical Basis of Medical Practice* by R. Becker, J. Wilson, and J. Gehweiler is a text aimed at first year medical students and uses "Playboy" type photographs of nude women bursting from the ocean or smiling seductively from a swing as a "new approach" to illustrations of anatomical landmarks. The few photographs of males, as one sister commented, "show men discreetly posed and virtuously clothed in clean underwear."

PATRONIZING QUIPS

The text itself is worse than the pictures with frequent patronizing quips such as: "Concomitant psychological and personality alteration, gradually or quite suddenly, transform little girls into little women. Thus the 'little bit of difference' in a woman's build in biology urges her to ensnare a man. Such is the curse of estrogen." There are no off hand remarks about the curses of testosterone.

By this approach and comments such as: "The student will see the ordinary specimen everyday. Only on rare occasions will the attractive and well-turned specimen appear before him for consultation. He should be prepared for this pleasant shock," the authors encourage medical students to disregard the Hippocratic Oath sworn by every doctor to have an objective, non-prurient attitude towards patients.

The women in the Los Angeles Committee responded by writing letters of protest to the authors, and later received an inane reply from Becker calling us "a bunch of drum-beating old biddies," and answering none of our points. We then supplied other women and women's groups with the information about the text knowing that 20 angry women could not accomplish much alone.

One of our contacts was particularly helpful. Dr. Estelle Ramey, President of the Association of Women in Science, and professor at Georgetown University Medical School, threatened the publisher, Williams and Wilkins, with an organizational boycott of all of their books.

TOTAL INSENSITIVITY

At this time it is unclear whether the book will be recalled as originally reported by Dr. Ramey, or merely revised. The publisher suggests a new edition which might include photos of seductively posed males. Such an offer can only be regarded as an attempt to mollify the women's movement and reflects total insensitivity to the real issues. We are protesting a dehumanizing treatment of women and all we are offered is the degradation of both men and women.

The activity around the textbook project is proving very valuable. We have experienced directly the need for women to feel their own power by directing it towards collective efforts. More importantly, we have repeatedly been reminded of how pervasive sexism still is, and of the enormous task ahead to root it out completely. A sexist anatomy book is but one small thorn. Its demise would be a victory, but the real triumph is in the activity itself.

—Alison Homewood

Editorial

From victory to defeat

The angry protest of the women's movement against the pornographic medical textbook edited by Dr. Becker of Michigan State University has resulted in such sudden and sweeping publicity for the book that the victory—the promised withdrawal of the book—has been transformed into total defeat. The second press run is simply to include nude males. Thereby a new challenge faces Women's Liberation.

There is no doubt that the Women's Liberation Movement has reached the point where they can win some victories. But so long as the victories remain isolated ones, nothing truly fundamental has been changed. The challenge to the WL Movement at this moment is to recognize a turning point: to become as conscious of the need for a philosophy of total liberation—a new human dimension which can become real only when there is a unity of thought and action—as of the inseparability of male chauvinism and its roots in the capitalistic system. Without that there is no avoiding other Pyrrhic victories.

No bourgeois politics for WL

Various forces within the Women's Liberation movement have caused it to go awry. From the mass outbursts demanding totally new human relations now, some women have reduced W. L. to bourgeois politics in this country and/or in state-capitalist ones.

There is a void in theory which has led to this disarray and which must be discussed. Here, I just want to quote, for those who are spending all their energies on getting women into Democratic and Republican party positions AND those who insist we emulate the "socialist" countries, from the highest ranking woman in the Soviet Union.

Yekaterina Furtseva, minister of cultural affairs, said: "the most important thing for the liberation of women is that there be an equal number of men and women in parliament . . . then there will be equality." When asked about payment for housewives, she said: "The highest . . . payment for women would be respect from the family . . . There is no question of money. The best payment is of the heart." And: "Any woman, no matter what post she occupies, should remain a woman. She should know how to cook and how to keep house nicely. If she does not, she is not a woman."

Is that what we want?

—Molly Jackson

'We work like slaves'

Detroit, Mich.—Household workers are women who do day work in private homes. Most of us work like slaves. We are not paid enough for our work, and we don't receive benefits such as social security, but we are asked to pay taxes every year. If we got paid enough, we could pay our own security and old age pension.

There are employment agencies such as the Community House in Birmingham, Mich., which charge \$30-\$40 for every job they find us. There are also mini-bus outfits which take us to work, and we have to pay them money too.

People can't make a decent living on \$1.60 per hour. We are demanding \$2.50 an hour so we might survive for a while. We want vacation pay on the basis of the days we work. Many employers go away on their vacation and don't pay us. But they expect us to be there when they get back. We don't even get the proper amount of time for lunch and rest periods during the workday.

We poor people work hard every day. We deserve some rest with pay. After all, we household workers are human beings. We deserve as much out of life as anyone else has.

—Three Household Workers

WAY OF THE WORLD

What happens after Nov. 7?

by Ethel Dunbar

The big question in everyone's minds these days is what is going to happen to this country after Nov. 7. Will people allow it to be destroyed because one man wants to rule it in his own way? I mean people like Nixon's supporters, who want him to keep all poor people down, and bring back the "good old days" when Blacks had to do as whites said or be killed.

But the poor whites and the Blacks are not afraid of those guns any longer. The young have faced the big guns in the Army. And those young people are not going to let one man push them around in their own country any longer — not after they have gone and fought and bled and died for that country.

In Detroit the white leaders are talking of moving "downtown" out to the white neighborhoods, because the Blacks have "taken over" downtown Detroit. For 100 years Blacks could not go into a fine restaurant, a fine hotel, a fine hospital, a public rest-room. All the Blacks were good for was to work for them and to fight their wars for them. Now that the whites have run away from fear of living next to a Black man, they blame the Blacks for "taking over."

Are they afraid touching a Black man will turn them Black? Blacks are not afraid that touching a white man will turn them white. Living together will not turn whites Black, but it might turn some of them into human beings.

If the whites put Mr. Nixon into power for a second time, they will see this world run out very quickly. They will find that they will have to start the next war with each other, because Black people are not going to help Mr. Nixon in any more wars he has in mind for this country.

Notes on

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Armco speed-up breaks machines, exhausts workers

Los Angeles, Cal.—At Armco Steel speed-up has been going on for several months. The company imported an efficiency expert from Houston. He walks through the plant with clipboard, stopwatch and so on. He prompted the methods department which is located in the plant to behave exactly like him. So now we have a small fleet of men walking around the plant with clipboards and stop watches.

They proceed to stop behind operators and spot check them. It is not just timing and setting jobs and getting an idea of the labor time involved for production of that part of the commodity. It is spotchecking individual workers. They then proceed to confer with the supervisors and changes occur in work operation — always in the direction of speed-up.

In this speed-up process the company is even knocking the machines out. They are setting their speeds and feeds so fast and the machines have to do such a deep cut on the material that they are self-destructing. The worker says okay. He sets the dials, stands back and the machine goes "Boom!" and gets conked out.

In one department three machines have been down for over a month because of speed-up. They finally got one machine running, the other two are still out waiting on parts. What good do these new standards do?

Over half the machines in the plant were installed at the beginning of World War II. The machinery is obsolete. It can't compete with today's machines to begin with. They are setting standards on the old machines which on today's newest machines would be a high standard of productivity. It is the workers who end up paying for these mistakes because they become more fatigued as they are assigned more and more overtime to keep up the company's production standards.

Since this speed-up began, some night shift workers have been meeting more or less informally during the lunch period with union knowledge. The workers have been talking about the problems which arise week to week in the plant and are trying to work toward solving

them in the plant. But resistance to speed-up is reflected at these meetings. Most of the discussion and grievances flow from it. The fact you can't talk to fellow workers much, or leave the department are some of the issues.

So far the meetings have been carried on very well without the usual things that occur at union meetings which turn workers off. They could evolve into something which really challenges what is going on in the shop.

—Armco worker

Open up Building Trades!

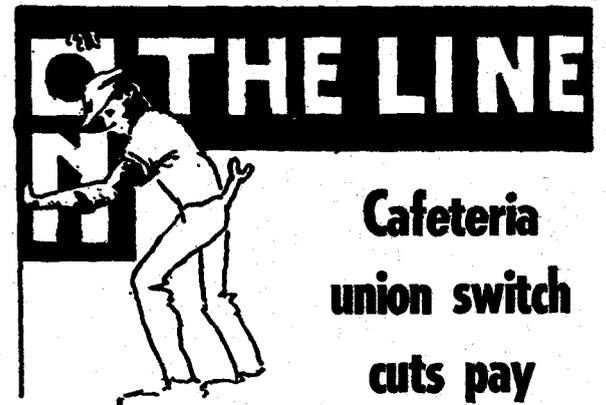
New York, N.Y.—A rally at City Hall October 11 sparked a new campaign to end discrimination against minority group workers in the construction trades.

A large number of Black workers' and civil rights organizations, unions, Black and Puerto Rican community organizations, and others formed the Coalition for Job Equality in the Construction Industry to attack the complete failure of the city, state and federal governments to enforce their "plans" for minority group hiring.

The new coalition plans demonstrations and picketing of job sites in Black and Latin communities. Speaker after speaker at the rally repeated: "If we can't work downtown, they're not going to work uptown." This position comes after a year in which only 22 minority people were hired into new positions in the building trades, which have a workforce of 150,000.

The Coalition is also pressing for the passage of a new city law, the Clingan-Taylor bill, which would require one minority trainee for every four journeymen working, as well as other provisions to make minority hiring a reality.

The movement comes nearly two years after the city set up the "New York Plan," which has been a complete failure, as have most other cities' integration plans. These plans were originally devised in response to nationwide movements of Black workers a few years ago.



by John Allison

Local 490 represents the cafeteria workers at Chrysler Highland Park plant. The above mentioned workers are under contract to the Automatic Retailers Association (ARA), a large food service chain. ARA has the same insurance company Chrysler has—Aetna.

A female cafeteria worker went on sick leave. Management wrote her a letter, requesting her to return to work. Her reply came back, and she said, "I am too weak to participate." Whereupon she was discharged.

The chief steward processed a grievance, and the grievance went to step #2. At that point, she was returned to work with back pay — she was paid for about 30 days for the mistake ARA made in discharging her for being sick.

Chrysler has two dining rooms, one for workers and little shots, and one for big shots. There is a wall between the two (you're not surprised are you?), and the food is cheaper in the big shots' dining room.

Cafeteria workers in all Chrysler plants are now being taken over by ARA, which means they are taking a pay cut. ARA doesn't pay the same wages for cafeteria workers as Chrysler did. What it means, of course, is that Chrysler gets the same services for less money.

These workers have been fighting for their cost-of-living increase, which is written in their contract. The company blames the Pay Board. The UAW negotiated the last contract, and after going back for the second time, the ARA workers will get a four cent cost-of-living increase. It's a raise that is more than a year overdue.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—There has been quite a bit of discussion here about the strikes that are going on at other GM plants. Two committeemen at Fleetwood got sent home for arguing with a foreman on the fourth floor. There was so much stink about it that they were called back to work the next day, and the foreman was transferred to days.

The reason people are so hot is that ever since we went back after the strike two years ago, GM has been overloading jobs. This year, after model change, there were many jobs which were just impossible. I am sure there are at least 200 or 300 less workers in Fleetwood than last year. This makes the rest of us work harder and harder.

Nobody thinks that this new business of striking for one or two days and then going back is worth a damn. You walk back in and the conditions are still the same as when you walked out. It looks like the company and the union got together and agreed: "OK, they can go out for two days, but be sure and bring them back."

If Mansfield stayed out, the whole GM system would stop, and then we'd have a showdown. The way it is now, we have nothing but more and more work.

—Fleetwood worker

GM Southgate

Norwood 25 Weeks - - - Southgate 10 Hours

Los Angeles, Calif.—All over the plant men are asking how can we be working 10 hours a day when at Norwood they have been out on strike for 25 weeks. What kind of union leadership do we have which allows GM plants all over the country to SCAB against their fellow workers at Norwood? What has happened to the old union slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all!"?

Why is the leadership of our union allowing Norwood to stand alone as it allowed Lordstown to stand alone? Are we going to repeat the Flint strike where they went out for 124 days and the union leadership let them rot without doing anything?

There is no way that one assembly plant can win when all the other assembly plants are making it up with 10 hour days and six day weeks. How would we feel if we went out and saw Van Nuys and Fremont, St. Louis and Fleetwood all working overtime and making up for GM's lost production? We have just had a gate collection to help Norwood and this is a good beginning. But it is only a beginning. If all we do is put up money against GM it is useless.

There is only one thing that GM understands and that is when we cut down on our work. If we do that we

will not only be helping Norwood, we will be aiding ourselves. What would happen if we all left after 8 hours? Why not work only four days a week, then three and so on until Norwood is settled to our satisfaction? Stopping production is what GM understands.

We can't let the union tell us they will take care of us. Those who have worked here for 10 years know very well that the union has taken care to see that we obey the contract that GM and the top union leadership has pushed on us.

At our local meeting we passed a resolution saying that any overtime work is scabbing against Norwood. GM will begin to get the message back at Norwood if we stop this 10 hours a day at Southgate. In the end the only strategy may be to call a strike of all the plants. But the minimum we can do is to call for eight hours, no more!

Norwood is us. GM picked Norwood to beat the workers into line. If they do it at Norwood they will do it at Southgate, Solidarity by our actions is what must be shown.

EIGHT HOURS . . . NO MORE!

—Southgate GM Workers Committee

(Editor's Note: Though the Norwood strike was settled after this article was received, the principle remains more important than ever, with the new strikes sweeping auto.)

Black Lake Educational

Detroit, Mich.—The UAW took about 500 of us to Black Lake from all over the U.S. We were new people who came into the plants, got interested in the union, ran for office and won.

The leadership wanted to deal with problems outside the shop more than with the problems within the shop. We were supposed to write a political policy for the UAW, which meant in effect we were to endorse McGovern or the Democratic Party. We were given lots of guidelines about what we could write, but we put all of that to one side.

We realized how divided labor is today compared to earlier days. We tried to present a resolution to get this unity by organizing as labor in the community as well as in the shop. The leadership at Black Lake backed off quickly and said, Oh no, you can't do that.

We said we wanted to push for a Labor Party. We wanted the money now being used for making shady deals in the Democratic Party that ends up being used against us when we go out on strike, to go to build our own party.

Despite opposition from much of the leadership at Black Lake, the concept of a third party passed on the convention floor. This doesn't mean we don't have to get rid of Nixon. We do, but the solution doesn't lie in the end with the Democrats either. It lies with the working people.

White auto worker argues: racism blocks workers' freedom

by Felix Martin

This year's Presidential campaign has been different from any one that I have ever known or read about. We have the most corrupt administration there has ever been. It is worse than the robber baron years when the Republicans stole the mineral wealth of this country for a few businessmen.

But in the plant when this is brought up many of the workers say so what. The workers in the plant don't seem to be very enthusiastic about McGovern. The majority may vote for him, but it isn't going to be an overwhelming number. The only healthy sign in the plants is the black workers. They know where they are going this election. The racism of Nixon is very clear with them.

I keep telling the white workers they have to get their heads together. We have the Black people in this country with their heads together, but unless we white workers get together it isn't going to be enough.

The biggest weapon which has enslaved us so long in this country is called racism. With racism these rulers have ruled people through fear. Today the busing issue used by Nixon is a good example. That is combined with dividing workers over the welfare issue when it is really the fault of the system that people are on welfare. Law and order, unsafe streets and many other things are part of the racist arsenal that Nixon is using.

Until working people of all races realize that they are one class, the working class who produce the wealth for the few to rule us through our government, we will never have the power to change our system back to the government of the people. We can have President after President, change Congress as many times, but the system will still be there. We the people are the only ones that have the power to change it.

This same division on racism is also present in the war. The number one enemy of all working people is war. The working people produce the material of war at a great profit for business. They also furnish their sons to fight and die. And yet today large numbers of working people think that one side of war is just and the other side is wrong.

Working people, this is our government too. We can't let a few rogues control our country. It is time we start getting together to run our business. Government is our business. If we can produce the wealth of this nation it is about time we start deciding how it is to be used.

EDITORIAL**Vietnam destruction: the fruit of global power politics**

No more deceitful act of warfare has been witnessed than that of U.S. imperialism's savage assault on the center of Hanoi on Oct. 11 while Dr. "Strangelove" Kissinger talked "peace" in Paris — unless it was the Dec. 7, 1941 meeting of Japanese diplomats with Cordell Hull while bombers sped to attack Pearl Harbor.

Adding lie upon lie, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird had the gall hours after the attack to claim that the death and destruction might have been caused by North Vietnamese anti-aircraft fire. In the attack, the French embassy was destroyed, its ambassador wounded and five of the staff killed. The embassy is in downtown Hanoi, nowhere near any "military target."

PAX AMERICANA 1945, 1972

This isn't something that started Oct. 11, 1972. Nor is it something that first emerged when LBJ began his 1965 war against Vietnam. Rather, it began the day World War II ended, with "Pax Americana, 1945." The young, ambitious, Nixon-on-the-make was already fashioning a 20-year-old career of super-patriotism against the "yellow peril." And it is exactly this insane venom which has killed millions in Vietnam. The fact that the crusade against the "yellow peril" took the form of little Vietnam rather than China shows only that big bears would rather find little ones to assault.

From Richard Nixon, no one expected anything but war and more war against Vietnam. But the Sino-Soviet orbit (and here it is "orbit," not "conflict") likewise made it clear that Vietnam was not first with them by each acting separately, and that, though both proclaim their undying support for Vietnam, they are working furiously in the background to tie Vietnam's hands.

Nowhere was this duplicity more evident than when Nixon mined the harbors of North Vietnam, and Peking and Moscow watched with detachment. Where in 1967, Brezhnev rushed to resupply Egypt with arms in the weeks after Israel's victory, in 1972, no such massive aid appeared for North Vietnam — even though North Vietnam, unlike Egypt, is "Communist," and remained under the heaviest bombing any country has ever suffered. The sad truth is that both Russia and China were

too busy courting Nixon, too busy playing for world mastery, to let Nixon's destruction of Vietnam disturb their plans.

RUSSIA AND CHINA EMBRACE NIXON

So anxious is Russia to establish its new relationship with U.S. imperialism that President Nikolai Podgorny very nearly openly endorsed Nixon's re-election. On Oct. 4, he enthusiastically proclaimed that Russia "looked forward to working with President Nixon for several more years." The following week Pravda continued the public love affair, assuring the Russian people that Nixon's certain re-election would be due to his "warm friendship with the Russian people."

China, meanwhile, just as openly shows that it is ready to unite with anyone in order to fight "enemy number one"—Russia (See lead story, page 1.) Premier Chou En-lai indicated to U.S. newsmen that China prefers "a strong America"—he meant a U.S. that would be sure to challenge and tie up Russia around the world, whether that means Europe, the Middle East, or Vietnam.

In a word, each has placed its national interests above the U.S. imperialists' endless massacre of Vietnam. This, despite Nixon's continuing quest to reduce North and South Vietnam to rubble; this, despite the 100 B-52 sorties ordered every day; this, despite Laird's announcement that the U.S. will spend \$25 billion this year for new strategic weapons systems.

No one who saw the pictures of Quangtri city reduced to a smoking heap of ashes which chillingly resembled scenes of Hiroshima could believe that Nixon is about to bring "peace" to Vietnam, unless it is the peace of the dead.

LEFT MUST BE FREE OF ALL STATE POWERS

The point is not what Russia or China will do — that is already clear. The point is what the Left in America will do. Have we all become so calloused as to let electioneering place Vietnam in a subordinate position? It is bad enough that those who take their line from Russia or China, and those who tail-end one or the other, assign

Vietnam a second place. But what about the independents?

Just as Russia and China have set the ground for Dr. "Strangelove" Kissinger to try and jam U.S. imperialism's settlement down the throats of the Vietnamese, so their followers in the anti-war movement have allowed paralysis to set in while electioneering predominates over all else.

If we are ever to end once and for all the nightmare of war in our state-capitalist world, we need to begin with a new banner that will allow for no separation between a philosophy of liberation and the actual struggle for self-determination. We need a banner that takes as its basis not a Russia or a China, but masses as reason.

This is the time to intensify all anti-Vietnam war activities. On Election Day it may be too late. The day after the election nobody will pay any attention — and not only to the anti-Vietnam war movement as a movement, but to all serious opponents of the existing powers that are already planning for World War III.

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THE ELECTIONS

McGovern is far behind, the pollsters tell us. His only hope is through buttering up the old guard with all their leprosy. The general tone in the States seems a concern inward to reduce taxes, stop at least some of the war's wastes, and find a way to survive as the world's greatest. Though greatest what is not so sure.

Meanwhile the little lands go from crisis to worsening crisis, with how to feed our people or even employ them, much less pay the mountains of bills owed overseas for what we've earlier imported and already worn out.

A glimmer of hope shines from time to time. McGovern people think he'll make it yet; they tell us his approaches to Johnson, Daley and the war machine are just political gestures, no need to be worried. But the realities of America are too visible here for a bit of hope to help . . . with all the poverty and no more credit in prospect even for essential beans and rice and corn. The coffee and banana and meat markets are in chaos. Jobs, jobs, where can we find jobs?

Reader
Costa Rica

* * *

I see by the papers that Podgorny makes a statement about meeting with Nixon in the future—that is, AFTER the elections. Russia is now campaigning for Nixon, and the radicals in this country have absolutely nothing to say about it.

Observer
Los Angeles

* * *

Some people seeking radical change are sour to the McGovern campaign. Some are pushing candidates of their own. Others say they will sit out the election, convinced that no basic change can come from a shift in bosses. But like it or not, those people will only help Nixon.

There is a difference between McGovern and Nixon, but people should not vote for McGovern because they think he personally can correct everything. His candidacy emerged because the people exerted their independence

— from the experts, the bosses, the industry and labor leaders. When we vote we should remember that we are really voting for ourselves, not a personality. The only way we can get what we really want is to continue to organize ourselves as independent groups wherever we can . . .

Spirit of '76
Chicago

* * *

It was eye-opening to see a comparison of Gallup polls taken a month before election day 1972 and 1968. McGovern and Humphrey had just about the same percentages (McGovern's is a little higher, in fact). Nixon had 43 percent in '68 compared to 61 percent in '72. The difference between the two years was that Wallace was running in '68 and had 20 percent in that poll. Those are the votes going to Nixon this year. It is racism that is threatening to elect him.

When you say Nixonism is Wallaceism — only armed and with state power, you are dead right. That is what makes the threat of a Nixon victory this year so frightening.

Alarmed Voter
Pennsylvania

* * *

The presidential campaign has so far offered no serious discussion whatever of U.S. foreign policy since World War II. Nixon's "new" policy is just a search for a balance of power among the big nations. And McGovern has offered no criticism of that at all.

Professor
New England

* * *

I have reached the ripe age of 74 and am still going strong organizing revolutionary minded youth into the Industrial Workers of the World. That is the only way I know for humanity to rid themselves of the chains of slavery. Giving support to any politician and similar opportunists is nonsense. The only rule acceptable is the rule of the people themselves who are directly involved in producing necessities.

Wobbly
Vancouver, B.C.

QUEBEC

Special elections were held in two districts of Quebec — Gatineau (Hull-Ottawa area) and Duplessis (Sept.-Iles area). The Parti Quebecois had candidates in both places. Justice Minister Jerome Choquette went to Duplessis and talked about the danger of disorder and subversion and how a PQ victory would hurt the reputation of the region.

Marc Carriers, president of Dupuis Freres, Ltd., announced that he would not give his final answer about further investments in the area until the day after the election. Premier Bourassa and Welfare Minister Cournoyer also came to talk about the dire consequences which a PQ victory would entail for the region.

The Liberals won in both places. In Duplessis, the Liberal winner is the Mayor of Sept-Iles, the same red-neck who, during the general strike, deputized the petty bourgeoisie to go out and beat up the strikers.

P. Gouin
Montreal

ABORTION REFORM

Proposal B on the Michigan ballot Nov. 7 allows a licensed physician to perform an abortion upon request of the woman, if gestation is less than 20 weeks and if it is performed in a licensed facility approved by the Dept. of Public Health. Meanwhile, Wayne Co. Circuit Judge Kaufman has ruled the present abortion law unconstitutional, as a violation of a woman's right of privacy. If upheld, this ruling lifts all restrictions, including those ensuring safe, sanitary and competent procedures.

However, 6th Circuit Judge Wm. Beer, the American Independent Party candidate for State Supreme Court, has ruled that prosecuting attorneys should not " . . . allow any woman . . . to kill by abortion . . . a living child fetus . . ."

The anti-abortion forces, rich enough to mail millions of vivid color photos of "abortion horrors" (which they neglect to say are highly magnified) don't want

women to control their own bodies and lives. They scream "love and let live," but act as if all women are murderers. What about the right to life (not existence) of already-born humans — women, and unwanted children.

As Marxist-Humanist women, we believe that control over our own bodies is a basic step toward true human liberation. We know that even if Proposal B passes, all Michigan women will still have to fight to prevent exploitation by get-rich-quick clinics and careless and racist practitioners. But without the new law all women are victims, and we urge our readers to VOTE YES ON PROPOSAL B.

Member, N&L—WL
Detroit

ONE DEMAND

It kind of blew my mind to read the news report of that Washington prison uprising. What confounded the officials was that the prisoners had only one demand: freedom.

Lawyer
New York

RACISM, 1972

Racism seems to be with us everywhere. In a recent article in the Wall Street Journal on "The Silent Americans" (what they call the Japanese Americans) one could see the development of racism as related to economics, that is, the economic battle with Japan. The article pointed out that Japanese Americans are finding that the racism against them has intensified in this recent period when Japan is giving the U.S. fits over trade.

Japanese-American
Los Angeles

* * *

A 27 year old Black Vietnam veteran named Willie Phillips, who was working as a field organizer for SCLC, set himself afire before hundreds who were watching the Morris Brown College Homecoming Parade here. It was four hours after he had gone to the aid of a Black man who was being detained at a

Readers'

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

The intellectual's alienated life in a world in crisis and disarray, his organic empiricism and isolation from the worker, bid fair to inundate us with still more books on the "backwardness" of the proletariat. As if the 308 pages of *Alienation** weren't proof enough of that being its underlying concept, Bertell Ollman, its author, informs us: "I intend to explore the workers' difficulty in attaining class consciousness in greater detail in a forthcoming work." (p. 307)

This promise is no individualistic exception. Hard as it is to believe that academia will once again attempt to return us to the McCarthyite 1950's when bourgeois intellectuals were busy proclaiming an "end to ideology," the Nixon age unnerves even some intellectuals sympathetic to Marx. This has been a fact of life ever since the near-revolutions in 1968 proved to be still-births. Not only does the mass passion for a philosophy of liberation, when so many aborted revolutions are all about us, appear incomprehensible to the intellectual separated from the workers by a wall of books, but Marx's works themselves, if not totally incomprehensible, get so fragmented as to become abstract, losing their proletarian pivot as well as their dialectic totality.

Thus, where the left intellectual, in the activist mid-1960's, would not have thought of trying to bring about a division between Marx's theory of alienated labor and its inseparable absolute opposite "the quest for universality," the same intellectual, in the early 1970's, strives so intensely to be original as to attribute to Marx a theory of human nature he never enunciated, while denying Marx his new continent of thought—historical materialism as a "new Humanism." Professor Ollman acts as if the "attempt to make Marxism 'respectable' to a hostile American public" compelled Erich Fromm

* *Alienation*, by Bertell Ollman, Cambridge University Press, N.Y., 1971.

Pitting 'human nature' against Marx's humanism

"to abstract his (Marx's) remarks on human nature from the rest of his theories in order to present him as a humanist." (p. 75)

THE UNITY OF IDEALISM & MATERIALISM

It wasn't Fromm, but Marx, who spelled out his new Humanism as "a thoroughgoing Naturalism, or Humanism, (which) distinguishes itself both from Idealism and Materialism, and is, at the same time, the truth uniting both . . . (and alone) capable of grasping the act of world history." (1) Moreover, this historic unity of idealism and materialism was expressed by Marx over and over again throughout the now famous *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844* that dealt so profoundly with the concept of alienation which is the centerpiece of Ollman's book.

So determined was Marx, in his critique of capitalistic alienated labor, to present the absolute opposite of this—labor as creative activity—that he separated himself also from "vulgar communism" which thinks that alienated labor can be abolished through the abolition of private property. Marx, held that, crucial as it is to abolish private property, a new form of property (though it be collective) would not abolish what is most dehumanizing in all class societies: the division between mental and manual labor.

Therefore, though he credits communism with being "transcendence of private property," he concludes: "Only by the transcendence of this mediation, which is nevertheless a necessary presupposition, does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself." That, and that alone, would denote the end of the pre-history of mankind imposed by class society, and begin the true self-development of men and women and children by creating the new human dimensions which can come only with total freedom. Then, and only then, would we

(1) There are many translations finally available of the Humanist essays of Marx, but I was the first to translate them for the American public, and I am quoting that translation which appeared as Appendix to the first (1958) edition of *Marxism and Freedom*.

know "human nature." Then, and only then, would a new society initiate "the development of human power which is its own end." (2)

Ollman would not deny this. Why then could this scholarly left intellectual not grasp the dialectics of Marx's analysis of alienation and humanism, of the capital/labor relationship not merely as an "internal" versus an "external" relationship, but as so antagonistic a class relationship that he couldn't possibly have written so narrowly, so one-sidedly and in so non-revolutionary a manner as Ollman about alienated labor, i.e., the very subject who is destined to achieve self-emancipation?

DIALECTICS VS. EMPIRICISM

Far from having to go in for abstractions as to "human nature" to get a view of "future" "communitic" society, as the professor has him do, Marx was most specifically, rigorously and solely concerned with the concrete capitalistic society under which he lived, its "law of motion," its antagonistic class duality, its reified labor (its reified labor, not reified products) out of which, nevertheless, dialectically emerges the "new passions and new forces" for uprooting the old and reconstructing society on totally new, humanist foundations.

Just as Marx couldn't have written of capital without writing of its opposite, its gravedigger, so he couldn't have written about the theory of alienation without its opposite, the philosophy of liberation Marx called "the new Humanism."

(Continued on Page 7)

(2) It is important to hold in mind that this is not from the early Humanist essays, but from Marx's greatest mature theoretical work, *Capital* (Vol. III, p. 954). This does not mean, as Bertell Ollman implies, that Marx's 30 years of mature work was a matter of gathering "supporting material" for his early works. That unhistorical view tells the whole story about Ollman's disregard of Marx's self-development as well as of the historical development itself in those critical three decades when Marx was writing *Capital*.

Views

bus station by a security guard. He said, before he died, that he was disturbed over a beating at the bus station, and worried about Black people not committing themselves to the struggle for human dignity. One of his best friends said that he had been wounded twice in Vietnam, but had repeatedly stated that he had "caught more hell" here than there.
Correspondent
Atlanta, Ga.

The last issue of N&L was great, to me, because it appeals to workers without in any way ignoring the raging racism of White workers in this country.
Activist
Connecticut

STATE-CAPITALISM

Four more years of Nixon? When you remember the last four — the rollback in voting rights in the South, the use of grand juries for intimidation, the 13,000 illegal May Day arrests, the attempts to expand the subversive activities control board, the no-knock and preventive detention laws, the slowdown on desegregation, the reopening of desegregation cases, and the attempt to make non-unanimous jury convictions possible — you can see that Nixon has been laying the ground for a complete state-capitalist takeover.
White Worker
Connecticut

There are signs that the Trade Union Council leaders may yield to the proposals made by Heath. The General Council has rejected the proposals but are coming forward with some of their own. Heath is bending backwards to win the TUC leaders. He is shedding tears about the lower-paid workers and the old age pensioners. He wants to fix wage rises at 2 pounds (about \$5) a week and price increases at 5 percent.

This government has given more to private industry than any previous government. Because it is state expenditure,

the Labor leaders blind themselves to the significance of all this. They help us on the road to full-blown state capitalism.
Harry McShane
Glasgow

When you talk about Nixonism you have a problem if you abstract that from capitalism. Nixonism is nothing other than the name for the stage of capitalism we are in right now where the state is coming in making guarantees to coordinate and rationalize for the corporations.

The Pay Board is doing that effectively. There doesn't seem any effective way to combat Nixonism except to combat capitalism. That is why getting rid of Nixon alone isn't the key.
Office worker
Los Angeles

I'm very interested in seeing the complete pamphlet on the Polish shipyard workers — though I think my analysis differs from yours somewhat. I had thought it showed that the workers had only ideas of reform to "democratise" the party and the state, instead of a revolutionary overthrow of the entire "communist" mode of production, rooted in the authority of management over production.
Reader
Massachusetts

(Ed. Note: See ad, p. 8)

FROM MEXICO

I appreciate keeping in touch with events in the U.S. through your paper. The bourgeois press in every country reports on official U.S. politics in a way that is unbelievable. For example, the coverage from Mexico City of the Republican Convention consisted of three interviews with enthusiastic Nixon supporters — a Black man, a Black woman, and a White student-type young man! And mention of protesters outside the convention was limited to the report of hippies invading Miami.

I thought you might be interested in some of the news from Mexico you probably don't get in your papers.

Last year four guerrillas expropriated more than 88,000 pesos (over \$7,000 dollars) from a bank here. Four school teachers were found to have been accomplices. All were apprehended about a week later. One was killed and one said to have committed suicide. The sentences of the others were just pronounced this summer — prison terms ranging from 13 to 24 years (while common thieves receive penalties of only a few months).

The first Popular Tribunal was held in the State of Chihuahua to publicly judge the crimes of the Mexican government against the people. The "Committee of Popular Defense" called upon other groups around the country to initiate similar tribunals.
New Reader
Mexico

BRITISH DOCKERS

Here in Britain, under its Industrial Relations Act the reactionary Tory government railroaded to jail five leaders of the unofficial shop stewards committee on the London docks. Once it became known that the five dock workers had been imprisoned, thousands of workers, without waiting for the unions, took unofficial industrial action to obtain their release. For the first time in its history Britain stood on the brink of an unofficial general strike.

Under the slogan "one in the dock, all out on the docks" the dockers in ports across the country struck. Printers walked off the job halting production of daily newspapers. Busses came to a halt as their drivers came out. Under this tremendous pressure from the working class, organized and militant, the government, fearing an all-out general strike, gave in and set the dockers free.

The dockers struck against the loss of jobs caused by the introduction of containerization into the docks. The government had declared a state of emergency, the fourth since it came to power two years ago.
Terry Liddle
England

WAR AND PEACE

Nixon took the whole strata of people who were subject to the draft and divided them so that here is a little group and they are subject to the draft and everybody else is free. So there is not a feeling of solidarity among young males who are subject to the draft. There are now lots of young Nixon supporters who say, well look what Nixon has done, my draft number is 365. The army is important in terms of revolution. In Germany they had a volunteer army after the First World War and it put down the German Revolution.
Government Worker
Los Angeles

You wait a few years on this volunteer army. You will see the posters on a volunteer army as an educational thing. But when they educate these guys into the army you are going to see Brown Shirts and SS troops in this country. It shakes me up to even think about it.
Worker
Los Angeles

Please tell your readers that our 1973 Peace Calendar, "Fifty Years of Resistance" will mark War Resisters League 50th anniversary. Single copies \$2.50, bundles of five \$11.
WRL
339 Lafayette St.
N.Y., N.Y. 10012

LABOR DAY CELEBRATION

On Labor Day in Cloquet, Minn., there was a confrontation between about 350 young people and the police, over the use of a park. That may not sound like anything "new" — until you learn that most of these young people (between 21 and 24) were not college students, and not hippies, but young people who work in the four large mills in the town. These young workers celebrated Labor Day getting attacked by a police department that is riddled with Wallace-supporters. It was interesting to see their wonderful love for the "common working man" put into practice.
Correspondent
Minn.



YOUTH

Viet vets fight frame-up trial

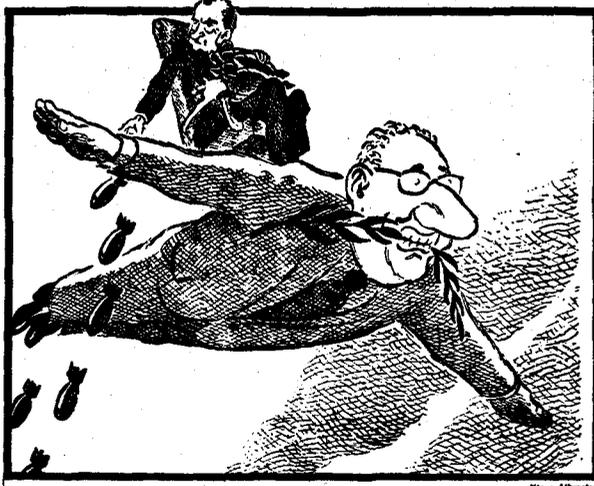
Gainesville, Fla.—The trial of the Gainesville 6 has been postponed for the present. The six, all Vietnam Veterans Against the War, were indicted on charges of conspiring to attack police stations, police cars and stores in Miami Beach during the period of the Republican convention.

One of the six, Scott Camil, regional VVAW director, was also charged with manufacture and instruction in the use of bombs. Underlying the government's prosecution is the testimony of an FBI informer and VVAW brother, who has stated that 95% of his testimony was fabricated to increase his salary as an informer.

The reason for postponement, probably until after elections and inauguration, is obvious. Nixon can't afford to let the VVAW expose his political repression at home and his racist, imperialist war in Asia.

The harassment, official and unofficial, didn't begin with the indictments against the six. Camil was framed and arrested for kidnapping last spring. His case was then dropped for lack of evidence. On the eve of the Democratic convention, 23 vets were subpoenaed to appear in federal court in Tallahassee for undisclosed reasons.

The latest example is Alton Foss, one of the Gainesville 6, who has been blackmailed by the FBI for withholding evidence about the other five VVAW. He is 60% disabled and faces a slanted trial on drug abuse charges.



There is unity among those subjected to Nixon's inhuman reign. The vets subpoenaed to appear in Tallahassee paraded in military fashion around the courthouse there and then entered with their hands behind their heads like POW's.

Upon seeing this display, an elderly spectator donated \$100 to the VVAW defense fund. Moreover the strength of support for the VVAW can be seen in the speed in which bail has been raised for jailed vets.

Awareness of the repression of the VVAW by Nixon is growing here, and just as important is the growth of awareness of Nixon's designs in Southeast Asia and the world — designs which the vets are exposing as racist and imperialist. Most significant here in Florida is the determination by the vets not to be silenced. —J.O.

Discussion Article

'Prison reform: contradiction

During the 1968 Presidential campaign, the pseudo-issue of "law and order" formed a major thrust of Dick Nixon's gamesmanship, with the candidate pledging to rid the streets of crime and strengthen law enforcement.

In 1972, although less obvious, "law and order" remains in his platform, and more and more of us find ourselves locked behind bars. The very need for prisons indicates the paranoia of those who insist upon building them and incarcerating people inside of them, since 85 to 90% of those in prison do not belong there.

The prison population is overwhelmingly working people, poor people, and minority people—easy victims for arrest and imprisonment in a racist, class-conscious society. With little or no money and scant legal knowledge, they find themselves in prison often and serving outrageously long sentences.

The entire penal system aims to degrade, to humiliate, to dehumanize. Although officially entitled the "Corrections System," any correcting which occurs behind bars is brought about in spite of the system and against crushing odds.

Several weeks ago, a Justice Department spokesman stated that not everyone ought to be granted the same rights—the accused murderer should be given fewer rights than the embezzler or jaywalker. What he and his partners in crime fail to recognize is that rights are not things to be granted at someone's whim or fascistic desire. The Constitution even opens: "We the people," not "we the power elite."

Prisons are tools employed to dehumanize and silence those who oppose and threaten their power base—capitalism. However, as with so many of their attempts to stay in power, this one will fail, since people both inside and outside the prisons are becoming aware of the real reasons they are in there, and have started to fight the degradation and insanity by uniting.

Prison and reform are mutually contradictory. The real issue which emerges is that of the philosophy and psychology of our society—the power of state capitalism and big power corporate imperialism. Until this society changes, those who run it will continue to repress and imprison those who oppose and struggle against it. Their efforts to crush the revolution by locking us up will fail, however, since we are the people, not the power elite.

—Janis Mitchell

DOING AND THINKING

Rich U.S. capitalism can't provide me a job

By Steve Paine

Of all the crimes that Capital has committed — the encouragement of violent racism, the waging of ceaseless war at home and abroad, the expropriation of wealth produced by workers, I believe that the most telling tale of its degeneracy is the fact that, as stupendously rich as American capitalists are, they can not provide enough decent jobs for those who are able to work.

Until just recently, I was unemployed and had been looking for work for over a month. I found that unless you have a skill that you have been working at for over a year, you can go blind looking through the want ads in the paper. There are always little "exp. req'd" stuck on at the bottom of ads. Since I'm only 18, I always wonder where you are supposed to get "exp." if you can't afford to go to a training school or wait to come to the top of an apprenticeship list.

Then, if you find an opening for something you can do, there are always so many other people who need the job as much as you do. There were several instances where I'd be waiting in line for an hour with 50 other people, and finally find out that the first four people got the jobs advertised — the other 46 of us would be out on the street again, and hopefully have enough time to look for another possibility before it became too late in the morning. When I finally did get a job, it was merely because I hit the waiting line soon enough.

EDUCATION A DRAWBACK

If there aren't any jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, there also aren't any for students just graduated from college. There is an ecology action group here in Queens, which pays employees 25% of what they can earn canvassing Long Island neighborhoods. Over half of the canvassers are college graduates, many of those with master's degrees, who just couldn't find work in their chosen fields. They can't get manual jobs, because employers figure that they'll leave if they find a higher paying job in their own field.

One person told me that he'd been fired from a highway job when his foreman found out that he'd been to school. Now, he and the others in the ecology group average \$50 a week, sometimes less. In New York, you can't live on less than \$100 unless you're still living at home.

MINORITIES MOST AFFECTED

Unemployment as a chronic problem has always most affected Blacks and other racial minorities ("last hired, first fired"), youth ("inexperienced and unreliable"), and women ("They can't do the work anyway"). Now, it is again becoming a universal problem. Capital can't even find jobs for its own war veterans, whose jobless rate is higher than the national average. Nixon will soon no longer be able to hide behind his lie that those who aren't working now are lazy social leeches. I've never seen a person celebrate having to go on relief. If one is to believe what Nixon is saying, then there must be one helluva party going on in this country right now.

Well there isn't. The accumulation of wealth at one end of the social spectrum means the accumulation of misery at the other end. And most of us are on the losing end of the proposition. One day soon, people are going to act together to correct this disparity. The most important question for the next four years will not be whether Nixon or McGovern will be President, but how far this movement towards social revolution gets.

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Imprisoned Citizens Union

Dear Friend,

Last year a large number of prisoners formed the IMPRISONED CITIZENS UNION in an effort to change the country's barbaric prison system.

Some of the unlawful conditions that now exist in our prisons are: Prisoners being viciously beaten and even killed by sadistic prison guards; the indiscriminate use of chemical Mace; religious and racial discrimination; lack of proper food, clothing, medical treatment and religious rights; slave labor at 15 cents a day; depraved abuse of the mentally ill and youthful offender; the use of torture devices such as: the sweat box, wall chains, wrist clamps and underground dungeons where the prisoners' screams cannot be heard as they are being beaten by a goon squad; where they are forced to sleep naked on the cold concrete floor; and where they are held incommunicado from everyone, including their families, friends, attorneys and religious ministers.

These violations are committed by the very same people who have sworn to uphold the law but who have instead created such tragedies as Attica and the crime factories that they call Correctional Facilities.

Early this year, the Imprisoned Citizens Union filed a Civil Rights Class Action in the U.S. District Court at Philadelphia, Pa. which we hope will overhaul the entire penal system of Pennsylvania, as well as all other states.

We of the Imprisoned Citizens Union do not kid ourselves, we fully realize that our opponents in this battle are very powerful, and possess much wealth, enormous influence, and that Holier Than Thou image, while we prisoners have nothing but a social stigma that has prejudiced many people against us. However, with the help of progressive and enlightened citizens we are hopeful that we will reach our goal.

If you would like to help us in this battle, then would you kindly fill out the coupon below. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Richard J. Mayberry
Director

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BLACK-RED VIEW

What has happened to Angela Davis?

By John Alan

A very big question, currently making the rounds, in and out of the Black community and among certain "radicals" and "liberals" is: "What has happened to Angela Davis?" They are well aware, in view of all the publicity, that Miss Davis is making a triumphant tour of Russia, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic (Poland has not been included in her itinerary). At every stop she has received honors and accolades as a Black revolutionary heroine.

Numerous stories have appeared in the Communist Party press and in the American capitalist press, recording every flatulent panegyric she has uttered about the "goodness of life" in the state-capitalist societies of Eastern Europe. Some of the statements have been downright embarrassing to the perceptive people in her host country, and they have served to place a veil of remoteness around Professor Davis, severing her both from the Black movement toward freedom in the United States, and from the struggles of workers and intellectuals in the state-capitalist countries she visits.

There are some who say that Angela's acquittal of the charges of murder and kidnapping in San Jose last summer — by an all-white jury which threw the thinly trumped-up charges into a judicial ashcan as so much political garbage — was due to the influence of Russian pressure, and she is now showing her appreciation by thanking her state-capitalist supporters. This opinion implies that there existed, at the time of her trial, a secret rapprochement between Washington and Moscow, involving their vast problem of how to divide the world between them — and Angela Davis was used as a footnote in this power politics deal. Such speculation can be brushed aside, since the major element in Davis' defense struggles for acquittal was the Black people of the United States who were united and determined in their efforts to prevent her being submitted to the "judicial lynching" which has its genesis in the racist capitalist nature of American society.

Support from all segments of the Black people was given without stint or consideration of Angela Davis' political affiliation. It was an expression of the universal idea of freedom from oppression and state persecution based upon race and the political ideas of any person.

Angela Davis is a philosopher, well acquainted with Marx and Hegel, and in the view of her colleagues at University of California in Los Angeles, an expert in phenomenology and dialectical materialism. Indeed, she is considered a formidable intellectual in action. During her tour of Russia, Czechoslovakia and the German

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from page 5)

DIALECTICS VS. LINGUISTICS

The trouble with Professor Ollman, as with all empiricists, is that he has reduced dialectics to a question of linguistics. The very first chapter of his book on Marx—"With Words Like Bats"—holds that Pareto has thereby made the most "profound observations . . . on our subject" for "one can see in them (bats) both birds and mice." (p. 3) That attitude carries through the last chapter in which he writes: "If Marx is given highest marks for creating Marxism, he can only be given a mediocre rating for his skills as a communicator." (p. 236) This is hardly an original critique on the part of academia. The great English economist, Joan Robinson, told me in all seriousness that she wished Marx had told all his views to Engels and had him present Marx's discoveries since Engels wouldn't have had Hegel "stick his nose between Ricardo and me."

Ollman does her one better. He invents words for Marx! Marx's whole philosophy of liberation, his analysis of the law of motion of capitalist production, along with the antagonistic capital/labor production relationship, get subsumed under Ollman's description of Marxism as a "philosophy of internal relations." In pursuance of his original "discovery," especially the capitalization of Relation, miracles are indeed wrought in "Marx's vocabulary" as Ollman not only treats Marx and Engels as one on the very subject—dialectics—on which they most certainly were not identical (as none, indeed, knew better than Engels), but elevates Dietzgen's primitive dialectics as the equivalent of Marx and Hegel! (3)

I doubt that a single worker will understand Professor Ollman's "vocabulary," but to the extent that it has helped some intellectuals understand Marx's historic analysis of reality (judging by the rave reviews Alienation has received), to that extent it has made a contribution which will, of necessity, send them to the study of Marx's work themselves. Or so we hope.

(3) Marx did all he could to spread Dietzgen's writings because he was a worker and did try to grapple with dialectics, but in the serious correspondence about him, he bemoaned the fact that Dietzgen hadn't studied Hegel. As he put it in his letter to Engels on Oct. 4, 1868: "My opinion is that J. Dietzgen would do best to condense all his ideas into two printer's sheets . . . If he publishes them in the size he is proposing, he will discredit himself by the lack of dialectical development . . ."

Democratic Republic, she never failed to raise her clenched fist and cry: "Long live Proletarian Internationalism"—a hollow slogan which has long ago turned into its opposite, and in essence, was used to justify Russia's intervention in Czechoslovakia four years ago, and for the suppression of strikes by workers and the stifling of any philosophical thought wherever the Russians hold sway. There are still some 80,000 Russian troops in Czechoslovakia!

When pressed by Czech political exiles to say something on behalf of their imprisoned comrades, Angela Davis replied: "This tour has been primarily to thank the people of the Socialist countries where intensive campaigns were waged about my fate . . ." So much for the slogan, "Free Angela and ALL political prisoners!"

Dear Sister Angela, the fate of mankind is universal, and yours and all of humanity is irrevocably tied together—your answer was an adroit side-step.

As a "Marxian philosopher," as a student of Dialectical Materialism, Professor Davis certainly knows that Marx revolutionized the Hegelian Dialectic by replacing its mystification with real live human activity. His main critique of Feuerbach's Materialism was that it neglected "revolutionary practical activity." Dialectical Materialism is a philosophical realization of the connection between subject and object, and of theory and practice. The latter is certainly very important in judging any society. "It is a question of freedom. Wherever and whenever freedom was limited, Marx struck out against the barriers, in practice and in theory."

Professor Davis could have greatly enhanced her status for all time if she had asked for a discussion with the Polish shipyard workers to go over their mutual problems, indeed their mutual ordeal—one in San Jose, Cal., and the other in Szczecin, Poland.

*Quoted from Raya Dunayevskaya in "Marxist-Humanism Today" in the anthology of Socialist-Humanism, edited by Erich Fromm.

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

was so heavy, that after several days her right arm was swollen double the size it was when she started the job. They never slowed that machine down, they put another woman on it, and they put this woman with the swollen arm on picking up paper until the swelling goes down. Then she will have to go back to work on the same machine that hurt her.

What we workers will face in production is this kind of intimidation in the shops as long as the auto companies have the agreement in the contract they got from Walter Reuther: that the company has all the rights over production, setting it and adjusting it. In other words, they have all control of the work force. Now these words might not sound so bad to someone who has never worked in an auto shop, but to those of us who have to experience it every day, we know it dehumanizes a human being to be an appendage to those machines.

MANSFIELD AND FLEETWOOD

Another worker said, "As soon as they walked out of the G.M. plants last week, several of the union committeemen at the Fleetwood plant wanted to show workers there that they still represented them, because they thought that the strike at the Mansfield, Ohio plant would soon force the Fleetwood plant in Detroit to go down.

Well, they got into an argument with some foremen and they were immediately disciplined. Some workers said they were fired, others said they got three weeks off without pay. In the old days, I know that workers would not have continued to work one minute without union representation on the job, but today the policies of the International have killed that feeling."

Workers at a Chrysler plant are saying that the company there has a unique way to institute speed-ups. They work out an agreement with workers on their jobs, that if and when they reach a quota in production they can quit for the day. This is something the union was opposed to in the early days, because it places a hardship on older workers who do not have the energy and strength of younger workers. But now the union advises workers to go along with it. It also allows the company to raise the standard on future models. They just say, "Workers have done it last year with no trouble."

All the workers said that it is more than just a question of getting the strikes at G.M. plants in Mansfield and the other places settled. It is a question of workers' rights at the point of production. It is a question of workers having control of their own destiny in the shops.

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WORLD IN VIEW

By Eugene Walker

Marcos orders Philippine police-state; jailings and firings reign

Proclaiming that a Communist rebellion "enjoying the active and material support of a foreign power," was about to overthrow his government, President Ferdinand Marcos proclaimed martial law and assumed sole rule over the Philippines. It soon became evident that his thinly-veiled actions were aimed at all opponents to his rule — Communists, but mostly non-Communists, guerrillas in the hills, but mostly political opponents in the legislature, "corruption" of which to be sure there is an over-abundance, but mostly newspapers, newspaper reporters, and broadcast stations which might disagree with his tactics.

The guerrilla movement which Marcos proclaimed to be an imminent danger is the New People's Army which is reported to be supported by China. But this movement is nowhere as large as

an earlier movement in the 1940s and 1950s. The movement today does have support among some intellectuals. And thus Marcos proceeded to close campuses throughout the country.

Leading Communists were not arrested, but members of the legislature, including Benigno Aquino, a leader of the opposition Liberal Party who had backed a rally of 30,000 Filipinos protesting the use of emergency powers to silence the opposition one day before martial law was declared were jailed. Two governors of Provinces, and a number of mayors were also placed in detention.

Most newspapers and broadcast stations had to cease working. The publisher of the Manila Times was arrested. Many reporters were jailed. Those newspapers that were allowed to publish were only those friendly to the government, and no editorial

opinion or commentary was allowed.

In the name of a drive to get rid of corrupt officials some 400,000 civil service employees are now subject to discharge with no hearings or reviews.

Marcos, in power for seven years, and with elections a year away, faces a population which has seen no improvement during his regime. Land-reform is an unkept promise. Close to half a million of the country's 1,000,000 university graduates are without meaningful jobs and dissatisfied. Marcos is ineligible to run for President again, but with martial law anything is possible.

As usual the final crowning phrase to the whole action is "a need to discipline our people." Perhaps what is needed instead is discipline of the government by the people.

Peruvian 'reform'

It has been four years since the military took over the government. Proclaimed as the new military of Latin America which was interested in social reform, the government began with expropriation of American oil installations, and has followed with land reform measures and formation of co-operatives. But the changes have been from the top-down with the military setting the limits and dealing harshly with unofficial land expropriation by peasants. It has crushed a strike by miners.

And for the Andean Indians, who represent over half the population of 13.5 million, change has a long way to go. "Whatever government came, we just had to suffer along with it. Now we have the military. They changed the agrarian-reform law and the Indian communities' law, but we still run our communities ourselves, the way we always have," comments one Indian of a mountain community.

For the workers the new reforms promised that 25 percent of profits would belong to the workers. But in reality they only get 10 percent. The other 15 percent goes into shares held in common. The reason: "Our workers are not well-educated and would spend the money badly if they got it all in cash" comments General Graham who heads the military committee that advises the government.

And naturally the money is to be used for "productivity and economic development which must keep going."

The most recent government program is SINAMOS—the National System to Support Social Mobilization. It is made up of economists, agronomists, sociologists, social workers and organizers — some of whom are revolutionaries — whose job it is to teach the people how to organize themselves. But again it is from the top down.

"Sin amos" means "without masters." Does that apply to those now in power?

Endless bombing

Between February, 1965 and August, 1972 U.S. aircraft have dropped 7,550,000 tons of bombs and other ordnance over North and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. This is three and a half times as much tonnage of explosives as was used during all of World War II by all the allies in all the theaters of war.

In the last 21 months more bombs have been dropped in Indochina (mostly Vietnam) than the total allied tonnage dropped on Germany between 1940-1945.

More bombs have been dropped in the 44 months of the Nixon administration than in the 48 months of the Johnson administration.

Foreign Aid?

Former U.S. Defense Secretary, now president of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, told the industrialized nations that there has been a "massive shortfall" in their aid to the developing world. He cited figures which showed that far from the industrialized countries increasing their aid to 0.7 percent of Gross National Product by 1975, which was judged necessary to allow the developing nations to have a six per cent annual economic growth rate, the per cent of GNP would not exceed 0.37 per cent — 50 per cent below target.

The United States was shown to be one of the very worst offenders, with its percentage of GNP allocated for aid falling from 0.34 per cent in 1970 to an estimated 0.24 percentage contributions in 1975.

As it is now, even the meager assistance now going to poor nations barely touched the lives of the poorest 40 per cent of their populations. Studies showed that in 10 countries with per capita income averaging \$145, the poorest 40 per cent of the population received a per capita income of only \$50. On the Indian sub-continent alone some 200,000,000 people subsisted on incomes which average less than \$40 a year.

China-Japan treaty poses new world power axis in Asia

(Continued from Page 1)

countries invaded by Japanese militarists for much briefer periods had gained from Japan, that was no little thing to give up.

The indecent speed with which such continuous imperialist warfare against her was swept under the lush Chinese rugs, not to mention the silence on the present Japanese militarization Chou En-lai had been loudly talking about to American reporters just a few months back, makes it necessary to take a second look at that brief communique. The new element was not in giving up reparations, nor in the proclamation of "friendship."

The new element was global. It resides in the single statement that not only are China and Japan supposedly not seeking "hegemony in the Asian-Pacific area" but that "each country is opposed to the efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony." This innocent appearing clause is aimed especially against Russia, and therein lies the whole "secret" of China's readiness "to forget all."

GLOBALY SPEAKING

The anti-Russian stand has been the dominant factor in China's politics ever since the Sino-Soviet conflict came into the open in 1960, reached one type of climax during the border incidents with Russia in 1969, and has been moving globally with the rolling out of the red carpet first to Nixon and now to Tanaka.

Clearly, Mao was as anxious for new relations with Japan as Japan with China, and not only for economic reasons, but also with the political aim of undermining Russia's equally opportunistic goal when it sought agreements with Japan to industrialize Siberia. No doubt the whole idea of Russian-Japanese joint exploitation of Siberia's natural resources will have to be re-negotiated now that Japan has a few more cards up her sleeves.

If shivers run down Nixon's spine as he sees what a Pandora's box his little exploratory experiment in new global alignments has opened up, he isn't letting on. Which doesn't mean he isn't aware that the new stature Japan has gained in Asia was not just as a great industrial power, but as a political "friend" of China. Already some of the pundits are reminding the Administration that with China being the most populous nation in the world, and Japan the most industrial in Asia, the U.S. should not pressure Japan too hard.

Japan, for its part, has already informed the U.S. that it will not revalue the yen "unilaterally," no matter what pressures are put upon her — unless there is an "international agreement." Although politicians and

pundits alike are relying on the "natural," that is to say class, interests that bind the U.S. and Japan, none are forgetting the double-crosses they are also expert at playing. If Stalin-Hitler could negotiate a military pact, there is no reason to exclude the possibility of a Chinese-Japanese alliance.

AND WHERE IS THE NEW LEFT?

Big Power politics plays many deadly games, all at the expense of the masses, especially those in their own countries. There will be more than one double-cross among the Big Powers and the little ones when the chips are down. That isn't the concern. What is of concern is the silence of the Left which can sow illusions in the masses.

In desperation over the new reality, the Left has taken to talking about such irrelevancies as the Leninist stand on "monopoly of foreign trade" and elections. The truth is that the decisive anti-Vietnam war movement is being paralyzed as much by the Sino-Soviet orbit and conflict, as by Nixon's genocidal war (See Editorial, p. 4).

The silence of the "new left" on these events shows how anxious they are to take the China-Japan communique only at face value and to evade the fact that China is playing global politics with militaristic Japan

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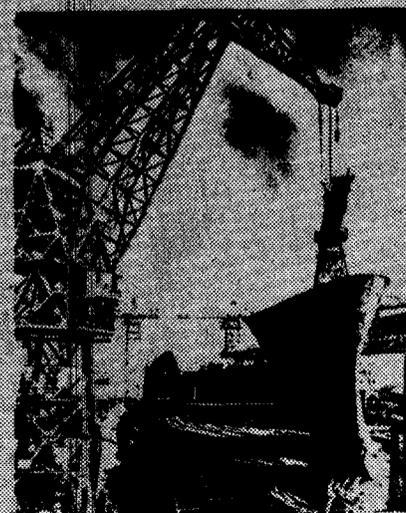
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as well as with Nixon carrying on a genocidal war in Viet Nam.

In the game of global politics it is clear that both Russia and China are quite willing to betray North Vietnam for the sake of their "larger" national and world objectives, just as eventually Nixon will abandon the many new openings to the so-called Communist World for his Pax Americana.

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