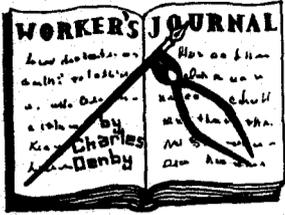


ON THE INSIDE

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Labor leaders' folly divides workers' vote

by Charles Denby, Editor

The national election is over, and the wide margin by which Nixon won over McGovern stunned many people. You hear commentators give their analysis of what happened without saying that the overwhelming majority came from racists' votes that went to Nixon. The "last crooked mile" on November 7 was the walk that white America took to get to the polls.

The statistics say that only 10 or 15 percent of the Blacks in this country voted for Nixon-Agnew. One would be thinking wrongly, however, to think that the rest of us were voting for McGovern. Out of all McGovern's speeches, not once did he mention civil rights or the struggle of Blacks in this country as an oppressed minority.

This same reason is why many white labor leaders who did support McGovern can't understand why so many of the white working class deserted their tradition and voted for Nixon and Griffin in Michigan. Because they too have swept the question of Black workers under the rug from the early beginnings of the UAW. They would say it is a class question, with no separate or special problems outside the class nature. They never would take on management alongside Black workers when it came to breaking down lily-white departments.

In those early days of the UAW, practically every local union had one officer called the Education Director, and at least once a month we were asked to attend an educational meeting. And every teacher would be ready to lecture on the class question, or trade unionism, or any political question except the independent struggle of Blacks in the shop or the country as a whole. Many white workers, some just up from the Deep South, were ready and willing to learn all about the struggle that Blacks were fighting. But the union leaders weren't ready.

Now there is no such education director, and racism never was discussed openly because most of the labor leaders were prejudiced themselves, although the great majority of them had been previously connected with some radical group. Some had more deep-seated racism in them than many of the so-called raw whites just up from the South.

When some, like Meany, said that McGovern was a radical, and never mentioned Black people in his campaign, it was just like most of these old trade union radicals.

BUSING HYPOCRISY

The white UAW leaders of today never uttered a word about the business of busing, so Nixon and Wallace made it the main issue. As a Black worker said to me: "I pass through an all-white working-class neighborhood every day, and many of the houses have signs in the

(Continued on Page 7)

West coast longshoremen auctioned off

Los Angeles, Cal.—The latest discussion we have been having on the docks in Los Angeles is about merger. Our local president Curt Johnson released a letter sent him by President Gleason of the East coast International Longshoreman's Association (ILA) in which he stated the ILA was interested in merger with the West coast longshoremen.

Gleason spoke about how unity could work for both unions against anti-strike legislation in the longshore industry, a united front in contract negotiations and protection against raiding by other unions. He stated that west coast longshoremen would have a substantial degree of autonomy and representation in the union.

The release of this letter has to be seen in the context of ILWU President Harry Bridges' attempts to have us merge with the Teamsters' Union. Many in both the membership and the leadership are unhappy about possible merger with the Teamsters. Many of us don't think we would have much security in the Teamsters. As a union we feel its effectiveness is nil. If it came down to a choice I know many would prefer the ILA to the Teamsters.

But what becomes very clear is that much of the leadership wants to merge with someone. The question for them is who. The politics of running a union is everything to these leaders, the rank and file comes second, if then.

The letter from ILA President Gleason cleared up

10¢ NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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Editorial Article

Nixon's racist victory places American civilization on trial

By Andy Phillips

The first bitter harvest of President Nixon's racist victory at the polls on Nov. 7 was reaped on the campus of America's largest Black college barely a week later, on Nov. 16. Two murderous blasts from police shotguns, fired into a crowd of protestors, ripped into the heads of two Black



—LNS photo
East Baton Rouge, La., police stand over covered bodies of two murdered Black Southern University students.

students on the campus of Southern University in Baton Rouge, La., where students had been boycotting classes for weeks in an effort to have a greater voice in determining the school's administration policies and curriculum.

The storm of outrage on the part of the Black community forced Louisiana Governor Edwards to appoint a "blue-ribbon" commission to investigate the senseless killings, which police officials and the governor had at first denied were committed by the police. But whatever the findings of that commission, they will not be connecting what happened on the Southern University campus to what had happened at the polls on Nov. 7.

FLOODGATES OF AMERICAN RACISM OPENED

That is when the floodgates of American racism were opened wide. It is not enough to explain the overwhelming victory of Nixon to say that he had skillfully conducted a racist campaign for re-election—which certainly goes back to his 1968 nomination in Miami where he pledged to restore "Law and Order," and by which he clearly meant to call a halt to gains made during the decade of the '60s by Black Americans.

It is true that Nixon had found other expressions during his administration to reaffirm his opposition to Black progress and national desegregation. Every American, Black and white, understood exactly that Nixon was lashing out against further Black progress when he demanded an end to school busing, permissiveness, welfare abuse, laziness or crime in the streets. About his own racism, Nixon was perfectly clear.

However, it was not Nixon's racism that was demonstrated in the voting booths, it was the racism in the majority of white America. Even more critical is the cold and hard fact that for the first time in modern America, so many working class whites voted for a Republican—only this was not just any Republican, it was a thoroughly racist Republican, Nixon. So deep was this racism that workers had to disregard their own self-interest to vote for Nixon. For the overwhelming majority of white workers know very well that Nixon's economic policies mean a continuation of high unemployment, worsening working conditions and worsening standards of living.

OTHER ISSUES WERE MINOR

Of course, there were many other issues: Nixon's Vietnam war, his invasion of Cambodia and Laos, his attacks against the youth and Blacks, Watergate bugging, corruption in a ITT and a raft of campaign fund scandals. Then there was McGovern, alienating old party regulars at the Miami convention, the Eagleton affair, his vacillating policies on welfare reform. But all of these factors pale in the light of the one overriding conclusion: the unifying force in Nixon's landslide victory was racism.

Certainly many election results were not all Nixonite. The fact that Democrats retained control of both houses of Congress, and indeed increased control in the Senate, will prevent a completely free hand by Nixon. Moreover, the Black Coalition in the House of Representatives was increased from 13 to 16, with the addition of Barbara Jordan of Texas, Yvonne Braithwaite Burke of California and Andrew Young of Georgia—with the latter winning in a predominantly white district in Atlanta.

Another significant victory was the defeat of Chicago Democrat Edward Hanrahan, who waged his campaign

(Continued on Page 5)

Season's Greetings
to Our Readers
For Your Gift-Giving
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On Page 7

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FORCE AND REASON

WL needs Black-white unity

The issue behind which the new racism is barely disguised is supposed to be the big concern of women—school busing. This horrible situation demands that Women's Liberation take a stand, not only because we need to attract Black women to deepen our own movement, not only because racism is "wrong," but in order to define ourselves.

ALL WOMEN ARE NOT OUR SISTERS. The racists are not, and we had better know it, not only because the reactionary movement will sweep away the small gains of the young WL movement too, but because racism is the Achilles heel of every freedom movement.

WL ROOTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS

The WL movement was born out of the Black civil rights movement, as the new revolutionaries of the 1960's caught the universal idea of freedom and applied it to still another layer of the population.

But what has happened since those more exciting times? A few women and Black men have gotten fancy jobs, but for most, as the 1970 census reveals, the disparity in economic conditions between men and women, and between whites and Blacks, has increased. The WL movement is in disarray, and has failed to maintain mass activities and momentum. And the Black population to a person is being persecuted outright again.

The revolutionary nature of women's liberation is that it raises the most basic issue of all—the relationships between human beings—which is implicit in every revolutionary movement.

CHANGE REQUIRES UNITY

Canarsie is the American history in which we live and which we cannot escape. WL became a movement for freedom and changed the course of American history when we began to see the universality of our individual discontents, and the power of our cooperative efforts to change society. As Raya Dunayevskaya said, writing on Marxism and WL in the pamphlet *Notes on Women's Liberation*: "Collectivity and individuality have become inseparable not merely because after you have had your fight at home, you can come to the WL meeting and hear of others' struggles, but because of the heightened consciousness which makes you see, be it man or woman, that he or she is only 'individualized through the process of history.'"

Surely Marx meant by that expression that each of us can only gain our individual freedom through participation in the mass movements for freedom of our day that will tear down this society and build a new one. Unless we ourselves make our freedom, there will be no such thing, and unless every single woman, man, and child is free, it is not a free society.

We are now faced with the immediate challenge of standing up and shouting our opposition to the current resurgence of racism. Let us do this not "for" anyone else, but because it is vital to our own movement and to our own freedom.

—Molly Jackson

Abortion defeat in Mich.

Detroit, Mich.—The proposal on the Michigan ballot which would have given women the legal right to have an abortion up to the 20th week of pregnancy, was defeated on Nov. 7 by a margin of about three to two.

Polls taken as little as two weeks before the election showed that the majority of women who were interviewed were in favor of abortion law reform. The Michigan Abortion Reform Committee distributed literature explaining the proposal and giving case histories of women who had desperately needed abortions but were unable to get them legally.

Right-to-Life groups, heavily financed by the Catholic Church and claiming to be the "voice of the unborn," also distributed literature which showed magnified pictures of bloody aborted fetuses which I, personally, found very offensive. A group of Catholic men also put up billboards with a huge picture of Christ as the Sacred Heart saying "Thou Shalt Not Kill."

Several questions have come to my mind since the proposal was defeated. Why did the Catholic Church campaign so frantically and spend so much money, particularly during the last two weeks of the campaign? Did this really cause women to change their minds about their own right to abortion or were there other reasons for voting against it? I really want to find out what the reasons were.

—Suzanne Casey

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 3.

'Sophisticated' New York: a new Alabama

Canarsie whites bar Black students

New York, N. Y.—"This isn't Little Rock, this isn't Mississippi. It's not going to happen here," shouted a Black woman, angry, frustrated, hurt, into a T.V. microphone. She was from the Tilden Houses project in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

Since the beginning of the school year about 30 Black and Puerto Rican children from the projects were refused entrance into John Wilson Junior High School 211 by a mob of white parents from the Canarsie section of Brooklyn in which JHS 211 is located.

WHITES BLOCK DOORWAY

These parents occupied the building and blocked the doorway to the school on the grounds that JHS 211 was "correctly" integrated; the school would be overcrowded, and they wanted to "save" their neighborhood.

Rev. Wilbert B. Miller, a spokesman for the group of Black parents said "There would be no question of 'overcrowding' if our children could turn white right this minute!"

As the Black and Puerto Rican students finally got into JHS 211 to begin classes, white students began a boycott of all schools in School District 18. A few white parents escorted their children to school during the 12-day boycott. They too faced a barrage of racial slurs from the "unbiased" white mob.

The local school board, which the Black, Puerto Rican and poor communities had fought hard for to get better schools and better education for their children, turned against them. The whites conceded to stop the boycott and have their children return to school only while they await a new school zoning plan by the local school board, which had been ordered to promote integration and improve racial balance at the three district 18 high schools.

MIGHT RENEW BOYCOTT

The whites declared they reserve the right to "renew the boycott if the new zoning plan does not meet the lawful and equitable aspirations of the people of Canarsie."

Not only were there racial slurs and obscenities shouted at the Black parents and students, but they were put down for being poor and being welfare recipients. The white families in Canarsie, for the most part, had poor beginnings. The racial issue, inflamed by the likes of President Nixon and Vice-President Agnew, tears at the guts of American society and divides the poor from the poor, workers from workers, whites from Blacks.

The urgency of the times demands a total change of this system that allows racism to run wild. The Black people of this country show everyday that they refuse to give up to Nixon and his racist cohorts, whether in the White House itself or on the streets of Canarsie, any of their long and hard-fought-for gains.

—Angela Terrano, White Working Mother

WAY OF THE WORLD

Southern U. murders and lies

By Ethel Dunbar

When I looked at pictures of the two young Blacks who were murdered demonstrating against their unfair school in Baton Rouge, La., tears came into my eyes. To think that just an hour before they were alive and healthy young people, studying for an education at Southern U., and there they are, their lives wiped out by some race-hating police force.

They spread the lie that police did not shoot, that the shooting came from students, but they could not produce one student with a gun. Finally they had to admit that sheriff's deputies had murdered the students.

FOUR MORE YEARS

The Nixon Administration is starting these four years just like it did the last four. I was frightened by the election because I remember too well what happened right after he took office. First, Kent State, then Augusta, Ga., where Blacks were slain. Then Nixon's terror struck at Jackson State and Attica, N.Y. I still feel that if the Indians had stayed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs building one day after Nixon's re-election, they would have met death in the same manner.

Many Blacks, as well as whites were disturbed that Nixon won re-election. What puzzles me is how anyone could support Nixon after all the scandals of his administration. There were the Pentagon Papers, the ITT scandal, the Watergate bugging — all this coming from the head of the Government, not to mention the Russian wheat deal.

THE WAR NOT OVER

How can Nixon get away with that lie to the world that the war in Vietnam would be over by October 30th, that everything was worked out except the signing. Now, nearly a month later, very little is being reported about the date for ending this war.

It appears to me that we are headed into a dictatorial society. Some say it will take the counter-revolution to whip the senses into the forces of revolution.

The heart of Nixon's war abroad and war at home is a continuing policy of smothering the lives and resistance of poor unarmed innocent people.

Low income housing killed in Queens

New York, N. Y.—For the past months this city has seen incident after incident of pure racism which can't help but remind one of George Wallace and Alabama, although this is "sophisticated" New York in 1972.

We have seen vicious racist mobs of whites physically keep Black and Brown students from entering a school; an assault on children in a school bus, and the barring of a low-income housing project. The Northern racists got the Nixon-Agnew message even before the election.

Thirty Black and Puerto Rican junior high students were kept from attending Junior High School 211 in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn by mobs of white parents for weeks. JHS 211 is in a community school district comprised of all-white Canarsie with a border of all-Black neighborhoods. Although the school has some middle-class Black children, the new students are from a low-income housing project, the Tilden Houses.

STUDENTS ATTACKED

In a separate but not dissimilar incident, a group of white men in Ozone Park in Queens boarded a school bus filled with Black and Puerto Rican children, 12 to 16 years old, beat them up and threw oil on them and the bus. Some of the kids were beaten so badly they had to be hospitalized. When the men were caught, they said the kids had provoked the attack by their demeanor as the bus passed through town.

In Forest Hills, another area of Queens, it is now almost sure that little or no low-income housing will be built. The original plan called for two 24-story projects. Demonstrations, petitions and political pressures against the project climaxed recently at a hearing called by the City Board of Estimate.

The hearing lasted for ten hours, during which Blacks and tenant groups spoke for the project, while those against it screamed racial slurs, and didn't even hide their racism in their speeches to the Board.

GIVES IN TO RACISTS

The Queens Borough President yielded to the racist residents of Forest Hills and introduced a "compromise" plan for 12-story buildings that would be limited almost entirely to the elderly and veterans, in other words, few Blacks.

Only the Manhattan Borough President voted against it; the other boroughs and the mayor (in the person of an aide, for Lindsay didn't bother to attend) voted racist. The defeat of this project is the death knell for public housing in New York, which is the only way that any poor people can continue to live in this city.

—Acidi, Black Worker

Household workers lose round, pledge fight for unionization

Detroit, Mich.—The first household workers' union representation election in Michigan took place here on November 11. According to the spokeswoman for the Household Workers Organization in Detroit, Mrs. Mary McClendon, it may have been the first such union election in the entire country.

The Household Workers Organization led the unsuccessful attempt to unionize the Dial-a-Maid Company, which hires domestic workers and transports them in teams to the Detroit suburbs. The women clean two to three houses per day, and receive only \$12.00 and no fringe benefits. The company charges each homeowner \$20.00 and up, and realizes a large profit off the workers.

"The company committed every unfair labor practice they could to stop the union from winning the election," Mrs. McClendon said. "The women were given a \$2.00 per day raise right before the vote, and we believe the company threatened them with loss of their jobs if the union came in. Many of the women are receiving supplementary social service benefits, and it appears that Dial-A-Maid threatened to report them if they voted for the union."

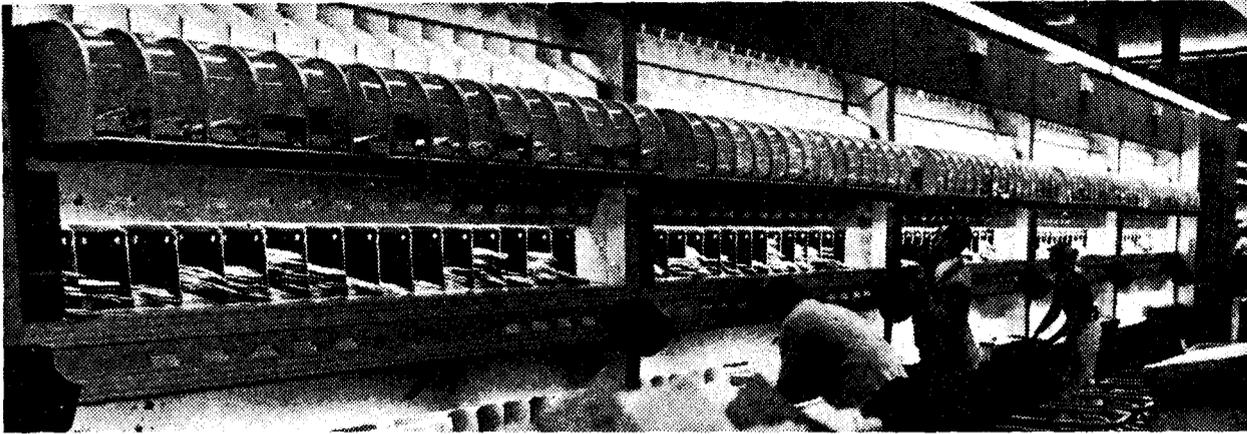
"Every beginning is difficult," said Mrs. McClendon, "We are being hit with all old tactics used in the olden days' against unions. Household workers are the worst victims of this society, and it will be a long fight to truly revolutionize our lives, but we will keep fighting for decent conditions."

A legal worker for the group said that they are confident the Labor Board will set aside the election due to the illegal tactics of the company.

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NY postal workers face noise, speed-up on job

New York, N. Y.—Though possibly not as dramatic as the problems of the auto worker, the experiences of U. S. postal workers is just as dire to them. First, let me speak of conditions where I work.

There is peeling leaded paint and 80-year-old dust continually filtering through the air. Then we have noise pollution which tears at and finally destroys the nerves of all workers to the point of being belligerent to each other and careless in the performance and safety of our work. Some of these machines are obsolete and 95 per cent not in use and should be removed or turned off.

For example, about eight years ago they installed miles of overhead moving belts to carry mail trays around the entire station. They were so bad that sometimes the trays didn't show up until the next day. They've pulled the route belts long since but they still run the overhead belts. The noise is like riding between two subway cars all day.

But the worst danger is when the trays hit a jam and begin to fall. They put metal nets below the worst jam-ups, but the trays still fall down on unprotected areas where people are working. The only good thing about the belts is that it forced management to air-condition the work floor so the motors wouldn't overheat.

A clerk said the noise on the letter sorting machines upstairs is just as bad. They started to lay carpet in one corner, and she thought they would finish the whole floor. It turns out the carpet was put down to absorb the noise from a new high-speed cancelling machine. That corner is right next to the women's swing room and lockers. You never get a break from the racket.

There is also the tension of speed in this service. There was a time when three carriers followed the line of 20 clerks on mail flow. This was changed when four followed the line, but they had to follow 45 or 50 clerks. This increased speed is the USPS answer to better service. They have also added a machine called an optical character reader which does the work of an additional 20 people. I am sure it is intended to be stepped up when it is entirely workable.

If the USPS is desirous of improving service let them first improve working conditions. And let them talk and work with people, not machines and computers for solutions, because people are the power to create.

— Postal Worker, GPO

Teamsters scab on UFW

San Francisco, Calif. — The United Farmworkers won a smashing victory in California Nov. 7, defeating the unionbusting Proposition 22 by over 1 million votes, but the growers' representatives said they would come back with another farm labor ballot in 1974.

Meanwhile the growers have called in their lackeys in the Teamsters Union to do their job. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons gave Catholic bishops "a couple of weeks to win Chavez to a peace pact"—which was turned down. The Teamsters want an end to the Farmworkers' boycott of "scab lettuce," picked by workers under the "sweetheart contracts" signed by the Teamsters and two hundred growers without the workers ever voting. This method of "organizing" has been challenged by Chavez in a lawsuit now before the State Supreme Court.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Ford Pico Rivera

Los Angeles, Cal. — A worker was recently run over by a plant vehicle at Ford. He had to go to the hospital and has been off the job ever since. The plant vehicle transports men from where they have driven new cars to the gate line where they pick up cars. It was on one of these trips that a man was struck at about 20 mph.

On the accident report it said three mph. Both the company and the union knew this was not true, but both agreed to put down three mph anyway. On the part of the union and workers, no one wanted to say anything to get the driver in trouble. I don't think the driver should be blamed either, because most likely it wasn't his fault.

The speed limit in the plant is supposed to be eight mph. But the Ford plant management is not interested in enforcing this. If they were, they would put governors on all vehicles — fork lifts, tugs, kalmazoos, foremen's golf carts — so that they could not go over eight mph.

But Ford has cut down on the PDA people (pre-delivery area) while at the same time running the same number of cars down the line. Cutting jobs and not cutting production means that the drivers have to speed up in order to keep up with production. That is why the plant vehicles are zooming around the plant at unsafe speeds.

The union should hit out at this under health and safety. If we attack it from this point of view then management can't hit out at the driver. It wasn't his fault, it was the company's fault.

—Ford worker

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — Nobody can imagine how low the union has sunk in the past 15 or 20 years in regard to workers' thought or actions. We held an election in 9790 last month for Chief Steward. Our present Chief Steward, Stanley, was defeated, and many workers began celebrating.

Then they heard that there were some votes for Stanley that weren't counted. There was a lot of yelling, and finally the opposition agreed to have a new election

in a week. Even some of Stanley's supporters said it was a damn shame the way the election was rigged.

Some workers are saying that this proves that even when you win you still lose. Stanley's people figure the opposition will be so disgusted that they won't bother to vote again. But I will damn sure be there to vote against Stanley because when you go in with him on a grievance he talks to you worse than a boss does.

The company is saying that it will move the Dart and Valiant jobs out of the Mack plant by Thanksgiving, and the speed and rush to finish up is enough to drive you insane. You don't have a steady job on that operation any more. Metal finishers are doing everything from stock handling to sweeping the floor, and the union is doing nothing.

They have hired some new workers, but the word is that all new hires will be laid off before Christmas.

—Mack worker

GM Southgate

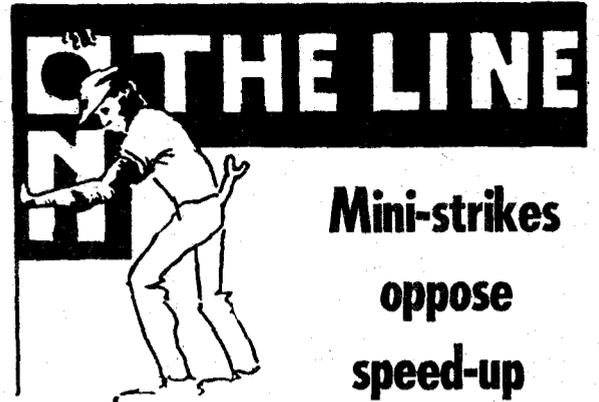
Los Angeles, Cal. — Guilty until proven innocent is the theme by which General Motors operates its employee relationship program. Whenever a brother or sister is taken off to the "Blue Room," they have already been suspected, captured, tried and found guilty. It takes an act of God to get out with one's scalp!

One brother was dismissed for picking out a half cup of screws from the sweeping debris and taking them to his car. Employees have been harassed for being sick or injured when these judges thought otherwise. These men take pride in their power.

If a grievance is filed against the company, the employee has to comply with the matter being contested while the problem itself is argued on, pocketed, or goes through lengthy channels. A grievance here at Southgate means that it takes a month, or a year, or two years to be told that the company is never wrong.

There's nothing radical in proper representation or fair, speedy trials, or in democratic methods of setting policy, on in humane treatment from the bosses. These things are as non-radical as they are non-existent here at Southgate.

—Southgate worker



by John Allison

The GM mini-strike is at last declaring war on Automation and production standards. Production for years has been too high, and that's a fact. The Pension was supposed to create jobs for young workers. Automation was supposed to do the same. Overtime was supposed to disappear, and the six-hour day was supposed to be on its way.

History will show that as production has gone up, unemployment has gone up, and management pockets the profit. As overtime goes up, outside contracting goes up. This means that small shops with cheap labor will do the work for Chrysler and they pocket the savings.

The union knows all this. The contract permits this illicit relationship between union and management. Chrysler always reports a high manpower requirement to the press, and lays off before 90 days are up. The press never reports this kind of information.

Local 490 is in the process of negotiating a new contract for Borgman and U.S. Radiator. Both companies have been given strike notices. These workers are under UAW contract. Yet the big bad UAW is asking these workers to accept management's last offer.

The reason the UAW refuses to fight is that both of these companies have plants in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan that are not organized.

You would think that all factories, large and small, would be organized so management could not pit worker against worker at contract negotiations. Compared to auto workers, these workers are just above the poverty level, and yet they make more money than their sisters and brothers in the Upper Peninsula.

The local unions are pressuring the UAW to take away some of management's power: 1) Management's right to control starting and quitting time. 2) Management's right to hire and fire. 3) Management's right to let outside contracts.

The union could have had all of this during the sit-down strike. At that point in history, the union — to their sorrow — trusted management. They have abused their power. So the thinking now is to take the power away. Management is like the police force, Army, Navy and Air Force. They all abuse power — and that's a fact.

Eagle: old sweat-shop today

Long Island City, N. Y.—Eagle Electric is a manufacturing complex of seven buildings. The 3000 people who work here produce 2000 different parts of electrical hardware.

The worst shops in Building No. 1 have to be Stamping and Plating. Metal plates, shells, and screws are made in Stamping, and there are many big machines which make an unbearable noise. On some of the machines, the pieces are shot out of the machine and are caught by a plate and drop into a barrel. If the plate fell off, the sharp pieces could cut somebody badly. The floor is so covered with grease that a hi-lo could slide and hurt someone.

The Plating shop is almost all Black, except for the white foremen. Some of the vats use acid dips which splash and give off dangerous fumes.

Many of the men here believe that none of the women, who all work on the upper floors, would help them strike for better conditions and wages. They say that the women are happy as long as they are getting their pocket money. I don't think this is true. Most of the men are at least able to move around and talk with each other, but the women are stuck to their machines and assembly operations and have to repeat the same brief motions second after second, hour after hour, day after day.

If there was a strike, I believe that the women would be the first to go out. Then we'll see if the men will follow, or be the ones who stay in!

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Readers' Views

THE AFTERMATH OF NOV. 7

It looks like the only country which the Pentagon succeeded in bombing back to the Stone Age is the U. S.

Correspondent
Montreal

* * *

The Nixon victory, whose massive proportions include the white working class, is the ultimate triumph of the architects of one-dimensional man.

This reader is waiting for Marxist-Humanism to develop an analysis of that (predominant) phase of the existence of the masses: not the sporadic, albeit heroic, episodes of revolutionary upsurge, but the enduring, pervasive reaffirmation of the ruling order.

Never have so many consented to their own rape.

Pessimist
New York

* * *

Despite Nixon's anti-labor policy many, many workers voted for him. What I want to know is what is going to change this? We can't "moralize" about the racism of many white workers. But somehow they will have to see that their future is tied up with the black people who are the only ones consistently fighting Nixon.

Teacher
Los Angeles

* * *

How completely unreal are all the candidates, all the alternatives offered to the voter. The control of life-work, leisure, politics, remains in the same hands. The campaigns revolve, not around realities, but images, as if the political life of the country was no more important than choosing between brands of cigarettes.

Now the spectacle is over and we go back to work — or looking for work, which is worse. I am fed up to the gills with sitting in employment agencies, state and private, being treated like one of Nixon's "spoiled children." The assumption seems to be that since we are not working, not making profit for anybody, we have nothing better to do than sit in their offices reading old copies of *Business Week* or *Sports Illustrated*.

Unemployed U. C. Graduate
Sacramento

* * *

A vote for Nixon was a war crime.

Student
Kalamazoo, Mich.

* * *

Whites don't seem to realize that Nixon will be choking them as well as us. Just watch the prices rise. Just watch the number of whites on welfare. And what has happened to all those young people who were anti-war? They must have also succumbed to racism at the polls.

I feel very shaky about things to come. At work people are getting nasty and arrogant already. A Southern guy at work kept making comments about a Black crane operator who was trying to

operate a very complex crane. He wasn't moving fast enough for him. It reminded me of years ago when nothing Blacks could do on the docks would satisfy the whites.

We are not going to stop fighting. Whether Nixon has his way will depend on the amount of opposition Black people put up. But we have to develop more cohesiveness with others. We have to get together with movements like Women's Liberation. Otherwise we will be murdered.

Black Longshoreman
Los Angeles

* * *

A young co-worker of mine came to work the day after the elections with a homemade paper button pinned on his shirt that said, "He's not My President." Mine, either.

Electrical Worker
Cleveland

* * *

The UAW said that they supported McGovern. But I worked in their campaign and saw that the money that trickled down got used for other local rickles of Democrats who didn't even want to be associated with McGovern.

UAW Campaign Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

It was infuriating to listen to the newscasters on election night, reporting all the groups that were "going for" Nixon. They never once mentioned the Black voters as a category, or that they were solidly not "going for" Nixon. It was the same during the campaign — they kept talking about the "blue-collar workers" as if all of them were white. I guess the Black people just don't exist for them.

White Student
Detroit

* * *

The people who voted Nixon in will get what they deserve. He worked up so much hatred against the people on welfare. I was listening to one white guy about how everybody on welfare should be put to work. So I asked him was he willing to give up his job. There wasn't a thing he could say.

Here the country's so upset about welfare while this Senator Eastland down in Mississippi gets \$250,000 from the government for not growing anything on his land. I understand what hard times we're living in since I was laid off for a while after putting in over 10 years at Royal Typewriter. That's the situation in this country but if you start talking the truth about it they'll call you a communist or something.

Black Worker
Hartford, Conn.

* * *

Nixon had better not think because McGovern lost that the turmoil in the country is over. It'll probably start up at his inauguration.

Activist
Connecticut

ROOTS OF MALE-CHAUVINISM

While I agree with the editorial about the fight against the sexist medical textbook, the statement about "the inseparability of male chauvinism and its roots in the capitalistic system" is poorly stated. It is true that male domination is now deeply entrenched and works along with the capitalistic system in exploiting women. But male chauvinism predates capitalism. Women were the first object to be owned. In some non-capitalist parts of the world, women are still treated as chattel and breeding machines.

It is conceivable to have an economic change without changing the lives of women. That is why there must be a strong Women's Liberation Movement, fighting for freedom now.

Feminist
Detroit

UFWOC

UFWOC has stepped up the lettuce boycott lately and the Teamsters have responded by refusing to deliver UFWOC lettuce! It's bad enough that unions don't refuse to handle non-union goods these days, but to refuse to handle union goods is unbelievable. I think this is part of the new respectability of racism. The unions don't even pretend not to be reactionary any longer.

Reader
New York

ISRAEL AND MUNICH

The title of your editorial shocked me: "Terrorism and Retaliation Serve Counter-Revolution." Our reactionary TV press and radios have bombarded us with this kind of reactionary ideology. It is the aim of the world powers to convince those who have no real power that we have no hope of transforming this world . . . To talk about Palestine, Zionism or hatred of Jews when the events occurred at the Olympics is to play the game of our class enemy . . .

Correspondent
Paris

* * *

I endorse the basic ideas expressed in your Editorial on Munich and terrorism. There are certain points, especially regarding the Arab refugees and the responsibility of the Israeli government that I would have put in a different order. But it is impossible to expect one far from the actual scene to know all the facts, or to look at things the way we do. I am enclosing the public statement of a coalition of left wing and liberal elements, critical of the Israeli government's policy, which I hope you can publish.

Correspondent
Israel

* * *

Editor's Note: See "World in View," page 8.

* * *

I expect that you will be getting complaints from those who thought you were too harsh on Israel, and from those who thought you unjustly criticized the terrorists. As far as I am concerned, your even-handedness was the first sane analysis I read anywhere.

Supporter
Detroit

* * *

CUBA

I was stunned when I read that Cuba intended to keep those three hijackers in 4 foot by 4 foot by 4 foot cells for the rest of their lives! I can't believe it is true. That sounds like Hitler—or Thieu. If it is true, I can't help feeling that it is racist viciousness — the white man who hijacked a plane to Cuba with his sons just a few weeks before, and actually killed a man in the process, was not caged like that. Every Black I know feels the same way.

Black Worker
Detroit

* * *

Editor's Note: See "Two Worlds," p. 5.

THE PRICE OF WAR

Scott Camil, a leader of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, is under indictment by the federal government for Conspiracy to disrupt the Republican Convention with, among other things, a slingshot! His trial and that of seven other members of the VVAW will start in January 1973 in Gainesville, Fla. If your readers want to help keep them from being silenced by the government, please have them contact:

VVAW, Gainesville Conspiracy
Defense Committee
PO Box 13179 Gainesville, Florida 32601

* * *

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw a report in the newspaper about a professor who had just completed a

study to compute the "human capital loss caused by the war." Their study was based on the theory "that the discounted value of a person's expected earning power during his lifetime is capital and that his death or disability resulting from war reduces the nation's wealth."

They wound up computing that the loss in human lives in the Vietnam war cost the U. S. \$11.6 billion through 1970. So much for the state of "Political Economy" in the epoch of degenerate capitalism!

Reader
New York

* * *

To some of us in the Movement, jail is what night is to the 24 hour day — just the other half of life. And as for worrying about "1984," it will come over our dead bodies, so we don't have to worry about it.

Collective
California

AFRICAN LIBERATION

Would you please announce that your readers can help our support work for the Liberation Movements in Africa by ordering the 1973 Liberation Calendar. All proceeds from the sales will go to support Frelimo, MPLA, and PAIGC. Calendars are \$3 and can be ordered from:

Liberation Support Movement
Information Center
Box 338, Richmond, B. C.
Canada

WORKERS IN ITALY . . .

I assume you have read about what seems a fascist attempt against a train carrying 900 workers to Reggio Calabria for a demonstration organized by the national unions that were holding a Congress there on "The Economic Development of the South." Fortunately, they were incompetent dynamiters. The first explosion, wounding six, gave the alarm and later dynamite was found all along the track and also other tracks where it would have been possible to divert trains.

I wonder what would have happened if the train did blow up. Would the workers have limited themselves to a one hour general strike the following day? Here, as in the rest of the world, almost everyone feels as though they are sitting on a keg of dynamite, even if they're not conscious of it. The impatience makes one wish that something would happen, no matter what it is.

Correspondent
Italy

. . . AND IN BRITAIN

There is trouble brewing here over Heath's wage freeze. It is now illegal to strike against Government policy. I can see shop stewards landing in trouble. For that, we must prepare.

Heath knows nothing about working people but he is, obviously, being advised. The old age pensioners and the lower paid workers are receiving some attention. Rents are going up, but there are rebates for lower paid workers. The aim is to split the working class.

It would be idle to deny that the Government has met with some success in persuading some workers that their interests are completely tied up with the national economy. Some trade union leaders are accepting lower wage increases on the grounds of the serious crisis.

At the last Trades Council meeting, I raised the issue of the shorter working day. I dealt with the significance of this demand historically and fundamentally. My resolution was carried but not a single CP member spoke. I doubt if they saw the significance of the issue.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

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TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of *Marxism and Mreedom*

Editor's Note: When the daily papers carried a story that Cuba intended to keep three Black hijackers, Henry Jackson, Lewis Moore, and Melvin Cale, "in 4 by 4 by 4 ft. cells," we received several letters from Black readers, shocked beyond belief, who asked, "What has happened to the Cuban Revolution? And what is your position?" Below is what Raya Dunayevskaya had written December, 1960, only one year after the Cuban Revolution shook off American imperialism. Other articles will follow as the trial of the Black hijackers opens, and the underlying global politics is disclosed.

The Cuban Revolution: The Year After

In a few weeks the Cuban Revolution will mark the first year of its victory. It is no accident that its enthusiastic and uncritical alliance with the Russian orbit of power is almost as old. Contrary to the claims of the old radicals, who can no longer remember what constitutes principled working-class politics, this was not the only path open to it when it shook off the American imperialist yoke. The revolutions that preceded it—in the Middle East and in Africa—took advantage of the global division into two nuclear-armed blocs fighting for world power to play off one against the other to its own national advantage. If Cuba chose to disregard this precedent and align itself with but one of these power blocs, the answer cannot lie outside of itself.

FIDELISMO

Forget Russia for a moment—it was nowhere around when Fidel Castro marched into Havana at the head of the July 26th guerilla movement. Neither it nor the native Cuban Communists supported that movement during the seven years it hid out in the Sierra Maestra Mountains. The revolutionary petty-bourgeois lawyer who led this movement had been so little concerned with Communist theory that he gained financial help from many a Cuban, and even some American, liberal bourgeois who had had their fill of the corrupt Batista.

The guerilla fighters from the mountains, the peasants in the Oriente province, the proletariat and students of Havana merged to bring the greatest revolu-

What has happened to the Cuban revolution?

tion Latin America had ever witnessed. There is no doubt that with the overthrow of the bloody Batista dictatorship, the revolution broke decisively with United States imperialism which had plundered the Cuban economy. In expropriating the American capitalist owners, it achieved an agricultural revolution and put an end to the feudal relations between the Cuban peasants and the Cuban-American plantation owners. At the same time, however, the power lay not in peasant committees, but in the state who was the new owner.

STATE-ISM

As for Castro's attitude to the industrial workers, from the very start his bossist, administrative mentality stuck out from the very first day of victorious entry into Havana when he demanded that the revolutionary students and workers there put down their arms. He proclaimed his movement alone to be the government, his army alone the army. Nevertheless, the overwhelming enthusiasm for the revolution made the proletariat, despite its reservations, lay down its arms, and willingly tighten its belt even as the unemployed continued to be silent. When it did, in due course, at the first trade union congress question some economic policies of the new government, Castro ran out of the convention, calling it a "madhouse."

It is at this point that a kinship was established between the new regime and the native Communists, for it is they who used their leadership of the trade unions to transform them into a pliant tool of the new armed state. Together with world communism Fidel Castro shared the conception of the "backwardness of the masses" who had to be led. The state would henceforward give the orders, the workers and peasants would continue to work harder while the leaders continued to lead and set foreign policy.

Just as the peasant found that, in tilling the soil, he was responsible, not to a committee elected by himself and subject to his recall, but to the state, so the worker found that he too had no organization responsible to him. Despite the lower rents, there has been no change, except for the worse, in the workers' conditions of life and labor. Unemployment continues as do poor wages. Worst of all, there are no Workers' Councils or any other form of free expression whether in their own organization

or in the press. Those who had hailed the revolution had by now as little freedom to criticize any action of the government least of all its total embrace of all things Russian, Chinese, East European, including the bloody regime of Kadar's Hungary.

The stream of refugees are by no means restricted to "Batista's supporters" or "agents of American imperialism." Every one from the editor of Bohemia to militant trade unionists have attempted to escape, and if the price isn't always the firing squad, it is always silence. When only a Castro—Fidel or Raul—or a Che Guevara have endless voice here and abroad while the masses are made voiceless; when all spontaneity becomes hypostatized into state grooves; when relations with the outside world are not as people-to-people but through armed-state powers; and when all this occurs in a world whose division into two nuclear-armed powers which threaten humanity's very existence—isn't it time for a new realistic balance sheet to be drawn up? Least helpful in this regard are the old radicals.

OLD RADICALS

Trotskyists, who have spent years in exposing Russia as "a degenerated workers' state" headed by a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, now feel that it is necessary to whitewash that regime "in order to fight the main enemy, Yankee imperialism." Even some radicals who have spent many years exposing Russian Communism as just another form of state capitalism feel that it is their "revolutionary duty" to spend all their time attacking American imperialism, and none exposing the other pole of world imperialism—Russian totalitarianism.

What is it that impels such self-imposed blindness to the tragedy of the Cuban Revolution which still has a chance to compel its leaders to follow an independent road? Why should the workers and peasants in Cuba be allowed to think that in the Chinese "commune" the Chinese peasants are any less oppressed than the Cubans were by the American plantation owners? Why should the Cuban workers be kept in ignorance of conditions of labor in totalitarian state capitalistic Russia? Why should the Cuban people know that the Guantanamo base is a threat to their existence and not know that the

(Continued on Page 8)

Nixon's racist victory puts American civilization on trial

(Continued from Page 1)

on his racist reputation gained by his defense of Chicago police who had murdered Black Panthers, and who promised all-out war against Blacks in Illinois if elected as State's Attorney. Also in Illinois, Democratic gubernatorial candidate Dan Walker, who had headed the Walker Commission which disclosed evidence leading to the indictment of police for the Panther murders, won over incumbent GOP Governor Ogilvie. And in California, Paul McCloskey, liberal GOP presidential opponent and constant critic of Nixon, won re-election to the House, and a state proposition was defeated that would have destroyed the effectiveness of Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers union in California.

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS IMPORTANT

But more important than these election results was the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C., on the very day of the election, by a group of some 600 Indians who came from all over America to demand redress of long-standing abuses. And aboard the U.S. Navy's Constellation, Black and white sailors joined in protest against racist practices. (See articles, pp. 7 and 8). This does not mean that mass actions eclipsed the racist retrogression represented by Nixon's landslide victory. It does mean that America isn't a motolide, and that the duality in the crisis will become the active factor after the elections which will prove that not a single problem has been solved.

It is significant to note how little time is required in this era of profound change to turn the entire nation almost completely around. It was a short eight years ago, in 1964, that the American people totally repudiated the militarist, racist campaign of Senator Barry Goldwater.

By 1972, racism oozes out of Pax Americana. Since Nixon began his troop withdrawal program, which has resulted in a decreasing number of U.S. troops being killed, although an increasing number of Vietnamese are being slaughtered, the anti-war movement in the U.S. has lost its momentum. Clearly, some even in the anti-Vietnam war movement dropped out once the color of the dead bodies was changed. In a word, racism is so ingrained in this land that the youth, too, gave nearly half their vote to Nixon.

What the New Left has failed to show is how American history can reveal where the revolutionary forces are that are changing and can completely reorganize American society. Part of the New Left dared even to make such a fantastic comparison as to say that racist Alabama Governor George Wallace represents Populist principles—thereby revealing their total ignorance about Populism in the U.S. As we showed in *American Civilization on Trial*, the most revolutionary segment of Populism was in the South, and precisely because the Blacks were there—organized one and a quarter million strong in the Populist Party. It was they who first inspired



Reprinted from *News & Letters*, March, 1968.

such white agrarian rebels as Tom Watson, and then so alarmed him with their sharecroppers' strike as to have Watson make a 180 degree turn to the right (See *ad for American Civilization on Trial*, p. 8).

The mask of Populism was off the Wallace movement once Wallace was out of the Presidential race—and the Wallace vote went solidly Nixon.

It is an absurd notion that anything that workers do is correct. Because of their strategic position at the point of production, the proletariat can, and often does, win with a revolutionary philosophy. Without it, it would be the worst delusion to play up their "revolutionary nature" when workers are racist.

BLACK MASSES AS VANGUARD

Those who could not be fooled, of course, were the American Blacks, who understand both Wallace and Nixon far better than the whites—including white radicals. The truth of this can be seen in the results of the Nov. 7 election, when Blacks voted 88 percent against Nixon.

Any Black votes that Nixon got, he literally bought. And what is equally important is the total repudiation by the great majority of the Blacks of both retruders such as Sammy Davis, Jr., and ex-CORE leader Floyd McKissick, both of whom displayed their total separation from the Black masses by their unpardonable support of arch-racist Nixon.

The 88 percent vote cast against Nixon is not enough, and especially so if it was a vote cast for McGovern. The fact is that neither one can possibly represent the aspirations of the Blacks and workers for a new, totally new, society. Blacks are in the minority in the U.S.,

where the change has to be made. Without white and Black unity, the reorganization of American society from top to bottom can never succeed—any more than the organization of the CIO could have succeeded without the coming together of both Black and white labor.

OUR OWN MY LAIS

This coming together, and only this, can prevent the conditions in the U.S. from deteriorating to the point where we can easily have our own My Lais—only the bodies that will be counted will not be those of massacred Vietnamese villagers, but of American Blacks. Unless racism is rooted out of the American way of life, totally and completely, we will surely see the day when we will be an AmeriKKKa!

President Nixon has already disclosed something of what to expect as a result of his victory. In his interview given to the *Washington Star* newspaper, he declared that the "permissiveness of the 60s" would not be tolerated. What was this "permissiveness" that Nixon referred to? It was the Civil Rights Movement on the part of the Black Americans, the Free Speech Movement of the students, the anti-war movement of the majority of all Americans, the Women's Liberation movement and the thousands of strikes of workers against their inhuman conditions of work.

NIXON'S PREVIEW OF THINGS TO COME

Even more ominous was Nixon's reference to the average American being like "a child" who has to be given "responsibility" and has to develop a sense of "self-discipline." These are nothing less than the words of a totalitarian who intends to tell all of America what kind of discipline he wants to be followed.

Every worker, both Black and white, understands very well what Nixon means when he says "What is good for business is good for America." It means that the working class will not only have the company to fight, they will also have the government on their backs. It means more speed-up, more loss of the little control they still have through their unions.

As for those rank-and-file workers who clearly recognized the danger Nixon represents, they also realize that a great share of the blame for Nixon's victory lies directly at the doorstep of the so-called labor leaders (see *Workers Journal*, P. 1).

The full ramifications of Nixon's victory are yet to appear. Those who will be hardest hit, along with the Blacks, will be the rank-and-file white workers. Nixon's election, far from solving any of their daily problems in the shops, will make them far worse. Then the critical test will come.

The class solidarity that many white workers lost when they voted for Nixon on Nov. 7 can be regained in the streets. The real battles will first unfold as the crisis, which is sure to come, deepens. It is then the last act will begin.



YOUTH

At Long Beach State

Protest murder of black student

Los Angeles, Cal.—Roland Peterson, a 20-year-old black student at California State Long Beach, was killed by a policeman while running from the rear of his apartment on October 18. Police were investigating, without a warrant, possible burglary of stereo equipment when they heard movement inside the apartment. Officer Vershaw ran to the back and ordered three running Black men to stop, then shot one of them in the back of the head.

About 175 students, mostly Black, demonstrated in front of the Long Beach Police Department resulting in the temporary suspension of Vershaw. Students held numerous meetings, inviting police officers to attend to provide answers concerning the shooting and the investigation, only to be insulted by their failure to show up.

Black students responded to this situation by forming a committee to make sure that the investigation isn't white-washed. They demanded that Vershaw be made to pay for his "mistake," so that other police officers will not feel free to shoot Blacks because they know nothing will happen to them.

Police are not in our communities to protect human rights, but the rights of property owners. What better proof is there than the killing of a human being during an investigation of stolen stereo equipment?

Even the overly-lax police shooting policy, which allows the shooting of a felony suspect who is trying to escape, cannot be used to reasonably justify this case, because Roland was shot in the back of the head without ever being questioned about the burglary. When it comes

N.Y. anti-war march

New York, N.Y.—On Saturday, Nov. 4, about 5,000 angry people marched through Harlem to rally at Lewisham Stadium for an immediate end to the war and self-determination for Puerto Rico and other U. S.-occupied nations.

The march wound through the predominantly Puerto Rican and Black community, picking up support along the way. The main chant was "Nixon sign the treaty!", and there were many other shouts like "Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" ("Free Puerto Rico!") and "Que Viva Socialismo!" There was a guerrilla theater skit performed by several women showing Thieu and Kissinger as Nixon's puppets. Everyone seemed determined to show their support for the Vietnamese people and their opposition to U. S. imperialism.

There were people from a taxi rank-and-file caucus, phone company, and postal workers. A line of non-medallion (gypsy) cabs led the march to demand an end to the harassment of the only cabs that will go into the ghetto to serve poor people.

The people along the route gave us a very enthusiastic response as we marched by.

—Marcher, New York

'If I were President'

President Nixon isn't really concerned with the prisoners of war, or the American people, or the Vietnamese people, or inflation, or anything else that would bring peace and yet he talks about a "generation of peace." Phooey! Just recently the United States dropped over 2,000 tons of bombs on North Vietnam in one day, matching the record for the most bombs ever dropped in a single day during the war.

If I were President, I wouldn't be afraid to make mistakes. I would not kid the people and tell them lies. I would be straightforward and not be afraid to say I did something wrong. No one is perfect.

I would try to make things better in foreign relations between the countries, and wouldn't have secret dealings and meetings and private talks with the big powers of the world like Russia and China. Everything would be open and the American people would know everything that went on, instead of playing guessing games about what certain people said.

I realize that sometimes the President can't be jumping around from North Vietnam, to South Vietnam, to Russia, to Asia, to China, but I wouldn't send a person to a country without letting the people know about it, and I would go if matters of importance were being discussed.

That is the way I would run the Presidency. There would probably be a lot of problems with this plan if it took effect, but for God's sake anything would be better than what we've got now.

—Fourteen-Year-Old, Detroit

to killing Blacks, the police do not have to be reasonable.

If Roland had been white, a lot of things would have been different. Maybe he would not have had so many good reasons to fear the police. Maybe he would never have been killed.

But if he had, there would have been such an uproar on campus that the whole country would know of Long Beach State as they learned of Kent State, and the news media would have carried the story instead of completely ignoring it as if Roland never existed.

—Debbie Brown

Picket Conn. prison

Hartford, Conn.—Conditions at Somers state prison in Connecticut are not improving. On September 24, the inmates in administrative segregation submitted to Warden Carl Robinson a compilation of grievances. Among these were a call to establish a limit to the time in administrative segregation for any particular offense, to pressure prison doctors to make weekly visits to segregation, to permit at least one Black and/or Spanish-speaking staff member to participate in disciplinary hearings, to shower after recreation, and so on.

Warden Robinson turned his back and walked away. He has also refused to meet with the Concerned Citizens for Prison Reform (CCPR). Both he and Assistant Warden Stout have failed to answer three letters, two of them registered, requesting a meeting.

On October 29, CCPR picketed at Somers. They were threatened with arrest if they did not leave immediately. Doesn't prison property belong to the people, to the taxpayers who pay for it? The inmates of Somers are imprisoned in our name, for the avowed purpose of "rehabilitation," and yet we have no say about the unjust punishment and discrimination that goes on there.

—Reader, Hartford

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DOING AND THINKING

Youth and McGovern

By Chris Norwell

Now that McGovern has been soundly defeated everyone is saying that the youth vote wasn't that important after all, or that the youth were apathetic and didn't even bother to vote. I didn't get that impression from the people I talked to.

One young woman said that she was all for McGovern before he got the party nomination, but after he got it he started backtracking on all his key points like leaving troops in Indochina, not supporting a minimum yearly earning, and not supporting abortion reform. She said she was going to vote for him not because she liked him, but because she didn't want Nixon to be in.

Another guy who used to work in McGovern's campaign told me that he couldn't support McGovern because he kept changing his position so much. "He also is playing dirty politics. Every speech he or Shriver makes has some bad reference to Nixon in it. If he would only give one speech where he doesn't mention Nixon and just tells us what he would do if he got in, then maybe I would vote for him." This guy wound up not voting at all.

Another young person said "Throughout the whole campaign not one mention of race was made by McGovern or anyone else while Nixon was making all those vicious racist remarks about busing and welfare. If McGovern had attacked Nixon for being a racist, maybe he could have helped destroy the racism in this country today."

LEFT DIDN'T HELP

The Left press didn't help the situation any, either. Many of them were attacking McGovern much harder and oftener than they were attacking Nixon, who had the power and was much more dangerous than McGovern. Some of the Left press refused to attack Wallace and the racism he represented, which Nixon is now mouthing off. One group even called Wallace a "Populist"!

I don't think the youth aren't interested or don't care about politics. I think many youth were turned off by McGovern's efforts to "win" over as many voters as possible, and no longer saw McGovern as a way to make this country's rotten conditions any better. The Left, by what they said or didn't say, contributed to the young voters' disillusionment with the election.

GOING BACKWARDS

Many young working people didn't see the elections changing anything basic in their lives. One guy told me a fellow he works with told him "Do you think if McGovern got elected we would get a dollar raise or something? Nothing would change, politicians aren't worth anything."

It's true enough that if McGovern got elected no one would necessarily get a dollar raise, but I'm afraid that since Nixon got re-elected he might make everyone take a dollar cut. I think the Left better get itself together and appeal to the working masses to destroy Nixon's divide-and-conquer racist schemes before we see a fascism in this country that hasn't been witnessed in my lifetime.

Boston police savagery

Boston, Mass. — On Halloween Eve, a week before the election, Pat Nixon did some premature trick-or-treating at a fund-raising dinner for her husband at the Commonwealth Armory here. On hand to greet her was that grand old comedian of capital, Bob Hope, and the largest anti-war demonstration in Boston since May 1971.

The main purpose of the rally was to demand the signing of the new peace treaty by the President, although even then the prospect of a settlement was proving to be an empty pre-election promise. A confrontation between police and demonstrators resulted in several people arrested and seven injured, including two demonstrators hospitalized for dog bites.

A Record-American Herald Traveler car was seized and a mounted detachment of "Boston's finest" ended the rally by charging and scattering the demonstrators.

— Student Activist

East Cambridge, Mass. — On October 21, a 17-year-old youth, who had had too much to drink, was taken to jail with a friend for what a witness called "putting his fist accidentally through a window."

At 3 a.m. the next day, Larry Largey was found unconscious in his cell and pronounced dead on arrival at city hospital. An official autopsy stated an overdose resulted in his death, but at least one witness claims the cops pummeled his face to a bloody mess.

Five nights of rioting and fires resulted. Larry Largey was no son of Harvard or MIT. The cops read differently to the well-breds. These cops might be fingered eventually, but that won't bring him back. Only when the cops stop busting skulls will the people of East Cambridge put away their grudges.

— East Cambridge Resident

BLACK-RED VIEW**'Work ethic' and four more years**

By John Alan

Black people, Chicano people — and even that section of the white working class who voted for "four more years" of Nixonomics out of their racial fear of Blacks, and their uncertainty as to what their real position is in the scheme of American State-Capitalism — feel dubious and uncertain about the future.

In talking at random to some 20 or more people, most of whom were workers — Blacks, Chicanos, and whites, who live in the San Francisco Bay Area — I heard the recurrent theme that Nixon was "no good for labor or minority peoples." What was surprising to me, as a Black person, was that the white workers who did vote for Mr. Nixon didn't like him as a choice for President, nor did they hope for anything beneficial from his Administration.

WORK ETHIC EQUALS SPEED-UP

Liberal bourgeois sociologists write hundreds of books analyzing the voting habits of the American white working class, dealing with their psychological fear of the Black Movement in America and their devotion to the Protestant work ethic which causes them to resent Blacks on welfare. The latter, of course, is a lot of intellectual bullbleep, because in the reality of a worker's life, Black and white and Brown, the "Protestant Work Ethic" is middle class terminology for speed-up.

In plain words, more production and yet more production! And this is both the explicit and the implicit aim of the Nixon Administration as the needs of American capitalism demand ever greater volumes of profits, as its ratio of profit falls in relationship to the rapidly growing super-automated production methods.

This is not a "theoretical abstraction" coming out of the head of some intellectual. Any Longshoreman in San Francisco, or any dock in the country for that matter, will tell you that Automation on the docks does not improve working conditions but worsens them.

From the East coast to the West coast of this country there are signs of growing resistance to the demands for greater production at the frozen wage level. Although Nixon gained a landslide victory by fractionalizing the working class along racial lines, the needs of the capitalist system is creating an ever growing gulf between the White House and the workers, one that cannot be bridged by skin color.

FOUR MORE YEARS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The Black and Chicano workers with whom I spoke considered the future next four years as a continuation of what they have experienced in last four years. As one Black worker put it: "How can things get worse when I have been unemployed since last December without any prospect of getting a job?" Black women in the super-markets were all very concerned over the continued rise in food prices while Nixon retained sharp control over wages.

Black and Brown workers voted for McGovern, but

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windows reading, 'This family will not be bused.' One day I was late going to work and all those white children were getting on a bus. What they really mean is these children will not be bused to Black schools, or will not ride on the same bus with Black children.

"Tell them they are racists and they will yell, 'I am not a racist.' I was looking at those Black and Puerto Rican children being mobbed by adult white men and women in N. Y. A reporter asked one about racism, and he said she wasn't a racist. But before she could finish, he yelled to those Black kids, 'Go back to the jungle where you belong.'"

Wallace says he is not a racist, Nixon says he is not a racist. When Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, saying "All men are created equal," he should have written "All white men are created equal," because at the time he wrote it he had lack slaves in bondage.

We have not forgotten that white girl, Cindy Brower, the student editor of the newspaper at the University of Mississippi, who criticized the white mob action on the campus. She was called a "foul wench," making life unbearable not only for her, but for any white whose attitudes were a shade better than the moronic stew of bigotry in many brains.

SICKNESS SPREADS NORTH

In those voices of hate there was one that yelled the loudest and the most viciously — from the State of Alabama. He said segregation today, tomorrow and forever, and he promised to spread his doctrines to the north. Every Black knows what happened when he hears northern whites say that Wallace can send them a message.

I want to say one thing about Sammy Davis and the Blacks who supported Nixon. The Bible says: "There are those among you who will sell their birthright for a mess of pottage." We have too long experienced those among us. They can never change the fact that Black America has always played a vanguard role in the struggle for freedom in America. We are still playing that role.

with no feeling that if he had been elected that their problems would be solved, racially or economically.

Nixon's election raises the threat of neo-fascism. As the ground war — that is, for American troops — "winds down" in Southeast Asia, the war at home against workers and minorities will grow proportionately hotter. More and more the Administration will be forced to bring the fundamental issues of capital and labor into the foreground of the political struggles. The issues of school busing and welfare will assume their proper place as aspects of an attempt by American Capitalism to transform from private monopolies to State controlled monopolies. The ploy of race will be seen through.

Secret contract at Norris

Los Angeles, Calif. — Norris and the UAW have just come to agreement on a contract for the next three years. It is the usual type of agreement — one inch forward and two inches back.

We knew nothing about the agreement until after we listened to an hour of contract language at the membership meeting called to accept or reject the contract. Finally we were told we would get 19c the first year and 12c in each of the following two years with a 10c cost of living. It really wasn't much, especially considering we lost 34c an hour cost of living over the last contract. But that's life under Nixon's Pay Board.

A few other goodies were thrown in: A change in the medical from \$100 deductible to \$50, which means we are back to what we had in the contract before last. The only thing that was passed out was the new wage scales. Everything else was only reported on, and we are still waiting for something written.

The contract was accepted as there was no real feeling for a strike. But real improvements both in wages and in working conditions weren't on the agenda.

— Norris Worker

Quebec vote mirrors unrest

Montreal, Quebec—A little more than a week before the American disaster, Canada had its own federal election vaudeville. Widespread discontent in English Canada with worsening economic conditions showed through in a strong Conservative (P-C) majority and some important gains by the New Democratic Party (NDP), but in the giant poverty pocket of Quebec, the major focal point of unrest, the Liberal Party won over half its seats (56 out of 108 across Canada) which enabled it to stay in power. Why?

There have been allegations that the English-Canadian vote was a racist vote against the "French Mafia" in Ottawa, and this was probably one factor but not "the" reason; Trudeau has been a let-down all the way around.

The fact is that dis-satisfaction is widespread all over Canada, but Quebecois are obliged to "choose" the least horrible party, and this means either voting Liberal or spoiling their ballots. The Conservatives have been traditionally anti-Quebecois and offer a worse alternative than the present government. People are also wise to former Judge Claude Wagner, the P-C "leader" in Quebec, who is pro-death penalty, anti-welfare, anti-unemployment insurance and to former "Justice" Minister who turned Montreal's police stations into virtual torture chambers for political "heretics."

What was new was an unusually high number of spoiled ballots and more importantly, the phenomenal growth of the pro-independence Parti Quebecois (PQ) from 28,000 members at the beginning of August to 59,000 at present.

We can probably expect that the results of this election will deepen the rift between English and French Canada, and the end of this very artificial creation called "The Dominion of Canada" is in sight.

—P. Gouin, Montreal

Black revolts against Navy

The U.S. Navy, long a refuge for southern "neer-do-well" whites who sought careers as officers, has recently been the target for racial outbreaks that would have resulted in severe disciplinary action five years ago. The events aboard the carrier USS Constellation have brought to a head the racial discrimination that has always been common, accepted U.S. Navy practice.

Aboard the "Connie", six black crewmen were scheduled to receive general administrative discharges because they received poor intelligence scores in boot camp three years ago. The men refused to sign their discharges and with 150 other Black crewmen, gathered in the messhall and demanded to see the Captain, J. D. Ward.

He refused to see them and sent representatives of the Human Resource Council to talk for him. The Blacks were joined in their protest by 150 white sailors and the Captain ordered 30 Marines to disperse the demonstration. Failing to restore "order", the ship was ordered back to San Diego.

At the base, the remaining 132 protestors were ordered ashore, and the ship returned to port. On the day after the elections, the ship returned to port to pick up the crewmen — who refused to board the ship until their four basic demands were met: 1) the right to stay ashore until the negotiations were settled; 2) that all punishment be reviewed to determine racial discrimination; 3) that higher authority review all discharges; and 4) that amnesty be granted for all crewmen involved in the protest.

Back in Washington, the Administration, embarrassed by the third well-publicized incident of racial unrest in the US Navy (the Carrier USS Kittyhawk and the Oiler Hassayampa have both had racial disturbances in Vietnam within the past few months), had Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt read the riot act to an assembly of no less than 90 Admirals, telling them "to end" discriminatory practices.

Of the 123 men who refused to board the ship, 97 were given extra duty, fined and reduced in rank, three were given administrative discharges and the remainder assigned to shore duty.

For the record, out of over 73,000 Navy officers, less than one percent are Black. The first Black Admiral in history was appointed only last year. Among non-commissioned officers only four percent are Black in the U.S. Navy, in comparison to 20 percent for the Army, which isn't exactly paradise for Blacks.

In his retirement speech, Atlantic Fleet Commander Admiral Charles Duncan complained about those who would change his happy world: "The sooner the Navy is free of this group, the better off the country and the Navy will be."

New ambassador loves Franco

The decision of President Nixon to nominate Admiral Horacio Rivero as the new Ambassador to Spain has been hailed with delight by all the leaders of that reactionary regime. It is claimed that the new Ambassador is an admirer of Franco. He retired some months ago after serving as Commander-in-Chief of NATO naval forces in the Mediterranean. He has been an advocate for Spain to be part of NATO.

America has air force and naval bases, including the nuclear submarine complex at Rota, 50 miles west of Gibraltar. The bases are American military enclaves on Spanish soil. President Nixon seems well disposed towards fascist Spain.

Back in 1970 he signed an agreement to supply Spain with no less than seven warships, nine auxiliary vessels including mine-sweepers, and other military equipment. Congress delayed delivery by refusing to pass the necessary legislation. It has been agreed to let Spain have two destroyers on loan.

Is it any wonder that the Lieutenant-General has declared that the present dictatorship will last for centuries? He is wrong, but he is trying to keep up the spirits of the reactionaries who are trying hard to suppress revolt by the workers, students and even priests.

—Harry McShane

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By Peter Mallory

Self-mobilized West German voters open new page

More important even than Willy Brandt's victory on Nov. 12 was the manner in which the election was won. We're not referring to the Social Democratic Party's coalition with the Free Democrats which helped them chalk up 54% of the votes—not as in the U.S. of an electorate, 45% of whom stayed away from the polls, but of an electorate 90% of whom turned out at the polls. Rather, we're referring to the self-mobilized voters.

Not only were there massive rallies for the first time since 1949; not only did no less than 338 groups emerge to approve Brandt's new Ostpolitik, and help defeat the conservative Christian tandem; but many of these made known that they do not intend to disappear after the election but would continue as a "critical partner" of the ruling Social Democrats. In a word — and this is especially true of the youth — it wasn't just an approval of

Ostpolitik, but that they intend to look beyond existing political parties.

Surely, too many have escaped from East Germany and are under no illusions that the barbarous Berlin Wall means any sort of freedom. Rather they wish new freedoms both in East and West Germany, beginning with the defeat of their own neo-fascists.

This, precisely this, called forth voter participation. When you consider that less than 3 years ago the neo-Fascist party seemed to signal re-appearance of fascism, and that the way this was defeated was by mobilization from below, and open fights to such an extent that the neo-Fascist Party did not run at all this time; when you consider further that the neo-Fascist who parades as if he weren't — Franz Joseph Strauss — had the gall to declaim that the election of Willy Brandt would mean bringing back "red fascism" worse than "brown fascism," you can see what the voters were rejecting re-

soundingly.

Don't forget, either, that this did get the capitalists to open their wallets and give no less than \$10 million in the closing weeks of the campaign to finance the anti-Socialist scare. Moreover, this election had become necessary 10 months before the normal 4 year term of office ended because some "Socialist" deputies got such cold feet over both the turn to the East and the noise of the neo-Fascists that they defected from Brandt's party.

When, in the face of all this, you recognize the rapidity with which the atmosphere changed, the voters were mobilized not only in the usual big industrialized cities, but for the first also in Saar and Lower Saxony and in the Rhineland, so that only in Bavaria and Baden-Wurtemberg did the Christian Union retain a large majority, then you can really conclude a new page in history has begun in West Germany.

Trail of Broken Treaties

The American Indian Movement, along with 40 to 50 other Indian organizations throughout the U.S. and Canada, organized a week-long series of protests and demonstrations called the Trail of Broken Treaties, whose highlight was the seizure of the Washington, D.C. headquarters of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, which they occupied for six days.

At Fort Robinson, Neb., where Oglala Sioux Chief "Crazy Horse" was killed by the U.S. Army in 1876, AIM (American Indian Movement) occupied the Indian Museum and threatened to "burn the damn place down if they come at us with mace or clubs." They demanded that their stolen lands be returned to them.

In Michigan, Indian demonstrations occurred, demanding that the bones of their ancestors, exhibited as tourist attractions, be returned to the Indians for proper burial.

The Indians are particularly disgusted with the way the Administration of Indian affairs is run, either by whites or Uncle Tom Indians. They demand the removal of John Crow, Deputy Commissioner of the Bureau, and Harrison Loesch, Assistant Sec. of the Interior. Bob Robertson, Director of the National Council of Indian Opportunity, is equally objectionable.

The Indians refuse to have funds which are their own administered "for them" as if they were a bunch of incompetent children. Nixon may think all Americans are "children," but the only real Americans — the Indians — want none of that.

While the occupation of the Washington office was taking place, 21 other BIA offices were taken over throughout the country. Clearly, this is no "provincial" affair.

When they left, the Indians carried with them many boxes of what they said were "incriminating documents," the case histories of the mismanagement of Indian Affairs over the past 100 years.

They noted, on leaving, that they plan a celebration of their own to coincide with the bicentennial celebration in 1976. It was in 1876 that the first Indian War started. What began as the "law and order" of its day has never stopped. They, as the Blacks, will expose the hollowness of American democracy as against the sham the Nixon Administration will celebrate as the modern day war lords.

A left voice from Israel

We have received the following statement from the Movement for Peace and Security, a coalition of left wing and liberal elements in Israel which is calling for "A Determined Fight Against the Terror and for an Israeli Peace Initiative."

Such acts of individual terror as perpetrated at the Lod airport, at the Sabena aircraft, and in Munich, constitute a horrible assault not only on Israeli citizens, but strike most seriously at the prospects of rapprochement and mutual understanding between Israel and the Arab states. Such deeds of the extreme nationalist Arab circles supported by certain Arab governments cause the hardening of Israel, strengthen its nationalistic circles, and weaken the hands of the groups that recognize the just rights of the Palestine people for self-determination in co-existence with the State of Israel . . .

The Movement for Peace and Security, while supporting a determined struggle against terrorism, declares that the acts of retaliation of the Israeli army in Lebanon killed innocent victims among the civilian population. Such acts do not weaken the terror, but cause a chain of reaction and further victims . . .

The declaration of the prime-minister, Golda Meir, that the giving up of large territories by the Arab states is a condition for peace, and her latest statement that negotiations are possible with the Arab states only, and that no negotiations with the

participation of the Palestinians are conceivable—demonstrate the hardening of the Israeli government stand.

The latest statements of defense minister Moshe Dayan aim towards the complete annexation of the whole of western Palestine while denying political rights to the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and put further obstacles on the path towards peace.

The open and underground activities of "The Jewish Defense League" — the smuggling of arms and the planning of acts of terror abroad—constitute a grave provocation externally, and a fascist attack on accepted democratic procedures inside Israel.

The movement for Peace and Security calls upon all peace seekers amongst the various parties and non-party circles to raise their voices for an Israeli peace initiative based upon an independent, Israeli policy, non-aligned with the great powers; for peace without annexations and readiness for a political solution on the basis of the security council resolution No. 242, of November 1967.

Black control in Tenn.

In Tennessee it is usually difficult to tell Republicans from Democrats; they change sides so often and always remain the same. But this time the new line-up in the Tennessee House of Representatives — 51 Democrats and 48 Republicans — shows that the seven Black Democrats elected hold the balance of power!

The showdown will come on Jan. 2 when the organization of the House will take place. The seven Black members will be in a position to elect a Speaker from either party, demand and get appointments to key committees. Nothing has thrown "the fear of God" into Tennessee whites as Blacks holding the balance of power. A new page of freedom has been opened, once again, by Blacks.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

Russian tanks rolled over the Hungarian Freedom Fighters? Why should they only know of the discrimination against the Negroes in the South but not know of the extermination of nationalities opposed to Stalinism in Russia?

Why should literacy be equated to illiteracy of the realities of a world divided into two, and only two, nuclearly armed powers out for conquest of the world? Why not allow your new hero, Castro, to know some things about Russia—its cynicism in foreign policy—which might easily result in its dropping of Cuba the minute it could get a "peaceful co-existence alliance" with America? Why, for that matter, not make yourself aware that this petty bourgeois lawyer is just as cynical and could as easily slide into alliance with the American State Department if it came to face the only truly independent third force—the masses wishing to mold their own destiny in their own minds sans Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and the newly-arisen state bureaucracy?

There is one reason, and one reason only, behind all this self-imposed blindness to the realities of our state capitalistic world. One and all are Planners who fear the spontaneity of the revolutionary masses more than anything else on earth, including state capitalism.

Fidelists, like Communists, Trotskyists like other radicals who thirst for power, share the capitalistic mentality of the "backwardness of the masses." All are ready "to lead," none to listen.

It has been said of Jesus: "He could save all others. Himself he could not save." It needs now to be said of the old radicals: They could save no one, and now they do not even want to save themselves. The one consoling feature is their impotence. Far from being capable of dooming the revolution, history will show them to be the doomed ones.



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