

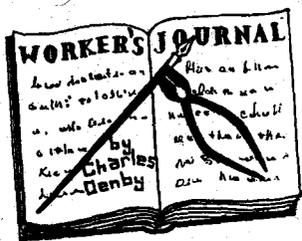
ON THE INSIDE

History rewrite degrades Lenin, black masses

by Raya Dunayevskaya page 5

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Indian youth shake up convention page 2



Blacks vote when their votes count

By Charles Denby, Editor

The national election is over, and most political analysts are trying to come up with answers to why some candidates got elected and others went down in defeat. Some are blaming working class people's apathy, saying we do not know what is best for us. What they do not understand is that many workers who do go to the polls go there knowing that even if the candidate they chose gets elected, they—the working people—are not going to see a radical change in their interests. Most likely nothing will change in their everyday lives.

So they go to vote not so much for a candidate as against the opposing candidate. The turn out of blacks and workers in the recent election would have been far smaller if they were not so resentful of the Nixon-Agnew administration, its foreign policies and its national and local ones, and its vicious attacks on its opposition.

CANDIDATES ALL ALIKE

Workers and blacks know too well that all Democrats are not opposed to the Nixon-Agnew policies; many are as much anti-worker and anti-black as anyone on Nixon's staff. As a worker said, "I went to the polls to vote against fascism which is creeping upon us through Nixon and Agnew. But those I voted for, if elected, will be closer to their opposition than to us workers and poor people."

Let me give you a concrete example. Some ten years or so ago, we had a mayor named Miriani. He turned this city's racist police force on the black community because a white woman had been murdered in it. You would have thought from the action of the police force that every black in Detroit had taken part in that murder. At the time there was no opposition that could threaten the mayor's office. No one had heard of the name Cavanaugh. He ran for mayor on nothing, mentioning once or twice that he was against police brutality. The black community was angry at Miriani; they went to the polls in record-breaking numbers, and swept Miriani out of office by the biggest landslide ever recorded.

But Cavanaugh was not in office two months before most of his white opposition were his closest friends and appointed to his staff. Police brutality continued in the black community as the new mayor forgot his campaign promises to the blacks. We know this has happened time and time again in politics to workers and blacks. Now when people say we are apathetic, I wonder if they would vote under the same circumstances.

ANOTHER STORY IN SOUTH

The elections in some areas of the rural South where blacks ran for office were very different. There

(Continued on Page 2)

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DECEMBER, 1970

Nixon's 'fear-and-smear' tactics fail; workers reject unemployment politics

By Acidi

Nixon's attempt to bring in fascism by the ballot box failed on Nov. 3. The election was not a "draw." It was a rejection of the Nixon-Agnew brand of fear-and-smear campaign that had been hurled at the American people.

The frenzied involvement in an off-year election by the two highest officials in the country, to defeat moderates of either party, was unprecedented in history. Agnew was sent to 16 different states. Nixon, himself, barnstormed no less than 22 states. It was a frantic attempt to cloud the real crises of inflation, high unemployment (see editorial, page 4), recession, and the war with the single issue of "Law and Order."

It began as far back as May when Agnew was turned loose to attack the "radical-liberals," students,

and so-called revolutionaries—but more importantly, workers, blacks and any who disagreed with his policies.

BLACKS ANSWER NIXON

The black masses have had Nixon's number from the beginning. Black people turned out in force in most states to tell him so, showing up at the polls in greater numbers than in the 1968 presidential elections. In Omaha, Nebraska, they turned out in greater numbers than in the last three elections put together.

And in the heart of Wallace country, Alabama, black people showed up in such force that they swept all white county officials from office in Greene County, the first county government to become all-black since the Voting Rights Act of 1965 opened the franchise to southern blacks. The four-county area of Lowndes, Hancock, Georgia and Macon counties, also put blacks in many of the elected positions (See Workers Journal, page 1).

White voters were showing much the same thing, even to the point of overcoming some of their racism and electing black candidates. The number of blacks in Congress rose to 13, the most since Reconstruction. A gain of three brought the number in the House from nine to twelve.

The three are from districts with white majorities, from three different parts of the country. They are Parren Mitchell in Baltimore, whose district includes part of Agnew's home county; George Collins in Chicago, whose district includes the West Side and white suburb of Cicero; and Roger Dellums in Berkeley, which includes Oakland, who was attacked by Agnew for supporting the Panthers and student strikers.

White voters also helped elect two other black candidates to important posts: Wilson Riles defeated arch-reactionary Max Rafferty for Superintendent of Schools in California; and Milton B. Allen was elected States Attorney of Baltimore, the first time a black man has held such a post in any major city.

'SOUTHERN STRATEGY' FAILS

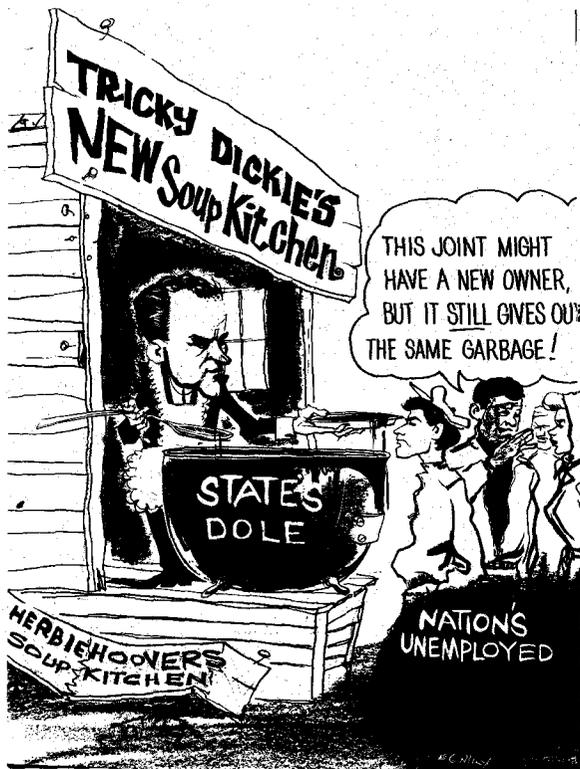
The GOP had spent millions to conduct mud-slinging, hysterical, and in some cases outright racist campaigns in every state. They bought prime TV time, gave out coloring books, helped publish right-wing leaflets and newsletters. In California, a national GOP committeeman paid for and distributed flyers attempting to link the Democratic candidate for Senator, Tunney, with radical movements and SDS. In Berkeley Roger Dellums was pictured as a wild-eyed "black militant." In Michigan, the chairman of the state GOP had to retract a statement that Republicans who supported Senator Hart were "criminals, just like the criminals walking the streets." Tunney, Dellums and Hart all won.

In short, Nixon's attempt to make his "Southern strategy" work all over the country didn't work—not only in the other states, but not even in the South. Nixon won only in one Southern state, Tennessee, and lost what ground he had in the others. He lost Florida, one of his strongholds, in both the senate and governor races. In the West, which is known for its conservatism, the Republicans lost no less than eight governorships and control of state legislatures.

The fact that the people saw through the law and order smoke screen Nixon put up, is shown by the way different sections of the country voted. In California, Reagan did not win by the large percentage he was expected to, George Murphy was defeated by Tunney who ran on a liberal, peace and economic platform, and Max Rafferty was beaten by Wilson Riles, the black candidate, in a stunning upset.

The G.O.P. lost the governorships of Nevada, New

(Continued on Page 8)



GM, UAW agree on contract

As we go to press, contract ratification meetings are being held by the General Motors auto workers.

Full details are not known, but the main points are:

- Unlimited cost of living adjustment allowance, but the first adjustment will be made in December of 1971, and then quarterly for the next two years.
- Retirement with 30 years service at age 58, beginning October 1971, and at age 56 after that, with monthly pension of \$500. This is a very complex provision, no workers know how it will work in practice.
- Wage increase of 51c per hour in first year of contract, 14c an hour raise the next two years.

The national agreement is expected to be ratified, but the primary trouble area has been, and still remains, grievances on the local union level.

Ford and Chrysler will undoubtedly accept the GM contract and seek to avoid national strikes. But here, too, the local grievances may change all that. See "On the Line," p. 3.

Indian youth shake up national convention

Anchorage, Alaska — This year's National Congress of American Indians convention can only be described as disastrous. The main issue on the floor during the entire week was where to hold the 1971 convention — Reno, Nevada, or Chicago, Illinois.

The reason for holding this year's convention in Alaska was to throw light on the native land claims in Alaska; but, in reality, all it did was give the politicians, especially Walter Hickel, a chance to further muddy the true issue of equal rights in a quagmire of rhetoric and worn out cliches.

RESOLUTIONS THAT FAILED

A resolution asking the NCAI to support the Alcatraz effort was thrown out of committee. At least three resolutions aimed at putting youths on the executive council were also thrown out. A resolution for a Constitutional Convention was never brought to the floor. A resolution to hold future conventions on Indian-held property was tabled. The only youth-presented resolution that passed was one calling for the establishment of a nation-wide system of Indian cooperatives for the purpose of creating an Indian economy somewhat free and separate from the white capitalism, and this was not passed without a lot of trouble.

The theme of the 1970 convention was "American Indians: Together For the Future". What the "Uncle Tomahawk" delegates to this convention refused to recognize is that the future will be nothing but more cultural genocide — unless we refuse to allow ourselves to be further co-opted by the white power structure.

The ideal example of such co-option by the Nixon-Agnew administration is the recent reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the watchful eye of Wally Hickel. The BIA was reorganized with 18 Indians placed in the head positions. This looks good on the surface until one realizes that they have little or no policy-making power. If the Department of the Interior continues to delay judgment on the Indian demands by extensive litigation, and gives us instead one impotent concession after another (like the BIA move), we will lose our drive and our grievances will become cloudy with the passage of time. If this co-option is allowed to continue, one day, 25 or 30 years from now, we will wake up, only to discover that there are no more Indians — that they have been totally absorbed and assimilated into the white socio-economic machine.

THE YOUNG AND THE OLD

As it stands now, the Indian peoples benefitted very little from this convention, described by an old Indian as the worst run convention he had ever seen.

This all is not to say that there were no people actively working for reform — there were several youths from Alcatraz and perhaps four or five others (myself included) from elsewhere. This small group of about a dozen people presented to the convention many resolutions dealing with youth involvement, Indian economics and independence from the Big Brother financial system of the Wall Street capitalists.

In my discussions with many people, I found that the greatest ally of the youth is the older people — the tribal elders who still have a sense of tribal identity, a sense of tribal pride. It is they who are allying with their grandchildren to recover the individuality that their children chose to trade in for a few dollars and a car. Many old women (for they were less susceptible to the money than were their husbands) came up to me and said, "Give them hell" and "We are with you" about our resolutions. The sum of what they said is, you have the education we never got and the pride our children never wanted.

The fight of the Alcatraz Indians will be carried on in another forum. On the anniversary of the Alcatraz landing in November, George E. Katzeek, Jr. will address the General Assembly of the United Nations. He plans to go to the World Court in the future.

—Gary M. Wilson
Lac du Flambeau Chippewa

Readers:

Do you have a story to tell? Send it in!

Discussion article:

Elitism threatens Women's Liberation Movement

By Susan Van Gelder



Why do so many women feel like spectators to the Women's Liberation Movement, whose spokeswomen have been heard to say, "All women are my sisters"? Partly, I am sure, because for so many generations women were spectators to all political movements;

but more importantly, because a portion of the Movement is changing and demanding a spectator's response from the "masses" of women who are not active in it.

Women's Liberation originated spontaneously and spread like a prairie fire. The organizational form of the early movement was basically the small group. Many small groups are functioning today, as then; but I see increasing elitism in much of the Movement.

TEACH-IN CHAOTIC

There was a women's teach-in at the University of Michigan. The program was originally set up to be "moderate." During a panel discussion, radical women took over the microphone. The formal structure of the meeting was disrupted, and the audience was invited to come up on stage; about half did. Argument followed, and many of the older and working women left.

This incident captures the tragedy inherent in certain tendencies in the Women's Liberation Movement. The radicals' attack of the formal structure was right—women need a setting in which they are free of traditional restraints upon their participation in meetings, and free of the traditional awe of anyone sitting "on the panel." But this is only a beginning. It seems that the radicals did not know how to develop the situation so that all the women there could work toward liberation, which I think means the self-development, human development, of every woman in the room. Every woman had to continue to participate, actively or silently; every woman had to learn who she was and where she was; every woman had to believe that her view, no matter how commonplace or small minded, was as valid as anyone else's—if "self-development" were to become real.

The Women's Liberation activist's use of her knowledge, awareness, and skill should not be to shut her off from the "masses" of inactive women.

MUST WE LEAVE MEN?

I went to another teach-in at Wayne State University, where I heard two speakers from the New York Radical Feminists. They said, "we want equality," and "men are the enemy." They gave a good analysis of how marriage in this society oppresses women. But they felt that women must leave their men and live together, communally, in small groups. Even the Supreme Court, in 1954, said "separate but equal" was an impossible contradiction! Women in the audience asked questions like, "Picture a working woman with four children. Should she leave her husband and go on ADC?" The answer, I felt, implied that such a woman could not be in the vanguard of the revolution in this society—only

WAY OF THE WORLD

We need a revolution

By Ethel Dunbar

It is a crying shame for black and white people to rob and kill each other, the way they are doing today. We need a revolution to get rid of the hateful ways people are living. We need to look at life in a different way.

Living in the kind of times we are living through today is not easy. Everything is changing—especially the old ways of "leadership," where one race was kept down to keep control over both races. Now the politicians have been asking the older people to keep the old die-hards in, saying that they will use more "law and order" to straighten out the young people. They blame the young for using too much dope. They never mention how much whiskey their generation drinks.

NO OTHER CHOICE

If the people don't learn how to get rid of the old leaders, everywhere, this will always be a miserable world to live in. To the end of time, which may not be too far away, unless we have that revolution everyone is talking about. The leaders of the world have poisoned everything we eat or drink, and even the air we breathe. There isn't any other choice but to throw out all the old, and try something new.

Fighting wars and killing other people who are just trying to live in their own way is not making our lives any better. Everyone you talk with knows that. Everyone you talk with wants a different kind of world. Yet making this a better place to live is no where in sight. It never will be—unless the people take matters in their own hands. It is time for us to begin a new history. It is time for the world to begin a new way of life.

after the leaders' philosophy became widespread (after the revolution) could she be free.

I don't want to waste my energy on a revolution that will only perpetuate exclusion, vilification, oppression, and elitism. Just as male chauvinism distorts and destroys the human potential of males as well as females, so female chauvinism will not fully develop the human nature of women. True women's liberation would demand that every woman fight oppression within the context of her own life. True women's liberation would strive toward women's development as human beings.

If the Movement, by elitism, discourages women from believing in their individual validity, if it demands that they follow impossible and undesirable solutions, then it will turn-off instead of liberating the mass of women who are the most unfree—tied to necessary jobs, husbands, children.

Finally, the Movement must begin to define what it is for, not just what it is against. It should develop ideas about what makes good male-female relationships, how children should be raised, how to make good use of our biological difference, what kind of day-care we want. Unless the Movement can develop a philosophy to base itself on the real world, it will lose the very people it most needs.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

they had from 85 to 95 percent of the blacks and workers go to the polls. One reason for the difference is that none of those black candidates are politicians. That is, they were elected mainly because of their civil rights stands. These candidates did not make Utopian promises, and the voters do not expect any Utopia when they get their candidates elected.

That is what happened in some rural counties of Alabama on November 3. In Lowndes County, where the blacks ran five candidates and got four elected, there was shouting and joy all night. This was the first time in history that any black person was ever elected to any county position. In fact the population had been disenfranchised most of their lives—they had just gained the right to vote some five or six years ago, and to get that right was a desperate struggle. Many blacks were forced to leave the county for merely trying to register to vote; some were forced off white-owned land and had to live in tents. In five years they had won part control of the county.

In Greene County, Alabama, the blacks won every county office. Some blacks take the position that control should not be entirely by blacks, because of their lack of experience. But as some of those in that county said, the whites have done nothing but make a mess of our lives all these years by their controlling, so I do not think we can do any worse by taking over.

BLACKS' HISTORIC ROLE

What most people do not understand is that blacks have played a decisive role in shaping American civilization since the beginning. From the very birth of the nation there has been a great division between the leaders in government and the rank and file masses. It was the blacks' will to be free that inspired the first draft of the Declaration of Independence. It was the blacks during the Reconstruction period who instituted the free public school system that enabled the poor whites as well as blacks to gain some education. The actions of the black masses have been crucial at every stage of the development of this country.

This is why after the ballots were counted and they were told they had won, the blacks in Alabama had a celebration, and an all-night one. This was a new day for them, the beginning of a new life, the beginning of controlling their own destiny. It was altogether a different election for them than it was for blacks in the North and in large industrial cities in the South.

NOTES ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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Conn. machinists' strike wins student support

BULLETIN: Picket lines were doubled and the company gave in after two days. The workers voted 361-0 in favor of the settlement.

Middletown, Conn. — Members of striking IAM Lodge 782 (Portland, Conn.) met with a group of students at Wesleyan University here to answer questions about their strike and gain support. The group included three workers from the struck Standard-Knapp Co. who serve as elected local officials (unpaid) and a representative of the International Union.

After wide-ranging discussion of the causes of the strike, the structure of the union, local and national economic conditions, and of Nixon's policy of encouraging manufacturers to force strikes, the Machinists declared they would welcome the help of students both in raising funds and on the picket line, and the students agreed to form a committee to aid the strike.

The first action of the committee was to prepare a Fact Sheet to inform others of the facts of the strike and gain support.

STRIKE FACTS

There are 360 workers at the plant, most of whom have worked there for 10 to 20 years, and all of whom support the strike 100 per cent.

At present they are forced to support their families on the \$40 per week strike pay, which is all their union

can afford to give them.

This is the first workers' strike at Standard-Knapp in nearly 20 years.

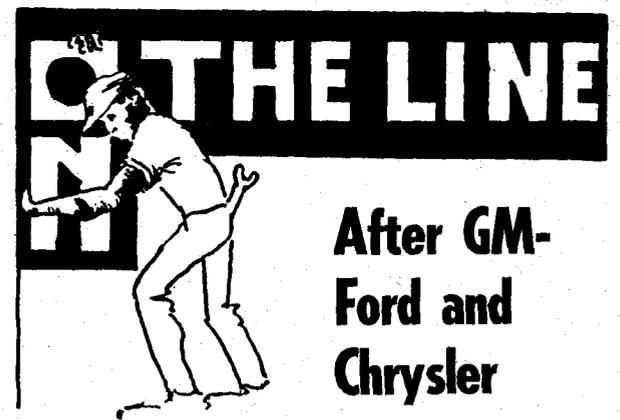
The workers are striking in order to catch up with other workers in the industry. They are fighting for improved wages, benefits, and working conditions of which they have been deprived for years. Their goal is equity with workers performing the same tasks in areas outside the depressed Middletown-Portland area and in other divisions of the same Company. For example, skilled mechanics and electricians get more than \$1.00 per hour less at Standard-Knapp in Portland than elsewhere.

Another issue in the strike is the fight against management's plan to move men around to higher-rated jobs while keeping them at the lower pay of their "regular" jobs.

Picketing continues 24 hours a day, every day.

CONN. UNEMPLOYMENT UP

The meeting between students and workers took place on the very day the local paper announced 82,000 unemployed in the state and two days after three big local companies announced massive pre-Christmas layoffs. Students were shocked and surprised at what they learned from the workers about the conditions they face, although one student noted that a June graduate of this elite college could find no better job than washing dishes in Washington. All agreed that conditions were getting so bad that workers, students, teachers and professors would all have to struggle and learn to work together.



After GM-Ford and Chrysler

By John Allison

Wherever workers gather to discuss the GM strike, working conditions are the first and last unresolved issues. Local unions are slow to bring local plant agreements to the membership for ratification. Rank-and-file members know why. It is because production standards are like an iceberg as big as the one that sank the Titanic.

Some people who don't know what the score is in the plant think that the strike at GM will be settled when UAW President Woodcock and GM Vice President Bramlett decide to agree. It is after the agreement is made that the workers will make the final decisions on the contract. They just might surprise a lot of people if they don't get what they want.

TROUBLE AHEAD

So much attention is being given to the GM strike that you'd think that Chrysler and Ford workers weren't even in the picture. The fact is that Chrysler does not have the first plant agreement signed. And for sure there is trouble in Chrysler's future at the Dodge Truck, Eldon Axle and the Hamtramck Dodge plants in the Detroit area.

Workers at the Chrysler Sterling plant north of Detroit went on strike because of the inhuman working conditions that existed there then—and they have gotten worse since then. They say Doug Fraser, UAW head of the Chrysler Division, made them return to work before their problems were solved. Now they will have the chance to square things with management and the union.

The same situation applies to the Ford workers. If there have been any local agreements over grievances, they sure have been kept quiet. But the workers are talking loud when they speak of the speed-up and their conditions of work.

KNOW RUN-AROUND

These are the things that will get a good airing in the local union halls when contract ratification comes up—at GM, Ford and Chrysler. Only the workers know this run-around they've been getting all these years. They know the company and union started to discuss the national issues over six months ago, and have been going at it hot and heavy ever since.

Now, the union bureaucrats and management are going to try to shove the contract down the workers' throats after a couple of hours of explanations at one local union ratification meeting. The workers learned long ago that the corporation is a master at saying "yes" and "no" at the same time, and that the union is not far behind the company in this respect. Sometimes the union is even ahead.

These are the things the rank-and-file have been thinking and talking about. We just might see a lot of action the corporations and the union officials don't expect when the issues hit the local union floors and the rank-and-file have a chance to speak out.

GM strikers teach students

Ann Arbor, Mich.—On Monday, Nov. 2, University of Michigan students had a new learning experience. Twenty striking GM workers visited forty-five university classes to tell students about life in the plant and about the importance of the strike against GM. Most Michigan students know little about work in factories, and, although many hate GM, they have little knowledge of the struggles of working people.

But the striker "teachers" had some new facts for the 1300 students they met in classes: students learned about the disgraceful working conditions at GM, about the impotence of a wage increase and "30 and out", about the workers' pride in their strike.

Nearly all the classes were friendly and lively: one young committeeman gave an impromptu lecture on inflation to an advanced class in economics, another worker described to sympathetic students his feelings of powerlessness in the plant, several women strikers discussed Women's Liberation with a class in anthropology.

GM strikers were invited to speak in university classes by a coalition of student radicals supporting the strike. We fear the growing hostility between students and working people, and believe that we need to understand and support each other's struggles. We feel that workers teaching students about the realities of their lives is an important step towards this understanding, and we are excited that this first student-worker contact at Michigan was so successful.

—Leslie Martin

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

The company, the union, the newspapers—everyone—is saying what the workers want out of this strike. Nobody asks us.

In the past it seems like every contract was a sell-out. When we went back we always worked harder and longer. I never had any faith that Walter Reuther would get us a good contract. I don't know yet about Woodcock.

I'll tell you what I want out of this strike. I want the Cost of Living back because my check has been buying nothing. I want "30 and Out." Really, 30 years is too long for anyone to waste their life at Fleetwood. How about "25 and Out"? Or "20 and Out"?

But it seems to me that hiring more people is really the issue. It sounds so simple, but GM won't do it. There is no way you can do your job at Fleetwood day in and day out because it has become just too hard. They have cut crews from five to three on some jobs.

Many workers—especially women—are out on sick leave because they can't possibly do the jobs they have been put on. There are no easy jobs at Fleetwood anymore, and nearly every worker has a grievance that isn't settled.

GM is talking about absenteeism—they say workers are lazy. But they know that when workers don't come in they aren't lazy—they are dead tired. The workload is so bad you have to stay home some days. If GM hired more workers they could bring back the workers on sick leave and end absenteeism. They might deal with the four day week. We need it.

There are so many unemployed now. Hiring more workers would help in cutting those lines at the unemployment office. Maybe the crime rate would drop.

This is what I want in the new contract. I don't think we'll get it.

—Fleetwood worker

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—For the last two years workers in second floor trim have been complaining about the gas and smoke in their department. Most of it is coming from the number 14 blow-off and paint booth. Nothing has been done about it.

Then last month it was so bad that the workers contacted D.A.P. Safety Director John Steele. One worker began vomiting from the fumes and had to go home. Still, Safety Director Steele has not lifted a finger to stop these inhuman working conditions.

Second floor trim workers have also taken their problem to the union Health and Safety man—Benny Derus. In all his years in office this man has never taken a stand to protect workers' safety, on this problem or any other.

Ford is always telling workers they are for safety. But the only safety thing they are interested in is safety glasses. One brother in second floor trim took his glasses off to clean them because they were covered with dirt and sweat. A foreman asked him, "Don't you know you

can be fired for that?" If conditions weren't filthy the worker could have kept the glasses on.

Ford is doing a survey of how many workers are not wearing safety glasses, and they have given workers time off, and even threatened some of us with discharge for not wearing them.

If the company is so interested in safety they should do a survey of how many rats and roaches there are in the D.A.P. They should count how many workers are doing their jobs under conditions that will kill them before they retire. They should check how many workers are forced to work with injuries and how many have sprained backs and sliced hands.

Recently a stock-chaser in first floor trim lost a finger on the job. He had to reach beneath a moving conveyor belt with split-second timing. He is at least the third one hurt like this in two months.

What is Steele going to do about these conditions? Where is Benny Derus?

—Production worker, D.A.P.

Racism goes on every day in the Dearborn Assembly Plant. A black worker in first floor trim day-shift had an emergency and reported late for work last month. He was given 30 days off because the foreman wouldn't accept his excuse. The worker asked his committeeman, who is white, to write a grievance. It was never written.

After two weeks, the committeeman told him to come in to work. He took the worker to the foreman and told him to beg and apologize so he'd get back to work. This is not the way a union should operate. This is plantation style.

—Black Worker, D.A.P.

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—When we have been discussing the contract negotiations in the shop, working conditions are the number one topic. This local vice-president from the United National Caucus was saying on the news that it doesn't matter what is done on other bargaining questions if we still have the same working conditions. Then there will be wildcats—lots of them.

I feel that we have to get some say-so in production or they will get everything back we won in sweat and blood.

At Chrysler we have been working without a contract for nearly two months. If you have a grievance you go to the committeeman and he says that he can't do anything for you because there's no contract.

Any older worker can tell you that this business of working without a contract is wrong. When the union was strong, if the contract ran out, you didn't work. Now young workers want to know why they have had no rights for the last two months. It's a good question.

The older workers are talking about retiring after this contract and they wonder what Chrysler will do. The young workers don't give a damn what the company says—the job doesn't mean anything to them. They are not buying anything the company says.

—Chrysler Mack worker

EDITORIAL

THE PERMANENT UNEMPLOYED ARMY GROWS

The overriding problem in America today is unemployment. This is what was conclusively proven in the November election. When Nixon unleashed his salesmen for "law and order" to crisscross the country and whip up the American people into a frenzy against the youth and all other administration critics, they should have looked at the unemployment offices overflowing with jobless workers. This will remain the most crucial issue in the nation, for the Nixon administration cannot now reverse the forces consciously planned and put in motion.

What has changed is that whereas the unemployment had indeed been planned—Nixon made this clear during his campaign and after—it is now chronic. Since Nixon took office 20 months ago, unemployment has risen from 3.5 percent to 6 percent. That's 1.5 million more unemployed, with the total now approaching the 5 million mark. The permanent unemployed army keeps growing.

BLACK YOUTH HIT HARDEST

These figures only reveal part of the truth. The hardest hit are the youth, where unemployment has risen by 4 percent last year alone, reaching 17 percent. But even this is misleading; for black ghetto youth unemployment is often as high as an incredible 40 to 50 percent. A growing number of new college graduates can't find jobs; returning GI veterans are re-enlisting after months of fruitless job searching. Of youths 21 to 24 years of age, 11 percent are out of work, the highest rate since 1961.

Unemployment shock waves have stunned a new class—the skilled, professional, scientific community. Some 150,000 in these managerial and technical ranks who have been thrown on the unemployment scrapheap still can't believe what has hit them. Agencies set up to keep tabs on professional unemployment report job demand at the lowest and joblessness the highest since surveys were first taken—nine years ago.

Never since the Great Depression of the 30s has unemployment hit so many so hard in such a wide variety of occupations. Among the signs of the times was a nationally publicized situation in San Francisco: over 700 unemployed workers waited for over 50 hours, sleeping in a gymnasium, to apply for 35 civil service jobs. Andrew Young, Southern Christian Leadership

Conference leader in Georgia, declared that black unemployment in Atlanta had already reached the massive proportions of the Great Depression.

This is the truth which slices through the word games played by Nixon's economic advisers. They are masters at finding new cover up phrases like "mini-recession," "upward retardation," "growth readjustment" and "temporary economic dislocation," but can't solve the economic crisis.

Nor is there any relief in sight. Either for unemployment or inflation. The one thing Nixon has succeeded in doing which no other administration ever did, was to create a situation where unemployment and inflation both keep on rising. Even according to Nixon's economic advisers, the economic growth rate would have to be at least 10 percent each year for the next two years for unemployment to be brought down to even 4 percent. Right now the national economic growth rate is zero.

PERMANENT CRISIS

So permanent is the crisis that the Nixon administration has just decreed that 4 percent unemployment is the equivalent of full employment. What is so shocking about this is that the Truman administration's Full-Employment Act commanded that every national resource be mobilized to reduce unemployment when it reached the unhealthy crisis point of 4 percent!

On top of this, is another offensive being launched against the working class. Herbert Stein, a member of President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, now charges that both unemployment and inflation are caused by increase of workers' wages. And there we have it. If Nixon's policies don't bring about full employment and an end to inflation, it is the fault of the working class!

The truth is that despite the seeming lush profits of the capitalists—and in the mass they are indeed lush—the real capitalist crisis exists in the declining rate of profit, the difference between their investments in plants, equipment and labor costs and the amount of their profits. This is continually decreasing. And whereas the force of this contradiction has been softened in the past by market manipulations at home and imperialist exploitation abroad, this is the first time in modern U.S. history that a war costing \$30 billion a year could not do it. That is why U.S. capitalists must now turn to their

own workers to try to get as much as they can out of their hides.

WORKERS KNOW REAL PROBLEM

It will not work. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the recent GM strike. Far from being concerned about the declining rate of profit noose around the neck of the capitalists, they face the noose of the automated auto plant and the conditions of labor designed to sweat the maximum profits out of their backs. This is where the crisis is, at the point of production, where Automation and the time clock reign supreme, and whose marriage has produced the present army of the unemployed and will add to that number.

How strongly the GM workers felt the need to exert control over the monster of Automation they showed by their overwhelming approval for striking GM in the midst of growing unemployment. They will not return to work until their work grievances are settled, because that is where they live every day, and know the toll that the speed-up takes on their lives. They will have much to say and do about that human condition in the shops. The solution to that problem will solve all others. Without it, nothing can be solved.

News & Letters

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A NOTE TO OUR READERS ON OUR MOTTO

Consciousness of language has led many Women's Liberation activists to ask us to change our motto: "The root of mankind is man" — a quotation from Karl Marx, which for many years we felt summed up the Marxist-Humanist content of our philosophy. We will, in the months ahead, substitute on our front page other mottos as they are suggested to us, and ask our readers to help us decide on the best choice.

This month we carry a quote from Karl Marx: "The individual is the social entity."

THE ELECTIONS

In '68 Nixon said he would fix up the economy. Now we have recession and unemployment. Nixon says he's going to bring the men home from Vietnam. But there are no jobs to come home to. I don't see how Nixon could hope to be elected again in '72. I think that's why he's trying to do all the damage he can right now.

Postal Worker
New York

Nixon knew exactly what he was doing when he vetoed the bill to limit the amount of money that can be spent on political campaigns. He was giving the GOP the right to pour millions into his hate-campaign across the country.

Voter
Baltimore

One of the best things about the elections to a lot of Californians was that we got rid of that Birchite, Max Rafferty—who had been Superintendent of Public Instruction here. And even better was that he was defeated by a black man—Wilson C. Riles.

Maybe the report on urban education that Riles (a professional educator) prepared almost a year ago as head of a "task force" on education will finally

get some publicity. Nixon has pretty much ignored the results of almost every commission he appointed to study anything, whether it was the Kerner Report on civil disorder, or the Eisenhower Commission on violence, or the Scranton commission on campus unrest.

But Riles' Report was never even reported in the press! It was never released from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Teacher
California

What scared me most about this election was that you got attacked by Agnew for just disagreeing with his boss.

Ottinger and Goodell are equally responsible for letting Buckley in.

But Goodell was a fraud. The only thing that kept him in the race was Agnew's attack on him. As if Nixon didn't plan the whole thing to split the liberal vote and get the Conservative in.

Garment Worker
New York

When I heard Agnew refer to student radicals as "brown shirts" I couldn't help remembering what I had heard a long time ago: that when fascism comes to the U.S., it will come in the guise of anti-fascism.

Student-Worker
New York

The votes for peace candidates across the country showed some wins, some losses. To me the most significant votes on the question of peace were the referendums in many cities on stopping the war. Nobody could misunderstand how people in Detroit feel when the referendum to bring all the troops home from Vietnam this year passed overwhelmingly.

Voter
Detroit

It's getting hard to find a hawk in Congress these days. Five years ago there were plenty of them. They have all somehow become transformed into doves by now. They know their electorates—and that shows how strong the

anti-war feelings of this whole country's people are.

Auto Worker
Detroit

Although the anti-war demonstration on Oct. 31 looked poor, the anti-war propositions on both the San Francisco and the Marin County ballot passed overwhelmingly. That is significant.

Reader
San Francisco

A new labor organization for peace is being organized here to succeed the Labor Coalition for Peace which was killed by the Communist Party last summer. When the CP got control of it, the rest of the Coalition's support, which had been broad among trade union rank and file, disappeared.

Anti-war worker
San Francisco

ANGELA DAVIS

"Angela Davis is the most dramatic black woman to appear since Harriet Tubman," said the student speaker at the BLFI (Black Liberation Front International) on November 2, which was celebrated as Black Solidarity Day here at Michigan State. The speaker, who was male, also said that there are certain exemplary traits in Angela Davis' life that all black women should try to copy. He cited the implications of Miss Davis' struggle to go beyond her life and raised the question of the educated black women. It was pointed out that the university recruits more women students than men students, and that one way black women can take advantage of their vanguard role, is to bring more black men into college.

The crowd turnout for this program was poor, due to bad weather. But even more poor was the attendance of black women, of whom there were only a couple. And these gave little or no

response to the rhetoric that was directed at them.

There was not one black woman speaker at this program dedicated to Miss Davis. All the while, the male speakers talked of the influence on Angela of Herbert Marcuse's philosophy of resistance and how we should apply this to Pan-Africanism—at the same time blaming the audience for the lack of interest showed.

Elliott Douglass
East Lansing, Mich.

LETTUCE BOYCOTT

When they go to the market and see the price of lettuce soaring, I think people should know that the U.S. Dept. of Labor has estimated that even if the wages of farm workers were doubled and the full increase were passed on to the consumers, they would pay only a penny or two more for a head of lettuce. Actually the extra money goes to lettuce growers and the middle men, who are refusing to bargain with the UFWOC.

I think people should know that conditions are so bad for migrant farm workers that their life expectancy is 49 years, while the average U.S. citizen lives over 70 years. I think people should ask themselves if they would work bent over, cutting lettuce under a hot California sun for \$1.75 an hour.

It was the grape boycott that finally won the strike in those fields. Please ask your readers to boycott all California, Arizona and New Mexico lettuce that does not carry the UFW Union Label — the Aztec Eagle.

Boycotter
Delano, Cal.



LOOK FOR
THIS
UNION LABEL

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Lenin's Impact on the United States. Edited by Daniel Mason & Jessica Smith (New York. NWR Publications, 1970) 234 pp. \$2.25 ppb.

* * *

IT IS VERY HARD to conceive that a historic period as world-shaking as the November, 1917 Revolution in Russia, a subject as overpowering as Lenin, on topics as close to home and urgent as the impact of Lenin's thought on today's black revolution, could possibly be reduced to utter boredom. Nevertheless, the *New World Review* editors have achieved the feat. By toting the current Communist propaganda line of "peaceful co-existence" like a pall, and peppering the hybrid assortment of articles with statements by the likes of "Cyrus S. Eaton, Leading American Industrialist and Public Figure" (p. 201), they have succeeded in smothering, if not the revolutionary content of Lenin's thought, certainly its elan. Thus, an excellent, serious and exciting in-person description of "Ten Months With Lenin" by Albert Rhys Williams very nearly gets lost in this haphazard collection. Yet had the same article accompanied Lenin's own "Letter to American Workers", and been followed by Pyotr Travin's piece on how the letter was delivered, it would have made a lively and valuable pamphlet.

OR, HAD the editors wished to present, not "the line", but Lenin's thought in a comprehensive and theoretical coverage, there certainly was a wealth of material. There is no greater departure in theory and one more cogent in its application to today's problems, both as it relates to black Americans and the Third World, than Lenin's Theses on the National and Colonial Questions. Moreover, these Theses, presented as far back as 1920, first singled as integral to Lenin's unique position (and for which he asked for "suggestions for amendments or additions or very brief comments not more than two pages") "The Negroes in America", and "The Experience of the Polish Jews and the Ukrainians." The Negro Question was discussed, again, in 1922 and had the great black poet, Claude McKay, as a reporter. It is most difficult to get this report and one would have thought the editors would have attempted to present so historic a first to the American public on the occasion of the 100th

History rewrite degrades Lenin, black masses

anniversary of Lenin's birth. Instead, although "Lenin and Black Americans", takes up a fairly substantial section, and blacks are represented (Claude McKay by a single paragraph from a piece in *Crisis!*), the only one who is allowed to speak theoretically on Lenin's position on the Negro as a National Question is—Herbert Aptheker! A single paragraph from Claude McKay's report to the Communist International when Lenin headed it will show clearly enough why today's self-styled "Marxist-Leninists" like to forget the true history of the Communist Party in the United States on this crucial question:

"The situation in America today is terrible and fraught with grave dangers. It is much uglier and more terrible than was the condition of the peasants and Jews of Russia under the Czar. It is so ugly and terrible that very few people in America are willing to face it. The reformist bourgeoisie have been carrying on the battle against discrimination and racial prejudice in America. The Socialists and Communists have fought very shy of it because there is a great element of prejudice among the Socialists and Communists of America. They are not willing to face the Negro Question. In associating with the comrades of America, I have found demonstrations of prejudice on the various occasions when the white and black comrades had to get together; and this is the greatest difficulty that the Communists of America have got to overcome—the fact that they first have got to emancipate themselves from the ideas they entertained towards the Negroes before they can be able to reach the Negroes with any kind of racial propaganda." FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Abridged Report of Meetings held at Petrograd & Moscow. Nov. 7-Dec. 3, 1922, Communist Party of Great Britain, pp. 260-261.)

NOT ONLY did the editors of *Lenin's Impact on the United States* miss the opportunity to quote this historic report by a black revolutionary, but they also skipped reference to the Theses which defined Lenin's theory of self-determination as inseparable from his internationalism as it relates both to the relationship between technologically advanced lands and technologically underdeveloped countries, and to the demand from even a successful revolution that it consider as primary "the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country to the interests of the struggle on a world scale." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol X, P. 231).

The readers of *Telos*, no doubt, are wondering about

the strictly philosophic articles. There is one such—Howard Parsons' "The Influence of Lenin's Thought on U.S. Philosophers." Lest any one, however, think that "Lenin's Thought" is a pseudonym of Lenin as philosopher, let him be assured that Professor Parsons goes to great lengths to establish that Lenin "was not an academic philosopher." (p. 197). Moreover, this is said, not so much in disparagement of philosophy as an academic discipline, as of Lenin who, although "a man of philosophic talents and interests" (p. 181) was "with-

(Continued on Page 7)

Be Sure to Read These Articles by
RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

"The Shock of Recognition and
the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin"

in *TELOS*, Issue #5, August 1970

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Views

THE MIDDLE-EAST

Thank you for sending me a copy of *N&L*, even though I am no longer a subscriber. Enclosed is a dollar to make me one again. The editorial on the Middle East was exactly what needed to be said, but which no one else has been saying. We have formed a group here on campus called Students for Peace and Justice in the Middle East in the hopes of expressing the realities of the situation in the same vein that you have done in your editorial. Thank you again.

Student
Wisconsin

* * *

It isn't easy to live with just saying "a plague on both your houses." It gives an uninvolved kind of feeling. But *News & Letters* is the only group I can see that deals with the Israeli, and especially the Arab masses, the workers and peasants. We have to keep looking for a way to how the Arab masses think, and how Israel fits in.

Hospital Worker
New York

* * *

Poor Trotsky would never believe what passes for Trotskyism these days. It is even hard for one who has seen them tail-ending Mao for many years now, to believe the new low they have reached at the forefront of a movement "to dismantle Israel." Their guise of anti-Zionism doesn't do much to hide their anti-Semitism. And having Paul Boutelle act as the chairman of a "Committee of Black Americans for Truth about the Middle East" isn't going to let them pass themselves off as black, either.

Disgusted
New York

* * *

What a disgusting half-page ad appeared in the *Sunday New York Times* on Nov. 1 over the signature of the "Committee of Black Americans for Truth

about the Middle-East". It concocted such a twisted history of Israel that it was unbelievable. Can you imagine lumping "Israel, Rhodesia and South Africa" together as "three privileged white settler-states that came into existence by displacing indigenous peoples from their lands"? The whole ad sounded as if it had been written by Arafat (It was probably paid for by Al Fatah, at any rate.)

It was good to see the letter that blasted it, signed by a past President of the NAACP and the Executive Director of the Council of Churches of Washington, D.C. They summed it up pretty well when they said: "We do not know who are the members of the Committee of Black Americans for Truth About the Middle East. But it is manifest from the content of their advertisement that they represent neither truth nor the community of black Americans."

Reader
New York

MARXIST-HUMANISM

Raya Dunayevskaya spoke this past weekend on the campus of Washington University. I was lucky enough to hear about it and attend. I can't put into words how important the encounter was for me. I don't know why I had never heard about *News & Letters* before.

I am especially interested in the Women's Liberation groups, and about any attempts by middle-class women to involve themselves in real working class situations and communities. The gap between middle-class youth and laborers has been a matter of concern to me. Also the separation of "feminist" interests from real concerns of working class women.

It seems that so many people in my generation are destroying themselves and only giving birth to more alienation, while white radicals and student-radicals are turning more to frustration

than anything else. I am relieved to encounter a direction like Marxist humanism, and the idea of a totally new, human society.

New Reader
St. Louis

TERRORISM

On October 22, a time bomb exploded in front of a church here filled with people awaiting the arrival of the funeral cortege of a policeman killed in an attempted bank robbery. If the cortege had been on time, it would have arrived just as the bomb exploded at the entrance of the church.

The instigators must believe that individual terror will bring about a social revolution . . . or else they are provocateurs trying to discredit the left and bring repression upon all social dissenters.

Policemen are the most direct arm of the state and of the established order. But even if the bomb had succeeded in killing or injuring every policeman and every official in the city, they would have been replaced by others, who would then maintain the same system of order, only with far more repressive and violent measures. The police and all officialdom are trying to maintain existing social relations of production. Revolutionary Marxists are trying to funda-

mentally change them. But existing human relations cannot be dynamited out of existence.

The only way that social, human relations can be fundamentally changed is by mass action, in which there is always plenty of opportunity for the bravery that individual terrorists seem to seek in their abortive efforts. The greatest fear of the police, of the army, of all the repressive arms of capitalism is a confrontation with masses—in the hundreds of thousands and in the millions—in motion.

Unemployed Worker
San Francisco

* * *

It is clear, from the events in Canada, how the terrorists' cruelty brings on repression. On the other hand, it is clear that the arrests of hundreds and the suspension of civil liberties has nothing to do with a handful of kidnapers, and everything to do with the contradictions in Canadian society, beginning with the suppression of the French minority.

It is ironic that this came in the same week as Canada's recognition of Red China. It certainly proves that state-capitalist giants, even second rates ones, can get along with each other, but not with their own people.

Teacher
Connecticut

WHAT IS NEWS & LETTERS? A unique combination of workers and intellectuals.

ORGANIZATION—We are an organization of Marxist Humanists—blacks and whites who are seeking to change our conditions of life in the shops, the schools, the society as a whole. To do this we feel that all of us—workers in the factories, students in the universities and high schools—must come together and talk about how we can end speed up and racism in the plants, miseducation in the school; how we can build different human relations, by abolishing the division between mental and manual labor.

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

The only paper that features a regular column, "Two Worlds," by Raya Dunayevskaya, chairman of the National Editorial Board, and author of *Marxism and Freedom*.

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



YOUTH

Students back day care, farm workers

Berkeley, Calif.—Though the Regents are as repressive and unresponsive as ever, and the actions of the Nixon-Agnew government as outrageous as ever, so far this quarter the movement at Berkeley has been rather weak, despite several rallies and other actions. Generally, few people have been involved, and even fewer have shown any real enthusiasm or dedication to push any of the issues that have come up on campus since classes started in October.

School began with the Regents establishing a new set of political rules expressly designed to prevent reconstitution of the university, which was a big issue last May at the time of the nation-wide protest against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. Reconstitution means turning the university into a center for opposition to the war and other socially relevant activities.

CHILD CARE DEMANDED

There have been a number of rallies over the past month. At one rally, women's liberation demanded that the Regents allow student fees to be used to establish reasonable child care facilities here, since they have refused to fund it themselves and have consistently sabotaged student efforts to make child care a reality at Berkeley.

Thus while UCLA has excellent child care facilities, those at Berkeley were only capable of taking care of from ten to fifteen children per hour — this on a campus with two thousand students who have children. Lack of child care not only handicaps those who attend the university, but also prevents many women from going to the university at all. Supposedly some minor concessions have been won, but the mass of the students have not rallied behind this really important issue.

UFWOC SUPPORTED

Probably the most organized activity has centered around the boycott of all non-United Farm Workers lettuce. The case for the boycott was very well made at a rally for Peace and Freedom Party candidate Ricardo Romo. University officials had told boycott supporters that the university could not make the "moral decision" not to buy Teamster lettuce, its buying policies being purely economic, and that the students had to decide. So the students responded to the UFWOC call with a boycott of campus eating facilities that was 90% effective.

The "impartial" university decided to keep on losing money and started laying off cafeteria workers, especially those who supported the boycott. The layoffs, of course, were blamed on the students.

So several hundred people marched to the university purchasing office and demanded that the school buy only United Farm Worker lettuce. And they were told that the university could not distinguish between brands, though it has done a pretty good job of buying only scab lettuce.

This was the response of the "impartial" university (sixteen of whose Regents are millionaires) which has developed, free of charge to the growers, a grape-picking machine which, if put into use, would decimate the farm labor force.

October 31 was the day set for the latest wave of

nationwide "mass rallies" against the war in Indochina. In San Francisco, only about one thousand people showed up for the five-mile march to Civic Center. The Berkeley turnout, like the overall turnout, was poor. The tactic of "mass demonstrations" seems pretty well washed up — Nixon watches baseball games and the "mass" actions are getting smaller and smaller.

The direction of the movement at Berkeley is still highly uncertain. But it does look like it will take something really drastic to get people moving.

—Bernard Wendell

Government uses Civil Rights Act to repress

St. Louis, Mo.—Howard Mechanic is going to be sentenced for supposedly throwing a cherry bomb at a policeman on the night the Washington University ROTC building was burned. He was recently convicted in federal court of violating the 1968 Civil Rights Act, specifically for interfering with police and firemen defending a federally funded project during a civil disorder.

Conviction carries a maximum penalty of five years in jail and a ten thousand dollar fine. Judge Meredith, who will pronounce sentence on Friday, has uniformly given the maximum penalty for draft refusal and has sentenced one person to five years in jail for tearing up his draft card. There is little hope that Howard will fare any better.

It is horrifying that a person can be sent to prison for five years for such a minor offense. But it is even more horrifying to realize that he was convicted on the basis of almost no evidence. One witness surmised that Howard propelled a cherry bomb at a policeman although he only claimed to have seen it coming away from the vicinity of the defendant. His testimony was contradicted by a friend of his, the defendant, the defendant's girl friend and the patrolman who was the alleged target of the attack.

The implications of the trial are frightening. This was the first prosecution under this particular provision of the 1968 Civil Rights Act. It may well mean that anyone identified as being present at what the government chooses to call a civil disorder can be sent to jail for five years with almost no opposition.

The oppressiveness of the law, the severity of the punishment, the willingness of the jury to convict and the eagerness of the federal government to prosecute foreshadow a very repressive role for the government in the future.

LA students fight high school tyranny

Los Angeles, Calif.—On Tuesday, October 13, a boycott of the Venice High School was held to protest the school's dress code. This was the first organized protest of the dress code at Venice High in four years.

Venice is one of the most oppressed schools in Los Angeles. The new liberalized dress code restricts long hair or beards on boys, short or long dress on girls, faded or worn clothes, or anything that attracts undue attention or does not contribute to a proper educational atmosphere, in the opinion of the administration.

Students may be indefinitely suspended for violating these rules. Free speech and petitions are not permitted on campus. The administration enforces many senseless "unwritten rules."

The boycott was called for by the Venice Student Union, an underground campus organization. No riot or violence occurred, except for two teachers being injured by apples that were thrown by students in the crowd.

Sixteen students were suspended, without being charged with anything or given an appointment with the principal until a week later. At least five students, including myself, were not allowed to return to Venice High. The others were given one to two weeks suspension, with a threat of transfer or expulsion if they get involved with Venice Student Union again.

The organizers of the boycott who were not expelled have been told that they would be if they get involved with the Venice Student Union again. Many of the students were ready to continue to demonstrate their objections to the dress code as well as other injustices. However, now the school has returned to its old apathetic state. It is now much more oppressive.

—Expelled Venice Student

DOING AND THINKING

Youth culture lifestyle unappealing to workers

By Chris Norwell

Having been a member of the youth culture (and I consider myself still being one) and now being a member of the working class, I can see the vast difference in the two groups, which is more than just a generation gap. If a revolution is to be made in this country, it has to be made by both of these groups working together with the other forces of freedom, and the way it looks now, the working class cannot relate to the youth culture idea, and youth culture freaks cannot relate to the working class.

I now work full-time at a small shop making parts for business machines. When I talk with the other workers there, I see how much different their thoughts and problems are from freaks. I had always thought of this society as bad and oppressive, yet I only saw it through one point of view, a radical student. Now I can see how much of a drag this society really is, and why workers have a genuine reason to be fed up with it.

WEEKLY DRAG

The average worker has to rise up early in the morning every weekday, go to some mangy, dull, unfulfilling job, and come home in the evening, usually being too tired to do anything else than go to sleep. The worker's paycheck will always be too small to fulfill all the needs, so the worker must always struggle and pinch just to keep more money, thus becoming totally enmeshed by the capitalist system.

Workers have to do this for the rest of their lives until old age, so they've got their whole lives "planned" out for them, with not much hope of much exciting, except bourgeois entertainment. Youth nowadays, quite naturally, look at this and say "I don't want to spend my life like this. I've got my whole life ahead of me. I want to do things worthwhile."

Well, workers don't want to live that kind of life, either. But what separates the working class from bourgeois freaks is that the workers are forced to live like this, out of economic necessity, in order to survive in this society. Most freaks, however, either have rich families they can sponge off, or else they panhandle and hustle off each other. Some go into capitalist ventures like head shops, ballrooms, bands, dope dealing, etc., which are necessary to the existence of the youth culture, but which, like all other things in this capitalist society, have been transformed into money-making businesses.

CAN'T ACCEPT PANHANDLING

Workers, young and old, do not have rich families to sponge off, and they cannot accept panhandling and living off of others. If they did, they wouldn't be workers. Workers who have revolutionary ideas and sympathies get turned off when they look at these self-proclaimed revolutionaries who survive in this society by methods abhorrent to workers.

All this is not to say that the youth culture life-style is no good and should be abandoned entirely. I still consider myself part of the culture. What youth must realize, however, is that the working class will make the revolution, and youth, being a force in that revolution, must work with and relate to workers, and they will not do that using revolutionary rhetoric and advocating a life-style foreign to workers.

Los Angeles, Calif.—At many high schools it is close to impossible to do the entire trip without being suspended or "sent home" at least once. The vast majority of these schools are in working class and poverty areas. Schools in these areas are attended for the following reasons (in order of importance): 1) the student has to stay in school, 2) to get a decent job, 3) for something to do during the day, 4) to get out of the house, or 5) to get into college. In high schools like these only the last group of students have a decent chance of escaping suspension. I belong to the first and second groups.

My first suspension was an assembly line job. About 150 girls were suspended for violation of the dress code and disrupting the educational process. This was during an anti-dress code demonstration.

Suspensions are a weapon to silence dissent and to stop disobedience. The system of suspensions and expulsions exists for, and is used for no other reason. The procedures are completely without even the hypocrisy of a hearing.

After three suspensions (most schools wait until five) a student can be automatically "transferred" to another school. If he's suspended from the other school, he can be automatically expelled from all city schools. He gets a hearing that turns into a recital of his suspensions, etc.

The suspension-expulsion procedures are one more example of the factory ("... and the students are the raw material..."—Mario Savio) process the government substitutes for education.

—Suspended and "Transferred" Student

What Is Theory? or "History and its Process"

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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- II—Recession, Especially Unemployment, Especially Among Black Youth.
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Black-Red View: Black culture is in masse, not commodities

by John Alan

In the last issue of News & Letters I discussed some of the facets of Black Culture. The word "culture" is so often abused, and so vague, so peripheral, that it can easily be used as an emotional and psychological shield to hide almost anything, and most of all CLASS relationships.

Our society—in Marxian terms—may be said to be the society of "the fetish of the commodity." And this is by no means an esoteric expression, because this expression can be easily concretized by turning on your radio or television set. From it you will periodically find songs and praise for commodities so vast in scope that they far exceed any devotional rites devised by the church fathers in its 2000 years of existence.

We are enticed by the romantic names of automobiles and the manly and womanly people who own and drive them, and the virtuous use and value of soaps. But we are never made aware "culturally" of the assembly line speed up, the abusive foremen, and the calculated profit-making reasoning of the board of directors of General Motors or Lever Bros.

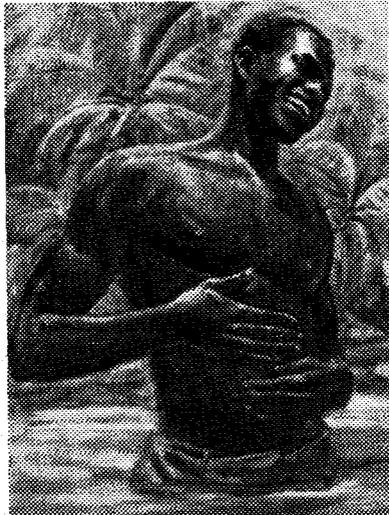
What does this have to do with Black Culture? It has much to do, because first, it is antithetical to any free human culture, and second, because human culture can only emerge by opposing this kind of exploitation. Human culture must stand in active opposition to capitalism. This is not mere propaganda. Let us look at the Black renaissance of the 1920's.

W. E. B. Du Bois, more than any other Black leader of the 1920's epitomized the "clique" of Black writers who gathered around the Crisis magazine. He was their god-father and mentor. They were indeed a clique because, with rare exceptions, they seemed to ignore the real world of Black America. Because of this many of these writers have suffered oblivion and can only be found in fossilized anthologies. Du Bois himself has escaped oblivion because of his great genius and flexible reactions to each succeeding generation of Blacks.

When we said the writers of the 1920's ignored really

Black America, that was not to say that they did not react to the stings and cuts passed out to them by racist America, but that their reaction to it was highly personal, with an aura of genteel middle-class good manners.

The Black generation of today is concerned with



THE NEGRO SPEAKS OF RIVERS

I've known rivers:
I've known rivers ancient
as the world and older
than the flow of human
blood in human veins.
My soul has grown deep
like the rivers.
I bathed in the Euphrates
when dawns were
young.
I built my hut near the
Congo and it lulled me
to sleep.
I looked up the Nile and
raised the pyramids
above it.
I heard the singing of the
Mississippi when Abe
Lincoln went down to
New Orleans, and I've
seen its muddy bosom
turn all golden in the
sunset.
I've known rivers: an-
cient, dusty rivers.
My soul has grown deep
like the rivers.
—Langston Hughes

"Blackness." This word combines a feeling of self awareness, on one hand, and on the other, a militant political stance. Most Black novelists of the '20's were concerned with skin shades and "hair quality." It was a negative reaction to Blackness that saw its ideal in the white middle-class world.

We must remember that was the period of the hey-day of Madame Walker, a Black woman who made millions of dollars by selling cosmetics to Black Americans which supposedly would turn them into near white middle-class Americans. A literary critic of Black literature of that period said that he learned, in at least four novels by American authors, how to apply Madame Walker's goo and how to straighten hair!

Much of the subject matter of the Negro novelist of the 1920's centered around the "passing" theme—crossing the color line, a skin miasma which expressed the anxiety of the Black middle-class fears, fears that they might be identified with the turbulent Black peasants arriving in droves from the south, to be urbanized and industrialized by the needs of growing American capitalism. Even the great Dr. Du Bois, in his trilogy, *Worlds of Color* had a "white-black girl" character, Jean Du Bignon, who could expediently flit back and forth across the color bar.

The more aware Black writers of the Renaissance satirized this middle-class color mania. Notable among them was Wallace Thurman, who coined the word "Niggerati" and George Schuyler, who wrote *Black No More*.

Claude McKay, who wrote realistically about the Harlem background, in "Home in Harlem" so disgusted the Du Bois elitists, that they referred to his characters as "the debauched tenth".

An accurate summation of the Black Renaissance of 1920's can be seen in the ghetto jingle: "white is right; yellow is mellow; brown, hang around; black, stand back!" The sad truth is that almost every Negro writer of that period viewed with scorn the rising class awareness of the newly industrialized Black. It was not until the middle 1930's that new Black writers began to emerge who would express the "new" culture of the industrialized Black worker.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

out any formal training." (p. 193). Naturally, the condescension toward Lenin as philosopher is not made ostentatiously. It is surrounded by praise as to how this man of philosophic "interests" "presided over the formation of a large modern state, one that was to become one of the dominant powers of the 20th century . . . Philosophers from Confucius and Plato onwards dreamed of presiding over or advising a new state. But before 1917 they had never succeeded." (p. 181). Professor Parsons, we see, leaves no stone unturned to show Lenin's uniqueness in being "not a dreaming philosopher but a militant revolutionary who knows how to use philosophical ideas as a guide and weapon for achieving political power." (p. 182).

ONE WOULD never guess that Lenin, as philosopher, had achieved any philosophic breakthroughs, specifically siding with Hegel not only as against vulgar materialists but also against his Bolshevik co-leaders who failed "fully to understand the dialectic." And even when he attacked Hegel mercilessly for his abstruse idealism, Lenin also showed, elatedly, his discovery that "Movement and 'self-movement' . . . 'movement and life,' 'the principle of every self-movement' and 'activity' . . . Who would believe that this is the core of 'Hegelianism', of abstract and abstruse (difficult, absurd?) Hegelianism?" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 141). It is hard, indeed to find out from Professor Parsons what Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* are all about, although we are assured that his "philosophic world-outlook evolved in several stages from a more mechanistic position to a sophisticated (whatever that means, rd) and subtle dialectical one." (p. 198)

All of these vapid abstractions, moreover, are set in a historic context that bears no resemblance to reality. Thus, it would appear that it wasn't Trotsky who stood for world revolution as against Stalin's "socialism in one country," but American Stalinists who rejected "in 1928 . . . the Trotskyites . . . who argued that American capitalism was not ready for revolution." (p. 184) Thus, as if Stalin hadn't allied with US imperialism and urged the dropping of the atomic bomb, the cold war is predated to "the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945 . . ." (p. 183) Thus, as proof of the McCarthyite 1950's which produced "a number of works . . . reflecting the political anti-communism of the times" (p. 188), we are confronted with the citation of Herbert Marcuse's *Soviet Marxism!* Thus, although Professor Parsons goes way out of his way to cite all works that make no more than "passing reference to Lenin" (p. 186), we find not even a "passing reference" to the very first English translation of the core of Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*: *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*. Indeed, how could Professor Parsons have found any space for such a listing when his 20-page essay so studiously avoids any mention of the pronoun: Hegel? As the latest Czechoslovak underground joke puts it: "Lenin would have been a hundred now. But he didn't want to wait for this."

(Written for Telos) —Raya Dunayevskaya

Racism killing minorities program at MSU

By Elliott Douglass

East Lansing, Mich.—This fall there has been a lot of dissent and tension over the threatened abolishment of a university extension program intended to bring ghetto people to the university. DGEI (Detroit Geographical Expedition and Institute) is a project started by inner-city Detroit people in conjunction with teachers at MSU. It is a kind of urban development program that orients minority people to college by way of an accredited one-year tuition-free program through the extension services at Michigan State.

Expedition director Gwen Warren said: "Even though one of our main issues is community control for the program, the main thing is the cut in funds which means that we can only register 25 students." She explained that DGEI had over 475 students this summer and that 500 were trying to enroll.

PROGRAM BECOMES EXPERIMENTAL

The University has given the project verbal support since January when four students transferred here from Detroit. However, when the program expanded to include over 1100 students in preparation for community skills and MSU course requirements, the program became "experimental." Of the 20 DGEI students who ap-

plied for admission this fall, three were denied because they didn't have a high school diploma, in spite of the fact that they had a "B" average in MSU courses for one year.

In October, during an Administration meeting, MSU called the program "innovative" and "experimental" and in the same breath stated that they couldn't finance the project. That was when DGEI walked out and planned public rallies in protest. About 200 people turned out to demonstrate in the two successive rallies held.

MINORITY ADMISSIONS DEMANDED

The demands made included expanded community control and support of the project and a clearer admissions policy on admission of more Black, Chicano, and Indian students. An Indian student spoke and told how the Center for Urban Affairs has only hired "one token apple" Indian and only 16 Indian students are on campus. The main speakers, however, were the students who were refused admission.

MSU says that there is no more money and that the so-called experimental project was expanded "without any formal University approval." The main solution suggested is that MSU should seek outside help in expanding the program. Otherwise many people will be denied access to higher education and there are sure to be more demonstrations.

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By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Radicals or liberals: no answers for anti-war movement

Oct. 31 was the latest in the semi-annual outpourings against the Vietnam War. It was perhaps the poorest in attendance in the last few years. Why?

To the political commentators Nixon has defused the war as an issue by withdrawing troops and holding down the casualties. However, it was not Nixon's idea to tone down the war, but the disgust that the American people felt with the war, that forced him to follow such a path. When he made a move to enlarge the war through the invasion of Cambodia, the demonstrations were massive.

MAY DEMONSTRATIONS

The demonstrations against the Cambodian invasion last spring also showed something about the anti-war movement. Just at the time when the invasion took place, much of the anti-war movement was in the process of dismantling itself. It took a dramatic change in the objective situation to bring the established anti-war movement back together.

Much of this anti-war movement was centered around liberal politics and had been trying very hard to put anti-war feeling into the backing of peace candidates. When radicals were allowed to

have a voice in the movement it was usually at splinter rallies or as token speakers.

However when the liberals decided the war was no longer the major issue they left the movement to the radicals in many places. Los Angeles was one of those places. The rally in Los Angeles had a number of radical speakers. What alternative did they pose that the liberals didn't? Where the liberals had offered the solution of voting for a peace candidate, many of the radicals offered the fighting of U.S. imperialism—everywhere: Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and at home. All were linked together since the United States was "enemy Number One."

EASY ANSWERS

While the U.S. is most certainly involved in all these areas, the speakers gave the impression that that is all there is to the situation. Get the U.S. out and everything would fall into place. Since getting the U.S. out was most important, then any action, any group, which proceeds to do that is automatically on the right side.

It is precisely here that many radicals in the anti-war movement go off track. Where the liberals wish to tie the anti-war feeling in America to peace

candidates, many radicals want to tie that feeling into any movement which opposes U.S. imperialism, even if that means linking oneself to terrorist hijackings, Mao's China, or what have you. Because no real alternative is possible either with the liberals' peace candidates or the radicals' willingness to tie the movement to any other movement that opposes U.S. policies, the movement grows and lessens only as Nixon manipulates the war.

The movement provides no alternative for the millions who are against what the U.S. is doing but do not want to be put in the same camp with those who also dominate over other areas of the world and oppose the U.S. only because they wish to take its place as the Number One imperial power.

If an anti-war movement is to become one of the poles for trying to change our society, then it must be a movement that can do more than react to the political moves of Nixon, or tie itself to any anti-U.S. movement.

New Czech purge

The following letter was received from Prague, Czechoslovakia:

All non-party people serving in any administrative position are now being tested as to their views on the political situation, the Soviet "help" of August 1968, the Communist Party's policy, and so on. In the factories, this includes everyone doing non-manual work. Out of the factories, it means every job in any government or other institution.

Sometimes, for example in the case of teachers, long forms with 20 to 50 questions must be filled out first, before an oral examination is given. It must seem incredible to any reasonable person living outside this sphere. Most people are well aware that hardly anyone tells the truth. People simply cover up their actual opinions. It reminds one of an Orwellian nightmare, though some features, when told in detail, smack of Schweik.

One of the most remarkable features is the endeavor of the Communist Party to corrupt parts of the working class. They have nothing to offer this class as a whole except verbal assurances that this class is the "decisive force" of "socialist society." But, as in the fifties, the CP tries to pick up dozens of party activists of working class origin and put them into "responsible" posts both within the party and the government apparatus under the slogan of "working class policies."

The outcome is clear: most of the men chosen will become "embourgeoisé" in the process and many will never recover from suffering from an inferiority complex, for they never acquire the same amount of knowledge as the "intelligentsia" who occupied those posts previously. The working class as a whole will gain nothing. The bad working conditions will continue.

Agent orange... torture... arms... massacre

A chemical agent used to destroy vegetation in Vietnam — 2,4,5-T or agent orange — has been shown to cause birth defects in animals. Its use was supposedly banned last April. But one Army division has continued to use the chemical throughout the year.

This same defoliant has constituted about 90 percent of the three main defoliants used since 1961 to spray about 5,000 of South Vietnam's 66,350 square miles. Despite its use in some 30,000 sorties by U.S. spray planes since the herbicide program began, no tests were made of the effects of the chemical on human and animal life until the recent studies showing an increase in birth defects.

"Brazil is presently one of the most peaceful countries in the world" commented President Emilio G. Medici as his government continued to tighten censorship of outgoing news dispatches dealing with charges of torture in Brazilian jails.

Four women prisoners complained during their trial in Rio de Janeiro of torture by prison officials including electric shocks applied to their bodies and the death of other prisoners due to torture.

Britain, after six years of not selling arms to racist South Africa, appears to be about to resume sales starting with frigates and naval equipment. This decision is being made by the government despite opposition from civil servants in the Foreign

Office and even military men in the Defense Ministry.

Well over a year has passed since the massacre at My Lai. Only now is the first court martial of a soldier accused of killing Vietnamese civilians taking place; that of S. Sgt. David Mitchell. Meanwhile, those responsible for creating the climate for massacre are still doing so. The military men in charge of the war with the full approval of their leaders in Washington are not being brought to trial.

U. S. labor facts

Fourteen thousand workers were killed in on-the-job accidents last year — more than the number of U.S. servicemen who died in Vietnam in 1969.

Twenty-eight percent of U.S. workers have no medical coverage provided.

Thirty-eight percent have no life insurance.

Thirty-nine percent have no pension beyond Social Security.

A factory worker earns less today in real purchasing power than five years ago.

And, rank and file workers are now rejecting one out of twelve contracts negotiated by their leaders.

Workers reject Nixon's unemployment politics

(Continued from Page 1)

Mexico, Idaho, and Texas, and came close to losing Arizona to Castro, a naturalized Mexican. Special targets for Agnew's attacks, Senators Moss, Montoya, and McGee, won re-election.

FARMERS VOTE ANTI-NIXON

In the farming states of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Wisconsin—the heartland of so-called Middle America—the farmers showed just what they thought of Nixon. In North Dakota where the Republicans spent \$300,000 campaigning, mostly in attacking Senator Burdick, the voters re-elected him by a big majority. In South Dakota, they gave the state house, the governor's mansion, and a vacant House seat to Democrats.

The farmers in Nebraska who turned out in mass to elect a Democratic governor and state house summed it up when they said, "Nixon's farm policy is killing us. It's starving us to death."

The Southern Strategy by which Nixon hoped to gain the votes of former Wallace supporters turned out to be a flop. In the South and industrial Mid-West, those blue collar workers who supported Wallace in the 1968 election, and on whom Nixon counted to support his "law and order" platform, went three out of four for the Democrats.

NIXON'S 'WORKING MAJORITY' VS. FORCES FOR REVOLUTION

It cannot be denied that Nixon and Agnew did what they set out to do in Tennessee and New York. By the type of tactics they used, they were able to defeat Senator Gore in Tennessee, and get the Conservative, Buckley, elected in New York. There, by simply attacking the liberal Republican candidate Goodell, they were able to split the liberal vote between

Goodell and the Democrat Ottinger, and allow Buckley to win with only 39 percent of the vote.

More important, when Nixon attempted to turn defeat into victory by proclaiming that he now had a "working majority"—ideologically, if not numerically—in the Senate, there was a grain of truth to his claim.

The fact is, however, that he has always had that. As a worker in an auto plant put it, "There is not that much difference between the Democrats and the Republicans, but most of us workers voted for the Democrats just to show we don't like the way in which Nixon's leading the country." The alternative that the workers, the black people, the anti-war masses, are looking for is not the difference between "tweedledum" and "tweedledee." Those committed to maintaining capitalist society cannot hope to solve the crises of this senile and decrepit system: war without end; permanent unemployment; runaway inflation; the cancer of racism.

It is precisely this which assures the continuing momentum of the movement for a new, totally human society.

Nixon-Agnew will not easily give up their attempt to move this country to the far right. Though the people have demonstrated their rejection of his policies, the war is not over. This past election was just a small battle in the much greater war between the true forces of change and the forces of reaction.

We are at a transition point in our history, which can carry us either to total oppression or to real freedom. The forces that can make the much-needed American revolution—workers, blacks, youth, women—still have much to do to prepare for it. First on the list is joining the forces for freedom with an actual philosophy of freedom. The time to do it is now.

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