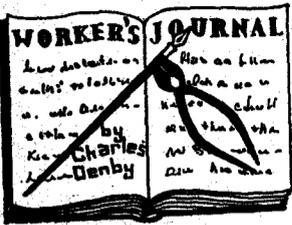


ON THE INSIDE

Culture, science and state-capitalism
by Raya DunayevskayaPage 5
May Day 1971Page 4
Berkeley electionsPage 7



Workers are sick of Nixon and his war

By Charles Denby, Editor

There is continuing discussion in the auto plant where I work over the Vietnam War and Nixon's policies. Nixon said in his campaign speeches: "I will end the war immediately if I am elected." Eisenhower said the same during his campaign about the Korean war, which the American people were disgusted with, and Eisenhower did bring the Korean war to an end after he was elected.

One worker told us, "I thought that Nixon would do the same, so I voted for him just to stop the war. But this man doesn't give a damn what the American people feel about this war, he is going to do as he damn pleases. Even after witnessing what this war did to Johnson and the Democratic party, he still doesn't care." This worker said, "I am not a politician and not very smart, but any fool should know better than to disregard the majority of public feeling and concern over this war."

Another worker showed us an article in the daily paper about a college student who was Nixon's spokesman as the "silent majority" among the youth. The President had him honored at the White House as such. Then the government sent him to Vietnam, and he spoke to many Vietnamese students while he was there. Now he is against the war, and against Nixon's policies.

This worker said: "I believe the war is the reason we have such a high crime rate in this country. How can people think of peace and love when every day you hear on TV that 45 Americans were killed, 500 South Vietnamese, and 2500 enemy? This has been a regular announcement ever since the war started. I wonder how many people there are in North Vietnam, because by

(Continued on Page 2)

10¢

NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

VOL. 16—No. 4

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

MAY, 1971

Nixon speech and Russian Congress show economic crises, bankruptcy of thought

By O. Domanski

Two very different events—the mammoth anti-war demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco on this side of the Iron Curtain, and the complete disregard by the Russian masses of the 24th Russian Communist Party Congress, on the other side—have exposed the unbridgeable gulf that exists between the two worlds within each country. Everywhere, the total bankruptcy of thought on the part of the rulers stands opposed to the workers and students who continue to think their own thoughts.

It was not only the massive numbers of marchers that gave a new dimension to the anti-war movement in the U.S. this year. It was the new forces that had joined the protest—the great numbers of Blacks, of labor, and above all of returned veterans, who were demanding an end not only to the barbaric war, but to the un-

employment, inflation and racism that mark a degenerate capitalism in its death agonies.

The same kind of crises grip state-capitalist Russia, as well. And the 24th Congress revealed them all. Leonid Brezhnev opened the Congress with grandiose promises that the ninth Five Year Plan, would, for the first time in history, favor the consumer instead of heavy industry, but 70 to 75 percent of all investment capital will continue to go to heavy industry, especially defense. And what little increase in consumer goods is accomplished, will, the Russian Congress made clear, have to come from "increased and more efficient labor production."

REFRIGERATORS . . . BY 1975

At the last Congress, in 1966, Brezhnev openly demanded "harder work, better discipline, and an end to drunkenness." This year, with the memory of the Polish workers revolt still all-too-fresh in mind, the incentive is supposedly "more consumer goods." The end is the same: the workers must work harder.

The miserable standard of living for the Russian people will continue to be miserable. Thus, although General Secretary Brezhnev announced a brand-new family allowance plan for everyone earning less than \$55 a month (which includes fully one-sixth of a population of 250 million)—it fell to Premier Kosygin to reveal that the plan would not take effect until 1974. And then only if the set production quotas of the program were met. If all goes well, the Russian people are promised that by 1975, 64 percent will finally have a refrigerator. Only 32 percent have one today.

Scant wonder that the Russian people showed more concern with how the Russian team was doing at the world hockey championship than with the promises of the 24th Congress.

NIXON'S CHARTS

The very week that Brezhnev gave his six-hour, two-minute, address in Moscow, President Nixon managed to be equally uninspiring in only 20 minutes in a nationally televised speech to the American people on his Plan—the "scheduled withdrawal" from Vietnam. His speech was embellished with "show-and-tell" charts—supposedly revealing that he is getting us out of Vietnam as quickly as possible. But the American people believed him as little as the Russian people believed Brezhnev.

What they knew was that the U.S. had already spent over 45,000 American lives and \$120 billion in a barbaric war that has devastated both North and South Vietnam, produced atrocities at My Lai and countless other places—and that they want an end to the barbarism NOW.

Moreover it was clear that Nixon had no intention of getting out of Vietnam completely. Scant wonder that the preparations for the April 24 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco continued to grow steadily and culminated in the mightiest mass protests against the war in history.

HOT SPOTS, AND COLD

In an age as mature as ours, no one anywhere in the world is fooled, either, by the apparent "lulls" at

(Continued on Page 8)



—News & Letters Photo

Half-million march on Washington in largest anti-war protest ever.

April 24 across USA—marchers reports

Washington, D.C.—The march started at the elipse at about 10:30 a.m. The Vietnam Veterans Against the War, whose amazing and courageous Washington demonstration had already caught the minds of the entire country, led the way. Hours later, the streets of downtown Washington were filled with people who were still arriving at the "starting point".

By 3 p.m., the marchers had completely filled the capitol grounds, and they filled Constitution Ave. and Madison Dr. all the way back to the elipse, a mile and a half away, where the march had started. People were still arriving. There were so many people that more than half never reached the Capitol. Everyone agreed that this was the biggest anti-war march ever seen.

There were more older and middle-aged people and far more Blacks than ever before. One Black woman carried a sign which read: "My Son Died in Vietnam, What For?" The National Welfare Rights Organization was represented by mothers from all over the country.

But it was the Vietnam veterans who set the serious and determined tone of this march and made it different from all others. The men who were sent to do imperialism's dirty work have come home asking questions and creating ideas which could tear up this rotten society

and put a human one in its place.

We talked with some of the veterans after the march. One said, "After being in the war, I don't even feel anything anymore. But at the Memorial, there was an old woman who turned in all the medals her dead son had won. All she had was a fistfull of tin. All she has now are memories. It almost made me cry."

Another vet said, "I went over there thinking I would do some good. But the Vietnamese don't want us over there. They're like people all over the world—they want to be left alone. 30 or 40 Americans are killed each week, and it's all for nothing. A lot of papers are saying that it is only a minority of G.I.'s who feel this way. That's not true.

"I think a lot more of them would have come here but they wouldn't have felt accepted (by the peace movement). I'm still in the service; I feel funny here. Most of the G.I.'s here feel the same way. That's why I have my hat on—so you can't see my G.I. cut; you can tell by my hair I'm still in."

One young white vet wearing an Angela Davis button asked us, "Do you think we can end the war without a larger change in the whole society?"

(Reports from San Francisco and New York
Continued on Page 6)

Welfare Rights mothers organize to save funds

Detroit, Mich.—The West Side Mothers, a branch of the Welfare Rights Organization, has found that it really is effective when the legislature looks up in the balcony and sees our buttons, looking down on them. We just had a lobby in Lansing to keep them from cutting off our ADC funds.

There were no welfare funds left, and they had gone home for Easter without making up their minds whether to borrow money from the Uninsured Motorists' Fund. They were hassling over who was going to pay back the interest to the state. The children were supposed to starve until they made up their minds.

We can't get credit. Our checks are not considered income, because we don't know for sure if we will get our checks each month. Women who belong to the National Welfare Rights Organization can get up to \$100 credit at Ward's. But other mothers cannot.

We have trouble getting jobs. When you write that you are on ADC, they throw the application in the trash can. Then they call you lazy because you can't get a job. In the WIN program they trained mothers, but no jobs were available.

We have trouble buying homes. They allow you \$500 for repairs—for a lifetime. And nobody wants to do repairs because Social Service takes so long to pay the bill. Realtors have been buying old homes for \$4,000, holding them for a few months, and reselling them to

'Seen' at women's rally; telephone worker fired

Los Angeles, Calif.—When I was dismissed from my job at the telephone company, I expected that it would take some time to find a replacement job. I was depending on my right to draw unemployment compensation. But when I reported to the Unemployment Office to file my claim, I discovered long lines, rude and insulting personnel, and no check.

The long lines were trying but not intolerable. The unemployed people were depressed and angry, but friendly and informative, some explained the forms I had to fill out; others explained the workings of the Unemployment Insurance Office and the reasons for their anger.

When the time came for my interview I had grown used to the callous, and even hostile, way the personnel treated us. My interviewer surprised me by being friendly. He told me he had my check ready but the office had lost the telephone company's statement. He told me to wait outside while he got the statement over the phone.

WHOSE WORD IS GOOD?

When I returned to his office he told me that he had changed his mind and was going to decide in favor of the company. He said I had allegedly been seen at a Women's Rights Rally while on company time. This seemed to amuse him greatly.

I told him that the company admitted they couldn't prove the charge. Still laughing, he told me that they didn't have to, that their word was as good as mine.

If my word was as good as the company's, I should have received my check that day. I am at present appealing the decision of the unemployment office.

—A woman telephone worker

Millett: revolution in literature, not theory



The book, *Sexual Politics** by Kate Millett, is an important contribution to the literature of the Women's Liberation Movement. It is a scholarly, yet interesting study of the subjugation of women; as practiced throughout history, as exposed in the theories and attitudes of the biological and social sciences, and, most dramatically, as revealed in contemporary literature.

Millett's use of literature, specifically the works of D. H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, Norman Mailer and Jean Genet, as a glaring mirror of society's real views on women, is a new and revolutionary step within literary criticism. She so transcends the bounds of the traditional, the mere literary form, as to reveal the impact of society's deep-rooted sexual chauvinism on even those writers who, in other areas, were literary revolutionaries.

While Millett's literary method certainly is revolutionary, it is pure misnomer to call this book a revolutionary theoretical foundation for the WL movement. It is not that. Millett's thesis, that the relationship of man to woman has been, throughout history, a political one, is quite true; but that in itself hardly constitutes a

**Sexual Politics*, Kate Millett, Doubleday, N.Y. 1970, \$7.95.

ADC mothers for \$10,000 to \$11,000, without any repairs being done at all to account for the difference.

A lot of people just don't know how bad it is to live on welfare.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The West Side Mothers has been active for some time in Detroit. A new group of mothers is now trying to organize on the East Side, and needs help. They have office space, but need money to pay for phones, light and heat, and could use office furniture and equipment. If you can help, please contact N&L-WL Committee, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mi. 48207 (567-5050)*

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

the count they have been giving, they have killed over a million North Vietnam troops."

NIXON'S PROPS ARE FALLING

Ever since the racist elements of this country killed President Kennedy, and Robert Kennedy, there have been serious doubts about any leaders who tried to capture the imagination of the people. It was not the ability to lead which put people like Lurleen Wallace or Lester Maddox in office, but how much racist hate they were able to demonstrate against progressive activities and against the black people in this country. This is also the prop that Nixon, Agnew and Mitchell lean on for their support, but that prop is starting to bend under them.

Workers in the building trades unions—the hard hats whom Nixon and his henchmen gave the green light to beat up students against the war, and blacks picketing construction sites—were rewarded by an invitation to a White House dinner with Nixon and his staff last year.

This year he froze their wages and gave management the green light to continue to raise their prices; an open slap in their faces, after they had received a pat on the back just months before. Now many of them are joining the anti-Vietnam protests, even demonstrating in the streets with them.

The only ones that are still trying to make a show for him are some leaders of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and they are trying to counter the thousands and thousands of Vietnam Veterans who are opposed to the war and are demonstrating in Washington. The majority of the American people recognize just how sick this society is.

FRANKENSTEIN'S MONSTER

There was another article in the paper, with the headline: "If your phone is not tapped, you are a nobody." After reading it an older worker said that when this red-scare first came into the UAW, everyone opposed to Reuther was called a Red. A black worker had spoken up at a union meeting then and talked about the story of Frankenstein.

Frankenstein created a monster to destroy all his enemies, his opposition, but after all the opposition was destroyed, the monster had an urge to keep on destroying. Then he destroyed all of Frankenstein's supporters and close friends. But the urge of destroying was still in him, and there was nothing left for him to destroy, so he destroyed Frankenstein.

When this phone tapping began it was supposed to be for "subversive elements" and "gangsters." Now that all these phones are tapped, the monster has an urge to keep on destroying, and the phones of senators and congressmen are being tapped. This monster will not stop until we are all destroyed, unless we destroy it first.

theory for the liberation of women, and I do not believe Millett herself saw it as such.

That is, perhaps, the central problem of the book. *Sexual Politics* is too much a chronicle of the oppression of women, and too little concerned with the struggles of women against that oppression, with the ways that masses of women have organized themselves—politically—to end male domination. It is that dialectic of history that is missing, the consciousness that for every form of oppression there arises a form of revolution against that oppression.

As a result, her treatment of the early women's movement, what she terms "The Sexual Revolution—1830-1930," lacks a vitality—one gets no feeling of the passion, the struggle, that this was anything approaching a revolution. It is abstracted from its own history—the history of the abolitionists, populism, the birth of the labor movement—becoming merely curios of the past rather than history important to WL today. Lack of firm historical ground goes hand in hand with the absence of any philosophical perspective, which leads Millett to such things as subsuming the thirty years from 1930 to 1960 under the category "The Counter-Revolution."

—Bonnie McFadden

Notes on Women's Liberation

by Black, White, Chicana and Oriental Women

PRICE: \$1.00

Order from News & Letters WL Committee
1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

Fascist threat in Italy

Milan, Italy—The situation here is worsening so rapidly that it is hard to believe. At first, I believed that the rise of fascism in the South was a southern question.

A little over a month ago the people of one small town dynamited the headquarters of every political party that exists in Italy. During the same night dynamite attempts were made on the homes of three Christian Democratic leaders. The headquarters of the pro-fascist party was also blown up, so that it all seemed thunder coming from mass desperation. Southern Italy has never been worse off than it is now.

However, the fascists are moving so fast towards the North that no one can ignore their importance. On April 16, the headquarters of the Socialist Party was dynamited in Milan—the same party whose leader is the President of the country.

The next day the fascists held an unauthorized demonstration against the Communists. Results: 83 stopped by the police, 22 wounded (10 policemen), eight arrested. These figures are not high compared to what happens regularly by now in the demonstrations of the extreme left, but they are important because they show the government really feels threatened by the fascists.

The fact is that people have been so politically miseducated by the bourgeois press and TV, along with the Communist press—while governments rise and fall, but hardly ever manage to pass an important law—that many would welcome anything that one can call "order."

The fascists are not strong enough to take over the government, but a coup d'etat? Who knows if it would not be greeted with enthusiasm? I hope my predictions are wrong. So many insane things happen here almost every day that perhaps someone from the outside could analyze things better than one living in this mass mess.

100% boycott in Miss. town after black man murdered

Louise, Miss.—Last spring Rainey Poole, a black man, was shot in the head and murdered by "Doc" Cassidy, a white man, in Louise. Cassidy tried to bury the body out in the woods, but some kids saw him doing it, so he dug the body back up and threw it off a bridge into the Sunflower River. There was no reason for the murder; it was "just life" in this small town in the Delta.

The cops finally arrested Cassidy and five of his buddies for the murder. They proved that Rainey Poole was shot with Cassidy's gun. But when he was tried, the all-white jury said he wasn't guilty.

There was a boycott going on in Yazoo City nearby since March, 1970 in protest against the fact that there were no blacks employed behind the counters in Yazoo City stores. The boycott was started by Rudy Shield of the Black Panthers. After the murder of Rainey Poole, the boycott spread to Louise and to Belzoni.

The boycott was nearly 100% successful. You didn't even have to picket the stores. Everyone said: "If we are good enough to spend the money, we're good enough to handle it." Many people even drove to Jackson to shop—43 miles each way.

After a while the whites in Louise told Cassidy to get out of town. They told him that he had caused them enough trouble. No one would give him any work. He's still there though, because a few whites are keeping him going, but he's broke.

The boycott has been lifted now, eight months after it started. Some blacks got hired in Yazoo City stores, but there is still a lot left to change.

S.F. warehouse resolutions

San Francisco, Calif. — At last month's convention of ILWU Local 6 here, the warehouse workers who have to work out of the hiring hall and can't get steady work, presented several resolutions to the delegates. Here is some of what we said.

1. Overtime work by seniority list members is discouraged.

2. Whenever a seniority list member is laid off or retires, and the employer does not call him back to work or does not replace him, working members are not to do or to parcel out that member's work among the working members in the house . . .

3. (This resolution set up a procedure for enforcing No. 2 against employer's violations, through the Steward's Council.) These three resolutions passed.

4. At least one third of the union's cash in hand, above and beyond the union's normal operating expenses, is to be spent for the organization into Local 6 of unorganized workers.

5. The monthly dues of those members who worked less than ten days in the month previous to which dues are due shall be one dollar. (Dues are now \$7.00 for all members.)

Both resolutions No. 4 and No. 5 were defeated, but they caused a lot of discussion. Resolution No. 5 came very close to adoption, losing in a close vote.

—Delegate to the Convention, I.L.W.U. Local 6

Solidarity, mass protest mark 15 week E.I.S. strike

Middletown, Conn.—The UAW-led strike of 401 workers at the E.I.S. Automotive Corporation here is now in its 15th week with no end in sight. (See March and April N&L for earlier stories). The past few weeks have seen incidents of police and company violence directed at picketers and a court injunction prohibiting mass picketing. The solidarity of the workers in the face of this violence has been wonderful.

They have organized collective meals and relief for members who have been hurt the hardest and have been receiving hundreds of dollars in help from other unionists — Machinists, Teamsters, Colt's UAW, and peace demonstrators in nearby Hartford.

MASS DEMONSTRATION

The most decisive show of this solidarity came on March 29, when several hundred workers and their supporters held an unprecedented mass march down Main St. ending in a confrontation with the Mayor on the steps of city hall.

During the march, nearly 10,000 copies of a strike leaflet prepared by the local Solidarity Committee (including News & Letters, IWW, and union activists) were distributed. The leaflet is in the words of the strikers, and the following excerpts speak for themselves:

SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE LEAFLET

"On Monday, March 15, Ernest I. Schwarz, owner of the E.I.S. Automotive Co., drove his Lincoln Continental through the U.A.W. picket-line in front of his plant and knocked down Jim Campagna, a picket . . . the Middletown Press reported this incident as an "accident." Could this be because Mr. Schwarz is part owner of the Press and a personal friend of Mr. D'Oench, the publisher?

"Five witnesses have come forth with signed complaints to the Police Dept., yet the Prosecutor has failed to act against Mr. Schwarz.

"On Friday, March 19, Middletown policemen, acting on the spoken command of "Let's Get 'Em," charged the pickets in front of the E.I.S. plant. They attacked men and women indiscriminately, nightsticks held at chest level. **THERE WAS NO WARNING AND NO PROVOCATION.** About 30 people were hurt, mostly women. One woman was maced directly in the eye, another knocked down and trampled by police.

Mr. Schwarz says he loves these workers, and that

they are his "friends." What would it be like to be his enemy? If he is really such a public-spirited citizen, why won't he sit down and bargain fairly with his own employees, instead of using violence and lies against them?

Riot at cab union meeting

New York, N.Y.—The last membership meeting of the New York City Taxi Drivers' Union broke up when hundreds of rank and filers began throwing their chairs at the leaders on the platform in front of them. Many drivers in the back of the meeting hall left the room denouncing those who threw the chairs as "hoodlums" and "hippies."

What has New York's cabbies so mad is that they have been working for two months under a new union contract which raised the taxi rates by 50%. Their union leaders promised that this new contract would mean a much higher wage for the driver, but, because so many riders can no longer afford taxis, the men have suffered a wage cut instead of the promised raise. Worse yet, nobody has seen the new contract and many drivers want to know where our increased benefit money is going.

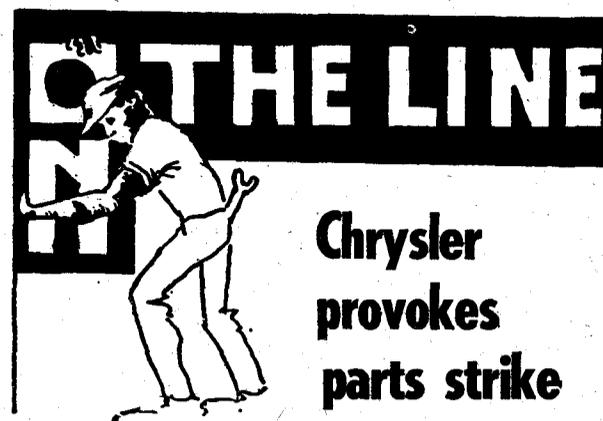
"BUSINESS AS USUAL"

When President van Arsdale began conducting a regular business meeting as if nothing had happened, the men became furious. They drowned him out with chants and boos. A driver grabbed the microphone and read a denunciation of the contract which expressed most of our feelings. When he was through, he made a motion that we suspend the "business meeting" and have a discussion of the contract.

The union leaders were so determined to prevent discussion that a vice-president grabbed the mike from one driver and threw him off the stage. The driver then grabbed the president's microphone and the union bureaucrats began to hit him. At this point, the drivers in front of the stage began throwing chairs at their "leaders."

Within minutes, the police arrived to clear the hall. The union leaders gave us their last word: obviously, they will go to any length to keep us from discussing our contract. It is just as obvious to me that the men will have the last word.

—Cab Driver



Chrysler provokes parts strike

by John Allison

Chrysler Corporation has provoked a strike at their Parts Departments. There are three main departments that supply all dealers and service centers nation-wide. Centerline is the main department. Then come Macomb and Allen Park.

Management at Macomb gave one worker three weeks off because the nurse in the First Aid Station complained about an argument they had had earlier. Of course this was not the real reason for the strike. Before the new contract was signed, these three parts departments voted against the contract because of unresolved grievances. The UAW was so busy trying to get the workers to vote for the agreement that they ignored the legitimate grievances of this large group of workers.

When the men struck, management took pictures of everyone on the picket line and fired them by telegram. About 150 workers were discharged while the UAW advised the workers to return to work at once. This spread the strike to other departments. All trucks were stopped and work came slowly to a halt.

By-and-large, young workers were the moving force in this action, but a few long-seniority workers also would not cross the picket line and were discharged.

The UAW is now in direct negotiation with Chrysler management. As a result, all workers have returned to work except 25 young workers whom the Corporation would like to get rid of. They refuse to work in conditions that most other workers complain about, but who keep on working because the UAW and the company tell them to.

All the workers know that if the local union goes the "grievance route" these workers will be sacrificed to the Gods of Production. Centerline is the nerve center of Chrysler's growing service force. The union is now being shaken by these young workers.

The former president was a Black man who is now working for the International Union. His successor is a woman who was chairman of the Shop Committee. Elections are coming up soon, and the workers are saying that the whole union clique must go.

Wildcat strikes hit France

Paris, France — Since coming to power in 1969, Pompidou and his Prime Minister Chaban Delmas haven't been able to do anything to erase the fact that the May '68 revolution was a rebirth for people, the beginning of political consciousness. You might say that the present revolutionary struggle in France opposes the genuine life of the class which has nothing left to lose to the ordinary fascism of the class which possesses everything.

Then there are the events of the past three months which show the deepening consciousness of the working-people of France (and not only French-born working-people, since right now there are 3 million Algerians, Portuguese, Spanish, Mali, and Senegalese workers with no rights and no guarantee of work).

• The wildcat strike at the Batignolles factory at Nantes, 240 miles west of Paris, of 2,000 workers in heavy metallurgy. Within a few hours the workers' revolt turned against the machines and the office time-clocks which were thrown from the windows onto the street. Before 1968 we had never seen this alienating material treated as it deserves to be. The strike lasted 7 weeks; the Communist Party denounced the most radical workers as being fascist.

• At a small clothing factory at Auxerres (100 miles south of Paris) 300 women workers went on strike spontaneously as soon as they found out that the factory was going to close in a few months. There were neither men nor the GGT—the most important pro-Communist Party union. They went very quickly from bread-and-butter demands to a more global consciousness.

• At the Sports Palace (a big meeting hall in Paris) for the municipal elections, the New Order neo-fascist movement brought out more militant leftists than fascists. Despite the big parades by the Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste, since May '68 we have finally learned that you have to fight fascism daily, down to its very smallest manifestations.

—I. K., Paris

Handsome bound volume of News & Letters

From January 1962 through July 1970

NOW AVAILABLE—\$20

Order from: NEWS & LETTERS

1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mi. 48207

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Most of the work standards problems have now been settled, but on some of them the company used a smart trick. They put a new hire on the job, who has no protection, and then they settle it like it was. The new hire can't protest about it, and after it's settled they take him off it, and another worker has to do the job the way it is, even if it means going in the hole all the time.

The union has lost all its bargaining power now and GM is sure that there won't be a strike, no matter how many votes are taken to authorize one. I would like to say something about this to the white workers at Fleetwood. Many of them have run to Taylor and Southgate to live in all-white neighborhoods. The real estate men charge the white workers top dollar for the promise that no Blacks will move in.

I know many white workers who are buying houses out there that they can't afford; the payments are too high. They are in such a spot financially that they can't strike, even if the company works them to the bone. This makes life harder for all the workers, Black and white. The only people it helps is GM and the real estate men.

You can't escape Black people forever, so why hurt yourself and us by trying? —Black worker, Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The company has been cheating relief men and production workers out of relief time at Fleetwood. The way the company arranges for relief you actually get your break based on the time you worked the previous day, not on the time you are working now.

On Thursday, April 22, we worked 9.2 hours on the afternoon shift, but on Friday the relief was based on 8.4 hours, so each worker got cheated out of 6 minutes relief he already earned. Relief men had to make up 42 minutes each to cover their seven men.

Many workers never got their time back, and when they complained they were threatened. It was worst in Dept. 11.

This problem could be solved easily. If the company would tell workers at lunch how many hours they will be working, relief could be given based on the same day. That way, you couldn't be cheated.

—Second shift worker, Fleetwood

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—Ford has decided to take away our right to choose our own vacation time, and the union is going along with it. I think that a worker's vacation time is something he has earned; it belongs to us. In the past, we always got to put down two choices for vacation. It was set months before, and you could make plans for whatever you wanted to do.

Now the company says that everyone has to take two weeks vacation during the changeover, beginning on June 21. This is actually decreasing our vacation time, and we will be deprived of \$300 in SUB and compensation pay that we always have gotten during the down time. Now we will get the vacation pay instead, and by the time we get it, all the taxes will be taken out.

If this business of forced vacations keeps up, the company could decide next year to order "vacations" at Christmas, and then we'd lose all the paid holidays we get now.

The union has actually agreed to this plan. Hood, Derus and Johnson were called to a meeting by the company and told of the vacation plans. They went along with it without any discussion with the membership. Is this representation?

—D.A.P. worker

Uniroyal

Los Angeles, Calif.—The machines we work are piece rate by the group. The company time-studies the job to set rates for basic pay. Many workers feel that the basic rates have been set much too fast. But there is very little that we can do about it. The union can put a time study man on it and maybe it will change, but the worker himself doesn't really have much to say.

The same problem comes up with new machines, like the dual drum. It saves a lot of time. But it eliminates a lot of workers. And workers don't have any say about it.

One more thing, we still have not signed a local contract even though the national agreement was signed last year. The company doesn't seem to be interested in signing. They may want to provoke a strike.

—Uniroyal worker

EDITORIAL May Day 1971—American tradition shows a new spirit

In 1971 we are witnessing a new interest in May Day which we have not seen in this country for many years. Even more important is that this new interest encompasses different strata of the population—women, Blacks, youth, G.I.'s, and anti-war forces—and it's even seeing a rebirth in organized labor. Regardless of the reasons for this new-found interest in May Day, it is a welcome change from the non-interest of past years.

For it is indeed unfortunate that May Day has gone unrecognized here for so long, except among a few older workers, since May Day is the workers' day, and not by presidential or Congressional decree, but by the actions of workers themselves. They made it their day at the cost of their blood and, for some, their lives.

AN AMERICAN HOLIDAY

Through the years, May Day has become closely associated with Russia and other Communist countries. They usually observe it by having long military parades, sporting their latest weapons, while their workers, who know only work, work, and more work for the other 364 days, still go unrecognized, and unlistened to. This year the parades supposedly reflected Brezhnev's "peaceful foreign policy"—but the workers' lives went unchanged. (See Lead, page 1).

If, however, you take a look at history, you find that May Day is as American as that famous "apple pie." For during the struggle for the eight hour day, after the Civil War, workers across the country in every industry made May 1st their day. On that first May Day in 1886, they refused to work, thus having one of the few true general strikes in American history.

The idea of May Day was spread to other parts of the world by roving ambassadors of the American working class. These ambassadors traveled to other countries to build support for the struggle, taking the idea of May Day and the fight for the eight hour day with them. The idea caught on fast.

MAY DAY 1971—ANTI-WAR

What is new in this rebirth of May Day observance here in America, is not, however, just the new interest, but the way in which it is being observed, by protesting against the Indochina war. This is certainly not the traditional way in which the Left has observed May Day, but very fortunately it is not just the Left which is observing it this year.

In contrast to either the Trotskyists who counted the masses on April 24, or the Rennie Davis's who complained they might not have enough "bodies" to tie up traffic the next week—the new forces entering the battle are not interested in any more "body-counts", but in the idea of freedom.

It is not coincidence that the week before May Day more than 1500 Indochina veterans converged on the Capitol and the White House to voice their opposition to the war, and stayed to lead the march on April 24—the largest anti-war demonstration this country has ever seen. Nor was it by chance that groups of women not formally connected with the anti-war movement also picked this particular time to march on the nation's capital.

It is most certainly no accident that organized labor picked this particular time to come out in force against the war. For they know that, unless the war is ended, paychecks will continue to get smaller, unemployment will rise, and there will be ever-increasing government intervention in labor disputes. What more appropriate time could labor pick to come out than around May Day?

RANK-AND-FILE MARCHED

It should be mentioned here that this opposition to the war is coming mainly from the rank-and-file and local union leadership, and not from the top bureaucrats on the international level. Leonard Woodcock, President of the UAW, went so far as to say that although he was against the war, he would not attend or support the April 24th march. This is in direct opposition to the feelings of the majority of workers in the UAW who have passed resolutions at the local level opposing the war and offering support for the march.

And if Woodcock needed more proof as to where the rank-and-file of his union stood, it was given on April 24th, when large numbers of UAW members, from dozens of different locals, marched to the Capitol.

The ranks of demonstrators—more than a half million in Washington and a quarter million in San Francisco—were swelled by countless groups who were new to anti-war protest. From the welfare rights organizations, representing the millions of Americans forced into a handout existence by capitalism's "army of the unemployed," to the American Indian groups, who think it incredible that they should have to die for a govern-

ment which has stolen everything from them—they marched.

DIVERSITY AND UNITY

From the labor movement, represented by auto workers, steelworkers, miners, teamsters, hospital workers, leather workers, teachers, federal employees, and many more—they marched. In Washington and San Francisco, the beauty of the outpourings were not simply their size, but their breadth; the diversity and unity they revealed.

If there is anything that this spring has shown to the whole world, it is that there is another America. Not the America of Nixon, Agnew and Mitchell, not the America of the war, the recession and the repression; but a new America, of soldiers, workers, women, blacks, and youth, trying to be born in the barbarism of the old.

So even though this year's observance of May Day is not the traditional one, it is well within the spirit. For at no other time in recent years has there been such a unity of the forces of revolution in this country.

News & Letters

Vol. 16, No. 4

May, 1971

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 567-5050. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

VIETNAM WAR

The American press censored the Winter Soldier Investigation held in January by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, which revealed the true nature of the Vietnam War. But it has not failed to make one man, Lt. Calley, the biggest news story of the year.

The Winter Soldier Investigation revealed that Calley was not doing anything unusual when he ordered the murder of a village population. The Vietnam Vets were not defending Calley. In fact, they condemned U.S. policy in Indochina as nothing short of genocide. But it is a disservice to the American public to focus on the crimes of one man when his activities are only one example of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The censorship of the Winter Soldier Investigation was not the fault of the reporters, but with the editors and TV executives. KPFFK-FM was the only radio station in L.A. to broadcast the investigation. It does not have any commercial sponsors. The news media is not in business to serve the public. Their profits come from advertising, and the powerful corporations which pay for it do not want controversial ideas aired or printed.

Youth
Los Angeles

No wonder American Civilization has not only been put On Trial, but found guilty a hundred times over in the eyes of the whole world! As if My Lai was not horrifying enough, to excuse Calley — much less make a folk-hero of him! — is even more horrifying. Of course the higher-ups are the most guilty of all. But how can that excuse the dehumanized brutes who pulled the triggers?

Mother
Philadelphia

Would those who call for Calley's release do so if there had been 100 unarmed American civilians killed by Vietnamese soldiers? Are Asian lives worth less than American lives?

Are war atrocities the fault only of those who pull the triggers and drop the bombs? Or does it extend to those who

create the attitude, the atmosphere, to allow such killings? The politicians and generals who make policy?

Teacher
Los Angeles

I used to have fights with people all the time about the war. Now I can't find anybody who disagrees with me. Everybody is against the war by now. I think it's only their empty pocketbooks after taxes that has made some of them new-born radicals, but I guess you have to expect that in a movement as big as this one has become.

Anti-War Wobbly
Detroit

I have been really ashamed of being an American ever since the My Lai massacre was revealed last year. And the first time I stopped feeling ashamed and began to feel some pride again was when I watched all those Vietnam Veterans Against the War standing up to throw their medals back at Congress. It suddenly dawned on me that there has never been such a strong, determined, mass movement against war, while a war was actually going on, in any country of this world, ever before in history.

American Protester
Detroit

ARAB-ISRAELI

Your editorial on the Israeli occupation of Gaza made some very good points. One sinister aspect of the military administration which you missed was the attempt to force immigration of Arabs out of Gaza to the West Bank by setting wages at a starvation level. It is believed that this policy is intended to assert Israeli control over the Palestinian refugees and to facilitate permanent Israeli settlement in Gaza.

Uri Davis, the Israeli dissenter made the above charge, when he spoke on the campus of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. His trip was sponsored by several student organizations and the Norman Thomas Socialist Forum in the interest of a continuing dialogue between Arabs and Jews. He affirms the right of Israel to Statehood but also

the right of Palestinian Arabs to national self-determination.

Student for Peace and
Justice in the Middle East
Milwaukee

The Jewish movement, Zionist and otherwise, has been plagued with support by some very reactionary quarters, for example George Putnam, a local right-wing newscaster. Putnam and his cronies have succeeded in turning the Soviet Jew's struggle into one against communism, with the U.S. acting as the champion of freedom . . .

To combat the reactionary elements which hope to use the movement to their own advantage, broader issues must be raised, than simply allowing Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel. What about the two million Jews who are not emigrating, don't they have the right not to be oppressed? What kind of a society is it which practices this kind of anti-Zionism (anti-Semitism)? And what about the position of Arabs in the Jewish state?

We must remember:
If I am not for me, than who am I?
If I am only for me, than what am I?
And if I am not for anyone else, than who will be for me?

Jewish Student
Los Angeles

BLACK REVOLT

I think Cleaver and Newton were wrong to publicly denounce each other, and while elitism may be the cause I still believe they are sincerely fighting for black liberation.

If I could talk to them both I would remind them of what Malcolm X once said: "Instead of airing our differences in public we should get in the closet, argue it out behind closed doors, and then when we come out on the street we pose a united front. The problem facing our people here in America is

bigger than all other personal or organizational differences. Therefore, as leaders, we must stop worrying about the threat we seem to pose to each other's personal prestige, and concentrate our united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that's being done daily to our people in America."

Black H.S. Student
Los Angeles

This country has been so polarized, there are a lot of things people don't see. What black workers in the shop talk about is the proposed gun-control law, and the possibility the police may invade your home and take your gun. Two years ago Mayor Hubbard of Dearborn was advising whites to buy guns and go to a gun clinic and train their wives. Nothing was said about that, and nobody thinks they will invade somebody's home in Grosse Pointe.

Blacks do think there should be something done about the high murder rate. What they want to know is why there wasn't an outcry when the whites were arming themselves.

Black Worker
Detroit

I recently heard Mrs. Rosa Parks' mother speak for a few minutes at a meeting here, and she was really tremendous. She told how she had tried to get her daughter and her son both registered to vote long before the "movement" was ever dreamed of.

Her son had just come back from serving in World War II. She said that when they went to try to get him registered, the authorities gave him a test as if he was applying to teach college. They told him he couldn't look at any papers while he answered his questions — and then asked him for all sorts of registration numbers, things nobody would ever think of memorizing.

In the end, he had to wait until he

Reader's

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

1971 is the eleventh year since the Sino-Soviet conflict first broke into the open. By the time, in August, 1966, that Mao launched the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, not only had Mao succeeded in designating Russia as capitalist, state-capitalist, but all his opponents within China (all, that is, except the actual capitalists who continue to collect their five per cent interest on capital that they manage for the state) as "capitalist roaders."

There are young revolutionaries who are so enthusiastic about Mao's expose of "Khrushchev's phony Communism" (now called "Khrushchevism without Khrushchev") as capitalistic that they help cover up the greater truths, that (1) long before Khrushchev's "phony Communism" (deStalinized goulash), it was Stalin who lorded it over Russia and initiated the transformation of the first workers' state into its opposite, a state-capitalist society; (2) it was Mao himself who, in 1956, helped Khrushchev to crush the Hungarian Revolution with its Workers' Councils and struggles for a truly new social order; and (3), furthermore, Stalin is but the Russian name for a world phenomenon. Its appearance has nothing whatever to do with the Sino-Soviet conflict (which it antedated by three long decades), and everything to do with the Great Depression, and fear of proletarian revolution. Therein lies its crucial importance for our day.

THE STAKES

The real question is: What, in this period of recessions that have come to take the place of the Great Depression nevertheless, makes the global crisis so total that even Mao's China is beginning to stretch out a hand toward a little "peaceful co-existence" with the U.S.? What is being outstretched is not the hand of a ping pong player (China's own brand of phony "people to people relations"), but that of Chou En-lai at the very top of the "new" Mao leadership.

Why is it that just as the recently concluded 24th Congress of the Russian Communist Party had all its pie-in-the-sky promises rest on "greater labor productivity," so Mao's Communism, purified of "capitalist roaders," continues to lash out against "the black*wind of economism"? It is this, just this, which makes both

'CULTURE,' SCIENCE AND STATE-CAPITALISM

"socialist lands" bear such striking resemblance to that super-imperialist titan, the U.S.A.

State-capitalism, not as a mere swear word spewed out against dissidents, but as serious theory, does indeed reflect reality torn in twain by the decisive relations of men at the point of production, those exploitative relations of capital/labor which determine all else in society, especially its thought. Which is why the proletariat, too, in its struggles, fights under totally new philosophic banners of liberation, as the 1968 Hunan Manifesto within China itself proved once again:

"The form of political power is superficially changed . . . However, old bureaucrats continue to play the leading role in the 'new political power' . . . Chou En-lai (is) at present the general representative of China's Red Capitalist class . . . as the masses have said, 'everything remains the same after so much ado'.

"Victory of the Chinese proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people and the extinction of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie are likewise inevitable . . . the 'People's Commune of China' will surely survive." (1)

In this, the 30th year of the elaboration of the theory of state-capitalism, and the 15th year of the rebirth of the Humanism of Marxism produced by the mass movements in East Europe in the 1950's, growing throughout the world in the 1960's, we must go back to theoretic origins not only to set the historical record straight, but also to test the dialectic method of the state-capitalist theory against the dialectics of liberation today.

*Evidently no one has told Mao that Black is beautiful. All the broadsheets that China directs to the Blacks in the U.S., notwithstanding, the word, black, has always (after the "Cultural Revolution" as before) been used in Mao's China as synonym for everything evil!

(1) During the "Cultural Revolution" a new revolutionary youth organization sprung up in Hunan and called itself the "Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance Committee" (Sheng-wu-lien). Its Manifesto, quoted above, along with two other documents by it as well as all the official Maoist attacks on it have been reproduced in Klaus Mehnert's *Peking and the New Left: At Home and Abroad* (China Research Monograph #4, UC, Berkeley).

THE THEORY OF STATE-CAPITALISM

Born under the impact of the shock of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the outbreak of World War II, and Trotsky's calling for the defense of Russia, "a workers' state, though degenerate," the "state-capitalist tendency" decided to make its own study of the class nature of the Russian economy in strict relationship both to Marxism and the specific form of workers' resistance to the Five Year Plans. I happened to have been the first to make a study of the Plans from original Russian sources, but it was not embarked upon solely as a Russian study. It was done as a restatement of Marxism for our age. It was by no accident, therefore, that, in the process of analyzing the operation of the law of value, that main-spring of capitalism, that I rediscovered, in the early 1940's, Marx's now celebrated 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscript. It was its concept of free labor as the shaper of history vs. alienated labor which is the mark of capitalism that governed the study, *The Nature of the Russian Economy*. (2)

Because the law of value dominates not only on the home front of class exploitation, but also in the world market where big capital of the most technologically advanced land rules, the theory of state-capitalism was not confined to the "Russian Question," as was the case when the nomenclature was used by others. Quite the contrary. The new in the theory of state-capitalism,

(Continued on Page 7)

(2) A minority political tendency is always limited in the space accorded to it in the public press. Thus, the section of the study of the Russian economy that was based on the early essays of Marx and was entitled *Labor and Society* was not published either when Part I, *Analysis of the Russian Economy* appeared (New International, Dec., 1942, Jan., 1943, Feb., 1943), or when Part II, *Nature of the Russian Economy* (New International, Dec., 1947 and Jan., 1947), was finally published. *Labor and Society* finally appeared in mimeographed form in the Johnson-Forest interim period Bulletin No. 5 (1947). These documents form part of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection (*Marxist-Humanism, Its Origin and Development in America, 1941-1969*) that is now available in xeroxed form and on film from Labor History Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit.)

Views

moved to Michigan years and years later to become a registered voter. She said she was telling the story so people could understand what black people had gone through for all these years to win their freedoms.

The black movement in this country has a long, long history. And the youth who made the 60's a whole new stage cannot afford to forget that they were standing on the shoulders of the past generations when they made their new leap.

Supporter
Detroit

* * *

I'm for defending Angela Davis because I think they're trying to do to her just what they did to the Black Panthers. I don't have to agree with what Angela Davis says, or what the Black Panthers say, to defend them. Why shouldn't they have the right to say what they think? Why should the white man have the right to murder and jail black people just because they don't like what they are saying?

I don't know whether the Black Panthers who are in jail did any of the things they're accused of or not. But that's not what they are in jail for. And that's why I defend them no matter what they're accused of.

Black Teenager
Detroit

* * *

I raised the Angela Davis case at the Glasgow Trades (Union) Council, suggesting that "Free Angela Davis" should be included in the May Day resolution. I got surprising support. I charged the leaders with not having the courage of their convictions. Believe it or not, the CP leaders have not mentioned her name. I have now carried it a stage further. My trade union branch has passed a resolution on the matter, and I will be required to speak on it at the next meeting of the Glasgow Trades Council.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

MARXISM AND MAOISM

For some time now I have been attempting to arrive at a correct theoretical position, and as part of this I have set myself the task of becoming as familiar as possible with the theory and practice of all tendencies regarding themselves as Marxist. However, it is obvious that some groups are more worthy of serious attention than others and that those worthy of the least attention—the open agents of Stalinist state-capitalism and the thinly disguised "Trotskyist" apologists for it, have a stranglehold on the revolutionary socialist movement on a world-wide scale.

It is equally clear that only out of such movements as your own can a genuine socialist movement arise in opposition to these fakers, and that the first task of those working towards this objective should be the renewal of revolutionary theory and the cleansing from it of Stalinist and pro-Stalinist influences. The necessity for that is especially evident in Melbourne where almost the whole revolutionary movement has been stifling for years under a thick blanket of Maoist dogmatics. I will be taking a great deal of interest in your movement from now on.

New Reader
Australia

* * *

It's unfortunate that so much cynicism and distrust and suspicion and brutality permeate the movement.

I was born in a factory town and have spent most of my life in a factory town. Every member of my family, including my baby sister, just out of high school, are members of labor unions. I've worked in mills and on road construction gang and a lot of other things. My parents had dreamed that a college degree would free me from factory drudgery. But I've been kicked out of

two colleges for radical activity. I'm afraid I just can't be a student.

I guess I'm one of the very few of the young radicals who does have any roots in the working class. I have no sentimentalization about workers, but I know their importance to the struggle for a new society. And I know they are not just muscle, but brain.

Now I'm working in a hospital. I met some young Maoists in the Union but they refused to work with me saying they thought it was "more important to organize students." Not only are the Maoist students subjectivists in that they try to play at being workers, but the Maoist workers are subjectivists in that their only conception of radicalism is to imitate students.

Young Radical
Minneapolis

* * *

UNITED FARMWORKERS

A two year contract has just been signed between the United Farm workers and the largest independent lettuce grower in the country, Mel Finerman of Oxnard, Calif. The contract provides a \$2 hourly minimum, grievance procedures and health and safety clauses.

Your readers should know that 850 to 1,000 deaths and 80,000 to 90,000 injuries are caused by pesticides every

year to consumers and farm workers in the U.S. Many lettuce fields are sprayed with 2,4,D — a herbicide manufactured by the Dow Chemical Co., which causes birth defects in test animals and is so dangerous the U.S. Army banned its use in Vietnam.

Our union seeks to win from lettuce growers the same kind of health and safety protection for workers and consumers which exist in all UFWOC contracts. These contracts completely eliminate the use of 2,4,D, TEPP, DDT, and other hard pesticides. They assure safe working conditions, protective clothing, and equipment for workers and establish a Health and Safety Committee on each ranch.

For your own health's sake — buy only UFWOC lettuce!

For more information on the boycott and what you can do, contact:

UFWOC
3419 Michigan Avenue
Detroit, Mich. 48216

LOOK FOR
THIS
UNION LABEL



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

S.F. teachers strike for benefits

San Francisco, California—On March 24, the American Federation of Teachers went out on strike to protest cuts in teaching personnel and programs, as well as cutbacks which directly affect teachers. Although only a third of the teachers went out, most schools were closed by noon because students without classes were aimlessly wandering through the halls, and there were many incidents of scabs being harrassed by students who did attend their classes.

Among the educational cuts were a reduction in teachers' aides, a cutback in special teachers, a reduction of teachers by 340 positions (resulting in less personal attention for students), and a cutback in programs aimed at students in areas where special educational problems exist.

LOSS OF TEACHER'S BENEFITS

The plans directly affecting teachers are: a one per cent cost-of-living increase instead of the four to eight per cent that other public employees are getting;

loss of reimbursement for teachers' losses due to vandalism; a reduction in the dental program and the elimination of sabbatical leaves.

These plans violate past agreements, including many of the agreements reached in the 1968 teachers' strike.

On March 25, the second day of the AFT strike, all San Francisco schools (with the exception of two) went on minimum day schedules. This move was made because the cafeteria workers refused to cross the picket lines. Counselors and administrators are covering classes due to the lack of substitutes. The janitors went out on strike, too.

STUDENTS SUPPORT STRIKE

There is a student union in San Francisco. The leaders don't cross picket lines. The student body is not aware of the fact that there is a union. However, most of the black students and about half of the white students don't come to class. There is much talk of organized support-action, but no activity thus far.

—High school student

UCLA unions, students protest fund cut

Los Angeles, Calif. — About 300 students, workers, and faculty members attended a rally and march at UCLA on April 15. The demonstration was part of a series scheduled for all state campuses by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and the American Federation of Teachers to protest the lack of public funds in California.

Speakers from AFSCME, AFT, and the Social Service Workers Union spoke of the crisis facing both students and public employees due to Reagan's budget policies. They protested the university budget cuts which have lowered the quality of education available to students, cuts in teacher assistant and faculty positions, the freeze on hiring, and the fact that no cost of living increase has been budgeted for the coming year. All

speakers emphasized the need for more funds, and more importantly, that these funds should not come from the already overtaxed working class, but from undertaxed corporate incomes.

Both AFSCME and AFT hope to accomplish several things by holding such rallies. Most obvious is their desire to gain support and membership for their campus based locals. But in long range terms they are working for a coalition of public employees who will realize that by working together they can demand a larger budget, rather than fighting amongst themselves over the limited funds available.

The unions are now planning to build for a larger demonstration of all public employees in Sacramento on May 15.

—Worker
University of Calif. at Los Angeles

Reports from April 24 marches

(Continued from Page 1)

New York

New York, N.Y. — 3,000 anti-war marchers touched off the "spring offensive against the war" by marching down lower Broadway to a rallying point in the middle of Wall Street. What was "new" about this march was that the anti-war marchers were led by hundreds of young Blacks who had responded to the call by Ralph Abernathy and the SCLC. Other groups out in force were workers, women from Welfare Rights and Women's Strike for Peace, and veterans.

The march passed the same construction sites where "hard hats" had attacked student anti-war demonstrators last year. Some workers on these buildings threw debris at the marchers, but these incidents were very minor.

At the Wall Street rally, speaker after speaker talked about the symbolism of Wall St. George Wiley said that the Wall St. capitalists were the real recipients of "welfare" in this society.

A Vietnam Vet told us that the Vietnam War is a war against both the Vietnamese and American people. Ralph Abernathy talked about the Calley trial and said that "although Lt. Calley is guilty, the real atrocity is the war and the real criminal is in the White House."

One of the best speeches was made by David Dellinger who said that the white, anti-war movement is pledging itself with this year's demonstrations to an alliance with the Black liberation movement. He said the student movement has learned the important lesson that it is not enough to be against the War in Vietnam; that you have to be for Black liberation and against capitalist exploitation at home, too.

San Francisco

San Francisco, Calif.—The greatness of the demonstrations on April 24 was that they were so big despite the efforts of Nixon to defuse the war as an issue, and that those wonderful Vietnam veterans had made themselves the prelude to the marches. I believe that their week of action inspired thousands to join the marches on the 24th. The march here was by far the biggest anti-war



SCLC March Down Wall St.

march ever held on the West Coast. It was perhaps double the size of the massive one on Oct. 1969. Estimates ran close to a quarter of a million of predominantly young people. It was an awesome sight.

The cross section included Asian and Chicano contingents, women's liberation groups, a large group from gay liberation, and numerous peace groups. Although organized labor participation was not massive, it was greater than at any of the other marches.

But those who marched the seven miles found a rally at the end that was a morass of speeches which had almost nothing to say. People began leaving well before the speeches were through, for little was said which matched in any way the enthusiastic feeling of the marchers. The quarter of a million who marched were not given any sense of the power they represented nor any ideas to link opposition to the Vietnam War with total transformation of society.

Nixon's "desecration" forays into Cambodia and then Laos have had their effect in the United States. Opposition appears to be higher than ever. If only those who proclaim leadership of the anti-war movement could match the massiveness of the opposition to the war.

Mackenzie students vs. racist school board

Detroit, Mich.—On March 10, the students and parents at Mackenzie High School thought that they had finally seen an end to their struggle to gain control over their school. On that day they had signed an agreement with the school administrators and the regional school board.

The agreement ended a week of protest and a 24 hour sit-in by hundreds of students and parents who were protesting conditions in the school and the failure of the School Board to live up to a past agreement, giving the community the right to select their own principal. The new agreement gave amnesty to the students who participated in the sit-in, and set up a student-parent-faculty council to handle all future disputes.

The very next day the main school board rejected the agreement and charged that the school administration and regional board had been coerced into signing it.

The racist main school board continued their attacks by calling for a grand jury investigation of the situation. They charged that SCLC had stirred up all the trouble. Actually, SCLC had supplied negotiators in the dispute, after students and parents had requested help.

The news media also smeared the students and searched for outside agitators, and the state legislature launched their own investigation of all high school disruptions. In the past two months, dozens of Detroit schools have had sit-ins, and students have also demonstrated in Flint, Jackson, Ann Arbor, Bay City and Battle Creek.

The whole situation is still up in the air now. All actions have been temporarily halted by the students and parents, but there is no doubt that they will resume if the situation doesn't improve. What has the school officials uptight is that they don't know what form the new wave of protests will take, but they know they will be hit with something.

Klan holds MSU rally

East Lansing, Mich.—A couple of weeks ago, the "Ku Klux Klan" or their admirers held a rally one night on campus. The event took place the night before a campus-wide student government election was to be held. Earlier in the week a Black incumbent on the student government council was the victim of a smear campaign in one of the dorm complexes. The KKK rally, however was against another candidate, who was white.

The Klan rally was complete with people dressed in white sheets, a burning five-foot cross, and songs. One prayer recited said: "Oh, White Heavenly Father, look with favor upon our racist university." This went on for ten minutes or more until the campus police and firemen arrived to disperse the 30 to 40 demonstrators. After it was over, police questioned the demonstrators who insisted that the rally was a prank, and had no racial motivations. Blacks here, however, are not taking it lightly.

The fact that something like this can occur on a campus says several things. There exists a tremendous lack of theory and history among some young people and the human-relations crisis in society today has driven many, not into rededication in the struggle but instead into the arms of extreme right-wing groups.

SOGEFOR closes down

Montreal, Quebec—Just after Easter, SOGEFOR, a plywood and veneer operation in Maniwaki, 200 miles north of Montreal, closed down, leaving half the town's workers unemployed. The workers said that they could look forward only to welfare or unemployment insurance. SOGEFOR is owned by the Quebec government.

A few weeks earlier the plant in Mt. Laurier was supposed to close but the whole town turned out to protest, blocking the highways, demonstrating and keeping the left-over stock from leaving the town, so the government decided to keep the plant open. Nobody can quite believe that this is the same government which got itself elected by promising 100,000 new jobs.

Unemployment is so bad that the workers want SOGEFOR to stay, even though it has some of the worst safety standards anywhere. A few years ago, after a series of accidents, the government was pressured into bringing in some experts from Germany to inspect the machines. They said they were beyond repair. But the plant kept right on, and there were more accidents. Finally, a furnace in the gluing section of plywood blew up and fatally burned an 18 year old boy. There was a strike for several days, and inspections were made, but the plant re-opened.

The dead worker had worked there since he was 16 and had been making \$1.68 an hour. —Montrealer

BLACK-RED VIEW

Berkeley elections are not a 'bloodless turnover'

By John Alan

The April 6 municipal election in Berkeley, Calif., swept into office a liberal Black mayor, Warren Widener, and three "radical-liberal" city councilmen, two of whom are Black, D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons, and young white Councilwoman Iona Hancock. All three were endorsed by the Black Caucus and the April Coalition, a quasi Democratic Party coalition of Blacks, liberals, old and new left and students, who had successfully elected Black Congressman Ron Dellums last November.

Mayor-elect Widener was not endorsed by the coalition because he refused to support the "Community Control of Police" amendment to the city charter—the major plank in their platform—although he did advocate drastic changes in the Berkeley police department.

SIGN OF FUTURE

Since the days of the free speech movement in 1964, Berkeley has been considered by many as the pace-maker for the rest of the nation. If this statement has any truth in it, then this election should be an indication of what we can expect in the future. At the moment, speculation is proliferating all over South Campus, among the new left and the 'radical-liberals.' The catchword is that this election victory has proven that they can work within the system, that is, the system of capitalist politics. This sentiment has been echoed in the capitalist press nationally, and has found an unexpected voice of local support from the right wing Councilman John DeBonis.

Working within the system has all but become endemic to the Berkeley left, to the extent that Stu Albert, a proclaimed longtime foe of the established order, writing in "The Tribe" of the elections, is now dreaming of duplicating the Allende victory in Chile on a national scale. Rick Brown, a defeated candidate of the April Coalition, is more modest: he predicts similar coalitions

of radicals and liberals only in Madison, Wis., Cambridge, Mass., and Isla Vista, Cal.

Although the four major candidates for office were Black, and the coalition was officially called "Black Caucus — April Coalition," the issue of Black Power was never raised, even as a slogan. When Stokely Carmichael raised the question of Black Power in 1967, it had within it a potential revolutionary content because Black masses were in movement to change the established order of society. Today, that all-important ingredient is absent, and that which appears as residual of that movement, the election of Black politicians to high offices in the cities, is in fact the direct opposite of the Black Power concept, because it pragmatically assumes that a Black-white liberal coalition can solve the hideous inhuman problems which exist in the cities—problems which are insoluble within the capitalist system.

LITTLE NEW IN PLATFORM

The 11-point platform of the Berkeley coalition was a restatement of the liberal programs we have seen for the last decade, meritorious within themselves, but nothing new except the ecology planks, and nothing revolutionary, although some considered the controversial "Community Control of Police" amendment (which originated at the Black Panther-sponsored Conference to Combat Fascism) to be "revolutionary."

It was this amendment that focused national attention on Berkeley and caused heated debate country-wide. At election time it was defeated by more than two to one, losing as severely in the Black community as in the more conservative white areas. The framers of this amendment were cynical in using it as a ploy to get Black and student votes, without telling them, in literature or debates, that the passage of this amendment could only be a statement of desire by the electorate to change the section in the city charter pertaining to the police, and that the final decision rested in approval by the state legislature and the governor of California. So much for working within the system.

A further uniqueness of the voting habits of the Berkeley electorate is found in the statistical breakdown of how the white, Black and student areas voted. Wilcott Sweeney, the other Black candidate for mayor, who lost by 40-50 votes — and is demanding a recount — carried all the white middle-class areas plus the Black areas of the flatlands and southwest Berkeley. Mayor-elect Widener swamped Sweeney in the student and radical areas surrounding the campus. This factor has led some people to characterize the April victory as the ascendance of "Student Power."

The election of Black people to high offices in our cities is a continuation of the change of attitude in this country which began with the Civil Rights movement and the new Black consciousness stemming from a strong desire to change social relationships from what they are. While this is certainly a weathervane, we must avoid the trap of hyperbole, which the new left is weaving by calling this victory at the polls "the beginning of the bloodless turnover."

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

its dialectics, its conclusions, demonstrated, first, that the State Plan, the State Party, the monolithic State, differed in no fundamental degree from the capitalism Marx analyzed, in *Capital*, where he showed that it was not the anarchy in the market, but the "despotic plan of capital" which labor confronted daily in the factory. Equally fundamental was the second point my study made, that the 1930's made it possible to prove, in the concrete, what Marx could only state in theory about the ultimate development of the concentration and centralization of capital "in the hands of a single capitalist or a single capitalist corporation." (3)

State intervention in the economy, whether totally or "in part," characterized both Hitler's Germany and Roosevelt's U.S. "New Deal," Japan's "Co-Prosperity Sphere" as well as the "Labor Government" in Great Britain. What the 1930's established is that under no conditions could the Plan be considered either "socialist" or only a "war measure" as it was during World War I. The State Plan had become part of the very organism of capitalism undermined by the Great Depression, fearful of proletarian revolution, determined to survive at all costs, be it state control or world war, or a nuclear holocaust—that is to say, destruction of civilization itself.

On the other hand, the proletariat has no intention whatever to let that happen. Its struggles against that are ceaseless, although the forms of resistance, of necessity, manifest themselves in new forms. Thus low labor productivity, far from being a sign of the "backwardness" of the Russian proletariat, is the measure of his resistance to the State Plan, the State Party, the Leader.

The masses have proven they cannot be brain-washed. All the means of communication may be in the hands of the state, but the heads belong to the same bodies that are being exploited, and they think their own thoughts.

By the time they openly revolt, their spontaneous outburst hews out new roads to freedom, to totally new human relations as well as to working out a new relationship between theory and practice. Such a new epoch opened in the 1950's when, at one and the same time, a second Industrial Revolution had begun with Automation, and the wildcats against it, in the U.S., and, in East Europe, revolts within totalitarian lands broke out. (TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT ISSUE)

(3) Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 689. See also what I wrote in *Marxism and Freedom*: "The single capitalist, call him 'Collective Leadership under Khrushchev, Inc.', if you will, will have at a certain stage a magnificent plant, completely automatized, or a jet bomber, but he cannot stop to raise the standard of living of the masses of the workers. He may be able to avoid the more extreme forms of ordinary commercial crises, but even within the community itself he cannot escape the internal crisis of production . . . That is why Marx, throughout *Capital*, insists that either you have the self-activity of the workers, the plan of freely associated labor, or you have the hierarchic structure of relations in the factory and the despotic Plan. There is no in-between." (p. 136).

PUBLICATIONS OF NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- 1—**American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard**
Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby75c per copy
- 2—**Notes on Women's Liberation—**
We speak in many voices\$1 per copy
- 3—**U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit**
By Raya Dunayevskaya25c per copy
- 4—**The Maryland Freedom Union—**
By Mike Flug15c per copy
- 5—**Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution**
Report direct from Prague50c per copy
- 6—**Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions—**
By Raya Dunayevskaya25c per copy
- 7—**France: Spring '68—**
An Eyewitness Report by Eugene Walker10c per copy
- 8—**Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'—**
By Raya Dunayevskaya25c per copy
- 9—**The Needed American Revolution**
By Raya Dunayevskaya35c per copy
- 10—**Back-Red Conference Notes—**
A report by participants25c per copy
- 11—**News & Letters—**
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year\$1 per sub.
- 12—**Also Available from News & Letters: Marxism and Freedom—**

By Raya Dunayevskaya. Limited number of hardcovers still available (reduced from \$6 because of damaged covers).\$4 per copy

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Det., Mich. 48207

Enclosed please find \$ for the following:

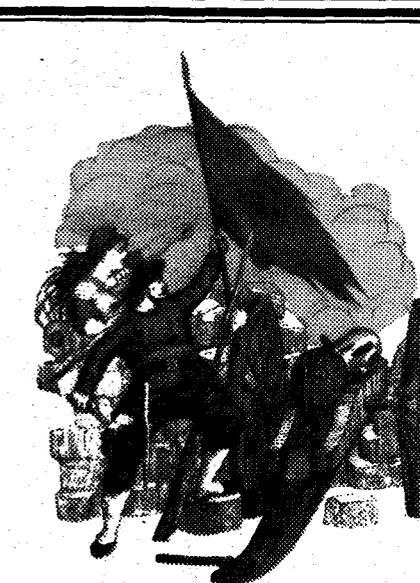
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired as listed above)

Name

Address

City State Zip



Coming off the press

THE PARIS COMMUNE 1871-1971

"In those two short months before the blood bath, the workers accomplished more miracles than capitalism had in as many centuries. The greatest miracle was its working existence. It abolished the standing army and armed the people instead. It smashed to smithereens State bureaucratism, placed public officials on a workman's salary and made them subject to recall. It abolished the division of labor between the legislative and the executive and transformed the parliament from a talking to a working body. It created new conditions for labor. On all fronts, the creative initiative of the masses had ensured the maximum activity for the masses and the minimum for their elected representatives. It thus stripped the fetishisms off all forms of rule: economic, political, intellectual."

from *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*, p. 98

New British edition of **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**, from 1776 to Today

by Raya Dunayevskaya

With a special preface by Harry McShane, and a new appendix, "Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'", by Raya Dunayevskaya.

Price: \$3.00

Order from: News & Letters or Harry McShane
1900 E. Jefferson or 31 Balbeg St.
Detroit, Mich. 48207 Glasgow NW 1, Scotland

By Eugene Walker

East Pakistanis massacred by Russian, U.S. and Chinese arms

As of this writing the brutal crushing of the people of East Pakistan continues by the army of West Pakistan.

The bloodbath in East Pakistan lies squarely at the feet of Britain and India, dating back to 1947 when the imperialist grip of Great Britain was loosened from India, but was still strong enough to set artificial boundaries for East and West Pakistan. That arbitrary carving up of the Indian sub-continent assured the continuation of bitter hostilities.

Both of the Pakistans have been little more than pawns in the moves of the big power nations. But arising out of the imperialist relationships set up by Britain, West Pakistan assumed the dominant economic and political role as compared with East Pakistan.

Exploitation by West of East Pakistan encountered bitter resistance on the part of the East Pakistanis, who have been seeking autonomy of rule from the beginning of the partition.

The movement in East Pakistan had originally been patterned after Ghandi as a non-violent, non-cooperative movement, and had the virtually unanimous support of the population. In mid-March, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, whose Awami League was the dominant political party in the East that had won 167 out of 313 seats for the constitutional assembly, began meeting in Dacca, East Pakistan, with Yakyah Khan, President of Pakistan and Commander in Chief of the Army which has been ruling Pakistan for the last two years under martial law. The question at the meetings was: how much autonomy should East Pakistan have.

The population of East Pakistan defied the martial law during the ten-day talks in Dacca. Some government offices were taken over, others closed. Directives ordering civilian defense employees to report to work or face ten years "rigorous imprisonment" were ignored. The cry Bengla Desh—Bengali for Bengal Nation—was raised as militant students and workers began demanding complete independence, not simply semi-autonomy.

Japan

Socialist candidates scored their biggest election victories in many years in Japan last month. The ruling Liberal Democrats were ousted from power in both Tokyo, the world's largest city, and Osaka, Japan's second largest city. In Tokyo, the Socialists swept in with a landslide vote—a two to one margin. In Osaka, they kicked out Royokichi Minobe, who had been governor for the last 12 years, and had put on the Osaka Exposition.

Kyoto and Yokohama also are represented by Socialists, giving them a clean sweep of Japan's four largest cities. While the national government is still ruled by the Liberal Democrats, who are closely tied to the U.S.A., they are certainly in for a period of trouble.

Meanwhile, government officials from West Pakistan stalled the talks in Dacca as they flew more troops into East Pakistan.

West Pakistan had over 30,000, perhaps as high as 70,000, troops in East Pakistan. Bloodily they took over the cities. In Dacca reports told of how the military surrounded areas of the city inhabited by more than 10,000, set fire to homes, and killed residents even as they fled.

The people of East Pakistan began guerrilla actions. Workers dug tunnels under main roads at night so that they would collapse when soldiers in trucks moved on them. Women and children hid themselves along roadways and acted as spies. Women whittled pointed sticks for pits where soldiers might walk. It was truly sticks, spears and homemade rifles against tanks, planes and heavy artillery.

The populous towns of the East were attacked by West Pakistan troops with Soviet Tiger tanks, United States Saber jets, and Chinese small arms.

The U. S. government made no comment for almost two weeks; refused to release reports of atrocities coming into its consulate; and finally issued a statement expressing hope for an end to the violence. Russia also remained silent for several days, then called for a cessation of hostilities.

China was quiet for over a week, then began to attack India for interfering in the affairs of Pakistan and condemned the East Pakistanis.

But none stood up for the right of self-determination of the Bengal people in East Pakistan.

Self-determination is what the East Pakistanis have talked about for the 23 years of Pakistan's existence. The Moslem religion is all that links the two Pakistans, separated by 1,000 miles of the Indian sub-continent. Of the 130 million Pakistanis, the 75 million in East Pakistan are dominated by West Pakistan, which has 55 million people. East and West speak separate languages.

Not only do West Pakistan average earnings double those of East Pakistan, but the price of such staples as wheat and rice is twice as expensive in the East.

Despite their majority in population, the Bengalis have only 13 percent of the electrical power, 25 percent of the telephones, 20 percent of the motor vehicles, and 15 percent of the trained secondary teachers.

The fighting still continues.

But the monsoon season, with its floods, will occur soon. East Pakistan still controls the country-side, and the 70,000 West Pakistan troops cannot forever control the 75 million East Pakistan people.

Occupation of Gaza: a critical letter

(We are printing in full the following criticism received of my Gaza article in the last issue. —E.W.)

What a pity that the usual informative trend in your columns should have taken a negative path in the article by Eugene Walker on the question of the Israel administration in Gaza.

It may be altogether true that the 220,000 refugees in Gaza "want an end to the Israeli occupation" and a solution is certainly not at hand. But there can be great misunderstanding resulting from the statement that follows—especially in the writer's claim that "some would like Gaza to become part of the United Arab Republic." It is doubtful whether any Arab in the Gaza Strip—even the terrorists who have injected their venom in the area—would wish Egypt to become the absolute ruler there because:

* * *

1. Under Egyptian rule, until the Six-Day War of 1967, the Arabs in Gaza were kept in strict confinement, they were not permitted to leave the area, they were stateless.

2. Now, under Israeli administration, for the first time, the Gaza refugees are permitted to travel out of the area and have been provided with jobs by Israel.

3. Under Egyptian rule such rights were totally denied to all of the refugees who were kept as if incarcerated by the UAR within the Gaza Strip.

4. The current terror in the Gaza Strip has hurt

Arabs more than Israelis. Most of the victims of the attacks are Arabs. There is reason to believe that the extremists stand rejected by most of the Arabs in Gaza.

5. Daily, some 5,000 Arabs travel from Gaza into Israeli areas to perform jobs as a result of employment provided for them by the Israel Government and by the Jewish National Fund. These are irrefutable facts, and it is in an effort to prevent Arabs from benefitting from Israeli rule that the El Fatah and other terrorists have instituted a campaign of horror which has turned Gaza into an area of fright, unlike the East Jerusalem situation of a growing Arab-Israeli friendship and economic cooperation.

6. You must take into consideration the vast economic improvements that have been instituted by Israel in Gaza as well as the other occupied territories. The gains attained by the refugees in Gaza in welfare and education have been immense. One of the official reports on developments in Gaza states: "In the Gaza Strip and the Sinai over 400 Mukhtars and Sheiks continue operating, appointed by the Military Government, and receive salary for their work from the Military Government."

These are cursory observations on the Eugene Walker article. I have confidence, knowing your sense of fairness, that you will take these facts into consideration in dealing with the Israel-Arab problem.

—Philip Slomovitz, Editor
Jewish News, Detroit

Nixon speech, Russian Congress reveal bankruptcy of thought

(Continued from Page 1)

other crisis-points around the world. While the 24th Russian Congress talked on about a six point Peace Plan and nuclear disarmament, and there was noticeable quiet on the Sino-Soviet border, there was plenty of activity in the Middle-East. In fact, just as the Congress ended, Russia air-lifted into Egypt a number of MIG-23 jet-fighter planes, capable of out-performing any others, including the American made F-4 jets flown by Israel. And it was reported that 2,000 more Russian military men were joining the 15,000 already in Egypt.

The contrasting "quiet" on the Sino-Soviet border is, however, superficial. Not only does continuous reinforcement go on along the entire 4,000 mile border, but Russia has been expanding its military, diplomatic and economic influence throughout all of Southeast Asia, and there is the prospect of a Russian fleet in Asian waters in the near future.

The same is true of the United States, where the Vietnam War stands in contrast to their apparent quietness and "neutrality" on the Chilean events, but it is abundantly clear that a great deal is going on behind closed doors. The U.S. has no intention of allowing its dominance over South America to be threatened.

The situation may seem to be very different from 1966 when the 23rd Russian Congress met and the world held its breath wondering if actual war would break out between Russian and Chinese state-capitalism; or to 1961 when the U.S. dared to try a Bay of Pigs, and 1965 when they invaded Santo Domingo.

But the differences between the hot situations and the cold ones are only differences of timing and tactics. Not a single crisis has been solved anywhere. Both Russia and the U.S. take for granted their world power designs and wait for the most appropriate time to un-

leash them. The plans for world mastery go on ceaselessly.

GUNS, NO BUTTER

No amount of Planning or promises, on either side of the Iron Curtain, can alter the fact that the greatest part of the budget in our nuclear age goes for military purposes—guns, not butter. The standard of living in Russia is so miserable because Russia has endeavored to maintain a nuclear parity with the U.S. even though its Gross National Product is only half of America's trillion dollar GNP.

As for the U.S., that trillion dollar GNP co-exists with 24 million Americans living under the official poverty level—and a national unemployment rate of 6.2 percent. Nixon economists have recently been heralding a so-called "upturn of the economy." But there has been no change whatsoever in the unemployment rolls, or in the galloping inflation—except to grow steadily worse.

If Nixon was attempting to defuse American discontent over Vietnam and our economy with his charts and promises, he surely had as little success as Brezhnev will have in trying to defuse the discontent of the Russian masses by playing up domestic concerns at the Congress.

Since the last Russian Congress, the open anti-government demonstrations by Russian writers, scientists and other intellectuals have been effectively silenced. Yet while the 24th Congress was in session, KGB agents arrested a 28 year old intellectual, Vladimir Bukovsky, one of the last of the well-known dissenters still free, who had been waging a one-man struggle against the policy of throwing dissidents in prison camps or mental hospitals. His arrest was immediately protested by physicist Andrei Sakharov.

OPPOSITION GROWS

Just before the Congress was to convene, in an apparent attempt to curb dissent while it was in session, a group of 33 Russians who attempted to deliver a petition in behalf of 20 Jews still waiting trial on charges of "anti-Soviet activity" were charged with "hooliganism" and sentenced to 10 to 15 days in the workhouse.

There is, in fact, no greater proof of how deep the opposition is within Russia than the purge which was virtually promised by Brezhnev's call for an "exchange of party cards," the first time in 17 years, and his warning that "nobody in our country is appointed to leading posts forever."

Brezhnev's vow to trim the fat from the 14½ million-member CP, already so elite that it represents no more than six percent of the population, means that the Russian rulers are so uncertain of their following that they are willing to narrow the Party even further. More important, the purge is a sign of how deep and widespread this opposition is among the entire people.

It is clear that neither the Russian nor the American rulers can plan what the masses will do in the year ahead. The opposition takes different forms within a totalitarian land, and within one where the freedom forces are trying to keep it from becoming a police-state. Instead of wildcats, Russian workers show their opposition in slowdowns and low productivity. Instead of mass demonstrations on the scale of the April 24 protests in the U.S., Russian intellectuals continue their *samizdat*—small, secret leaflets that are typed and quietly slipped to others to re-type and pass on.

The only thing that is sure is that the crises of capitalism—private or state—will continue to deepen. And so will the opposition.