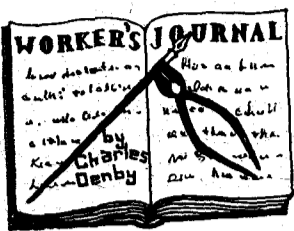


ON THE INSIDE

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High taxes show lack of human values

By Charles Denby, Editor

There has been a discussion in the shop for the past several days over taxes—federal, state, and local taxes—and why so much of workers' wages are taken for them. One worker said, "I have noticed that as the unemployment rate increases, our taxes increase. The workers and common people, along with some of the middle class, pay 85 per cent of all federal and local taxes.

"And taxes never decrease, but have increased every year since World War II. During the war, people who never had to worry about their taxes, and people who never had to pay any taxes before, began to feel the sting, although they were told that the federal tax was just for war time, and would go back down after the war. This was the biggest lie ever stated by a federal official. Taxes have increased by three or four times since then."

Another worker said, "Man, I think we are to the point in this country where the only concern that the government has for working people is that they work to produce more taxes. The money is used to keep other countries friendly to our government. Our tax dollars are given to the heads of state, not to the poor and common people of other countries."

MONEY GOES FOR WAR

He said, "I was shocked at what I saw on T.V. last week. There were some wounded Vietnam soldiers, some totally disabled, marching on the Saigon government, pleading for the government to give them some support money. Some of the men had both legs off. They were so desperate they threatened to soak themselves in gasoline and burn themselves to death. According to the reporter, the Saigon government had said the Americans should pay their support, because they had fought along with the Green Berets. To me, these were Vietnamese and they were fighting for their government. Or is this an American war, with the support of South Vietnam?"

"But the crime was that the Saigon government agreed to pay those disabled human beings nine dollars a month. Man, I could not help but think what Ky, Thieu, and all those other Saigon officials are getting from this government out of our tax dollars. And you can bet the same is happening the world over. I heard ex-Mayor Cavanagh say that when we entered the war the Saigon government had some 4500 secret agents, but today half of the army has been converted into secret agents, and anyone they hear talking in opposition to the government is immediately put in jail or concentration camps."

Another worker said, "The trouble in this world is in this word I often hear used today—values. It
(Continued on Page 2)

BLACK-RED VIEW

Editor's Note: Many who looked at the Black Panther Party as a voice of the Black Revolution have been shocked at the way the BPP has split wide open. The March 6 issue of the Panther Paper was devoted to an attack on Eldridge Cleaver, as if he was a "fascist" who held his own wife, Kathleen, a prisoner. Eldridge and Kathleen hit back with their own fantastic charges, calling Huey Newton a "revisionist." The black community is asking what are the real issues involved. Below we print two articles, one from our Black correspondent in Oakland, where the feelings run highest, and the other from a Black student in Michigan. We invite your discussion.
—Charles Denby

Elitism takes its toll

By John Alan

After the international follies that Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton staged for the press, radio, and television, we must ask ourselves serious questions: is the Black Panther Party a serious, viable organization, devoted to Black liberation, or is its leadership a bunch of clowns, playing fast and easy with the Black Revolution, as they handspring politically around the twin capitals of State-Capitalism, Moscow and Peking?

The viciousness of this split between Cleaver and Newton and all its horrendous aspects—character assassinations, replete with a catalog of alleged crimes and immoralities—has stamped both factions of the Panthers as men without ideas or principles, men who are as far removed as you can possibly get from the Black struggle in this country. To air their differences in the capitalist media reveals a callous disregard for their own members who are standing trial for their lives in New Haven, Conn., New York and California.

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NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

VOL. 16—NO. 3

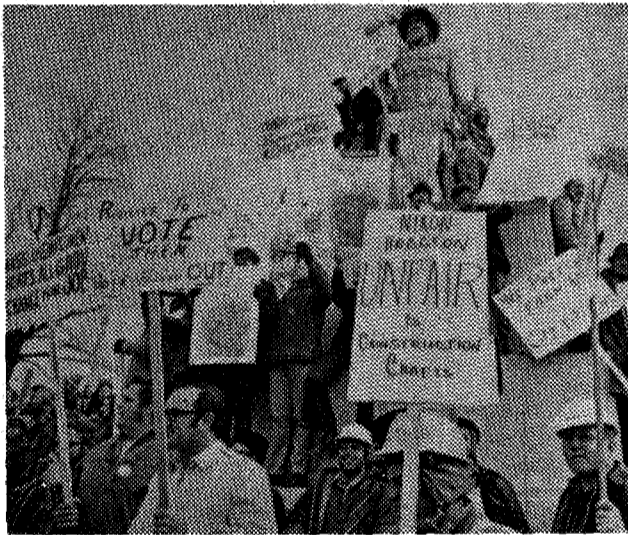
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APRIL, 1971

LAOS INVASION WIDENS ARMY REVOLT, CHALLENGES U. S. ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

By Michael Connolly

The Nixon-Thieu invasion of Laos and Cambodia, now seven weeks old, has revealed not the "success of Vietnamization" and the "winding down of the war" as Nixon would have it, but the whole fabric of lies, corruption and global power madness which permeate his war in Indochina. The size of the invasion alone is overwhelming. One American officer described it as "the greatest concentration of air power ever seen."



—East Street Gallery/LNS

Construction workers, farmers, and students protest Nixon in Des Moines. (See editorial page 4)

Over 2,000 U.S. air craft are involved, including 500 helicopters, flying 1,000 sorties each day.

While 30,000 South Vietnamese (ARVN) troops attacked Laos, and another 24,000 invaded Cambodia, the Nixon line that the US role was "only air support" was not believed by fully two-thirds of the American people, according to a Gallup poll. From the Melvin Laird comedy of the "captured pipeline," through the reports of exact enemy body counts in areas where no U.S. or ARVN troops penetrated, to the revelations of U.S. soldiers in ARVN uniforms, the lies dominated all. It is not a question anymore of whether Nixon and Laird are lying, but how much.

The constant refrain of "Vietnamization will end the war" is belied both by the fact of military defeat in Laos, where over 1,000 ARVN troops have been killed, and nearly 250 U.S. aircraft shot down, and by the continued increase in military expenditures for the war.

In fact, the Thieu boast of an early invasion of North Vietnam was not denied by Nixon, and the possibility of Communist Chinese intervention was said to be "accounted for." U.S. planes were already resuming regular bombing of North Vietnam, not as "protective reaction," but against "suspected missile sites." Vietnamization turns out to be the creation of two, three, many Vietnams, making war a permanent feature of *pax americana*.

THE GROWING REVOLT

Against Nixon's plans for never-ending war, stands the revolt in the armies of both the U.S. and South Vietnam which has reached astonishing proportions. One U.S. soldier now goes AWOL or deserts every three minutes, for an annual total of 250,000 men. Nearly every unit is chronically under-strength.

The number of U.S. soldiers in military prisons has risen to 20,000. Their average age is 19, and only 5 percent of them are charged with offenses which would be crimes under civilian law. Many have been jailed for protests against racial discrimination, while others were involved in anti-war activities.

Black soldiers have been attacking the flagrantly racist policies of the armed forces with increasing anger. Revolts have broken out at such far-separated places as Camn Ranh Bay, Vietnam; Heidelberg, Germany; and Fort Hood, Texas. They are protesting against a system in which blacks make up 13 percent of the enlisted men, but only 3.2 percent of the Army's officers, and less than 1 percent of the Navy's. The anger of black soldiers against racist officers has made it impossible for some of them to walk alone at night in Vietnam, or to lead a patrol in broad daylight.

The army is also beset with such headaches as coffee houses run by anti-war groups near their bases—there are now at least ten of them; anti-war protests by soldiers themselves—reported on 19 bases; and GI unionism, which is threatening the sacred army rule of obedience to superior rank.

BAND-AIDS FOR ANSWERS

The Pentagon has been scurrying to find band-aids to cover the gaping holes in its storied efficiency. The Navy has issued "Z-grams" which allow longer hair and beards, while the Army has been pushing "choice of professional training" programs. And Nixon has proposed to Congress a sizeable pay raise for enlisted men.

In the halls of the Pentagon and the Congress, there is talk of an "all-volunteer army" as the draft system becomes increasingly unworkable. From July, 1968 to June, 1969 (the last period for which figures are available), there were 27,444 induction refusals. The U.S. Attorneys' offices are swamped. In Brooklyn alone, 3,711 men refused induction and only 65 prosecu-

(Continued on Page 8)

The Panther split

This split is not an expression of naivete, nor just plain egotism, as some white liberals would like to believe, but the manifestation of a more virulent political disease—elitism. The leadership elitism of Cleaver and Newton grew hardily on the glucose of newspaper copy

(Continued on Page 7)

Blacks disillusioned

The issue of the split between the Black Panther leadership has left many black people disillusioned with that group.

The battle between the New York group and the Oakland Central Committee has long been evident. The feud between Newton and the nine Blacks he expelled from the party added more fuel to the fire. Most shocking of all, however, is the domestic quarrel between Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver in Algiers, illustrated in the Panther paper a few weeks ago.

(Continued on Page 8)

N&L Women's Liberation Committee: Who We Are

Editor's note: We are happy to announce the formation of the News & Letters Women's Liberation Committee. It is presently meeting in Detroit, New York and Los Angeles, and invites participation through the formation of more groups and correspondence. Below appears part of the Committee's statement entitled "Who We Are."

For the complete statement or more information, write:



NEWS & LETTERS
Women's Liberation Committee
1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

WOMEN'S LIBERATION has sprung up spontaneously among women all over America in the past few years. It "speaks in many voices"—it is, potentially, a revolutionary mass movement, as it cuts across the lines of class and race. We believe that women's oppression is the oldest form of class oppression—based on the division between mental and manual labor and it will take more than the abolition of capitalism to free women. We cannot wait 'til "after the revolution" and be "given" freedom—we have to be an active, self-developing subject in that revolution, if a truly human society is to result. We are "taking back our heads" and fighting oppression at whatever point it touches us.

WE ARE black, white, worker, student, housewife. Some of us have been working in the Women's Liberation movement for several years; others are new to the movement. Some of us are members of News & Letters; all of us are working together to determine the direction and actions of this group, and we welcome new women into it. We got together in our first conference in February of this year because we felt very strongly the contradictions that permeate 1971. A serious challenge faces the Women's Liberation movement: to meet in theory what has been happening in our activity—to be both reason and force in revolution. To help meet this challenge the News & Letters Women's Liberation Committee was formed.

WE DO NOT have any program or blueprint for the future, but we have looked closely at the history of America, and of the women's movement in America, and we feel that a Marxist-Humanist women's liberation group must adhere to the following principles:

1. Listening to the voices of those struggling for their freedom. This is crucial. It is from the ideas of the masses of women that a true definition of Women's Liberation will flow. It is especially crucial to listen to

International Women's Day in Los Angeles and New York

Los Angeles, Calif.—The observation of International Women's Day began with a short rally in the garment district followed by a march into the downtown area at noon time and ending with another rally.

The decision to observe International Women's Day marks a significant point in the Women's Liberation movement in that the movement is recognizing the important creative force that working women have been and can be. International Women's Day commemorates the strikes by women garment workers begun on March 8, 1857 and March 8, 1908, for more human working conditions.

Unfortunately the much hoped for response from factory and office women in the downtown area did not materialize, despite the emphasis given to working women. This indicated that Women's Liberation will have to do much more serious work with working women before we can expect them to align themselves with us.

New York, N.Y.—About 800 women attended the Women's Liberation Conference March 6 and 7, sponsored by Women's Strike Coalition, hosted by Barnard & Columbia Women's Liberation. Most were young and middle-class, probably from campuses. There were some older women, but very few Black women.

The opening address by Florence Luscomb was disappointing; she just gave a general history of the feminist movement. She did say it arose out of the abolitionist movement, but only because "... women already active found slavery so abhorrent that they had to do something."

In the afternoon there were workshops. "Raising Children in a Non-Sexist Way" brought out the idea of raising children as total human beings. "Working Women's Organizing Committee" discussed getting working women involved.

Millett's lecture was another disappointment. The only aspect of oppression she dwelt on was the sexual; she did not even suggest that a society which profits economically from oppressive relationships would also have to be abolished, in order for all to be free.

the ideas and watch closely the activities of black and working women, because they suffer the oppression of this society on many levels. We believe this will expand the movement rather than limiting it. We consider welfare rights organizations and groups of women trying to unionize their shops to be Women's Liberation as much as the groups that call themselves that.

2. Self-development. We are concerned that every woman develop herself through the activities of her struggles and the working-out of theory, toward the goal of freedom and a new society based on human relationships.

3. Uniting theory and practice. It is imperative that the Women's Liberation movement work out theory for today. Theory must be derived from practice, or it will be unreal. Practice alone, without theory, soon reaches the despair and mindless activism so common throughout the Left. As serious revolutionaries, we must combine the two in a dynamic relationship.

CONCRETELY, we have undertaken the following activities:

1. Participating in the struggles of women workers fighting sex discrimination on the job—against both management and union bureaucracies. In the last year, many of us picketed for months in support of a strike of women clerical workers, and we have been working with women service workers fighting for upgrading, equal pay, and equal treatment.

2. Working out theory, through meetings, discussions, activity, reviewing literature. Expressing our ideas at meetings and in written articles.

3. Helping other women write down their stories and ideas for News & Letters, for publicity of their struggles, and helping them establish their own newspapers on their jobs.

4. Corresponding with women who have bought our pamphlet, "Notes on Women's Liberation," throughout the world, so we keep in touch with what is happening both in practice and theory in Women's Liberation.

5. Writing regular contributions—theoretical articles and reports of activities—for News & Letters.

WE INVITE you to join us.

ARA workers file suit, battle company and union

Detroit, Mich.—Four women workers from the ARA Great Lakes Steel Division have filed a suit in Federal District Court here seeking an end to discrimination against women on their jobs. The suit is a class action, representing all the women working there. The defendants are ARA and Local 1064 RWDSU. The suit charges that women are discriminated against in job classifications and promotions.

There are three classifications at ARA which perform essentially the same work—vendor, driver, and attendant. But vendors are making \$3.91 an hour, drivers \$3.63, and attendants \$2.90. All the attendants are women, but only one of the vendors is a woman. The women want all three classifications to be paid at the vendors' rate. They have also demanded that seniority be made plant-wide. This second demand is very important because the company and the union are trying to freeze the women into the classifications they hold now.

The suit also demands that the company and the union stop harrasing the women who are fighting for their rights, and grant back pay for wages they have lost.

Women at ARA say that conditions like those at ARA exist all over Local 1064. Workers at Interstate and Ogdan Foods have also been fighting discrimination. "The local is run like a dictatorship by Paul Domyeny," one worker said. "He runs it all, and he's grooming a successor already. We pay dues and elect people to fight for us, to take care of our interests. I can see the company's point: they're out to make a buck. But we elected Domyeny and he is selling us down the drain. It's got to the point now, that instead of just fighting the company, you're fighting your union too!"

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WAY OF THE WORLD

Fight of the century

By Ethel Dunbar

When Muhammad Ali first became a heavy-weight contender and began his loud boasting, I was always against him, wishing that some opposing fighter would knock his head off. But after seeing him carry out his threats by defeating all his opposition, just as he always predicted, my feelings began to change. And it was his firmness and the direct answers he would give news reporters that made me finally begin to enjoy watching him.

When he refused to be inducted into the army and the government began to put pressure on him and persecute him, even stripping him of his title. Muhammad Ali won thousands to his side. Many of us saw him as the greatest black prize fighter who ever lived.

It wasn't until he had been out of the ring for three and a half years, and had gained some weight, that the government decided to lift the ban, let him fight two other fights, and then fight Frazier. Frazier was in top shape. It was the government's only hope to take his belt legally.

I know I wasn't the only one who was hoping that Muhammad Ali would win by a knockout in round one. When I heard the news that Frazier had won, I felt that it wasn't only Muhammad Ali who had lost. A lot of other people lost along with him, including me.

It took several days before my husband could convince me that it wasn't a fake, that Muhammad Ali had actually lost. He kept telling me that the Black Muslim religion stands on principles, and he could not believe that Muhammad Ali would sell himself out. It must have been a terrific fight until Frazier knocked him down in the 15th round.

When people heard the amount of taxes that were deducted by the government, many said they were only fighting for the government anyway. I'm still hoping Muhammad Ali can make a come back and regain his title.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

refers to material values, while the most important values are human values. Today those have less meaning than any other. In my opinion, this is the main cause of so much crime throughout the nation. And the government is most responsible for this situation. Have you been watching T.V. lately? Just think of what was done in the My Lai case, where a few American troops could line up innocent old men, women, children and babies, pregnant women, and slaughter them. Sure they had orders. All the guilty soldiers have to do is pass the buck and say the orders came from higher up, and the higher-ups say it did not.

"And why was it so long in coming to the public's knowledge? Let those same American troops destroy a hundred new cars of any auto maker, and it would be headline news the next day. And the government would reimburse the company within a month. But human lives, especially those of the workers and common people, are valued so little.

"The highest value today is the all-mighty dollar. Take the case of those officials that were investigated for racketeering in the Armed Forces. They stated that Westmoreland, the commanding general at the time, was almost sucked into being a part of it. One of the high officers said on T.V. that if he had accepted the offer, he could have made \$1,000 a week. That is why we have to pay higher taxes all the time.

MOON TRIPS WORTHLESS

"Then there are the moon trips, three and four times a year, just to bring back some rocks. And what will be done with them? They say there is no value to them, other than telling us how long the rocks have been there but millions and millions of our tax dollars go into outer space.

"It could be used for human values. I believe many of those who are committing crimes see and understand that this value is placed on the dollar. They say, 'Hell, I am going to get in on this also, any where and any way I can. I was told that each man after the Frazier-Ali fight got \$2½ million; after taxes, each man received close to \$500,000. In fact the \$2 million went for taxes.

"Look man, we received some \$300 in back pay several weeks ago. One hundred dollars of it we never saw. It went for taxes. I think poor and working people must start a revolution against all these damn taxes. Something has to be done about them. Then people's minds may revert back to human values."

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Injunction ends Chicago City College strike

Chicago, Ill.—Nine hundred teachers of the Chicago City Colleges walked out of their classrooms on January 5 because of the stubborn determination of the college board, during three months of dead-end negotiations, to emasculate their previous contract. They went back on January 13 in obedience to an injunction, but stayed only three days.

Both the board and the union, Local 1600, AFT, asked that the injunction be lifted, and the strike resumed. The teachers did not go back until February 9, when they were again threatened with an injunction after a student and citizens' suit was filed.

WAGE DEMANDS MET

The judge took the unprecedented step of appointing himself mediator, required the top officers of the college—who until then had left the negotiations to a union-busting lawyer, to attend his court every day and negotiate with the seven man union team in open court. They are still negotiating, and the only important thing that has been settled is salaries, which will go up an average of 22% over the next two and a half years. With the rest of the contract still unsettled, teachers voted two to one to accept the wage package.

The hottest issues have been those relating to teacher power. The board frankly declared that they had yielded too much power to the union in previous negotiations and were determined to get some of it back. The faculty right to vote for department chairmen was to be abolished. The teachers' vote in personnel matters — hiring, contract renewals, and promotions—was to be wiped out. Their demand for a voice in curriculum was beaten down.

The 39,000 students supported the strike magnificently; fewer than 10% of them sat in the scab teachers' classes. About the same percentage of the city-wide faculty scabbed. The sister union of Local 1600, the Clerk's union, also an AFT affiliate, stayed on the job until February 7, when they walked out both in sympathy and to strengthen negotiations for their own contract.

One of the big lessons of this strike is the very old one that craft unionism is utterly inadequate to serve the needs of the working class. Another lesson is the folly of surrendering to court threats. Most of

the leaders and also the members were cowed by the possibility that they might go to jail if we stayed on the street. Yet hundreds of our fellow AFT members in Newark and other cities have gone to jail, and have thereby won big gains.

On the positive side, it is certain that without the strike we would have taken a much worse beating. We still have the best community college pay scale outside of New York: \$9,835 to \$20,985. Experience shows that it is easier to squeeze money out of these tyrants than it is to get them to yield power and democratize the system. This will not be changed until teachers refuse to chicken out to court threats.

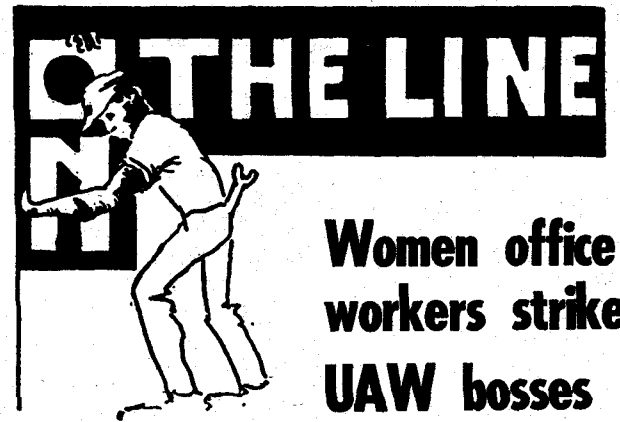
—City College teacher

E.I.S. strike in eighth week

Middletown, Conn.—The strike against the Ernest I. Schwartz company here is about to go into its eighth week with little hope for a settlement in the near future. Spirits among the 400 men and women workers remain high despite unsuccessful attempts by the management to divide the local against itself and considerable opposition from the local newspaper.

The months of January and February are slow ones for the company, which makes brake parts, so the Schwartzs can afford to try and wear the union down by stalling and refusing to negotiate. They have tried to blame their own stall tactics on the local's leadership. They did this by sending a letter to all E.I.S. workers accusing the local shop committee of bad faith and cited a specific meeting where the committee would not negotiate seriously. This idea didn't work out too well though, because some of the workers received the letter before the meeting described took place. The company has also tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain an injunction against picketing.

Despite this opposition the workers continue undaunted. The Schwartz family is preparing this month to take their products to an auto show in Chicago, so four members of the local have been chosen to pack their signs and clothes and fly to Chicago to picket the exhibition hall.



Women office workers strike UAW bosses

by John Allison

Office workers at the United Auto Workers headquarters building in Detroit, Solidarity House, went out on strike about a month ago for higher wages. UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey has called the office workers "greedy" because they want a decent wage for the work they do.

Some people might get mixed up sometimes, and think that just because a union like the UAW does have workers on the payroll, that the union would automatically pay a decent wage. But it isn't necessarily so, and different things happen to start you thinking about what's going on in something like this.

WHEN A UNION IS NOT A UNION

This reporter was surprised to hear radio disc jockey Martha Jean, the Queen, requesting blue collar workers to support the strike of white collar workers who had Solidarity House under siege because the union management had failed to meet their wage demands. The question that arises is why the union would let themselves get involved in this strike? The answer is revealed in the make up of the work force at Solidarity House.

By and large, women make up the secretarial work force. Next come the janitors, who are Black. And there are a few skilled tradesmen. Just looking at the fact that the vast majority of the workers involved in this fight are Blacks and women, you know that the combination adds up to low wages. How do any workers get better working conditions and better wages? By striking. Management and the Union play the same game when it comes to wages for the working class.

WOMEN KEEP UAW GOING

It is safe to say that the women do more work at Solidarity House keeping the union going than the men—who make more money. Staff personnel wages are set at the convention. Rank and file workers who go to the convention are quite kind when pay question come up. Delegates regularly vote pay raises for Union Representatives and union officers alike.

But when it comes to the question of pay raises for the secretaries that work for the Reps and officers, it is a different matter. The union becomes management and acts like a true capitalist. The union preaches "equity" without, and practices capitalism within.

Many of the office workers date back to the '40s, when Walter Reuther took over the union and brought in his own staff and kept adding more and more. Most of these people put in a lot of free time, often working for little or nothing because they believed in the union. But they don't see others doing anything but living pretty high off the hog, and they rightly feel that they should get a bigger piece of a pretty big pie.

Cab drivers lose in fare hike

New York, N.Y. — Taxi drivers have been working for a week under the increased fare which came about as a result of a new union contract won by a two week strike at Christmas time. The new taxi fare is about 40 per cent higher, and, while the drivers should be getting more money from the increase, so many people can no longer afford to ride in cabs that the loss in passengers threatens to send drivers to the Welfare Department.

One black driver said, "I see empty cabs all over the city. I see drivers 'hacking' (waiting at hotels, corners, etc.) for fares just like during the Depression. All the uptown men, from the North Bronx, the South Bronx, Brooklyn, and Harlem are in Midtown because there is no work on the streets. They're all waiting at the Hilton for calls . . . the cab line went to 46th Street (8 blocks long) yesterday.

"I knew that we should never have trusted that lousy union to negotiate for us. The day they postponed the strike, I knew we were licked."

Another driver continued: Six people didn't tip me at all today, so even with the increase, I'm not making any more than before. In the long run, we'll earn less because tips are down, while the boss will earn more—he doesn't care if nobody tips me."

The first man again: "The owners, the independents, and the union got together on this thing. We knew the strike had to be against the bosses for a bigger percentage for us to gain anything. But, the fleet owners put one over on the union—they got the union to strike the City for higher rates when they knew it wouldn't help the driver one bit.

—Cab Driver

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The biggest subject of discussion now at Fleetwood is how the union has fallen apart completely. It isn't the same union it was five years ago, let alone when it started. Every day the union officials are putting in 12 hours time and getting paid at time and a half over eight hours. This wouldn't be bad, but you never see them when you need them. They go home and come back when they feel like it.

If you've got a grievance in, it often gets settled without the committeeman even telling you about it. The first thing you know is the foreman yelling at you to do this or that—"it's settled." Then, maybe two weeks or two months later, you finally catch up with the committeeman and he tells you what happened. Often you can't even ask your committeeman when you catch him because now he's got a foreman's job, or something else in supervision. So many of them are ending up in management now.

Some grievances aren't even implemented after they are settled. On the fourth floor, the defogger job was settled so that the man only had to handle half the Oldsmobiles. But this hasn't been implemented yet, after a month.

The ex-president of Local 15, Scott Kelly, wrote a letter to the International telling why he was resigning. This letter is known to exist, but it has never been made public. Since everything in Local 15 is falling apart, we would like to know what is in that letter. Why doesn't Scott Kelly reveal what he said? How about it, Kelly?

—Fleetwood worker, second shift

Detroit, Mich.—There are a lot of questions about seniority and the labor pool being asked in the body shop. I would like to know why a new hire is brought into the shop and given a job which has a 63B on it when a worker with five years or more wants the job. Many times in the body shop the foreman will come up to you and tell you to show a new worker the job you are doing. Then he comes back and says: "Can he do it?" If you say yes, he tells you to go and do something else, like welding in the hole. The job is never yours.

The labor pool is ridiculous. If you are in it, you have no rights. You go to the body shop office and the foremen who are short come in and pick you out and give you a job for the day. It looks just like the slave markets. They send you all over the building. Sometimes up to the fifth or sixth floor, where you get less money and you don't know the jobs at all.



You can work a week with so many different classifications that you don't know what your pay should be; it's different each check. Why can't we stay in the department where we belong? The company should not be able to send you anywhere they feel like.

The medical office is supposed to be there to assist you, but some workers think it is there to oppress you. One man, I know, in Dept. 3 was burned by welding sparks twice in one night. He went to medical. The second time the nurse called labor relations and they took him to the blue room. They told him he was taking too many medicals, and accused him of "wasting the company's time." The man wanted to write up labor relations for taking him down but the alternate committeeman said there was nothing he could do. Why not? Every worker has a right to go to medical when he needs it—and at Fleetwood you need it a lot with the conditions we have in the shop.

—Body shop worker, Fleetwood

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—Word is going around at Mack that our local union officers are trying to make an agreement with one of the Detroit utilities to buy some of the land around the Local 212 hall. They have not even notified the membership. If it is true, it shows what our local officers think of us—that they would consider such an agreement without consulting the membership.

It isn't just the local either. Everyone is talking about the striking office workers at Solidarity House. It shows how bad the crisis is, when in our own union, office and clerical workers have to strike for higher wages.

It is these same union bureaucrats who are fighting the wage increase who vote themselves raises at every UAW convention larger than the entire salary of those office workers. Emil Mazey said it was greed for those workers to strike. A lot of workers say it's Mazey and his buddies who set the pattern for greed.

I saw on TV how the bureaucrats were grabbing picket signs away from the women, laughing and walking right through their picket line. Our union was built around respect for picket lines. Years ago the most anti-union thing you could do was walk through one. Now they are saying that you should respect a line when they say to, and when they say not to, you are supposed to just walk on through.

—Chrysler Mack worker

EDITORIAL Welfare rolls grow...but so do protests

There is no more damning indictment of the so-called "American Way of Life" than the existence of more than 13.5 million Americans on welfare. That represents an increase of 70 percent in the past five years, and a jump of 41 percent in the last 15 months alone. In Los Angeles one out of every eight is already on the welfare rolls; in New York and San Francisco, one out of seven; in Boston, one out of five; in Newark, one out of every four.

More damning still, the numbers now receiving aid are estimated to be only half the numbers who are actually eligible, let alone the millions living in poverty who are not considered "eligible" under the present standard. Over 24 million people today are living below the official "poverty level" of \$3,967 for an urban family of four.

President Nixon's condemnation of the welfare system, in his State of the Union message, as "a monstrous, consuming outrage" is itself an outrage. It is the recession which he planned that is driving ever more Americans onto the welfare rolls, while inflation diminishes the value of the dole they receive. The "Family Assistance Plan," which Nixon proposed to replace the present system—a system everyone admits is a bureaucratic, inadequate, dehumanizing mess—would grant, instead, a "guaranteed income" of a miserable \$1,600, for a family of four!

In return, recipients would be subject to stiffer "work requirements." All "able-bodied adults," except mothers of pre-school children, will be required to sign up for jobs or job training. Given the present recession, it is almost guaranteed that most of the mothers, as well as the men, would have to work at substandard wages of \$1.20 an hour, which HEW officials admit are the only jobs open in the economy today.

Yet so miserable is the lot of the poor in the South that even so inadequate a plan as the FAP looks better than what they have now, when the amount they get is determined by the state. In Mississippi, for example, a mother and three children now receive \$840 to live on for an entire year. Scant wonder that the migration of the poor from the South has continued at a steady pace—not in search of more welfare, but of jobs. They simply don't find them—North or South.

The mechanization of agriculture and automation in industry have produced a monstrous army of unem-

ployed, as the same time that the economy is boasting a trillion dollar gross national product. As Karl Marx put it, in his greatest work, *Capital*: "Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working class . . ."

Students, farmers, hard hats

Six months ago, if anyone had dared suggest that anti-war protesters would be joined by farmers and hard-hat construction workers in a demonstration against President Nixon—and in Des Moines, Iowa, no less—they would have been labeled as soft in the head.

But so total, unending and explosive is the crisis in America under the Nixon administration, that every area in the nation has been seriously affected. That is why such a protest alliance did erupt to confront Nixon in the "safe" Republican heartland of Middle America.

Nixon, stumping the farm belt to gain support for his "revolutionary revenue sharing" program, instead faced over 3,000 youth, farmers and workers on the very steps of Iowa's state Capitol building.

The youth, who have always courageously opposed the war in Indo China, were driven into the streets to protest Nixon's latest barbarism—his invasion of Laos (See lead article, P. 1).

As for the farmers, they had heard his words promising \$1.1 billion for rural development, but they saw him block \$56 million earmarked for rural water and sewer project; saw him cut \$44.5 million from agriculture conservation programs; and, from the beginning of his administration, saw him try to eliminate or restrict food programs for the poor.

The construction workers, the so-called "hardhats" whom Nixon clutched so closely to his bosom a few short months ago when numbers of them came out in support of his Indochina war, were now feeling the sting of his Judas kiss. Singling out the construction workers as scapegoats for the ruinous failures of his economic policies, Nixon threw out an old depression law which required that union wage scales be paid

for all federally-assisted construction, charging that what he calls the high construction workers' wage scale is a prime cause of inflation, and that his action will reduce national inflation.

He is wrong on both counts. His Indo China war is the greatest inflationary force in the nation. Only when that is over can there even begin to be serious effort taken to halt inflation. The throwing out of the law will have no effect on inflation, but it will give heart to all anti-labor forces in the country.

Indeed, so anti-labor have Nixon's policies been that national unemployment rose to a startling 6.2 percent, the highest in over 10 years—with over five million workers out of jobs. In Detroit alone, as reported by none other than Detroit Mayor Gribbs—and this is after the auto strikes are over and settled—unemployment is 14.3 percent. In the inner city it is a shocking 25 percent—and in the 18 to 25 age group, it has soared to 50 percent!

Nixon has indeed found three new places to "bring us all together"—in the unemployment offices, in the welfare offices, and in the streets.

News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

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LETTUCE BOYCOTT

The history of government involvement in the farm workers' struggle is long—and unjust. Now they are out-right strikebreakers.

The Senate Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor has released statistics on Pentagon lettuce purchases. In 1969, Bud Antle, the largest of all scab growers and the target of the boycott's most intense activity, received 9.9% of the Pentagon business. Now, in the first quarter of 1971, that figure has leaped to 60%. Bud Antle sells his lettuce at prices outrageously above market whole-sale averages. This is a deliberate at-

tempt by the government to crush the attempts of a struggling union.

Cesar Chavez has filed suit against the U.S. Defense Dept. and Melvin Laird, based on the Pentagon's breaking of their most basic purchases law, which states that the government cannot buy produce for official military use at a price any higher than other products of comparable quality. The nation's taxpayers have a right to call for an investigation into the matter. We hope individuals, groups and organizations will launch demands to end the purchase of Antle lettuce.

UFWOC
3419 Michigan
Detroit, Mich. 48216

Reader's

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

It isn't true that people are not angry about the Laos invasion. What is true is that they feel powerless.

Hospital Worker
New York

I wish to call attention to the case of Brother John Willams, a monk of the

Episcopal Church and a member of the Community of the Agape.

On Christmas Eve of last year, Brother John threw gasoline on the files of the San Jose draft boards, causing thousands of dollars damage. He now faces over thirty years imprisonment and is being held on \$50,000 bail.

Brother John is not a big name. He's just another draft file burner, another prisoner facing long years alone, and he needs support. Anyone may write him in county jail at this address: Brother John William Simpson, CA, PO Box 11, San Jose, Calif. 95110.

His order (of young people) exists to serve the poor and publishes an interesting newsletter from 239 Anderson St., San Francisco, Calif. 94100. Donations to his bail fund may be sent there.

J. B.
Palo Alto, Calif.

THE ISRAELI LEFT

Most of the left throughout the world suffers from very strong misconceptions of the nature of the left in Israel. Everywhere accused of being Utopians, sell outs, and "fools of imperialism" the Israeli left has found little support in their difficult struggle from their fellow leftists elsewhere.

The Israeli left is engaged in a constant struggle to prevent the growth of private capital within the Israeli economy. They struggle within the Histadrut (Labor Union) for a left wing direction. It is the world left which refuses to aid the Israeli left in their struggle for socialism, who have sold out.

The Israeli left struggles for a truly just peace, a peace that will profit the peoples of the mid-East greatly. The World Left are the true fools of imperialism for fighting against this peace that brings change.

Radical Zionist High School Union
Room 709
150 Fifth Avenue
New York City, N.Y. 10011

TO ALL OUR READERS—OUR THANKS FOR YOUR HELP

We were unable to come out with our March issue—as you know from our SOS sent out last month—when we had to find new offices immediately after our January issue came off the press. All subscriptions will, of course, be extended one month.

The swift and generous response of our many friends and readers to our Appeal for help is making it possible for News & Letters to continue. We thank all those who felt it imperative that the voice of Marxist-Humanism, and the voices of the youth, blacks, women and workers who speak in our pages, continue to be heard.

Below are excerpts from a few of the letters we received.

We need everyone's help. If you have not already mailed your contribution, please—send it today.

I hope your campaign will be a success, and you can keep up your good work. No one knows this better than the old timers who have been trying to organize workers in Detroit as well as elsewhere long before some of you were born. I consider this gift to

you a birthday present to myself. I am 73. Just sign me,

An Old Wobbly
Chicago

We just heard of your troubles. Here is our contribution to help.

The political situation in Japan is the same as yours. You have the Nixon administration and we have the Sato administration. The election of the mayor of Tokyo City is going to be held on the second week of April. The present mayor is supported by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. The Conservatives are trying to take back the victory.

Correspondent
Tokyo

Our position is just as bad or worse than yours. Accept, however, our contribution as a token that we heard and understood your SOS.

VITO
Curacao, Neth. Antilles

Thank you for Raya Dunayevskaya's articles on the Leningrad Trials and Poland. N&L is one of the few Left publications that has a sensitivity and understanding of the Jewish Question, and uncompromising opposition to anti-

Semitism from any and all sources.

Enclosed is my contribution to your Emergency Fund.

Socialist-Zionist
New York

It's a pleasure to enclose \$10 in response to your SOS. News & Letters is very much needed . . .

I am founding a new monthly magazine to be called Progressive Woman, which will consist of news, nonfiction articles and biographical sketches. We're interested in both subscribers and authors. We expect to come out in June. Anyone interested can write to:

Progressive Woman
P.O. Box 510,
Middlebury, Indiana 46540

We received your request for support with the morning's mail. At the moment this \$5 is all we can spare. Please also send a subscription to the enclosed name and address. We cannot allow any of us to fall or go down alone.

Two Activists
Kingston, Ontario

to help make sure you go on living.

Researcher on Africa
New York

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Editor's Note: We print below excerpts from Part III of the Perspectives Speech delivered to the Convention of News & Letters Committee by Raya Dunayevskaya. Copies of the complete report can be ordered from News & Letters for 35c.

Theories galore are being offered by rootless intellectuals to the youth so actively visible, not only on the anti-Vietnam war front, but also in more organic ways to reshape the world they did not make and which is rotting . . .

If theory were a mere question of reading books or being world travellers (invited world travellers, it should be added, by existing state powers, "progressive" though they be) then, of course, there would be no need to follow the movement from below, from practice. The last thing our self-styled theoreticians think about is listening to workers, to the masses. And, though they talk much about Marx, they have not the slightest conception, or even feeling for what Marx meant by "history and its process," or how praxis, not books, led to the dialectic working out of a philosophy of revolution.

Take so simple a question as the Machine. That is where Herbert Marcuse's departure from Marxism begins. It is also where our modern age began, and so did Marxism. Marx wrote a magnificent analysis of the Machine in *Grundrisse: Being a dialectician as well as a revolutionary*, the subject of machinery was never dealt with apart from its opposite, the laborer. But, as worked out in this first draft, the concentration was on the logic of technology's development from a complex tool to a full automaton, at which point the worker might stand outside of the production process.

This is not the place to go into the whole of the *Grundrisse*. Here we must limit ourselves only to what Herbert Marcuse quotes about being "outside of" production process. Not only does it not mean anything that Herbert Marcuse attributes to it, but what is of the essence is that Marx's decision not to publish it in 1858 was not because it was "wrong." It was not concrete enough. The changes he introduced reveal the dialectic method in full.

What is theory? 'History and its process'

Marx states that if one studied the history of inventions, he would be able to see how inseparable from it is the revolt of the workers. The worker resists the mindless substitute for every move of his hand—the machine. To counter the workers' resistance to the new forms of exploitation, the capitalist, or rather his scientist, keeps inventing every new way of getting rid of the laborers' "intractable hand." This strife between worker and machine, worker and capital, Marx, called "history and its process." The key word is process. That is to say, the concrete process of this strife discloses what the workers are doing, the numerous ways they are fighting capitalism at the point of production, and the questions they are posing on every facet from the length of the working day to the kind of labor men should do, the relationship of labor to life.

When Marx told the story of Machinery in capital in 1867, as against 1858, narrative and reason became one, and as historical materialist he launched into an attack not only on capitalists but on those he called "abstract materialists," the scientists, before whom our age bows so, and not only for not "knowing" the economic laws of capitalism, but for having missed entirely "history and its process."

HERBERT MARCUSE

Over 100 years have passed. The automaton Marx predicted has come to life. The new word is Automation. It is overpowering. The workers react one way—general strikes, wildcats, revolts. The scientists, the labor bureaucrats as well as management help defeat the workers in the first round. The academic Marxist, the one who in 1941 could write *Reason and Revolution*, by 1960 is overcome by the new technology, because he is so isolated from the modern proletariat, that he decides that the proper characterization of our age is one-dimensional society and so he names his worker, *One Dimensional Man* . . .

One Dimensional Man does succeed in proving one thing — the one-dimensionality of Herbert Marcuse's thought . . . He moved, inexorably, from departing from Marx's analysis of machinery, to throwing overboard nothing short of Marx's concept of revolution itself: "the Marxian concept of a revolution (that phrase is underlined by him, rd) carried by the majority of the exploited masses, culminating in the 'seizure of power'

and in the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship which initiated socialization, is 'overtaken' by the historical development . . ." (and that last phrase is likewise underlined by Herbert Marcuse. *New Left Review*, #56, 7-8, 1969) . . .

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Where the "historicist" Marcuse threw overboard Marx's concept of revolution, Sartre tells the youth to reject history: "What benefit can you get" (writes Sartre despite his proclaimed conversion to Marxism which was supposed to have led to his "acceptance" of history and his writing of the *Critique de la Raison Dialectic*) "from learning something about the Punic Wars or the Crusades?"

I'm not sure that I'm an expert on either the Punic Wars or the Crusades, but I know Sartre has a lot to learn from the history of Maoism, a philosophy that he has criticized even as he had previously criticized Russian Communism. And, just as he "fellow-travelled" with the Russian Communists throughout the post-war period, so now he follows Mao, or at least holds up Mao's Cultural Revolution, including the manner in which it manifests itself in France where he is presently "acting editor" of their paper.

It isn't that Sartre doesn't know that history any more than that he hadn't known the history of Russian Communism at the time Existentialism fellow-travelled with it, Moscow Frame-up Trials and forced labor camps, notwithstanding. It is that knowledge bereft of "History (Continued on Page 8)

What Is Theory?

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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- II—Recession. Especially Unemployment Especially Among Black Youth.
- III—What is Theory?
- IV—"History and its Process"

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Views

THE BLACK REVOLT

I think your Detroit readers would be interested to know that Dr. John Cashin, Jr., the founder of the National Democratic Party of Alabama, which succeeded in electing 109 black officials in that state in the last two years, will be speaking at the TULC Hall, 8670 Grand River, on Sunday, April 4, at 3:30 p.m. There will be no admission charge. The meeting is being jointly sponsored by the TULC and the Michigan-Lowndes Co. Movement, a Detroit group of former Alabamians who have been supporting the drive for voter registration in Alabama since the troubled days of 1965.

The NDPA emphasizes that it is attempting to improve the condition of all Alabama citizens, white and black, with special concern for the poor of all races. At its 1970 convention in Montgomery, the new party added special sections to its platform dealing with the rights of women and the care of the aged.

Former Alabamian
Detroit

I recently returned from New Orleans, where I learned a lot about the way the community organizations run there. There seem to be a lot of very strong community organizations, with strong, dominating leaders, but where the membership generally has very little to say.

Mrs. Ruby K. Shuttlesworth, a heroine of the civil-rights movement, died suddenly on February 1. She was born 48 years ago in Birmingham, Ala.

The family asked that expressions of sympathy take the form of contributions to the Ruby K. Shuttlesworth Scholarship Fund, 690 Crescent Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The people there say that the Panthers got stamped on and rounded up because they started to show the people what was happening in the city, and who was selling them out in what were supposed to be their own organizations.

The Desire Project, probably because it is the "worst" one, has been studied to death by all kinds of social workers one after the other, from universities around there, who have gone to live in the project for a while and "study" the people. The people were sick of being studied. When the Panthers decided to move into the project they got a lot of support from the people because their main line was the people should control things. In fact, it was said that the Panthers had got into trouble with their own national command because they were not pushing a strong enough political line.

By now all the Panthers in the city are in jail—around 43 of them. They each have \$50,000 bail placed on them. But the people still back them, and are trying to continue the work they started.

Tenant Union Worker
Detroit

I was always bothered by the fact that black and white militants so readily accepted the concept that blacks and whites should work in their separate communities, when that was put forth several years back. This concept in practice is both pernicious and self-defeating.

For example, at UC Berkeley, underpaid black dormitory maids are about to go on strike for higher wages, and we have the strange anomaly of black militants telling the maids not to seek the support of white students, while the Vice Chancellor tells the white students that if they support the maids' strike, their fees would go up by \$160 a year.

Black Activist
Berkeley

I am very anxious to hear the effects that the split between Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver will have in the black community. Above all, I am anxious to hear from any black youth who take this to mean that neither pragmatism nor Communism, be it Russian or Chinese variety, can possibly substitute for a philosophy of liberation, such as Marxist-Humanism.

It is a battle of ideas Marxist-Humanists should certainly engage in, in a determined and persistent way. None can compete with N&L in the many writings on black masses as vanguard ever since N&L's birth in 1955 when it was the first to honor both the June 17, 1953 East German revolt and the new stage of Black revolution begun by the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: See page one for more on Panthers.)

R. D.
Detroit

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Nixon makes me sick every time he comes on TV. Last month he was blaming inflation on all workers who want higher pay. This month he was giving the business to us, the construction workers, for being inflationary. I've been in construction for 22 years, and this year I'll be lucky to make \$8,000, before taxes.

Next month Nixon will blame welfare.

Lindsay always does. People are always griping about how all those blacks from the South and Puerto Ricans are ruining New York. I don't blame them for coming here. If I lived there and had a family, I'd rather come here than starve.

Construction Worker
New York

BERNADETTE DEVLIN

The Left, new and old, all seemed determined not to report on Bernadette Devlin's statement after she left the Marin County jail, where she visited Angela Davis.

She said: "I do believe Angela Davis and I are involved in the same struggle. Her fight is like mine, for the liberation of her own people. And I believe that were Angela Davis not black and were she not Communist, she would not be today in solitary confinement in prison.

"She is a Communist, but I am not — I am opposed to the Russian system because it is state capitalism. But I am opposed to the political oppression here."

That's just how I feel, too.

Reader
San Francisco

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

Workers, students fight Berkeley U.

Berkeley, Calif. — Nixon's invasion of Laos raised Berkeley from the apathy and hopelessness that has characterized the campus since last spring. On Feb. 10, between 5,000 and 8,000 students turned out to protest Nixon's latest expansion of the war, and not only was the rally the largest all year, it was also by far the most enthusiastic.

Students seemed to really want to do something, and several thousand also turned out for a second rally the next day. Unfortunately, the first rally degenerated into trashing (breaking and burning things, including an Atomic Energy Commission car), and the second one was taken over by the April 6 Coalition (whose main demand is community control of police) and turned into a rather disorganized march on city hall. But the important point is that students did turn out and there was a real sense of urgency.

EMPLOYEES DEMAND UNION RIGHTS

The anti-war rallies were supported by AFSCME (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees), a radical union which has supported moratoriums and student strikes in the past and which right now is struggling with the University on behalf of dormitory workers, mainly black women, whom it represents. The union's demands for wages equal to what campus custodians and matrons get, job security (i.e., no seasonal layoffs), and union recognition have been pretty well ignored by the University, and a strike has been coming for months.

The campus workers would be on strike right now except for a certain individual on the Central Labor

U. of Wisc. faculty harassed for protests

Milwaukee, Wisc.—Harassment is continuing against several University of Wisconsin faculty members who participated in the student-faculty strike last May against the invasion of Cambodia and the killing of students at Kent and Jackson.

It began directly after the strike, when they were informed that complaints about their activities had been passed on to the Dean and the Attorney General's office. In June merit increases and a promotion which had been recommended by the Executive Committee of the English Dept. and the Dean, were denied without explanation.

In August they received formal charges from the University President that were considered "adequate cause" for dismissal: "disruption" which violated the "academic freedom" of their peers.

In January the University Faculty Council found them guilty and recommended that one, Barbara Gibson, be suspended for a year, and that two others, Arnold Kaufman and Morgan Gibson, lose tenure and be placed on probation. During probation (until June, 1973) they would not be promoted or permitted to participate in the Executive Committee of the English Dept. They believe that these recommendations are tantamount to dismissal.

Many students, faculty, and writers who know their work have expressed sympathy, convinced that the Administration, Regents and Attorney General are violating not only their academic freedom, but the rights of all students and faculty who acted conscientiously during the strike.

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Council. This person, by the name of Groulx, is suspected by the workers of being bought off by the University. The Central Labor Council has voted strike sanction to AFSCME, which means that all other unions must recognize their picket lines in the case of a strike. But this individual alone can release the sanction, which means that until this one labor bureaucrat gives his permission, the strike is unauthorized. And he has been procrastinating for the last two weeks, while the University has been waging a propaganda campaign to convince the students that they will have to pay for any advances the workers win.

It really looks like the Central Labor bureaucracy and the University are working together to sabotage the strike and betray the workers. They are really afraid of letting the workers use their power, because they are in a position to do what a student strike alone can not do, which is shut this campus down.

— Bernard Wendell

New repressive rules at "responsible" H.S.

San Francisco, Calif.—In two daily bulletins at my high school six rules were set down, with the usual suspension threats for failure to comply.

The rules were: One, students are not to ride in or on motor vehicles during school hours. This rule is justified with "the school is responsible for the students" cliché. It's strange how the school is only responsible when they want to set down rules or take credit for a student's achievements. They never seem to be responsible for failing students or drop outs.

Two, the students are not to be in the halls during class time without a pass. This is so the hall monitors can tell if a student is ditching or is supposed to be in the hall. Three, students are to report to all classes, even the ones they are trying to get checked out of. This is also justified by "the school is responsible for the student" phrase.

Four, teachers are to be sent in cut slips. This is because the school is not held responsible for the student if he is out of class illegally. Five, students are not to smoke in the hall. I think this is because the building is condemned. Six, students are to cross with the light. This is so they won't get killed on school time.

The administration does not offer these reasons though. It is much easier to make threats than to give explanations. The students as a whole do not question or obey the rules, finding it easier to accept the rules than to question the reasoning behind them. If a student questions them he is usually met with silence. If he persists questioning the dictates of the all-mighty school system, more obvious tactics are used to invoke the fear the system survives on. He is given detention; letters are sent home to his parents. He may be suspended, expelled or even arrested.

—High School student

DOING AND THINKING

H.S. students back UFWOC lettuce strike

By David Joven

In July of 1970, as the Delano grape strike was ending, the United Farm workers were petitioning lettuce growers for secret ballot union representation elections. Ignoring the request, the growers sought out the teamsters union and signed back door contracts

The workers, who had been denied elections, went out on strike on August 24, 1970 to show that they wanted to be represented by Cesar Chavez' UFWOC. An estimated 5-7,000 workers walked off the job in what the L.A. Times called: "The Largest Farm Labor Strike in U.S. History."

Since that time the battle against the growers has mainly involved the picketing of supermarkets which sell scab lettuce. Recently, the Hughes Market chain has been the target of the boycott in the Los Angeles area. On Saturday, March 6, a combined group of high school students and full-time UFWOC workers managed to turn away 186 customers from a Hughes Market in the San Fernando Valley. Some stores in the area are already selling UFWOC lettuce.

When it was discovered that the L.A. Board of Education was buying scab lettuce, high school students at several schools began circulating a petition calling for the Board to purchase union lettuce. Over the past few weeks, the students have gathered thousands of signatures on the petitions, which make a provision for a school cafeteria boycott in case the request is ignored.

One argument that the students will probably encounter is that an educational body should not take a position on a labor dispute. However, the very fact that the Board is buying non-union lettuce is the same as taking the anti-union position.

QUESTIONS RAISED

The petitioning campaign in the high schools raises a very important question: should students be permitted to carry on political activities on their campuses? The educational process was not disrupted, so they can't use that argument against us. But what if we were to pretend that we we just like ordinary citizens—what if we picketed the school cafeterias as if they were public places? Then the suspensions would probably start.

There are possibilities in this movement for a solid brown-white unity. The Chicano students in East Los Angeles, with the Chicano Moratoriums just behind them, seem ready to continue the struggle on another issue.

One Chicano Farm Worker Organizer said that he met some interested students at Roosevelt High School who were divided on the question of violence vs. non-violence. But he added that they all seemed to want to help with the boycott.

The United Farm Workers won the grape boycott, and with the help of sympathetic consumers across the country, they can win the lettuce boycott, too. Look for the union label (Aztec eagle of the United Farm Workers). Shop at stores that handle only UFWOC lettuce.

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Worker, student strikes now daily in Quebec

Montreal, Quebec — The turmoil continues here in Quebec. Both workers and students have been involved in repeated mass demonstrations here in the past month. The Trudeau-Bourassa policy of repression is rapidly losing its impact as all the forces of revolution resume agitation.

Since Jan. 25, it has been "vacation" time for students in the schools of the Montreal Catholic School Board as teachers have been occupying schools and the offices of the board to protest a retroactive pay cut. They shall be obliged to pay back part of their last year's salary. For some, this amounts to over \$3,000.

At the College du Vieux-Montreal, the largest of the junior colleges, students have supported the teachers by expelling their own professors as "incompetents," in order to show how the declassification of teachers is ridiculous. During the week of March 5 the Montreal police have been called several times to break up student assemblies. Every day we see hundreds of students demonstrating on the streets spontaneously and the anti-riot squad in front of the main pavillion of the college.

The teachers are not the only workers out demonstrating. The list is nearly endless. The Lapalme postal drivers, who have been out of work since April 1969, occupied the headquarters of their union. Their leaders have been stalling on the issue since the beginning. So,

on Feb. 9, the workers took over all the offices except the unemployment benefits office, and expelled all the officers of the union.

About a week later, the union president, Marcel Pepin, promised to talk with Trudeau about it. But after the guys lifted the occupation, the PM backed out on the talks. The conflict goes on, but this is the first time in history here that union members have occupied their union headquarters.

The trials of the "Montreal Five," including Michel Chartrand, head of the Montreal Union Council (CNTU) continue. The sedition charge was dropped, but Chartrand has already received a one year sentence for contempt. Public support for the defendants is large and growing. There are protests nearly every day. Quebec has not been pacified.

—Activist, Montreal

Army coup hits Uganda

Kampala, Uganda—Late at night, on Sunday Jan. 24, I was startled to hear heavy machine gun and mortar fire coming from the downtown area of the city. By Monday evening most of the fighting was over. The army had overthrown the Government.

On Tuesday, people began to celebrate the coup. Thousands of Buganda ran through the streets, shouting, cheering, waving leaves, pounding drums, and singing—delirious with joy. President Obote is down, Amin oye, army oye.

A PLEDGE FOR PROGRESS

When Uganda became independent, most of its people were still ruled by feudal kings. The first President of Uganda was Eir Edward Mutesa, king of the Buganda. The Prime Minister was Dr. Milton Obote, head of the majority party, and a man opposed to the continuation of his country under the reactionary control of feudal kingships. The partnership between this modern leader and the traditional king of Buganda obviously could not last indefinitely.

When Dr. Obote emerged the winner in 1966, Uganda was a divided nation. The new government attempted to broaden its popular support by embarking on a program of modernization and development.

By 1969 it had issued the famous Common Man's Charter, in which it promised to bring prosperity and progress to the common man, to destroy forever feudalism and privilege and to build a socialist state in which every man can be happy. The government built schools, hospitals, factories, paved roads—but few of these benefits ever reached the common man directly.

The common man continued to wait for a well to be drilled in his village, while Ministers drove Mercedes and bought fleets of buses and taxis. The May 1, 1970 pronouncements which announced nationalization of the banks and major corporations meant nothing to the average farmer. Instead he saw taxes and prices rising, and the money he received for his cotton, tea or coffee falling.

PLOTS AND COUNTER-PLOTS

In this atmosphere it became easy for ambitious politicians to accuse President Obote of causing everything that was wrong. As plots and counter-plots followed each other in rapid succession the jails began to fill and over flow with political prisoners . . .

The new government has released political prisoners and jailed new ones. Uganda has taken a gigantic step backward, but soon the very pressures which forced President Obote to the Left will begin to act again. The common man is beginning to demand the kind of progress that Obote promised. The demand will not end now that he is gone.

Book review: Britain's first great national union

The Miners' Association—A Trade Union in the Age of the Chartists, by R. Challinor & Ripley, Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., London, W.C. 1, 42s.

The Miners' Association of Great Britain was the first great national British union, and this book traces its rise and fall—from organization in 1842 to its end some eight years later. A well documented work—at times annoyingly so,—this history reveals a social, political and economic background that is all too much like the early coal mining history in the U.S.

Underpaid, underfed, overworked, systematically cheated and deliberately kept ignorant, British miners in 1840 were no match against the long purses, political control and legal power exercised by the mine owners. Entire families in the company barracks-like compounds were at the complete mercy of the coal owners—in and out of the mines. Children working in the pits at five years of age, women miners giving birth in the mines and boss bestiality were common.

To be sure, strikes erupted, but these were usually crushed.

ORGANIZATION IN 1842

Then, in January 1842, a call from coal workers in England's North-east convened a meeting of miners who

Four L.A. cops indicted, but Salazar murder forgotten

Los Angeles, Calif. — Four policemen have been indicted by a federal grand jury here on charges of violating civil rights in the slayings of two Mexican nationals, nine months ago. Neither the city nor state would prosecute the police for the killings. The federal government has finally seen fit to charge the police.

The federal government action must be viewed with their decided inaction on the death of the Chicano journalist, Rubin Salazar, at the hands of Sheriff's Deputies, during last August's Chicano Moratorium. The outrage in the Chicano community after the Salazar shooting was great. A coroner's jury found cause for prosecution but the city refused to bring charges. Now, in the same breath that the indictments were announced in the Mexican nationals' case, Atty. Gen. Mitchell has announced that the Department of Justice has closed the books on the fatal shooting of Salazar.

The federal government's current indictment is viewed by some Chicano activists as a smokescreen to cover up inaction in the Salazar case and an attempt to cool the Chicano community.

To add further outrage to the handling of these cases, the Los Angeles City Council voted to provide legal resources and funds to the police who have been indicted. This is money which has come, in part, from the very Chicano community which is being attacked.

The last word from the Chicano community has yet to be heard.

Indian freedom movement spreads to city; AID formed

Detroit, Mich.—Unlike other movements, the Indian freedom movement has naturally sprung from the rural area as that is where the vast majority of Indians are held prisoner by the government. Since the white man first began to rip off the Indians, they have been massing as a people for their rights as humans.

Only recently have urban Indians recognized this struggle as their struggle, and even more recently have they begun to take their first concrete steps toward freedom—freedom from all aspects of the white society which holds them down.

In Detroit, this reality has taken form in an organization called the Associated Indians of Detroit (AID). AID was established when the Indians of the inner city area recognized the fact that they cannot count on the white man's welfare and A.D.C. to help them, that they can do better only if they help themselves become what they are—Indians.

One important plan that has been projected for AID is the establishment of a scholarship fund for young Indians. The point was brought out that the reason behind the failure of many people in school is that they are forced by society to either drop out of high school or take a part-time job to help support their families, which cuts into study time and causes them to do poorly.

Further activities include the establishment of a cultural center which will teach classes on Indian history, beadwork, and leathercraft. Also teachers are being lined up to teach Indian languages. In addition to serving the educational purpose, the cultural center will also spread new interest in Indianism, and hopefully will foster a new sense of dignity and pride in the Indians of the inner city.

—Gary M. Wilson
Member, AID

BLACK-RED VIEW

(Continued from Page 1)

and television news reports. This elitism found no gravitational pull toward Black mass revolt and could only justify itself "philosophically" in the little red book of Mao or the wisdom of Kim II Sung.

As the Black Panther leadership became more estranged from the Black masses the life style of its leadership changed drastically,—and so did the complexion of the audiences who attended their public meetings.

Huey Newton, now graced with the title of "Supreme Commander" finds that it is "safer" to dwell among the rich whites in the Lake Merritt section of Oakland, in a \$650 per month penthouse, than among the Black brothers and sisters of West Oakland. When this new address and life-style came to light Huey's excuse was that the "pigs" would think twice before busting in. This is a political underestimation of Black people, who for centuries fought for, and protected their leadership, and who only recently, by their mass action and protest were the ones who saved Huey P. Newton himself from the gas chamber.

The sad truth is that Huey no longer has confidence in a mass movement, in his own people. This lack of confidence seems to be a mutual thing, because at his post-birthday party, held at the Oakland Auditorium last month, of 6,000 in the audience, 90% were white!

ORGANIZATION A SKELETON

Earl Caldwell, a Black San Francisco correspondent for the New York Times, who has followed the development of the Panthers since their beginning in the ghetto of West Oakland, and who had courageously refused to divulge any of his unpublished information about the Panthers to a Grand Jury inquisition, recently reported that the Panther organization is "only a skeleton of what it was just a year ago." He writes that the three Los Angeles offices are closed, its membership in Seattle is less than a dozen, and the offices and headquarters in Washington, New Orleans, Boston, Denver, and Chicago, where it was active and strong, have closed their doors.

Cleaver's role in this messy situation is far from clean. In fact his double isolation in Algeria—both intellectually and physically—far from the Black people in the USA, reduces him to the sterile situation of carrying on a "public" (televised) debate with Tim Leary on the virtue and evils of Revolution versus drugs. This is the only open debate of "ideas" this leader of the Panthers has engaged in.

To date there has never been any serious exchange of ideas between him and the rank and file of the Black Panther Party or with the Black people of this or any other country. After all of the backbiting between Newton and Cleaver, the central problem, that of the need for Black liberation, still goes unanswered.

BLACK MASSES NOT PAWNS

How does the Black leadership relate to the Black masses? That is, where do the forms and the philosophy of Black Liberation come from in America? Can it come from outside of the daily struggle of Blacks, here at home, for freedom? Is it possible for it to be imposed by isolated leaders, captives in one form or another, of state capitalist powers, seeking world hegemony?

It should be obvious by now, as it has been since World War II, that Blacks have long ago rejected the idea of being a pawn in any power struggle. Black movements—from slavery and beyond—have been organized and will continue to be organized on the need and desire for Black liberation—an accomplishment that can be achieved only by the movement of the Black masses themselves.

vowed to "struggle against 'service vassalage'." Though only a few delegates attended, they placed the organization on a permanent basis. But nothing much happened until August of that year, when over 800 Yorkshire miners met and resolved to create a national union. The movement grew, and in 1843 the union gained members in other areas, including Scotland and Wales, to become truly national.

Growing rapidly, the union reached a membership of 100,000, and used its economic and political strength. Then, in 1844, it called an economically ill-timed and disastrous strike. "It's our long purses against your hungry guts," a mine owner accurately observed—and the long purses won.

By 1850, the national union was no longer an effective force.

MOST PROGRESSIVE FORCE

Today's reader may be shocked by the harshly brutal life and labor forced on British miners and their families only a little more than 100 years ago. But what is more important is the human reaction to this oppression, and how out of absolute necessity the most important force for progressive change in Britain became the working class of people united in action.

This is still the most progressive force—everywhere.

By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN VIEW

Opposition grows to Israeli occupation of the Gaza

Despite the fact that it was the naked threat of annihilation in June, 1967 that won world sympathy and the Six-Day War for Israel, the reality of the situation that must be faced today is that Israel is now an occupying force, and resistance against it has emerged on an ever-increasing scale. To the people of the Gaza, the Israeli occupation is no different than any imperialist occupation of another's land.

All the apparatus and signs of forcible occupation are there: barbed-wire barricades, soldiers with machine-guns at all main intersections and around the fortress that serves as occupation headquarters, the ruins of houses blown up by the Israeli army in reprisal against terrorist attacks.

Areas within the Gaza, inhabited by tens of thousands of people, are under curfew for weeks at a time. There are reports from hospitals of Arabs beaten by clubs and whips issued to Israeli soldiers; reports of indiscriminate shooting at inhabitants who run away when an Israeli patrol orders them to stop and identify themselves.

A camp to detain thousands has been built because the jails are full. There is a camp for families of "wanted persons" where women and children, whose only crime is that they are relatives of "wanted persons," are confined. Another camp is used for male relatives of "wanted persons."

The people of the Gaza—360,000 human beings of whom 220,000 are refugees—want an end to the Israeli occupation. Workers, pupils and storekeepers have gone out on strike against the occupiers.

No solution seems to exist. Many in Gaza have been refugees since 1948, not 1967. Some would like the Gaza to become part of the United Arab Republic. Some wealthy businessmen would like the Gaza Strip turned into a free port zone like Hong Kong. But the majority desire to become part of a Palestine Republic which would replace the kingdom of Jordan.

It is this which has given the Arab guerrilla organizations their support in the Gaza. As against the UAR which has been keeping the people of Gaza refugees for many years, in order to put pressure

on Israel, the guerrillas seem to offer a more direct call for a homeland.

They are also feared by some of the Arab population. The fedayeen have been using violence against Arabs to control the population, and their hand-grenades have hit many besides occupiers and collaborators. They have sought to stop Arab laborers from the Gaza taking jobs in Israel. But the population has resisted this and some 8,000 Gaza inhabitants hold jobs in Israel.

There are some Israelis who are attempting to end the oppressor-oppressed relationship. But for the people of Gaza that is only a beginning. The Gaza will also, in the end, show the face of the Arab guerrillas. Whether they represent the aspirations of the people of Gaza or only another force using the masses as pawns has as yet not been answered. Self-determination for the people of Gaza is a much more complex affair than the terrorist actions we have thus far witnessed.

West Indies

The following appeal was sent us by VITO, Windward Antilles:

Windward Islands, West Indies—The last elections to be held in St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius were held in 1963. In 1967 there were no elections for the island council. The opposition on all three islands had been totally destroyed.

The Windward Islands were the laughing stock of the whole West Indies, but the ruling clique proclaimed it a great victory as the government had saved money by not holding an election. But today there is an opposition party on all three islands, the Windward Islands People's Movement.

Today the people are determined to do something against: lies and deceit; rising costs and poor housing; threats and intimidation; budget deficits and poor inter-island communication; bad roads and lack of decent medical attention.

We are up against the Wathey fortune, which dominates the islands, and the American dollars of business interests which openly interfere in the internal politics of St. Maarten. We do not have the backing of any big financial interests. We are

counting on the support, both morally and financially, of the people of the Windward Islands, both at home and abroad.

To send donations and for information on how you can help us, write Mr. Mervin Scot, WIPM, PO Box 23, Philipsburg, St. Maarten.

Black labor

U.S.A.—A year ago the Nixon Administration announced a program to put 500 black plumbers to work in the construction industry. Not a single black plumber has been put to work under the program. The total number of union black plumbers is only 0.8 per cent. They are only 1.9 per cent of the union electrical workers and 0.8 per cent of the steamfitters. Similar percentages are found among elevator constructors, iron workers and sheet metal workers. The only construction area where they number as many as 25 per cent, is among the building service employees (read: janitors etc.).

Postal strike

London—The mail strike in Britain ended when the union voted to go back to work after going broke

trying to support its striking workers. The forty-seven day old strike was the longest major strike in Britain since a coal miners' dispute in 1926. Despite a one day solidarity strike of over a million British workers, the workers are going back with a sense of futility and bitterness. The government decided to direct its anti-inflationary campaign precisely against the workers who are most unable to cope with it—the poorest-paid workers in the public sector. This after the government had granted police and doctors pay increases of more than 20 per cent.

W. L. in England

London—Some 4,000 singing, chanting, placard-waving women marched through downtown London in Britain's biggest demonstration for women's liberation. There were factory workers for women's lister demanding equal pay with men, college graduates from Essex asking equal job opportunities, housewives from Birmingham urging free all-day nurseries, and college students from Oxford and London gripping signs that asked for "free contraception and abortion on demand."

Laos invasion widens army revolt, challenges anti-war forces

(Continued from Page 1)

tions were begun. And if that were not enough to worry the Pentagon, it is estimated that 8,000 a year are fleeing to Canada, and that 50,000 to 100,000 potential soldiers never registered for the draft at all!

BARBARISM OF IMPERIALISM

All of this proves not that a volunteer army is the answer to the military's problems, but that the very idea of it is ridiculous. The Pentagon knows very well by now the complete contempt in which American youth hold the armed forces.

The revolt in the army is a revolt against dehumanization. The U.S. soldiers who have come back from Vietnam have told stories of barbarism and degeneracy too grisly to repeat. They don't want to be an appendage to the bombs, guns, and tanks which the government admits killed 125,000 Vietnamese civilians in 1970.

The Army's total corruption—from the PX scandals to the heroin rackets; and from the massacre of civilians throughout Indochina to the torture, beatings and atrocities against enemy prisoners—are symptoms of the total decay of imperialism's so-called "civilization."

Nor is the revolt limited to the U.S. army. ARVN troops have been deserting at a rate of 10,000 to 12,000 a month, and the Thieu government lists 65,000 troops as missing. Not missing in action—just missing!

WHERE IS THE MOVEMENT GOING?

The resistance to Nixon's policies in the armed forces has, unfortunately, not been matched by the anti-war movement at home. The relatively small and scattered demonstrations against the invasion of Laos were nothing like the wave of protests across the country in response to the invasion of Cambodia last May. It is wrong to pretend that they were. Yet Nixon's ratings in the polls plunged dramatically after the invasion, lower than Johnson's ratings at their worst.

Instead of responding to the Laos invasion and the real mass opposition to it with new protests, the estab-

lished leadership of the anti-war movement fell into a name-calling feud between two rival coalitions on the dates for the spring anti-war demonstrations, with each determined to prove itself "leader" of the anti-war movement. One of the groups has been promoting a "People's Peace Treaty," as if the war would be over if enough people sign it.

It is painfully clear that it is the anti-war leadership, liberals and radicals, who do not know where they are going—from the Senate "doves," like Fulbright who complained "it is impossible to raise a protest against this administration," to the radicals, like Rennie Davis, who suggested that if the May 3 demonstration in Washington got 1,000 people killed, it might wake people up.

They are quick to say, "People are apathetic about the war." It simply isn't so. The war has wreaked havoc throughout this country, from galloping inflation to soaring unemployment; from the bankrupt, decaying cities,

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

and its Process," i.e., the class struggles, hardly helps one grasp reality . . .

Even if they do not listen to the voices from below, the movement of opposition to Mao in China itself, shouldn't theoreticians at least know how to listen to the theory of the Cultural Revolution? . . .

The truth is that despite the revolutionary-sounding rhetoric of uninterrupted revolution, retrogressionism oozes from its every pore: glorious "protracted war"; regarding the proletariat, "glorious production teams"; regarding thought, though guided by the Thought of "the One," the helmsman of State, "Mao Tse-tung," the ideological warfare will not be won soon:

"Decades won't do it. A century or several centuries are needed."

* * *

We have tarried so long on Herbert Marcuse and Jean-Paul Sartre, not because they merit it, but because, as philosophers experienced in manipulating the dialectic, (not Marx's and not even their own but Mao's or whatever is the latest craze), they do carry a thought through to the end. Thereby they cast an illumination on all petty-bourgeois revolutionary thinking. Acknowledged or otherwise, it is there where much of the New Left is entrapped . . .

to the poverty-stricken farms. The vermin who appear on TV every night in the army scandal hearings are just the top of the giant iceberg of corruption. And everyone knows it.

The American masses are not about to stand by and watch a 20th Century re-enactment on American soil of the corruption and fall of the Roman empire.

No, it is not "apathy" which accounts for the silence on Laos. It is disgust not only with Nixon, but with those for whom bombings and bickering are substitutes for a new philosophy that will rip up this society of death and degeneracy and replace it with a new one of life and human values. That is what is needed and that is what people are searching for.

Panther split disillusion

(Continued from Page 1)

The support, if any, that the Panthers still get, emanates not from the Black masses' espousal of their ideology, but from the communal solidarity of Black and oppressed people everywhere. The same is true for Angela Davis. Everybody may not care for "Communism," but they care for Angela, because she is a Black woman. One sister told me the other day how even the Russians are racist with Angela's case.

The internationalism of Blacks is as alive as ever. Last Friday, they had a China Day up here. Robert Williams came in from Ann Arbor to speak, along with William Minton, author of Fanshen. There were two films on China shown that night, to an overflow audience that was at least one-third Black. Of course, the Trotskyists, Maoists, plus SDS had a field day trying to sell literature. But the crowd wasn't about to buy out all those Mao buttons though they would buy books on China.

People I've talked to are pretty much fed up with the Panther, elitist philosophy mostly guarded up with. We're looking for a total philosophy. Pan-Africanism, American style, is cliché. It is being used as an escape hatch and commercial fad by whites. True Pan-Africanism like true brotherhood, is a beautiful ideal that is worth fighting for. But now that the cat has been let out of the bag, we see or are beginning to see, that Black, too, can be corrupt.

Blacks are looking for something, but I'm not sure that it is Marxist-Humanism. It might be that, because that is just about the only alternative left.

— Black student, East Lansing

Join the Spring Anti-War Demonstrations!

- April 3—Detroit, Kennedy Square
- April 24—March on Washington and San Francisco
- May 3-5—Lobby for peace in Washington