

# Nixon to Peking: 'journey to peace' or to new alliance for world war?

by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairman  
NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

The Nixon speech that didn't rate headlines was his July 6th address to newspaper editors in Kansas City. Since no one knew then that Nixon's chief National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, was secretly flying to China with just such a "position paper" for the more receptive ears of Chou En-lai, the not-so-alert daily press missed the new stage in global power politics. Suddenly Nixon christened Mao's China a "superpower" that would determine the world "economic future and . . . the future of the world in other ways in the last third of the century."

## CHINA ABOUT TO RIDE ROUGHSHOD OVER NORTH VIETNAM

Within nine days Nixon knew how to rate headlines the world over. He asked for prime TV and radio time, letting none know what the speech was to be about, or how long it would last. Never before have 90 seconds so shaken up the whole world. The part of that minute and a half which announced Nixon would visit Peking was being made public simultaneously in Mao's China which, until that moment, had designated Nixon as "a god of plague and war!"

Whether or not what is now mere talk, will, in fact, become the global turning point of "the century," there is no doubt at all that the alleged super-revolutionary, Mao, has taken the actual super-reactionary Nixon off the hot seat on which he was placed by the Vietnamese most of all, but with them also by the massive US anti-Vietnam war movement as well as the Black Revolution.

None of the millions on July 15th who were listening to Nixon's 1½ minute talk (that took hours of meticulous doubletalk to work out) could have been more shocked than the Vietcong and North Vietnam. Mme. Binh tried bravely whistling in the dark. China would never, she said, settle with Nixon over the heads of the Vietcong. But soon the terror of a doublecross showed through. For how long can one cover up terror at betrayal when unexplained events of the past month fall into place?

Thus, clearly, (1) the reason Nixon hardly winced when his only "patriotic" covering on the hot seat—demand for release of American POW's—had been pulled

from under him by the Vietcong-North Vietnam peace proposals which offered to release all POW's; and (2) the reason Kissinger paid no attention whatever to the peace negotiators in Paris who had offered to meet him "in private," was that **Mao-Chou were secretly negotiating with Nixon-Kissinger at the expense of the Vietnamese.**

The Vietnamese masses had brought down the American Goliath, only to find themselves facing the enemy from within the Communist orbit! What Mao had in store for the Vietnamese came out when the Australian Labor Party leader, Gough Whitlan, that same week, reported that Chou En-lai favored a "Geneva type" conference, that is to say, a repeat of the so-called peace conference in 1954, at which China and Russia had compelled Vietnam, despite its victory over French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu, to accept the partition of their country into North and South.

The pained outcry of North Vietnam—and the solidarity of the anti-Vietnam war movement the world over with it—caused the China News Agency to claim that this was not what China meant. But this denial cannot be taken seriously, since not a single step has been taken to stop the secret dealings for the Nixon trip. The truth is that ever since the Sino-Soviet orbit became the Sino-

Soviet conflict, the possibility of war between these two state-capitalist giants calling themselves Communist has predominated over all else.\*

The recognition of this as the centerpoint for the planned Nixon-Mao meeting led to North Vietnam finally finding its tongue. Still couched as an attack only on Nixon, it could easily enough be read as a questioning also of Mao. Thus, Nhan Dan, the official Hanoi newspaper, in its criticism of Nixon for "running about wildly in search of a way out," stated also that "he has gone to the wrong place. The exit door has been opened, yet he has fumbled into an impasse."

Paris, the paper insisted, is where the representatives of the people doing the fighting are working out ways to peace, and it is with them Nixon must negotiate. The very description of what Nixon was doing, was pointing toward Mao "dividing the socialist countries, winning over one section and pitting it against another in order to oppose the national liberation movement and carry out a counter-revolutionary peaceful evolution in the socialist countries."

Now, no matter under what designation counter-  
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\*See "Can There Be War Between Russia and China?: the Non-Viability of State-Capitalism" in MARXISM AND FREEDOM, 1964 American edition, and 1971 British edition, which includes a new chapter, on Mao's "Cultural Revolution, or Maoist Reaction?"

NEXT ISSUE — an analysis of Nixon's so-called "New Economic Policy" — a 1971 economic version of the Taft-Hartley Act.

# 10¢ NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

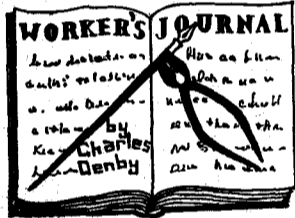
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27

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## Black workers beat the machine

by Charles Denby, Editor

I am turning my column over, this issue, to a worker who asked me to let him write the following story of what happened at the Chrysler Mack Plant, because "many of us workers have been reading this paper for years and enjoy it. It is the only paper today that is concerned with workers and tells what we say without any ifs, ands, or buts." —C.D.

Our local election was held several months ago, and there were some surprising results for the old Reuther Green Slate machine that has controlled Local 212 for the past 25 years. I have been an active member of their caucus for 12 years. Before the election we pick our candidates through the caucus. We elect five shop committeemen and one alternate committeeman. The alternate takes the place of a regular committeeman when one is absent or on leave because of sickness.

The workers at Mack are 75 to 80 percent Black. When I first started to work there, a Black worker was lucky if he was elected as alternate, and when one was elected as shop committeeman he was at the top in union politics. Several years ago they elected two Blacks. The election before last, three Black workers were elected and became the majority. When the caucus got down to picking candidates this year, another Black, Weldon Crawford, wanted to run. Our white financial secretary, who for many long years has controlled the caucus, got on the floor and said that we must have more whites, and accused us of wanting an all-Black shop committee. He never said a word all these years whites were dominating the committee.

### GREEN SLATE SHOCKED

After some of the Uncle Tom Blacks in the shop committee voted him down, we got Crawford to run independently. He did, and got more votes than any others running. It shocked them so much they accused him both of using his Green Slate background and of acting like a Black Nationalist among the younger Black workers. They said that accounted for his victory.

Another Black, Harold Eccles, whom the Green Slate hates, ran on a slate of just a few workers. He had no financial backing, and had been out of the shop for nearly three years, but he came in sixth and got Alternate Committeeman. This was an even bigger shock, and a whispering campaign began. They said Eccles

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## ILWU strike: workers fight containerization

Los Angeles, Calif.—The latest Strike Bulletin of the International Longshoremen's Union, Local 13 reads—"31st day on the bricks." The month long strike may continue for many more days as the negotiator for the steamship companies, the Pacific Maritime Association, doesn't even want to talk. The last time that west coast longshoremen had to strike was in 1948—and it lasted 90 days.

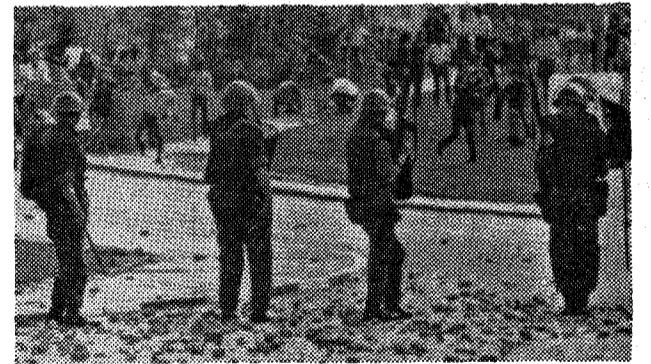
At stake are the jobs of hundreds of men on the docks. The main issue is containerization. Instead of hand loading and discharging ships, more and more work is being handled by the use of huge cranes which lift containers on and off ships. Container ships are worked more quickly and with less men.

### LONGSHOREMEN FIGHT TO KEEP JOBS

The longshoremen want to have the right to "stuff" and "destuff" those containers with the products to be shipped or unloaded. To not have those jobs would mean even more men being lost from the docks. The  
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## 'No safety on the docks'

They preach one thing on the gangway, but down in the hole it's getting out tonnage that counts. On the gangway in the morning they say work safely. That means good housekeeping, so we go down and begin to clean up, but then the boss comes down and says to hell with that, get to work.  
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## Civil war in North Ireland

As we go to press, the struggle in Northern Ireland has reached the stage of open civil war, following raids by British troops in the pre-dawn hours of August 9. Over 300 citizens, including many socialists and civil rights activists not connected with the IRA, were arrested without charge, beaten and thrown into concentration camps for indefinite periods under the hated Special Powers Act. The struggle is not Protestant against Catholic.

Harry McShane, of the Scottish Marxist-Humanists, reported from Glasgow the second day of the raids: "Ulster is now a totalitarian sector of the British Isles. No less than 14 deaths occurred within hours of the start of internment. There is a drive in Glasgow today for 'IRA suspects.' We are calling for an all-out protest in Glasgow, and for the withdrawal of British troops. It is a matter of urgent importance."

Women, and children as young as 10, have taken to the slum streets, banging on garbage can covers to warn of approaching troops, and showering them with rocks and petrol bombs. At the end of five days, with 25 dead and over 200 wounded, the British commanders have declared the situation "under control," only to be confronted with new mass demonstrations.

# Equal rights for women in East Europe a lie

By our East European correspondent

I do not know any words more appropriate to describe the situation of women in Eastern Europe than those of Marx: "Capitalism has not torn the woman from the hearth and thrown her into social activity in order to proceed with her emancipation, but to exploit her more savagely than man."

During the fifties, in most of these countries—we exclude here the Soviet Union—there was great pressure to force women out of their homes into wage labor, a drive parallel to the forced collectivization carried out at the same time. Under the slogan of "equal rights," women suddenly got the same right to hard work, with no regard for their "home duties" or for child bearing and education, and with smaller salaries than men for the same or similar positions.

## 'WOMEN'S WORK' THE WORST

At present women represent 40 percent of the labor force in Poland, 43 percent in Bulgaria, 46.2 percent in Czechoslovakia, 40 percent in Hungary, 48 percent in East Germany. Entire industries are feminized to an unusually high degree—mostly light industries like textiles, shoe production, and food processing. By coincidence, these industries have suffered most from the policy of preferring heavy industry over light, and consequently they have the most obsolete machinery, which in turn demands from the women far more hard work than men have to perform. A woman delegate at the recent Congress of the Czechoslovak CP told the Congress: "The machinery in our textile enterprise is 70 percent obsolete." Bulgarian research has shown that with the exception of mining industries, the greatest percentage of sickness are in the "women's" industries: hosiery, tobacco, shoes and synthetic rubber.

In spite of their numbers, women seldom advance to high posts. In Poland, most branches of the metal industry are entirely or to a very high degree feminized, but women represent only 0.6 percent of the foremen!

## UNEMPLOYMENT HIGH

Poland is the only country within the Socialist bloc that has official unemployment records. According to recent data, 85,000 women are looking for work, while there are only 22,000 vacancies.

Creches and kindergartens for the children of employed mothers are insufficient. In Poland again, only 15 percent of those applying for vacant places were satisfied. In Hungary the situation is better: 40 percent of applications for creches and 50 percent of those for kindergartens were satisfied.

As far as working conditions are concerned, there is much to be desired. In Czechoslovakia, night work for women is prohibited, but there is no hope for such a measure in Hungary for the next decade. Poland is preparing some measures to limit night work for women. Recently, a Polish newspaper complained that in the south-eastern part of the country, women who finish their shifts on Saturday night are left without transportation. They either have to wait 5-7 hours for the next bus or go by foot.

After women leave their workplace, they have a "second shift" at home. In Poland, home and wage

labor of an employed woman takes between 15 and 17 hours a day. Thirty percent of these women leave their home in the morning without having breakfast—there is no time for it.

Queues have not disappeared in Eastern Europe since the last war. A reader complained recently in a Czechoslovak paper that in her town, when babies' goods are delivered twice a month, battles are fought in front of the shop. "I get underwear for my seven-year-old daughter rarely."

A Slovak woman living in a regional capital of 40,000 inhabitants: "Services are insufficient; creches and kindergartens are bottlenecks. There is, however, not a single woman either in the district or regional administrative council. We have had enough of flowers and flattering words on March 8 (International Women's day, celebrated throughout the Soviet Bloc.) That is not enough."

The Communist parties, anxious to have women's support for their exploiting policies, are now pressing for a greater participation of women in public offices. However, their own example is striking. There is not a single woman in either the Czechoslovak, Polish or Rumanian governments.

## A Black woman writes . . .

I received a sample copy of your newspaper and was very much impressed. I am a Black woman and at first was dubious as to whether the issue of my liberation as a woman would be covered in your publication. I was pleasantly surprised.

You see, I'm not thoroughly convinced that Black Liberation, the way it's being spelled out, will really and truly mean my liberation. I'm not so sure that when it comes time "to put down the gun," that I won't have a broom shoved in my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have. I and I alone want to be the one to decide my life style now and tomorrow; that's why I see Women's Liberation as a necessary and crucial co-existent struggle.

I want to be sure that when the great day of liberation comes, I won't then have to start my own struggle for autonomy. By fighting for my liberation as a woman, I'm not draining away anything from the Black Liberation struggle, because any gains made by me in my behalf, and on behalf of half the Black population (women), is automatically a gain for the entire race.

—N.Y. Reader

## ILWU workers strike

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men have watched the job situation on the docks become really bad during the last two contracts. In exchange for mechanization on the docks—the introduction of a lot of speciality equipment—the union got a mechanization fund.

It may have cost them several million dollars for early retirement, but it saved them many times that in loading and unloading costs over the same period. And it meant less and less men on the docks. The total work force has been declining as well as the size of the crew to work a ship.

The basic hand loadout crew has eight hole men. The company is trying to cut that number down. Now only two men are handling containerized cargo.

### 'NO MORE MECHANIZATION'

Another area where the companies have been trying to take control from the union is in the area of steady men. The usual procedure is for a ship to call in and tell when it will dock and what men it needs to unload. Then the Pacific Maritime Association will call the union local and ask for so many men to work the ship. But what the stevedore companies would like is to have more steady men—ones that they can select to work for them instead of hiring out of the local for each ship.

In this way they hope to select their men, to make them work how the company wants, rather than how the contract may read. It gives them a little edge.

But the key is still containerization. As one docker said: "The company thinks it has a right to take a job away from a man. To them human beings ain't nothing. If we don't fight here we won't get anything."

## Railroad worker's leaflet from LA picket line

I AM A CONDUCTOR-BRAKEMAN with 30 years' service with Southern Pacific Company.

MY JOB: Working on freight trains, Los Angeles to Bakersfield (165 Rail Miles).

AVERAGE TIME FOR TRIP (Los Angeles to Bakersfield): 12 to 14 hours (not 8 hours).

OVERTIME: My overtime starts after 13 Hours 12 Minutes (not 8 hours). The maximum overtime I can make is 48 minutes. Under federal law the company can not work us over 14 hours.

AT HOME: I am on 24 hour call (no pay while waiting), I must be available by phone 24 hours a day (no pay). I am subject to being fired if a call is missed. On receiving a call I am given

# WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

had his foot in the door but he must not be allowed to get in.

Years ago, the committeeman with the most votes was automatically chairman. Now the committeemen elect their own chairman. The chairman was a white worker, Joe Williams, and a month after the election, they found him dead in his house. Everyone thought that Eccles would automatically become a regular committeeman. But the powerful Green Slate decided that now they could push him back out the door.

## SLANDERS START

They circulated a paper saying that the International Union had made a ruling in 1956 that an alternate does not necessarily become committeeman when someone passes on, and that there must be a special election held. Then they told Harold Eccles that if he planned to run he would have to give up his post as Alternate.

The Reuther Green Slate ran two chief stewards, one Black, the other White, and neither had to give up his office to run.

Many Black workers were pleading with Eccles to run. As soon as he announced he was running, the Green Slate flooded the shop with leaflets. They accused him of borrowing money from the credit union and going bankrupt to avoid paying his debts, and of suing an active Union member. This leaflet seemed to help Eccles more than anything he could have done for himself.

He had sued to get a job in the tool crib. Many workers knew he could not stand the glare from those electrowelding rods. He suffered with an eye infection for nearly two years, and was laid off on P.Q.X. until the company could place him in a non-welding department. He was out of work for two years, ten months and fourteen days. That was why he went bankrupt with the credit union. He sued the company for his right to be working, and if he had not sued, he would never have been called back. And if the Union leadership had fought for him, he would never have sued at all.

Eccles ran again, and he won by nearly a two-to-one margin. The Black chief steward won Alternate. Many workers said there was no sense in spending Union money to have two elections, just to try to defeat one worker because he's not a yes man to the Union's white power structure. Everyone knew he had won the following day, because it was nearly two days before they posted the results on the bulletin board. Otherwise the results would have been posted before we got in the next morning. Now we have four Black and one white committeemen at the Mack Plant.

## EIS workers keep up fight, tell boss to 'follow contract'

Middletown, Conn.—The 400 workers at the E.I.S. Automotive Co. have returned to work after their hard-won victory in a bitter, five-month strike, and their solidarity remains strong as they continue their struggle for basic workers' rights on the shop-floor.

Schwarz has nine months to implement the new contract language, and he is dragging his heels with every step. But the workers are in no mood to trifle as issues are raised and fought out on a day-to-day basis.

"For 35 years, E.I.S. has had its way," a worker told News & Letters, "but now the union is really in. Basically we are on our way as a solid unit. Solidarity is what we've got, and that's where it's at. I couldn't imagine we'd stick together like that; it was the longest strike in Conn. for some time."

The most bitter issues are around the posting of jobs, getting job-descriptions straight, and enforcing seniority rights. For example, foremen still insist on giving out jobs arbitrarily and through favoritism, but in one case management had to back down and openly disgrace a foreman when they saw that the women workers were talking of wildcat. They knew the entire plant would back them up.

Nonetheless, management persists in the old practice of shifting people around from job to job in order to cheat them on rates, and there are grievances all the time. For example, it took over a month to get payment on medical drug insurance provisions. Other issues, however, have been won quickly through pressure against management, like the right to wear shorts on the job on hot days and an earlier starting time for summer.



## WL pickets help win strike

Detroit, Mich.—One hundred and fifty Detroit women marched on the Fisher Building here, in support of striking office cleaning women who had been out over two months in protest over layoffs of fellow employees, and demanding a new contract.

Women from the Detroit Guerilla Theater Women's Liberation group organized the demonstration, which attracted women from many women's liberation groups, from N.O.W. and the U.A.W.'s Women's Department. The cleaning workers, the majority of whom are older women, are members of Local 79 S.E.I.U. They had been picketing the huge Fisher Building almost 24 hours a day, and had received no strike benefits and little picket help from their union.

They were obviously delighted by the mass turnout organized by W.L., and were especially excited by the guerilla theatre skits put on by the theatre group. The Detroit Guerilla Theater Women's Liberation women came equipped with mops, brooms, dust pans and songs composed for the occasion, and put on a really great street theater about the lay-offs and overwork.

The demonstration was joined by men and women from a wide variety of groups, including the UAW retirees, who call themselves "The Gray Berets", and members of The United Farm Workers who carried their own picket signs.

Two days following the demonstration, the company and union announced a settlement of the strike. Although the workers won wage and benefit increases, the big question—about an end to lay-offs—was not really settled. Eighteen women remained laid-off, and some chose to retire.

1½ hours to report. I am subject to being fired if late. One man was taken out of service for being 3 minutes late.  
AVERAGE ROUND TRIP TIME: Los Angeles to Bakersfield and return: 36 to 48 hours or more.  
AT BAKERSFIELD: My away from home terminal, I am subject to call after 8 hours (federal law). I am subject to being fired if a call is missed. (I must stay by phone 24 hours a day, NO PAY.) Average time waiting for call 12 to 24 hours or more.  
NOTE: Room and meal allowance paid by company while away from home,, maximum \$3.50 per trip. 12 to 28 hours).

## Detroit DPW

**'This truck doesn't work any overtime'**

Detroit, Mich. — This year's five day long strike by Detroit's predominantly Black sanitation workers was the first this city has ever seen. The sanitation workers refused to give in to the city's policy of mass layoffs for some, followed by heavy workloads and forced overtime for the rest. They held a slow-down on the job for weeks before the strike, and refused to work the hated overtime. When their contract ran out, and all the city unions signed an agreement to continue working on a day-to-day basis, the sanitation workers walked out on strike.

**A DPW WORKER TELLS HIS OWN STORY**

We went out because we knew it wasn't fair for the city to lay men off and then ask the rest for overtime. There were two layoffs: 250 men lost their jobs in May and June. This was in addition to the first layoff. There is no such thing as "too much work" when there are enough men to do it, and then there is no need for overtime. This is why we held the slowdown and this is why we struck.

The public was with us this time. This is something new that we never had before. The public knew they faced the same thing where they work.

We're supposed to be getting \$4.00 an hour retro-

active to when the strike ended, starting August 20. We have a three-year contract this time. When you spread out the money we won over three years, it isn't anything. It's just enough to keep up, but no real gain. Our contracts never used to be three years. They were always one. It's the worst deal I've ever seen.

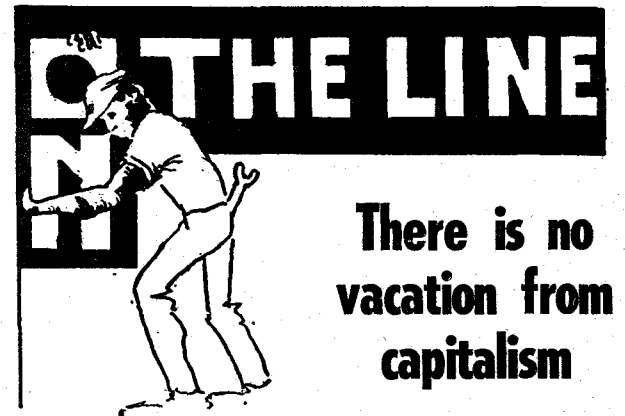
**OVERTIME IS 'ENCOURAGED' BY CITY**

They've been pushing for overtime ever since we got back to work. There are a few workers who will give the boss overtime. Some men will work from 7:30 in the morning till 9:00 at night when the sun is down. They are crazy.

I've heard that there are city men following the trucks and watching to see who works overtime. They are going to bring in bigger trucks in October which will hold more and will only need two men instead of three to run them. I'm just waiting for more layoffs. They see how much work they can get out of us, and then they'll turn around and lay some more men off.

When a quarter of three comes around, whether you finished your assignment or not, you can say no and head for the yard. That's one thing we got. The men I work with, the whole crew, we decided **This Truck don't work no overtime.** Everybody knows it. The foreman doesn't even bother to ask us any more.

—Detroit DPW worker



**There is no vacation from capitalism**

by John Allison

Workers save their vacations to get away from production and the factory. This reporter found out there is no way to hide from capitalism.

To reveal what I mean, while I was on vacation in Roanoke, Va., Bell Telephone workers struck nation-wide. The morning paper, the *Roanoke Times*, carried a front page ad asking for strike breakers. They stated in the ad that they were seeking temporary help. The article was slanted toward the young Blacks, who were June graduates and unemployed.

**MASTER AND SLAVE**

Unions in the South are in need of much help from the labor movement. There are still families who own small shops. The relationship toward workers is still master and slave. Unions can help break this ungodly marriage.

A second strike was just ending, which was different from the first. The garbage workers won their strike from the city of Roanoke. Most of the garbage men are Black, but there are a few whites.

They waged a 100 percent strike. No one—not even the unemployed—wanted to take the job of the garbage workers. This made the difference. After a short work stoppage, the garbage workers won their demands.

And when you get back home, you see another side of the same capitalist coin. In Detroit, Chrysler makes huge profits while many Chrysler workers' one-year guaranteed annual wage has run out. Now the union, which told the workers that SUB would stop unemployment, says that management can't be trusted.

**NEED MORE THAN SUB**

In the next contract SUB is to last as long as seniority. SUB equals seniority. This is part of the answer. Unemployment benefits only last for 26 weeks. Workers would have to change the state law to give them longer protection. These days, workers are laid off, not for 26 weeks, but for years.

**Postal pact: 20 yrs. backward**

New York, N.Y.—On June 30, many big cities across the country held strike rallies, and if a strike had been called then, all the crucial mail centers would have been shut down. On July 1, the first official day of the "new" United States Postal Service, we took a strike vote in N.Y. There was no doubt about how we all felt, and for that reason the national union office immediately had the ballot boxes impounded, and also had a trusteeship ready to take over our local.

**LEADERS PLAY POLITICS**

From then on, our local leaders isolated themselves from us and tried to play politics with other rank-and-file leaders across the country. When Nixon and Blount and the USPS got those seven national leaders to sign one of the worst contracts in labor history, for 750,000 workers, all our local could tell us was that there was a conspiracy to break our union, and that if we struck it would be suicide.

We aren't under the protection of Civil Service anymore, and a worker may be suspended on the floor for a number of reasons, including the catch-all, "incompetence." He then has only 48 hours to appeal the suspension, and then is put in a non-pay status until his hearing, which may take up to six months. The only workers' grievances which are "legitimate" are those that violate the national contract.

**PAY INCREASE TINY**

As for our pay raise, it comes to about 4% here in N.Y., or less than \$200 net per year, with a laughable \$90 average cost-of-living increase. Seniority is gone; you can bid for an assignment on seniority, but once you get it, the boss can transfer you to another job the next day.

Management also got the right to introduce new machines wherever and whenever they want. We already have automated key-punch sorting machines in our station. The clerk must punch through a letter a second, and can't stretch, talk, smoke, or take his eyes off the letters going by.

In spite of these new machines and new uniforms for the carriers and a new name, the USPS is trying to take the postal worker back to where he was 20 years ago. We will be working harder and harder while the public will be paying higher and higher rates for less service.

—N.Y. letter carrier

**Steel settlement did not include workers' grievances**

Pittsburgh, Pa.—The contract is supposed to be settled, but nobody really knows what's in it. Nobody even knows when we will know. We know some of the money terms, but the local issues that the men were the most interested in, the questions about safety and grievances, are still the great unknowns.

The one thing that the locals were demanding was to have more part in the negotiations. Our local president was up there screaming about wanting things ironed out back home before anything was settled. What's going to happen when we find out what has happened to our local grievances and what the contract really says, nobody knows.

Nobody really wanted a strike. Some of the younger men were especially uptight. Everybody today lives close to their money. Who can afford to miss a paycheck? But the way it's worked out, almost everybody

is going to have to go without that paycheck anyhow.

Only a skeleton crew is back—men with 37 years seniority. Men with only 25 years seniority have been laid off with all the rest. They say it's because of a lack of orders. Companies stockpiled because they expected a strike, and now they say there are no orders coming in.

Everybody knows that bargaining is like horse-trading. Take the cost of living. We lost that a couple of contracts back. By now steel is so far behind that we really haven't gained that much with the new contract. It does seem that we may have a little better pension program. That may make it easier for some of the men to retire. If it's decent enough for a man to live on, I know 3 or 4 who will retire as soon as it goes into effect.

But the rest of us will just have to wait it out and see what we won—and what we lost.

—Steelworker, Pittsburgh

**FROM THE AUTO SHOPS****Fleetwood**

Detroit, Mich. — The week before we went down for changeover, a leaflet appeared all over the plant, signed by a new group called the "Fleetwood Revolutionary Workers Committee." It was everywhere, from the body shop to the sixth floor, and most workers thought it told the truth for the first time of what was happening in Fleetwood. We have just gone back to work, and things are no better now than they were then. Here is what the leaflet said:

**'WE CAN'T DO ANYTHING FOR YOU UNTIL AFTER LABOR DAY'**

That's what the president of our local union says. That's what the committeemen say; that's what the zone men say. They know because the International told them so.

The men from the International came to the body shop, looked at the jobs for a few minutes and went back to their air-conditioned offices. Then you get the word: "Walk with the foreman, like you're walking on eggshells until after Labor Day." It's not just the body shop either—it's the whole plant.

We wonder—if Local 15 and the International is willing to let us suffer until Labor Day, what is going to be different after Labor Day?

When we came back off the strike, every job had more work put on it. If you had to put in a detonator on the fourth floor, now you got four other jobs besides. If you had two guns in the body shop, you got five. Then we supposedly got everything "settled."

But as soon as the jobs were settled, the company broke the settlements and added more work again. How many people who are reading this had your settlement broken, and more work put on? How many have been out on sick leave or missed time because if you didn't you would drop dead? And what about the job they have on the fourth floor that is impossible to do, and when they want to get rid of a brother they put him on it?

How many have seen your committeeman given time off if he fights for you, but if he is no good he can sit up in the committee room all day, or even get a foreman's job? How many of the women have been

forced out of the plant, made to take early retirement or disability because of harassment by management and poor representation by the union? How many people have seen on paper the local settlement on your job on the production line. All our local agreements are just talk, you never get anything in writing.

Do we have to call on SCLC and Rev. Abernathy to come down here to Fleetwood to help us the way the sanitation workers did?

DO WE HAVE TO GO ON WILDCAT THE WAY THE SANITATION WORKERS DID?

WE ARE THE ONLY PEOPLE WE CAN COUNT ON TO LOOK OUT FOR US. That is why we have to stick together. If we don't, we are going to be in chains for the rest of our days. Even our children will be in chains.

—Fleetwood Revolutionary Workers Committee

**Ford Rouge**

DETROIT, Mich.—Ford has said that we have to lose one committeeman in the Dearborn Assembly Plant because we don't have enough workers. In the contract it says that we get one committeeman for 250 workers, but in the fine print you find out that the Local 600 By-laws come first. In the By-laws of our union, the DAP is cut to one committeeman for 290 workers.

In fact, all the predominantly black units, including DAP, Engine Plant, Frame Plant and the Stamping Plant get one for 290, while Tool and Die, Glass Plant, Transportation, and Maintenance and Construction, which are mostly white, get one committeeman for 210 workers. If this not racism, what is the explanation?

Another problem that all workers in the DAP have now is heat. Many of the fans don't work at all, and it is 105 to 110 degrees in white metal and in No. 16-spray paint booth. The company does not seem to care if you fall out. Health and safety comes last for them. Many areas have oil on the floor, and if you get hurt it's too bad.

All Ford cares about is production. On the wheel-house chrome job, it is impossible to keep it up at 57 jobs an hour. Yet the foreman has been harrassing the workers on this job. When is this job going to be settled fairly?

—Black worker, DAP

# Nixon to Peking: 'journey to peace' or to new alliance for war?

(Continued from Page 1)

revolution is being carried out, it is the enemy. And it is that enemy that North Vietnam addressed when it said that the days are gone when Big Powers could "make small countries bow to their arrangements."

Are those days gone?

## US ENTERS SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT

"10 years overdue," read the jubilant approvals of the new Nixon line of a rapprochement with China. When the Sino-Soviet conflict burst into the open in 1960, part of academia has been whispering into the ears of various Administrations that (1) there was no reason why "we" need fear that Mao's revolutionary verbiage was directed against the US; the contiguous enemy No. 1, for China, was Russia, not the US; (2) that the Communist world wasn't a "monolith" which meant the US had global elbow room; and that, therefore (3) peaceful co-existence with China was both possible and desirable. Why entertain illusions about the bear hug of a country astride both Asia and Europe who had placed missiles in Cuba?

The last person in the world, however, who academia thought would initiate a 100-degree turn in foreign affairs was Nixon who had risen to prominence under the McCarthy aegis, been a pupil of the Eisenhower-Dulles Pactomania girdling the globe, via NATO, SEATO and CENTO, not to mention Nixon's friendship with the ultra-reactionary China Lobby.

Yet, while the scholars were thinking of going at it "step by step," dreaming about China's admission to the UN with a seat on the Security Council (that is, with veto power), Nixon is moving on so many fronts all at once that he left out in the cold, not merely academia, but Taiwan and Japan, which means the whole of East, South and Southeast Asia. What is called into question is the "Nixon Doctrine" itself, from "Vietnamization" of an ongoing war to all sorts of reactionary alliances, stretching from Indonesia to South Korea and from the Philippines to Japan. All old alliances are now up for grabs.

Whether or not the Nixon trip to Peking comes off as presently planned; whether or not Mao's China can get North Vietnam to agree to a repeat of a 1954 type of Big Power conference (sans Russia); and whether or not a Sino-American alliance would ever become a reality, primarily against Russia, the fact is the very projection of a Mao-Nixon meeting discloses, if not several double crosses, surely the possibility of the most

fantastic political reshuffle since the end of World War II, Mao's conquest of power in China, and the Korean War.

## THE WORLD CRISIS, PAX AMERICANA, AND MAO'S "CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

The 1960s ended with a disclosure that ever-widening world crises keep appearing in the post-World War II world even during periods of prosperity. First and foremost, there is the truth that world economic development, be it private, mixed or state-capitalist calling itself Communist, is in a generalized state of stagnation. Not only has it been impossible to industrialize the technologically underdeveloped countries that are in chronic crises, but the Big Powers themselves, be they nuclearly armed like the US and Russia, or in a forced state of non-militarization and experiencing "miraculous" rates of growth, like West Germany and Japan, can nevertheless not reach "full automation," much less full employment, not to mention that, without militarization, they do not carry weight in this imperialistic world.

## CHINA: VOICES OF REVOLT

Excerpts from the document "Whither China?", written by a revolutionary opposition group inside China itself, SHENG-WU-LIEN. It is a strong attack on "the bourgeois state machine."—OF CHINA!

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Put differently, extraction of ever greater amounts of unpaid hours of labor from living labor being the motive force of production, while the method of production calls for ever greater machines and ever lesser amounts of living labor, makes the crisis total. Thus, "affluence" notwithstanding, present-day capitalism is still faced with a drop in the rate of profit, no matter how lush the mass. The result is a generalized global state of economic stagnation which keeps the world in social crisis moving in a circle of perpetual economic recessions, phenomenal militarization, actual wars, and back again down the same path of crisis.

Secondly, friendly trade wars being as characteristic of capitalism as actual class wars, the US is now being

subjected to savage competition from Japan and a challenge to its dollar standing by West Germany. So serious is the situation that Nixon, this January, created a Council on International Economic Policy to be the counterpart to his National Security Council which just initiated the Nixon-Mao talks-to-be. Computerized or otherwise, facts cannot hide the reality: the end of the Korean War did not regain for Pax Americana its place in the world market. From 1955 to 1970 the share of the US in trade of industrialized countries dropped from one-third to one-fifth of world trade. The Commerce Department last month announced that for the first time since 1950, not only had the US exported less than it purchased from abroad, but if the deficit continues throughout the year (and, with the Vietnam war expenditures continuing, so will the deficits), it would signify something that had not happened in the US since 1893!

With neither unemployment nor inflation abating, even the "hard hats" will not vote for Nixon in 1972. In a word, were even one not to look at the breaking points—the Black Revolution and the Youth revolt, the anti-Vietnam war movement and Women's liberation, rank and file labor wildcatting and official strikes—it is clear that what used to be called the "American way of life," much less the Nixon Administration, is not the way of the majority of the American people.

As for the other Big Power, Russia has long since learned, that the state of economic stagnation, of militarization, of war, cannot be circumvented through the most grandiose Plans. Russia, too, was subjected both to economic crises and social revolts, especially in its satellites. Nor did this come about only in rebellious states like Czechoslovakia that fought for its freedom, and was crushed by the tanks of the superpower. 1970 ended and 1971 began with Poland, which had toed the line in the field of foreign policy, bursting out in strikes and uprisings against economic oppression, excessive price rises, uncontrolled inflation, a stifling life.

That nothing, nothing short of a social revolution can totally uproot the exploitative capital-labor relationship in the modern world can be seen also in that allegedly most revolutionary land, China, during the so-called Cultural Revolution. Ostensibly directed against "capitalist roaders" and "revisionists" it was in fact, a preventive civil war against the Chinese masses, including the youth who had taken seriously Mao's dec-

(Continued on Page 7)

## ELLSBERG AND THE PENTAGON

While the majority of the press was for the NY Times publishing the secret Pentagon Papers, few defended Dr. Ellsberg, who made it all possible. I wouldn't be surprised if the doves keep mum when Ellsberg is railroaded to jail. Evidently, freedom of the press means, to them, not freedom for all, but the chosen few.

What we need now is for the Movement to express its solidarity by making defense of Ellsberg an inseparable part of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Intellectual  
New York

\* \* \*

The Pentagon Papers may seem not to have revealed anything new to revolutionaries who take it for granted that capitalism lies as well as cheats. But that's just it—plenty of people still believe in "democracy" and were not convinced by radical talk, but they were convinced by the publication of the Pentagon Papers.

One little human act undermined more than the "systems" analysts took years to construct. It killed the myth of capitalist "truth."

Engineer  
Chicago

\* \* \*

## NIXON, MAO, AND STATE-CAPITALISM

I don't know what will happen with Nixon and China, but I think it will be a good experience for some of the younger movement people to watch the Maoists do flip-flops over the Nixon trip, as the Stalinists did with Hitler-Stalin. A lot of political lines are going to be changed.

Woman Worker  
New York

I wonder how many Maoists will be registering Republican?

Reader  
New York

\* \* \*

Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of the historical development of Maoism is going to be more than ever necessary to keep in mind now, as all the old "China watchers" come out. They have

all been waiting to "get back into China to do studies", and exploit the Chinese. They will be proclaiming the clean streets, on-time trains, nurseries and rural doctors as if that means everybody is happy in China.

Nobody seems to point out that these rural medical teams crop up when China has to get the rice crop in. It seems as though nobody but Marxist-Humanists care about the workers and peasants at the point of production.

Hospital Worker  
New York

\* \* \*

I agree the Soviet Union and China are state-capitalist societies — the workers own only their labor-power and are forced to sell it via the wage-form that Marx considered to be the most onerous form of payment under capitalism, namely, the piece-rate system. In the more archaic capitalist form, but advanced technique that exists in the U.S. and the rest of capitalism, the ability of the workers to wrest a bit more for their labor and sustain an organization which is at least at times combative, namely, their unions, is enhanced by the very anarchy of capitalism and its many schisms during its pre-state-capitalist stage.

I differ with you in that I am convinced that a revolution of society toward seemingly a socialist direction will in fact lead to state-capitalism no matter how thoroughly the masses assume political power during the initial stages. The government will gradually become corrupted by its own power and privilege and evolve into state-capitalism.

Here is \$5 for the paper from a . . .

Has-Been Socialist  
California

\* \* \*

The U.S.A. as well as Russia is a state-capitalist economy. Most of our taxes support and pay for private industrialists' products, which to me is a form of state-capitalism. The manufacture of war material to the detriment of the people, paid for by taxation of the people, is a form of state-capitalism. Its enormity, billions every year and increasing every year, turns this na-

# Reader's

tion's economy more and more to that form. The situation is monstrous . . .

Worker  
Chicago

\* \* \*

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Three cheers for Bernadette Devlin, who has made it clear to all the world that she considers her private life (and morals) a private matter, and her political life alone a public one.

The interview she gave to Mary Cummins of the Irish Times was great to read. While she said that she could not justify abortion to herself, she made it clear that she considered it something "people have to decide for themselves." Her decision was no.

I was at the meeting in East London she addressed the day she announced her pregnancy, and there were dozens of news photographers there, all trying to get a shot of Bernadette (profile, of course), and flashing their bulbs all through her speech. One worker in the audience had finally had enough of it, and rose to demand the photographers either sit down and listen to Devlin, or leave the hall.

It was three cheers for him, too. Because they all sat down and let the audience hear what they had come for—a political speech by Mid-Ulster's revolutionary representative, who just happened to be pregnant.

Correspondent  
England

\* \* \*

I was most interested to read the letter last issue on what Women's Liberation is doing in Ireland to get contraceptives. The political buffoons who are "friends of the fetus" are the same ones who refuse to provide day care for children, and abandon the fetus once it is born.

Reader  
Illinois

\* \* \*

Your committee is truly revolutionary.

The opportunity for a newer theory exceeds the primitiveness of the Trotskyists and so-called New Left. Are there people in communications range in Texas? We're planning a conference in fall, and past conferences have been invaded by Spartacists and YSA. If there's to be any real politics there will have to be more Marxist-Humanist organizers with real influence.

New Supporter  
Texas

\* \* \*

## ISRAELI LEFT . . .

There is a new group here called New Israeli Left which has organized the demonstrations against settlement in Hebron, on Golda's lawn, against the Gaza outrages, and lately has participated also in the Israeli "Black Panthers" activities . . . Ideologically our people are very critical of both the U.S.A. and the USSR policies, both in the Middle East and in the world at large, and it's clear to us that China plays a great power policy, too. A Left Humanism, like your views, probably fits most of us.

Correspondent  
Israel

\* \* \*

## . . . DANISH LEFT

Denmark ranks highest in all of Europe in wild-cat strikes. Strikes mushroom all over. If you stick out your neck, they can fire you and blacklist you. One organization (Arbejder Solidaritet) has been formed with the purpose of building a strike fund, and as this is illegal, the police are registering everyone involved. Most are students who feel this is their cause.

Since 1968 many study circles and other political activities have sprung up among the workers. This has resulted in organized protest and joint action. Recently construction workers who are suffering over 30 percent unemployment in many areas, got together in a huge demonstration, during which the Prime

# TWO WORLDS

# Scotland, England, France—and Marxist-Humanism

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

(In this issue I am giving over my column to a letter I received from two colleagues who have just returned from an European trip. RD.)

\* \* \*

Dear Raya:

We arrived in Glasgow just in time for the greatest demonstration there since the "Hungry Thirties." Over 100,000 workers left their jobs, and nearly 40,000 of them marched to a rally at Glasgow Green, to support the Upper Clyde Shipyard workers' campaign to save their jobs. Almost every industrial plant in the West of Scotland was shut down, including plants which had no record of strike action at all before. They came from big firms like Singer and Rolls-Royce, and from small biscuit factories, and were cheered by office workers leaning out of windows all along the route.

Unemployment has increased all over Britain in the past year, but in Scotland it is at crisis proportions.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
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In Glasgow it is at the highest level since the Depression, with over 36,000 out of work already, 10 percent of the male work force (which is how the statisticians count it; I suppose women out of work don't count). The threatened closing of the shipyards would affect 8,000 more workers directly, and an additional 30,000 indirectly. The workers countered by threatening to occupy the shipyards and run them, themselves, and the papers today report they have done just that!

(Editor's Note: See letter from Harry McShane, below)

\* \* \*

IN BRITAIN AS a whole, expectations are that unemployment will top a million by this winter, adding to the woes already piled on the working class by the Tory government. In only one year of Tory rule, inflation has risen by 10 percent, charges for children's school meals have been increased, free milk has been abolished, and medical prescriptions and dental care costs have been raised.

On top of that, the most vicious anti-labor legislation, the Industrial Relations Bill has just been passed. This bill almost makes our Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act look like pro-labor legislation. One key provision tells all that needs to be known: it will be against the law for a British worker to even advocate a strike! The bill requires unions which register to sign an agreement with the government not to strike. If a member of the union then talks about striking, he can be fined or jailed for contempt of contract.

It is also clear that British racialism threatens to increase viciously. As unemployment worsens there is the fear that the colonial immigrants—East and West Indians, Pakistanis, Africans—will become the scapegoats. Bernadette Devlin, whom we met at a rally she addressed in Barking, did a beautiful job of exposing the lies of the racists. She got a warm round of applause from her heavily working-class audience when she pointed out that before they had the blacks to blame for everything, they blamed the Irish. And she tied it all to the need for labor to fight the Immigration Bill as fervently as they are fighting the Industrial Relations Bill. During the discussion period, we were also greeted warmly by the audience when we extended socialist greetings to the rally from the Second America.

\* \* \*

ONE THING WE had expected to encounter at the

meetings we had been invited to address (we spoke at six—three in Scotland, and three in England) was the feeling that U.S. workers were backward, and that the European workers were far advanced because they had their big mass Communist Parties or Labor Parties. But this did not happen at all. Not once. As a matter of fact, everyone we spoke with was very eager to hear of the activity of the workers in the U.S., and many of the people attending our meetings, realized that the U.S. workers in their battles with Automation could teach them plenty about what they had in store for them—unless their society was completely changed.

This was our experience in France, as well. We did not have much opportunity there to speak with workers themselves, but had interviews with both the more traditional Left press and with the New Left press. We found them alike in their delusion that American workers had been so co-opted into the system that they could not be considered a revolutionary force any longer. One reporter went so far as to ask if it is correct to even speak of a working class in America? They appeared to be impressed with our news of what American workers are actually doing.

There has been a great amount of searching for answers since the near-revolution of May '68 in France. The publication of the French edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, itself, is part of that development. New groups were formed when youth left their old parties in disgust, and by now many of these groups have gone through further shifts and splits. The New Left youth we spoke with felt that their greatest lack was any real links with the workers. They were especially struck by the fact that our editor is a worker. The several Trotskyist groups, on the other hand, do have workers in their ranks—but the relationship between the workers and the intellectuals is not fundamentally any different than that of the Communist Party.

\* \* \*

THE SAME THING WAS true in Britain. We found that the activists we met in the Women's Liberation Movement were very struck with our pamphlet, *Notes on Women's Liberation*, precisely because they felt so keenly their own lack of any links with the Black and working-class women, which our pamphlet demonstrated. The Trotskyists and the anti-Trotskyist-Trotskyists, on

(Continued on Page 8)

# Views

Minister was attacked with balls made of toilet paper. Last month they sent him and the Labor Minister the tools they were not using anyway. This Spring women workers demonstrated for equal pay all over the country.

Correspondent  
Copenhagen

\* \* \*

## ROCK AND YOUTH

Rock music may have a beat conducive to anarchistic dancing freedom, and the lyrics might directly oppose the materialist society, but that doesn't mean that meaningful songs are immune from the commodity status given to other objects in capitalist society.

Take, for example, the recent "celebration of life" concert held down in New Orleans, where the young audience let everybody know that the festival promoters were responsible for a "rip off." And don't think that capitalist greed hasn't rubbed off on some of the foremost exponents of youth culture, namely the rock stars themselves, who in many cases demand exorbitant sums to perform, even though they make a tremendous amount from record sales alone.

Individuality, or "do your thing" was a refusal on the part of youth to allow themselves to be molded into the daily conformist routine that their parents must follow. Everybody should be encouraged to express his individuality, but such a genuine feeling for freedom can be coopted by capitalist society and turned into hip capitalism, i.e. Jeans West.

Youth Activist  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

I don't think that there is any "Doing and Thinking" about rock culture. What is this glorification of rock music? When one listens to Jimi Hendrix his male chauvinist words are a slap in the face. While you talk about how he failed to relate to black people it might be

interesting also to see how he related to groupies. Instead of this garbage about super heros and how they have been messed over why doesn't your youth page report on high school women—what's happening to them. How are they dealing with the institution of high school and the pressures put on them to be stupid, passive and less than human?

Feminist  
Detroit

\* \* \*

## AN URGENT APPEAL

Millions of refugees from East Pakistan need food, shelter, medical aid. Cholera epidemic, widespread famine and the approaching typhoon season present a serious danger of the greatest human disaster since Hitler's extermination of six million Jews a generation ago.

We are issuing an urgent plea to American families everywhere to respond to this great need. Please mail or wire your dollars for food and medical supplies to:

East Bengal Emergency Relief Fund  
c/o Riggs National Bank  
PO Box 1801  
Washington, D.C. 20013

\* \* \*

## INDIAN RIGHTS

When I read the article about the Indian protest over the display of the old Indian burial grounds, in the last issue, I could not help remembering a similar horror site I had witnessed right on campus. Did you know that the MSU Anthropology department, which runs the museum up here, keeps a human corpse on display in a glass cage in the museum? The poor thing must be an Indian child about five or four, who died of some dreadful disease and the anthropologists are displaying her as a trophy.

The sickness of society comes out in more dreadful forms every day and this example is no more grotesque than the

dehumanizing process of industry. Racism isn't dead, and that's why Blacks have to fight for Chicano and Indian rights as well as their own. It's not a question of theory of civil rights as some Blacks would have it, but rather a question facing the nature of essence of man and the challenge of the times.

As your Black-Red columnist put it, when he quoted James Baldwin's plea for Angela Davis: "For if they come for you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night." Let's put these dreadful barbaric doings to a stop and end this division in society.

Black Student  
East Lansing

\* \* \*

## DPW STRUGGLE

Before and during our strike, the city had money for everyone but us. One thing people should know about is the compacter they just built on Southfield and Schoolcraft. They can't burn the garbage any longer, so this machine compresses the garbage before they dump it. It eliminates the incinerator crew. The compacter cost \$3 million and several jobs.

One of our biggest problems now is that there are a lot of older men who own their own trucks. Some of them have been with the DPW for 20 years. The city laid them off. The said that some of them might be transferred to Parks and Recreation. Right now they

are without a job and the brush isn't being collected.

DPW Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

## LATE NOTE FROM SCOTLAND

The workers have occupied the shipyards. Money is pouring from other yards and many of the trade unions. Support is coming in from shipyards in Western Europe. It is obvious that the government is relying on the weapon of hunger, but there is wide support for the workers.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow

Ed. Note: See "Two Worlds" above

## WILLIAM BROWNLEE

We mourn the death and honor the memory of a life-long fighter for workers' freedom. From his early years in Michigan's copper-mining struggles before World War I; through the IWW wildcats at Briggs in the 30's; to the rank-and-file caucus battles at Chrysler in the 60's—Bill never gave up the fight for a new world. Nor did he ever separate his vigorous activity from his deep concern for theory. He will live on in the memory of everyone who knew him.

## 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 FOCUS

## TWO REVIEWS

### Pretenders to the revolution

Ed. Note—Not a single element of the freedom movements, whether that be the Black revolt, the youth movement, anti-war or others, will remain untouched by the new world developments put in motion by the Nixon-Mao talks-to-come. These two book reviews, sent in by young student correspondents, reflect two of these areas in the "battle of ideas".

#### Stokely

**Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism**, by Stokely Carmichael, 229 pp. New York, Random House, \$6.95.

The greatness of Carmichael's first book (**Black Power**, written with Charles Hamilton) was that, while it was general abstract theory at best, at least it tried to build upon the struggles and toils of Blacks in Lowndes County, Ala., and elsewhere, who had made Black Power come alive. In contrast, Carmichael's second book, **Stokely Speaks**, a collection of his speeches, has little of this mass-rooted theory.

**THE EDITOR ACTS** as apologist for Carmichael and explains that "Stokely remains silent" to the anti-Stokely attacks that proliferated out of the Black Power movement in 1966 and that "... it is to Mr. Carmichael to turn a deaf ear to opponents of Black 'charges' ..." (p. xii.) While it was easy for Carmichael to turn a deaf ear to opponents of Black Power, he could not turn away from the Black masses who insisted that he was running away from the problems at home.

Blacks had asked Stokely why was he "going away when we need him most over here." They asked him "what does that (Africa) have to do with us when Harlem is on fire over here." And one sister spoke for many when she asked if he "had gone over to Africa and found another cause" (p. xiii). This book is an attempt to answer these questions. However, Stokely succeeds in doing the exact opposite: the trail

#### Fidel

**Guerrillas In Power**, by K. S. Karol, Hill and Wang, 1970.

K. S. Karol's newest book on Cuba, **Guerrillas in Power**, has received international publicity, thanks to Fidel Castro's denunciation of Karol as "definitely a CIA agent"; the "implication" of Karol and other European intellectuals in the recent forced "confessions" of Cuban writers such as Herberto Padilla; and the whole international publicity surrounding the Padilla affair generated by the protests to Fidel by such left intellectuals as Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Susan Sontag.

**WHILE THE BOOK** has many faults, it is much more than a mere justification of state-capitalism with only enough reservations to make effective propaganda, as was Karol's earlier travelogue, **China: The Other Communism**.

It is a collage of interviews, anecdotes, summary history of Cuba, and attempts at analysis. The entire work is warped by a leader mystification most apparent in the section on Cuban history which ignores the masses almost completely. Significantly, Karol barely mentions that 1968, that phenomenal year of workers' revolts, had its chapter in Cuba as well, when a wave of sabotage swept Cuban factories and some sugar mills burned, which Fidel denounced as the work of "parasitic elements" but, interestingly, not of CIA agents.

**TO HIS CREDIT**, Karol does point out and document how Cuba has been turned into an agricultural colony of the Russian empire, with early plans for industrialization having been scrapped in favor of increased sugar production. He also points to the root of the failure of the Cuban revolution by stating Granma's figures (1966-1968) that Cuban workers average only four hours of productive work daily, but then adding his explanation that "Cuba, like Eastern Europe," has this problem "because the relationship between man and society remains defective."

Karol's book ultimately fails to offer any constructive way out for Cuba or other Third World nations because it ends, not with an analysis of state-capitalism, but with a veiled appeal to Fidel to resurrect the idealism of the early July 26 movement and to join with "revolutionary" China. Marxists believe that just as Vietnam is not a matter of LBJ's mistakes, so the wreck of Cuba is not a matter of Fidel's errors or failures as an individual, but rather is part and parcel of the era of state-capitalism, which this month has Karol's "revolutionary" Chinese friends inviting Nixon to visit while U.S. planes continue to terrorize the population of Southeast Asia.

—Reader, Hartford, Conn.

follows a Black intellectual from Mississippi and Black America to Guinea and Osagyefo Nkrumah's arms.

**THE CRUCIALNESS OF** historical moments is completely separated from Stokely's talks, so much that he is removed from actual mass events on the historical stage. One speech, for instance, "Dialectics of Liberation," was given in England at the very moment Detroit and Newark burst forth with voices of revolt. Far from labeling Carmichael as an omniscient prophet, the fact that the blacks did this without cue from Carmichael and other "leaders," gives the lie to Carmichael's "dialectics" which is a "program" for revolt. After this great mass-activity Carmichael rose to take credit, but not until black people asked him "where were you, when we did our thing?"

Later, Stokely explained:

*Many people said I was a coward. They said I ran. When I came back they said I was a CIA agent. Can't win for losing. Many said that I was in 'self-imposed exile'. Obviously that is incoherent nonsense. How could I be in exile when I am at home in Africa, where I came from, and when I left of my own free will? (p. 188)*

Thus it is not surprising that the final essay, while not much of a summary of the book, is in itself, a summary of Carmichael's horizon. Where in the past, Black America did get a word or two, now everything is Africa, Africa, Africa. The fact that Carmichael packed his bags for adventurous Algeria and Guinea was not an accident. Nor is his absence from Black America during the revolts purely chance. It is rather that he has always been more interested in identifying with every place but Black America.

**STOKELY IS SO** conscious of his people's plight that he screams: more theory, more praxis. But the problem is Carmichael's very concept of what constitutes theory, and what his responsibility is in developing revolutionary praxis. History isn't yesterday's tales and quotes from Sartre and Mao. It is rather the record of the struggle of men for freedom not only yesterday but today, too. Stokely believes in talking to the masses, but a dialogue consists of talking and listening. Yet even that is not enough by itself. One needs to have a philosophy that meets those voices.

In true revolutionary praxis, theory is not just "speeches" but is practiced in everyday life. In praxis, Pan-Africanism is not running away to Africa, but developing one's internationalism by dealing with problems at home. Despite the fact that this book was offered as Carmichael's response to the challenge of the Black masses, the challenge has not been met. Despite the fact that it tried to show that "Stokely is with us," it only unfolded an ever greater gap between Stokely Carmichael and the Black masses.

Without an ear to the ground to listen to the voices from below, Pan-Africanism becomes an elite umbrella covering class, and cultural lines in the "third world." This is the umbrella that Stokely Carmichael seizes for shelter from the "storms of Black America" where unemployment, racism, and protest are rampant. Thus, "Stokely Speaks," but is anybody listening?

— Elliott Douglass



LEST WE EVER FORGET — Hiroshima, Nagasaki

### Paralyzed Vietnam GI marches against war

The Nixon-China developments appear to have already affected the anti-war movement, if the turnout at the demonstrations to commemorate the infamous 1945 atom-bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima on Aug. 6 and 9 is any indication. Many returning Vietnam veterans, however, continue to stand firm in their determination to end the war. The following story was given to N&L by a young white veteran at the Aug. 7 anti-war protest in Detroit.

We have no reason to be in Vietnam. The politicians have been getting rich in Washington, while the poor man has been getting poorer in the ghettos, and we have been getting killed in Vietnam.

Now that the veterans are coming back they can't even get jobs. I spent 13 months over there, four of them in a hospital. My arm is paralyzed. I've been back five days and I don't know when I'll ever get work. But I don't have it as bad as the guys with families to support. My family is keeping me. Who is going to keep all the others?

My dad was a captain in World War I and II. He's glad the young kids are doing something about this war.

I think there might be a revolution in this country and the veterans will lead it, if something isn't done about the situation. With the cost of living going up more and more all the time, who can live on unemployment compensation?

I'm not so different from any of the others. When I got to Vietnam, I was just plain scared. Nobody knew where to turn. The sergeants and the generals—they didn't care. They said we were there to fight, not to be scared.

I didn't want to go in. I didn't feel I had the right to shoot somebody I didn't know. When we heard the news about the demonstration in Washington, D.C. last spring, everybody I talked to said they wished they were there. We could have told a lot. The newspapers only tell half the story.

I'm out now. But I want to see all the guys get out. Nixon says he's getting us out, but nobody really believes it will happen. How can you believe that when you read what is happening in Cambodia?

—D. T., unemployed veteran

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# Nixon to Peking: 'journey to peace' or to new alliance for war?

(Continued from Page 4)

laration that "it is right to rebel." All one has to do to see the real conditions in China is to read "Whither China," the document of that extra-ordinary revolutionary phenomenon, Sheng-wu-lien.\*\*

At the moment, Mao and Chou take great pains to explain they have put down the "ultra-left," and, indeed, they couldn't move so openly, so shamelessly, into the dirty arena of class-compromisist politics had there been a "second revolution." Instead, the poverty, the exploitative relations, the workers demanding different conditions of labor, the actual strikes in the cities and general discontent in country, as well as the critical international situation, from the collapse of the Djakarta-Peking axis to near-war conditions with Russia, compelled the rulers to take a "deeper" look at the world as is.

At one and the same time, the rulers of China put down the "ultra-lefts", saddled the country with a Constitution in which the military is the decisive force and General Lin Piao is already anointed as the one to rule after Mao's death. On the international front, the biggest reversal is yet to come as they act out their "discovery", that Nixon is "less bad."

## COUNTER-REVOLUTION BY ANY OTHER NAME

While this hardly equals the Russian accusation (not yet public, but sent to those who side with Russia in the

\*\*The Hunan Revolutionary Committee (Sheng-wu-lien) had three of its documents published in China, and these are now translated and reproduced in *Peking and the New Left*, by Klaus Mehnert, China Research Monographs, U.C. Berkeley, 1969. Key excerpts have been mimeographed by News & Letters.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

### Trials—Angela, Ruchell, Huey

By JOHN ALAN

Blacks and whites paraded through the streets of Berkeley and Oakland on Saturday afternoon, July 31. Starting with about 200 participants, the march, organized as a show of solidarity for Angela Davis, increased to an estimated 800 people by the time the rally point at Bobby Hutton Memorial Park in Oakland was reached.

This was the first open rally that has been held in the Bay Area for Angela Davis and it was widely publicized on local radio station KDIA whose programming is directed mostly towards the Black community..

One of the features of the march was trucks loaded with simulated mailbags representing tons of mail which has been withheld from Angela by the Marin County authorities. An organizer for the march said "Over half a million letters from East Germany alone have been withheld in the past two weeks." Monitors of the march were members of the New Republic of Africa, an organization which advocates the setting up of a separate Black Republic within the bounds of the United States.

Sponsors of the parade and rally were: The Bay Area Committee to Free Angela Davis; Mayor Widener, Councilmen Bailey and Simmons and Councilwoman Hancock of Berkeley, elected by the much publicized April 6 Coalition; The Young Workers Liberation League (a newly formed Communist Party sponsored youth group); the Oakland local of the American Federation of Teachers; and the Bay Area Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

## 'No safety on the docks'

(Continued from Page 1)

One example where a worker got hurt occurred not too long ago. There was an open hatch. The contract says you have to cover an open hole with a hatch cover or a steel plate. But they didn't want to take the time to do that, so the company threw a piece of plywood over the hole. A worker lifted the plywood because he thought it was just loose and in the way. The worker fell into the hole and almost all the way through. He caught himself by his shoulders and that stopped him from taking an 18 foot fall to the deck, but he was off the job for seven months because of the damage done to his shoulder. It will probably never be the same.

This whole safety thing is a farce as far as the company is concerned. The safety men have no power. It is the immediate supervisor who decides and he works for the stevedore company.

The attitude of the steamship companies is to get the tonnage out quick. They say get it out quick and get to go home. Break your ass. But for what? To save the \$1,200 dollar a day dock charges for the ship. When it is in their favor, the company is always willing to break the rules.

—Longshoreman, Los Angeles

Communist world) that Mao's China, for "nationalist, chauvinist" reasons is aligning with U.S. imperialism against Russia, it does disclose that China is ready to play the same game Russia has been playing with the U.S.

Why should the Movement be interested in games the rulers of the world are playing? Shouldn't it be all too obvious that to Big Powers, be they private capitalist or state-capitalist calling themselves Communist, the national liberation movements are expendable? Why for that matter "take sides" in breaks within the ruling class, be they the right wing critics of Nixon who claim that Mao-Chou are such shrewd bargainers that if we are sending such "novices" as Nixon-Kissinger, we better also throw in Vida Blue? Or be they the proponents of Nixon who claim that Mao is taking the Nixon Doctrine "seriously", believe he is "fully" withdrawing U.S. troops from Indochina, and, "therefore", China feels it can do business with the U.S.?

Any such concerns would only lead to the greatest delusion of all—the propagation of the view that Chou En-lai is only "flirting" with Nixon, but his heart, soul and "principles" are all in Vietnam. The only thing of China's that is in Vietnam is its double tongue. The single grain of truth that makes possible any willful delusion is that Vietnam is not the centerpiece of China's worry. Russia is. This being so, however, means that no price is too high to pay, including a sellout of Vietnam, if, in exchange, Mao can either achieve an alliance against Russia, or see Russia engaged a two-front war.

This should have been clear ever since U.S. imperialism started raining bombs on North Vietnam in February, 1965, and yet China refused a united front with Russia in defense of North Vietnam. Indeed, the aid

he did give was nowhere on the scale Mao's China gave Pakistan in its war with India when Chinese troops were moved to the border with India. And Mao is sticking to that alliance with West Pakistan when the enemy is not India, but the East Pakistani masses, against whom the fascistic generals, with much military help from China, are practicing genocide.

As for U.S. imperialism, it has no intention whatever of withdrawing all troops and arms from Vietnam unless the American people compel it to do so. From Truman who aided French imperialism to try to hold on to Indo-China, through Eisenhower-Kennedy-Johnson who created American puppets and turned the civil war into a full-scale American war, to Nixon who has to face the reality of the American defeat and the massive opposition at home by withdrawing the main body of the "land army" in Vietnam, but keeping "a residual force," there has been no fundamental change in the basic line of keeping U.S. imperialism dominant in Asia. With or without Asian "allies", U.S. imperialism is out for global mastery. And this it cannot hope to achieve unless the present revolutionary opposition forces are destroyed.

It is here, at home, where the contest will be decided. There will be no peace abroad any more than at home except through social revolution. It is here that Nixon will meet his Waterloo.

## THE ANSWER IS AT HOME

The wars abroad go hand in hand with the unceasing wars at home—against the Black Revolution, against labor, against the anti-Vietnam War movement, especially the youth as its decisive force. Whatever illusions Nixon has about trying to win that 1972 election by going to Peking and thereby, he hopes, fragmenting the anti-Vietnam war movement, they will come to naught, provided the Movement neither falls into the trap set by Mao's "Cultural Revolution", nor, at home, separates the anti-Vietnam war movement from the class struggles as well as the Black Revolution, much less keeps the struggles separated from a total philosophy of liberation.

Therefore, the demand for total and immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam must show itself to be equally against any pole of world capital, East or West.

Therefore, the demand for national self-determination for South Vietnam must not be subordinated to North Vietnam. Indeed, the national liberation movement in South Vietnam fought many years before ever it finally got support from North Vietnam. Self-determination is violated when made dependent on any pole of the existing state powers, be it a bi-polar or a tri-polar world, or, for that matter, a world divided into quintuplicate by Western Europe and Japan likewise demanding their "spheres of influence."

This is the challenge the anti-Vietnam war movement must now face. Otherwise it will suffer fragmentation. The mere announcement of a projected Nixon-Mao meeting has already deflected from the courageous act of Daniel Ellsberg in making the secret Pentagon Papers public as well as blunt the impact of the revelations of three decades of deception of the American people. Just as we must not allow Nixon-Mitchell to railroad Dr. Ellsberg to jail, so we must not allow the Sino-Soviet orbit, in conflict or otherwise, to channelize our thinking and our doing. Only a Movement independent of all existing state powers can remake the world on totally new, truly human foundations because only its banner will be unsullied by exploitative power and have self-development of mankind as its motive power. That is the only freedom worth dying and living for.

## LITTLE SAID OF MAGEE

Aside from the chanting along the line of march—"I do know/what I believe/Ruchell and Angela have got to be free!"—there was very little said about Ruchell Magee. This was definitely a rally for Miss Davis as the prime defendant, and since the separation of Angela and Ruchell as co-defendants, upon a motion offered by Angela's attorneys, the personality of Magee is being de-emphasized everywhere except in the pages of the Black Panther paper.

This motion, made by Angela's attorneys, and its prompt granting by pre-trial Judge Anderson, sent a visible shockwave through the audience of Blacks and whites who have been daily attending the tedious pre-trial hearings. Attendance at the hearings now consists of only reporters and court functionaries—the popular mass supporters so faithful until now are staying away.

The separation of the two cases may not be entirely due to Angela's wishes (it may even have been due to Magee's wishes), but it does indicate a culmination of the change of "tactics"—not just a change in courtroom demeanor on the part of the defense, but a sharp limiting of the method of defense by confining it solely within the framework of bourgeois legality. There is a marked difference between Angela's defense and the first trial of Huey Newton (not the second trial, which has just ended in a mistrial with a hung jury).

## HUEY'S TRIAL AND GHETTO YOUTH

At that time the Panthers were coming from a totally different direction. They had absorbed the tremendous vitality, along with the frustrations of the brave and tragic experience of the Black people in the Civil Rights Movement, and had reached the conclusion, along with a large segment of that Movement, that the reform of capitalist society by the enactment of new laws would NOT root out racism and oppression, regardless of how hard the struggle was waged.

From the beginning, the Panthers identified the trial of Huey Newton with the plight of Black youth in the ghettos, building a defense both in and out of the courtroom, around the organic nature of racism and oppression in capitalist society. They got the Peace & Freedom Party to make the defense of Huey a main issue in their election campaigns.

Whatever advantage Angela's defense gained in the legal process by separating the defendants, Ruchell Magee did, and does, remain as a symbol of Black revolt to many young people who are no longer concerned with the subtleties of the law, which in their thinking and experience is already totally corrupted with racial and class bias.

This may not necessarily be the way the case will be conducted, if for no other reason than the Nixon-Mao detente—which will have its ramifications in the fact that the Russian-oriented Communist Party will now try to appear as more revolutionary than the China-oriented parties.

In the final analysis the real defense of Angela Davis transcends her coterie of lawyers and her particular elitist political supporters. The real defense is where there is total identification with the merging struggles for mass Black liberation.

*"Some self-styled revolutionaries are ready to forgive Mao every crime in the book and leave a few blank pages for those he might invent later, on the ground that he is the foe of U.S. imperialism, which is the chief enemy of world revolution. They are ignorant of fundamental class divisions within each country, China included, and illogically link those opposites, war and revolution."*

From new appendix, "Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'" in

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—from 1776 to Today

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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## WORLD IN VIEW

## The myth of Pan-Arabism: Sudan, Libya, Jordan

Far from any new Pan-Arabism emerging, despite the efforts of Libya's Colonel Muammar Qaddafi to be a new Nasser, the divisions, fedayeen and King, Sudanese "socialists" and Sudanese communists, corrupt monarch and the military, to name just a few, predominate.

On top of this comes the big powers who care nothing for self-determination either of nations or of people. U.S. supplies arms to Jordan's Hussein to use against his own people. It supplies them to Israel which uses them in its occupied territories. Russia gives arms to all against Israel and watches as they are used against Arab masses. China has also recently entered the stage with aid, trade and diplomatic recognition. Let us look at some recent developments:

**Sudan**—The coup and counter-coup which occurred over three days has resulted in the execution of 14 alleged leaders, the arrest of over 1,000 who are accused of being Communists or their sympathizers, and the seizure of books and propaganda including paperback works by Lenin and Marx. General Gaafar al-Nimeiry after being restored to power called for the population to seize all "communists" and turn them over to the police.

The politics of the coup and counter-coup involve many parties inside the country, inside the Arab world, and perhaps further. Nimeiry had earlier purged his government of a number of officers many of whom had opposed any joining of Sudan to a federation of Egypt, Syria and Libya. One provision of the federation specifically called for outside assistance to quell disorders or uprisings in any of the Federation countries.

Joining these dissident officers in opposition to any movement into a federation were militants of the Sudanese Communist party, the strongest in the Arab world. They along with other elements of the country, including the forgotten people in this coup and counter-coup, the Black Sudanese of the South, had stopped an initial Sudan entry into the Federation. But Nimeiry had vowed to enter later this year.

Meanwhile in both coup and coun-

ter-coup only lip service was paid by both sides to "the Southern Problem," and in new repressive measures now occurring they will be the losers. One third of the population is Black and lives in the three southern provinces. The other two thirds of the country of 15 million are Moslem Arabs.

"The Southern Problem" goes back to the 19th century when Arab slave traders flourished in the South. The rebellion has taken more than 500,000

lives. The Black Sudanese are demanding independence from the North, but the coup and counter-coup will mean a repression against any who oppose Nimeiry.

**Jordan**—Over the last 10 months the repression of guerilla forces in Jordan has been carried on relentlessly with the quiet support of the U.S. which supplies the arms.

The fedayeen for its part tried to carry on a struggle against Israel, against "reactionary" Arab states,

against "progressive" governments favorable to a negotiated settlement at the expense of Palestine, against the big powers. All without an order of priorities. Most tragic was its failure to take a clear stand against Jordan's King Hussein. Posing under the illusion that his objective was negotiations with Israel, his major concern was in reality to reassert royal authority throughout the country so he could then choose whether to make war or peace.

## Israel

**Israel**—The Black Panthers of Israel are activists who are largely of Oriental origin—Jews who emigrated from Moslem countries of North Africa and the Middle East. In demonstrations they have sought to bring attention to the poor living conditions of the Oriental Jewish community. Some 70 percent of those who start elementary school are of Oriental origin, and only 16 percent who finish high school are of the same background.

Israeli leaders say that they cannot cope with social problems within their society while there is the threat of war from a ring of hostile Arab neighbors. But in the four years since the '67 war when the country was under seige, the standard of living for the middle class has increased rapidly, with the number of automobiles on the road doubling and the travel of prosperous Israelis increasing. It seems that those under seige are now the 20 percent of the population that lives below the poverty line.

## Latin America

**Mexico**—Last June a political riot in Mexico City left 13 dead. Some 1,000 right wing toughs (the Falcons) attacked a demonstration of 10,000 university students.

Investigation of the riot has shown that the Falcons appear to be organized, trained, armed and paid by conservative business interests and a faction within the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party. Shortly

after an official investigation began which showed that the attackers had been carried in municipal trucks and that police had made no effort to intervene, the mayor of Mexico City and his police chief resigned.

**Cuba**—Fidel Castro, addressing a plenary meeting on production and establishing a National Trade Union of Maritime and Port Workers, called attention to the impelling necessity to push through progressive mechanization of port work. He stated there is an excess of personnel in the ports as a whole and he called for an increase in productivity and a struggle to eradicate absenteeism.

## Asia

**Ceylon**—Some five months after a left-inspired rebellion, the government of Ceylon figures note that 1,200 were killed and over 14,000 arrested.

And no wonder. This "socialist" government in its year in power has done little to change the terrible conditions of unemployment and underemployment that the youth of Ceylon face. Of the 585,000 unemployed in a country with a whole total population of 13 million, close to 500,000 are under 24.

The "socialist" government and its police force have continued with repression including shooting of many young people. The counter-revolution is within the revolution with Trotskyists, socialists and Communists inside the country and the big powers of the United States, Russia and China outside the country, all supporting the Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike as she puts down the youth of Ceylon.

## Europe

**Czechoslovakia**—A Prague dissident writing about the "barefaced fascism creeping into the day-to-day life" of his country discussed the cultural field where plays are censored, film makers cannot produce films, TV and radio programs have been cancelled. But his document is more than facts but an appeal to the Left in the West:

"When we in Czechoslovakia read the Western press whether it is Communist, Left, Center, or Right, we are shaken by a horrible doubt as to whether anyone is still interested in this country . . . Can people be aware that this 'Biafra of the spirit' . . . is a condition typical of all fields of endeavour . . . What of the Left?

Does the international unity of the Left stop at the Elbe, merely because Czechoslovakia's problems are not the same as those with which the Left in the West is concerned? Let us hope that it is not so, for it would be too stupid, and even too dangerous, if it were."

**Italy**—Recent events in Italy give cause for some alarm. The flame—whick the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement had adopted as its emblem—has been bursting forth and attracting crowds of people at rallies and has recently picked up support in Italian elections, especially in Sicily. The constant unrest, the succession of scandals, the musical chairs that passes for government, including the largest Communist Party in Western Europe are contributing to a tremendous sense of frustration which many from the old fascist movement are taking advantage of.

## TWO WORLDS Scotland, England, France—and Marxist-Humanism

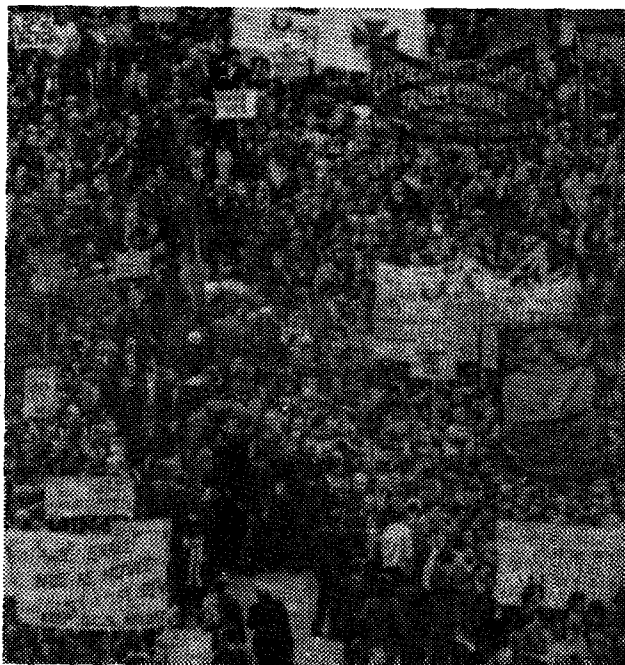
(Continued from Page 5)

the other hand, are all so permeated with the concept of the "backwardness of the workers," that some told us that the idea of having a worker as editor of our paper was "idolizing" workers.

The idea that workers can not only speak for themselves, but that they are the source of all theory seems impossible for those who consider themselves the "vanguard" to conceive. They are so concerned with becoming "mass" organizations, with influencing the struggles by proposing the best strategy, that they cannot see that "organization" begins with organization of your own thought. And for our age that means recognizing that there is a movement from practice—from the actual struggles of our day—to theory, which demands a theory to meet it. Listening to the thoughts of the workers, the minorities, the women, the youth, far from being intellectual abdication, is the beginning of a new stage of cognition.

That is why we felt that of all of the questions we were asked—and we were asked many—the most basic was raised by a young worker in Edinburg, who asked simply: do you believe in the vanguard party? The conception of Vanguard party to lead equates the role of the revolutionary party with recruiting all of the advanced militant workers who, together with the leadership of the party, would lead the workers to socialist victory. All the workers would have to do is recognize that these leaders represented them and would create a new society in which the working class would be free. After the workers made the revolution, that is.

We pointed out the administrative mentality reflected in this conception of leadership, and the difference in the philosophy presented in the pages of Marxism and Freedom. But it is not easy to overcome such entrenched ideas. What helped to show the idea was our report of the continuing wildcat strike experience of



Workers marched in Glasgow to protest threat of closing Upper Clyde Shipyard.

the U.S. working class, and especially the revolutionary role of the Blacks both in industry and in life as a whole.

THE BRITISH AND the French editions of Marxism and Freedom were never more needed. The need for theory, as contrasted with the endless pursuit of the

"right tactics," or the "right strategy," to which so much of the Left has reduced its politics is made more urgent than ever by the objective situation, which is explosive.

Your new introduction to the French edition, which analyzes that crucial year, 1968, —and the new appendix which reprints the Sheng Wu Lien document as the new voices of revolt from inside China—are essential for the French Left to grapple with. And Harry McShane's new Preface to the British edition puts the challenge on the level of urgent necessity for that country.

In fact, Harry, who added a tremendous proletarian and philosophic dimension to all of our meetings, bringing his life-long history of labor and socialist struggles to bear in all the discussions, made it impossible for anyone to brand theory as abstract or academic. He summed it up best at the meeting in Hull, where the dramatic situation of the Clyde Shipyard workers was being discussed. As Harry put it:

"The question that has been raised by the shipyard workers is a very important one, and it seems obvious that it cannot be solved by the shipyard workers alone. The crisis of unemployment all over the country, and especially in Scotland and Northern Ireland, raises the question of the final solution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a new social order. And that, of course, is the subject of Marxism and Freedom, where it is taken up without ignoring a single immediate issue. The immediate issue is bound up with the ultimate solution. When you ask, is industry to decide the future of man; or is man to decide the future of industry and control his own destiny, you are asking the question that motivated Marx all his life. There is a vital connection between theory and the actual class struggles that cannot be ignored any longer."