

**Students
listen to
workers'
thoughts**

By Charles Denby, Editor

One of my greatest thrills in recent years was speaking to a group of young college students and intellectuals several weeks ago in Pittsburgh at Carnegie-Mellon Technical Institute. The conference was organized by the Resistance Movement. My friend who arranged the speaking engagement said this was the first time in the history of that college, he felt sure, that a black production worker with less than a high school education had spoken to an all white audience of higher learning, and probably the first time most of the audience had heard a worker give a speech.

I was told my speech would be on exploitation, which can be very general, and workers' thoughts, which are very concrete. I said, "I am a production worker and have been a worker all of my life. I am the Editor of a Marxist-Humanist newspaper, News & Letters, a paper that bears the stamp of our unique combination of workers and intellectuals, and the only paper of this kind that is printed.

"I want all of you in this audience to know that while workers in auto, steel, mines, and other industries labor hard enough, we also have our own thoughts. Therefore, I will not only be describing our condition of work but also our fight with management and our labor leaders.

"You here must not look at workers as if they need your pity. What is needed is for you to understand their type of revolt, their type of organization, and their philosophy. These are not separated in our minds and should not be in yours."

DISCUSS AUTOMATION

After all the talks were finished, we held a workshop for discussion and answers. One professor said, "You sure set the pattern for your talk better than I have ever heard before. Eight or 10 years ago many of those here would have walked out, but everyone today seemed to have the utmost interest in every word you said, especially in describing what Automation has done to oppress and degrade workers."

A young man liked how I pointed out that Business Week blames the word Automation for bringing back the Depression jitters, saying that it is 90 per cent emotion and only 10 per cent fact. It is the other way around. The labor leadership helps the lie by saying that Automation is progress and painting a rosy future of what it should be instead of speaking of what it really is—like Walter Reuther talking about the future and the promise Automation holds for a vast improvement in living conditions and leisure time at some unspecified date, when workers do not have time to breathe freely in the factories today.

One student said that workers do not give a damn about their work, because of Automation, and that is why we have so many defective automobiles. I said, "Yes and no. First, workers do care what kind of job they do in production. I have seen many workers refuse to let some defective part go past them.

"But you must understand that the companies want quantity first. Each foreman has a production quota which he must meet if he wants to remain a foreman, and if a worker does not meet his production standards he is threatened with being fired. He knows this is his

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Black-Red Views

Cruse and Cleaver: blindspots on race and class

By John Alan

At the first Birthday Party held for Huey Newton by the Black Panther Party, Stokely Carmichael said (and I paraphrase him here) "the Marxian concept of the class struggle does NOT enter into Black people's struggle for survival—it is simply a struggle for the survival of a race, because the Honkey is going to kill us!"

This theme of Carmichael's was being expounded at the zenith of the Black Power period—but by then Black Power had already become a gigantic reindeer-hat-rack, with many opposing and different hats hanging there, including the hat of Black Capitalism. It was, too, the beginning of a none-too-happy honeymoon between Carmichael and the Black Panthers—a honeymoon that had no chance of consummation because it was based upon a simplistic concept of racial unity, racial consciousness, totally unaware of class forces operating in North American society that would tear them apart.

FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO ECONOMICS

What had gone on before? The Civil Rights Movement had run its course. Both Blacks and white liberals had suffered a severe traumatic experience at the hands of internal U.S.A. democracy, when after so much struggle, terror, murder and money, Congress could only produce a puny Civil Rights Law that "legalized" the Negro as an equal of the white, without making him a "viable economic" human being.

Increasingly the movement, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, had to turn to the economic plight of Black people in the American capitalist society

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LABOR SHOWDOWN WITH NIXON PRODUCES BLACK-WHITE UNITY

by Mike Connolly

The massive wave of strikes in April, many of them wildcats, by workers in a dozen different industries, and in nearly every state in the nation, has challenged President Nixon's labor policy of recession and repression. Beginning with the unprecedented wildcat walkout by 300,000 postal workers against their slave wages and their own do-nothing union leaders, the strikes have forced the administration into one tight corner after another.

No sooner had Nixon sent Federal troops and the National Guard into New York post-offices to break this first major strike by Federal employees in the history of the United States, than PATCO (the air controllers union) called a "sick-out" at most of the nation's airports and route control centers.

The air controllers' 21-day protest forced cancellations of thousands of scheduled flights and delayed nearly all others. Transportation Secretary Volpe, following the same policies Postmaster General Blount used in the postal strike, threatened the air controllers with suspensions, firings, and the destruction of their union.

The example of the postal workers and the air controllers was followed throughout the month as the list of strikes grew. Teachers struck in Minneapolis and Los Angeles, and teaching assistants at the University of Wisconsin; sanitation workers in Atlanta; tugboat crews in New York and Detroit; newspaper employees were out in Boston; auto workers wildcatted in Detroit; hospital workers struck for union recognition in Pittsburgh.

MILITANCY SPREADS

In California, the farm workers (UFWOC) achieved a breakthrough in their long strike by signing contracts with three growers. In Palm Beach, Fla., construction workers, many of them black, smashed a building site using scab labor. At Grove Press in New York, women workers at that publishing company occupied offices and demanded the rehiring of women fired for union organizing activity. They were supported by Women's Liberation groups.

The largest wildcat last month began April 1, within hours after the Teamsters union leadership had settled on a new contract with the trucking companies. The walkout was opposed in most cities by the union, sometimes violently (see Detroit Teamsters, p. 3) but at its height, over 200,000 of the 450,000 drivers and dockmen covered under the contract were on strike in 20 major cities. At meeting after meeting, Teamsters shouted down officers and set up their own picket lines. Frantic efforts by acting Teamster President Fitzsimmons and his buddies to force back-to-work movements were met with resistance.

Recession and repression—the Administration's well-planned policies—have thus far not accomplished their aims. It's not that Nixon hasn't tried hard. America is in a recession. The March unemployment rate of 4.4 percent means that 3,750,000 men and women are out of work, over one million more than when Nixon took office. Over one-half million of these have been jobless for four months or more. But the recession has failed to do what it was planned to do—terrify workers and weaken their position at the bargaining table.

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and the imperialistic nature of American monopoly capitalism, as exemplified by the war in Vietnam. Splits developed between the white liberals and the Black movement, and within the Black movement itself.

An ideological and theoretical polarization was taking place among Black leaders and with Black intellectuals. Expressed in dramatic form when Carmichael broke with the Panthers, this polarization is being fought over the question: What is the nature of the Black Struggle in this country and exactly what is the relationship of over 20 million Black Americans to present-day American society?

WRITERS ATTACK MARXISM

Harold Cruse in the May 8, 1969, issue of the New York Review of Books, and Phil Hutchings, currently (spring issue of 1970), of the Guardian, see this polarization expressed in terms of Black national consciousness versus the attempts to "apply inoperable" Marxist concepts to the Black struggle within the United States. Mr. Cruse has written a long and sophisticated essay on what is purported to be a critique of Eldridge Cleaver's post-prison speeches and writing, and ends in a general attack on the validity of Marxism as a theory of social change for this century, and certainly not at all valid to the "uniqueness" of the American situation.

Phil Hutchings has further expanded on this theme. But, first let us discuss Mr. Cruse, and leave Mr. Hutchings for subsequent articles, because Mr. Hutchings draws certain conclusions from this theme, that at first glance, seem not to be implied in Mr. Cruse's essay on Cleaver.

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ON THE INSIDE

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Irish workers march to protest unemployment

Derry, Ireland—For the first time since the August fighting, a march was held in Derry last month. Organized by the Unemployed Action Committee it was to draw attention to the perpetual massive unemployment in Derry and the inability (or unwillingness) of the Unionist government to solve it.

Five thousand people took part and several thousand more were waiting to welcome the marchers in the Guildhall Square where a meeting was held.

The meeting, addressed by members of the Trade Union bureaucracy was an abject failure, despite the massive attendance. This was because these same Trade Union "leaders," who in the past have been only too eager to bend over backwards to avoid criticizing the Unionists' incompetence, were themselves incapable of putting forward a single constructive solution to Derry's chronic unemployment.

Billy Blease, £2,000 Northern Officer of the I.C.T.U., was "star" speaker. He also spoke the most

drivel, whining in the best O'Neill tradition that the words and views of reasonable people were not being heard. Was it not ironical, he asked, that the picture presented abroad of a warring community should so mar the tremendous industrial and technological advance of the province.

Billy must have got his lines crossed, or brought the speech he usually reserves for the Chamber of Commerce dinners. Certainly the 4,000 unemployed of Derry are not impressed with the "tremendous industrial and technological advances." The only time he came near to expressing the feelings of the meeting was when he addressed the young and remarked that maybe they would want to get rid of "leaders who have failed like myself." Maybe Billy was more right than he thought.

STATE IS BANKRUPT

Terry O'Brien of N.U.U. had two puerile suggestions: raising the school-leaving age, and lowering the pension age. The only way either of these solutions would work would be by raising the school-leaving age to thirty-nine and lowering the pension age to forty. His only serious contribution was a demand for the setting up of "State Industry."

Since the Stormont State is as bankrupt of finance as it is of ideas, this means calling for Westminster to set up these industries. It ignores or is unaware that Westminster is incapable of solving this problem—witness the Belfast Shipyard and Shorts Aircraft Firm, both of which are effectively controlled by Westminster and both of which have a shrinking labor force and chronic financial crisis.

The only solution to the unemployment problem not only in Northern Ireland but in the South, too, where it is equally grave, is setting up of industries which are owned and controlled by the workers themselves.

Excerpted from: *Free Citizen*, Newspaper of Peoples Democracy, 105 Plevna Street, Belfast 12, Ireland

Integrated block club clean-up campaign tackles city's neglect

Detroit, Mich.—"This only shows what you can do when neighbors decide to get together," said one man to the police as they rode through the alley. On April 11 the Lincoln Block Club began its first concrete task of cleaning up the neighborhood.

At 10 a.m. people from the block, from surrounding blocks, and from other areas showed up at the volunteer coordinator's house. They moved out to the alley with rakes, hoes, shovels, and boxes and began a massive clean-up of the rubbish that had accumulated for years.

EVERYONE OUT

At starting time only the people who had always been active in the block club were out; by two o'clock at least one person from every single house was out cleaning up.

The block is almost evenly composed of blacks and southern whites. It formed eight months ago in opposition to the city of Detroit's "urban removal" plan. Ten years ago the city told the people not to bother making improvements on their homes because they were going to tear them down the next year.

They have been saying "next year" since 1959 and the neighborhood shows the neglect: garbage-cluttered alleys, broken sidewalks, peeling paint, and abandoned houses.

The people from Lincoln decided they were not going to wait for the city to give their OK on a decent place to live—they were going to do it themselves.

S. F. city workers strike

San Francisco, Cal.—Last month the workers in San Francisco showed what they're prepared to do for themselves.

Workers for the City & County of S.F. who are overwhelmingly white, went on strike to support the Miscellaneous Workers' Union, whose demands were important. The Miscellaneous Workers Union is overwhelmingly black. The Board of Supervisors was trying to take away conditions they had had for 27 years, such as the automatic annual increment.

STRIKE IS SOLID

Other workers for the city backed up the Miscellaneous Workers almost 100%. No buses ran. School teachers stayed away from their classes in droves. Public libraries were closed. Nurses, orderlies, interns at S.F. General Hospital picketed the hospital, while maintaining emergency service.

SEE THE LIGHT

Suddenly, the Chamber of Commerce, the Downtown Association (of big real estate and financial interests), and the Board of Supervisors discovered that a general strike would cost them far more than the \$2 million that a compromise with the union would cost. In two days, the mayor and representatives of the Labor Council came to a settlement that amounted to piddling benefits for the Miscellaneous Workers.

In the Miscellaneous Workers meeting to vote on the settlement, there was a large, clearly stated, uncompromising, rank-and-file revolt against bureaucratic sell-out.

Simply to complain about the sell-out settlement, and the use of blackmail against the workers, is to see only the negative. The workers will always be sold-out until the revolution. That's the nature of capitalism and of union bureaucrats. But within that negative was the positive revolt, articulate and clearly stated, of one-third of those workers in San Francisco, ready and anxious to break the shackles that tie them to the bureaucrats. Therein is a foreshadowing of events to come.

3 grape contracts signed

Delano, Cal.—After four and a half long years of hard struggle, the United Farm Workers have just signed their first three contracts with major table grape growers in California.

Some of the provisions of the new contracts are: \$1.75 minimum per hour plus 25c per box; 8-hour work day; time and half overtime; grower pays 10c an hour per worker to a farm workers' medical plan, and 2c an hour per worker to a special fund for workers displaced by age, disability, or mechanization; job security; seniority rights; vacation pay.

SAFETY PROVISIONS WON

In addition, the workers won many safety provisions, including a ban on DDT and all other chemical poisons dangerous to workers, consumers and the environment; and a Workers' Health and Safety Committee to make rules regarding use of poisons, tools and sanitary conditions.

Workers can refuse to work in fields that they feel will endanger their health. Growers must provide adequate toilet facilities, drinking water and protective garments. There will be a worker grievance committee to handle all disputes.

Union grapes will not be on the market until late May, and will be no more than five percent of all the grapes on the market. The union grapes will be distinguished by this mark the Union Eagle:

VIVA LA CAUSA!



N. Y. abortions legal, costly

New York, N.Y.—When they finally legalized abortion in NY this week, I felt a great relief. I had seen three friends get illegal abortions in the past: one went to a Mafia "quack"; one was given a home remedy; and one more fortunate went to the hidden clinic of a good doctor who believed that it was the concerned woman who had the right to make this decision. Now that is over, but I still feel the fight is just beginning.

Although the press played up the victory as the climax of four years of work by reforming liberal legislators and crusaders, Governor Rockefeller showed that he knows the score when he credited the victory to the pressure of the Women's Liberation Movement.

Already many legislators are out to weaken the bill before it becomes law on July 1. Some want to shorten the time when abortions may be done from 24 to 15 weeks, to relieve doctors and hospitals from any compulsion to perform abortions, and to deny using State money for abortions. Since most women who need abortions can hardly afford the \$200 or \$300 the operation will cost, the fight now is for free abortions.

Our public hospitals are a showcase for the dehumanization of this capitalist society. If you are rich O.K.—the rich have always been able to get abortions; but if you're poor, look out! I don't expect to see the death rate from back-room abortions go down until free abortions by good doctors in decent facilities are made available to all women.

WAY OF THE WORLD

by Ethel Dunbar

Nixon's court jesters

I was very happy when the news reports said that the Senate had rejected another one of President Nixon's hand-picked racist nominees for the Supreme Court, Judge Harrold Carswell. I had read in the daily paper some weeks before where the President stated that if Carswell was rejected, he would go to Mississippi and pick his next nominee.

To me he was saying to the people, and especially to the black people in this country, that if Carswell was rejected because of his racist statements and actions of the past, he would go get an out-spoken racist.

Nixon keeps saying that he wants a balanced Supreme Court, whatever that means. To me, the men that sit on the Court should be dedicated to equal opportunities and equal protection under the law for every citizen. If that were carried out, nobody would care if every man on the Supreme Court was from Mississippi, Alabama or Georgia. Principles have nothing to do with balance.

Many black people have said that Justice Black, who is from Birmingham, Ala., has been as reasonable in his voting decisions as any of the others on the Supreme Court.

WANTS REACTIONARY COURT

One Northern Senator who was a Carswell supporter said the only reason there was objection to Haynesworth and Carswell was because we have had a liberal Supreme Court for 15 years, and some people just hate to give it up. To me he was telling the people that they are now going after a reactionary bunch of Justices, and we had better get used to it.

Nixon's statement after Carswell's defeat showed what he wants. He said right out that Haynesworth and Carswell think as he does. He said the Senate would not accept them just because they were from the South, so he would go outside the South and pick the same type of man anyhow.

FULL OF TRICKS

Whoever first called him Tricky Dicky was right. I remember when he was running for President against John F. Kennedy. I began to wonder whether Nixon had moved in with Dr. Martin Luther King. Everywhere Dr. King appeared on T.V., Tricky Dicky would show up saying that if he was elected he would abolish segregation. He tried to sound as though he was ready to take his lead from Dr. King in trying to get justice for the black people of this country.

But we know why Dr. King became the leader he was. He understood Tricky Dicky's tricks. And so did black people all over this country. We still do.

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Teamsters wildcat against sell-out contract

IN NEW YORK

New York, N. Y.—Most of the drivers and helpers in the N.Y.C. area are disgusted with the national contract the Teamster leadership negotiated. Inflation has put us further behind now than we were three years ago, and the 35c first jump in the proposed contract wouldn't even begin to make up what we have already lost.

Worst of all, we would be signed up longer than ever—it is a 39-month contract instead of a three-year one. For our own protection, settlements should be shorter, but the International officials try signing us up for longer-term enslavement.

In the last contract one big loophole was that in holiday weeks you had to work three days to get paid for the day off. This meant lots of lay-offs that week. The only step forward in the new contract is having to work only one day in a holiday week to get the holiday pay.

MUST WORK LONGER

Family men are especially bothered by the long hours they have to put in to get a living wage. One younger driver said he wanted a settlement good enough so he could ask for no overtime two or three times a week.

Another told the dispatch clerk he needed \$10,000 to support his family. The dispatcher told him he could get that with enough overtime, and the worker replied that there ought to be a living wage in a 40-hour week. Why should he work longer and longer to stay in the same place?

When we heard about the contract terms, comments ran like, "Fitzsimmons is doing the companies' work," and, "The Union men don't want to rock the boat—they get their \$50-60,000 no matter what happens to us."

WOULD REJECT CONTRACT

Some of the guys are talking about walking out when the first big long haul line that we receive goes out. Although the men will vote that contract down if it is ever presented, most are still on the job.

At my job, the shop steward tells us to stay at work until the company shuts its doors. I heard a lot of snorting at that, but for the moment we are staying on.

Some companies are laying off heavily because walkouts at other places are cutting their business. One worker said, "If I might not get work anyway, we all should have gone out together nation-wide and settled it quickly. Why give the boss the satisfaction of sending us home?"

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Mahwah Ford

Mahwah, N. J.—We have just had elections at Local 906. I don't know exactly what the count was, but there is a runoff between George Strawn, the incumbent, and Resnick, who was president the term before Strawn. There is also a runoff between four guys for plant committee-man for both day and night shifts.

Even though there are more blacks running for office than ever before, it doesn't matter which ring-master gets to run the local circus because the International has the local all sewn up anyway.

I remember sometime back—we voted to go on strike. We sent word of this to the International asking for authorization but we never even got an answer. This was just after model change when a strike would be effective. We didn't hear a thing from the International until close to Christmas when they answered and said it was time to strike.

No one wanted to strike then because work was too slow, and the company isn't hurt by a strike during a slack time. The only ones who were hurt then were us. We were all out on strike with no money and the holidays were coming up. We were out a couple of weeks and didn't get a thing.

Right now production is cut in half because of the Teamster strike. There are private railroad tracks going into the plant, but it hurt the company bad not to be able to use trucks. The Teamsters are in a good position to get something if they hold out and we hope they do.

—Black worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Michigan—Although it is contract year, and the union is doing a lot of talking, everyone at Fleetwood is saying that the union is getting weaker and weaker. The line has been moved up to 60 an hour from 56, but no new workers have been hired to do the jobs. This means that two workers are doing the work three used to do, all over the plant.

In the contract, they never say anything about work-

IN DETROIT

Detroit, Mich.—Over 6,000 members of Teamsters Local 299 here shut down nearly all trucking for a week in the first city-wide trucking strike since 1939. At a meeting on April 8, over 3,000 drivers and dockmen shouted down the 299 Secretary-Treasurer, David Johnson, and voted an immediate strike.

They burned copies of the proposed national contract which would have left them with less real wages than they had in 1967. Many workers were also angry over the lack of supplemental unemployment benefits.

VOTE BY STRIKING

The workers said they had to strike now, before the national ratification vote on the contract, which is taken by mail. One dockman said, "Everybody remembers that last vote three years ago. We all voted 'no' on the contract, but it won anyway. The voting is crooked, so you have to strike first."

The workers went directly from the union meeting to the truck barns and shut them down, one by one. They had to organize everything themselves, and they did a hell of a job. Makeshift strike signs went up at 120 trucking companies, and picket lines were manned 24 hours a day.

Since the workers couldn't run the strike from the union hall, they held mass meetings in Patton Park. The union announced that on Sunday night at midnight, the strike would end. But at 10 p.m., workers met at the park and voted to stay out.

PICKETING BARRED

At one barn, the cops and the union goons tried to force drivers to cross the picket line. One of the Local 299-pork-choppers told the drivers, "Don't be afraid. I know you want to go in, so go to work." One driver shot back, "You don't know anything. I'm staying right here." The trucks stayed where they were.

Finally on Tuesday the union and the trucking employers got a court order barring ALL picketing anywhere in Michigan. Tuesday night, the union announced that anyone who didn't obey the order could get expelled from the union. Cops went around to terminals, along with union goons, and broke up the lines, ending the strike.

There is a rebel caucus in Local 299, called the "Unity Committee," and its members have vowed to fight the new contract. The day after the strike, one of the rebel caucus members' house was bombed. Several others were threatened. Everything is still very tense.

ing conditions, but they are getting worse every day at Fleetwood. Now the rumor going around is that next year the line will go to 70 an hour.

They have moved out cut-and-sew this week, and transferred all the women into other parts of the plant. Most get the hardest jobs and some have quit.

I am a man, and many of the men where I work are disgusted over what GM has done to the cut-and-sew workers. One woman on my floor is working on the molding around the doors. This job is very hard. She couldn't keep the job up and so she was given time off. The man who did it before her couldn't keep it up either.

Now that it's convention time, none of the union people have time for "local" problems. But it's the local problems that are hurting every worker.

—Production worker

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—In the Dearborn Assembly Plant a group of young militant workers, both black and white, have organized to bring to light their local committee room and its union representatives.

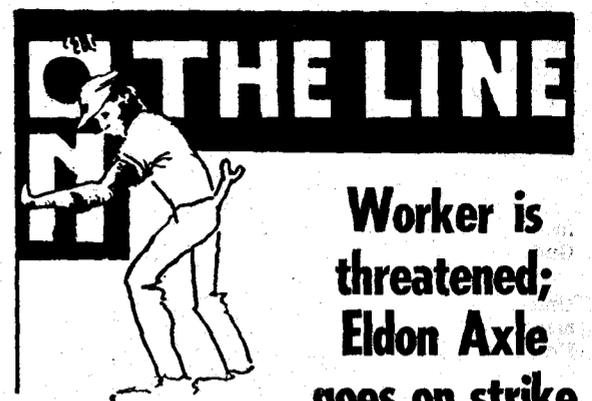
In the last month or so, Bill Hood and his Bargaining Committee sidekicks have spent less than two hours a day in the building, and we haven't seen Hood or his sidekick "Tom" Johnson on the floor to help a worker one time since their election last year. Meanwhile, our grievances are going unanswered or are being sold out.

According to our U.A.W. constitution we are entitled to full time representation by our union officers. Our building officers have done so little on new contract demands this year that our delegates went to the UAW convention in Atlantic City, N.J., with only one resolution from our building—the one unanimously adopted by the membership for "30 and out."

Since the election last year, Hood and his Bargaining Committee have left our brothers and sisters to the mercy of the Dearborn Assembly Plant labor relations office, and many union members have found themselves hanging at the mercy of this regime.

What's even worse, some committeemen are secretly turning in suggestions to eliminate jobs.

—Two Ford Assembly Line Production Workers



Worker is threatened; Eldon Axle goes on strike

By John Allison

The strike at Chrysler's Eldon Axle plant shows a lot about what's going on in the auto shops today. There, a foreman began to harass a worker for not making his production quota. The situation boiled over, and the foreman picked up a steel gear and started to attack the worker.

Faced with this danger, the worker naturally defended himself. The result was that the worker was fired by the company, but the foreman was kept working. The workers, backed up by the local union, immediately went out on wildcat strike.

As we go to press, the strike is still going on, and the workers demand that the worker be reinstated and the foreman fired before they will return to work.

Eighty percent of the workers at Eldon Axle are black. The work is heavy and hard. Inside the plant, it looks as though Chrysler is in the oil business. You wonder why every worker in the plant doesn't have some kind of back injury from falling on the oily floors.

KEY PLANT

Eldon Axle is a key plant because they make carriers and axles for all Chrysler cars. This is why Carl Polgrove, the labor-relations supervisor from Highland Park plant, was assigned to the Eldon Axle plant. He is a Carswell of the contract. The local union is now finding out that King Carl would fire half the plant to save face for one supervisor.

A new dimension has now been added. A smooth black lawyer, named Virgil Anderson, has also been assigned to the Eldon Plant. He also has other assignments given to him. He is a trouble-shooter when black people are up in arms over working conditions.

Chrysler maintains a right to fire any worker who does not conform to their penal code. The first commandment of Chrysler is: If a foreman strikes you, turn the other cheek and kiss him; but if you strike a foreman, you are automatically fired.

The local union has been at the bargaining table for much too long trying to keep Eldon quiet and make progress with King Carl on plant grievances. Local 490 at Highland Park had quite a number of workers transfer to the Eldon Axle plant. They know well enough King Carl would never refuse to meet with the union. He would meet and talk and talk the union to death—and solve none of their grievances.

Big layoff hits Norris

Los Angeles, Cal.—The big joke going around Norris is did you get your telegram today. The layoffs have begun and for the first time they have been sending people their layoff notices by telegram. They don't seem to want to tell you about being laidoff while you are in the plant.

There is a lot of bumping going on. In one department almost every worker was called into the office and bumped to a lower work grade or moved to a new job. A lot of guys are working three and four days a week. A lot of people would just as soon be laid off as work three and four days.

WHAT'S THE CAUSE?

Most of this is happening in the part of the plant concerned with weapons—making bomb shells. Some of it might have to do with a new process for making the shell casings.

Guys have different views as to why the layoff. Some say Norris was so concerned about the strike that he didn't take care of the business end of things—getting new contracts. Others put the blame away from old man Norris. They feel it is Nixon in Washington who is doing all this by trying to get a "sound dollar" and pushing unemployment to a high level.

—Norris worker

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EDITORIAL Nixon's new excuse for terrorism

A new "anti-crime" bill is now being rushed through Congress to legalize breaking and entering a home without a search warrant, holding one in jail without bail or counsel, and the denial of every constitutional right from the free-speech First Amendment to the protection-against-self-incrimination Fifth Amendment.

The latest excuse to destroy all civil liberties has been provided by the fringe insanity of groups like the Weathermen, whose "bomb factories" have resulted only in their own self-destruction and a new wave of government surveillance of all so-called "left-wing" groups. "If we had a phone tap on Diana Oughton," a Presidential aide has stated, "we might have arrested her before the bombs went off and nobody would have died." Throughout history terrorism has always provided a convenient excuse for counter-terrorism. The Weathermen are so lacking in history and theory that they do not remember that Hitler rose to power by manufacturing an excuse. He burned The Reichstag and then demanded power to wipe out the "anarchy."

TERRORISM AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

The new campaign against "radicals"—meaning the youth, the blacks, and militant women—will not be outlined step by step in the press—though preparations for "expanding the domestic intelligence apparatus" have been disclosed in a series of interviews with key officials. Secret orders will be issued by the Department of Justice, the FBI and the Attorney General to infiltrate all organizations considered "radical," and build up dossiers on individuals. This will be followed by rifle butts knocking down a door at 3 a.m., jail without bond, and trials for conspiracy. The Pentagon has already made a good start in building up dossiers on millions of civilians.

"We are facing the most severe internal security threat this country has seen since the Depression," a high Nixon aide was recently quoted as saying. This type of rhetoric is not just rhetoric. It is the characteristic mark of the Nixon Administration.

The ravings of the group of fascist-minded associates of Nixon who have helped move the Administration further to the Right for the past year, are spokesmen for an Administration which has embarked on a campaign of terrorism against the American people. Agnew openly attacks the University of Michigan for a plan to open up admissions to ten percent black students. The

wife of the Attorney General, Martha Mitchell, calls long distance to demand that a newspaper editor in Arkansas "crucify" Senator Fulbright, for daring to vote against G. Harrold Carswell.

THE REAL THREAT

The "internal threat" and crisis in the United States that the Administration hopes to stem with wide repressive measures is not the "terrorist" issue. The real crises are the spreading war into Cambodia and Laos, mounting unemployment, labor unrest and dissatisfaction with wages and working conditions, and a white racism so deep it pervades every corner of American life. The real "threat" to the Administration comes from the revolutionary forces out to build a new America—labor, the youth, the black masses, and the forces of women's liberation.

The truth is that the Administration understands the real forces of social revolution that are in motion far better than the elite bands working in bomb-factories, who have elected themselves to "make the revolution" and disregard the real forces of revolution all around them.

The opposition to the war has not grown less, but greater—despite Nixon's attempts to divert the youth to a concentration on "ecology." The anti-war demonstrations on April 15 were primarily of youth—militant youth. And a Gallup poll released that same week showed that where 65 percent of the adults polled had expressed "approval" for Nixon's war policy in January, the number had dropped to 48 percent by April.

The spreading wave of strikes was climaxed last month by the wildcatting postal workers who broke the no-strike stranglehold of the federal government, and showed a new level of black-white labor solidarity. Moreover, the strike wave shows no sign of subsiding. (See Lead article, Page 1.)

THE CAMP FOLLOWERS

That is why Nixon is so happy to have the excuse that the "terrorists" have provided for a "preventive civil war" against the American masses.

A frightening number of Americans have already been gathered in Nixon's camp: A recent CBS News poll reported an alarming number of adults willing to discard the first five amendments of the Bill of Rights. Renegade

radicals advise Nixon on how to handle young radicals, white and black. And Ronald Reagan recently told a convention in California "If it takes a bloodbath" to deal with campus demonstrators, "let's get it over with." The audience applauded. They cannot be allowed to forget that it was the middle-class that paved the way for Hitler.

Faced with Nixon's brand of terrorism, the forces in revolt are well aware that while the "terrorists" might be first, those who follow them could be blacks demanding their place in American society, a youth with long hair, militant women, postal workers, teamsters, railroad workers, or auto workers. They are beginning to discover the need for a unifying philosophy that will give their separate actions a unifying direction. They have a common enemy, and they all seek a new human life and a way out of the totalitarian abyss into which capitalism is leading us.

The need for a philosophy of freedom has never been clearer. Without it, we won't survive.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman

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ANTI-WAR STRUGGLES

I was very relieved and happy when the astronauts were rescued, even though I feel the money spent on those trips is being wasted. But, somehow, it seems disgraceful that it should be easier to return a stranded astronaut from the moon than to get our boys back from Vietnam.

Black Domestic Worker
New York

* * *

I was really afraid that Nixon's anti-pollution campaign would divert the student protest from the anti-war marches on April 15. But the students came out by the thousands. It was the middle-aged and middle-class suburbanites that stayed home.

Marcher
Detroit

* * *

I attended two demonstrations here on April 15—one at the IRS building and the other at a high school rally. There was a great contrast. At the IRS, almost everyone seemed already to belong to some special group, and everybody seemed to be handing out his own paper, but there didn't seem any real exchange of ideas involved in it.

The high school rally was organized completely by high school students themselves. There were blacks and whites and Puerto Ricans and Women's Liberation people—and everything that anybody said seemed very concrete and related to high school students and what they face.

One white student from George Washington High School, which is a mixture of black and Irish, spoke about the protests there which have kept the school closed off and on for months all because parents and students want a table to hear student complaints.

I sold 28 copies of the last issue of N&L on the basis of the front page story about Roosevelt High School in L.A., which the students here wanted to read about.

Activist
New York

* * *

The April 15 anti-war marches were not as big as the October and November actions last year, due to press blackout, but they were very significant in showing the growth and scope of the American revolutionary movement. There were

many less suburban peace mothers and peacenik Democrats and many more people willing to fight for the Vietnamese and their own freedom.

One beautiful thing I noticed, as the police were busting up and scattering the crowds through downtown at night, was the unity between black and white youth as we ran through the downtown streets.

Even though Nixon and his fellow hogs are trying to bust the movement apart with racism and ecology, the unity we had on April 15 shows that we are not going to be broken up, and in fact we will fight harder against this repressive, racist system until it's destroyed.

High School Revolutionary
Detroit

* * *

There are about ten million young men and women between the ages of 18 and 21 who cannot vote. This country fought a war lasting for eight years over the principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny." I think the youth of America should rebel on the principle of "Conscription without representation is tyranny," and strike against the draft boards.

Draftees of the world unite. All you have to lose is your generals and admirals.

B.G.
Utah

* * *

We have just completed a sample mailing of our new pamphlet "Immigration to Canada" to all the Draft Counseling Groups in the U.S. and Canada. Unfortunately, many of the people who need the information never get to a counselling group. Many of them do read your publication, however. Will you help us make the information available?

Please let your readers know that single copies can be obtained free from the Montreal Council to Aid War Resisters, Case Postale 5, Succursale Westmount, Montreal 215, Quebec, Canada. Peace.

Bill Mullen, for the Council
Montreal, Canada

* * *

The demonstrations in the U.S. certainly haven't received the coverage they should here, but the Italian press could almost get a world prize for bad news coverage not only of world affairs, but also of Italian affairs.

Reader's

One can be sure that the French press is covering what is happening in the U.S. if for no other reason than that they delight in criticizing the U.S. government, deGaulle or not. Personally, I think the situation in the U.S. is much more advanced than in Europe, if it weren't for that damned racism that splits the working class.

M.C.
Italy

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

It was very exciting to see two excellent articles on Women's Liberation on the front page of N&L. It was important to learn from Denby's article how people who work in the auto factories think and feel about the WL Movement.

I would like to reply to a few things in that article. A worker who was concerned about women throwing away bras and high heels said, "When blacks were marching and demonstrating for their freedom, I never felt they were saying they wanted to change from being black." Women's Liberation does not mean being liberated from being a woman; we do not want to be like men.

When women throw away confining underwear and uncomfortable unhealthy high heels it is a symbolic gesture. They are saying, "I will define myself. I will dress as I please; I will not wear uncomfortable, unhealthy, ugly clothes designed by men to please other men. I reject the male image of what a woman is supposed to be. Just as black people now take pride in their natural hair and natural beauty, so I as a woman will define and find my own dignity and beauty as a person."

As for the "natural feeling between the two opposite sexes that has nothing to do with anything white capitalist society has done," we would not argue that some kind of feeling might exist. What we are saying is that we don't even know what that feeling is, because women have never been free. We have been oppressed in every society, in-

cluding those that call themselves socialist.

Capitalism has perverted the relationship between men and women. It encourages the sexual division of labor. Women are angry and oppressed, and any oppressed person's relationship with others is going to be damaged.

Women's Liberation Activist
Detroit

* * *

All the legislators in Albany talked about during the abortion reform debate was the "murder" of the foetus. What about the mother, and the family, or a child that might not be cared for or loved? The legislators proved one thing, whether they were for or against the bill—they are still men making politics out of a woman's decision.

Nurse
New York

* * *

The Women's Liberation Coalition of Michigan has found a house that we want to buy. It is a beautifully kept, 80 year old house on Pallister, with three bedrooms, a usable attic, three large rooms downstairs, and a good, dry basement. We want to establish a women's library and an office, and a place where women can stay for a while when they have no other place to turn. We need \$800 down payment and at least \$200 a month to keep it going. Contributions and pledges can be made to:

Women's Liberation Coalition
of Michigan
5705 Woodward,
Detroit, Mich. 48202

* * *

It was great to hear the news that some 150 New Leftists in Israel had picketed Golda Meir's home to protest Israeli settlement of the occupied territory. But it was infuriating to learn later that one of the signs they carried was "Golda, Back to the Kitchen!" Apparently the force of Women's Liberation has not been felt in Israel—yet.

WL Supporter
California

TWO WORLDS

'True rebirth' or wholesale revision of Marxism?

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Bourgeois reviewers have heaped extravagant praise upon this two volume study by a Marxist (Trotskyist).^{*} Part of the acclaim is, no doubt, due to the author's declaration "... we have strictly abstained from quoting the sacred texts or interpreting these quotations." Bourgeois writers love to gloat over a Marxist's seeming disarrangement of works by Marx as "sacred texts," especially when this is followed by: "As against that, we quote abundantly from the chief economists, economic historians, ethnologists, anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists of our times." (p.17)

Part of the encomium may be due to the author's "erudition." Ernest Mandel roams all over the world, over a period of no less than 7,000 years—from pre-historic times to the "socialist society"—and backs up his 734 pages of text with a 36 page bibliography and a 24-page index. The text carries 962 references which take up 32 pages, and lengthy, over-lengthy footnotes dot the pages of the book.

THE PRAISE AND THE STABILIZER

Ernest Mandel was especially praised for (as The Economist puts it) "replacing Marx's Victorian facts and statistics by contemporary empirical material..." Pragmatists have always been under the illusion that statistical data can replace methodology and refute Marx's analysis of the law of motion of capitalism as headed toward collapse. Although Ernest Mandel does not take exception to Marx's analysis, the reviewers were too pleased with the tone of the work to debate that "attitude." The author based his own interpretation of capitalist decline on modern capitalism's "long stagnation." Ordinarily the bourgeois reviewers would have rushed to dispute this contention with statistics about capitalism's "phenomenal growth." Why not this time?

Well, for one thing, there is Ernest Mandel's non-Marxist contention that capital crises are due, not directly to the exploitative and perverse relations at the point of

production, but "to inadequacy... of monetarily effective demand." (p. 343)

Bourgeois authors love to tarry in the market and concentrate on money rather than go into the factory and concentrate on relations of men at the point of production. Nevertheless, this departure from Marx's theory of crisis would not, in and of itself, have pinpointed the feeling of elation among the bourgeois economists. Other Marxists, from the great revolutionary martyr, Rosa Luxemburg, to the pedantic Marxist economist, Paul Sweezy, have made similar underconsumptionist departures from Marx's strict production theory of crisis without having brought such high recognition for erudition and objectivity.

Had the departure from a strict production theory to a market analysis not been followed by the strictly capitalistic (private, and state-capitalist) corollary, that state-induced "monetary effective demand" acts as a stabilizer of the economy, praise would not have been so lavish. In a word, what produced the euphoria among bourgeois reviewers was that final market plunge by Mandel, who (after another 200 pages of "data") landed on his statist head, declaiming: "The capitalist economy of this phase tends to insure greater stability, both of consumption and of investment..." (p. 259). (We will return to this point later).

TODAY-NESS AND METHODOLOGY

So determined is Mandel not "to restrict" himself to following the dialectic structure of "the chapters" of Capital that he deludes himself to thinking that it is not a departure from the dialectic methodology, but only from the data in these "chapters," "written in the last century." (p. 17). However it soon turns out that he also disregards Lenin's analysis of Imperialism, which is very much of the 20th century.

In a word, this is not merely a question of updating statistics, or of starting "from the empirical data of the science of today." Chapters 12 and 13—"Monopoly Capitalism" and "Imperialism"—do abound in the latest statistics and the author's wide readings are here a great deal more relevant than either those on "ethnology" or "deWesternization" which reveal the Western bias by concentrating on the primitive.

The new remains pragmatic not only as to context but as to methodology. Monopoly capitalism is related to "the second industrial revolution" instead of, as with Lenin, the dialectical principle of the transformation into opposite—both of competition into monopoly, and part of the labor force into an aristocracy of labor at the same time as a new revolutionary force arises from the national struggles against imperialism.

For the sake of argument—and because it is the determinant for all Marxists—let us limit ourselves to Marx and give Mandel the benefit of the doubt, that the only reason for not following the structure of Capital was to begin with the new, and not merely to sum up what happened in the 19th century. Unfortunately, it turns out that, along with breaking up the dialectical structure of Capital, Mandel also divests the economic categories—commodity, money, value, labor—of their specifically capitalistic nature, thereby not only deviating from Marx's analysis of the economic categories and their fetishistic appearance, but also covering up Marx's original, historic, contribution—the split in the category of labor into abstract and concrete, which Marx considered nothing short of "the pivot on which a clear comprehension of political economy turns." (1)

Instead, Mandel begins with "Labor, Necessary Product, Surplus Product," starting "with communities such as Minkopies (inhabiting the shores of the Andaman Islands)..." (p. 27), "the neolithic revolution" (p. 28), and before the reader can reach capitalism, the point of concentration of Marxian "economics," he must also follow Mandel upon his discovery of "a communist state in Bahrein and the Yemen which survived for over 100 years (from the eleventh to the twelfth century)..." (p. 176)

TAILENDING COMMUNIST REVISIONISM

Accidentally or not accidentally, this kind of writing of "history" in a work that is supposed to detail "Marxist Economic Theory" is a way of denuding economic categories of their specifically capitalistic nature in the precise manner in which the Stalinist theoreticians achieved the feat, that is to say, by breaking with the dialectical structure of Capital. Without proper accreditation, Mandel has absorbed the startling 1943 reversal(2) of Marx's

(Continued on Page 7)

Views

STUDENTS & WORKERS

Our campus group would take pleasure in distributing your publication. We feel the college student is removed from the horrendous conditions experienced daily by the American worker. Your publication, we feel, would help the college student to realize that it is the people in power, not the worker in struggle, that is the enemy. Please help us to alleviate the wounds of class antagonism which scar the face of this plagued nation. Could you send us a bundle of 30 copies, each issue, and bill us?

Volunteers of the New America
Indiana, Penna.

TOTALITARIANISM—U.S. STYLE

I once read a quote where Lenin said that the bourgeois, democratic rights such as free speech, free press and jury trial are the highest developments of the capitalist society. Well, it seems that Nixon, Agnew and Mitchell don't seem to care much about saving this "high stage" because they have changed the meaning or totally destroyed all these rights.

It's also important that the injunction, which is an old anti-Labor device, was revived last year and used widely against student protests. Now, with Nixon as President, it is being used once more against labor. In the Jersey City teacher strike, the injunction against the teachers was so broad that teachers and union officials were jailed for speaking at a union rally!

Activist
New York

Raya Dunayevskaya's article on "Totalitarianism, U.S.-Style" last issue was really great. I have trouble getting through some of her philosophic articles, but if that philosophy helped her to write a piece as straightforward and eye-opening as this one, it must be okay.

Steady Reader
Los Angeles

To show what's happening, let me just mention that the State Superintendent of Schools, Max Rafferty, has been waging a campaign to stop teaching the theory of Evolution. He compromised by allowing the theory to be taught in California schools only if the Biblical explanation was taught along with it and given equal emphasis.

Furthermore, he does things like threaten to take away the teaching certificate of any teacher who uses books like Soul on Ice. And he'll get away with it, too! It's very depressing.

Teacher
California

The Army has reported that it is destroying its file on 18,000,000 "political risks." It seems funny that they are first now admitting that they have such a file—and stranger still that they could label 18 million people as political risks. The truth probably is that they are getting rid of their third carbon copy.

Hospital Worker
New York

THE POSTAL STRIKE

Your short little piece on the postal strike on the front page last issue said it all. I've passed the copy around to some of the others, and what we would really like to do is post it on the bulletin board right in our post office.

Postal Worker
Chicago

Everyone was on the side of the postmen, even the soldiers Nixon sent in. Now he wants to get people mad at the postmen by making it look as if the proposed increased postal rates are going into their pockets.

Everybody knows why postal costs are high. The artificially low rates for junk mail and advertising are a free gift to big business, while the high rates on first class hurt normal people writing their friends, paying their bills, and trying to make a living.

Tricky Dicky promised to "bring us together." He is certainly succeeding. His record of anti-labor, anti-civil rights, and anti-consumer actions are bringing workers, blacks, and all of us who have to live in this society together—against him and the businessmen, bureaucrats, and militarists for whom he rules.

Teacher
Connecticut

I used to think New York was a bad labor town until the postal workers showed us a thing or two about militancy and guts. But looks like it will be a rough year for labor.

Our last few contracts with the truckers have not been satisfying. We've had to run to catch up to inflation with each new three year contract. This year we're through running. If our leaders don't get us what we need, we'll just have to do it ourselves.

White Teamster
New York

DEAD-END TERRORISM

The new wave of terrorism shows the dead-endedness, so far as I am concerned, of groups who once were useful. A statement of the Revolutionary Group 9 called the Mobil workers "enemies." Yet this is not a period of inactivity on the part of workers—there are new beginnings everywhere, from the postal workers and teamsters to the construction workers in Pittsburgh. No small

group can substitute itself for the masses. It is those who bomb that we must write off.

Activist
New York

It is incredible that nobody has been killed yet. The kids who are bombing are very loose-headed. So far as I can tell from the reports they all seem like rich kids who don't care about anyone.

Black Woman Worker
New York

My mother cleans in a bank. A clock automatically shuts the doors while she works at night. She can't get out and would never answer a phone. The kids who plant bombs, and then call to "warn" about them, don't know workers well enough to even know this.

Working Woman
New York

SCOTTISH STRIKES

We are having plenty of strikes in Scotland. You can count three or four in a week. Most of it is over wages and union recognition.

New developments are possible over redundancy of 3500 shipyard workers in Glasgow and Clydebank. The government put 20 million pounds in the Clydeside shipyards, but, as you can guess, modernization was involved. Union leaders pretend to be surprised.

Correspondent
Glasgow

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

Joined by Students

L. A. teachers' strike hits decaying schools

Los Angeles, Calif.—When 12,500 teachers of a school system that employs 25,000 teachers are fed up and walk out on strike indefinitely until the time when drastic renovations in schools are made, there is something very wrong with the system. When half the students of this massive system (second to New York) walk out in support of their teachers, they are aware of the prevalent conditions and the lack in the educational system.

Los Angeles teachers have been on strike since April 13, 1970. The disenchanted students are coming out in demonstrations of support in even greater numbers every day, chanting, "Walk out!" and "On strike, shut it down." Parents whose patience has been worn thin, are keeping their children at home and joining picket lines that are massing around the city's 616 schools.

In midst of the chaos in our schools, the Board of Education adamantly refuses to shut down the schools. This is supposedly for the purpose of obtaining state financial aid that will come to the system by "keeping the schools open".

LACK OF STATE FUNDING

This strike by United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), a newly merged group of 22,000 teachers, followed as a consequence of repeated overtures to the Board of Education (local and state) and to the state legislature to provide the 50 per cent funding of schools that was promised.

Today in Los Angeles, we receive only 28 per cent funding of schools from the state. The rest is made up from revenues from property owners. Bond issues and tax overrides have been constantly voted down by the over-taxed local property owners.

As a result of lack of support for education in California, the city schools in Los Angeles have deteriorated each year from a once good system to a "system" that is cutting back on textbooks, supplies, counselors, teachers, buildings (in an ever increasing enrollment) and custodial services. There is even a threat of cutting the normal six-period to a five-period day.

This is resulting in having the highest teacher-student ratio of the large cities in the nation, lowest reading scores and an alarmingly high (40 per cent in the inner city) drop-out rate.

RONALD REAGAN

Ronald Reagan, in his campaign against education in California, has refused to even consider solutions; instead, washing his hands of the deplorable education conditions, he said, "It's a local problem". Reagan ran for governor on the platform that would provide schools with 50 per cent funding from the state.

Reagan calls the striking teachers, students and parents, "dissidents". In a recent speech, he said that

U of M BAM's victory hit by Agnew

Ann Arbor, Mich.—A twelve-day strike by students and some workers at the University of Michigan forced the president of the university and the regents to agree that the student body would be ten percent black by 1973. The strike followed four months of negotiations between the administration and the Black Action Movement (BAM) and its white coalition.

BAM had presented demands for ten percent minority enrollment, funding for that ten percent, a Black Study Center, 50 Chicano students, and minority recruiters. The Regents, in March, agreed that the demands were reasonable and would be "worked for." However, the Regents refused to make a serious commitment, and students took to the streets.

Fighting started as police tried to disperse the crowd. Although police hit people indiscriminately, they made sure to arrest only black students.

BAM and the support coalition then called a strike. Within four days the boycott shut down over two thirds of the university. At the height of the strike, over 10,000 students boycotted classes. Moreover, black and white strike leaders talked to non-academic employees, and many walked out in support. For two days, most food service was stopped. The cry all over campus was: "Open it up or shut it down."

University President Robben Fleming then admitted that the Regent's proposal would only fund seven percent minority enrollment, little more than double the present three percent. He indicated a willingness to negotiate and finally a ten percent agreement was



—N&L Photo

Closing the "generation gap," students and teachers demonstrate together to shut down Los Angeles school system.

striking against the government was a strike against the people. He refuses to admit that we are the people striking against his policies. Reagan's cry of "dissident voices" is nothing but a combination of passing the buck and scapegoating.

CONDITIONS GETTING WORSE

As a teacher in the Los Angeles City Schools, in the last three years or so, I have seen, with much grief, school conditions getting worse and worse with cut back of federal and state aid to education. I have seen young teachers come into the system with idealism to change the system only to have it shattered in a matter of one school year.

At every turn in being innovative and individual in the classroom the teacher must wage a major battle against the repression of an administration with a staunch emphasis on dollars and cents in place of education for students. Cutting corners in the last few years has seen my ghetto students increasingly embittered and "tuned out" to the routine. One student likens the high school experience to "serving a sentence".

Comments such as, "I am going to get out and have no more school, I am tired of it!" and "I am getting out of this prison and begin living!" are common and exemplify attitudes which the system creates.

Lack of initiative, apathetic attitudes and staring eyes of boredom creep into the classrooms. "The powder keg" has been lit in Los Angeles and has exploded into a battle for the overhaul of education. UTLA is determined to have "better schools or no schools" as one placard reads.

—Los Angeles High School Teacher

L.A. high school students support teachers' strike

Taft High

Los Angeles, Calif.—When I arrived at Taft High School Monday morning, the first day of the teachers' strike, I found students milling around in the senior quad. Since only 27 of the school's 127 faculty members showed up for work, most of the students had no classes to go to. The principal had just broadcast over the public address system that all students whose teachers were not present were to report to the senior quad or the cafeteria or the library. There ensued an exodus from the campus.

The next day it was apparent that the student population had diminished substantially. By the third day, those students still attending school became a little disgusted at their prevailing situation. Some were in support of the UTLA demands and wanted to show their support by closing down the school.

About 300 students staged a "mill-in" in the administration building. The term "mill-in" means simply that the students chose a rather peculiar place to stand and do their socializing—right in the center of administrative activity. They were asked to leave, and, having made their point sufficiently, decided to comply.

Leaflets were run off explaining why students should support the teachers' strike. The leaders of this movement, wearing T-shirts with the words "Teach Me" printed on them, managed to convince about fifty fellow students to join the picket line.

—Taft High student

University High

Los Angeles, Calif.—At Uni there was a rally of student supporters in the morning of Tuesday, April 14, at which the more radical students decided to enter the school and get more students to come out. We didn't get in and two students were suspended.

Then everyone marched to Wilshire Blvd. for publicity, and then we all went to class, or at least said we would, in order to get into the school. As soon as we were in school a big crowd of us occupied three bungalows, hoping to close the school. In the end we were talked into leaving by Juhnke, an administrator, who said he agreed with us in principle but wouldn't close the school because he'd lose his job if he did. We were shafted.

Wednesday there was a lot of confusion ending in a nice big sit-in in the administration building which lasted for two hours. We were talked into leaving after much chanting when a water line broke. Shafted again.

Thursday there was another sit-in, singing, and factions. The more moderate student leaders told the sit-in to disperse after talking to the principal who said he couldn't do anything about closing the school. The moderates left. The more radical students stayed until the administrators started taking down their names, and then they, too, split.

—Two University High students

Hamilton High

Los Angeles, Calif.—By the second day of the strike, a student protest was underway. Students were restless, and tired of being "babysat" by scabs and administrators. Chanting such slogans as "On strike: shut it down" and "Good schools are no schools," the students marched through every floor of the laboratory and administration buildings.

Upon reaching our destination, the main floor of the administration building (around the marble statue of Alex Hamilton), no less than 1,000 students sat in.

Around 11:30 that morning, principal Paul Schwartz declared Hamilton High officially closed. Later on it was found that the team of Schwartz and Kelley (acting area superintendent) declared Tuesday a minimum day ending around 12:00. Therefore Hami would have been closed at that time anyway. Still it was a victory for the students and teachers.

—Hamilton student

Van Nuys High

Los Angeles, Calif.—At Van Nuys High School, students joined the teachers to close the school down. Chicanos, low-riders, middle class whites, athletes, and normally apathetic students came together.

On Tuesday, the students were ready to fight, and by mid-morning a spontaneous student march occupied the administration building. Approximately 300 of us had a sit-in and a boycott of classes. (It was at this time that I was suspended. I was later expelled, and still later transferred.) After threats from the administration and plain-clothes policemen, the rally dispersed with plans to come back the next day.

On Wednesday, approximately 1,000 students walked out of school. The school was closed for the day. On Thursday, our strategy was to boycott classes and have students go home. Our plan worked well for only 500 students out of 3,800 were in school.

The latest move among students now is to boycott classes and have student strikers and student picket lines. Although we can't totally support the teachers, if the strike succeeds, it will make it possible for real education to begin. United we will win.

—Van Nuys student

Attention, N&L Readers!

Our supply of **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**, by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, is almost completely exhausted. We have back orders for several hundred copies from universities who wish to use it as a text. **CAN YOU HELP US LOCATE COPIES?** Please let us know where copies of any edition might be available.

TWO WORLDS

'True rebirth' or wholesale revision of Marxism?

(Continued from Page 5)

analysis of the law of value which Marx considered the mainspring of capitalism, but which Mandel, following the Russian revisionists, strips of its strictly capitalistic nature.

This is not just a question of not "beginning" with what Marx began his analysis—the famous Chapter I of *Capital* which Lenin had accused "none of the Marxists" of understanding because they had not understood "the whole of the Logic." Nor is it a question of beginning, instead, with what is "new in the epoch an author analyzes. Rather it is a way of presenting capitalistic economic categories as if they had "always" existed—long before capitalism and long after capitalism is abolished. The Russians dared lay hands on *Capital* in order to attempt to clothe the naked exploitation of their state-capitalist society in "new" Marxist garments. Why does Mandel do it—keep the silence?

The Russians labored 10 years(3) before they could write as if that had always been the interpretation of Marxian economics. Mandel begins there straightaway. This is not because Mandel is the brilliant one. The Russians have a 20 year priority in that field. But the Communist state-capitalists had to, first,—upon the direct orders of Stalin—make the admission that they were changing "the teaching" of Marxian political economy. They then had to make sure that the texts prior to 1943 did a "disappearing act" in order, from then on, to begin writing without further ado about the "orthodox" interpretation of the law of value. Above all, they had to work out the consequences of the break with the structure of *Capital* which reveals not only the exploitative nature but also the perversity of capitalism: The

machine is master of man, which gives rise to the fetishistic appearance of commodities and presents the relations between men as if they were mere exchange of things.

Then, and only then, could the Russian theoreticians, Stalinized and "deStalinized," write as if the startling 1943 revision was "Marxism." It isn't that the erudite Mandel hadn't "read" the controversies.* Rather, the loss of memory was planned for purposes of presenting a "true re-birth": "After Stalin's death, and especially after the effects of Khrushchev's reforms had been exhausted. Soviet economic thought underwent a true re-birth." (p.726)

TO BE CONTINUED

(All footnotes will appear at the end of Part II, next issue.)

*Ernest Mandel happened to have been the person who debated me in 1947 when I presented the theory of state-capitalism, which I was the first to work out from original Russian sources on the basis of the first three Five Year Plans, when the Russians were still denying the operation of the law of value in their "socialist land." (*Analysis of the Russian Economy*, New International, Dec. 1942, Jan. 1943, Feb. 1943; and again in Dec. 1946 and Jan. 1947, and after World War II, analyzed the Fourth Five Year Plan, "New Developments in Stalin's Russia" in *Labor Action*, October 1946.) Following that conference of the Fourth International, the French Trotskyist theoretical journal, of which Mandel was an editor, published my article on the Varga controversy. (*Quatrieme Internationale*, January-February, 1948.)

Book Review

A look at 'socialism with a human face'

Man and His World, A Marxian View, by Ivan Svitak, Dell Publishing Co., N.Y. \$1.95.*

This work by Ivan Svitak, a Marxist philosopher and former Czechoslovakian professor at Charles University, in Prague, is "Dedicated to the Marxist humanists who believe in the ideas of socialism with a human face."

Svitak's primary thesis is that the humanism of Marxism is the relentless enemy of Communist rulers everywhere, who have distorted the ideas of Marx in the process of establishing and maintaining their power. In the hands of totalitarian rulers, Marxist philosophy, theory and practice, aimed at achieving human freedom, has been turned into an ideology, or false consciousness, to justify whatever the rulers decide needs justification—including enslavement.

*This work, comprising eight essays given in Czechoslovakia by the author either as public lectures, speeches or discussions, encompasses the years 1956-68. These years were for the most part marked by strict censorship and harsh repression against critics of the Communist regimes in power in either Russia or its satellite Czechoslovakia.

U.S. money invades Canada

Winnipeg, Canada—A recent issue of Winnipeg, Manitoba's underground newspaper—*Omphalos*—was entitled: "From Zurich To The Pas: The \$100 Million Rape Of Manitoba". An advertisement in this issue announces the "MANITOBA 100th Anniversary Sale! Available 250,000 Square Miles Of Manitoba; Immediate Delivery—Miles of Virgin Air, Streams, Lakes, Forests Waiting To Be Exploited. Foreign Investors Welcome (Small Businesses Need Not Apply)."

The United States Government announced last month that it would ignore Canada's claim to jurisdiction over its arctic waters as protection against pollution. The U.S. is looking to Canada and Alaska to supply the vast quantities of raw materials which will be needed to supply its massive industrial complex—especially that on the East coast. With the unexpectedly high cost of securing access to these needed resources in Asia and the Middle East, Canada and Canadian arctic waters have become vital to the U.S. economy.

Canadian branch unions of U.S. unions are fearful that the joint U.S.-Canada battle against "inflation" will continue to push up Canadian unemployment levels about 2 per cent ahead of already high U.S. levels. Massive layoffs in such leading companies as Ford of Canada, Chrysler of Canada, General Motors of Canada, Massey Ferguson of Canada, and harsh government action against the rash of recent strikes—many of them wildcats—combined with rumors that the Trudeau Government will soon introduce legislation requiring compulsory arbitration and setting strict levels on wage increases—have produced an ever more gloomy job situation here.

But in spite of these rumblings of petty discontent, the sale of Canada moves swiftly onward.

War, labor, pollution raised at Conn. anti-aircraft demo

Hartford, Conn.—A morning of militant activity at the United Aircraft Co. and a massive afternoon "Life Festival" in Bushnell Park at the State Capitol marked this April's day of protest here. Organized by the "Anti-Aircraft Conspiracy," a local group of United Aircraft workers, students, and concerned citizens, the demonstrations were the most militant that Hartford had ever seen and the first, perhaps in the whole country, to unite the issues of anti-war, labor, and pollution.

The target of the "Conspiracy" was the United Aircraft Co., the fifth largest defense contractor in the country, whose annual stockholders' meeting was held here. The UAC made a net profit of \$50,909,000 last year and produces aircraft engines, fire bombs, napalm, missiles, and helicopters. The Company has long been known for its poor working conditions, frequent lay-offs, and anti-union activities.

"Conspiracy" supporters picketed the stockholders' meeting, leafleted the workers, and attempted to raise its five-point program inside the meeting. The five demands are:

- 1) Stop all war production
- 2) Convert to life supporting production
- 3) Improve treatment of U.A.C. employees
- 4) No layoffs over the period of conversion
- 5) End U.A.C. pollution of the environment both inside and outside the factories.

Several hundred demonstrators outside clashed briefly with police when they attempted to close the meeting on the grounds that it was illegal. The demonstration then moved one mile to the plant gate, where they again clashed briefly with police and company guards.

The rally in Bushnell Park attracted thousands. The local press and T.V. gave the demonstration "front page" coverage, but played up the occasional use of four-letter words by the speakers, the dress of the demonstrators, and the arrests, instead of the political content. It was clear to all, however, that the movement in Connecticut is growing in power, militancy, and consciousness.

Black-Red Views

Cruse and Cleaver

(Continued from Page 1)

For Mr. Cruse to assume that the Maoist-oriented politics of Cleaver is Marxist is a mistake, both on Cleaver's part and Cruse's. Cleaver's "contradictions, confusion and even his reformism," so adroitly pointed out by Cruse, should be laid at the door of Mao, not Marx.

However, Cruse's main thrust of argument is against any fundamental alteration of class relationship! Since Cleaver "advocates the class struggle," the possible unity of Black and white workers to destroy the system of capitalism is a punch at the gut nerve of all middle class intellectual and elitist groups, black or white.

Cruse's position boils down to this: since racism is so generalized in this country, there can be no unity of class action on the part of Black and white workers, and, since this country has no "communality of cultural interest and heritage," the class struggle is obviated on both the political and the economic fronts. Further, he opines that Black and white confrontation is "historically and psychologically... a conflict of cultural Nationalism."

EXPOSES CRUSE'S 'WHITE' PREJUDICE

On all the above, Mr. Cruse is dead wrong and he reveals a conservative prejudice that previously has been the sole province of white "historians." By denying the existence of the class struggle as the focal point of every great change in American history, he has turned a blind eye to the truth of history, the same way that white historians ignore the struggles that Blacks carried on continually against the slave masters and the institution of slavery!

Since the days of slavery to the Populist movement, to the struggles for the eight hour day, to the formation of the C.I.O., and down to the Civil Rights movement of the last decade, we have had this unity in struggle of both Black and white workers. In fact, it would have been inconceivable for these historical movements of change to take place without this unity of Black and white.

If Mr. Cruse is not aware of this, he is guilty of seeing "history" from the white establishment point of view.

Marxism recognizes the duality in every national cultural struggle. It expresses itself in a positive way by opposing the dominant capitalist force; on the other hand, it kowtows to the nascent element of class domination which exists within it. Among the Blacks in this country it is the "talented tenth" of DuBois—the petty bourgeois intellectual who would like to do away with the class aspects of their struggle. It is nothing new.

(To be continued)

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—Andrew Filak

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

By Eugene Walker

Erfurt demonstration threatens German rulers—East and West

The demonstration of several thousand in Erfurt who shouted "Willie, Willie Brandt," at the first meeting of East and West Germany, showed that the meeting was of significance not only in a capitalist sense but in a revolutionary sense as well.

The coming to power of Brandt's Social Democrats in West Germany after twenty years of the Christian Democratic Party meant a new atmosphere in Europe that is at present most deeply appreciated in the east of Europe. The decision to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the bilateral talks concerning non-aggression pacts with Poland and with Russia—all show a new face of capital in West Germany.

The talks with East Germany in Erfurt were part of this face. There were many reasons that the capitalists, West AND East, desired the talks. There would be the possibility for more trade between economically powerful West Germany and the Eastern European countries. Poland wished to secure the Oder-Neisse line as a permanent border between herself and Germany. Russia may well have wished for quiet on its western front after its invasion of Czechoslovakia, its internal production problems, the Sino-Soviet conflict, not to mention its global entanglement with the United States.

But whatever state and private capitalism's reasons for the meeting, an entirely different, revolutionary element came into being with the demonstration in Erfurt, a demonstration which the East Germans had taken many pains to avoid.

East Germany's Chief, Walter Ulbricht, had been reluctant to engage in talks and had no doubt been pressured by the Russians to proceed with them. He spoke about West German "revangists", but the Erfurt demonstration exposed what he really feared—his own people, most especially the workers.

WALL HOLDS WORKERS

June 17, 1953—the date of the East German workers' revolt against work norms—was still very much on Ulbricht's mind. The Berlin Wall was built in 1961 precisely because of the labor shortage in the East as thousands fled to the West. The German workers may not have been able to escape from alienated labor in the West, but they did escape to get at least a choice of labor. East German sovereignty took on aspects of a prison. Ulbricht's fear was the fear of revolution from within, not invasion from without.

An economically strong Germany and any real thought of reunification does bring back many memories in both the West and East. For France there is the occupation; for England the bombing; for Russia the invasion of its territory and the death of millions. This is especially true with the appearance of Neo-Nazism in Germany today.

But all that occurred in Europe in 1968 showed that the old vantage points were no longer sufficient

and that the situation today must be dealt with. That situation is not a threat of Nazism but the real possibility of revolution in industrial Europe. This is what France, May, 1968, meant.

To halt this threat, changes have to occur and the maneuvering over Germany must be seen in this light.

The brave demonstration in Erfurt is further proof of the revolutionary potential. It was linked to the East German Revolt of 1953 and to the fight for a breath of air that all the East European states and some of the Western states have been engaged in over the past few years. Revolutionary Germany, not Nazi Germany, is the possibility that the demonstrators stood for.

And it is precisely for that reason that no real movement toward a united Germany will be made either by the big powers or those in power within either Germany. None dare face a united Germany which on the one hand would be a great economic power and on the other hand could be a great revolutionary might.

GERMANY'S REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL

Twentieth Century Germany has always been pregnant with this dualism of revolution and capitalism. In 1919 revolutionary Russia was staking all on a successful German Revolution. It was understood so well by the betrayers of the revolution that they murdered its leaders, Rosa Luxemburg

and Karl Liebknecht. The end of that drama was capitalism's most extreme form—Nazism.

World War II, far from solving any problems, only showed that Germany was very much the key to Europe and a new fight began among the super powers to control its industrial potentialities. Right after V-E day, 1945, the allies met and promptly began to fight each other over who would control Germany. Nothing was settled and a marker was put down dividing East and West. The Cold War began. The blockade of Berlin followed and was broken.

Next came the exodus of East German masses to the West. East Germany lost no less than 15 per cent of its labor force and finally in 1961 the Berlin Wall was built to keep the laboring forces within East Germany. Meanwhile money was poured into West Germany, and its economy became the dominant force in Western Europe.

Facing this capitalist onslaught are the voices of revolt within Germany. The beginning was the East German rising in 1953 against Russian and East German totalitarianism. In West Germany there has been the rise of a new left in the 1960's against their government. And now the 1970 demonstration in Erfurt. All show that there is a revolutionary movement in Germany, West and East, seeking a way out of the capitalist solutions being posed for Germany by the East and the West.

Cambodia

With the overthrow of Prince Sihanouk and the new fighting in Cambodia, the war now covers Indochina to the same extent as before the French defeat of 1954.

Between the forces of revolution throughout Southeast Asia and the U.S.-financed efforts to check it, there appears to be no room left for any neutralists. In South Vietnam, under a succession of dictatorships from Ngo Dinh Diem to Nguyen Van Thieu, the neutralists had a choice between supporting the Americans, the Vietcong, prison and exile. In Laos, they were incapable of laying down a policy and were rapidly drawn into the American camp and no longer exist as a political force. Thailand remains an ally of the United States and furnishes vital support to the U.S. bombing programs as a giant aircraft carrier. And now it appears that any hope of neutrality in Cambodia is rapidly coming to an end.

The new government of Lon Nol has already asked the United States for military assistance to drive out National Liberation Front troops who use Cambodia as a sanctuary. This government has stirred up a lynch spirit against the half-million Vietnamese civilians who live in Cambodia. Thou-

sands have been murdered by Cambodian soldiers, and many more were locked up in internment camps. In several recent battles, these civilians have been marched into gunfire as human shields, so that Vietcong gun positions could be determined. The ghastly sight of long lines of Vietnamese corpses floating down the Mekong River is now a commonplace sight in Lon Nol's Cambodia.

The government has not hesitated to strike hard at demonstrators who supported Sihanouk. Dozens were killed and hundreds were wounded when they attempted to march on the capital.

The tragedy of Cambodia is not a mere right wing coup. Given the situation in South East Asia, it is difficult to see how any country could hope to escape the currents of revolution and counter-revolution in Indochina. But there is also the tragedy that Sihanouk tried to build his position of neutrality more on his own dominant personality than on any mass movement among his own people. Thus when a coup is attempted, he is left out in the cold with no real support in his own country. The coup may well have been a CIA project, but that does not explain away the lack of support Sihanouk had among his own people.

Strike wave forces labor showdown with Nixon

(Continued from Page 1)

Repression, from the troops that entered the post-offices, to Nixon's proposed labor laws and the rail strike settlement, has accompanied the recession. The proposed labor law, presented to Congress by the Administration, would make slaves of workers in railroad, trucking, airline, longshore and maritime industries.

It would extend in these industries the 80-day no-strike period another 30 days and then give the President the power to authorize partial operation of the struck industry FOREVER. This amazing law would also allow a panel picked by the President the right to force the union to accept the company's last offer—whatever it is.

Railroad workers know that this threat is real from first-hand experience. On April 11, they began serving a one-year sentence under a contract which they had repeatedly voted down. This contract was rushed through the Congress, which, for the first time in U.S. history, actually set the terms of a contract and ordered workers to live with it.

CAPITALISTS DEMAND ACTION

The capitalists and the government have been yelling in recent months about the "crisis of authority" in the universities. Now they are saying that the same epidemic has spread to labor. Business Week magazine, in an article headlined "The U.S. Can't Afford What Labor Wants," complained: "The union membership has the bit in its teeth and does not hesitate to punish union leaders who do not get all that the rank-and-file wants." The article called for Nixon's new labor laws to cover all labor, not just transportation.

The right of union members to vote on contract ratification was denied the railroad workers. But George Meaney, AFL-CIO president, goes further. He revealed in a recent speech that he believes that NO union should allow a membership vote on contracts. Negotiators, he proposed, should have the final say.

Nixon, the capitalists and Meaney all profess to be bewildered by the wave of contract ratification re-

fusals and wildcat strikes. The reasons are all too plain to the workers. The administration's economic policy has produced a new phenomenon in America—recession and inflation, at the same time. Last year the cost of living went up 7%, while unemployment soared.

WORKER UNITY BEING FORGED

The Teamsters who crippled trucking for most of April, struck against a contract that would have left them making less in real wages than they made before the 1967 pact. The postal workers, who showed that black or white, men or women, federal employees can unite and strike—these workers were earning barely \$6,000 a year.

When 1970 began, the capitalist economists predicted "a bloody year" for labor relations. They planned to use the recession and accept long strikes as the price of cowering union members into submission. Thus far, it is labor that has refused to be cowed and has even, in many industries, taken the offensive.

In the months between May and September, contracts covering 1,500,000 workers are due to expire. In September alone, 200,000 workers in meatpacking and 650,000 in auto will be seeking new contracts.

Nixon's war on black America and on youth demands that his right-wing and racist administration have at least a period of quiet from labor, especially white labor. If racism in white labor is predominant, the rush to totalitarianism, U.S. style, may go far along the planned path.

But the unity of black and white postal workers in opposing Nixon directly, as their employer, showed that class can overcome racism. And the Teamster wildcat, by workers overwhelmingly white, terrified both the companies and the union leadership.

The wider and deeper the strike wave goes, the more it can keep the Nixon administration from implementing its barbaric plans. And if labor, black and white, men and women, can unite with the black masses and with youth, the future may not be concentration camps, but a new society.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

only way to survive, and with the pressure and intimidation, he lets defective parts pass him and says he doesn't give a damn. If quantity is first for the company, my job is first for me." The student said now he understood; his professor had made it sound like it was just the workers' fault.

MARX FOR TODAY

Another person asked me, "How long have you been reading Marx? It sounds like you have been since you were born!" I told him, "The todayness of Marx is truly overwhelming. His description of Automation in his lifetime fits the present day more precisely than any living writer's. He also described the concerted strife of workers under these machines so long as they are capitalistically controlled. Instead of lightening the labor, it becomes a sort of torture. It does not free labor from work, but deprives work of all interest."

The student said, "You sure have concretized that in your talk today. And your conclusion was very great." I was somewhat surprised at that, because I had concluded by saying, "What the intellectuals forget is that a new society is a human endeavor, or it is nothing. It cannot be brought in behind the backs of people, neither by a 'vanguard' nor by the 'scientific individual.' The working people will build it or it will not be built."

"There is a crying need for a new unity of theory and practice which begins where the working people are—their thoughts, their struggles, their aspirations. Workers are demanding that work be completely different and not separated from life itself, and that thinking and doing be united."

The challenge of our time is not to machines, but to men. IBM's can destroy mankind; they cannot solve the problems of its human relations. A total solution is needed, and it can be nothing short of a new Humanism, Marxist-Humanism.

Coming in June issue of TELOS —
Raya Dunayevskaya on "Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence"—Order from NEWS & LETTERS