

ON THE INSIDE

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Model Change Layoffs Permanent?

Every year, starting in July, there is a model changeover lay-off period. Production workers look forward to changeover time after working continuously for a year, as it means being off for two or three weeks. It gives the workers time to rest their tired and weary bodies and feel like a human at the end of the layoff period. At the same time, they can put in for their workman's compensation and supplementary check from the company which brings them close to 85 per cent of their regular wages.

NEW AUTOMATION IN PLANT

It has always been good news to workers when they find out the day the changeover begins. But this year has been somewhat different from the changeover period of the past few years. In one Chrysler plant they have started to automate the plant in the manner they did when automation was first introduced into the auto plants. Some workers began to worry and ask questions as to what was going to happen to their jobs after the changeover. The company's answer was that they will need more manpower.

Many of the younger workers were somewhat pacified, but the older workers were saying that this meant that many workers would be out of their jobs and never return. Some weeks before the changeover, the company stated that there would not be a layoff, they were behind with production schedules and there would be only a three day inventory and then normal production as usual.

SEVENTY PER CENT LAYOFF IN PRODUCTION

Several days before the three day inventory was due, the company reported that all production would be down for a week and everyone would return to their jobs after the week off. This meant that no worker would get compensation or sub payment because after filing, by a worker who has worked regularly for a year, the first week is waiting period. Every worker returned after the week layoff thinking about and looking forward to many months of continued work. But after three days, there were signs on the time clock stating that there would be a 70 per cent layoff in production until further notice.

This means a permanent layoff. You may get back in the shop to work and you may not ever get back. This was shocking news to most of the younger workers. The company laid off back to the middle of 1964. This was the period when all the auto companies had just begun to hire new young workers, and therefore these were the ones who were hit. An indication of how severe the layoff is can be seen in the fact that the company has eliminated the entire night shift.

It was also reported that the Ford Motor Co. had a similar layoff, involving mainly young workers and that many will be added to the unemployment list permanently.

It is a sad and sick feeling to see workers checking out of the plant that you have been working with and had close human relations with for years. They are checking out and leaving the plant with no certainty of returning.

SIX HUNDRED JOBS OF SCRAP

Meanwhile those highly automated lines in the shops have caused the company headaches. They were supposed to speed up production by some two to five hundred jobs a day. Nothing went right the first week and it was stated that some of the company engineers were fired. There were rumors that the company was going to take the new automated line out and revert back to the old manual line. With the new line they were supposed to get some 2,500 jobs a day; they were getting 200 jobs a day. By the end of the first week they had gotten it up to 600 jobs a day and many of those were scrap.

Workers were having a field day. For the first time in years they were sitting around talking and laughing and some were saying that they never will get the production that the machine is supposed to make.

The main reason is that for a number of years you never received stock that fit perfectly. Workers would use hammers to close up open stock. The machine cannot do this. When a worker would see himself burning a hole in the metal he would stop and fill it in. When this automated machine begins to burn a hole, it burns completely across the length of the metal and it is left like that. Many, many other things that workers could and would correct at that point, the machine cannot, and this is where the scrap comes in.

Some workers say the company will be forced to call back some of those young workers, but many will never return. The union is as quiet as the Rock of Gibraltar, not saying one thing on the question. Only the workers are talking and acting against this all out push toward automation. This is not progress to us.

Galloping Inflation, Rising Unemployment Show Farce of Nixon 'Work-Fare' Plan

by O. Domanski

The very week that President Nixon unveiled his own version of the, by now, traditional "war against poverty" speech, by declaring, "What America needs now is not more welfare, but more 'work-fare,'" auto workers in Detroit were wondering when, if ever, they would be called back from the current lay-offs at both Ford and Chrysler. (See "Worker's Journal" this page.) The coincidence of the lay-offs with model changeover time has allowed the full impact to go unrecorded. That the layoffs would hit hardest the very hard-core unemployed who were not hired until after the Detroit riot, however, was obvious to every worker.



See "Women Face United Front", page 6

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, nailed the farce of Nixon's proposals in three words: "inadequate, deceptive, and repressive."

The \$1,600 minimum federal standard for a family of four, that Nixon has just proposed with such fan-fare — if even it should ever get through Congress — seems ludicrous when compared with the cost of living, just bare subsistence living, in this period of galloping inflation. The Department of Agriculture has estimated that a family of four needs at least \$1,200 for food alone—just enough food to survive.

Nobody knows better than the 10 million Americans who have been forced into it, that the present welfare system is degrading and unfair—and that what is needed are jobs, not welfare. But nobody knows better than they, that what Nixon proposed to substitute is nothing but "a system of forced work—even for mothers", as Abernathy put it, adding, "Everyone knows that decent jobs with decent pay are not available now and Mr. Nixon makes no provisions for finding them."

'CREEPING' UNEMPLOYMENT

In New York, welfare officials noted bitterly that the 150,000 "new job training slots" Nixon proposed would not even take care of the adult members of the 300,000 families on ADC in that state alone, who would be required by his plan to take training and accept jobs or lose their benefits.

Welfare, leaving welfare administration largely in the hands of the states almost guarantees that the Southern States, particularly, will turn the system into a source of cheap, largely black, labor.

Despite all the talk about boom and affluence today, the unemployment rate continues to "creep" back upward toward 4 percent. And for black America it continues to be double that of white America. For black ghetto youth it is no less than 20 percent.

Moreover, this is supposedly during a "boom". And, if Wall Street is any indication, all signs point to a real recession in the months ahead. The stock market has fallen steadily ever since last May, no less than \$100 billion, and the plunge has hit nearly every industry. From their 1969 peaks, shipping stocks are off 46 percent, airline and motion pictures 40 percent, aerospace 39 percent, sugar companies 38 percent. Coal, copper, textile, oil and insurance shares are only slightly less.

GALLOPING INFLATION

At the very same time, the working people are struggling with the greatest inflation in 18 years, which shows no sign of let-up. U.S. Steel Corporation has just announced another price increase of 4.8 percent, the broadest in a year, which will automatically give appliance and auto

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United Front Against Fascism: Black Panthers and Old Left

Berkeley, Calif.—If indeed, the Conference against Fascism, called by the Black Panthers, in Oakland, Calif., over the weekend of July 18-20, will ever be an effective force against the American brand of Fascism, it will have to change its puerile, liberalistic platform of action, adopted by the "delegates."

Not since the beginning of the "New Left" militancy of the students and the ghetto blacks, almost now a decade ago, have I ever seen on the same platform such a group of discredited "old left" hacks and liberal democrats.

OLD LEFT SPEAKERS

While a majority of the delegates were young and white (the black people were mostly members of the Black Panther Party), the oldies dominated the platform. Among them were: Herbert Aptheker, Communist Party theoretician; Dr. Carleton Goodlet, liberal black publisher of the S. F. Sun Reporter; Archie Brown of the Communist Party; William Kunstler, and Charles Garry, Black Panther lawyers; Ron Dellums, a black Democratic Councilman from Berkeley, Calif.; Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, from Toronto, Canada; and a liberal Catholic Priest, Father Boyle, from San Francisco.

No serious discussion on American Fascism was permitted. In fact, no discussion at all was permitted, except at the last night of the Conference, when there was a pitiful discussion on the decentralization of the local police department.

The decentralization of the police departments, which apparently is the main plank, and the only future activity that this Conference will engage in, is to be achieved by the amendment of city charters. The Conference gave out detailed instruction on how this is to be done by petitions and elections.

Bobby Seale and Herbert Aptheker laid the line down on what American Fascism is — and that was that! And anyone who would dispute it, or wanted to discuss it, or anything else, was physically ejected from the Conference.

The Progressive Labor people were told to keep away from the Conference or they would "get their heads whipped." The Independent Socialists, the PL group from SDS, and the Spartacists League, were physically prevented by Panther security guards from passing out literature in the public park where some of the Conference meetings were held, on the grounds that they were "Trotskyists or CIA agents." The official Trotskyists, however, were not bothered.

When Seale was asked why the PL was prevented from attending, he said that the PLers had beaten and maced the Black Panther delegates to the SDS Convention in Chicago.

"JIVE IDEOLOGY"

Seale further stated that this Conference had "no time for jive ideology" it was a Conference to "take action." At the last night of the Conference, Seale, who is a good mimic, sarcastically mimicked the "ideologists" in his speech, just before he and Peter Frank, white member of Peace & Freedom Party, unveiled the Great Plan of Action — Community Control of Local Police.

Of course this Conference was ideological, the ideology of the

(Continued on Page 7)



United Press International

Irish Catholic teenagers in Bogside hurl firebombs at hated Ulster police.

Near Civil War Rocks Northern Ireland

As we go to press, near civil war has broken out in Northern Ireland. The article below was received on the eve of the Orangemen's March, of Aug. 12, which triggered the latest rebellion.

As the battles have spread from Londonderry and Belfast into other towns across North Ireland, hundreds have already been injured, deaths by gunfire have begun to mount, factories, stores and homes have been leveled by fire-bombs. Observers have been struck by how young some of the rebels are. Many are in their early teens.

British troops have finally been ordered into the country. Bernadette Devlin has demanded that British Prime Minister Wilson suspend the North Ireland constitution and call a constitutional conference immediately "to settle the Irish question once and for all."

By Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland — The government of Northern Ireland stands discredited in the eyes of every right-minded person for the part it has played by giving encouragement to a policy of hatred and intolerance in which the Catholic minority are the victims.

The government is made up of members of the Orange Order, the very body that makes religious hatred the only reason for its existence.

It is possible that the Labor Government may feel compelled to over-step the government of Ulster. That is what Bernadette Devlin is calling for. Parliament is on holiday but Miss Devlin has sent a telegram to the Prime Minister asking that M.P.s be recalled and control of the police be taken out of the hands of the government of Ulster. She adds:

"The Labour Government must pledge itself to end appalling unemployment and housing conditions in Northern Ireland lest

posturing appeals by yourself or members of your party for peace and justice can only be construed as playing politics with the lives of our people, both Catholic and Protestant."

The recent riots were sparked off by an Orange procession going, provocatively, through a Catholic quarter of Belfast. The riots reached the stage in which petrol bombs were used in attempts to set fire to houses occupied by Catholics.

Complaints were made about the easy-going way in which the riots were dealt with by the police in contrast to their conduct in Derry when they attacked civil rights demonstrators. The government is under strong pressure but still shows great reluctance to deal with the situation.

DIVIDE WORKERS

It has to be borne in mind that this has little to do with religion. What happened at the Battle of the Boyne, or anything the Pope may have said or done, has little bearing on the way in which the workers are split.

It was the Tory politicians both in Northern Ireland and in the United Kingdom who, in order to remain in power, brought about the division of Ireland into North and South. The flames of bigotry have been fanned by ignorant demagogues like the Rev. Ian Paisley. It has always suited the ruling class that the workers be divided in this way.

Bernadette Devlin and her friends of the Peoples' Democracy, basing themselves on the teaching of James Connolly, who was shot by the British Government in 1916, are working to unite the two sides so that the workers will fight together on the social issues that affect them. Bernadette has made it clear that if the fight is to be confined for concessions to one section of the workers she will have nothing to do with it.

Mr. Chichester-Clark, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, has declared that he will not ban demonstrations. It would be wrong to conclude that he is progressively-minded. The fact is that a section of the Orange Order known as the "Apprentice Boys" are due to hold a procession on the 12th of August. As a loyal Orangeman he does not want to ban that.

UNITE WORKERS

The demand that the British Government intervene will be understood when we remember that the B-Specials (Ulster auxiliary police) are members of the Orange Order and that they will do nothing effective to protect the Catholic minority in the event of riots.

It is important to note that many Protestant workers are with the Peoples' Democracy attempt to unite the workers, and that a number of English M.P.s support the demand of Bernadette for the re-call of Parliament.

Meantime the army of unemployed workers is greater than in any other part of the United Kingdom. The housing situation is also serious. This makes discrimination against the Catholic minority easier.

The struggle has reached a very high level but there are dangers ahead.

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A Special Bulletin on
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Harry McShane
31 Balbeg St.
Glasgow SW1, Scotland

Bernadette Devlin on the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement

Bernadette Devlin, 22 year old civil rights activist, was interviewed following her recent election to Parliament from mid-Ulster. Following are excerpts from that interview:

We are a movement of all the exploited people of Northern Ireland. The ruling party—the Unionist Party—uses religious differences to weaken the efforts of the common people to improve their lot. Religious bigotry is an excuse for the economic failure of the government.

Much to the horror of everybody on the press, I made a simple statement that when the Westminster Parliament refuses to listen and act, I will go to the people who have been forced out of Ireland and work among them.

At the risk of offending our comrades in the rest of the United Kingdom I think that there is very little that they can do at this stage because they simply do not understand the mentality or the basic personality of the Irish people. In particular, the small farmers have a radical tradition, but they do not like you using doctrinaire terms, and the workers will spell out workers' control for you, but they don't like you trying to do it for them.

I will probably spend most of my time working among the people of Mid-Ulster and working in the streets of London where I feel much more at home.

Health Workers Blast Medical Association for Exploitation

New York, N.Y.—On Sunday, July 13, the American Medical Association (AMA) held its annual meeting in the Imperial Ballroom of the Americana Hotel, in New York City.

Following a U.S. Marine Band's rendition of the musical history of war and at the onset of the AMA's presidential address, a group of about 100 radical health workers, including doctors, nurses, technicians and students seized the microphone and podium. In an attempt to politicize the health consciousness of the American people, they labeled the AMA as the American Murder Association.

MEDICAL COMPLEX

Through the AMA's collusion with the medical industrial complex, consisting of drug, insurance, hospital supply, engineering, research, and tobacco industries, it has fought (in most cases successfully) every piece of progressive health legislation to appear in Congress. It has fought for control of the health delivery system with the largest lobbying budget in American political history.

The American Murder Association and its corporate associates have maintained monopoly control of the health arena where they use illness as a marketable commodity.

The control it has sought has been for the purposes of maximization of profits in conjunction with minimization of services, public accountability and potentially competitive (with doctors) increases in health manpower.

PROFIT MAXIMIZATION

Monopoly control and its consequent profit maximization have resulted in an ever-increasing, never-ending inflationary spiral of health care costs. And these rises in costs will be further exacerbated as technological innovation becomes more available.

The ever increasing costs the public must now bear in order to

insure health maintenance have placed virtually 80 per cent of the people of this country in a position unable to afford health care.

Even upper middle class families can no longer afford comprehensive care; you can imagine where this leaves the workers.

LIFE AND DEATH

Our differences with the American Murder Association and its corporate and professional associates are not simply isolated ideological or theoretical differences, but life and death differences.

Whoever controls health care in this country literally has the power to determine life and death for millions of people. Should this power rest in the hands of selfish corporate and professional interests, or in the hands of the people?

Health care (or really death care) as established in this country is the natural and inevitable extension of an exploitive, capitalistic system. And until that system is crushed, any health care program devised to function within the system is doomed to failure.

—Demonstrator

Dayton Hospital Workers Strike

Dayton, Ohio — The non-professional workers at Good Samaritan Hospital are striking for representation by the Dayton Public Service Union. At the time this issue goes to press, the striking workers are deadlocked with David L. Ford, hospital administrator.

Ford refuses to meet with the D.P.S.U., giving the following reasons for his actions: one, he recognizes no dispute; two, he expresses fear that his meeting with the union would set a precedent which other hospitals would find compulsory to follow; and three, as hospital administrator, he feels that he knows what is best for his employees.

Picketing workers see a dispute, would like to set a precedent of reasoning negotiation, and would prefer to choose their own representative who they feel understands their needs.

Striking workers at Good Sam are receiving support from Dayton's two teamster locals, who are delivering only items essential to the care of patients; the rubber workers, who have loaned their union hall for a picketing headquarters; and the SCLC and the local grape boycott organization, who have helped to picket.

The Special Powers Act of Northern Ireland

is one of the most repressive acts in existence in modern society, and is aimed specifically against the Irish Catholic minority and any who join forces with them to fight against the hated ruling class in that country.

Under the Act, the authorities are empowered to:

1. Arrest without warrant;
2. Imprison without charge or trial and deny recourse to habeas corpus or a court of law;
3. Enter and search homes without warrant, and with force, at any hour of day or night;
4. Declare a curfew and prohibit meetings, assemblies (including fairs and markets) and processions;
5. Permit punishment by flogging;
6. Deny claim to a trial by jury;
7. Arrest persons it is desired to examine as witnesses, forcibly detain them and compel them to answer questions, under penalties, even if answers may

incriminate them. Such a person is guilty of an offence if he refuses to be sworn or answer a question;

8. Do any act involving interference with the rights of private property;
9. Prevent access of relatives or legal advisers to a person imprisoned without trial;
10. Prohibit the holding of an inquest after a prisoner's death;
11. Arrest a person who "by word of mouth" spreads false reports or makes false statements;
12. Prohibit the circulation of any newspaper;
13. Prohibit the possession of any film or gramophone record;
14. Arrest a person who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations."

From The Auto Shops

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—G.M. has been doing a lot of hiring at Fleetwood because there has been the biggest turnover I've ever seen. Workers are quitting by the dozens.

This has caused seniority to go way down, especially on the afternoon shift, where most men working now came on after 1964. In one department the seniority is so low that the worker who is number five on the list has only been there six or seven years.

Of the workers being hired in now, most are white and look to be college students. Most of them will quit in the fall. G.M. really likes this situation because they can cut back the work force and keep production at the same inhuman speed without a layoff. No one will actually get a slip, and still you will have less men to do the same work. This is just going to hurt the workers remaining in the plant.

NO UNION RIGHTS

When one of these new workers comes in, he doesn't have his 90 days, and so he has no rights at all. The foremen are always taking advantage of this and speeding up the job that the new worker is on.

Then they say that this speed is the new standard. The college students know that they are only going to be there for two or three months, so they take whatever the foremen dish out.

One foreman, Bruno, had four young workers who didn't have seniority working a job on the

fifth floor, and he put the screws on them. There wasn't anything done about it by the union.

Since the strike last November, the local has done even less than they used to. They buy anything the company says. Many workers have got so disgusted with this that they quit. Nine workers I know personally have gone to truck driving to get away from Fleetwood.

LESS BLACK WORKERS

In the last year, the number of black workers at Fleetwood has gone down and down. Very few new workers hired are black, G.M. has always had fewer black workers than Ford or Chrysler, but it seems to be getting worse,

not better.

This is something many workers are worried about, because black workers are always hit first, if there is a layoff or a recession.

G.M. seems to think that if they hire fewer black workers, there will be less chance of a black caucus like the ones that have started at Eldon Axle or Ford Rouge. They don't want any group in the plant that would put up an aggressive fight against speed-up and unsafe conditions. The union is not even considering this fight, except to help the company by always telling workers they are wrong.

—Fleetwood Worker

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—In the Dearborn Assembly Plant, we have a new unit president, Bill Hood. He is the first black chairman ever elected in the D.A.P. in the 28 years the union has been there.

Since he assumed office in mid-July, there have been some changes in the union organization in the building—many new committees have been appointed in an apparent attempt to solicit participation by the rank-and-file.

Although the assembly plant is predominantly black, discrimination against the black worker still exists on the assembly lines, in the skilled trades departments and in top company management positions. It is reported that when

we went down for changeover on July 18, there were more than 700 unresolved grievances against Ford Motor Co., many of which charge racial discrimination.

There is a new black caucus of assembly building workers, and it is growing. We are going to insist that the backlog of some 700 or more grievances to be settled and that the general attitude and performance of the labor relations department in regard to those grievances be changed—the Ford Motor Co. will not build cars in the Dearborn Assembly Plant.

—Black Assembly Worker

Detroit, Mich.—We have just come back from changeover, and found out that about 650 of the young workers in the Ford assembly building had been given an indefinite layoff. It goes back to Sept. 3, 1968. Most of these workers are the black inner-city men who were brought into the plant in Ford's big plan to "help out" the ghetto, after the rebellion in 1967.

But what has been happening to some of these workers is that they can work you less than 90 days, then lay you off, then call you back—so you never get much seniority.

This is right in the contract, and the union says there is nothing they can do about it, since these workers are not in the union yet. They don't mention that the union has already taken out the initiation fee when you first come on the job. This is what I call taxation without representation. You pay but you don't have any rights.

NOTHING TO LIVE ON

This year during the changeover, I was laid off on July 18—with many other workers. But I didn't get a check from unemployment until Aug. 7—and that one was only for one week. What do they think we are supposed to live on the meantime?

There is also the problem of SUB. (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits). If you don't have one year seniority, you don't get SUB at all. Even if you get it, you don't get the check when you need it.

First you have to get your compensation check before you get SUB. If there is any hold-up, it's just too bad. Many workers who were laid off on July 18, don't get the SUB check until Aug. 22.

—Assembly Worker

On the Line

Chrysler Invites Trouble Over Seniority Violations

BY JOHN ALLISON

Chrysler Highland Park is headed for big trouble if superintendents have their way in violating seniority of workers in the last stages of the plant phase-out. Chrysler may change plant locations, but it never changes its policy of production first today, tomorrow and forever—if they have their way. But they just might not have their way on this one the way they want it, because they're trying to tromp on the older workers, both men and women.

For about five years, Chrysler has been moving out production from its Highland Park plant to a new Perrysburg plant in Ohio and to other plants in the Detroit area. Right now, they are transferring jobs from the Highland Park machine plant to their Toledo machine plant, and that means layoffs.

WANT YOUNG WORKERS

What the corporation is trying to do is get rid of the older and handicapped workers, both women and men. A lot of these people have seniority dating back to and before World War II. They've given Chrysler Corp. the best years of their lives, and everybody knows it.

But Chrysler couldn't care less. Management knows that there are about 1,600 workers left in the plant, many of them older workers, and that they can't be speeded up the way the younger ones can be to get out the production the company wants.

Just about any way you look at it, it's going to be a real mess for the workers. Here we have these long-time seniority workers, who are still in the Highland Park plant because they couldn't be knocked out of their jobs before. Their seniority could protect their jobs—so long as their jobs were in Highland Park. But now more and more of them have to go because their jobs are being moved out.

FROM 25 TO ZERO

The mess comes in that when they transfer to another plant, they don't take their seniority with them. At their new plant, they have seniority as of the date they start there. A machine plant worker with 25 years seniority at Highland Park has zero seniority the day he transfers to the Toledo plant.

What this means to him or her is that every worker in that new plant, even one who has been there for a week, has more seniority. And if there is any layoff at all, the old worker from Highland Park will be the very first to go.

Faced with this situation, those workers who can do it are taking early retirement under the pension plan. The contract says you must have 10 years of seniority and be 55 years old before you can receive special early retirements. Many workers are near 55 years old, and it looks like the company would like to work out a deal with the union to get rid of some of these older workers through early retirement. Maybe it's because it would cost less than if the company would have to pay SUB payments on them because they would not be able to get on in another plant.

HANDICAPPED HIT HARD

Those who are handicapped are another case. The corporation has always wanted to get rid of these workers. But so long as they had seniority, they could stay on certain jobs. Because the lose their seniority in any move, they are pretty much dead ducks.

Nothing is right about any of these conditions. Every one is a strikeable issue, and any one can explode at any time.

Both the company and union officials have bent—if they didn't actually break—plenty of seniority regulations. Now it looks like seniority is going to be bent or broken again because the company wants the young workers on the production lines and wants to scrap the older workers.

The corporation just might find that those they want to scrap are the most militant scrappers they ever stirred up.

Steel Workers, Black and White, Getting Together

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Our people have been yelling brother-this and sister-that. And now they're beginning to find out that everybody with a black skin may not be a brother or a sister. We went all the way over to black power as "the" thing. But now we're beginning to swing back where we can see that the only way we can try to resolve anything is together with some of our white brothers.

What is beginning to shape up now, quiet as it's been kept, is black and white labor getting together. Some people in the mill do a lot of talking. Others—especially the whites these days—are good listeners.

They may wait until much later and then mention what they think. That's the way things are being broken down today. It's kind of subtle. But workers are coming together.

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

The company, however, is trying to use one against the other, and keep us at each other's throats. They used to give the black man the short end of the stick. Now they're doing it in reverse.

The boss called me over some time ago and asked me how I'd like to work on a burning machine. I said it would be OK with me, if the job was open. Just recently he told me he thought I was ready to take the job.

I didn't know they had kicked a white worker off the job, and moved him downstairs. It was a lateral move for this worker. They just wanted him out, for the boss's benefit. The boss couldn't control the three white workers they had on the job, but he thought if he put me over there, he could use me as a lever against the other two.

They were somewhat hostile to me at first. Not outright. It was subtle, but I could feel it. And then I began to hear some remarks, and found out what had happened.

BOOMERANG

One finally told me he believed in speaking what was on his mind. I told him that was good, because I was the same way, and we should get along fine. At first he would come in and not speak to me. I'd just wait until he got ready to talk. Now when he comes in, he can't wait to start talking.

I told the fellow they had moved that I would do anything I could to help him get his job back. It's not resolved yet. The man has filed a grievance against the company. But it hasn't caused any trouble between us. The only trouble it is causing is between the men and the company.

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Splintered World Communism

Part II

Mao Tse-tung dominated the Congress of the "world" Communist Parties that met in Moscow without him. The heated border incidents on the Ussuri River that erupted at the time of the June Congress were not the reasons for the absentee's dominance, although Brezhnev tried to make it appear so. Whether these border clashes were provoked by Russia or China does not matter. With or without these strangely-timed outbreaks, there was no way to hide the extreme, the totally new, the absolute shift in world strategy on the part of both giants of world Communism.

Just as the January 1969 Draft of the new Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party had made clear what had been initiated by the "Cultural Revolution", 1966-1968, (and the April, 1969, Congress had been convened to rubber stamp it) so the Kremlin, in initiating and demanding a "world" Congress, had decided to make clear beyond any peradventure of a doubt in the minds of "its" 75 Communist Parties what the new reality was: all talk about U.S. imperialism as "Enemy No. 1" was pure ritual. The new reality was this — **Russia and China now considered each other as Enemy No. 1.**

The very fact, however, that there were dissenters in the Russian orbit, that these dissenters were not Maoist followers, and had different problems, disclosed more than the lack of "homogeneity" in either Communist world. It revealed, albeit indirectly, that, outside of the different nationalisms (China included) at stake, there was also a dualism in Maoism. They could not face that reality either. But it is of the essence that we do.

THE DUALISM OF MAOISM

Lin Piao, in deifying (or mummifying!) Mao, laid claim to nothing short of Mao's superiority over not only living Communists, but Marx, Engels and Lenin: "Chairman Mao's experience, in passing through many events, is more profound than that of Marx, Engels and Lenin. No one can surpass Mao's rich revolutionary experience."

Moreover, went on the anointed, named, constitutionalized successor to Mao, this superiority is not limited either to "experience," or to a single country: "The world has entered a new epoch — the epoch of The Thought of Mao Tse-tung." (7) And, since it is China which has unfurled this epochal, indeed eternal, banner, the new Constitution sees no contradiction in committing the Party members "to work for the interests of China" and upholding "proletarian internationalism." (8) Surely none of the 1,522 "newly minted delegates" (to use Edgar Snow's phrase) (9) doubted that China is "the world."

How, however, does one make sure that this will appeal to the non-Chinese world? First, of course, is the Marxist language. Thus, Lin Piao assures us that "From the Marxist point of view, the main component of state power is the Army." The only thing that the General forgot to inform his audience is that Marx said that about a capitalist state.

In place of the class nature of the state and its army, the ruler of a state capitalism calling itself Communist exudes paternalism: "We must carry out the great tradition of supporting the Government and cherishing the people; of supporting the Army and cherishing the people."

Nevertheless, Marxist language does appeal to rebels when the phrasing concerns "world revolution," "uninterrupted Revolution", and endless "transformation." Toward that end, Lin trotted out a new quotation from Mao: "The final victory of a socialist country requires not only the efforts of its own proletariat, it also depends on world revolution." Mao's "purism" shines forth: "The age that is just beginning, that will last about 50 or 100 years, will be a great one. It will bring a radical change in the social system of the whole world. It will be an age of great upheavals, an age without parallel in history," says Chairman Mao.

Meanwhile, "China must consider itself at war. We are threatened and encircled by the two greatest powers in the world and we must be prepared for them to launch a large-scale war on us, either conventional or nuclear." To make sure that the proper patriotic fervor animates the Chinese masses, the "new" Maoist rulers, properly cleansed of "revisionism", produced the most chauvinistic film this side of actual warfare between Russia and China, and entitled it "The Anti-Chinese Crimes of the New Tsars." (Not to be outdone by the Chinese, the Russian rulers produced their own film version of the border incidents equally chauvinistic, equally heavily edited, and equally accompanied by actual military build-up at key disputed borders.) (10)

The real shocker is not the rise of "new Tsars" out of "revisionism." The real shocker is cushioned with so much "revolutionary" verbiage that it will hardly be visible to the naked eye. But a close comparison of the ritualism with which Lenin is mentioned (throughout the "Cultural Revolution" Lin Piao assured us that "99 per cent of Marxist-Leninist classics which we study should consist of Mao Tse-tung's writings"), and the deification with which Mao is being read back into history for a half-century (i.e., the whole mature life of Mao), reveals that 1917 has disappeared from history. World revolutionary history begins, instead, in 1919 with China.

The rollback of world revolutionary history to China, and not just when the Communist Party gained power in 1949, but back to China's first modern awakening when the Communist Party had not yet been born at all, hardly puts "the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism" on a level with "the concrete practice of revolution." The new Constitution is most specific on the timing; (Continued on Page 5)

(7) Lin's Report was published by the New York Times April 29, 1969. The translation is the official CCP translation.

(8) The Constitution appeared in the NYT January 8, 1969; a slightly different version appears in a translation by Stuart Schram, China Quarterly, Jan.-Mar., 1969.

(9) "Mao and the New Mandate" by Edgar Snow, New Republic, May 10, 1969.

(10) For a fairly detailed report of the military build-up see "Will There Be War Between Russia and China?" by Harrison E. Salisbury, NYT Magazine, 7/27/69.

Readers'

POVERTY AND PLANETS

If Nixon gets those laws passed that he wants to, we are really going to see something. When they've gone to the moon, and are headed for Mars, people will not go backwards. They're just not going to take that. I know I won't.

I'd never go back to living like I used to live. And I wouldn't let my kids ever live like that. I am a very peaceful person. I hate fights. But I'd get out in the streets and fight myself before I'd ever go back to that.

Tricky Dicky is just not going to push me back.

Steelworker's Wife
Pittsburgh

* * *

It cost \$24 billion for the Apollo program that got man to the moon, and nobody blinked an eye. It will cost \$4 billion for the first year of Nixon's fancy new "welfare program"—and he practically apologized on TV for the enormous expenditure he was proposing! There's something wrong with an Establishment that can think like that.

Reader
Chicago

* * *

Detroit Metropolitan Welfare Rights Organization are having hearings with the Department of Social Services. Requests for hearings and special diet allowances were ignored for several months by the department. The special diet grants would increase food allowances from 83 cents to about 96 cents per day. Many of the children are undernourished and in poor health because of an inadequate diet.

Even though all requests were signed by a practicing physician, as the County policy requires, the Department has refused to have them.

Detroit mothers declare they will not allow their children to starve in one of America's most prosperous states. The department will have to begin obeying the law and providing for families to live in decency and health.

Welfare Rights Org'n.
2631 Woodward Ave.
Detroit, Mich. 48201

* * *

Just think of the millions of tax dollars that have been taken out of workers' checks to find out what was on the moon, at the same time that the problems of man on this planet are impossible for management and the big capitalists to begin to solve.

After pouring all those millions into the Moon and Mars projects they tell the world that neither can be of any use or serve any meaningful pur-

pose for the capitalist. If and when that money is suggested to be used for mankind on this earth, it falls on deaf ears.

This country's leaders would rather use the money to buy over leaders of other countries around the world to oppress, enslave and murder the poor and working people in their countries. So long as those leaders say they are friendly to the American capitalists, they can be dictators, fascists, white racists in Africa, or even Communists. All that is necessary is for them to promise they will keep their own masses in line.

Welder
Detroit

NORTHERN IRELAND

The Communist Party in Northern Ireland is anxious to say that the struggle here has nothing to do with revolution. Let us get the reforms we are after, they say in effect, and then we will proceed further. Betty Sinclair, the Communist Secretary of Belfast Trades Council resigned from the Exec. Committee of the civil rights movement some time ago.

There has been a very remarkable development there. One speaker said that he would welcome the message from Edward Kennedy when that man lined up with the Negroes in their struggle in America. Bernadette Devlin said that if the civil rights movement was concerned only with one section of the working class, they could count her out.

Correspondent
Glasgow

* * *

One or two minor quibbles. The property qualification for voting in Northern Ireland is only in local elections and elections to the Stormont Parliament. There would have been no hope of Bernadette Devlin being elected on it—though there is in Westminster elections a considerable amount of gerrymandering.

Chichester Clark is hardly previously unknown. His elder brother led the Unionist MPs at the Westminster Parliament. Nor are they unknown to demonstrators. When the Paisleyite thugs ambushed the demonstrators at Burntollet, the Chichester Clark brothers and the local police and magistrates were talking to the Paisleyite leaders only half an hour or so before the ambush and the photographs now published to prove police complicity clearly show the two of them.

L. O.
England

CLASS AND RACE

I am a white worker who is interested in the brotherhood of all—black and white—who labor for the "better life" of the peoples of all nations. News & Letters appears to be a good tool in this effort.

In November, the working people of Dayton will have an opportunity to elect a mayor who will represent the people and at the same time break a political machine known as the "all-Dayton-Committee." (The establishment that runs the establishment.)

Lawrence Nelson, the people's candidate, will be running against Dave Hall, the establishment's candidate. The fact that Nelson is black and lacking in funds means a difficult fight to unseat "ADC" Hall, who has an abundance of funds and is the incumbent.

However, Nelson as a working man has qualities his opponent lacks. Nelson is a man in touch with the people. He has ability, understanding and spirit in abundance to represent the people of Dayton, both black and white. The people stand to gain much through his election as mayor.

White Worker
Dayton, Ohio

CRIME OF PUNISHMENT

I am trying to do some research for a novel on the Texas prison system. My brother was sent to prison here a few years ago and what he has told me of his experiences has convinced me that I have to do something.

I do not have the power to literally tear down the prison walls, or I would. But perhaps my pen will prove to be potent.

The prisons in this country are the most inhuman institutions we have, though the military will rate a close second. Especially in the South are the conditions barbaric and cruel to the point of being incredible. The film, "Cool Hand Luke" was a vast understatement.

The noted psychiatrist, Karl Menninger, in his recent book, *The Crime of Punishment*, attacks the prison system, but treads lightly on the political cancers which perpetuate the system. The only people going to prison are poor people, poor whites and blacks.

To sit in a courtroom, day after day, and see the gross injustices leaves a bitter gall in the throat that will not go away.

Writer
Texas

WOMAN'S LIBERATION

I have some questions about women's liberation.

There has been a group functioning in Baltimore for about a year, but I have never been very involved in it, as it tended to be more psychotherapeutic than political.

However, a very important meeting took place between these women and their men (who are mostly involved in a peace group here) where the anti-war women discovered they had made errors in not concentrating on actions, and subordinating themselves to a men's group which they were

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

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Views

led to believe they had a large share in.

As a result, they have decided to really begin analyzing the woman's problem and develop programmatic suggestions as to how to recruit women, which women to recruit and what to encourage these women to do.

I have been doing a lot of thinking about this issue, especially as women have been led to believe that if they put their elbows behind the revolution, on the day after, these problems would magically disappear. Now they are reconsidering this and begin to understand that they must struggle now for the society they want to come.

Many women who had romantic illusions about Cuba are beginning to realize that it is not the great socialist society they thought — because of the situation of women there. Therefore I am beginning to think that women must develop a revolutionary ideology around and starting from the recognition of their own oppression.

I would like to see some discussion of this in News & Letters. What is your assessment of the up and coming women's liberation movement?

Activist
Baltimore

OLD HANDS AND NEW FORCES

The old forces certainly do keep trying to take over and swallow up the new forces. We saw it in the last union elections in our shop. The young workers who had organized a new group around their own candidates were bombarded with a lot of the old bunch who wanted "in." The young fellows discussed whether they should take these old hats in, decided not to — and won the elections as a result.

You can see it everywhere. Take Nixon. Look how long he hung around after all his defeats, with those greedy little eyes of his, just waiting to get the chance to get into power again.

You really just have to completely isolate those fellows to destroy the old. If you don't, somebody is going to go back looking for some old hand to take over, like Mao. The new movement has to keep those old jokers from eating it up.

Black Auto Worker
Chrysler

I could hardly believe my eyes when I read the New York Times account of the Panthers' "National Conference Against Fascism." They practically gushed over the "great changes" that have taken place in the BPP.

From the fact that they "seldom now show up wearing their black leather jackets and black berets" and that "the guns that were once so visible are never seen now," and "the four-letter words that had been so much a part of the rhetoric just a few months ago were gone" — the article moved to the "most significant change," that of their ideology: "the enemy is no longer just whitey."

There was not a word about the Communist Party influence on the proceedings. Just about the great new "togeth-

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 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.

erness" of black and white that was supposed to have taken place.

Times reporters just can't be all that dumb. You can only conclude that they find the new Stalinism a lot better to swallow than the black nationalism they are so happy to see "gone."

Reader
New York

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Marcuse is the most pessimistic revolutionary I've ever read in my life. When you read him, you get the impression that he is saying all these things with the absolute conviction that none of this will ever happen.

Student
West Virginia University

I attended your conference on "Philosophy and Revolution" and was very impressed with the analysis and exposition of Raya Dunayevskaya and with the general tone and viewpoint of the group itself. Enclosed is my order for more literature.

Today in our Marxist Philosophy class, those of us who attended your Conference gave their reactions, and the discussion that ensued — concerning political tendencies, labor unions, black caucuses, and the direct applicability of Marxian analysis to contemporary America — was the most stimulating and enlightening class session yet. Every member of the class made contributions.

Student
Michigan

ANTI-WAR MARCH

The anti-war demonstration in New York on Aug. 9 was pretty low key. There seemed to be about a thousand people there, mostly young white kids. The march was from 41st and Broadway up to Central Park.

When we arrived, there was a group of people from the American Committee to Support the NLF already up front, who had taken over the podium and the loud-speaker system. There was much arguing, but an actual fistfight was averted.

It delayed the beginning of the speeches for about one and a half hours. The speeches were nothing to brag about, and most of the people really didn't seem to be listening.

The people who spoke were: a woman from the Vietnam

Peace Parade; a Japanese woman; Jeff Jones of SDS; and one of the Fort Hood 3. It seemed to be a pretty a-political crowd.

Marcher
New York

ROBBERY IN CAL.

Taxation should be based on ability to pay. There are 5,000 tax foreclosures monthly in California in 1967-68. This small homes of elderly people who are then moved out of their familiar life-time surroundings. Only Russia, West Germany, Japan and France had greater production than California in 1967-68. This wealthy state's financial-political entrepreneurs shamelessly rob the poor. The disposition of the top men on the totem pole is to depress the low men beyond what is bearable.

Reader
California

I am convinced that rhetoric doesn't do as much good as action. Because there was so much bickering among the various camps in Berkeley last Spring, two reactionaries were elected to the City Council. This fall, I think some productive effort can be made towards registering a lot more voters among the students, and bringing about some rent strikes. Berkeley is largely a one-factory city—that factory being the University—and the students are fleeced like sheep by the landlords.

Student
Berkeley

BRITISH LABOR

The Government has suffered a defeat over the proposed Bill on unofficial strikes. The TUC have promised to act on unofficial strikes. That is the shameful side but the Government seized on this way out because of the widespread opposition.

Harold Wilson and Barbara Castle forced the Cabinet to accept legislation, but it soon became obvious that, despite the strong language they used, the workers would not submit to such legislation. Unofficial strikers will now be dealt with by the trade unions. The union leaders will try, but the workers will continue to strike.

The Tories are making the most of the Government's retreat and have intimated that when they come to power they will make contracts between the trade unions and the employers legally binding.

H. McShane
Glasgow

TWO WORLDS

Splintered World Communism

(Continued from Page 4)

"In the past half century, in leading China in the great struggle to fulfill the new democratic revolution, in leading the great struggle of Socialist revolution and Socialist construction of China . . . Comrade Mao Tse-tung has . . . lifted it (Marxism-Leninism) to a completely new stage."

The shocker didn't influence the dissenters at the Moscow conference half as much as the dualism — the appeals to world revolution within the Sinocentric context. These appeals, as they affected the young revolutionaries of their own countries, are what underlined their whole behavior. They could hardly take issue with the nationalism since it is what they themselves practice. Nor could these self-centered, nationalistic weak dissenters separate Mao's concept, practice, and passion for "protracted war" which inheres in his view of the "uninterrupted revolution" from the long-range timing of "a century or more." Since, however, there is no other way to attack the retrogressionist content of the Maoist form of revolutionary verbiage, neither the Russian rulers nor the fake dissenters succeeded in halting the disintegration of world Communism.

STATE-CAPITALISM AND "THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMISM"

The varied nationalisms underlying splintered Communism are neither the ordinary bourgeois type of the 19th century, nor the new revolutionary nationalisms either of the Third World against Western imperialism, or of East Europe against Russian imperialism, be that of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters of 1956, or the Czechoslovakian spring 1968.

We must not forget that Mao urged Khrushchev to launch the counter-revolution against the Hungarian Revolution. He opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia only because by then he had broken with Russia on other grounds. Mao wants a third axis for world power created as against the "hegemonies" of the Russian or American orbits not because he was for the revolutionaries in Czechoslovakia (whom he bitterly attacked as "revisionists" until the very day of the invasion), but because the class-collaborationist third axis he had counted on, Peking-Djakarta, collapsed ignominiously.

The varied nationalisms do have a "world" character but it is not the kind Trotsky predicted would result from Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country", i.e. that each Communist Party would capitulate to the bourgeoisie in its own country — the French C.P. to France, the American C.P. to the U.S., etc. No, the national Communisms kept faithful to their world, the new stage of world capitalism, state-capitalism, with its State Plan, State Party, "Red Army". Being the highest form of centralization of capital, state-capitalism reaches out for contiguous masses of capital. Hitler attempted it with his search for "lebensraum" and in the end failed. Stalin attempted it in East Europe and succeeded. It remains the model for both Brezhnev and Mao. The collision of the two models at a still newer front only proves the non-viability of state-capitalism calling itself Communism. Like private capitalism, state-capitalism has but one way to live luxuriously — the exploitation of "its" masses. It is this which dooms it, with or without the embroidery of Marxist language transformed into its opposite.

Of all Mao's perversions of "Marxism-Leninism", none is of a more capitalistic mentality and nature than that which he calls "the struggle against counter-revolutionary economism." When Lenin first began his battles against the "economists", i.e., the intellectuals who wished to restrict workers' activities to the trade union field only, reserving for themselves the field of politics, he maintained that the backwardness of the Tsarist regime did not mean the workers were backward; that only by mass initiative and all-round political activity could Tsarism be overthrown. When World War I broke out and he found that even some Bolshevik intellectuals, specifically Bukharin and Pyatakov, opposed self-determination instead of seeing that national struggles were a "bacillus" for proletarian revolution, he lashed out against their "imperialist economism". In all cases, the fight against "economism" was a fight against intellectuals, leaders, elitists of all sorts, whose mechanical views on economic development led them to disregard the "sense and reason" of the masses, who alone could transform society.

Lenin held on to his principle that Bolsheviks could prove their "proletarianism" in one and only one way — by changing the conditions of labor — after they came to power. He lashed out against the beginnings of Soviet bureaucracy by reminding his co-leaders that Marx had but one way of distinguishing socialism from capitalism and that is by the change in labor's conditions of labor. "In Capital," wrote Lenin (11), "Karl Marx ridicules the pompous and grandiloquent bourgeois-democratic great charter of liberty and the rights of man . . . Marx contrasts this pompous declaration of rights to the plain . . . presentation . . . by the proletariat: the legislative enactment of a shorter working day . . ." Lenin drives home the point for Russia: "The 'formulae' of genuine Communism, differ from the pompous, involved, solemn phrasemongering of the Kautskys, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries . . . in that they reduce everything to the conditions of labor. (12)

Now contrast this to the pompous phrases of Mao who, at one and the same time, asks the masses "to grasp the revolution and increase production" and, at once, spells out "increase in production" not only as more proletarian sweat, but also "equalized" (read: lowered) to peasant wages, at which point Lin-Mao unloose a political barrage against workers who fight the lowering of their wages as "economists". All this is climaxed by an actual military move against workers who dare to strike. This passes for "the struggle against counter-revolutionary economism."

This is not just a perversion of theory, nor merely a rewrite of history. This is class exploitation of the masses, proletariat and peasantry alike.

All you have to do to see that a "mass line", in Mao's China, means mass sweat, is to contrast it to the pampering of private

(Continued on Page 7)

(11) Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. IX, p. 439. (A Great Beginning, dated 6/28/19 can be found both in Collected Works and as a separate pamphlet.)

(12) Ibid, p. 440.

Doing and Thinking

Women Face United Front

By Bernard Wendell

It is hard to determine the significance of the First National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism, organized by the Black Panther Party and held in Oakland on July 18-20, especially in relation to the further evolution of the Panthers.

The purpose of the conference was to mobilize the movement and its supporters for self-defense, especially legal self-defense, against the growing forces of repression in this country. Organization toward this end is, of course, vital at this point.

DEPRESSION

Unfortunately, much of what the conference was called to fight was present in its own ranks. Sadly, many of the acts of the Panthers toward other groups in the movement can only be termed repression, all unjustified, unnecessary, and totally harmful to the movement. (See related articles on this page.)

WOMEN

The greatest opposition to the way the conference was manipulated was put up by the women. The panel on women's liberation was delayed and almost cancelled entirely as Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker talked on and on about the history of fascism, despite the restlessness of the audience.

Finally the women stood up, shouting and clapping. Though Margaret Wright of the Los Angeles Black School Board was removed by Panther security guards, 200 women, surprisingly militant and mainly white, could not be carried out.

Roberta Alexander of the Panthers explained the struggle for woman's liberation within the party against male chauvinist tendency to relegate them to clerical and other non-leadership roles. She and other women spoke of the vital need women, includ-

ing black women, have to define themselves. Only then can they really be equal to men.

The women's panel was probably the best part of the conference. It was certainly the most open and thus the most honest. But this was mainly because of the women's determination not to let themselves be silenced, a determination which most other dissenting groups seemed to lack.

Another commendable aspect of the Conference was the discussion of Cesar Chavez, under the topic of "Workers Against Fascism," by a member of the United Farm Workers. A worker from International Harvester in Chicago talked of the impotence of the UAW and the constant speed-ups and compulsory overtime with which every auto worker is familiar. Also, a member of the Young Lords of Chicago spoke of the need of southern whites, north and south, to get together and ally with the black people against capitalism and the racism it breeds.

These talks give an air of concreteness and reality to reports at the conference which were in general very surrealistic and abstract. Certainly many of these events are reminiscent of the recent disastrous SDS convention.

PANTHERS

The impatience of the Panthers with white radicals and their factions is understandable. They are framed and murdered every day. They feel that they are up against the wall and that the others are not.

However, using manipulative and outright militaristic tactics against those with whom they desire to ally, will do the Panthers no good and will certainly not help them survive against the forces of repression.

They can only reach the people as representatives of freedom opposed to capitalism and its repressiveness.



Stalinism at Anti-Fascism Conference

Oakland, Calif.—It's difficult to say what the Black Panther Party hoped to gain from their National Conference for a United Front against Fascism. Some three to four thousand people—many from distant areas of the country—showed up the first day. By the third and last day, their numbers had been steadily reduced to several hundred.

The first day's participants ("audience" is more accurate) came primarily out of respect for the Panthers. Within a few days' time, that respect had diminished considerably. The Panthers not only failed to gain anything from the United Front, they lost a lot.

CP DOMINATION

The main reason for the Conference's dismal flop was political. Apparently, the Panthers have found it difficult to develop material support—especially money—among white radicals, with the exception of one organization: the Communist Party. Thus the CP emerged as the major co-sponsor of the Conference. Consequently, the participants were subjected to endless, dreary lectures by such people as Herbert Aptheker.

The influence of the CP was evident even in the invitation to the Conference. This included a half-page quote from, of all things, a 1935 speech by Georgi Dimitroff. Dimitroff was Stalin's architect for the first "United Front." Virtually all speakers and sloganeers pushed the CP line.

There was no way to change the Conference format from below. The first night, a large num-

ber of women stood to protest the displacement of a women's liberation panel by Aptheker. A prominent, male Panther spokesman then took the microphone to denounce the women as "ultra-feminists" and "pigs." One woman, who happened to be black, was physically ejected for her vocal protest.

RADICALS ATTACKED

Other left-wing critics of the Conference were also dealt with abusively. Members of the Independent Socialist Club were prohibited from distributing a special edition of their newspaper, that raised questions about such a "United Front." They were also prohibited from selling the pamphlet, "Two Souls of Socialism," which attacks elitism and Stalinism.

On several occasions, Panther guards ejected ISC members for passing out leaflets that criticized the politics of the Conference, the authoritarian way in which it was being run, and the way women were being treated. On the whole, early Conference participants were extremely receptive to the ISC's criticisms, and were distressed at the heavy-handed way these criticisms were met. Members of several other organizations, including the Spartacist League, were also treated abusively, and thrown out.

The major "enemy" of the United Front, however, turned out to be the Progressive Labor Party. PL had been banned in advance from the Conference.

The only people who really enjoyed the Conference were the CPers. Their partnership with the Panthers, they hoped, would breathe life back into their corpse of a party. Predominately

middle-aged or elderly, the CPers seemed rejuvenated by the familiar, United Front spirit of the '30's. They enjoyed all the thuggery and suppression of discontent, claiming "this is no time for differences." The CP proved that in their heart of hearts, they are still Stalinists.

The anti-Fascism Conference—and the SDS Convention a few weeks prior—indicate how deeply Stalinism has permeated the American movement. The term "Stalinism" is not used, lightly here.

Para-military groups are being organized to discipline the movement.

VANGUARDISM

Accompanying this militarization is the tendency for these organizations to define themselves as the "vanguard." Those who disagree are ipso facto "counter-revolutionaries" simply because they disagree with the vanguard. The vanguard is the source of all truth and wisdom.

Naturally, this kind of vanguardism is accompanied by a great deal of uncritical hero-worship. Hero worship is the concentration of the vanguard concept in one person. The prevalent form is "Chairman Mao says . . ." It may be Chairman Mao, it may be Stalin, or it may be something like "Chairman Seale says we must struggle with the people, not against them." Politics is reduced to the slogan.

Meetings are increasingly run from the top. There were no votes taken at the anti-Fascism conference. This trend is spreading.

There is also a political content to this Stalinism.

Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) Students for a Democratic Society leaders not only revere Stalin as an abstract hero, they also agree with his politics—in the way a party or regime should operate internally, and in the way society should be organized. RYM—along with the Panthers and PL—self-consciously rejects the fundamental precept of revolutionary Marxism, workers' control over production.

Stalinism is an immensely self-destructive force. Already it has made a shambles of the student left, and threatens a major portion of the black liberation movement.

What will happen if it continues? The anti-Fascism conference was a preview. The CP, of course cannot revive, no more than any other corpse. The Panthers, assuming they remain with the CP, will be reduced to a small organization without community support, fighting legal battles.

The major white organizations, including both SDS's (RYM and PL), will spiral downward, as fighting and expulsions increase in severity and frequency. The various socialist groups and sects will experience a temporary revival, as they pick up a portion of the demoralized.

Most activists will simply drop out, as the organized left returns to a state of weakness similar to the 1950's. If the movement's Stalinism continues, all the ruling class has to do is sit back and laugh.

—Charles Leinenweber

State Move to Control Czech Students Stirs Opposition

(Ed. Note: As we go to press massive demonstrations by workers and students are breaking out in Czechoslovakia to mark the first anniversary of the Russian invasion. Despite increasing threats from neo-Stalinist bureaucrats, the Czech and Slovak masses are continuing their struggle for socialist democracy and refusing to allow the post-invasion situation to be "normalized." The following report was received in July.)

Prague, Czechoslovakia.—After the University Students Union decided at its regular Convention in April not to join the National Front (the Communist-dominated ruling political coalition in Czechoslovakia), the Czechoslovak student movement suffered serious division.

The refusal to join automatically implied economic sanctions by the government, including loss of the state support of seven million crowns, and it was necessary to lay off the employees of the Union office. The majority of these leader-bureaucrats were leftovers from the old Czechoslovak Youth Organization—that is to say, they had never done any other work, and they tried to get the Convention decision changed.

ANOTHER group, made up of moderates from the old Union presidium, tried the same thing. In the beginning of May, these

two groups united to form the "coordination committee," that is, a higher organ of faculties wishing to join the Front. But they were only able to get three faculties (downtown Brno and the law and medicine students in Prague) to join them.

ANTI-UNION CAMPAIGN

On May 12, the presidium of the Union met and, while recognizing the right of others to form factions in opposition to its activities, reminded the "coordination committee" that it was in the process of trying to break up the Union.

Also to be mentioned here are the press campaigns carried on by the higher Party organs against the Union, the support given in the press to the activities of the "coordination committee" and, on the other hand, the total lack of means of information available to the Presidium of the Union, which could only publish its decisions through stenciled leaflets which couldn't reach that many people.

THIS CAMPAIGN was designed to convince public opinion that a handful of extremist and irresponsible leaders had usurped the leadership of the Union and that the creation of the "coordination committee" was the expression of the just anger of the great majority of students, enraged at the irresponsible poli-

tics of the Presidium of the Union.

HARSHER METHODS

As the totalitarian regime in the Czechoslovak Republic got harder and harder (c.f. the May plenum of the Central Committee), the higher Party organs tried to resolve the situation in the Union. Since the economic sanctions hadn't produced the desired results, and since the activities of the "coordination committee" hadn't worked due to disunity among that coalition of forces, the Party decided to adopt harsher methods.

During the month of June, the "coordination committee" practically ceased to function, and the attempted putsch (worked out for the bureaucrats by Strougal's office) fell flat, mainly because a putsch carried out in a student organization by balding 30-year-old "youths" is somewhat inelegant. So much so, that on June 20 the Union was dissolved by order of the Ministry of the Interior.

IMMEDIATELY after the banning of the Union, a so-called "preparatory committee" was formed. Its mission was to found a new Quisling organization, and its membership (mostly bureau-

crats) revealed its character. Many faculties immediately protested the formation of this organ.

One declaration by the Math and Physics students at Charles University states: "The activities of the preparatory committee . . . are just like the activities of the leadership of the State and the Party ever since August 1968. They respect all kinds of 'realities' except for the rights and the will of the Czechoslovak people." There were many such statements.

WORKERS PROTEST

More important than any statements, however, was the strike which took place on June 24 in 13 Prague factories. It was organized as a protest against the banning of the Union and that of the Society for the Rights of Man, the persecution of progressive journalists, the delay in the law on socialist enterprises, and the general abandonment of the post-January (1968) policy.

The strike, which lasted only 15 minutes, was prepared in 50 factories, but because of organizational inexperience and the resistance of trade union bureaucrats and factory administrators, it was not that massive.

Panthers, Old Left

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist Party and the left liberal magazine type. Bobby Seale's simplistic analysis of Facism, "of avaricious businessmen — demagogic politicians — and pig cops," does not differ at all from theoretician Aptheker's definition of American Fascism as "a death wish" of reactionary and racist elements within capitalism.

A NEW TURN FOR BPP

At this Conference, the Black Panther Party has taken a new turn in its politics. It is obvious that this Conference could not have been called by the Panthers alone. Their previous "politics" of Maoism and urban guerilla warfare against the police has suddenly given way to the legalistic formula "Control of the Police, by the Community," to be achieved by constitutional amendment, i.e. amendments to local city charters.

In discussing this with a "practical" person at the Conference, I was told: "Why are you even concerned with this? The Panthers are faced with annihilation by the police and the courts; many of its members are jailed facing capital charges. It is only the liberals and communists who can provide them with the money and help they badly need — a shift in political emphasis is of no importance."

Without being pessimistic, this attitude seems to me to sum up a whole decade of "new leftism" that has turned full circle to the liberal politics of "Popular Frontism." From "don't trust anyone over 30," to "Black Power," to "Non-negotiable demands" we have arrived at "Power to the People" via the constitution.

—Black Observer
Berkeley, Calif.

Discussion Article

New Left Group in Israel Lists Slates, Sets Principles

Before the second convention of Mapam there were a number of meetings of opponents of the alignment with the ruling labour party to discuss plans for the future. It was agreed to postpone discussions of establishing a new independent Left until after the convention, so as not to break the common front of all alignment-opponents — many of whom made it clear they would oppose but obey the majority decision in Mapam.

The convention vote was, as in the previous session, 36% against, 64% for. Two weeks later we had a committee meeting that proposed starting an organizational nucleus of a new left movement in Israel . . .

We are preparing to enter a left list in the coming elections to the Knesset (parliament) in November, and a list of worker committees in the September trade union elections. The importance of the election campaign lies in the fact that it is the adherent for propaganda, gaining best time and presenting the public with a genuine left alternative to the status quo, rather than supporting a "lesser evil" party.

Mordechai Cafri
Israel

Excerpts from "Proposed Principles of the Israeli New Left"

SOCIALIST HUMANISM

Our aim should be to create in our country a social order that will make possible continuous progress along socialist-humanist

patterns and strivings . . . Socialist humanism is not identical with admixture of liberalism and democracy as a graft on the basis of the East European regimes — creating a non-capitalist version of affluent society — but a basic change in the relations between men in society . . .

Socialist humanism in Israel can not be realized if we shall limit ourselves to struggle against the status quo. The very structure of the country is still in process of creation, even the social status quo is still pluralistic.

We can and should prove the validity of our positive aspirations in constructive social projects that would deepen and extend the socialist experiments of the Israeli labour movement — innovating and advancing precisely where the old left has stopped, stagnates and is retreating. City kibutzim, collective economic projects, humanist Jewish-Arab projects, social projects in the centers of Israel's poverty — are examples of issues we must start treating creatively and practically . . .

THE THIRD WORLD AND THE NEW LEFT

The romantic attitudes to the world village, "world city versus world village" conception, and views of marginal strata as carriers of the revolution, are not only unscientific socially, but also anti-humanist. The view of the whole civilization of the developed countries as incapable of radical progressive change through internal processes flaunts all we know of history.

Striving not for social change bound but for total destruction is thought to devestate not the status quo but the left itself . . .

NEO-NATIONALISM AND THE EQUALITY OF NATIONS

The period of rebellion against the old regime has created the slogan of equity of men. Our modern time — the period of super powers, in which most of the smaller nations and states are becoming satellites and dependents — demands new struggles for the genuine independence and freedom of all nations and states and against the domination of the super powers.

We are witnessing in our time the rise of a whole new series of national movements of peoples considered assimilating and disappearing in the fold of larger nations: the Scots, Welsh, Bretons, Basques, etc., in Europe, the French Canadians, the Black Power movement in USA and the Jewish-Zionist national movement all fit the pattern of weaker, smaller or minority people struggling for equality with the free and sovereign nations . . .

This same principle holds not only for the right of the Jews to defend their freedom and sovereignty and security in Israel, but in the same way, against all demands of Israeli Chauvinists to annex the western bank of Jordan, because the Palestinian Arabs who live there have equally sovereign national rights to a state of their own.

Slogans of "Universalism," views of national distinctions as obsolete phenomena, serve actually the great power interests of the assimilatory states: Soviet Russification in the East, Americanization in the West, etc. In actual politics the national factor is of utmost importance — especially in resistance to imperialism and great power domination — and the new left must develop a principled, resistant and realistic attitude to this vital aspect of contemporary politics . . .

The freedom of every country needs the freedom to consider independently and in local terms its own fate and its country's problems.

Splintered World Communism

(Continued from Page 5)

capitalists — not the Party men who are supposed "to have taken the road back to capitalism," but the real, the existing private capitalists — who, 20 years after the Communist conquest of power, still get 5 per cent profits on their investments. Where a worker gets barely enough to live, a capitalist like Jung Ye-jen gets annually 3 million yuan in profit. Not only that; he also has important political posts, which is a great deal more important than money in a country where "politics takes command."

I do not mean to say that these private capitalists have the power of the Party, much less the Army. I do say they exist and the only reason they are still permitted to exist is because the opposition of the masses to Mao and his "hereditary" hierarchical heir, Lin Biao, is via slowdown, "low productivity", and what, when it comes to the youth, the Maoists now call "anarchism." (13)

The total hypocrisy of the dissenters in Russia was seen not so much in keeping Mao from getting excluded from "world Communism" — after all, all of the Communist state powers from Russia to China, and from Rumania to Albania, rule exactly by such exploitative means. No, the total hypocrisy was to be seen in doing nothing for Czechoslovakian Freedom Fighters, though these same loud-mouthed leaders did, in words, denounce the Russian invasion. The hypocrisy was seen as they closed their eyes to the Tartar demonstration right in Moscow.

The hypocrisy was seen in doing nothing for the brave Russians who demonstrated in opposition to their country's imperialist invasion of Czechoslovakia, and who are now rotting in jail for it. In thus evading the Russian dissenters urging help in prevention of the recurrence of "the ominous shadow of Stalin from darkening our future," the 75 Communist Parties meeting in Moscow, including those dissenters, proved they themselves were that "ominous shadow."

Equally ominous a shadow was cast by Mao who had shown his first hostility to Russia in February 1956 when the 20th Communist Party launched deStalinization "without consulting China". Obviously however, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China did know what was required of them since, in September 1956, they convened their first Congress coming to power in 1949, and, the new Party Constitution then adopted eliminated the expression "under the guidance of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung", replacing it with the phrase "under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism." It is the latter phrase which has now been eliminated. The 1969 Constitution both defies Mao and rolls history back not only from "socialism" but even from capitalism as it returns to the feudal, monarchical form of having the ruler name his "successor".

This rollback of history is being touted as a "new model of Communism and attracting the interest of a whole generation (sic!), even in Europe and in the U.S." (14) That some who call themselves the New Left do indeed accept this bizarre happening as "revolutionary" only discloses a "new model" of Communist bankruptcy of thought that is the seal of decadent capitalism.

On the other hand, the Chinese masses are restless, so opposed to Mao as to make his victories Pyrrhic enough. Thus, the time and place of the CCP Congress was not revealed until after it met. Thus, the open attacks on youth opposition that is suddenly declared to be "anarchist." Thus, mass opposition to Maoism and outright revolts are first now coming to light but have, in fact, been occurring for years and were the reason that Mao-Lin had called the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." (15)

WILL WEST GERMANY SUDDENLY BECOME THE HOST OF THE KEY TO HISTORY?

The shift in world strategy within the Communist orbits, of necessity, involves drastic changes in all international relations. At the Moscow Congress Brezhnev accused Mao's China of flirting with "West German revengers". It is true that there has been some detente between China and West Germany. But the greater truth is that a rapprochement of relations between Russia and West Germany has begun on a vaster scale, not only in trade, but in toning down the criticisms of West Germany, including its failure to sign the anti-nuclear proliferation treaty.

So worrisome is this development to France that some have urged that its coming meeting with Germany be especially "open", that is to say, that France itself offers to sign the anti-nuclear proliferation treaty in order to get West Germany to do so. They hope to thwart both Russia which wants its European frontier "secure" for any possible war with China, and the U.S. which might be tempted actually to provide nuclear arms to West Germany and thus undermine the Franco-German Pact. (16)

There is no way to foresee all the ramifications of the present heated stage of the Sino-Soviet conflict, or to predict the possible shocking international realignments now that world Communism is so splintered. No doubt the double and triple crosses awaiting the masses will pale the Hitler-Stalin Pact. But one thing is sure, predictable, irreversible — the class enemy is always at home; the production relations between exploiters and exploited determine everything else, internally and externally.

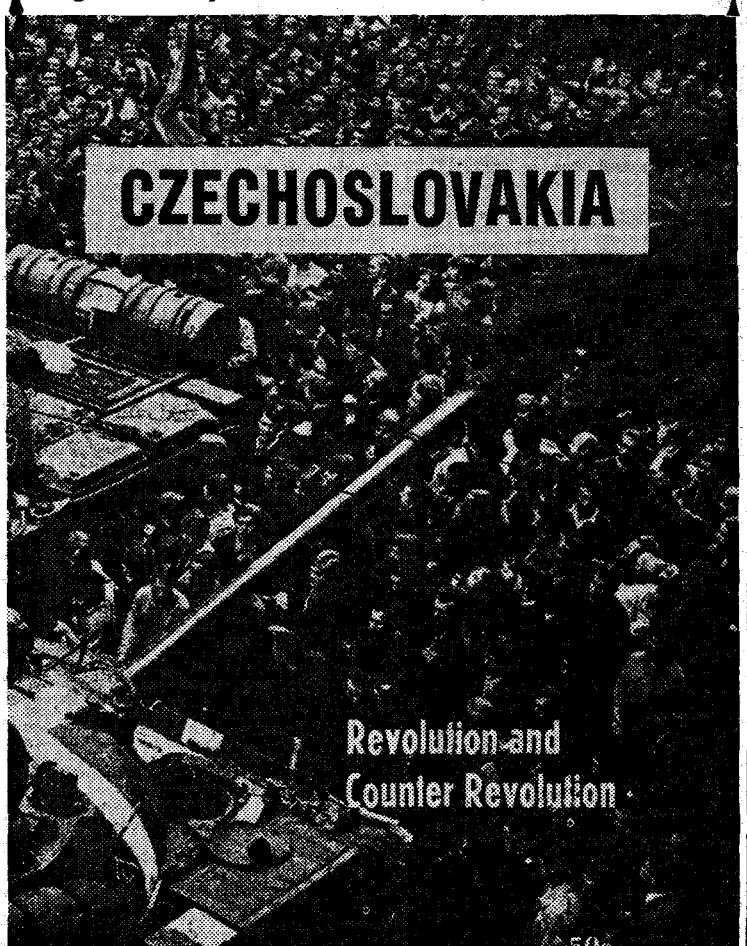
There is therefore only one position for Marxist-Humanists to take and that is to refuse to side with "the lesser evil," no matter what that is declared to be. Nothing short of uprooting the world status quo, of being with the genuine revolutionary forces — proletarians, national minorities, women's liberation, youth — to forge a new relationship of theory and practice will, once and for all, create the foundation of a society on totally new, human foundations.

—August 7, 1969

- (13) "Peking Asks Student Discipline", NYT, July 27, 1969. For my analysis of the "Cultural Revolution" as a whole, see "Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'". (News & Letters, Detroit, Mich., 48201).
- (14) See K. S. Karol, "Drawn Match at Moscow", New Statesman, June 27, 1969.
- (15) One of the Manifestoes of the opposition to Mao by the Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance Committee was translated in Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, 4190, and appears in International Socialism, June/July 1969.
- (16) "Germany Remains Focal Point" by Andre Fontaine, Le Monde (Weekly Selection, July 9, 1969).

One Year After the Invasion

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Inflation and Unemployment Show Farce of Nixon Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

companies the excuse to increase their prices in turn. In fact, Ford has already sent dealers a price increase for 1970, of at least two percent.

Nixon's economic advisors are attempting to brake the inflation by "squeezing off the money supply" through spiraling interest rates, and taxing those at the bottom of the economic ladder—who are being blamed for the inflation by supposedly demanding more goods—while the really smart millionaires have found so many loopholes that they are paying almost no taxes at all. The so-called "tax reforms" that Congress claims will be passed next session do not even scratch the surface of the fantastic depreciation allowances and other gimmicks of big business.

Nixon's advisers are the very same ones who counselled President Eisenhower — and we experienced three recessions during his regime.

Nixon is also busily hinting that if labor does not voluntarily follow his wage "guidelines" during the contract negotiations that are coming up, "controls" will have to be imposed by the government.

The truth of the matter is that inflation has very little to do with either "higher wage demands" of labor, or the demand for goods by the public. It has a very great deal to do with the Vietnam War and the ever-increasing militarization of the economy.

DECLINING WAGES

Prices, according to government statistics, increased only about one percent a year from 1960 through 1964. Beginning with the 1965 escalation of the War in Vietnam, they escalated to more than 5 percent annually by 1969, as the defense budget escalated from \$50 billion in 1965 to \$81 billion in 1969.

Even more revealing, corporate profits, after taxes, rose from \$48 billion in 1965 to \$53 billion in 1968. But Labor Department figures show that there has actually been a decline in the standard of living for workers during this period.

The average wage of a worker in private industry with a family of four, has increased \$14.74 a week from 1965 to 1969. But when federal taxes of \$4.80 a week, plus another \$11.18 a week in rising prices, are deducted, he winds up with \$1.24 less a week in actual purchasing power now than in 1965.

PRODUCTION FOR DEATH

It is the militarization of the economy that has not only pushed prices ever-higher, but that makes it impossible really to solve the inflation, since so much of the economy is destructive that it is completely unrecoverable, productively speaking. \$77 million a day is being spent in Vietnam for death and destruction.

The Pentagon by now not only employs fully half of all the civilians in the government, but helps support more than 100,000 companies throughout the country. Some 15 percent of all finished products of U.S. industry are purchased by the Defense Department.

The weight of the burden is shifted back to the shoulders of the workers, who, alone, create all the wealth, but whose only share of the "national wealth" turns out to be the "national

debt," as Marx said long ago.

By now the total of our individual income taxes—some \$84 billion a year—almost equals the annual defense spending of over \$80 billion. It is the outcry against so demented a system which has forced the Administration and Congress to introduce the gestures of "tax reform", and "defense cuts." They are gestures so insignificant that they can hardly even be called "tokenism."

Retired General Gavin expressed the feelings of millions when he said, during the ABM debate, "Should we allow the Pentagon to utilize every new technology at the expense of our domestic needs?"

But there are few who really believe that if the war against Vietnam ended tomorrow, the billions being poured into that horrifying destruction would be used instead to abolish poverty.

It is the sickness of capitalism that it cannot eliminate either racism, or poverty, or war.

PERMANENT CRISIS

Marx's contention was that the system would collapse because surplus-value, which is all that this system is interested in, can come only from living labor. Machinery and raw materials merely transfer their value to the finished product. Only the living laborer can create value. Yet the contradictory tendency inherent in capitalism is to use less and less living labor, and more and more machinery. The result is a permanent army of unemployed, and a decline in the capitalist's rate of profit.

Mammoth as the mass of profits are, and even though labor productivity continues to increase, it is this decline in the rate of profit that keeps the system in permanent crisis.

This country never got out of the 1929 depression, which simply got absorbed into World War II. Only the expansion of state intervention into the economy kept production increasing. Ever since then, we have simply bounced from one more war to one more recession.

It is a permanent crisis that this system cannot solve.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

It is the insanity of a society like this that has made the youth determined to reject it completely. The black masses have likewise made it abundantly clear that they have no intentions of accepting this racist, class-ridden society. Even the white working class, which is supposed to be "integrated" into the system, and does reveal its racism all too often, has been showing new militancy in many ways.

The opposition in the Senate to the ABM system was a reflection of the very deep anti-war feelings throughout the country. But the ABM, is, nevertheless going to be deployed. And that is only one small part of the total \$22 billion that the military is requesting, just for new weapons and research funds in 1970, that have nothing directly to do with Vietnam.

The only way out of the permanent crisis that the military-industrial complex is escalating to the point of actual destruction of all civilization as we have known it, is a totally new society, on totally new human foundations. That is precisely what the new forces of revolution are trying to create.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

One Giant Leap To Spend Millions For Moon; No Small Steps To Fight Poverty

To have one basis for science and another for life is a priori a lie.—Karl Marx

The statement of Astronaut Neil Armstrong as the first man to set foot on the moon, "One small step for man; a giant leap for mankind," sounded good to the millions throughout the world who were thrilled by the accomplishment and fascinated by the sights seen.

There was some truth in at least part of Armstrong's statement. Translated it boiled down to, man on earth will gain nothing in his everyday life while the capitalist corporations, with their military partners, will gain billions in new contracts at the expense of poverty-stricken millions of people in the United States.

President Nixon has used the adventure as the springboard for his worldwide adventure tour, promising every dictator ally a hunk of the moon for a pledge of his loyalty. When he promises one nation one thing, then in an adjacent country promises another the opposite, he forgets that his voice travels over international boundaries and neither side believes his statements.

MOON POLITICS

He was equally opportunistic on the moon flight. He made quite a point of trying to greet the Astronauts before and after their mission with full TV coverage. This helped Nixon politics, not space science. Visits to the totalitarian regimes in such countries as Indonesia, the Kingdom of Thailand and Rumania, offer little hope to the millions of oppressed people throughout the world that the U.S. will support their struggle for freedom from their oppressors.

It is little wonder that Russian rulers, masters at the same game of exploiting scientific achievement for political ends, are claiming foul play.

The average American is ready to contribute part of his heavy tax load for science if science means that the research and development of these projects include a cure for cancer (which they do not) and projects that will enable his everyday life to be just a little bit more endurable.

As Karl Marx pointed out over 100 years ago, "to have one basis for science and another for life on this earth is a priori a lie." This holds equally for Russians and Americans.

There are few Americans who are not thrilled by the exploit of placing man on the moon as a scientific achievement. Equally, there are few who approve the spending of \$24 billion for a moon project when politicians such as Thurmond of South Carolina and the rest of reactionary ilk deny human rights to black people here on earth.

The black people do not view this project with awe. They wonder why the government that collects 20% of their wages in taxes cannot dip into that \$24 billion to provide them with the means of subsistence. They wonder why their men are the cannon fodder in Viet-

nam while billions are pouring into profitmakers in the prostitute South Vietnam government.

They wonder why only white men are chosen as astronauts. They wonder why, in the first "withdrawals" from Vietnam, it was a token white force and not a black regiment that was chosen to be withdrawn from the war.

WORLD SUPREMACY

The United States, motivated by profits, has poured \$24 billion into the moon venture without a visible hope of return in profits. But this expenditure, which goes into the pockets of U.S. corporations supplying the hardware, is but an advance payment in the struggle for world supremacy. The space race, in which Russia first held the lead, was the inspiration for the United States to "catch-up" no matter what the cost. It was Kennedy who gave top priority to putting a man on the moon before the Russians, and Nixon who reaped the results.

Nuclear energy was a theory long before Roosevelt, on Oct. 11, 1939, ordered the unrestricted expenditure of secret funds to make it available for military use. The result was the Atom bomb.

Hitler first commanded the German scientists who still control the NASA program for the United States and its moon ventures. A military base on the moon could control any point on earth, and that capability ranks high in the minds of the U.S. military in their struggle for world control.

Yet, power, without popular support, can lead to the kind of impotence that the United States experiences in South Vietnam. U.S. superior military strength, in support of an unpopular and illegitimate government in South Vietnam, is stalemated by a guerrilla army.

Since World War II, the U.S. military spent one-and-one-half trillion dollars in the undeclared war against the Soviet Union. The rate of spending increases each year with the war in Vietnam and the increasingly heavy costs of new hardware for war. It has been the practice in the past for Americans not to question military expenditures since revelation of such "secrets" could damage their plans. This submissive attitude is rapidly changing.

No longer will Americans sit by. They are demanding that their representatives in Congress and the Senate actively oppose the current ABM program, which is both unproven in worth, will cost billions to construct and could do more harm than good.

MILITARY WASTE

The result is that for the first time in recent history, strong opposition in Congress and the Senate have developed to the ABM program. Many Senators and Congressmen are openly questioning the need for continuing military waste at the cost of domestic programs to help the needy in the United States.

The anti-ballistic missile system, far from being a military necessity, is actually a

series of prime contractual plums, ready to be distributed to Nixon-supporting contractors as election rewards. The approaching planned Nixon recession should provide cheap labor from hungry American workers, while unchecked inflation eats up their meager savings.

Science cannot exist for its own sake alone as Marx observed 100 years ago. The political crisis that led to the splitting of the atom created not only the greatest energy source on earth, but also its most destructive one—as witnessed at Hiroshima. With these events, mankind became increasingly aware that the conflict between science and its products, and life in this nuclear age were incompatible.

If science is to survive it must serve mankind, not destroy it. Dr. William Pickering, no Marxist but a foremost scientist, has said, "No matter who sends up the first bomb across oceans, we are but half an hour away from total destruction. Scientists cannot help doing what comes natural to them. We must have a new human way."

I can only add that if scientists, despite space and other triumphs, cannot devote their energies to the betterment of mankind and add their voices to end the destruction of man by man, then the military devices they have developed will sow the seeds of wrath which will be turned against them by people throughout the world who are tired of war and who will use any means at their disposal to end it.

POSTSCRIPT

This is the last time that OUR LIFE AND TIMES is to appear under my name. It is not only a question that 13 years is a long time for any single columnist to write world news briefs. It is a matter of the totally new approach that our readers will gain from the column passing into the hands of the youth, one of the most revolutionary forces in our epoch.

Eugene Walker, who will become the columnist, is especially well qualified for the task. Our readers know him from his activities in Mississippi Freedom Summer (part of the pamphlet *Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*) as well as his latest pamphlet, *France, Spring, 1968, An eyewitness's Critical Account*. He also used to write the youth column, "New Beginnings." Most recently he has been involved in writing some of the leads as well as editing the new section on the labor page, "From the Auto Shops."

I will be contributing my experiences to other sections of the paper, but the spirit of the youth will henceforth be reflected not only on the youth page, but in the coverage of global news by all the forces that are trying to rebuild the world on new Marxist-Humanist foundations — labor, the black rebels, women's liberation—where theory and practice become one.

—P.M.

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

by Raya Dunayevskaya

(preface by Herbert Marcuse)

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