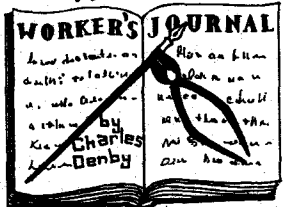


ON THE INSIDE

Introduction distorts Marx's Grundrisse
by Raya Dunayevskaya p. 5

Chile and illusions of parliamentary
democracy p. 8



Workers say Nixon wants one-man rule

by Charles Denby, Editor

Some workers were discussing the crisis in this country and throughout the world, that makes a human life seem to be cheaper than commodities. There is more concern over corporations, profits and big business interests than there is over the health and lives of underprivileged and older citizens.

One said, "the Nixon Administration has demonstrated to the American people, perfectly clear, that his concern is not that of all the people, only a chosen few." Another said, "Nixon does not give a damn about many of those that supported him the last few years. Any other President in the past accused of all the shady doing that he has been would have been forced to do what he had Agnew do last week."

NIXON'S TAXES AND OURS

The worker said, "How could Agnew attack the government system of justice used against him, and in the same breath praise Nixon, who has been accused of conspiracy against the Democratic Party, although they call it a cover-up of Watergate. Agnew was charged with bribery and tax evasion. At the same moment, they report that Nixon only paid some \$700 in taxes for the past two years."

"Hell man, I paid some \$900 a year in tax withholding for the past three years, and I am a factory worker. When I filled out my income tax forms, I had to pay \$150 more. My earnings with all that overtime were less than \$11,000. The President's salary is \$200,000 a year, besides all the money he knocks down, but he is paying next to nothing in taxes."

He is not sitting there as a President, but as a god. Before they can get through with one unethical thing about him, another pops up. I saw a TV news report the other night about Nixon's closest friend Bebe Rebozo. In Key Biscayne, where one of Nixon's homes is, Rebozo owns and controls the city. The only bank there belongs to him.

REWARDING REBEZO

Some citizens there who were angry because of the bank's attitude and actions against them petitioned to start a new bank. They were rejected because Nixon appointees turned them down. When these citizens continued to protest, the government controllers gave

(Continued on Page 8)



UFW convention: more than a union

Fresno, Cal. — "We the Farm Workers of America, have tilled the soil, sown the seeds, and harvested the crops." So begins the Constitution of the United Farm Workers of America, created at their first constitutional convention, Sept. 21-23.

The hundreds of farm workers who came were the representatives of the thousands who have been striking and have been arrested, and the three who have been killed over the last several months. There were Chicanos, Filipinos, Arabs and Blacks from California grape ranches, Arizona lettuce fields, and even Florida orange groves. It was the first convention since the farm workers began organizing in 1965 with strikes and the boycott of the grapes.

This union convention was like no other we have been to, as the Farm Workers are like no other union. It is not only union, but family, La Raza, committee, community — the farm workers' own form of organization. The farm workers have seen their union as a way to freedom. All this was reflected at the convention in the seriousness and totality of participation in the discussion of their constitution, in the debate on the resolutions (which included solidarity with the Chilean working people, especially farm workers), and in the demonstrations of chanting, singing and hand-clapping.

The greatness of the convention was not so much in the constitution passed, or the resolutions supported, but in the collectivity of expression and work which was in evidence throughout the convention. It was the activity of farm workers, in action and in ideas, which was reflected at the convention.

—Eugene Walker and Deborah Morris
News & Letters Committees

10¢

NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 18—NO. 9

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NOVEMBER, 1973

THE MIDDLE EAST ERUPTS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

(Editor's Note: As we go to press, the two super powers have re-entered the Middle East cockpit, allegedly to gain a "cease-fire"—which has not stopped the firing. The latest developments have changed nothing in the fundamental analysis written on October 12 by Raya Dunayevskaya, which we print below.)



— LNS Photo

Coachella Valley UFW strikers meeting

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan on Oct. 8 pronounced the highly charged imperialistic statement: "The same road that leads from Damascus to Tel Aviv also leads from Tel Aviv to Damascus." To try to defend such reactionary militarist statements by pointing to the fact that it was not Israel, but Egypt and Syria who first crossed the 1967 cease-fire boundaries, is to fall into the typical capitalistic-Communist trap about "aggression."

It is never a question of who fired the first shot. Israel had six years during which she had not returned so much as one inch of Arab soil.

Not only that. She had behaved as any imperialist—occupying territory that was not hers, expelling people whose land it was, and proceeding to remake it in her image both as to land and as to settlers. Therefore, to keep harping on the timing of the surprise attack, blasphemous or otherwise, is to talk in a language that is absolutely foreign to the masses who are doing the dying, Israeli as well as Arab.

This is not a matter of "approval" of either Arab or Israeli rulers in this war. Nor can the question possibly be limited to the two sides, in disregard of the superpowers—U.S. and Russia—who have been in the Middle East cockpit ever since the 1967 war.

THE BIG POWERS ARE LINING UP

Take Kissinger's frightening statement: "We shall resist aggressive foreign policy. Detente cannot survive irresponsibility in any area, including the Middle East."

Our double-tongued Secretary of State tried to give the impression that he was threatening Russia. In fact, judging by today's (Oct. 12) press conference, he was also saying the opposite—that Russia is a "responsible" power and as "worried" as the U.S. about the Middle East.

What it all adds up to is that the U.S., like Russia, has no intention of letting either the Israelis or the Arabs enjoy self-determination; that, once the battle lines are "clear," the Big Powers will do the deciding.

So far to the right have the Israeli leaders moved, so imperialistically-minded are they now, that already Premier Meir dares to say that "after victory," Israel will no longer be satisfied with the borders of Oct. 5, 1973! Does that woman really have the gall to see herself driving into occupied Cairo? Or Damascus? Or wish to dam up the Suez Canal? Where and when will all this madness stop? Can they not face reality?

Just as the Maginot Line failed to protect France, the Bar Lev Line fell to Egypt. In both cases it was a question of militarists believing in technology rather than in people. Moreover, the Bar Lev Line was not outflanked; the Egyptians are reoccupying their own land. Even where Israeli technology helped Israel, it still is not the decisive factor. The Arabs in Israeli-occupied Sinai surely look at the Egyptians as liberators who they wish would come closer. That fact cannot be changed even if Israel mounts a counter-offensive and wins.

As against the 1967 Arab war rhetoric which showed its unmistakable anti-Semitic spirit with its sloganeering of "driving Israel into the sea," Premier Sadat of Egypt this time is not questioning Israel's right to existence, but its right to occupy Sinai. Whatever be his "gamesmanship," it comes after last year's display of willingness to

(Continued on Page 7)

Discussion Article

ERA chains working women to factory clock

by Angela Terrano

New York, N.Y.—I read an article recently about the auto companies beginning to hire more workers and women bosses. The writer attributed the increase in hiring, which the auto companies have resisted since the end of World War II, to the Women's Liberation movement.

Now in the particular he may be right, but I have a very strong sense that it can be laid to the systematic knocking down of all protective laws for women.

I have read about some state legislatures trying to abolish laws that limit the number of hours a woman could work. That is the one "reform" (repealing the 53-hour a week work limit) that made me so opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment. For me that was the most serious of all the hard-won battles that are being torn away from working women.

Six weeks in a factory would teach some people a lot. They might understand that a free nursery isn't all that women workers might want. They might understand that a woman might want to take a few days off to be by herself, or to be with her child. Reforms seem always to be turned into one more "rule" for others to live by.

I think it is the increased control of women workers that capitalist legislatures are giving the capitalists, big and small, that is making them hire women. It's a retrogression that the union, too, allowed by giving up the eight hour day long ago and by not fighting for protective laws for men workers and allowing the company to reduce women's conditions of labor to those of men. Under those conditions management doesn't care if it's a man or a woman dropping on the line. And having women supervisors is not upgrading for women because they can keep closer tabs on women workers than men supervisors can.

Being a lawyer or head of a department store is not what Women's Liberation is all about to me. What frightens me is the greater and greater hold the factory clock



Black women strike J. H. Miles sweatshop

Editor's Note: Over 100 workers at the J. H. Miles Company—mostly Black women—have been on strike since March 8. They process clams and oysters which are then purchased by Campbell Soup Company. Strike supporters recently picketed Campbell's in Camden, N.J.

Norfolk, Va.—Our old contract expired and we began negotiating for a new one on Jan. 1. The company stripped us of everything we had under the old contract, like the health benefits plan, and offered us just 10c more an hour this year and a nickel next year. Instead of our hospital, sick pay and death benefits, they offered only the low option Blue Cross-Blue Shield and only for the worker, not her family.

The main aim of the company is to get rid of the union, which has had only one contract there. They have refused to change their offer since January.

The working conditions are terrible. We have to stand in water and wear boots, aprons and gloves. There is no cooling in the summer (they have fans on the meat but none for us), and they won't even open the window. In the winter there is no heat and you have to wear four or five sweaters to keep warm.

The bosses talk to us like dogs. We have only white bosses. The company picks them off the street and we have to train them. I taught my boss how to work the machines. He didn't even know what a clam was when he came there. It's a racist company. Some bosses don't like you unless you talk their sex talk with them, and they give you a hard way to go.

There are no doors on the bathroom stalls, just like we're animals. The men's supply room is inside the women's locker room, so they have to come in while we're using it.

We never know how many days a week we will work or how many hours a day. We may work three hours one day and ten or eleven the next. There are no more than two breaks and lunch no matter how late we go.

They use big vats of chlorine to clean the machines. It's just like lye and they want us to keep dipping our gloves into it. They say it's to keep the bacteria off the meat, but the meat is so filthy I told them it's giving me bacteria.

Campbell Soup Company comes in here all the time. They say they don't have anything to say about Miles, they just buy the product, but that's a lie. The big bosses from Campbell's come through our line every day. They keep putting in new machinery to cut down on the labor. Then they speed up the machines.

Miles has gotten injunctions out against us and had the cops and dogs out. Virginia has a right-to-work law that has made it hard for us to keep the scabs out.

Don't Buy Campbell's Oyster and Clam Soup!

—Two J. H. Miles strikers

will have on women workers. That is what is so horrible about factory work, not just the work itself.

Who cares if I have free child care if I am now made to work, not 40 hours, not 53 hours, but 60 hours a week? I'm talking about 60 hours in a factory. I have learned to read the lists of laws they are trying to pass. There was no big hullabaloo about the new legislation. I can just see women in factories refusing to work more than 53 hours and the foreman (or forelady) saying they can't refuse; they're now "free" to spend their whole lives there.

UCLA custodians demand their seniority rights

Los Angeles, Cal.—I've worked as a custodian in the dormitories now for nine years. When I first came to the university (UCLA) I had to work weekends until I finally had enough seniority to have the weekends off. We had to fight for that right, and now it looks like we're going to have to fight for it again.

There are three older employees at Hershey Hall now. We have been here nine, eleven and fifteen years. They have new employees up on the hill with only three to eighteen months and they are at home on the weekend and we've got to work. We can't say that we won't work weekends because then we'll get a letter in our files. But if that's the only way, then we will have to get a letter and then fight the case, because this is all definitely wrong.

At Hershey Hall they say they'll get a student to work with us on Fridays. If they can get a student to work with us on Fridays, why can't they get a student to work Saturday and Sunday instead of us?

I'm sure that all of this is just to harass the older workers. They are trying to get rid of us because we are in the union and are the most militant. Another thing is probably wages. They figure they can bring in new people at a lower wage and get rid of the union at the same time.

We don't want the new workers to be used to push the older workers out. We've spent a lifetime here and the university has broken us down and out, and everything else, and now all they're trying to do is get more work for less wages.

—Custodian, UCLA

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in San Francisco, Connecticut, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box page 3.

WAY OF THE WORLD

Detroit teacher strike ends

by Ethel Dunbar

The Detroit schools were shut down tight for almost seven weeks before students had their first day of class this year. Many people seemed to put the blame of the crisis on the teachers, though a small minority thought the school board was responsible, and some blamed the president of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, Mary Ellen Riordan. All the while the real losers were the school children in the inner-city and their parents.

I never thought too much of the union president, and still don't, but as soon as it was made known what were the real issues keeping the teachers from coming to agreement with the board my sympathy went all out for the teachers and their union.

The board kept insisting on something they thought would sound "good," under the name of "accountability." But what it meant was that they would have the power to fire any teacher they wanted to, and hire or raise the pay of others they preferred. In this racist city, I could just see how fast many of the Black teachers would be out of a job — and many, many teachers in Detroit are Black.

Even the injunction the board got to try to force the teachers back to work failed. By the time the final settlement came, the fines against the union amounted to \$180,000. It seemed that the Board was out to completely destroy the teachers' union — but they failed this time.

In the meantime, the students were the ones caught in between the cross-fire. I can't help feeling that the white suburbs would never have had a strike last this long. Nobody seemed to care so long as it was primarily Black students who were affected. Many of them had given up hope of ever going back this year, and for those who were supposed to finish high school their graduation itself was in jeopardy. But they learned at least one good lesson while they were out of school — that the board policies were like Nixon's, a search for power, power over the teachers' union and over our children.

Pablo Neruda (1904-1973)

We mourn the death, on September 23, of Pablo Neruda, the great world-renowned Chilean poet. Not even the counter-revolutionary junta who held him under house arrest (in a Santiago hospital where he is supposed to have died of cancer) dared interfere with the funeral. The people of Chile who followed the cortege gave proof of how strong is the spirit of rebellion in them still. No report of the continuing butchery can possibly compare with the eloquence of Neruda's lost poem, though that was written before the coup, and we can only quote part of it.

The Satraps

Nixon, Frei, and Pinochet
up to this day this bitter
month of September, 1973
with Bordaberry, Garrastazu and Banzer,

stained by the sacrifice
of a martyred people,
prostitute merchants
of bread and the American air
deadly seneschals, a herd
of whorish bosses
with no other law but torture
and the lashing hunger of the people.

(translated by John Felstiner of Stanford University, the poem in full can be read in Ramparts, Nov. '73.)



Chilean cement workers at Polpaico organized marches in support of Allende, Spring 1972.

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Pier 96: containerized jobs mean no shelter

San Francisco, Cal. — My need for food-and-shelter money led me to take a few shifts of work at a container operation, Pier 96—one of the later additions in San Francisco to the insatiable quest of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) for the fast buck at our expense.

There are a few problems at this terminal for which there are solutions that the union can handle. But what's wrong with Pier 96 is the entire operation, and that seems too large for the union officialdom to solve. For one thing this big area is almost entirely out in the open, way out over the Bay.

This reminds me of the newspaper story here about a year ago where one of our town's gentlemen complained of the "rotten planning" that had gone into the building of another terminal, Pier 80. The irate citizen was protesting against the pier coverings, the cargo sheds, at Pier 80, which slow down the loading and discharging of containers and reduce the storage space for them as compared to Pier 96.

FROM THE HUMAN STANDPOINT

From the human standpoint, these "old-fashioned" pier sheds at 80 are just about its only good feature, giving some of the longshoremen and ship clerks a little protection when the weather is bad. No retaliatory comment came from our top officialdom to the "planner," and this is probably because they still share the PMA estimation of containerization and all that goes with it as "progress."

The container piers across the Bay are even worse than Pier 96 partly because they don't have a single shed (the one shed at Pier 96 is for the protection of cargo). And, separate and apart from the huge amount of jobs that containerization has cost us, plus the accompanying danger, this work is above all, dehumanizing. It fragments us in what we have to do, speeding us up, dulling us by its repetition.

It is nothing more than "capitalist" progress, not human progress, and that is its character whether it takes place here or in Russia or China. And the heart of the matter, wherever this sort of thing is going on, is that people who are not clerks or longshoremen—the hired "brains" of the employers, plan these changes and put them into effect without even consulting us. The result enables us to see more clearly than ever before what Marx was getting at when he spoke of the need to

eliminate the division between mental and manual labor. That division is our mortal enemy.

WHEN THE CRANE STOPS

About the only advantage on the container jobs is when the gigantic crane breaks down and the ship loading or discharging job stops entirely. All of us are pleased by that development. "All of us?"—not quite. The PMA stooges are glum. But they were the same in this respect when I entered the maritime industry back in the 1930's.

In complaining about the fragmenting quality of the job as a result of the containerization of the industry no one implies that the old-fashioned method of handling cargo was the optimum in human achievement. Working your butt off in a ship's "basement" is no Garden of Eden but it was a varied thing over which you had some control on pace and what to do and how to do it. And that may explain why so many longshoremen still favor these jobs when they can get them—they're more suited to humans.

—San Francisco Docker

Subs in P.O. have no rights

Long Island City, N.Y.—I'm a sub mail handler, and we really have it bad. They should make the subs regular employees. As subs, we don't get any of the holidays off. If we take a holiday anyway, we don't get paid for it like a regular does. As a sub, we don't get the same vacation rights either.

Subs are not detailed anywhere. They can be moved around. Regulars can always bid them out of a job, even if the regular doesn't have more time than the sub. I've been working as a sub for almost two years. They haven't hired any new mail handlers since April, 1972.

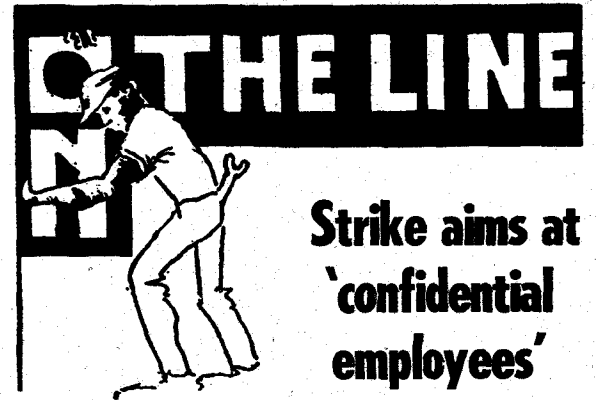
In July this year they were supposed to make all the subs into regulars. They didn't, and they didn't give us any reason why. We asked the union about this at meetings, and also why most Manhattan subs were being sent to the Postal Concentration Center (PCC) in Long Island City. But every time it was brought up, the union just knocked it right down.

Just recently we were transferred on one day's notice from 33rd Street in N.Y.C. to the PCC. The building that we were sent to is a mess. We don't know what's going to happen to us next. There are rumors they're supposed to close the PCC down and move it out to some place in New Jersey.

The grievance procedure out there is even worse. The union delegates just go along with the foremen. This is how it is in most small stations: The union delegates don't want to make waves for the foremen, because if they do, they lose their soft jobs.

In the first two weeks over at PCC, almost every sub has not come in at least one or two days. It's just a disgusting place to work. A lot of us think they just want to get rid of us.

—Sub Mail Handler



Strike aims at 'confidential employees'

By John Allison

About 3,000 union office workers have been striking for over three weeks at Chrysler's Centerline replacement depot near Detroit over the unionization of "confidential employees." These "confidential employees" are something like the time-study, motion study, whiz kid employees used to be on the production line. They're neither fish nor fowl, technically speaking.

They're not classified as part of the union or management. But they are used by management against the work force. What it comes down to is that the unionized office workers (and Chrysler has more union office workers than either GM or Ford) can't file a grievance against the "confidential workers" because they're a kind of third party where it comes to the contract.

SAME AS BOSSES

But where it comes to work in the office, and the authority they have as kind of straw bosses, they do what management tells them to do or they're fired. And Chrysler management in the office is the same as Chrysler management in the shops: they want as much production as they can get out of the workers.

It's obviously to the company's advantage to have this kind of buffer between itself and the office workers. The "confidential workers" do the company's dirty work and the office workers can't file a grievance against them because they're not classified as management. Nobody sees through this set-up better than the office workers, and this year their target was to unionize the "confidential workers."

The UAW leadership at first supported this strike, which was called outside of any national contract negotiations concerning the hourly rated Centerline workers, who were included in the national contract. When the office workers set up their picket lines, the hourly workers honored it. And then the office workers stopped the trucks from moving in and out of the depot, which is a replacement parts supplier for Chrysler dealers.

UNION, COMPANY HURT STRIKERS

Chrysler got an injunction against the union, and the UAW promptly told the hourly rated contract employees to go back to work, and the office workers were ordered to let the trucks roll in and out of the plant. As it now stands, the hourly workers and the "confidential employees" are doing the work in the depot.

Now the office workers can see very clearly how management plays one against the other for their own gain. For years office workers went through our picket lines because both the company and the UAW said they could work. The office workers knew they would get the same kind of gains that we got—or more—without losing a day's pay.

They were on our backs then, but now their own office free-loaders are on their backs, these people that management uses against the working class.

At the moment, these striking office workers are in a bind. Even though Centerline is probably the biggest replacement depot, it's not the only one, and Chrysler has been routing replacement parts through other depots throughout the country. And with the UAW doing nothing but helping to tie their hands, the way out appears tough.

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DO YOU HAVE A STORY
TO TELL? SEND IT IN!

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DETROIT READERS: HEAR RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

- TUES., NOV. 6, 10 A.M. — Channel 50 on Sharon Brown's "Detroit Today"
- THURS., NOV. 15, 12:15 P.M. — WJR Radio on J. P. McCarthy's "Focus"

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—At least 72 Chrysler workers were fired from the stamping plant after the last wildcat strike and take-over of the plant by the workers. This action by the company had the blessing of the union. In fact, the company, union, and the press labeled these fired workers as "Communists" and "radicals." But Mack workers know that there never have been that many "Communists" and "radicals" in all the UAW plants in Detroit.

The company is finally beginning to take some 28 of the fired workers back, but only if and after they sign an agreement that they will never participate in any strike action, agitation over production speed-up, never file grievances or take legal action against the company for back pay. In other words, they are being asked to sign over all their rights to the company.

The company is taking this "hard line" with these Mack workers because they don't want to give in on the back pay issue. The union is going along with the company because some of the workers have hired outside lawyers to win their grievances when the union refused to press for them. The fired workers are determined to press for back pay and reinstatement because so many of the 72 were fired for nothing more than standing by the fence during the sit-in when the company men were snapping pictures.

Despite all the harsh reprisals against workers at Mack, the revolt continues. Only last week, a worker beat up a foreman with a pipe because the foreman removed the worker's sister from a job when she refused to go on a date with him. Another worker forced a labor relations man to walk him out to his car after the worker had beaten up a foreman.

As one worker asked, "Now that all the 'Communists' and 'radicals' are fired, who is to blame for these actions?" One might say that these are individual

acts, and that is true. But as long as we have these production relations, workers are going to revolt against them and not just as individuals. And it cannot be stopped by firing workers and then forcing them to sign away all their civil rights to get their jobs back.

—Mack Worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Production at Fleetwood was stopped and the afternoon shift sent home after only two hours a few weeks ago when more than half of the hi-lo drivers in Dept. 21 stayed home sick. Dept. 21 takes all the stock from the boxcars and feeds it to the line. Practically every worker in this department has filed a 78 (grievance against speed-up). They have been forced to work hours after the line has stopped, often as much as 12 hours a day, 6 days a week.

When the company saw how many drivers were out they took men from other parts of the plant and put them on the hi-lo's, but no one but the most experienced driver can keep up the pace they expect you to keep at Fleetwood. These new men could not keep up with the line so after two hours they shut down the plant and sent everyone home.

A bureaucrat from the region came down to see about all the grievances in Dept. 21. No one has heard of anything coming out of it though. The company has charged some of the drivers who stayed out with an "illegal work stoppage." They have left the question of discipline against some others open. The company will probably try to use these charges and open cases to bargain with. They are also training a lot of new drivers.

Every worker who was out that day has a note from his doctor. Practically every worker I have talked to says that the speed of production is enough to make anyone sick. All over Fleetwood workers are saying: we are getting sicker every day because of this crazy drive for production.

—Fleetwood Worker

EDITORIAL

NIXONISM: FIRING COX, FIRING UP THE MIDDLE EAST

The vicious attack launched by President Nixon against newspaper and TV reporters at his Oct. 26 press conference underlined his desperate attempts to find a scapegoat on which to blame his own complete lack of credibility. Where Nixon accused the media of "hysterical," "outrageous," "distorted" reporting and charged that they had shaped public opinion against him, the truth is exactly the opposite. Nixon's open arrogance and contempt toward the press was a poor disguise for his true arrogance and contempt toward the American people.

The press was only reporting — and belatedly at that — what the American masses knew right from the beginning of the "Watergate crisis": that Nixon was guilty, not only of the "cover-up" but of far worse. Who could doubt, after this year, that Nixon would stop at nothing to achieve his one-party state at home, and his "Pax Americana" throughout the world? Who could doubt, after that press conference, that Nixon has no intention whatever of allowing any "independent" investigation of Watergate, or anything else in the past of Richard Milhous Nixon?

So completely in disarray, and so totally corrupt is the Nixon Administration, so deep is the suspicion and the revulsion of the American people against the would-be Emperor, as we lurch—almost daily—from one crisis to the next, that the "credibility gap" has become a chasm, dividing two absolutely opposite worlds.

WHAT NIXON HAS GOING FOR HIM

The boldness with which Nixon acted on the night of Oct. 20, when he fired Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox and forced the resignations of Attorney General Richardson and his assistant, William Ruckelshaus, was due to the fact, that, despite the outrage of the American people, Nixon was confident that the Middle East inferno would save him. (See lead, p. 1). So anxious was Nixon to bring the Middle East front and center stage, for it to eclipse his own crisis at home, that four days after purging the Justice Department, he declared a worldwide U. S. military alert, mobilizing 2.2 million soldiers.

Whatever the truth behind this frightening affair, Nixon is also counting on Russia and China to "save" him, just as they endorsed his re-election one year ago, just as

Brezhnev "came to visit" in Washington in the midst of the June Watergate hearings. Above all, he is counting on the Sino-Soviet conflict to keep them interested in their own dispute. The "new doors" Nixon claims to have opened to China and Russia were not opened by the Nixon Doctrine, but by the new reality of power in a nuclear super-power world. The "new world relations" have arisen from world realities, and detente has become the new form of sharp confrontations.

The one concern all three rulers share in common is their knowledge that the common enemy is revolt at home.

It was that revolt at home, in America, that forced Nixon to finally release some of the White House tapes to Judge Sirica. So anxious was he to get rid of Cox, who was investigating all the way back to 1969, that he was willing even to give up the tapes he had been hanging onto so desperately, in return for Cox's head. While Congress, stunned by the massive public reaction, finally did threaten impeachment proceedings, Nixon has plenty of grounds on which to believe that Congress isn't serious about it.

NIXON'S CONGRESSIONAL 'OPONENTS'

Take North Carolina's Sen. Sam Ervin, "hero" of Watergate. Ervin and his Republican counterpart, Sen. Howard Baker of Tennessee were the ones who accepted Nixon's deal on getting a summary of the tapes, which led Nixon to conclude that he could fire Cox with impunity. These two agreed that a third representative, Mississippi's racist Sen. John Stennis, should be the one to listen to the tapes and "verify" the summary. Evidently, the word of a "Southern gentleman" is still as good as gold in Congress.

The halls of Congress aren't the only places where hypocritical voices are suddenly calling for impeachment. One such hall was surely the one in which George Meany, addressing the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, denounced Nixon as "emotionally unstable" and a "dictator." The vehemence of Meany's attack on Nixon was motivated by his need to separate himself from the sinking presidential ship which he supported so vigorously in last fall's election campaign. In trying to wash his hands of Nixon and Agnew, Meany discovered that a

very strong scouring agent, indeed, will be needed if he is to quiet the tremendous rank-and-file pressure inside the AFL-CIO.

WHILE ROME BURNS

It is not without good reason that America today is being compared to the decline and fall of the Roman empire. There is one vast difference; however, in Nero's fiddling and Nixon's conniving. The Rome that is burning right now is the Middle East, and Nixon helped to set the fire.

The Democratic Congress and the labor bureaucracy have no solution to the disarray and corruption that characterize U. S. capitalism in the Age of Nixon. From Watergate and the "Intelligence Evaluation Unit" through the Agnew affair, to the Nixon-tainted massacre in Chile, it is clear that Nixon's "opponents" in the ruling class are only playing games with impeachment, and cannot end these crises. It has been the revolt from below that has forced them to record any opposition to Nixon's drive for ever greater power. And it is in that revolt that the only hope lies for a totally new world which will end forever the rule of Nixon and others of his ilk.

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AFTER THE CHILE COUP

The war in the Middle East confirms the estimate made in *News & Letters* of the role of the super-powers and the Nixon-Brezhnev talks. This coming on top of the Chilean counter-revolution is a serious setback.

In regard to Chile, the Communist Party leaders are trying to appease their own members without repudiating the defeated and opportunist policy.

A member of the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Party who was here when the coup occurred has written an article devoted to the terror in Chile but giving very little of the real background. He rightly attacks the reactionaries of America but ignores the role of the class enemy in Chile while the Communists were playing at parliamentary politics. He praises Allende and tells us that "The leadership of the CP and Popular Unity is organizing the reconquest of liberty and democracy." He avoids like the plague any examination of the failure of the cry for "No Civil War." How loyal was the CP to Allende when seeking unity with the Christian Democrats?

Correspondent
Britain

* * *

There were several teach-ins on Chile at different campuses here. At UCLA the crowd was smaller than expected, and one of the reasons was that the very beautiful leaflet that had been prepared for distribution that day was stolen the night before from the office of the USLA committee which sponsored it. Nixon's dirty tricks have reached UCLA.

Protester
California

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Deborah Morris' critique (October N&L) aroused me to read Jane Alpert's featured letter in Ms. (August 1973).

"Mother Right" appears to mean that because women are biologically determined to bear children, we are superior to men and should establish our culture as dominant. Ms., which claims to be founded on the liberation of women, not only prints in full this theory of absolute

determinism but precedes it with a mawkish declaration of heroine-worship.

Alpert describes her political past as one of almost total isolation from masses of women. She writes: "I believe that the struggle to define oneself for oneself ultimately takes place in a realm of the mind in which one is always alone and unsupported."

Because she is stuck in her own head, Alpert honestly thinks that if "technology is turned over to women now" it really can "prevent its becoming an even more powerful weapon against us." Apparently undisturbed by the contradictions between the matriarchal capitalism she depicts and the Idea of Freedom, she ends hailing not a new stage in human relations, but a retrogression so extreme that an intuitionist like Mao looks like Bobby Riggs facing Billie Jean King — "Can our revolution mean anything less than the reversion of social and economic control to Her representatives among Womankind and the resumption of Her worship on the face of the Earth?" (Caps Alpert's; bold face mine).

Deborah Morris, you were too kind!
Susan Van Gelder
Detroit

YUGOSLAVIA

In the course of traveling in Yugoslavia this summer, talking to many people—some academics, others workers — I learned some things that seem promising. The wide spread of worker management via elected councils in the factories, for example. But the bureaucracy still has a powerful voice even in such factories because it still controls the source of all credit, i.e. the State Bank, and because it can still change the rules and re-establish control if provoked.

Less happy is the readily visible fact that the regime has clearly been careful not to confront the regional and ethnic differences and hostilities left over from World War II. The divergence and the cause of the hostility is easily visible when driving from Belgrade to Skopje. In capitalist New York, a clear sign of the failures of the American political and economic system is the frequency with which, when one is stopped at a traffic light, children (who should be in

school), and derelicts (who should be productive workers) try to earn a little change by washing windshields. In northern Yugoslavia, this type of occurrence is virtually unknown, but in the south it is almost universal.

This sort of thing (like the unemployment rate, which one Yugoslav economist working for the State confirmed to me was eight percent) should be unthinkable in any State claiming to be Socialist. One ex-Partisan thought the great problem facing the country was contamination from workers exposed to capitalist ideas while working in Germany. When I suggested to him that, if Yugoslav Socialism was what it should be, any "contamination" would go the other way, he was not impressed. It seems likely that some form of restriction of free travel by workers will soon be imposed, though there is not enough work provided for all inside the country.

Visiting Prof.
Connecticut

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Eugene Walker's review of *Philosophy and Revolution* in the October issue was an enlightening experience. It made me recall an experience I had in a world lit course at the University of Nebraska. The text was a thick volume of excerpts from various writers — the excerpter's ideas of what constituted important highlights. When we got to the Marx assignment, I must confess I didn't even notice what author it was we were reading until I got into it. Then I was so dumbfounded at the prescience of the author I turned back to the beginning, to find out "Who is this guy?"

How very in order that it is a woman intellectual like Raya Dunayevskaya who gives us the "why" on Marx. The reason Marx is "with it" for so many human beings is precisely because it was the actual struggles of the workers which had a dynamic relationship on his thought. To me, Marx is a "publicity man" for the laboring class, taking his

cue from the producers. Could workers ask for more? I'm grateful to all of you for bringing Marx to the 20th century.

Supporter
Nebraska

UNITED FARM WORKERS

The Farmworkers Convention in Fresno was a moving event to participate in. It is a total movement, a true social movement, a reminder of what the labor movement used to be like, and what it could be again. It was moving to me, as an observer, that one of the resolutions they passed was to call on the U.S. not to recognize the Chilean junta that overthrew Salvador Allende. And that Cesar Chavez traced the beginnings of the movement back to the first slave that was brought to this country to work the Southern plantations. He thereby tied the exploitation of the farm workers today to historic and human links with the Black movement and all freedom movements.

Observer
Fresno, Cal.

LEADERS AND RANKS

I went to the Welfare Convention in Washington, D.C. The theme was "Strategies for Survival."

Mr. Abernathy, who is supposed to be the husband of NWRO spoke of stepping down from SCLC. George Wiley wasn't stepping down, he was only stepping over. Everyone is stepping from here to there. Rev. Jesse Jackson (waiting to step wherever he could) talked about Nixon and Watergate. No one spoke on Welfare . . .

It seems like the Civil Rights Movement is fading because everyone wants to be leaders. Until we can unite and forget about having our lunch in the White House we will never get anywhere. How much longer can we go on fooling ourselves? I don't want to lead, and I don't want to be led. I just want to do my part, whatever it may be. We have fought the white men. Now it

Readers

TWO WORLDS

New introduction distorts Marx's 'Grundrisse'

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
and **Marxism and Freedom**

(Editor's Note: **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**, by Raya Dunayevskaya, deals extensively with Marx's 1857-58 Notebooks, now world-famous as the **GRUNDRISSE**, in Chapter Two: "A New Continent of Thought: Marx's Historical Materialism and Its Inseparability from the Hegelian Dialectic." At the time **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION** went to press, however, the **GRUNDRISSE** had not yet appeared in an English translation. So fantastic did she consider the Introduction by Martin Nicolaus, when it did appear, that Raya Dunayevskaya wrote an informal letter on it, from which we print brief excerpts, below. The full letter can be obtained for 25c from *News & Letters*, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207.)

Grundrisse has finally been translated into English and published in full.* Unfortunately, this edition is burdened by so fantastic a foreword by its translator, Martin Nicolaus, that we must all over again divert from Marx to his interpreters.

By stating that this foreword is "fantastic" I do not mean it departs in any fundamental way from established Marxism, which, with reformism, began demanding the removal of the "Hegelian dialectic scaffolding" of Marx's works. And I certainly do not mean that "orthodoxy" rested with Stalin who threw out "the negation of the negation" from the "dialectic laws", much less with Mao who perverted contradiction from the elemental class struggle to "principal" and "subordinate" forever changing places in "bloc of four classes." (The latter two, especially Mao, get praised to the skies, so that we read that **On Contradiction** and **On Practice** "are at one and the same time strictly orthodox in the Marxist sense and highly original," p.43, fn. 39.) I mean that the pull of pragmatism, state-capitalism, and the administrative mentality that characterizes our age are so overwhelming that all the years put into the translation, the recognition that "The **Grundrisse** challenges and puts

to the test every serious interpretation of Marx yet conceived," (p.7) and the subjective wish to be revolutionary, are still no shield from the objective pull of our state-capitalist age once your ears are not close to the ground so that you hear all the elemental forces from practice uniting with the self-determination of the philosophy of liberation.

From the very first page, first paragraph, Nicolaus announces that the 1857-8 Notebooks "display the key elements in Marx's development and overthrow of the Hegelian philosophy." (p.7, my emphasis.) With this as his ground, how could the translator possibly learn anything from the 893 pages?

THE NEXT 15 pages of this Foreword Nicolaus devotes to background plus a few pages in trying to summarize the first chapter of Marx's **On Money** and into the first section **On Capital**. All is devoted to the translator's view of "the structure of the argument" (p.23) only to conclude: "All that follows in the remaining 400 pp. of the **Grundrisse** is built on the basic elements here outlined."

Having thus cavalierly virtually dismissed one-half of the book (he will later return in bits and pieces), he is off on his own. It is here, then, that we have to search for his method and aim and originality of contribution. Quoting Marx on the difference between a method of presentation and a method of inquiry, which Nicolaus translates as "method of working", Nicolaus concludes that this is the unique feature of the **Grundrisse**. Directly after this he once again quotes Marx, this time Marx's letters to Engels (Jan. 16, 1858) on the fact that Marx did indeed find Hegel's **Logic** of great service "in the method of working." Unfortunately, Nicolaus has no comprehension whatever, either of this sentence or the one he quotes from Lenin that it was "impossible completely to understand Marx's **Capital**, especially Chapter One, without having thoroughly studied the whole of Hegel's **Logic**." Far from basing himself on either, Nicolaus is on his way to construct something altogether different.

While this flies in the face of Marx's critique of the dialectic as rooted in history, self-development, the

self-making of labor, Nicolaus stresses how "profoundly contrary to Hegel's method" is Marx's. (Nicolaus here limits himself to the concreteness of Marx's concept of time, especially on the question of production, which is, of course, crucial, but we will see later that what he leaves out, in turn, is the whole of Marxism: SUBJECT, self-development, masses as reason and not just as labor time.)

AT THE MOMENT Nicolaus was altogether too busy denying Hegel: "The idealist side of his philosophy was that he denied the reality of what the senses perceive." (p.27) Not a word about the fact that, according to Marx, so great was Hegel's discovery of second negativity, and so rooted in the revolutionary period, that Hegel had to "throw a mystical veil" over that reality. It is of course at reality where Marx did transcend Hegel—and so did the historic period of 1848 as against 1789—but, again, it was the Subject, the proletariat, that made the Great Divide between Hegel, the bourgeois (Continued on Page 7)

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the Chairwoman of **NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES**, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, which practices the unity of worker and intellectual, and of philosophy and revolution, and totally new human relations. **NEWS & LETTERS** is edited by a Black production worker, **CHARLES DENBY**. It was born in 1955, the year of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, on the one hand, and the wildcats against Automation, on the other. It is a monthly publication which does not separate reports of the activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth against capitalism, racism, sexism, and imperialist war, from the activity of thinking and working out theory for our age. Participation in the freedom struggles and the creation of a forum for all the new voices from below by the publication of the paper, pamphlets and books are all forms of activities we invite you to join in working out with us.

Views

seems as if we will have to fight the Black to stay free. I don't understand what is happening, but I will not step aside and give my group over to anybody. We have fought too long and come too far.

Welfare Rights Activist
Los Angeles

THE CARIBBEAN

It seems to me that a standard of civilization which cannot be generally applied on a world scale is morally unacceptable. It is this standard, however, which the rich in poor countries covet. In order to attain it they take a massive bite out of the much too small gross product and thus jeopardize any possibility of obtaining agricultural and industrial equipment which would better the lives of farmers and workers. In fact, many farmers are living on an annual cash income of \$25 while there are U. S. incomes in the millions. Before the French Revolution the gap between the richest and the poorest nations never went beyond a ratio of one to five or six.

Vigil Voice
Costa Rica

Never has there been such bankruptcy and sterility as is evident today among those who call themselves activists. And this is so in the Caribbean as well as elsewhere. The questions that face the undeveloped countries are how to build on the basis of agriculture and a combination of light and heavy industrial development. And, given the world situation, where would these countries get the assistance that would facilitate their development free of all kinds of harassment.

Some of us from undeveloped areas are very concerned about these problems, more so today when even people on the left tend to label you, if you accept aid from the "socialist camp" in particular, as being another budding satellite. We do not share this facile

approach, but some of us are aware as to why there are these apprehensions. We ask: how are we in St. Vincent going to build socialism in an island with no known rich natural resources, with our agriculture in a mess, with illiteracy quite high, no industries, and a host of such debilitating problems, and in the type of world we live in?

Correspondent
West Indies

Editor's Note: This question is dealt with in depth in Part Three of **Philosophy and Revolution**, "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation." See ad, p. 8.

SOUTH AFRICA

Massive loans from U.S. banks amount to subsidizing South Africa's inhuman racial policies. The first Black president of the National Council of Churches, Dr. W. S. Cary, has been active in disclosing information about these loans, and some important actions have resulted. Two recent examples: The city council in Petersburg, Va. voted to end its business with the United Virginia Bank if they did not end their loan to South Africa. In Baltimore, the Inner City Federation of Federal Credit Unions withdrew several hundred thousand dollars from the Maryland National Bank because of their involvement in apartheid. Information on which banks are involved and what you can do is available from:

American Committee on Africa
164 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y. 10016

The recent happenings in Southern Africa are dismal, and we who live in the industrial world must consider new tactics to help the struggles in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. One way is to boycott Gulf.

Five years after the Angolan revolution began Gulf started a \$150 million oil operation there — 75 percent of total U. S. investments in Angola. Even the U. N. called it exploitation harmful to

the programs of Angolans toward freedom. Gulf paid Portugal \$61 million in 1972 and will pay \$10 million more each year. This enables Portugal to finance 150,000 troops fighting to maintain its colonies.

If that isn't reason enough to boycott Gulf — consider that Gulf's controlling stockholder, the Mellon family, gave \$1 million of Nixon's secret \$10 million fund. That ought to be enough reason for anybody.

Boycotter
Dayton, Ohio

GET NIXON OUT!

Nixon was found guilty by the American people a long, long time ago. Not a single worker I know trusts him or believes a single thing he says. That isn't even a question any longer. What we are really mad about is that Congress is doing nothing about taking this government back from him. Here we are with inflation and unemployment and a fuel shortage staring all of us in the face. The very essentials of our daily life are in question, and nobody in the government is doing anything about it.

Nixon has torn this country down so bad it can't ever be patched up again the way it was. We'll have to do it all over again — by ourselves. And the first thing we have to do is get Nixon OUT.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

The only way we're going to get Nixon out of the White House is if we all just march down there and pull him out by the ears.

Secretary
Detroit

PARTI QUEBECOIS

October 29th is election day in Quebec and the smell of fraud is already in the air. The pro-independence Parti Quebecois has such widespread support that the Liberal Party (in power now) and the other two old-line parties (the National Union and Social Credit) are in a panic.

The whole process of voter registration has been tampered with in the counties where the Parti Quebecois is strong, and

over 40,000 voters have been selectively cut off from the voters' rolls. Mainly youth, union members, and people associated with the Parti Quebecois or with radical politics have been hit by this.

"Too bad," say the Registration Officials, but they won't allow a new registration period. If the Parti Quebecois loses in those counties because of this, there may be a lot of people voting with their feet!

Reader
Montreal

VANISHING FARMERS

Enclosed is a copy of a brief we produced last summer. It deals primarily with the problems of the dairy industry in S.E. Ontario which is one of Canada's main dairy areas. We hope to give those who know little about dairy farming some understanding of the forces which are driving 2,000 dairy producers out of business each year.

Although it is not of a political nature, we feel it will be valuable to many concerned people, both rural and urban. It focuses on dairy producers in one county and shows what's been happening to them. We also included information on various government agencies and the milk marketing board which have a great influence on farm families.

We would appreciate your support in distributing this brief as widely as possible. It may be obtained for 25c from:

Vanishing Rural Community
P.O. Box 701
Kingston, Ontario, Canada

REVIVAL?

There seems to be a massive resurgence of religion going on around in our plant. Whenever they bring in a new guy, all he says for the first few weeks is, "Jesus Christ!" Some of the folks also seem to have a real close relationship with God, because they're always asking Him to damn the company or the foreman or something related. Everyone else, however, is simply praying.

Black Worker
Long Island City, N. Y.

In Sonora, Mexico

Thousands protest school closing

Hermosillo, Mexico—The projected law concerning administration of the University by a co-government council of students and professors was not approved or even taken into account by the State Congress (See News & Letters, June-July, 1973). Instead, a new law was written which is more reactionary than the one previously in force.

The Board of Regents was disbanded, but the same business interests continue to be represented in the administration. The councils which are to run each school are to be elected in a way to assure conservative administration, and each election in each school is to be monitored by a special commission appointed by the president of the University.

AUTHORITIES SHUT DOWN SCHOOL

A clash over the first such election brought about the first physical injuries this semester. So far, the University authorities have not tried another election but instead boycotted classes. At first, students thought the conservative professors were too cowardly to show up before an irate student body and were individually making the decision to stay away. Imagine the amount of student discussions, meetings, processions in the town, and "flyers" to poor neighborhoods once the word got out that the president of the University had ordered various schools to shut down.

Some students had taken over the president's office. Finally, he set a deadline for them to get out, which they did, but they did not send the stipulated commission to announce their withdrawal personally. In spite of all the president's spies who have been able to inform him even of details of student-teacher closed meetings, the

'Keep RCA open'

New York, N.Y. — The RCA Institute electronics school is still being phased out for complete shut-down in May by its owner, the RCA conglomerate.

This same giant that is running an ad campaign on the millions of dollars it wants to put into minority neighborhoods is turning around and smashing these same people in the face by preventing their getting a decent education. Among other things, the Institute offers the only courses in electronics strictly in Spanish—and it's not just TV repair.

The corporation president, Conrad, has refused to meet with a delegation of students and faculty. They did present their 13 demands to Adams, the service company president. He agreed to only three of these—1) to cooperate with students and faculty in approaching the state for possible take-over; 2) to adequately maintain lab facilities (the most important part of the courses, the labs have seriously deteriorated since the start of the phase-out); 3) to look into the cut-back in student aid.

At the start of the meeting Adams claimed a \$35,000 deficit for the Institute; by the end, this had somehow risen to \$200,000. When pressured to explain this change, Adams said about \$100,000 had been spent on "researching the feasibility" of selling the school!

The basic problem still exists—the phase-out must cease. The students ask, would you buy a car with no engine? Who will buy a school with no students or faculty? Right now, RCA has cut down by one-fourth the student body. How can they say they're honestly trying to sell it when they're chopping it up? Is there an under-the-table deal?

The struggle has to be resolved by Nov. 30, the end of the term. After that, the number of students and faculty will be so low that it will be virtually impossible to get the school off the ground again.

The loud and energetic picketing of the RCA headquarters by the students is having a marked effect. On Oct. 17, while a large group picketed and chanted "RCA is Unfair" and "Save Our School," the company's lawyers told the students' lawyer to "call off the pickets," which they, of course, refused to do. And the students say they are prepared to do whatever is necessary to put more and more pressure on RCA.

They ask for support in boycotting the products of RCA and all of its subsidiaries: NBC; Banquet Foods Corp.; Random House; Hertz; Coronet Industries; RCA Global Communications, and Cushman & Wakefield.

president got the majority of the mass media in the State to report that he could not be sure that the offices were now available to him.

Thus, he applied the threatened retaliation: an official closing of the whole University. And he threatened to send the police against anyone attempting to carry on any academic activity within the University. At that point, students and teachers began to co-ordinate their opposition, and most schools were able to keep a large part of the scheduled classes going, substituting students or "outside" people for professors where needed.

STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE

Two big demonstrations last month obviously had influence on local politicians. Hired thugs disrupted the first meeting after the University was officially closed. All electricity to the University had been turned off, and the student leaders who tried to keep the meeting going at the main entrance to the University were attacked as dusk fell. There were several injuries. One of the most vocal student leaders wasn't at the demonstration. He had been kidnapped by police several weeks earlier and kept hidden for five days before being released, badly beaten.

The latest demonstration, held in the main streets of the city, was a triumph for the students and people of Sonora. The procession filled four city blocks, and the main theme was a return to classes, but on the condition that the University community not accept the new law.

The Secretary of Education, imposing his authority over the University president, called for classes to be resumed. At the same time, however, five of the leaders of the teachers' movement were fired by the University Council—the puppet authority under the president, as it exists now. In addition, a whole list of teachers to be "sanctioned" was read at a meeting of School directors. Considering that the main body of the University community is not going to accept that action passively, I doubt that the Council will get further down the list.

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DOING AND THINKING

1960s youth revolt: practice to theory

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION
by Raya Dunayevskaya, Dell Publishers (see ad, p. 8).
Reviewed by Chris Norwell

"New Passions and New Forces" is the title of the last chapter of *Philosophy and Revolution*, and nothing could better describe the youth upsurge of the past two decades than this quote from Marx. For although the chapter doesn't deal with youth alone "as such," but describes the Black revolt, the women's movement, and the movement of the masses from practice to theory in search of a new society; it shows the reawakening of struggle in the oppressed subject, the new energy and vitality that comes from a new age of the movement for freedom, a new age that only the youth could initiate.

Whether it be the East European youth fighting against state-capitalist tyranny; the Black youth fighting to rid their people of white racism once and for all; the white youth fighting American imperialism; the Chicano and Indian youth picking up the gauntlet and fighting for their freedom; the young women determined to end male domination; or the many struggles for national liberation led by the youth of other countries—we can see that the "youth struggle" is not just a white, male, student fight for better schools, but a passion and force that permeates every level of struggles against capitalism.

In this country the Black youth started the movement going, when they decided they were not going to stand for the racist power structure in the South any more. As Dunayevskaya puts it on page 350:

"They (Black youth) initiated a new epoch of youth revolt, white as well as Black, throughout the land. There was not a single method of struggle . . . that did not have its origin in the Black movement. However, this was so not only as strategy and tactic but also as underlying philosophy and perspectives for the future."

The Black youth, having started the white youth moving, did not stop there, but carried their struggle for freedom onto a higher level by developing their own self-consciousness in being Black, as self-consciousness that did not die after the Freedom Rides had ended. It is a self-consciousness that went far beyond what the so-called leaders of the Black movement had envisioned. This awakened sense of an oppressed subject being strong and able to defeat the oppressor spread to other groups, Chicanos, Indians, Puerto Ricans, women.

What makes young people so eager to change existing conditions is that, as Mario Savio stated in the Free-Speech movement in Berkeley, "they have not yet learned to compromise." What makes them so unwilling to compromise is their desire to free themselves from the past. Unfortunately, many youth have not done that in theory. That is the main reason the near-revolutions of the '60s stayed near-revolutions, because the movement didn't want to grapple with theory, but thought they could pick it up "en route," as Daniel Cohn-Bendit said.

That is why the youth revolt must not be separated from the freedom struggles of all people. The youth revolt of the '60s lacked theory, and a historical perspective with which to align themselves. The working class, the masses of Blacks, Chicanos, women, poor whites, are not only the source of all theory in our epoch; their everyday actions are themselves a form of theory.

Our task is to unite these movements for freedom and philosophy, to elicit the voices from below that will bring about a change in human relationships, and to combine the energy of the youth with the passion for freedom that is inherent in everyone.

GIs petition: no U.S. forces in Mideast

Jacksonville, N.C. — On October 13, a group of GIs and civilians from four East Coast military bases staged a protest here against the introduction of U. S. forces into the war in the Middle East. Jacksonville is the base town for Camp Lejeune, the major Marine Corps base east of the Mississippi.

About 15 GIs from four bases in the area joined ten civilians in circulating a petition at three shopping centers and in one day's leafletting gathered about 200 signatures. The petition urged the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to forbid the use of U.S. forces in the Mideast and ended by saying "We do not want this to become another senseless Vietnam."

Police in Jacksonville attempted to keep the GIs from distributing the petition by arresting three of them for "protesting and soliciting" but the other protesters got them out of jail without any formal charges being placed.

A delegation of active-duty GIs from all four bases will go to Washington, D.C., to present the signed petitions to Senator Fulbright.

—Reprinted from Winter Soldier

WAR ERUPTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Continued from Page 1)

open the Suez Canal to international traffic, including that of Israel. It was Premier Golda Meir who had hardened her stand and would not budge.

Presently, she is trying to shift the eyes of the Jews (Israeli and Russian) toward hated Russia: "we are fighting against the Egyptian Army and Syrian Army, but the rockets, the tanks, the planes—everything that is in the hands of the Egyptian and Syrian soldier—all this comes to him from the Soviet Union."

It is true that the arms are Russian, even as it is true that Israel's are U.S.-made; exactly what Third World country produces tanks and missiles and planes? It is not true that the Arabs are fighting Russia's war; they are fighting Israel's imperialism. What is true, above all, is that in the entire quarter century of Israel's existence, she has done nothing to solve the question of the Palestinian refugees.

ISRAEL: WHAT IT WAS; WHAT IT IS

What has happened to the humanity, the greatness, the daring of the Jews who escaped Nazism and fought the British imperialists so successfully that they inspired Nasser?

There is no doubt that a new dimension surged up with the creation, in 1948, of the state of Israel in the Middle East, whose politics heretofore had been dominated by oil. Although the fact is now conveniently forgotten, it was the anti-imperialist struggle of the Palestinian Jews that so overwhelmed the young, then unknown, Colonel Nasser, who had come to sign the pact ending the Arab-Israeli war, that, instead of dwelling on the armistice terms, he was plying the Jews with questions as to just how the outgunned, outmanned force could have overcome British occupation. And Nasser did, indeed, apply the lessons he learned from the Jews, as he himself tells it in his "Philosophy of Revolution."

What has happened to the Jewish revolutionaries who were during those World War II years also trying to establish solidarity with the Arab masses who would fight for freedom from imperialism? To point to the reactionary regimes in the Middle East, their monarchies and shiekdoms, cannot possibly substitute for Israeli injustices to the Palestinian masses who know no other life than that of refugees.

OIL, AGAIN AND AGAIN AND AGAIN

In the Middle East, oil is "the oldest profession." It has always been a corrupting practice which kept feudal monarchies, shiekdoms and emirs in power, the masses in poverty and illiteracy, the countries underdeveloped. With state capitalism as the dominant feature of world economy, oil has assumed a still newer form: reactionaries as well as "radicals" have learned all about nationalization, price gouging, and using their American counter-parts to put pressure on U.S. imperialism to tilt policy toward the Arab oil monopolists rather than Israel.

This is volatile enough, but what is one to say when this late in the century we are confronted, at one and the same time, with a call from the rightist William F. Buckley, Jr. for re-colonization, and from a former leftist, Walter Laqueur, with a statement that "a Western military presence" is a present need?

Here is what Buckley wrote before the Middle East erupted: "Somewhere along the line, the nations of Western Europe should make a preemptive moral strike against hardening Arab policy. It would have the nature of saying: Mideast oil must be made available." (Published in New York Post, 10/9/73).

The liberals may not have the gall of a Buckley, who christens colonization "a preemptive moral strike." But one and all are busy pointing to the U.S. need for a mailed fist in the Middle East, and espousing the idea that Israel could become that supreme weapon not only against the oil powers but also against the nuclear power, Russia.

Is this where it all is now? Are revolutionaries supposed to "take sides" on such imperialist ground, be it U.S. or Russia, Arab or Israel—or, for that matter, China, which is playing the wildest game of all, since it has nothing to lose and anything gained is a "victory" against its enemy, Russia.

MAO'S CHINA AND THE THIRD WORLD

Along with the terrorists (and outright fascists like Al-Shukairy whom Mao's China sheltered in the 1967 war), China prides herself on never having recognized Israel's right to existence. Never mind that the People's Republic of China didn't exist in 1947-48. Never mind that even a Stalin (to whom Mao bowed and still does) was the very first to recognize the newborn State of Israel. Never mind that "Marxism-Leninism" that Mao claims to espouse is supposed to stand for social revolution rather than individual terror, much less kingdoms or sheikdoms. All that we are supposed to see is that Russia is "Enemy Number One," and all else is subordinated to that single overpowering "fact."

On this, Golda Meir and Mao are one. In this, though on opposite sides of the firing line, and though one (Mao) claims to be the spokesman for the Third World, those

two are the only rulers who seem not to shy away from any consequences of their politics, even where that might lead to a nuclear holocaust.

The possibility of World War Three is by no means excluded. The jockeying for position is not only among the warring powers but among the nuclear super-powers. The Middle East war is by no means over yet, either as between the countries at war or the super-powers lining up behind closed doors, much less within each country.

WHERE TO NOW ?

Where the 1967 war, with its anti-Semitism and anti-Israel-as-state only served to unite class opponents within Israel, this war can open new ways out if any unfold a new banner of solidarity across national boundaries. This is the only area where revolutionaries outside of Israel can take part.

The "New Left" which thinks being against Israel in toto proves them to be "real" revolutionaries aligning with the Third World, and that the Third World as it now exists means a new world social order, are creating nothing but fatal illusions. No revolutionary regimes exist in Jordan; nor is Mao's China the equivalent of socialism.

Quite the contrary. All that such false identification shows is that its exponents cannot think of liberation without hanging onto existing state powers—rulers who strike out against their own masses.

All one has to do to see that is to look at recent events: King Hussein's massacre of the Palestinian rebels; Mao's turning against his own "ultra left" youth because they followed the Cultural Revolution's slogan, "it is right to rebel."

For that matter, the "Left" in Israel, who thought the way to oppose their rulers was to become spies for Syria, demonstrate that they have no conception of the

fact that the struggle for liberation within one's country is not, and cannot be, turned over to an outside state power. Which does not mean that the Israeli Left has no way out and must capitulate to its rulers in the ongoing war.

This war is one too many for both sides in the Middle East conflict. For the situation to have moved off from dead center only to erupt into a full scale war transforms this, for the second time since 1967, into a war of global proportions. That is to say, the two super powers enter to take away the right of self-determination of both the Arab and the Israeli peoples. All the more imperative is it for the Middle East masses to see that the final answer will only come from revolutions within each country, and that includes a revolution in Israel.

In the U.S., the "Year of Europe" has become the year of Watergate has become the year of wildcats has become the year of counter-revolution in Chile has become the year of the Middle East. Sadat calls it "the year of decision." That may well be so, but not in the way Sadat means it. Neither the "limited war" he is espousing for the moment, nor the oil interests pressuring the United States, will have the last say. The Big Powers, nuclearly armed, have no intention of allowing anyone but themselves to do the deciding—not even such middle powers as Western Europe or Japan, who do wish to see a tilting toward the oil monopolists.

The point is that for revolutionaries, there can be no simplistic answers. For they are no substitute for seriously working out a method of struggle inseparable from a philosophy of liberation, all integrally related to masses in motion. There simply is no substitute for a social revolution within each country.

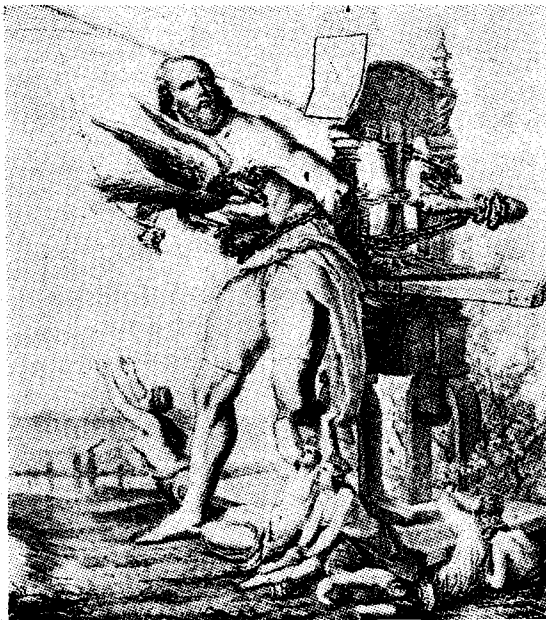
Oct. 12, 1973

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

philosopher, and Marx who had discovered a new content of thought that was not merely materialism vs. idealism but the unity of the two in "the new Humanism", and that carried through into Vol. III of Capital as "Human power is its own end."

So preoccupied is Nicolaus with contrasting materi-



This contemporary cartoon on the suppression of the paper Marx edited, "Rheinische Zeitung" shows Marx chained to the printing press while the royal Prussian eagle gnaws at his vitals. The original lithograph appeared in 1843 without any accompanying text, since printed comment was forbidden by the censorship.

alism to idealism that he forgets the true uniqueness of Marx and repeats outworn revisionisms about "Hegelian language" to tell us that "Before Capital found its way into print Marx discarded most of this lexicon as baggage which had served for its journey but outlasted its day." (pp.32-3) Then what did that "service" that Hegel rendered Marx achieve? Nicolaus' answer is indeed the most petty-bourgeois intellectualistic idealism yet heard: "The usefulness of Hegel lay in providing guide-lines for what to do in order to grasp a moving developing totality with the mind." (p. 33)

Now if it is nothing less than "guide-lines" that Hegel provided and if he also provided "a grip on the entire realm of the 'independent objective Mind' which Hegel had sent floating into the heavens . . .", what exactly was new in Marx's discovery? Where was that proletariat Marx held on to as the Subject for transformation of society, the shaper of history, the mass that is a product of history but also "makes" it? Nicolaus can't seem to get further than "standing Hegel right side up" and "removing mystical shell from rational core"...

THE RESULT IS self-paralysis, blindness to that

Marx's 'Grundrisse'

crucial Chapter One of Capital, which (1) Lenin called attention to as requiring the whole of Logic but which Nicolaus reduces to zero stating "It would be a misreading of Lenin's intent to argue that . . . This is a project for a long term in prison." (pp.60-1) (2) He never once questions himself as to that constant reappearance of Chapter One at each revolutionary period and counter-revolutionaries demanding it be thrown out of the teaching of Capital, as Stalin did in 1943. Moreover, and above all, (3) what exactly is Chapter One, and its 1873-5 re-writing by Marx himself of final section "Fetishism of Commodities" and why did Marx ask readers of the German edition which did not have that essential part to please read the French edition following the Paris Commune?

Nothing, nothing whatever, is greater proof of the recreation of the dialectic on the basis of this elemental outpouring and the self-development of Marx's Begriff of Commodity. In "nothing whatever" I include all the great dialectical development in Grundrisse, even its Hegelian-Marxian "absolute movement of becoming." For the most mature, most creative genius learned from the Parisian masses that that perverse form, a commodity, the value-form of a product of labor, can never be stripped of its fetishism except by "freely associated labor." So his beginning, as against Hegel's in Science of Logic, was not only concrete, tangible as against abstract universal of Being, but it was also the not-concrete, not-tangible bourgeois fetish which reduced labor itself to the commodity, labor-power. And this was not only production exploitation vs. market equality, but that Absolute, the specifically capitalistic stage of production, whose Notion had to be split into two: bourgeois reification vs. freely associated labor showing it is all relations of production that must be uprooted and recreated on altogether other foundations. . . .

THE NEW IN the Grundrisse even now is not merely "method of working"; great as that is. It is the continuity of the affinity of the Marxian and Hegelian dialectic. From the moment of break with bourgeois society, 1843, all the way through Grundrisse and total break with vulgar materialists (not merely as utopians or Proudhonists but as Lassalleans) to Capital and the First International, Marx's self-development is in no sense a break from the young Marx that discovered a new continent of thought.

Any who question, as Nicolaus does, whether "it is any longer necessary to read Hegel's Logic in order to completely understand Capital" when Grundrisse is finally available; and then claim that Grundrisse is just to see a mind at work, are indeed the worst kind of petty-bourgeois "idealists". They are completely dead to the whole of the past two decades when from below, from the East German Revolt in 1953 on to Paris and Peking, 1968, as well as from "above" (self-determination of Idea finally catching up with self-determination of nations) "new passions and new forces" have arisen. This movement surely has passed by progeny of the Stalins, Maos, not to mention the Trotskyists and all who thought they can catch theory "en route." The task for us, however, has just begun.

Raya Dunayevskaya
July 1, 1973

*See my Political Letters on the 1967 war and the 1969 Iraqi outburst which personified anti-Semitism, anti-revolution, anti-philosophy. (Available from News & Letters for 35c).

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

Chile—the CP and the illusions of parliamentary democracy

From Harry McShane in Glasgow, we have received the following:

The war in the Middle East is a tragic affair, but it is the counter-revolution in Chile that is most likely to cause a change in political thinking.

Chile has made it clear that no section of the movement paid sufficient attention to the forces of counter-revolution. One would think that nothing had ever happened in the world from which we could learn anything. The Communist Party found greater favor with the reactionaries than did Allende's Socialist Party. The role of the Christian-Democrats was overlooked.

There is a paper here called the "Tablet", which is the organ of the upper-crust Catholics. Here is an extract from what it said about Chile in its issue of Sept. 22: "Dr. Allende's own Socialist Party, by its bigoted intransigence and unpreparedness for compromise must share a heavy burden of the blame for what has come to pass. The attitude of the Socialist Party in Chile has always contrasted

sharply with the relatively more moderate Communist Party."

The Communist Party and Socialist and Labour Party enthusiasts for reliance on parliamentary democracy as the way forward are in a bewildered state. Labour Party people now realize that the ruling class will not permit peaceful change. Even if the next Labour Government tried to push through the half-baked policy accepted at the Labour Party conference, it would not be allowed. There is a limit to what capitalism can permit. The ruling class will scrap their "democracy" when it cannot serve their interests.

The suppression of the Communist League in France is significant. The trial of 24 building workers charged with conspiracy over picketing, which is now proceeding in Britain, is a serious matter.

The leaders of the Communist Party cannot turn a complete somersault. They have attacked the various groups and now they are faced with the fact that on the issue of the "peaceful road to Socialism" the groups were all correct. The Communist Party in Chile were dragging their feet in the hope of getting unity with the Christian Democrats knowing

that it could only be won by opposing Allende.

The Communist Parties of Europe are looking for a face-saving formula. A meeting of the Communist Parties of Western Europe will be held in January. A consultative meeting was held on Sept. 27-28 in Stockholm. Cover it up any way they like, it is obvious that their policy of betrayal has led to the slaughter of thousands of Chilean lives, because the illusion of a peaceful road originated in Western Europe.

Georges Seguy, the Communist Secretary of the CGT has said that he would favor industrial or other extra-parliamentary steps to bring down the French Government. Marchais, the leader of the Communist Party in France, has gone out of his way to say that this does not mean a departure from the "peaceful road."

Here in Britain, prominent CP members are talking about democratising the armed forces and separating the rank and file from those above them. John Gollan, the Secretary of the Party, reviewing a book on Aneurin Bevan, says, "The nature of the capitalist state was not analysed." It is a long time since Mr. Gollan used that kind of language.

Exit Spiro Agnew

The Vice President of the United States has confessed, been convicted and given a minor sentence as a common crook. Agnew, who has projected the image of "Mr. Clean" for the Nixon gang, began his career of extortion, bribe, solicitation and government corruption as far back as 1962 when he was county executive for Baltimore County, Maryland, and extended it up to Christmas 1972 when as Vice President he received the last payments before his conviction.

The payments received were for Agnew's personal account, quite aside from "campaign contributions" made to the Republican Party.

The payments might have continued indefinitely had it not been that the men who were being bled for money confessed to the payments to get a short sentence on a charge which is a federal criminal felony.

Watergate has placed a large question mark over the entire Nixon Administration with Mitchell

under indictment, the FBI under a cloud, presidential assistants' credibility under question and 65 percent of the American people expressing no confidence in the government.

Thai Student revolt

The students and workers of Thailand, tired of 16 years of military dictatorship, have driven the military dictatorship of Field Marshall Kittikachorn into exile, burned many police stations, sent the cops and the military into hiding and set up Sanya Thammasak, rector of their university, as the new Premier of the country. The students vented their rage against the police and the military in a day of vengeance reminiscent of the Hungarian Revolt.

The three Field Marshalls who fled have accumulated huge fortunes in the United States. The Nixon Administration gave them unlimited financial support in return for permission to station 40,000 U.S. troops at air bases in Thailand.

The troops of the military dictatorship remain intact and in hiding. If they cannot be controlled by the new regime, there will be trouble ahead.

South African strikes

The real strength of Africans in South Africa lies in their labor power. Despite South African law which prohibits strikes by Black Africans, thousands have won wage increases during the first part of this year in a number of industries through these illegal strikes.

When the authorities sought to make an example of the so-called ringleaders of these strikes, they found that these people had so much mass support among the workers that it was unwise to move against them.

The growing rebelliousness of the Blacks is making the white minority quite nervous. The lessons of the Sharpeville Massacre which has been followed by the Western Deep Levels massacre shows that "wage negotiations" if not settled can lead to open rebellion.

British and American companies that control the industry of South Africa have been gradually granting wage increases, but the wage scale is still not above the poverty level. The system of importing, from Lesotho, Malawi and the Bantustans, laborers who must send money back to their families to keep them alive, is a system that is rotten at its roots.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

another group a permit to open a Federal savings and loan bank in Rebozo's building.

The reporters wanted to know why they approved the second bank application, but refused the first group, when the forms were practically the same.

Some weeks before there was some scandal about Bebe Rebozo getting \$100,000 from Howard Hughes for the Nixon campaign fund that was never recorded. Now Rebozo says he sent it back to Hughes.

Some workers are saying that this President is also a blackmailer. No one can make me believe all those things went on with Nixon's staff people without him knowing about it. He had to know about the Agnew affair long ago. He just waited for the right time to blackmail Agnew, hoping to take the heat off himself.

I do not have any sympathy for Agnew. All this jive about he is innocent, and his civil rights were violated! If a factory worker had been caught doing what he did, there is no way he would have gotten off with a small fine and some jive three years' probation.

ANOTHER COVER-UP

This President has defied every judge and every court by refusing to turn over the Watergate tapes. Now that he has fired Cox, and then agreed to hand over the tapes, we have to believe he is still covering up worse things than the tapes can ever show.

It is not a question of Republicans vs. Democrats, as Nixon always tries to make people believe. There are some Democrats that will do the same as Nixon, but it is a question of where and in what direction President Nixon is taking the Government. He seems to be saying he is the government, and besides him there is no other. As one reporter said, if the Watergate burglars were not caught, we probably would be living under a dictatorial government very soon.

One worker called another an s.o.b. in the plant last week. The worker replied, "Man, that's not a bad name you called me. That stands for Senate Office Building, in Washington, D.C." The worker thought for a minute, and said, "That is where the real s.o.b.s are, and I don't mean the Senate Office Building either."

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