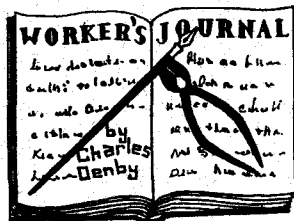


ON THE INSIDE

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Political deals won't defeat Wallace's kind

by Charles Denby, Editor

In the June issue of News & Letters, the Worker's Journal column carried an article on Black leaders in the South who, by coming out in support of George Wallace, are opposing what the great majority of Black rank-and-file voters want.

The article also gave some analysis of the reasons these Black leaders were shouting their endorsement of Wallace, especially Black Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Mississippi, whose brother was assassinated by a racist white several years ago. We stated that since Evers is a loyal supporter of Senator Kennedy, and now Kennedy is playing around with Wallace, this could be the basis for Evers yelling his support for Wallace.

After this column appeared, a nationally-known Black leader from Alabama called to tell me that was what was involved in all the Black leaders supporting Wallace, but there was much more too. He said the Black leaders that are opposed to Wallace and have been speaking out against him are being harassed, and have been for a long time. He gave some examples:

The week before the 1972 elections, the news came out that some Black leaders were being investigated by the IRS. These investigations had been going on for two years before 1972, and have continued for the two years since. These people had to spend lots of time defending themselves against the IRS.

John Lewis, who is director of the voter registration drive throughout the South, was promised \$180,000 by the Ford Foundation, but was recently told they will not receive it.

Here is what this Black leader told me:

WE HAVE been pushing for a voter drive concentrated here in Alabama for years. The idea would be to concentrate on one state at a time, rather than spread our efforts out. With the reapportionment since 1969, we've put 15 Blacks in the legislature so far. If we all work together, we could put 60 Blacks in the Alabama legislature.

John Lewis has been telling us since January that they had the money for the drive, but they've been dragging their feet. They just now had to admit that they did not have the money, because the Ford Foundation had reneged on their commitment. The IRS investigated Lewis the day after he was in Selma, Alabama speaking out against Wallace.

Those white folks in power just manage to keep us busy defending ourselves all the time. When they have all the power and force, what can one do? They are trying to kill us off. Not everybody is killed the same way. They killed Martin Luther King with bullets, but there are other ways of assassinating people.

Those Black mayors from Alabama, Ford from Tuskegee and J. Cooper of Prichard, and Evers of Fayette, Mississippi are all Kennedy disciples. They are trying to make Wallace respectable to Blacks. But we all know

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SF nurses strike, back better patient care

San Francisco, Cal.—Over 4,000 nurses struck 40 Northern California hospitals Friday, June 7. The major demands of the striking nurses revolve around better patient care.

Picketing nurses, who belong to the California Nurses Association (CNA), have been negotiating since their contract expired in January. A primary issue is the nurses' insistence that only specially trained nurses staff critical units such as emergency, intensive and coronary care. The strike is in part a protest against the staffing of these units with untrained and inexperienced personnel.

Another unresolved issue is that of registered nurses having every other weekend off. Hospital administrations insist that the shortage of nurses in the Bay Area will not permit that type of scheduling. The nurses reply that if the shortage is that severe, they cannot give the quality care that the patients need.

The majority of striking nurses are young women. They are of all races and nationalities. One Black worker, praising the nurses, remarked, "They refuse to be just girl Fridays to the male doctors and are demanding the right to do their jobs."

CONCERNED FOR PATIENTS

Picketing nurses carry signs which state their message loud and clear: "Patients' Rights—Nurses' Rights," "We care about you," "Better care for you, the patient." To emphasize their demands for that care and their concern for patients, they have continued to staff critical facilities even during the strike.

At one hospital, 200 nurses went to the headquarters of Kaiser health care and demanded to see Mr. Kaiser. Naturally, the big boss was out of town. There was a rally at Union Square last Thursday which 500 attended.

The strike has great support, both within the hospitals and throughout the Bay Area. Although the strike is not sanctioned by the AFL-CIO, as the CNA is not a union but a "professional association," many hospital workers are showing solidarity by wearing the strike's symbol: a royal blue armband. And, while no workers can join the picket lines even when off their designated shift without risking "disciplinary action," i.e., being fired, doctors in several hospitals have shown their support by picketing with the nurses. Teamster drivers have refused to cross the picket lines to make deliveries.

STRIKE-BREAKING TACTIC

As a result of fewer patients during the strike, several hospitals have begun to lay off workers. The one where I work has adopted a different tactic. Non-union clerical workers are being forced to take earned time, such as floating holidays and birthdays during the strike's second week. The administration had threatened to force us to take vacation time as well, one day a week, as long as the strike lasted. We fought that and won. Many of us have families, or are single women with children, and have planned those vacations and feel that that time is ours.

We see that type of threat on the part of management as an attempt to break the solidarity we feel with the striking nurses. The bosses figure that if they force us

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NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 19—NO. 6

27 Printed in 100 Percent
Union Shop

JULY, 1974

Playing politics with nuclear fuel

NIXON-KISSINGER JOURNEY TO SAVE 'THE PRESIDENCY'

By Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman
News & Letters Committees

Nixon's Middle East trip that was billed as a "journey for peace", and was patently political, was climaxed by the introduction of nuclear fuel into that volatile tinderbox. This Nixon-type of "even-handedness" at the very moment when India proved how "peaceful" nuclear reactors can be used to make atomic bombs is nothing short

of sheer madness, that of retrogressive capitalism out for single world domination.

That Russia, for the moment, continues with yet another summit with Nixon cannot divert from the fact that that nuclear giant is out for the same type of "hegemony." It only proves that both nuclear titans are in such abysmal crises at home that they have no place to turn but "outwards."

For that matter, Nixon's start of his Middle East journey began in Austria—not exactly the most direct path between the United States and the Arab lands. The claim that the Austrian stopover was to acclimatize Nixon to the change in time zones was belied by the fact that Kissinger was off to Germany to meet with its foreign minister, the minute they landed.

FIRST FOCUS: EUROPE

Furthermore, this was preceded by the feelers put out to France and Germany just as soon as Helmut Schmidt came to the helm in Germany and Giscard in France. On June 9, Flora Lewis, who heads the Paris bureau of the New York Times, reported that "neither government planned to take the initiative and issue an invitation" to President Nixon.

The present cooled relations are due not alone to Kissinger's arrogance in having unilaterally declared 1973 "the year of Europe." While that was his biggest flop, and Nixon's pressing need for "foreign victories" to divert from his crimes at home are all too obvious, Europe's anger is due to its own disarray. Ever since the Arab-Israeli war and consequent oil crisis undermined the whole world economy, Europe has played a sorry role. The capitulation to the Arab demand for both quadruple oil prices and siding not only against Israel but against its NATO "leader," U.S.A., dismantled the very concept of the "European Union." The proof of its non-being was that each country worked only for itself, not for any non-existing "European Union." By then, the only land that declared Europe to be "the main focus" was China. So while all the cameras were to be clicking on the Nile, Kissinger wanted West Europe to consider whether it wouldn't really want "to know."

The compulsion for "the European connection" comes from the global needs of both the U.S. and Russia, China's new role, and the cloud over the whole of West Europe that so easily went to pieces in October, 1973.

The expression, "the main focus," to explain the key role of Europe in global politics, specifically that between Russia and China, is that of Teng Hsiao-ping. He used it in welcoming Heath, who had lost the elections in England but nevertheless was treated in Peking as if he were still not only the "head" of England but "spoke for Europe" — a Europe which understood "the threat of Russia."

CHINA'S NEW VIEW OF EUROPE

The world did not stand still while Kissinger took out a whole month to shuttle between Syria and Israel. Germany and France had moved further to the right. China was busy not only with its mini-Cultural Revolution at home, but with acting out abroad what she meant by a "new division" of the world.

Suddenly, West European capitalism was christened as "second world," proper ally for "Third World," which, so far as China is concerned, means principally China, without which the Third World isn't. China has also been busy taking full advantage of the spy scandal that toppled Willy Brandt. Since it proves that Russia keeps having "sleepers" like Guillaume in Brandt's

(Continued on Page 5)



San Francisco nurses demand voice in patient care.

NOW convention offers chance for new beginning

Detroit, Mich. — From election to priorities, the Seventh Annual Conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) seemed to be characterized by a more comprehensive view of the problems plaguing society.

For the first time in history, the national NOW president was elected directly from the floor, rather than through a nominating committee. Elected was Karen DeCrow, a lawyer and author from Syracuse, N. Y. Ms. DeCrow expressed the need for a "money revolution" saying that it is not enough to integrate women into the system, but it is necessary "to change the mainstream of society."

In order to get some personal accounts of what happened at the conference, I attended a Detroit NOW meeting and heard that the workshop on Minority Women had the highest attendance, with more than 150 Black, Chicana, Asian and Indian women participating. Along with the Women in Poverty Workshop, they concluded that the best way for NOW to relate to minority women and their specific problems is to work with them on a coalition basis.

NOW members also voted to become an international organization and now have 19 affiliations (with approximately 2,500 members) outside of the U.S.—including Africa, Panama and India. They have even re-

ceived a request from women in Chile for support against the continuing torture of women by the right-wing Chilean government.

According to one of the NOW national leaders: "We need to build a personhood that crosses age barriers and bridges generation gaps as well as one that helps to overcome racial, ethnic, religious and class differences, all of which serves to keep us separate and powerless."

But NOW has a way to go to make these concepts a reality even within their own organization. It disturbed me to hear at the Detroit meeting a discussion of backlash against women's rights that included as one of the examples of backlash—women addressing themselves to "broader issues."

To me, feminism is humanism—fighting for the freedom of all people. I hate to think that some NOW members feel it is backlash to expand (not abandon) women's struggles to include the struggles of other oppressed persons. In fact, this seemed to be a thread running through many reports from the NOW conference. Whether it comes about, remains to be seen.

—NOW member



SF nurses out on strike

(Continued from Page 1)

to take vacations in order to keep our jobs during the strike, we will blame it on the nurses. Management also doesn't like the fact that nearly everyone in the office is very outspoken in support of the strike. Not only will the bosses fail in their attempt to break our unity, but we have decided that if they keep up their threats, we will walk off our jobs.

Although the state has intervened by forcing a resumption of negotiations, the strike looks like it will be a long one. By going out over primarily non-wage issues, nurses are demanding a voice in the running of hospitals. They spend the most time with patients yet have no say in hospital control. Many see the strike as a big shock to primarily male hospital administrators and MDs by a group of workers who are almost exclusively women. Striking nurses are saying, "We are not just bodies, but we have minds, too, and we are going to be allowed to use them."

—Janet Ross, hospital worker

Bureaucrats hold CLUW back

Detroit, Mich. — A pregnant postal clerk has successfully challenged the U.S. Postal Service's policy of forcing women workers to take maternity leaves when they cannot continue heavy lifting, even though they are otherwise medically able and willing to continue work.

The clerk, Mrs. Rita Thomas Herrala, was successful in obtaining the assistance of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in pressuring her union, the American Postal Workers, to take her grievance seriously. After the union threatened the post office with court action, management agreed to treat pregnancy as a temporary disability; to reinstate Mrs. Herrala, now seven months pregnant; and to assign her work which does not require her to continue lifting 70-pound bags of mail.

While CLUW was instrumental in this important struggle, it is not at all clear whether the idea of fighting for justice in the workplace will really guide the organization.

Since the CLUW founding convention (see May, 1974 N&L), many women in various parts of the country have eagerly tried to form local chapters, only to learn that the CLUW National Coordinating Committee, headed by UAW's Olga Madar, was adopting stringent regulations about what groups could affiliate with CLUW. Likewise, efforts to organize CLUW locally in Detroit were not permitted to proceed without the blessings of Madar, who has now established the national CLUW office here.

The UAW is determined to maintain bureaucrats' control of CLUW by only permitting union members to join, even though CLUW has included "organizing the unorganized" in its statement of purpose. Although women who belong to unions comprise only eight percent of all women in the workforce, the UAW has resisted all efforts to get CLUW membership expanded to include all working women.

Since many working women recognize that often they have to fight union leaders, as well as the company, to win their rights, the UAW role in CLUW is not surprising. But it is a shock that the Socialist Workers Party has apparently formed a coalition with the UAW to see that CLUW gets firmly established without any "divisive arguments" over such things as who gets to fully participate in — and benefit from — the organization. In Detroit, SWP members voted with the UAW to exclude working women who have not been unionized.

—CLUW member

YOSHIMASA YUKIYAMA



Yoshimasa YukiYama with Raya Dunaevskaya and Charles Denby at the Black/Red Conference in Detroit, Jan. 1969.

YOSHIMASA YUKIYAMA was one of the courageous Japanese Marxists who fought against totalitarian Japan's participation in World War II, was jailed, and spent the entire war period in prison. He was released at the end of the war to a Japan that had been ravaged by the A bomb. Yet his courage and his vision of a new world yet to be born were impossible to overcome.

DURING THE TURBULENT '60s when the youth created a New Left in Japan and fought Communist domination of the movement, Yoshimasa participated in all the struggles as vigorously as though it were his first revolutionary experience. So immediately did he identify with Marxist-Humanism when he "discovered" one of the very few copies of *Marxism and Freedom* that had found its way into Japan, that he spent an entire year trying to communicate with its author, Raya Dunayevskaya, and then undertook the task of translating it and finding a publisher for the Japanese edition. At the very moment of his tragic death, on May 6, he was engaged in beginning the Japanese translation of *Philosophy and Revolution*.

WE MOURN THE death and honor the life of this fine revolutionary thinker, confident that our age will make real what he devoted his entire life to — Marxist-Humanism not only as a philosophy of liberation, but as the actual creation of a new, human society.

WAY OF THE WORLD

Is Congress scared of Nixon?

by Ethel Dunbar

I feel that many people are sick and tired of seeing, reading and hearing about Nixon and his Watergate affairs. He has made it clear that he is above the law and that foreign policy is more important than domestic policy — more important than the American people.

Not only is he above the law, but his aides who have pleaded guilty to crimes against the government have gotten such minor sentences that they could say that the law does not apply to them in the same way as it applies to the average citizen. Nixon has proven to everyone that he is just as much involved in every wrong-doing as any of his aides. And the Congress and Senators all know it but are afraid to try to impeach him.

No wonder they were yelling for him to resign from office — Nixon always seems to have a trump card he is holding against them. When I read about all the different Senators and Congressmen getting milk fund money, both Democrats and Republicans, I thought that is some of the reason why they cannot take a stand against Nixon.

The last poll showed that 53 percent of the people in this country believe the president is guilty and should be put out of office. I think if that same percentage would say they are going to put the Senators and Congressmen out of office if they do not impeach Nixon, he would soon be out of the White House.

All this business of how the people of Egypt are rallying and lining the streets to greet him must be at least part fake. He cannot get people in his own home country to rally and line the streets to see him. The people of Egypt do not have to vote for him, so they can pretend to be his friend, but the American people are his enemy, because they recognize him as the crook he is and he is hoping that foreigners in other countries will save and change his image at home.

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WL NOTES

Maria Theresa de la Horta, one of the "Three Marias," led a demonstration of 15 women confronting Portugal's military junta. In the second demonstration in a week, the women demanded a headquarters for the new women's movement. The all-male junta has been slow to act on the women's demands.

The National Congress of Neighborhood Women, a major organization of working class women active in neighborhood concerns, has been formed in Washington, D.C. Some areas of concern are child care, health care, job training and economic assistance.

Nurses in Britain are striking and agitating for higher pay, shorter hours, and an end to private employment agencies and private medicine. Nurses are angry at the fact that poorer patients get worse care because Health Service facilities are drained into fee-paying patients. Weekly pay for a nurse before taxes is about \$53.

A federal district judge has ruled that the "last hired, first fired" rule cannot be applied for lay-offs of workers who owe their low seniority to past discrimination. If this ruling stands it could have a tremendous impact on industries and unions throughout the country.

UAW convention:**Only membership can make needed changes**

By Felix Martin

As a blue-collar worker observing the delegates to the UAW's 24th Convention, I noticed that in donning their suits and carrying their briefcases, many had been transformed from blue-collar workers to stereotypes of the top officials of the International Union.

I spoke to many of the arriving delegates who had stopped to watch the picketing being done by union members they were supposedly there to represent. There were only 3,000 delegates, so 50 to 100 young workers, Black, white and Chicano, carrying picket signs against the International made a big impression.

CONTROL FROM TOP

First timers found out that the so-called democratic union is totally controlled from the top-down. A few top officials decide everything and the delegates sent to represent the membership decide nothing.

As one delegate put it: "Try to get your local's resolution on the floor, try to oppose a resolution, try to organize a floor debate, try to run for office or to vote the damn rascals out. The Convention rules are against you, the structure of the convention is against you, and the power, the money and the muscle of the top officials and the International and Regional directors are against you. When I go back to the membership that sent me, I will report to them like it is."

At every convention there are different caucuses, with different programs, but I didn't see any of them grounded in freedom. To change the convention from two to three years, is another way for our leaders to get further away from hearing the workers' grievances. It is very plain now that the International has complete

say over the accepting or rejecting of our contract.

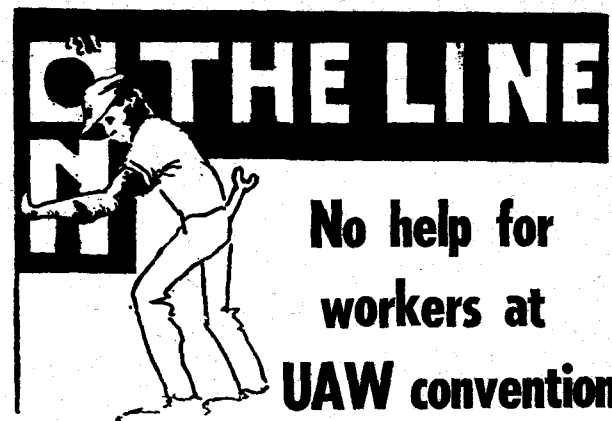
ACTUAL AND NON-ACTUAL

That old philosopher Hegel knew what he was talking about when he wrote about the "actuality of the subject" (those who are fighting for freedom) and the "non-actuality of the world." The assembly line workers know their problems are the real ones, but the convention bore no relationship to this reality at all.

The actuality that he is an assembly line worker and the complete transformation into the opposite is the non-actuality of the convention. It will always be this way unless changes are brought about by the membership. Only the working people can abolish all of these phony institutions which are ruling us and these parasites which are living off our labor. We have the muscle and the reason for change. These top officials of our International Union need to be replaced with a philosophy—a philosophy grounded in freedom. The UAW doesn't have it.

The convention came alive when Cesar Chavez spoke, but all the UAW gave him was a dead check, not the live manpower to walk the picket line against grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine. A two-hour picket line would have shown a real human effort—that they could not spare.

The one highlight was honoring Genora Johnson, 38 years later, for the heroic action she took in the sit-down strikes in 1936-37. This is one of the examples to show how women have struggled to help build this union. What Genora Johnson did to help build this union wasn't a check, but a human picket line. Freedom can not be bought with a check. It takes human beings with a philosophy grounded in freedom to free mankind.



by John Allison

The ghost of Walter Reuther hovered over the UAW Convention held in Los Angeles during the week of June 10-14, when they debated the question of extending President Leonard Woodcock's term of office beyond age 65. A true lover of power, Walter was nevertheless willing to retire at 65.

The UAW fought for "30 and Out," and convinced management that this was the way to go. Now the rank-and-file believe that their duly elected delegates surrendered to the biggest power-grab since Watergate.

DEAD-HEAD OFFICERS

What troubles the workers is that this move by the International has opened the gate for many dead-head officers to hold on to their union positions for another year. That's because the resolution that was passed also gives the local unions the right to extend their local officers' positions until 1976 if they approve the change and apply to the International for permission to do so.

A joker was put into this deal too, one that can save the skins of officers who are under attack by the rank-and-file—and there are plenty of them.

It has to do with the recall provision in the UAW Constitution and local bylaws. This says that an officer can be recalled by a simple majority vote. But if a local amends its bylaws to allow the extension of the term to 1976, it will take a two-thirds majority to recall. You can be sure that many locals will not permit their bylaws to be amended on this score.

PAGE FROM NIXON

The workers are saying that their delegates sold out for a penny. That's what the UAW officers recommended—that one cent more from each dues dollar be returned to local unions to pay for the high costs of operation. This was a direct pitch to the big locals, who stand to get a pretty good amount back—and you can bet that an increase in officer salaries will be among the first things that will happen. For the smaller locals, it didn't mean much—but then, they weren't the ones with the big votes at the Convention.

There was a lot of hell raised about conditions in the shop by many of the delegates, but this doesn't go anywhere outside of letting off steam unless solving work conditions is approved in the form of a resolution. And the UAW bureaucrats made sure that no such resolution even reached the floor.

American Motors came in for a lot of attention, especially since they're making money hand-over-fist right now, and their workers have been getting less than workers in the Big 3 plants. There was some talk about profit sharing, but while it might look good right now for American Motors workers, it would be a catastrophe for the GM, Chrysler and Ford workers.

All in all, this convention of the UAW wound up like most of the others in the past—signed, sealed and delivered the way the UAW bureaucrats wanted it, and too bad about what the workers wanted.

New forms of speed-up at P.O.

Detroit, Mich.—One way the USPS is trying to make itself "profitable" is the recent tremendous rate increase. Another way is to automate postal workers out of their jobs. This includes carriers also.

Route inspections were conducted at our station last month. Management's goal was to eliminate office time from each route and add on street time. So now instead of 30 or so carriers marking up undeliverable mail, this will be done by a few clerks with pre-printed labels. And now that mark-up time is down time for carriers, it will be added on in street time, plus whatever management's time-and-motion standards determine.

The latest form of speed-up, besides this "mechanical mark-up," is "pivoting." In between determination of down time and actual route readjustments, if there is a route uncovered for the day, you have to give your down time to that route, in the office or in the street. Up until this latest inspection, any work on another route was overtime. Now it is free time, for management. This has been going on for four weeks now.

I'm not surprised that all these changes in work standards and new machines came under the Nixon administration, beginning with the introduction of the USPS. They have eliminated thousands of postal jobs by automation, attrition, and a no-hiring policy.

In our station, they eliminated three routes, and some 23 hours will have to be "absorbed." What I fear is that a lot of the older carriers who can't afford to retire will not be able to take this speed-up.

— Letter Carrier, Detroit

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS**6,000 Dodge Truck workers strike over safety**

BULLETIN: As we go to press, Dodge Truck workers have voted overwhelmingly, 2043 to 377, to authorize a strike. They have vowed that all workers fired during the wildcat must be re-hired.

Detroit, Mich. — "Chrysler Corporation, the daily press, radio and TV are all yelling that the wildcat strike at Chrysler's truck plant in Warren was caused by a handful of outside radical agitators," a Chrysler worker laughingly told News & Letters. "Now maybe the news people don't know, but Chrysler knows that what caused the strike was a whole plant full of workers who were turned into radicals by the work speed-up and unsafe working conditions in that plant."

The strike erupted the second week of June, when the company fired a union shop steward and other workers who demonstrated against conditions. The wildcat continued for two weeks, despite company and union threats against the workers, a court injunction and mass arrests. 78 pickets were fired, and the workers finally agreed to return to work only when they were assured that an official strike vote would be taken.

PROFITS OUT OF TRUCK WORKERS

Chrysler has only two truck production plants: the one with 6,000 workers in Warren, a lily-white suburb of Detroit, and another in St. Louis. Dodge trucks are selling better than GM and Ford combined, so production at the Warren plant has been speeded-up beyond anything the workers can take.

Chrysler Corporation, like GM and Ford, is not making the usual huge profits on its passenger cars, but is making plenty on trucks. Chrysler is trying to put the load of making up for its auto losses on the backs of the truck workers.

The plant is also too small to handle the work. There is no expansion room. The truck plant is hemmed in by a parking lot and Chrysler's stamping plant. Supplies and parts are all over the place, machinery can't be kept operating safely, and workers have to climb all over each other to try to do their jobs.

The buildings are old, without adequate ventilation, and that mass of machinery, parts and humanity jammed all together made it like a tinder box ready to explode.

PLANT LIKE PRISON

"It was like what you read about in overcrowded prisons," the Chrysler worker explained, "except that the only crime of the workers was that they were working at Chrysler's truck plant."

A main cause of the strike resulted from the fact that the so-called safety committeeman can't correct any safety violation without the co-operation of the company. Unlike a job grievance, which goes up to an umpire if the company and union can't come to an agreement, a safety grievance doesn't go to an umpire. It can only go to top management, and if management says

no to a safety grievance, it stops right there.

At the Warren Dodge truck plant, many safety grievances had been filed, but never got anywhere because management said no. And management blocked safety grievances just that simply.

The situation got so bad that hundreds of workers were off their jobs every day of the first week of June, before the strike finally broke out when the workers just couldn't take any more.

It got so bad with the speed-up that the repair line had as many trucks as the production line. This is real bad because the older workers who can't take the pressure of the production line are put on the repair line to ease the strain on them to keep from being killed by the job until they can retire. When the situation reaches this point, the older workers just can't take it.

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — There are a lot of stories going around the plant since we came back from the strike. In most departments conditions are no better than they were before the strike. You don't have any time to rest at all.

I thought News & Letters would be interested in one story I heard. There is a brother in Dept. 11, on the fourth floor, who always had the side cardboard (fire-wall) job. It is in Bernard Martin's section. When he came back after the strike, they wouldn't give him his job. They put a "loaner" on it. And they sent this worker to a job classified "hardware work," even though he is classified as "general assembly." They told him this was his job permanently.

Then they sent him to the sixth floor a few days later in Jerome McGowan's section. McGowan told him that this job was his permanent job. About two weeks after that, they sent him back down to the fourth floor in Billy McDonald's section. The next day that job was eliminated and he went to the third floor to help push bodies around. The jobs that they put this man on in one month go on and on.

After a month of this, the brother filed a grievance to get loaner's pay, since he was being used as a loaner. Then Billy McDonald started to mess with him and insult him. They had words and McDonald gave him a DLO — balance of the shift and one day.

This is what happens to brothers just trying to make it at Fleetwood. He went to a union official who said the union would get him his old job back if he dropped the grievance for loaner's pay. This is just plain bribery. They offer you what was yours in the first place, if you agree to forget how they ran over you.

The company doesn't care and the union doesn't care. And if you are a brother you have to look out for yourself every minute.

— Fleetwood worker, afternoon shift

Readers' Views

ALICE IN WONDERLAND?

Nixon is carrying out in the Middle East exactly what he did in Vietnam. No war, no peace. Is he trying to make sure that everybody has bombs ready for when U. S. and Russia finally decide to have World War III? You begin to feel like Alice in Wonderland when you read the news headlines these days.

Activist
Detroit

* * *

I couldn't understand all those crowds in Egypt standing along the street waving at Nixon, until I heard a reporter say that they had closed all the factories for the day and given the workers a day off to come and wave. That must be what they were cheering about.

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

It is comical from here to watch the evidence pile up and find some people still saying there is no evidence that Nixon committed an impeachable offense. If American justice were as tolerant to the working class, we would have achieved the goal of emptying the prisons!

Supporter
Ontario

NIXON'S "PEACE"

Since the cease fire treaty of January 1973 (Nixon's "peace" in Vietnam) Saigon figures, just released, show that more than 351,000 Vietnamese, North and South, have been either killed or wounded, and there are still 200,000 political prisoners in the South. There are at least four direct U.S. violations of the signed Paris Agreement admitted by the Pentagon.

And what about the Vietnamese people under Thieu? Last year basic foods rose over 300 percent while worker's pay went unchanged. Children are forced to quit school to earn pennies, small factories have forced closure, and as of May 1, there were three million unemployed workers in the Saigon area.

Many worker-movements are organizing and 12 unions, representing 30,000 workers protested against the big factory owners and the Saigon administration with demands for better living conditions; the right to participate in decision-making on economic and social politics; and the elimination of corruption and injustice.

To offset the media's complete ignoring of such news, students from both North and South Vietnam put out *Newsletter*, which can be subscribed to for a donation, at Box 4495, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

Elbee W.
Berkeley

CHICANO KILLINGS

I was very shocked to hear, about ten days after the fact, that six Chicano activists were killed in two separate incidents when bombs exploded in their cars May 27 and May 29 in Boulder, Col.

It wasn't reported in the daily press at all.

Among the victims were: Reyes Martinez, a Colorado Legal Services lawyer; Neva Romero, United Mexican American Students (UMAS) member; Florencio Granado, La Raza Unida Party candidate; and Heriberto Teran, social worker. Another victim, Antonio Alcantar, was seriously wounded, and one of his legs was amputated.

Leaders of the Denver Chicano movement are demanding a full investigation into the deaths.

Reader
Los Angeles

* * *

AIM (American Indian Movement) demands a full investigation by an appropriate Congressional committee into the murder of the students, lawyers and Chicano activists killed in the recent bombings in Colorado. Tell us, when will America wake up to the fact that there is a para-military division of the Justice Department called the Strategic Operations Group which is conducting military actions against Indians and all people who struggle for self-determination and human rights. We are fighting a common enemy.

AIM
Venice, Calif.

RACISM

Racism in New York is alive and sick, and living in Queens in the form of an all-white jury. The other day this jury acquitted a white cop of killing a ten-year-old Black kid. The cop had shot him in the back because the cop said he ran after he pointed a gun at the cop. No gun was ever found.

In fine racist style, the cop's lawyer asked the jury what they would do if they found themselves in the middle of the ghetto at 3 a.m. after getting a robbery call over the radio. The lawyer's intent was very clear: any decent white man would shoot any Black he saw, even if he is only ten years old.

Last April when the actual crime took place, the community erupted in a two day protest. They did so again after the verdict of the jury was announced. However, there will also be an organized boycott of white-owned stores in the area and an attempt to have the cop re-arrested on a federal civil rights violation.

Enraged Black
New York

* * *

If the Democrats go on with playing around with the racist Wallace, they will put all us Blacks in the position of having no choice whatever between Republicans and Democrats next time around. Then we'll have to get down to finding out what the answers really are. It's clear neither one of those parties has them.

Disgusted
Detroit

UNITED FARM WORKERS

On Saturday, June 15 about 2,500 people from all over California came to Delano to celebrate the opening of the Agbayani retirement village, a set of 55 housing units for retired Filipino farm workers. The Filipinos were brought to this country in the 20's and 30's as single men solely for laboring. They weren't allowed to marry or own property, so they have no families to turn to in their older years. The Filipinos led the first of the Delano strikes in 1965, and started the UFW off in its present form.

The village was built by labor donated by carpenters, plumbers, electricians, and just anyone who wanted to help. The union is planning to build other retirement villages across the state, but they need to get their stolen contracts with the growers back to pay for materials.

After the opening celebration at the UFW's 40 acres, we drove a caravan of several hundred cars and buses into a

park in town, where food was served, and everyone heard music and speeches. Passing through Delano, many Chicano residents came out to wave and shout at the caravan to show their support of the UFW. The whites weren't as friendly.

UFW Supporter
Bay Area

BOYCOTT KRAFT

Response to recent boycott activities has certainly shown that Canadian people are becoming much more aware of how large multi-national and national corporations are exploiting farm labor, farmers, fishermen, processing and distribution workers and the consumer. They are beginning to see that the Kraft Boycott can become the bridge to build a resistance movement which can confront Kraft in particular, and corporate control in the food industry.

Input from readers on ways of furthering and expanding the boycott are most welcome. For more information on the Kraft boycott write:

Kraft Boycott News
P.O. Box 701
Kingston, Ontario, Canada

PLASTIC HAZARDS

I write specifications for architects. Many people in this line of work have been under pressure to specify plastic materials in places where they would be a fire hazard. Polyurethane is one of those plastics. It has terrific insulating value. But when it goes on fire — look out!! It kicks up a black poisonous smoke.

Polyurethane may be used in buildings if it is properly protected. If placed between two four-inch thicknesses of brick in what is called a cavity wall, it is safe. The State Fire Marshal is supposed to check up and control the use of such materials in building construction. But many architects and builders are looking for ways to get around this. The relatives of somebody who was choked to death in a fire might bring suit against the architect and builder. But what kind of remedy is that?

Alarmed
Detroit

ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

"Israel's right to exist" is a misleading catch-phrase. If "Israel" means the Jewish population of Palestine, no progressive can deny their right to exist, and in the plenitude of human rights. But Israel, the nation-state, is another question. I pose to you, who have seemed too tolerant toward Zionism: does any state have a right to exist which is based on forcible seizure of land from its inhabitants, most of whom are still living?

Moreover, your term "feudal state-capitalism" to describe some of the Arab States connotes only confusion.

Anti-Zionist
Los Angeles

* * *

The extent of the historical ignorance on the part of the Left of Jewish and Arab history and culture is appalling. On the Jews, for instance, nearly everyone knows something about the Holocaust of six million, but how many know about the 100,000 to 200,000 massacred during the Russian Civil War? About the Arabs, how many know about the Revolt of the Zanj, the first Black slave revolt in history, a greater revolt than Spartacus, which was against the Arab Empire in the 9th century?

In the approach of N&L, I object to what seems a tendency to separate the Arab-Israeli question from the Arab-Kurdish, Arab-Black Sudanese, and Arab-Black Zanzibari questions. Do you know that Kurdish spokesmen have charged that Kurds living in Syria near the Turkish border were evicted from their lands and their place was taken by Arab settlers?

I think it is time to stop using the term Third World. It may have a lot of symbolic meaning, but it conceals a

great many real differences and conflicts among the formerly colonized countries of Asia and Africa to which it is usually applied. India has the bomb, many Arab states possess great financial wealth, Arab oil exporters have acted as an economic world power . . . what do Kuwait and Abu Dhabi have in common economically with Gambia or Chad or Tanzania? Is Lebanon any less developed economically than Portugal or Southern Italy?

Aaron Margulis
Philadelphia

SOCIALIST SOCIOLOGISTS

The West Coast Socialist Sociology Conference, held on Memorial Day weekend, was attended not only by Marxist academics and graduate students in sociology, but by students and teachers in related social science areas, and non-college political activists.

What had started out as a university seminar program in problems of Marxian sociology erupted on the next-to-last day into a full-fledged confrontation between the more "official" academic aspects of the conference and the caucuses—the Radical Feminist caucus, the gay men and Lesbian women group, the Third World caucus, and the Community College caucus—over the sexism, racism, and academic vanguardism which expressed themselves in the every-day functioning of the conference up to that point.

Despite these difficulties, the ground-work seems to have been laid at this conference for a Union of Marxist Social Scientists (UMSS).

Student
Berkeley, Cal.

IRELAND

The Ulster trouble is very serious. There is a large lumpen element in it. The agreement was no solution but has provided the reactionary leaders an opportunity to claim a "victory."

It is the outcome of years of pandering to a form of religious bigotry which was the obstacle to Irish freedom throughout the whole of this century. Both the Liberals and Tories, when in power, either helped it or bowed down to it, according to how it suited them. This is the first time a Labour Government has found itself faced with the problem.

There is a so-called "Workers Council" in Belfast supported by outstanding reactionary politicians. They claim loyalty to the Queen and are still waving Union Jacks. There is nothing to praise in either the Social Democratic Labour Party or the Government of the Irish Republic.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

* * *

The Irish situation is more complicated than the move now towards fascism. Mussolini said he got the original idea of fascism from the Ulster statelet of 1912. The state from 1922 until about 1966 was therefore run by personnel derived from the Carson movement and was a decaying quasi-fascism, with a new capitalist class of a comprador nature growing up, and finding the grosser manifestations embarrassing from the point of view of their relations with the outside world.

Consequently the middle and upper class tried to introduce a phoney liberalizing element into the system. That broke down very quickly but it had given time for a civil liberties movement to arise and itself spawn more radical off-shoots.

This angered the Orangemen who lashed out viciously and that gave rise to the Provos. It drove a barrier between the working class and the lower middle class Orangemen. By now they are unable to control the Protestant working class . . . What comes out of the struggle now I really don't know.

Laurens Otter
England

News & Letters

Vol. 19, No. 6 July, 1974

News & Letters is published monthly except for January-February and August-September, by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 961-1010. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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NIXON-KISSINGER JOURNEY TO SAVE 'THE PRESIDENCY'

(Continued from Page 1)

entourage for top level missions, China is acting as if she (along with other capitalists, private and state), doesn't do the same. China is trying out how to use that fact to establish a special role for herself.

In the face of all this, Nixon is working hard to see that nothing shall stand in the way of his next spectacular to Russia. Before departing anew, Kissinger, at his last Washington press conference, hinted that the Middle East trip is but the first step in Nixon's "journey to peace." It would "possibly" be followed by a new nuclear strategic arms limitation that Nixon would get in Moscow.

Along with that carrot as "real" reason for the further spectacles that will bring "generations of peace," came the Salzburg surprise: Kissinger's special press conference, in which he threatened to resign if the campaign to besmirch his "honor" regarding wiretapping isn't stopped at once. The letter was addressed to Senator Fulbright as head of the Foreign Relations Committee. Kissinger hardly finished reading the statement in Salzburg than the Committee met in Washington and unanimously concluded him to be an honorable man who must not "even consider resigning" (Humphrey's phrase). Other voices were not that quickly silenced. In any case, whether this planned surprise was Nixon setting Kissinger up for the kill, or Kissinger trying to separate himself from Watergate so that, no matter what the outcome back home, he will be asked to remain at his post, the point is the American people are being played with.

SECOND FOCUS: THE MIDDLE EAST

The staged outpouring of the Egyptian people to welcome Nixon tells a great deal about how badly Sadat wished not only to cut relations with Russia and be once again "with the West," especially the U.S. It was also for the purpose of turning away from Nasser's "socialism" and charisma. That it tells very little of how the masses feel could be seen from the simple fact that even on so controlled a state occasion, signs also told Nixon that Egypt is with the Palestinian refugees.

It is true that Watergate doesn't mean much to Egypt. The Suez Canal means everything, "the gateway to Europe as well as Africa and even globally." What is important is not only the clearing of the Canal but its deepening to allow super tankers through—a way to industrialization. Sadat succeeded where Nasser couldn't—getting Saudi Arabia to use oil as a political weapon. Not that Saudi Arabia did it for Egypt rather than itself. This is obvious enough from both the crisis in the whole world economy that withholding of oil brought about and getting the U.S. "to take responsibility" for economic and military, especially military, development.

Moreover, it is not only as against Russia that Saudi Arabia prefers the U.S. The U.S. is preferred also as against West Germany, whose technology is as highly developed, who capitulated easily during the Arab-Israeli war, and who is most anxious to provide "a new philosophy" about the struggle for the "world product," as if that, rather than world production, defines one's place in the world. In any case, King Faisal hasn't given up "winning over" Nixon, and U.S. oil monopolists.

Saudi Arabia, rather than even Israel, is the outpost of western imperialism in the Middle East. This does not mean that Israel isn't now an outpost of U.S. imperialism. But it wasn't so at its birth which unfolded as a struggle against British imperialism. Moreover, many who participated in the struggle were not Zionists, but revolutionary Jewish socialists who were not accepted by any so-called democracy, especially the United States, and were thus forced to make the exodus to

Palestine. All Arab rulers, without any exception whatever then, were feudal oligarchs—so much so, in fact, that Stalin's Russia, not the U.S., was the first to cast its vote for the creation of that new state of Israel. The retrogression of Israel into a state-capitalist society since then is another story. Presently, Arab rulers' ambitions, as Israel's, need to subordinate themselves to the global rivalry between Russia and the U.S. for single world domination.

It is this nuclear rivalry that was Kissinger's trump card during the Arab-Israeli war when he was trying to convince the Arab ruling classes that not Israel but



The Peacemakers

Russia was the "main enemy." For that enemy was a nuclear power that could not be that easily "contained." It didn't work during the war itself because the oil kingdoms hankered for the quadrupling of oil prices as well as "even-handedness" on the part of the U.S. But now its hatred for Israel is taking second place to "friendship" for the U.S. The Nixon Administration, in turn, is as anxious to be "even-handed" so long as Russia is still ready to bide her time before unleashing itself for a direct confrontation with the U.S. Behemoth.

Of course, the trip has been undertaken to save "the presidency," Nixon's. But patently, narrowly political as this trip is, this is not the whole.

The whole is the mighty imperialistic nuclear power that the U.S. wants uncontested by any other power. And that is true not just for Nixon; it is true for any capitalistic party in power, Republican or Democratic.

PERPETUAL MOBILE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Let's take a look at the Central Treaty Organization that recently met in Washington, D.C. That brain-child of John Foster Dulles used to be called the Baghdad Pact. Dulles' pactomania era supposedly suffered its death blow when Iraq had its national revolution in the 1950s. In truth, without its alleged homeland in Iraq, that Washington-rooted imperial power outpost simply

re-named itself Central Treaty Organization. Regular as clockwork in this, its 21st year, the foreign ministers of Great Britain, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan (the U.S. is supposedly just an onlooker) all assembled in Washington. Though the "indispensable" Kissinger was away in the Middle East, those Cold-War-anti-Soviet satellites made it clear that they were ready to heat up the Cold War—and not just against Russia but their own masses—by once again inserting in the final communique the Iran talk of the need to combat the "continuing subversive threat against the region." By "region" they mean, of course, the exploitative class power. The added joke is that Pakistan, which has certainly moved very far away from its original reason for being a member of this "Northern tier" anti-Communist alliance, was present (with Mao's unspoken consent). So was Great Britain's Labor Party Foreign Secretary, James Callaghan.

This perpetual mobile of U.S. world imperialism, even when only the stand-in satellites are playing out the roles, is what gives Nixon-Kissinger's journey to save "the Presidency" a more ominous and total role than just an escape from Watergate and impeachment.

For that matter, clean Great Britain is playing the same imperialistic game with the Common Market. Supposedly, with the "victory" of Wilson over Heath, it is "renegotiating" with that Customs Union pretending to be a way to a "European Union," as if that were one nation, united at that. Great Britain will remain part of the Common Market and for the same protective trade reasons other members practice against any and all not in it. And it, too, wants not a political union, but a mere customs conglomerate.

DETENTE WITH RUSSIA

Let's take a second look at detente with Russia. It is because Russia's playing at detente with the U.S. is getting an ever-warmer reception from Nixon the deeper in trouble he is at home, which has sent many shivers down the West European backs. It fears it is witnessing a rebirth of Yalta where the destiny of Europe, East and West, was decided without its presence by the two powers who remained standing on their feet at the end of the holocaust. The only one ready to sing their praise is China, and that is only to use them as possible fodder for Russia which it holds to be Enemy No. 1 and which it does not wish unleashed for an attack on China.

Messrs. Schmidt and Giscard entertain no illusions on that score. And they know also that that is exactly why Russia wishes detente and not only with the U.S., but in their lands. Russia is anxious for East-West European summitry. The 35 nations that were supposed to draft a declaration ratifying the territorial changes resulting from World War II victories is, says "the West," "absolutely out." The U.S. is ready to play that game with Russia. But France and Germany are not. Total deadlock has resulted; they see no July summit in Helsinki.

Whether or not Nixon will succeed in getting himself invited to West Europe on the way to or from Russia, he will have his Russian detente and on the way to it meet with NATO! And he will have his CENTO. (And why has no one paid attention to that leftover of Dulles' pactomania era?)

Moreover, Nixon is making sure that not only will he have a "declaration of principles" that will come out of the NATO Ottawa meeting, June 18-19, but he will be in West Europe, with or without direct invitation from Europe, as Europe. He has already announced that he will address NATO in Brussels on the way to Russia. That is all part of the game of "detente" played the imperialist way.

Thus, with or without any East-West Europe summitry; with or without its bowing to the Kissinger demands for "consultations" before the separate West European nations vote as a unit, Nixon-Kissinger are assuring themselves a cover-up of the malaise abroad—the Palestine question in the Middle East, the international monetary crisis, the quadrupling of oil prices that is undermining the world economy, Europe and

(Continued on Page 7)

Italy vote rejects Christian Democrats

Milan, Italy—The first time that the Italian people were called upon to vote in a referendum (and on a divorce law that had already been passed three years ago), has shown not only the social, but the political maturity of the people. The Christian Democrats hoped to use the vote to show that Italy was a truly free but Catholic country, but it was clear that the question was, above all, political.

The Christian Democrats were in a type of Watergate. It was discovered that many oil companies in Italy had a large quantity of oil stored up and were waiting for a price increase before they let it out on the market. The mostly state-owned ENI was the principal one accused. Shell had the good sense to sell out before the scandal occurred, but Esso did not have the same success. It was discovered that this was possible only due to the corruption of certain high government officials, and, to make things more spectacular, they were also shown to have been paying fascist groups to create political disorder.

The government simply dismissed itself, got rid of the most well-known criminals and, after a week, put itself back in power again with the addition of a democratic referendum.

What the Christian Democrats (with the support of the fascists) wanted the referendum to show was that

Italians believe in family order, which also means political order, and thus the acceptance of economic austerity. All of the other parties, including those in the coalition government, were for divorce. The Christian Democrats did everything in their power to make sure the Italians voted against divorce, showing at the same time their contempt for the people's ability to understand anything at all.

We had to vote on this incomprehensible language: "Do you approve of the abrogation of the Law of Dec. 1, 1970 concerning the discipline of the cases of dissolved marriages?" That meant that if you voted "yes" you were against divorce, and if you voted "no" you were for divorce. The London Economist advised people to stand on their heads while voting. Despite all this, the Italians showed that they were not ignorant, superstitious peasants, but people who understood what they were voting for or against. They voted to keep the divorce law, by a three to two margin.

The result is that the Christian Democratic Party is in a crisis, while the unions are insisting on social reforms — a stop to price inflation, full employment, housing programs, economic development of the South. The government is not giving in for the moment, and in fact, if things do not change radically, there is not even the money for these reforms.

— Correspondent, Italy

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.

Berkeley 'Crim School' occupied

Berkeley, Cal.—On May 29, several hundred demonstrating students occupied Haviland Hall on the UC Berkeley campus and proceeded to constitute the occupied building a "School of People's Criminology." Ten hours later, after a surprise police assault on Haviland, the building was surrounded by nearly a thousand more students who effectively blockaded the besieging police inside and prevented mass arrest of the students.

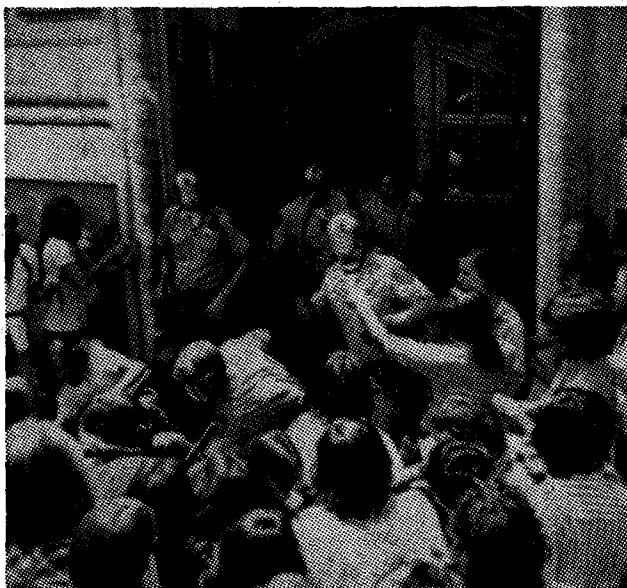
Finally, 17 hours after the beginning of the occupation, the students inside were ejected from Haviland. Their action sparked a week of mass student demonstrations which brought out over 5,000 people.

Ever since a committee report commissioned a year ago by Chancellor Albert Bowker recommended that the School of Criminology be phased out, a campaign to defend the Crim School has been carried on in the Berkeley-Oakland community. The principal targets of the UC administration's efforts to close the Crim School are the radical and Marxist professors and students who have been laying the groundwork for a new anti-capitalist criminology.

The Crim School also became involved in the outside Bay Area community through contacts in the Black community and through such organizations as the Bay Area Women Against Rape. These radical departures in criminology were seen as "unprofessional," "not sufficiently rigorous," and "not up to university standards" by Bowker and the UC Board of Regents, chaired by Gov. Reagan. Ignoring the November, 1973 student referendum in which 88 percent voted to maintain the Crim School, Bowker delayed announcing his decision to close the school until the week before final exams.

The occupation of Haviland Hall by demonstrating students May 29 dramatically changed the struggle into a university-wide mass movement. The defense of the Crim School was not the only issue that day: maintenance of Ethnic Studies and the broad issue of student-faculty self-management were also rallying points.

Unfortunately, the Committee to Defend the Crim School began to display a tragic ineptitude and inexperience



Cops beat students during eviction from Crim school.

once it actually had a mass student movement behind it during that final week of May 30-June 6. Instead of broadening and improving its contacts with the students it set itself over them as a "vanguard."

The upshot of all this was a gradual retreat from the tremendous turnout of student support on May 30 (2,000 in Sproul Plaza) and May 31 (5,000). The mass planning meeting June 3 broke down into an impotent debating society; the mass meeting scheduled for June 4 with community speakers and thousands of leaflets already printed was inadvertently cancelled.

One positive thing definitely has emerged from the campaign to defend the Crim School: there has begun a resurgence of student activism at this university after the low point reached in the past two years.

—Tom Matthews, Berkeley student

Join VVAW Washington rally, July 1-4

Thousands of people from across the country are expected in Washington, D.C. from July 1-4 for mass demonstrations in support of universal and unconditional amnesty. Sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO), the activities each day will focus on specific demands culminating on July 4 in a mass rally and march. Five demands will be the focus of the events:

1) Universal and unconditional amnesty for all who resisted the war, including draft and military resisters; those living "underground"; those imprisoned, and vets with less-than-honorable discharges.

2) Implement the peace agreement—end all aid to Thieu in South Vietnam and Lon Nol in Cambodia.

3) A single-type discharge for all vets, eliminating bad discharges.

4) Decent benefits for all vets.

5) Kick Nixon out!

Demonstrations have already begun around the country as a build-up for the Washington rally.

MILWAUKEE, WISC.—For the fourth time in recent months, the VVAW/WSO demonstrated against the Veterans Administration at the local VA hospital. Sixteen were arrested for "demonstrating on government property," but charges were dropped. The demonstrations were aimed at drawing attention to the shoddy

Uniroyal: safety comes last

Detroit, Mich. — One thing we're always hearing at Uniroyal from management is, Safety first, then quality, and then production. The company doesn't hold up its end on this since they sure don't keep up the equipment very well. All of the jobs are timed assuming that the machines are in good shape, and that means that already you're working a mile a minute.

Almost all of the machines are pretty much defective in one way or another, and you can often lose a lot of time making up for your machine failures. But we don't get any allowance for defective equipment unless the machine actually breaks down altogether. So if you have bad luck one day you have to go like crazy to make out.

Like they're pushing us on production, they're even messing with our July 4th holiday. We get Thursday the 4th off but have to come back for Friday for one day before the weekend. But since they know that this fouls things up for everybody, they are proposing a little "compromise" for which the union has a notice up on the bulletin board this week.

They say that if we agree to work on Saturday the 22nd and overtime on Saturday the 29th, and if we're real good boys and girls and don't have any absenteeism, then they might be nice and let us have a paid holiday on July 5th. But only if we're real good now. This is low-down blackmail if I ever saw it.

— Uniroyal worker

treatment of Vietnam-era veterans by VA bureaucrats with a World War II mentality.

CINCINNATI, O.—The VA hospital was the site of a picket line, and a three-mile march through the city with banners outlining the five VVAW/WSO demands. Response was generally excellent with onlookers joining in the march.

WEST POINT, N.Y.—Approximately 250 people marched through the town of Highland Falls, followed by a rally and speakers. About half of those involved were local people.

DENVER, COLO.—A 41-mile march from Boulder to Denver ended with a rally at the State Capitol. Community people on the march route joined in.

—VVAW/WSO

Rank and file press taxi union

New York, N.Y.—The biggest questions facing taxi drivers right now are the fare hike and union committee elections. The fleet owners want a 20% fare increase which may kill the taxi industry in the city. The Taxi Rank and File Coalition expressed opposition to the fare hike at the Commission hearings by taking the floor inside, picketing, and through a cruise-in on 42nd Street. Rank & File expressed what most drivers are saying — that the fleet owners already make too much and the public will boycott us if the fares go up any more. Even the union leadership had to come out against the fare hike on the last day of the hearings.

Union committee elections are being held at the garage level for the first time in three years, even though the Union Constitution says every year. To get these elections (2 years late) the Taxi Rank and File Coalition had to take Local 3036 to court. The reason the union leadership has waited so long is not because they're broke, as they claim, but because they know they're going to lose to militant opposition slates in many garages.

The union had to call a strike recently at 55th Street garage after a driver was shot during a robbery. This particular garage has repeatedly refused to install proper safety partitions in its cabs. So the union set up pickets and the garage closed down completely until the bosses gave in.

Labor bureaucrats are so divorced from the cab drivers that even when they defend driver's rights for once, they still botch it up. Instead of informing workers what was going on, or asking them what they should do, the union simply brought down shop chairmen from other garages. No meeting, no leaflets, just pickets who didn't work there telling drivers not to go out.

The workers made it clear that they disagreed with the union's methods and many felt the incident where a scab driver ran down a shop chairman who was picketing might have been avoided.

— Taxi driver

Survey of U.S. youth shows revolt deepens

by Chris Norwell

A recent survey published by a bourgeois survey company, Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., has found out that young people, especially young workers, are dissatisfied with our society. I could have told him that a long time ago. Two surveys were made, in '69 and '73.

Although college youth were found to be more "liberal" both years in such matters as sexual relations, abortions, religion, patriotism, the work ethic and money, the working-class youths' attitudes towards these values changed at a much faster rate in four years than the college youth. More important still, the working-class youth see the college youth demanding self-fulfilling jobs and a better life-style, and realize that they don't have the economic means or education to accomplish what the college youth can.

Yankelovich no doubt gives the capitalists a warning when he predicts that American society will be under "great stress and strain in the next few years" due to the young workers. He says that workers will "turn off" in the future years. If he means by that, turn off the production machines, they've already started. At Lords-town, Chrysler Mack, and even little Dasco Co., young workers have walked off their jobs to lead the fight for better living and working conditions.

The study also found out that Vietnam veterans had higher unemployment, alcoholism, and drug addiction statistics than average, and, "not unsurprisingly," Black youth were even worse off. How they can say this so matter-of-factly is beyond me.

My own personal experience is that there is not a great difference between working and college youth in what they want their lives to be like. The difference is in what they can do about it. One guy who I used to work with always wanted to get away from the city and live on a farm, growing his own food and in general "being free," only he could never get away, first because of working to get the money, and then having to support a wife and kid. Working-class youth cannot "escape" from this society as easily as middle-class youth, and that's why the rulers are going to find it more and more difficult to control the workers.

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JOURNEY TO SAVE 'THE PRESIDENCY'

(Continued from Page 5)

Japan which is suddenly likewise being included in "the West" (!), the going to pieces of Europe, and the Sino-Soviet conflict that is the real reason of the new flirtations with the U.S.

All that can be done. What cannot be done is a coverup of the crises at home, economic and political, racial and class, Watergate and other high crimes. And it's back home Nixon must return.

HOME IS WHERE THE "ENEMY" IS

The crime-laden Nixon Administration didn't begin at Watergate. It began the day Nixon took office on a "law and order" platform which not only his lawless Attorney General Mitchell carried out against the mass anti-Vietnam War movement, youth especially, Blacks in particular, anti-labor in general. No, it began equally with "Mr. Clean" Henry Kissinger, who, as head of National Security, ordered J. Edgar Hoover (who didn't require much urging) to illegally tap the phones of his own colleagues and those journalists, especially the New York Times, which had revealed a secret order about the bombing of Cambodia with which we were not at war.

So secret were those 1969 bombing missions that not many even among the Pentagon brass knew about their full extent—until 1973. Yet Mr. Clean, in Salzburg, dared demand the "revelation" of newspaper sources. Shades of that cheap crook that occupied the post of Vice-President and first unleashed the campaign against freedom of the press.

So it is neither dirty-word Nixon nor anti-freedom-of-the-press-Agnew; neither clean Kissinger nor the tortoise-moving impeachment committee who can be depended upon for any full steam ahead against Nixon. For that matter, look at the New York Times and its "men of integrity" who criticize Nixon. James Reston is busy defending us against "Cassandras" who would speak as if only inflation, Watergate, Vietnam and generally "a greedy and declining civilization" were characteristic of USA, 1974. In fact, says our pundit, the fact that everything is "under discussion" proves "we are coming into an age of philosophy . . ." (New York Times, 6/9/74)

So we are, but this "age of philosophy" is inseparable from the age of revolution. Which is why it cannot possibly come from those busy telling us the U.S.

is not really corrupt, racist, imperialistic. The passion for philosophy comes from the masses thoroughly fed up with the system, including its intelligentsia that has an excuse for everything from the continuing anti-busing hysteria to the growing unemployment and galloping inflation.

Here is how one top economist, Saul B. Klamman of National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, explains away those wrong predictions about "no recession" coming from computers and their "human" predictions: "How does a forecaster factor into his equations the 'Watergate syndrome'? An impeachment inquiry? International political upheaval? Changing investor expectations? Erratic consumer sentiment? The imposition and lifting of embargoes?"

You can't, but that is not the question. The question is: why should people treat seriously the 1972 prediction of a 3.25 percent rate of inflation when, in fact, it was not only 5.4 percent but that was so for the industrial giants only, while for the consumer the galloping pace is hardly countable? And why treat "the system" with any more credibility when even the sacrosanct Treasury bond issue of \$300 million is set at an 8.5 coupon rate, which is the highest since the Civil War era? And why act as if "philosophy" without revolution can give the answer to so simple a question as equal education when for a full century the Supreme Court looked the other way at "separate but equal" miseducation? And when, finally, it was compelled (both by the continuing revolt at home and the new world crisis of the 1950s) to reverse itself, we have suffered through no less than 20 years of counter-"insurgency"?

No wonder the Blacks have no use whatever, not just for the Nixon Administration, but for the system. No wonder that no less than 200 Blacks (with some whites) jumped ship in Japan, refusing to return to the racist land that dares refer to itself as "the land of the free and the brave." No wonder that, very nearly daily, there are new wildcats in the mines, in auto, and not only in factories and mines, but in the fields, in the hospitals, (see p. 1), in the post office which demands that, "to prove equal to the man," a woman, seven months pregnant, must lift 70 pounds—or be fired!

No, "the age of philosophy" cannot be separated from the age of revolution that is upsurging from below.

—June 17, 1974

SF docks: death and privileges

San Francisco, Cal. — The awful news being discussed on the docks is the death on Memorial Day of three of our brothers who were killed when a ship-crane's boom collapsed with a heavy load. An additionally chilling feature of the accident was that the third man's body wasn't found until his wife phoned in to find out why he hadn't come home. An investigation is being conducted.

A document of some interest is circulating on the waterfront here. The following excerpt will give some of its flavor:

The ILWU (International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union) Secretary, Lou Goldblatt, told a meeting of "labor mediators" that a "fantastic corruption" had gripped members of "his union and most others."

Today's workers, he said, scramble for overtime that gives them more money but keeps others from making any. "They've got to have an extra car, a boat," Goldblatt complained, "They've got to be accumulating."

Leaving aside the question of the right of someone living on money from our labor to talk about our "fantastic corruption" to a parasitic group of labor mediators, those who derive their incomes from the conflict between workers and bosses, there are other aspects of these remarks to consider.

First, if longshoremen and basic clerks are scrambling for overtime then it's not in evidence among those I work with. Mere talk of going past eight hours touches off the complaints and has led to walkouts which I've both seen and heard about. Second, for a longshoreman with a family to have a second car is practically a necessity by today's standards — his own car enables him to park his considerable gear and his family can use the other car for their needs.

But those in our industry who do fit this definition of "fantastic corruption" are the very ones that Bridges and Goldblatt had in their pockets in their push to put over capitulation to the employers' containerization plan. Certainly this included the Request System Clerks here.

Right now the standard differential for a night's shift between longshoremen and supercarriers (request clerks) is over \$45, and it will be over \$52 after July 1. This is not an example of "corruption" of workers in general, but it is evidence of what Lenin called "upper stratum of the labor aristocracy . . . the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement."

Many longshoremen, if not most, who have never read Lenin certainly agree.

— SF docker

As others see us: 'ABC's of revolution'

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION,
by Raya Dunayevskaya

Hammer and Tongs, May 10, 1974,
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Socialist Leader, April 13, 1974, London, England

The Socialist movement in the English-speaking world has always been devilled by two seemingly opposed, but in fact closely related, problems. The first is the anti-theory attitude typified by the chairman of a meeting who told the speaker to refrain from mention of surplus value and instead to tell the audience about Socialism. The second is the dry as dust, sterile, dogmatic "Marxism" which was to be found in Hyndman's SDF and which today can be found in such hot beds of class war as Clapham High Street.

Dialectics (the analytic method of scientific materialism) Marx once wrote, are the algebrae of revolution. As the above shows, the British Left has to date not even learnt their ABCs. Therefore, this book by Ms. Dunayevskaya, a follow up to her controversial *Marxism and Freedom*, which in its own way attempts to rectify this situation, is to be welcomed.

Motivated, as are all honest Socialists, by a deep love of humanity and a passionate desire to see it liberated from capitalism, Ms. Dunayevskaya argues for a re-examination of Marxism's roots in the soil of Hegel's critical philosophy. Tracing its development through Marx and Lenin and examining the ideas of Trotsky, Sartre and Mao she goes on to work out her own humanist philosophy of liberation and to relate it to the practice of the new revolutionary forces which are arising as capitalism decays.

Here one must take issue with Ms. Dunayevskaya on the question of Lenin's ability as a philosopher. Without doubt his *Empirio-Criticism* (his only philosophical work) which dates from his polemic against Bogdanov and the "God Builders" is at best mechanistic and has been demolished by the Dutch Marxist, Pannekoek. However, the brief outlines in his *Philosophical Notebooks* does show a genuine attempt to grapple with the dialectic. His dictum that "intelligent idealism is closer to intelligent materialism than stupid materialism" seems to have been forgotten by those who loud and long proclaim their loyalty to his ideas . . .

"Our epoch is a birth-time, and a period of transition. The spirit of man has broken with the old order of things hitherto prevailing, and with the old ways of thinking . . ." wrote Hegel. This is the spirit of revolutionary thought and action, the spirit in which Ms. Dunayevskaya's book is written.

—Terry Liddle

. . . The first section of this book is deep into the philosophic side, while the last half is a useful discussion of current problems and movements, in America and abroad. Among (Dunayevskaya's) points in the first section is that Marxian historical materialism is inseparable from Hegelian dialectics, that it is false to contrast a Young Marx vs. a Later Marx, an error indicated by the recently published Grundrisse, and that Russian Communist theoreticians have tried to cover up their state capitalist institutions by revising or suppressing the first chapter of *Capital*. They seek to gloss over the role of the market.

She takes issue strongly with Trotsky's defense of the so-called degenerated workers' state, and also with Mao's little-red-book kind of "socialism." Her information on China, gathered from Hong Kong refugees, was

particularly interesting to me, for it contrasts with some glowing reports being published by muddle-heads. I share altogether her view that socialism is something more than "nationalized property."

I wish I could say I am altogether satisfied with this book, but I must record reservations. One of them is the lack of a clear break with Lenin, who still appears to come off clean. I can't help but maintain that Lenin's vanguardism was at least partly responsible, in concert with conditions, for the emergence of Stalinism. Also, I can't quite buy the argument that correct philosophy must lead to correct practice. World War I in particular saw hordes of so-called Marxists turn into nationalists overnight, while many non-Marxists remained internationalist. That is no argument against Marxism, but it does raise questions about the complex roots of human behavior.

—Virgil J. Vogel

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Colombia

The American image of the patient Colombian peasant, Juan Valdez, picking his coffee beans one by one, is far from a true reflection of the Colombian campesino who is becoming more and more militant.

The 12 million peasants who till the soil of the wealthy landlords expect little or no relief from the newly-elected President Lopez, who represents the same liberal-conservative oligarchy that has ruled the country for the past 150 years. A young peasant leader in the Cartagena region stated, "You can't change social structures in Latin America through elections. That was Allende's lesson. We could get four million votes and win the election but the oligarchy would get four million guns, so what's the use?" The peasants boycotted the recent election.

Instead they have taken to organization and group action. In San Pedro over 85 plantations have been taken over and occupied by farm workers during the past two years. They get a group of campesinos together and move in on farms that are not being used and begin to occupy them. Sometimes they are met with landlord violence and thousands have been jailed, but the occupation continues and grows.

The spokesman for the Colombian National Peasants Association, Richard May, states, "We believe that the land should belong to the people who work on it." They call for the expropriation of the land, farm credit, machinery and supplies.

'Japan Incorporated'

"Japan Incorporated" — the image of Japan as a thoroughly integrated economy including the absolute robot-like loyalty of the Japanese workers — never spoke for the Japanese workers who in their "Spring Offensive" staged a wave of strikes that nearly shut down the country and won unprecedented 30 per cent wage increases. The action shook the Japanese power structure much more fundamentally than all the massive student protests of the '60s.

The Japanese economy with its aggressive foreign expansion and demand for more productivity at home has always been run by an intimate relationship between the government and capitalists against the workers at home and abroad. "Japan Incorporated" was really the policy of "administrative guidance" of the so-called Fair Trade Commission which rubber-stamped capitalist practices of collusion on production quotas, allocated markets, and fixed prices.

The realities of the world state-capitalist economy, with U.S. imperialism as its most dominant feature, have put the brakes on the Japanese economy. Japan's growth rate is down from the 8 to 13 percent level of the last 20 years to 2.5 percent and is not expected to go up much in the

by Peter Mallory

future. The juggling of the world monetary system, forced by the U.S. government and the multinational corporations, and the quadrupling of world oil prices by the oil states in collusion with the U.S. oil cartels have caused Japan's current trade deficit of about \$1 billion a month. The result is the highest inflation rate in the industrial world, 24 percent.

It is true that the Fair Trade Commission was established by Gen. MacArthur after Japan's WW II defeat, and its laws were ignored as an American infringement. The blatant activities of Japanese capitalists have made all too clear what they had always tried to hide behind Japanese nationalism—that they consider their main enemy to be not U.S. imperialism with which they are competing, but rather the Japanese workers.

The country has been shocked by recent scandals exposing some of the illegal cartel agreements and excessive profits on the oil shortage. Japanese capitalists made the energy crisis a weapon against the workers who were hit with soaring inflation in its wake. Only the groundswell discontent is keeping Tanaka, who is even less popular with the Japanese than Nixon is here, from firing the man he appointed to head the Fair Trade Commission, Toshihiko Takahashi. Takahashi has begun to take some of the antitrust laws seriously and is going after some of the matter-of-course business practices.

In the name of "stabilizing the economy," the Economic Planning Agency is already insisting that wages must be held down next year. Japan's leaders are searching for a way to get around the Japanese workers whose new level of revolt has called into question the very structure of the Japanese economy.

Kurdish Rebellion

Since March 12 there has been continuous warfare between the government of Iraq and the Kurds under Mullah Mustafa Barzani, who has 45,000 trained Peshmerga troops and 60,000 militia facing an estimated 100,000 regulars of the Iraqi Army. The Iraqi air force has conducted over 281 air raids on Kurdish villages, using Soviet planes. Over 30,000 Kurds have fled the plains into the mountain strongholds of the Kurdish independence movement.

The Kurds claim their objective is to overthrow the "fascist tyranny of the Ba'ath Party," and that only a genuine democracy throughout Iraq will give them the opportunity to enjoy the autonomy they have been promised by both Iraq and Syria who occupy the country formerly known as Kurdistan.

The Kurds receive little or no outside help and must rely on old antiquated weapons and eight anti-aircraft guns with which they claim to have shot down nine aircraft, three helicopters, 20 tanks, and 56 transport vehicles.

Iraq has attempted to set up a Quisling Kurdish council but cannot find 80 Kurds who support them sufficiently to form the Council.

Yankee go home

The United States is maintaining 438,000 land-based troops around the world at a cost of well over \$10 billion, fueling inflation and constituting the largest factor to the deficit in the balance of trade abroad, at a time when American workers are feeling the pinch of paying the bill.

For the last 30 years these troops have constituted a financial and moral drain on the economy of the United States as well as the countries they occupy. There are 228,000 troops in West Germany, 21,000 in England, 10,000 in Italy, 9,000 in Spain, 7,000 in Greece and 3,000 in Iceland. In the Far East there are 20,000 in South Korea, 18,000 in Japan, 40,000 in Okinawa, 9,000 on Taiwan, 15,000 in the Philippines and 45,000 in Thailand. Even Canada has 2,000 U.S. troops on her soil.

The U.S. Navy is trying to make the Indian Ocean its lake with the establishment of a new base on Diego Garcia in the center of the Indian Ocean and in a position to monitor approximately 15 minor units of the Soviet Navy in the area.

All feeble efforts to cut the size of the troops abroad have been met by the united resistance of Republicans and Democrats alike, more concerned about the billion dollar orders their industrial constituents are getting for war goods than they are in the welfare of the American people who must foot the bill.

Italy

The downfall of the government of Premier Mariano Rumor is no routine political crisis even for Italy which has had 36 governments since the fall of fascism in 1943. Going in the red at the rate of \$1 billion a month, the Italian economy is on the verge of collapse. The huge monthly deficits are for the most part the result of the quadrupling of world oil prices.

While Italy's capitalists are prospering more than ever, investing their loot abroad or in foreign currencies, the Italian workers are being hit with a staggering 20 percent inflation and massive unemployment. Guido Carli, the head of the Bank of Italy, is practically determining economic policy in the interim period. Carli has been negotiating a \$1 billion stopgap loan from West Germany in addition to the over \$10 billion Italy has borrowed in the last two years. The price capitalists in Italy and Europe are demanding for "rescuing" the Italian economy is a deeper recession in Italy with lower wages, even greater unemployment, and a heavier tax burden for Italian workers.

Only the militancy of the Italian workers who have staged a wave of strikes, including a four-hour general strike against the murder of six workers by neo-Fascist terrorists, stopped the Rumor government from attempting more extreme repressive measures. At this point, however, the crisis is bordering on open class war. (For more on Italy, see article on page 5.)

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

About this time of year glossy magazines carry advertisements extolling the exotic attractions of the Caribbean Islands — miles of white sand beach for the tourist to loll away the hours under a sunny blue sky, while sipping tropical alcoholic drinks and listening to the sensuous beat of Steel Drum bands. All this, and much more are offered, for a price, to the vacationer with the assurance that he and she will never have to come into contact with the actual realities of life on those "Islands In The Sun."

In an interview in *Black World* — one of the Johnson chain of magazines — Willy Look Lai, a journalist and an activist with the *New Beginning Movement* in Trinidad, reduces these ads to mere mirages by pointing out that since 1967 massive revolts by the people have taken place throughout the English, French and Dutch speaking islands in the Caribbean. These revolts were so significant in scope that troops from the "Mother" Countries

The Caribbean: the realities of life

had to intervene to bring them under control.

The most tremendous of these mass upheavals took place in 1969 in Curacao, a Dutch controlled island of the Netherlands Antilles, where the main industry is the huge oil refineries controlled by Shell, and the largest tank terminal harbor ever built, which will accommodate 24 ships of 100,000 tons each, is under construction.

In Trinidad, the mass revolt of 1970 of the vast unemployed, which was joined by a mutiny in the lower ranks of the Army, almost toppled the 16 year old Government of President Eric Williams. Since then it has been, according to Mr. Willy Look Lai, a shaky Government, incapable of doing anything about the problems of unemployment, low wages, and above all, the continuing domination of the economy of "Independent" Trinidad-Tobago by the imperialist economic interests of the United States and Great Britain.

Mr. Lai scoffs at the fact that certain Caribbean Governments are making a show of "Independence" by

becoming equal partners in foreign industry, like the sugar production in Trinidad-Tobago, or the nationalization of the bauxite industry in Guyana, because it will not do anything to elevate the conditions of the workers in those countries. What has happened, he says: "Workers find themselves rebelling against a Black bureaucracy instead of a white one . . . and . . . the ordinary people of the country — workers, the small farmers, the unemployed — have seen quite clearly that imperialism is perpetuated, not only by white colonial politicians, but also by native middle-class elements."

On this point, of the ever wider gulf between "Black Caribbean leadership" and the Black masses of these islands, Mr. Lai takes his cue from Fanon's essay, "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness" from his book *The Wretched of the Earth*. Essentially what Fanon and Lai have to say is that the *Third World bourgeoisie* is historically a reactionary class and an impotent one at that. But, we are not told how this class arrived at total decadency at the very moment, that historical moment, when Black masses are in revolt.

This crucial point, as Raya Dunaevskaya indicates in *Philosophy and Revolution* (particularly in Part III on Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation)—the changing of Third World leadership into the very opposite of what they were two decades ago—can never be understood by merely pinning a label on them. Since world capitalism is in its most decadent stage, i.e. State Capitalism, the tragedies began so soon after the Third World Revolutions had succeeded, because its leadership, overcome by technological backwardness, turned their backs on the creativity of the masses who made the Revolution, and sought aid and support from one or the other of the two poles of capitalism. "The isolation from the masses deepened so that the new rulers began to look at them as mere labor power." This was the reason that the masses took to the streets in the first place — against white imperialism.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

he's the same Wallace he always was.

Kennedy came to Decatur, Alabama last July 4 and asked some of us Black leaders to sit on the platform with them. We rejected the offer because of Wallace, and some of us boycotted their meeting. We know the whites are only playing with us so they can keep power in their hands.

It is time for Black folks to appraise where we are. When Kennedy starts playing around with Wallace, it is time for us to start playing a new political game.

John Lewis has been opposed to this kind of politics for a long time. At the mass March on Washington in 1963, the late Walter Reuther and a Catholic bishop from

New York had some leaders pressure Lewis into revising his speech, threatening if not they would not sit on the platform with him. They didn't like some of it condemning President Kennedy, or "The movement should march throughout the South in the same manner that Sherman marched through Georgia during the Civil War."

Black rank-and-file people are still searching for a philosophy of total liberation, not wheeling and dealing in capitalist politics. Nixon has taught us thoroughly what that kind of politics leads us to.

The revolution that was started in the '60s soured before it was completed, and Nixon after coming to power has been wiping out the remnants of what was left. We need to work out a different relationship based on a unity of workers and intellectuals for a total freedom.