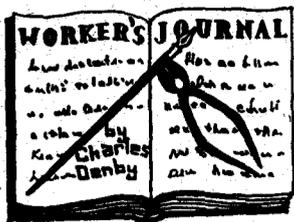


ON THE INSIDE

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Nixon leaves, inflation stays

By Charles Denby, Editor

The most pressing question that is being talked about and discussed among working people these days is inflation, this runaway inflation. A worker was saying that if this spiral of high prices continues for the next two or three years as it has in the past year, many will be faced with starvation on a mass scale, and we will have a revolution throughout this country.

There was a news report that Ford Motor Company has raised the price of their cars an average of \$35 a month every month this year. If a worker asks for a \$35 raise a year, they will yell to high heaven, as though we are insane, that this is inflationary. They are saying that workers and poor people are what causes inflation, not the big corporations and capitalists that have the controlling powers in their hands, not the millions and billions that this country is throwing away to the military.

Now we find out the big wheat deal that Nixon made with Russian leaders, hoping to build his own prestige, as the only American President to break through in bringing friendship with Russia, is the biggest reason that all food prices are so high today.

Nixon ran for office six years ago pointing out that inflation was too high at that time, and promising that if elected he would reduce this inflation. But prices have soared upward ever since. This is what puzzles me about those who kept on supporting him to the bitter end — the man has never told anything but lies from the very beginning.

This country is in such a mess after his administration, it will take many long years to return it back to where it was before he came into office, and most of the important things that are relative to working and poor people may never be returned—especially when Nixon's hand-picked successor is in charge. Anyone can

(Continued on Page 7)

Editorial

Latin America—in search of revolution

September 11 marks the first anniversary of the right wing military coup in Chile. In the months since the coup, the government of General Pinochet has moved both within the country and without to consolidate its position of dominance. Within, there has been a systematic policy of torture and "trials" of political prisoners. The first "open trial" has just been concluded and has resulted in sixty convictions. Four were sentenced to death. The trial was conducted on the ground that all the activities of the Allende government since 1970 have been declared illegal and thus participants and supporters of that government acted illegally.

Outside the country, the Chilean government has been involved in the formation of an unofficial alliance among the right wing military dictatorships of Brazil, Uruguay and Bolivia. The major purpose appears to be that of combatting any Latin American left social movements.

The U.S. involvement with the Chilean military government has hardly been one of "neutrality." Tens of millions of dollars have been allocated to the government for military assistance. There has been, in addition, a renewed flow of capital which has aided in "stabilizing" the economy, just as the withdrawal of economic credit by the U.S. and its agencies during the Allende regime had disrupted the economy and thus created the ground for the coup.

THE LEFT RE-EXAMINES REVOLUTION

The military takeover in Chile as well as the emergence of right wing governments in a number of Latin American countries, supported by the United States, has caused the left social movements throughout Latin America to rethink their conceptions of revolutionary change. Mexico is a good example.

Mexico has had a reputation of being "progressive" because of its continued relationship with Cuba as well as its willingness to give political exile to a number of Latin American revolutionaries from other countries. Yet, despite its liberal exterior, its internal policies are another story. Present-day Mexico is steeped in revolutionary slogans and trappings. The government is constantly doing this or that in the name of the revolution or in the interest of continuing the revolution. Subway signs urge the population to produce more so they can expect more—all in the name of the revolution.

But to speak and to act in the name of the revolu-

10¢ NEWS LETTERS

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THE BIGGEST COVER-UP

NIXON RESIGNATION AVOIDS EXPOSURE OF FULL TRUTH

by Andy Phillips

When over 130 million Americans turned on their TV sets on Aug. 8 at 9 p.m. to listen to the resignation speech of President Richard Milhous Nixon, they listened in disbelief to the gall of the President, swept out of office by the avalanche of national disgust of the people at the impeachment proof, who even now claimed he had done all for "the national interest." He ad-

mitted only that he had made a "mistake in judgment."

At the same time, the people became witness to the beginning of the greatest political cover-up of all: the resignation itself, and the efforts of both Republican and Democratic Congressmen to avoid further exposure of the total degeneracy of the political system in the U.S. and those who represent it.

It is for this reason that the great cry of relief went up from Congress and virtually every newspaper in the country hastened to christen their new "Mr. Clean," President Gerald R. Ford, to heap extravagant praise on the "courage" of Congress, the Judiciary Committee and the effectiveness of the Constitution in achieving Nixon's resignation.

HYPOCRISY CONTINUES

This is insulting hypocrisy. Especially since there is hardly a more inept person to assume the tremendous burdens of U.S. President than Gerald Ford; since a near-totally reluctant Congress was literally forced into the impeachment proceedings by a determined U.S. population which long ago was convinced of Nixon's guilt; and since Watergate had virtually paralyzed the country for two whole years because of the delaying tactics permitted by the Constitution.

Far from showing the strength and effectiveness of the Constitution, Watergate exposed its weaknesses in containing or preventing excessive accumulation and abuse of power — the U.S. came within an eyelash of being transformed into a totalitarian state. It also confirmed the double standard of justice in America: there is one law for the rich and powerful, and another for the weak and poor.

What Nixon misjudged, was the reaction of the American people to the proof of his total corruption, policies of war, attempts to destroy every Black revolt gain of the '60s, increasing unemployment, skyrocketing inflation, deepening recession and flagrant favoritism shown to capital at the expense of labor which moved the U.S. at a much faster pace toward state capitalism and increased speed-up and oppression of the working class. (See "Nixon's Choice" takes office"—p. 3).

FORD MISJUDGES AMERICAN PEOPLE

For any who harbored illusions about Ford's Model-T mentality, he should have laid them to rest with his address to Congress on Aug. 12. After assuring that he would support the defense budget, which is the greatest inflationary influence in the nation's economy, Ford then declared inflation to be enemy No. 1. If the defense budget remains intact, his cuts will clearly come in domestic programs.

Moreover, President Ford pledged a continuity of Nixon's foreign policies, and virtually guaranteed it with his retention of Dr. "Strangelove" Kissinger as Secretary of State. Far from reassuring, these early steps of "Clean" President Ford guarantee that the same destructive roads hewn by his expelled predecessor will continue to be followed in both domestic and foreign policies.

There is no part of the globe where the imperialist adventures and mis-adventures of Nixon-Kissinger do not play key roles — either openly or undercover. This



—News & Letters photo

Mexican students support striking workers.

tion requires a license, which can be issued only by the government and its controlling party, the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional). Anyone speaking in the name of the revolution without government sanction is doing so illegally and is dealt with.

When the population has tried to implement their interpretation of the Mexican Revolution—most notably in massive demonstrations in the National University and in the streets in 1968, the government response was the machine gun. Hundreds were wounded or killed. Thousands were jailed. The fight today, as in 1968, is not over the proper interpretation of the Mexican Revolution of 64 years ago. It is over the social conditions of the present.

MEXICO—A ONE-PARTY STATE

The state in Mexico is in effect a one-party-state which, if possible, buys off and swallows up its opponents, but does not hesitate to briskly get rid of them by force if necessary. Those students who were radicals at the university often find themselves with the opportunity

(Continued on Page 6)

(Continued on Page 5)

Chinese women organize, strike SF sweatshops

San Francisco, Cal.—A victory for the women of San Francisco's Chinatown garment sweatshops was won Aug. 7. Fifty years of attempted organizing has always resulted in defeat and increased intimidation. The women, most of whom speak no English, work in tiny, usually illegal storefronts in squalid conditions.

At the Great Chinese-American Sewing Co., the women finally had enough and called the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) to organize them. The worker who called them was fired immediately, and on July 20 the women voted to go on strike. At their picket line over 90 persons marched, and the women told of the sweatshop conditions.

When a scab drove his truck through the picket line, injuring one of the women strikers, the police moved in and arrested 38 women for "obstructing the sidewalk" and "interfering with the police." Owner Douglas Tompkins closed down the shop claiming: "It wasn't making any money, it has nothing to do with the organizing campaign."

On Aug. 7, the court hearing was so jammed with supporters of the 38 arrested women that the overflow crowd formed a picket line a block long. All charges against the women were dismissed. The judge also said he would investigate the violations perpetrated by the owner. Charges of unfair labor practices have also been filed with the National Labor Relations Board.

San Francisco, Cal.—Lee Mah Electronics, located in San Francisco's Chinatown, is owned 90% by Farinon Electric, a multi-million dollar corporation. They pay the workers, mostly all Chinese women, \$1.65 per hour starting pay. Since November, 1973, they have been trying to unionize themselves.

The campaign was becoming so successful that the bosses promised pay raises; increased workers' benefits;

Garment worker breaks down after telling rally about sweatshop conditions.



gave gifts of money and dinner invitations, providing the women would not join the union. The union vote lost and the promises vanished into the fog.

When the women realized they had been tricked, they formed the Lee Mah Workers Association demanding an end to harassment and firings, and that all discharged workers be rehired. Although charges against the company have been filed with the NLRB, these women said: "We cannot depend on them alone" and began to picket the plant.

Lee Mah workers, unlike their sisters at the Ruckers Electronics plant on strike in suburban Concord, do not have a recognized union. When Ruckers refused to negotiate or recognize the union, the women voted to strike. Women's groups and organized labor, especially Union W.A.G.E. women, are supporting them, and they in turn are supporting the Lee Mah workers picket line.

— Elbee W.

Rowbotham's narrow view of Marxism misses new in WL

by Deborah Morris

The women's movement is today concerned more than ever with working out the relationship between Women's Liberation and social revolution. Sheila Rowbotham's *Women, Resistance and Revolution* (Vintage Books, 1974, \$2.45) takes up this task and proposes to develop this relationship by tracing the idea of Women's Liberation in its various historical forms. Unfortunately for the women's movement, it is a task that remains to be done, for in the book's conclusion Rowbotham herself admits that she has been unable to develop the relationship theoretically.

NARROW VIEW OF MARX

She states that the Women's Liberation movement and social revolution "cohabit the same space uneasily" and that "the connection between the oppression of women and the central discovery of Marxism, the class exploitation of the worker in capitalism, is still forced."

That Rowbotham has not been able to develop the links between the women's movement and social revolution is due to her own narrow concept of Marxism as merely "the exploitation of the worker in capitalism." She is thus not able to see that the worker is a creative subject in the overthrow of capitalism; she cannot comprehend the women's movement as reason as well as force. While hailing Marx's early writings for his treatment of women, she criticizes Marx for leaving it at a "bourgeois humanism" stage and failing to develop the woman question into a class analysis.

Like many on the Left who still refuse to reorganize their thought 40 years after the Russian Revolution has been transformed into its opposite, state-capitalism, Sheila Rowbotham is still trying to discuss the women's movement with the same categories that call Russia and China "socialist". The form and content of her book is dictated by the question, "Must women wait until after the revolution to get liberation?"

This question of waiting until after the revolution is precisely the point on which women broke with the Left in the late 1960s. While this certainly must be worked out, Rowbotham is so limited by her narrow concept of Marxism that she does not take a look at what is new in the women's movement today. She does not even discuss today's Women's Liberation movement in the western world. Nor is Rosa Luxemburg mentioned anywhere in the book.

The book can be divided into two sections. The idea of women's liberation and women's practice up to the Russian Revolution, and the fate of the idea under "socialism". There is a lot of interesting material in the first section, particularly the thoughts and activities of the women during the 1848 Revolutions and later during the Paris Commune. Here Rowbotham is forced to concede that "women's movements have often been characterized by a stress on self-activity, equal participation and a suspicion of leaders." Even with the women's self-activity evident in the history that she presents, and even though the social revolution as a whole was crushed during these periods, Rowbotham concludes that the failure of the women's movement to build lasting organi-

zations is due to women's inability to overcome "the traditional fatalism, the passivity, the timidity and lack of confidence which were characteristic of women in normal times."

In the second section dealing with Russia and China, Rowbotham again runs into difficulties, for she finds that the idea of women's liberation still has not been carried through to completion even after the revolution, much less during. Her conclusion is that the women's movement cannot be left until after the revolution but must be an integral and equal part of any revolutionary struggle.

WOMEN RE-CLASSIFIED

Her final solution is to challenge the Left to work out a class analysis of the women's movement so that "the scope of production must be seen in a wider sense and cover also the production undertaken by women in the family and the production of self through sexuality." Rowbotham thinks that the gap between social revolution and Women's Liberation can be bridged by the simple reclassification of women as workers.

The history of the idea of Women's Liberation is very important, but as with all ideas it moves to new stages. Rowbotham is obviously writing under the impact of today's women's movement, but it is precisely their newness, their questions, and their self-activity that Rowbotham has refused to deal with. The challenge for today is not to re-write Marx, but to use the method Marx developed to capture what today's movement represents and on that basis begin to work out the relationship between Women's liberation and social revolution.

WL NOTES

Chanting "day care, not welfare!" 3,000 predominantly Black and Puerto Rican women and children marched on New York City hall on July 24. The women were protesting cutbacks in day-care funds that would throw 6,000 children out of centers and force hundreds of women onto welfare rolls.

Nurses in Britain continue striking and agitating for higher wages, better patient care, and an end to private practice (where those with money get much better care than the poor). They have received support in the form of strikes and work stoppages from auto and factory workers, miners, and dock workers.

In Portugal, the new national pro-divorce movement recently gathered 8,000 persons at a rally to demand repeal of the 1940 law making divorce from a church marriage impossible. The junta is dragging its feet claiming that to "preserve unity" a decision on divorce must wait.

Calling themselves the Black Women's United Front, 800 Black women met at Newark, N.J. at the first Black Nationalist women's conference. Some of the things discussed were capitalism and oppression of Black women, education, health and child care and equal pay for equal work.

Leaders stifle LA CLUW

Los Angeles, Cal.—On July 13, the first "official" organized meeting here of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) was held since the national convention last March. Several groups of union women have met since the convention, but the state convenor and west coast vice president stopped this telling them they were not allowed to meet as CLUW without the steering committee having arranged a "proper" CLUW meeting.

The meeting started off with guards at the door making sure all people who came in were card-carrying union members. They even turned away the babysitters who had volunteered to watch our children, because they didn't have union cards. Also, 40 women who were in the process of organizing the plant they worked at, were turned away because their union does not issue union cards until you have a contract with your employer.

When these points were brought out in the workshops, the response from the steering committee was the national CLUW decided for the first year of its life, CLUW members must be union members. Also, you cannot belong to an independent union, you must have an international. Ironically, CLUW's first goal is to organize the unorganized.

Prior to the meeting, several people passed out resolutions they wanted presented on the floor, including an alternate agenda. The official agenda was set up so no feedback from the workshops came back to the general session. The steering committee decided that no resolutions would be heard.

Approximately 200 women attended from 30 different unions, including many Black and Chicana women. The workshops were structured to only discuss the national CLUW booklet of purposes and nothing else.

Of the main speakers, there was a Chicana woman who spoke of a 16-month strike of rubber workers where the wives, husbands and children joined the picket line to bolster the strikers. Although the strike was not yet over, the company's stock had dropped from \$12 per share to less than \$1.

The last speaker, Ruth Miller, the state convenor, said that if you didn't agree with all the statements in the national booklet and wanted to work outside of this scope, you did not belong in this organization.

—CLUW member

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

Women strike Harper & Row

New York, N.Y. — Three hundred twenty employees of Harper & Row struck for 17 days last month and changed the publishing industry. The editorial and publicity workers, mostly young women, have for years gotten low pay and few benefits in exchange for the supposed "glamor and excitement" of publishing. Now more than 20 houses are planning to organize after seeing Harper & Row's success.

Harper & Row had a house association for 33 years (it was started by the company to forestall organization by the CIO) before it took a militant action. No one was more surprised than the association officers when the membership voted by a margin of 20 to 1 to reject management's "final offer" this year and strike. One woman explained, "The strike was defensive. They were trying to take away benefits we already had, and they weren't treating us with respect."

For years management had told them that "books make money, employees don't," and that they could easily be replaced by unemployed college graduates and free-lancers. But the industry is very dependent on dead-lines, and after 17 days the strike won a new contract which is regarded as a victory. It includes across-the-board raises each year, cost-of-living raises every six months, and profitsharing for present members. Also maternity leaves, abortion benefits, and other increased medical benefits.

The strike has had an electrifying effect on the rest of the industry. Employees came together in houses all over New York to discuss unionization, and now they are meeting jointly to take action city-wide. Several large unions are suddenly offering to conduct organizing drives, and the group will decide whether to affiliate with one of them or form an independent publishing union.

—Molly Jackson

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Bell workers walk out nationwide, deny union

(Editor's note: The Communication Workers of America (CWA) contract with Bell Telephone expired July 17. Since then, there have been continuous wildcats and work stoppages nationwide, even after the CWA reached a settlement with Bell. The following stories are from the Cass I information operators who wildcatted on July 20 in Detroit, and from a West Coast operator who tells what happened as the official strike neared.)

Detroit, Mich.—We're down here to better our conditions first, and then we're down here for wages. The conditions we work under upstairs are intolerable. You have to put up a red card when you want to go to the bathroom, a blue card when you want a pencil. You have a special emergency card when an operator comes on the line and says it's an emergency.

There's harassment all the time. If you talk or laugh too loud, they'll take you off the line and tell you you're disturbing other operators or customers. You can't talk, you can't laugh, you can't turn around, you can't get up to get a pencil. You're just confined to one position all day, and you just do the same thing every day.

We don't have any sick days. If a woman gets sick, the company uses that as an instrument to reprimand her. You can be put on warning for four days' absence in a year.

They have a little folder where they put down everything about you. What kind of company is this where they keep a private dossier on you and you're not allowed to see it, much less supposed to know that it exists? This has not been coming out because Bell Telephone does not want any publicity on the conditions we're under.

We don't have any support by the union. You ask them a question and they never know anything. Before we went out, we asked them what was going on, what are they negotiating for, have they been offered a proposal. They said, we don't know anything.

Some have said they are on our side, but they are not out here on the line. Management and anybody who wants to has been crossing the line. They don't respect our line, so how do you expect them to respect us upstairs?

— Wildcatter

Los Angeles, Cal. — The whole manner in which the union conducted the strike and negotiations was incredibly bureaucratic. We got notices—but they never said anything. They would tell us: Today we gave our proposals to the company. Three days later they would tell us: Today the company gave us their counter proposals.

But you never got any idea of what they were. Finally they told us, tomorrow we will be conducting the strike vote — and nobody knew what we were even asking for.

But the strike vote was overwhelming and then we began to talk about how we could get involved in it — like maybe have people start calling in to order new phones and flood the company with business. We wanted to go to a local meeting to talk about it. But we discovered there was no local meeting.

"RECORDED MESSAGES"

There was a recorded message you were supposed to call in to get news of the strike. The recorded message didn't tell you anything. So I looked up a number where I could call and talk to a human being. But I never could find out anything except what was in the "recorded message."

Just before the strike was to start, we got a recorded message about not scabbing. We were all supposed to be off our jobs on Sunday night. Sunday morning they brought scabs into our office so they could be trained in time to take over that night. It was more to demoralize us than train them, because you can't learn how to be

Don't get sick at Uniroyal!

Detroit, Mich.—It's a real strain to get back into the work pace at Uniroyal after the three-week summer shut-down, and a lot of people have been sick this past week. We are one of the only places in Detroit which still has piece-work, and this makes the work awfully fast in order to make production.

We're also one of the few places where there aren't any paid sick days, so the people who were out sick lose a lot of money. The only way you can get paid sick leave is to go into the hospital or be taking some special medical treatment.

There is also a big crack-down on absenteeism. If you are without a doctor's note even a couple of times, first you get suspended, and then you get fired. We don't even have any personal days in our contract like they do in the UAW, where you can take care of your own business if you have to.

Almost everywhere else this kind of situation went out with the stone age, but we still have it at Uniroyal. When you've got doctor's bills to pay, it sure doesn't help to lose your pay too, but the company doesn't give a damn anyway as long as production gets out. But where was the union when all this crap was written into the contract?

—Uniroyal worker

an operator in one day. But all the women got really mad.

We have this data that is everything you need to know to complete all kinds of calls. It has routing numbers, emergency numbers, rate steps, telephone company numbers — everything. Without those pages, even a skilled operator wouldn't be able to complete many calls. So, suddenly, a lot of pages began disappearing from these books. There were lots of things like that the women did to prepare for the strike.

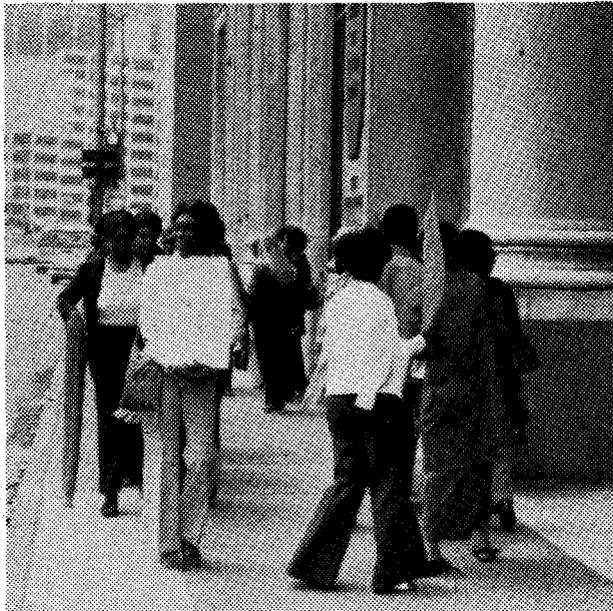
I called the local about half an hour before we were supposed to be on strike, and they told me the strike was off. But when I asked what we settled for, they didn't know.

A VOTE BY MAIL?

It was a week before we got a copy, and it came out in the company paper before the union put it up on the board. Everything we did get doesn't come until next year — even cost of living.

(For more on the contract, see Readers' Views—Ed.)

It took five days to take the strike vote, because they wanted everybody to vote for the strike. But to



—News & Letters photo

Workers picket Michigan Bell offices in Detroit with hand-lettered signs reading: "Don't let Ma Bell brainwash you," and "Ma Bell treats you like elementary students."

ratify the contract, there still hasn't been a vote, seven days after the settlement. They want everybody to cool off, to the point of despair, let the wildcats run their course, and then vote.

They are talking about taking the nation-wide vote by mail. That means you won't have other workers around you, but will be sitting home alone not able to even discuss it with others and you may not even bother to mail the vote in.

Everybody knows the strike was a big bluff, staged by the bureaucrats in the Communication Workers of America to get ATT to grant them an agency shop. They would have sold out anything to get that. What the workers wanted they were unconcerned about.

No letup at Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Fleetwood has just come back from model change, and there is no reduction in the work, even though the local agreement said there would be. We aren't up to full production yet, but you don't have to wait for full production to know what is going to happen. You can feel it coming.

Jobs will be torn up all over the plant. More work will be added on. People won't be able to keep up, and then disciplinary layoffs will come down. Workers will be put out on Fort St., and then our great union will go to work on the case. They will get some of them back to work, but without any back pay. Does this sound familiar? Just watch! The question is: what will we do about it?

Your life means nothing to the big wheels. When I was in the service I learned that you are just a dummy to them. They don't care if you live or die. It's the same at Fleetwood.

—Fleetwood worker

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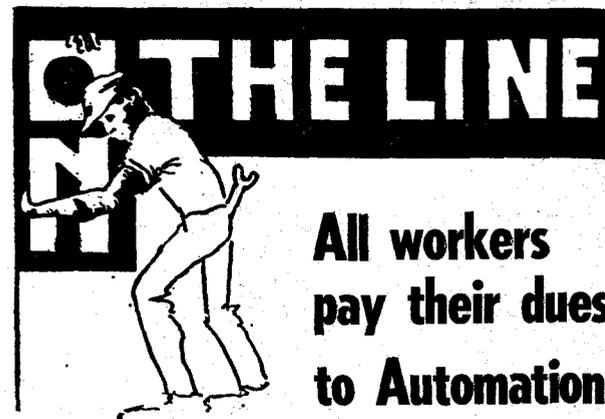
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All workers pay their dues to Automation

by John Allison

Chrysler owns a number of service centers. These centers repair Chrysler cars that are leased to supervisors and VIPs. The mechanics that repair these cars are Chrysler employees under union contract, as are all the rest of us. But for many years, they felt they were special.

When the rest of us were being speeded-up and hounded to produce more and more, they were left alone. How can you speed-up a specialist who is trying to find out what is wrong with some complicated mechanism? Well, the capitalists have found a way. And Automation has at long last come to these service centers, too. They are now being studied by the stop watch. They have started to pay dues to the money machine, and they finally realize that no workers can escape that.

DEAD VS. LIVING LABOR

Every time a shortage in material comes along, we pay dues. When we produce too much, we pay dues. A lot of water has gone under the bridge before all the workers realized this.

The production workers started paying dues to Automation in the factory right after World War II. The price they paid for letting dead labor—the machines—dominate living labor, showed itself in the form of speed-up, lay-offs, and short weeks. The skilled trades were not anxious to join the fight against Automation. They felt safe. The mechanics said that Automation would never reach their trade.

WE ALL PAY DUES

Now we are united in our efforts to fight Automation. We know what it is, and how high the dues are. The office workers, the skilled workers, and the production workers alike, have all been exposed to the extent the capitalist class will go to keep up their profits.

The truth is that every man, woman and child pays dues to the capitalist class. The only question is how long will we keep on doing it?

'Nixon's choice' takes over

by Felix Martin

The way I see it, Nixon picked his own successor, the people didn't. Ford is an extension of Nixon and one could see it in his first speech to Congress on inflation. First he made sure he had Congress behind him when he said there would be no cutting in defense. But defense is the greatest maker of inflation. What else will he cut, except programs for the people?

As a GM worker I watched GM come out with its \$480 raise in the price of cars and watched President Ford very weakly say something about it. But he spoke just for show, there was no order of a rollback. Meanwhile, the auto companies are going to be putting out goods with fewer and fewer people.

The Ford Motor Co. plant in Los Angeles is going on a 10-hour-day with 600 workers still on layoff. The GM Southgate plant where I work has just automated 1000 workers out of a job and yet we will be producing more cars, cars which are going to cost several hundred dollars more than they did last year. The human labor time going into each car is decreasing, yet the price is going up and up. And those of us who are left to produce the cars aren't getting a wage raise. With this inflation we are getting a wage cut. The line is going to be more oppressive with more work being done by fewer people.

Ford in his talk never mentioned unemployment. What that means to me is that his inflation fight will cause more unemployment and the prices will still keep going up. If you look at his 25-year record in Congress you will see that the laboring man is in trouble. Even George Meany, as conservative as he is, gave Ford only nine pro labor votes in all his years in Congress. I only gave him five, and those that he voted pro labor didn't mean much.

His career has always been for the corporations and against the people. It will be labor that he will be strong on in this fight against inflation.

The commentators are all saying Ford is Mr. Clean and that Watergate is gone. But the people I have talked to don't see Watergate behind us. They want to know why Ford hasn't kicked out the whole Nixon Cabinet. They see higher prices and less food for the poor people. And to me this is part of the Watergate spirit that Nixon represented and his hand-picked successor will, too. To get rid of the rotten chief but leave the equally rotten system won't mean any real change.

Readers' Views

PLAYING THE RULES

On Tuesday, July 30, 1974 the Judiciary Committee voted impeachment of the President for defying their subpoenas of the Watergate tapes. Then they voted not to recommend impeachment of the President for his secret bombing of Cambodia, nor his income tax evasion.

They were saying to the President, you can not defy us, but you can defy everybody else. If I could even accept this slave system, and the House Judiciary Committee vote to impeach the President shouldn't article #1 have been the secret bombing of Cambodia?

In actuality, it makes no difference how the committee voted. What difference is there between a Nixon, Ford or anyone else playing the game of government by the rules, when we all are slaves to this system. How long are we the people going to be ruled by these phony institutions. before we abolish them?

Auto Worker
Los Angeles

How just are the laws when the former Vice President of these United States goes free on income tax evasion and some 49 other charges of breaking the law, and the attorney general goes to jail for only one month for perjury. The same law in Hollywood sent a lady to jail for a week because her cat walked across her neighbor's lawn. How plain it shows who the laws are made to keep in line.

High School Student
Los Angeles

Martha Tranquilli, a 63-year-old nurse from Mississippi, was sentenced to nine months in jail for refusing to pay \$1,000 war taxes during 1971 and 1972. She named six anti-war groups as her dependents on her tax returns. About 150 women came from all over California as well as her family and friends, to walk with her to the Federal Building where she surrendered to jail authorities. A rally was held and even the news media joined in singing anti-war songs for her farewell. Show your support—write to her: Martha Tranquilli, #2752, Bureau of Prisons, FCI, Terminal Island, San Pedro, Cal. 90731.

Supporter
California

PRISONERS APPEAL

The state of Alabama is now using its courts against inmates to kill the movement for human rights and simple decency that it couldn't kill with guns, clubs, and knives. It's trying to give one Brother the chair and add decades to the sentences of ten other Brothers, because they organized to demand their rights as human beings inside Alabama's inhuman prisons. The first action by Inmates For Action (IFA), was a peaceful sitdown strike at the Atmore prison farm. The official response was a mass clubbing of the prisoners. After that act of raw repression, the state went on to kill George Dobbins (Bro. Chagina), chairman of the IFA at Atmore, and

Tommy Lee Dotson (Bro. Yukeena), an IFA leader at the nearby Holman maximum security prison.

The Brothers who did not die with Chagina and Yukeena are now being tried for murder. Their crime is this: they organized the IFA and refused to submit meekly to the physically brutal and mentally poisonous conditions in the prisons.

Aid of all kinds is urgently needed—time, lawyers, money. For information on how you can help, write to:

Atmore-Holman Brothers
Defense Committee
802 6th St. North,
Birmingham, Ala. 35204

On top of the unbelievable brutality of the Texas prison shoot-out of August 4, police officials twisted our language around so that these police murders became "suicides." Don't words mean anything at all anymore?

Reader
Detroit

SEPT. 14—UFW BOYCOTT DAY

September 14 is International Grape Boycott Day. Illegal alien workers are flooding California, and the U.S. Border Patrol ignores the enforcement of immigration laws. In Arizona as many as 80 percent of the work force on some ranches are "illegals." The growers are using the wretched conditions of Mexican workers to fight against the farm workers here who are trying to better working conditions for all of them. The strikers need all the help they can get. Please urge your readers to get involved in the Boycott and to call their local United Farm Workers office to find out how to help on September 14.

Boycotter
Detroit

BOYCOTT KRAFT!

I enclose a poem called "Kraftco," which is to be included in a volume of political verse to be published this year by Alice Press in Guelph, Ontario. The author, however, said he would prefer that it be read by farmers than people who usually buy poetry books. It appeared in the newsletter of the Kraft Boycott supporters of Canada:

They determine your health
by allowing you appetites
fulfilled as if they were human rights
they determine your health
by snaring your attached importance
to packaged things, foods so easy
they spread the taste of last night's
tobacco
from your heart and spirit to your very
actions
they determine you
by an identity card marked money
by a belief, instead of hatred,
in what is advertised
by a niche
they call your name.

Kraft Boycott Supporter
Canada

ANTI-FASCIST MARCH

Some 2,000 workers and students gathered in mid-June to demonstrate against an anti-immigration march and meeting in London's Conway Hall, organized by the fascist National Front. Liberation, the organizers of the anti-fascist demonstration, had issued a leaflet calling for a peaceful march and warning marchers to be on guard against police provocations.

When the march reached Red Lion Square where the hall is located, without warning the police attacked on foot and horseback, lashing out indiscriminately with their batons. Many marchers were beaten to the ground and trampled on, 55 were arrested.

Kevin Gately, a 20 year old student, was taken to the hospital where he died without regaining consciousness, killed by a blow on the head. Such a blow could only have been inflicted by the police.

The violence was the work of police and/or fascist agents provocateurs. Letters from policemen are a regular feature in fascist papers and it is known that the fascists pass on information about socialists and immigrants to the Special Branch, Britain's political police. Students and workers are demanding an independent inquiry by the Labour movement as the only way to discover the truth about Kevin's death.

Over 8,000 marched in silence the next week behind a banner proclaiming "Kevin Gately killed opposing racism and fascism" to a meeting where calls were made to honour Kevin by escalating the fight against fascism.

Terry Liddell
London

VVAW MARCH

The best thing about the July 1 to 4 VVAW protest in Washington, D.C. was the number of people who participated from all over the country. The demands covered a wide range from better GI benefits to general amnesty to ending U.S. imperialism. But except for one Latino POW who gave one of the speeches at a rally before the Fourth, and one Black woman who spoke at the March on the Fourth, nobody connected these struggles with racism or with the Black movement.

Nevertheless, the whole protest was run very democratically. None of the national leaders were allowed to pull rank, and any groups who tried to take over (like the Radical Union, Revolutionary Student Brigade) were nicely put down.

All the marches were peaceful except on July 3, when the cops blocked the streets and started attacking anybody in the line of march. The marchers began to fight back, and by the time it ended 5 demonstrators were seriously hurt and 10 or more arrested. After a quick regrouping the march continued on to the Capitol.

Black Marcher
New York

A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The First International Indian Treaty Council has drawn up a Declaration of Independence. The U.S. government has violated every solemn treaty ever written and ratified, and we are forced to take our case to a higher authority—a world peoples court.

We ally ourselves with the colonized Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence from the same U.S.A. We note that there is only one color of Man-kind in the world not represented in the United Nations—the indigenous Redman of the Western Hemisphere. We intend to make application to the United Nations for recognition and membership of the sovereign Native Nations.

Copies of our Declaration can be obtained from:

The American Indian Movement
1500 Pacific Boulevard
Venice, Cal. 90291

CLASS BATTLES

There's a chance the contract with Bell won't be ratified because there's so much discontent. In some areas, workers have been picketing the union offices to let the union know how they feel.

Take the wage increases. Craftsmen earning \$236 a week will get \$25.50, while an operator earning \$159.50 will get \$17—and that is really high, tops, for an operator. All the operators earning \$123 a week will get \$12 or \$13. Our contract has been in effect for three years and nobody is going to tell us that \$12 will keep up with the inflation that's been going on for three years, and will keep going on for the next three.

Or take the dental plan. We got one. But it doesn't start until 1976. And it doesn't cover orthodontics, or the big expenses. It covers filling or having a bridge made. But not false teeth.

Or take sick pay. We don't have any, unless you're out a long time and are covered by disability. But if you have the flu one day, they make you feel guilty to take a day off. The number of absences is really low—not because people are so healthy, but because they can't afford to take off. To me that's a more important issue than a closed shop, even though I believe in a closed shop.

Bell Telephone Operator
California

Unemployed workers in auto who thought they had some income security with unemployment benefits and SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits), were just given an unexpected economic jolt. As News & Letters reported last fall when the oil crisis precipitated massive auto layoffs, the huge drain on the SUB fund placed continued benefits in doubt. Now there is no doubt, for unemployed auto workers with less than five years' seniority were informed in August that their SUB payments will be cut because of the depleted funds.

Observer
Detroit

Drivers, mechanics and clerical workers have been on strike against the Alameda/Contra Costa (AC) system for over a month. Last week, they voted down a contract offer by a 200 vote margin. Both the bosses and union officials were predicting the contract would pass!

When the buses run, I take them every day to and from San Francisco to go to work. But I'm sure that the striking workers are suffering more than the stranded commuters. A month is a long time to live on \$50 a week strike benefits. I can only figure that the contract which was rejected must have been pretty bad if the workers voted to stay out.

Commuter
Oakland

BACK-SCRATCHERS

Olga Madar, super bureaucrat of newly formed CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) and the SWP (Socialist Workers Party) have a chummy policy of "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." In exchange for the SWP women voting "en masse" in Detroit to exclude 92 percent of all working women, (those not already organized into a union) from membership in CLUW (an organization theoretically committed to "organizing the unorganized") Ms. Madar has signed her name to an SWP lawsuit trying to force an end to illegal government surveillance and harassment.

This is not to say that Madar should not have signed her name to such a list; she should have long ago. It is to expose the revolting relationship that the SWP has with the bureaucracy of CLUW. I wonder how, after such a disgusting vote to exclude so many working women they can still call themselves a "Socialist Workers" Party. It is obvious from the vote that they have no interest either in workers or Socialism.

Feminist
Detroit

UTOPIA AND REALITY

Wild things are happening internationally. China picks Sen. Jackson to tell the world Chou is sick. Rev. Abernathy says he can love Angela Davis because Nixon went to Russia to see a Communist. Makarios went to China; and two NATO countries have gone to war with U.S. arms. Cuba had three days of mourning for the fascist Peron. You have to conclude that you cannot rely on any state power. The two worlds are, indeed, within each country. There are those who call Marxist-Humanists utopians, but the real utopians are those who think they can finish a revolution without changing the lives of the ordinary people.

Marxist-Humanist
New York

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TWO WORLDS

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

So many anti-Hegelians who consider themselves Marxists have surfaced to attack *Philosophy and Revolution* that I felt it only proper to give the floor to a German revolutionary Marxist of the Old Left whose individual view objectively sums up the others.

— Raya Dunayevskaya

Dear Raya:

I do not believe in "Hegel Now". I think it can only lead to more confusion. Sure, I am for studying Hegel now as I was in the '20s when "Lenin's Notes" appeared. But not much more than for studying Spinoza, Herder, etc. I am afraid it is, again, a smuggling away from Marx. It is the same, exactly the same, as when the great intellectuals started to go back to the "Young Marx". I enjoy, and will agree with, every word of the "Young Marx", but I do not need the "Young Marx" (he really meant what he said about the "nagging mice") since I have a much better (concrete) one from the year 1852 on.

Engels hit it right when, at Marx's funeral, after summarizing the great theoretical, philosophical and scientific achievements, he said: "For Marx was before all else a revolutionist." You, Raya, are the one who, rightfully, speaks so much about theory and practice—where was Hegel's practice? Hegel ran away. He was first a journalist (practice) and then took refuge in the university, while Marx ("turning Hegel on his feet") started to become a professor, but decided to accept the editorship of the "Rheinische Zeitung".

I do not believe, even without having to see your book, that you know your Hegel better than Lassalle did. Lassalle went to Bismark. Lassalle was not a renegade; it was the Logik of Hegel to go to Bismark. Walking through the streets of East Germany, I saw plenty of Lassallean socialism, and nowhere is Hegel taught as much as at the university in Leipzig. Everywhere at the walls you see the good Hegelian word "people" (Volk), but not once "proletariat".

I AGREE, HEGEL introduced the idea of freedom into philosophy by saying: "The people will learn to feel the dignity of man." Here truly is the genius of Hegel. But "Hegel Now"? When he lived 30 and 40 years after Marat and Babeuf—and still did not go as far as they? His horror against them is somewhat the same as yours against Mao. What other effect can your Hegelianism have than winning friends for something which is away, and backwards, from the real Marx? (What the real

Why Hegel? Why Now? — a critique

Marx is, you know from his letter to Weydemeyer from 1852, the decisive year, by the way.)

Lenin was right that one should study Hegel to be better able to understand Marx, but one does not need Hegel to understand Marx. Lenin spoke to revolutionaries who fell for Kautsky, etc.—like he, himself, did, before he had studied Hegel. You, however, speak, through the Dell company, to people who at best are on their way to becoming revolutionary. One can be a revolutionary without Hegel!

WHY HEGEL NOW? Why not Feuerbach Now? After all, Feuerbach was just as important as Hegel. Feuerbach, and not Hegel, was the first in the whole history of Philosophy who introduced consciously the idea of "WE" instead of the "I". (For Hegel even "the people" were still "I".)

If you give today's intellectuals only Hegel (or at best Marx via Hegel), they will never understand the proletariat and Marx's and Engel's discovery from the "Holy Family" on. More important than Marxism as a whole is the development of the thoughts of Marx and Engels, and if you wish, the development from Hegel, but from many, many others than Hegel. They learned much, much more from Fourier than from the whole of Hegel. Why go back to Hegel who still, contrary to the French and English thinkers, bothered with theology, no matter what his God really existed? Today's intellectuals will never, and that was Lukac's mistake, understand the proletariat from studying Hegel. The task is not only to understand the dialectic of class struggle and thereby discover our Freedom and Humanism, but the role of the proletariat. That, and that alone, the young people have to be taught, and that one can get only from Marx and Engels and Lenin and Luxemburg and from Trotsky and Mao (I for one can say such things since I never, never agreed with anything typically Trotsky) — and never from Hegel. Any one of the proletarian revolutionaries is worth more than the whole of Hegel.

ISN'T IT TYPICAL that the official intellectuals in the West as well as in the East fall for "Alienation"? Sure, a good word, very Hegelian and Marxian, but there is a very, very good reason why Marx since 1852 did not use this word any more except in connection with labor in the production process. Every liberal you can impress with the slogan "Alienation", but he will still be a liberal. Indeed, the best way to become and feel a liberal is the outcry against "Alienation", because the best way to reduce (not abolish) "Alienation" is to make the fellow "interested"—if the horse could only be in-

terested in the beauty of its harness, it would pull much better. . . .

One can accept every word in Hegel, and still not be a revolutionary. Kautsky, etc., tried to do it with Marx. It did not work. The Parteivorstand had to cut out sentences from Marx and Engels, "explain", and in the end to say openly that Marx and Engels, after all, were humans and made mistakes—or were valid for a certain time only. . . . The Russians still talk Marxism-Leninism (too bad Stalinism was taken out; it will come back), but the introduction of "values" etc. into "socialist economy", as you had shown, clashed too much with Marx's Fetish character of commodities. Don't tell me that Hegel understood the real meaning of Napoleon on the white horse. I do not think he did, but even if he did, the whole of Hegel cannot reach up to the few pages of section 4 in the first chapter of *Kapital*. Again, what does one need Hegel for? Why today?

Concrete Humanism starts with Marx, with nobody else! Up till Marx it was the great dream! Before Marx it was an abstraction; also for Hegel though he undoubtedly went after the experience of the French Revolution further than all Humanists (Philosophy) before him. . . . Just as Spinoza started Philosophy (as Hegel rightfully said), and thereby started the end of Theology—so the end of Philosophy started with Marx. Why go back?

— P.B.

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.

Nixon resignation avoids exposure of full truth

(Continued from Page 1)

includes Southeast Asia where the war has never stopped, Greece where the military junta overthrew President Makarios of Cyprus only to be followed by the Turkey military junta's invasion of Cyprus which continues the war there, or the Mideast where Russia and the U.S. play an increasingly deadly tug-of-war with Arab and Israeli lives.

The flimsy detente between the U.S., Russia and China was possible because it suited the imperialist aims of all three to take a temporary breather between the confrontations.

WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC DECLINE

In the meantime, the worldwide economic decline set in motion by Nixon's 1971 New Economic Policy was brought to a new climax by the international oil politics which quadrupled the price of oil.

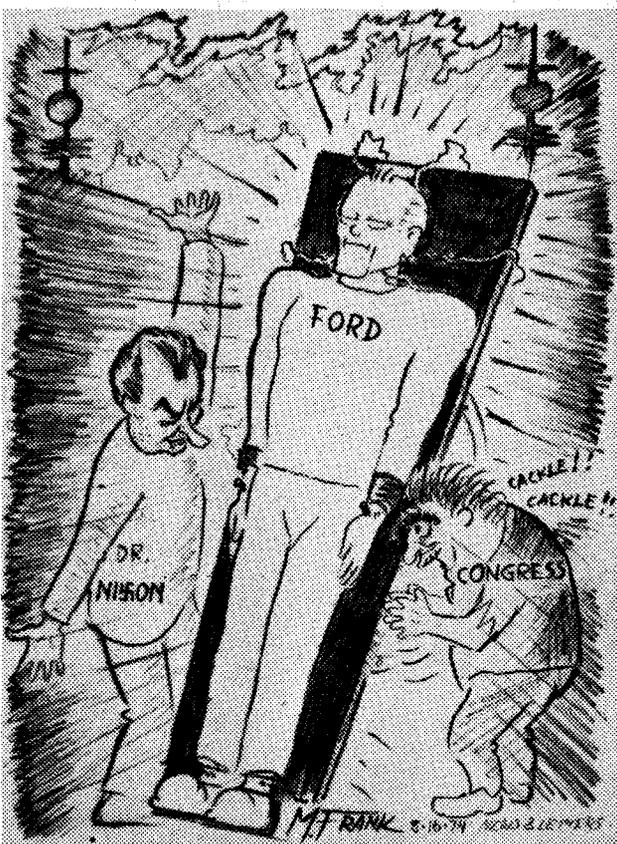
Between 1960-73, the average rate of inflation in Western Europe was 4.3 percent, and in Japan was 4.8 percent. Between April 1973 and April 1974, the rates in Western Europe were up to 12 percent, and in Japan to 24 percent. They are both higher today. In India, Ceylon, Bangladesh, Pakistan, S. Korea, and South America the inflation and economic situation are far worse, and some areas at the point of imminent collapse. Italy is a perfect example.

In the U.S., when Nixon assumed the Presidency in 1969, unemployment stood at 3.3 percent, with an inflation rate of 4 percent. After six years of Nixonomics, unemployment has jumped to over 5.5 percent of the work force, and inflation, which fluctuated quarterly in 1974 from 11 to 13 percent, zoomed during the month of July to an incredible annual rate of 44 percent!

NIXON'S RUINOUS LEGACY

During the six years of Nixon administration, the living standards of the working class were cut by more than five percent, while corporate profits steadily climbed, reaching an average increase of 25 percent for the second quarter of 1974.

These general figures, however, do not accurately reflect the true situation among the Black population, which has suffered the hardest blows. Unemployment among Blacks is well over 11 percent, or twice that of whites, while among the Black youth joblessness is so high that the government doesn't keep data on this group. In many inner city areas, Black youth unemployment often exceeds 50 percent. From 1960 to 1968, the economic gap between Blacks and whites was substantially



AHH! AT LAST, IGOR — A "CLEAN" MONSTER!

narrowed, but has widened under the Nixonomics again to the point where the gap is greater now than it was in the early 1960s.

This is the Nixonomic legacy that the new President Gerald Rudolph Ford inherits as he steps into the White House. It is a system of state capitalism, and it is the system which produced Nixon, not vice versa. It is a system based on oppression, exploitation, imperialist expansion and control — all of them corrupting influences which found their most perfect reflection in a viciously ruthless Richard M. Nixon. Now, in a writhing convulsion it vomits out that pathetic mediocrity called Gerald Ford.

This pitiful farce of a choice, drawn-and-quartered by the press at the time of his vice-presidential appointment, has suddenly been anointed by the press and fellow Congressmen as the new Messiah come to heal the wounds of the nation and usher the country and the world into a new era of economic stability.

This is indeed a miraculous transformation, especially since the record of Gerry Ford is among the worst of any representative in Congress. He has unfailingly voted against every progressive legislation introduced, including Medicare, increased minimum wages for workers, public welfare programs, child lunch programs, school aid bills, increased Social Security payments, health and safety legislation, environmental protection acts, civil rights laws, increased workmen's compensation, aid to the elderly and handicapped, and on and on.

At the same time, he has been equally consistent in voting for the most repressive legislation. He supported the Taft-Hartley slave labor act, Landrum-Griffin Bill, efforts to place unions under anti-trust legislation, anti-busing legislation, expanded wire-tapping, "no-knock" laws, Vietnam war, all military appropriations, aid for military and civilian dictatorships in countries "friendly" to the U.S. There is no answer in this record for the needs of the American people.

CLASS BATTLES MULTIPLY

Despite the work layoffs and continued economic crisis, the militant fighting spirit of the workers has increased against unsafe work conditions, forced production speed-up and slashed buying power. Wildcat strikes have erupted everywhere — in auto, steel, mines, rubber — and spread to include new layers of the working class. Municipal workers, among the least militant in the past, have suddenly exploded throughout the nation in illegal strikes. In July, over 600 municipal strikes involving more than a half million employees were in progress as workers sought to regain buying power, and win union recognition and improved working conditions.

Class battles are clearly on the horizon for the rest of the year as contracts expire in basic industries of steel, coal, transportation, petroleum and utilities, as well as sectors including education and other public services.

In the face of the continuing crises of the capitalist system of economics there is the positive force of the working classes who are constantly striving to change the system they live under. Class conflicts are much sharper and longer-lasting. This means that revolts are sure to erupt everywhere.

Uruguayans struggle to oust dictatorship

Montevideo, Uruguay—In September, 1973, a military coup took place in Uruguay which gave the president the role of dictator, destroyed the remainder of "democracy", abolished the Senate and House of Representatives, closed newspapers and TV stations and declared unions illegal.

The night of the coup workers went on an insurrectionary strike. Thousands struggled to take over the factories. For 15 days Uruguay was in a general strike. People by the thousands were fighting and marching. Huge marches went over the entire city. The police could do nothing then because there were so many. By the end, thousands of people were jailed.

But when the power of the ruling class was trembling and at the same time became more ferocious, the Communist Party of Uruguay made an agreement with the forces of the oppression and urged the workers to resume production.

A HISTORY OF COLONIALISM

Thus today, like all Latin American countries, Uruguay, once known as the "Switzerland of the Americas"—because of its high standard of living and democracy—is a dictatorship. Uruguay has been a dependent country almost all of its life. We were a former colony of Spain from whom we liberated ourselves after a period of revolution. Then came England, which controlled our economy and therefore our politics. Then came the United States. At first it showed a fake face of brotherhood. Our big brother was helping the underdeveloped countries to stand on their feet. This was and is a lie.

Once the United States controlled our economy either by owning whole sectors of production or by lending money, its real face started appearing. As the post-war capitalist world developed, an economic crisis began.

Ten years ago the bus fare was approximately one-fourth of a peso. Today it is about 75 pesos. Together with the economic crisis came the political crisis. We now saw that the United States was not our brother and that our own ruling class was completely corrupt. Honest politicians started resigning and a new mass movement started—the Tupamaros.

THE TUPAMAROS MOVEMENT

The Tupamaros played a very important role in denouncing the corruption and in organizing people in opposition to it. There were then years of fighting and organizing, of talking and suffering, of uniting workers and students against the system.

However the Tupamaros strategy changed. Their movement had generated from the victory and innovation of the Cuban Revolution. But their members were mainly middle class people and during their first ten years they failed to make real and strong contacts with the working class.

They also failed to take Marxism as their tool toward revolution. This caused them to accept Reo Debray's theory. Their main idea was now "action generates consciousness." They thought that the work they had done with the people during those ten years was enough and that it was now time for a real confrontation with the ruling class.

In April, 1972, they executed four members of Escuadron de la muerte—a government controlled execution group created by Dan Mitrione, an instructor in torture sent by the U.S. In response the government declared a state of war in order to crush the Tupamaros.

The Communist Party claimed that this was a war only between the Tupamaros and the government. But in reality it was a war on the mass movement and the working class also. In September, 1973 the final step, the military coup, was taken.

Thus today we face both a crushing dictatorship and the continued dependency on the United States. The

Ontario Indians occupy park

Detroit, Mich.—As we go to press, the police have sealed off the Indian people who have been occupying Anicinabe Park, Ontario, near Kenora, for the past three weeks. The Ojibwa Warriors' Society occupied the park in protest over its sale to the Kenora city government. They say that the sale of the park was illegal because the land was stolen from them. Four native people have been arrested and charged with unlawful assembly and possession of firearms.

An Indian woman who has friends and family still in the park told News & Letters: "Really, it is part of a general protest against the conditions whites have forced Indian people to live under in Kenora. Economically they hold you down. We have some smart people here, Indian people with a lot of know-how. Some even have degrees. But they are pushed back. They aren't allowed to get anything. And then there is the violence. Really, it is just like South Dakota." More than 100 native people have met violent deaths in the last year.

At the same time, there are reports that the highway just outside Prince George, British Columbia, was closed after a clash with the R.C.M.P. While the Canadian Left which offered so much aid to draft evaders from the U.S.A. remains silent, native people on both sides of the border are making it clear that self-determination is very much on their agenda.

—Steve Fletcher

revolutionary forces have learned the need for new and living contacts with the working class from which the mass movement will arise. We also learned the necessity of a closer relationship with revolutionary movements in neighboring countries.

We have a message to the ruling class and to imperialism: No matter what, our desire for freedom will not die. Our militancy is going to double and triple and one day we will be free.

Hasta La Victoria Siempre! Venceremos!

— Uruguayan student

Latin America and revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

of joining the government by becoming a paid functionary in some area of civil service. Those activists who are not wanted or cannot be bought off are kicked out of school or job, often jailed and can even disappear.

It is not just the students and faculty who feel this overpowering presence of the government. The PRI has control of the labor unions in the country. In the late 1930s labor legislation was passed that was supposed to give workers a say in the government. But this has, in fact, come to mean giving the PRI a dominating voice over the workers through the union bureaucracy. One clause in labor contracts which employers sign with a union states that the union can for any reason fire an employee. Thus a worker who attempts to fight his union leadership can be fired.

Economically the working people of Mexico have not fared well. Close to three quarters of the population live on less than \$150 a month. This cannot simply be dismissed as a stagnating economy. Since World War II there has been economic development in Mexico. The Gross National Product has risen faster than the population. But it is the wealth of the nationalist entrepreneurs that has grown steadily while the lot of the workers and campesinos (peasants) under the government's subordination has stagnated.

U.S. CAPITAL STILL DOMINATES

Despite a governmental policy of nationalization, or Mexicanization of development, there is a significant U.S. investment. Around 12 percent of the total investment in Mexico is by U.S. corporations. This is double the proportion of all foreign investment in Latin America as a whole, and is packed into the country's mightiest corporations, such as Union Carbide Mexican and the Dupont complex.

In addition to the significant presence of U.S. capital, there is the concentration of wealth. Some two-thirds of the private capital in the country is at the disposal of five percent of the entrepreneurs. Almost half of the national income goes into the hands of one-tenth of the nation's families.

The massive demonstrations of 1968 were not permanently defeated, but only driven underground. New manifestations of the spirit have come forth in a number of areas: continued protests on campus, unofficial strikes of workers, guerrilla activities in the state of Guerrero.

A NEW SEARCH FOR INTERNATIONALISM

What is new, and not only in Mexico, but throughout Latin America, is an appreciation for internationalism as part of a search for a total solution to the class question within each country and in relation to the colonial domination of Latin America as a whole by the United States. The necessity to break down the isolation of both an actual revolutionary situation such as Chile, and the revolutionary movements within each country becomes crucial. This internationalism in turn cannot be separated from a working out of revolution as the social act of masses of people, not the isolated act of groups or parties acting "in the name of" masses of people.

The conception of a continent-wide revolution as well as the specific struggle within any particular country must be worked out not alone in theory, but in actual relationships. This is what has been demonstrated both by the military takeover of an isolated Chile and the formation of alliances by the reactionary governments in Latin America. No people can substitute their social revolution for the revolution of others. But there can be a unifying cement of ideas of freedom which can act as a catalyst from one country to another.

The internationalism that the revolutionary movement in Latin America is seeking is also the concern of revolutionaries in the United States. For it is U.S. imperialism's role in Latin America which is the glue holding together the repressive governments that crush movements for revolutionary social change, and it is U.S. imperialism which is providing the impetus for reactionary governments to unite.

Our internationalism must begin with a thorough exposure of the U.S. role in Latin America for the U.S. people to see. But it cannot end there. The building of our own movement at home is crucial, because that is where our enemy is. Finally, what becomes central for both Latin America and ourselves is an interchange on the unfolding of a philosophy of liberation to unite with the activity of liberation. If these tasks are approached comprehensively, then internationalism will not be only an historical question, but actual concrete practice towards a new human society.

Mexican crisis intensifies

Mexico City, Mexico—The capitalists—thoroughly disillusioned with President Echaverria, who has tried to rule as a leftist demagogue and who has failed—are taking the offensive. Today the entire city of Monterrey, led by its five monopolistic families, is completely closed as a result of a lockout. Not even restaurants are open.

A 20 percent wage increase was won in Sept. of last year by the unions. Then about 15 percent in January. But those increases have been eroded by now. The minimum salary is about \$4 U.S. a day in Mexico City. Controls have been taken off cooking oil, which now sells at \$1.60 a liter, and is expected to go up.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITY GROWS

The Monterrey shutdown is a warning to the government that no wage hike will be accepted, and that things in general must be put in order.

The crisis is further intensified by the rise of guerrilla activity. The army had begun to once more jail, torture, and kill campesinos in the area of Costa Grande. This was the order of the day during some months until about a year ago Lucio Cabanas, a former school teacher in the area who fled to the hills to organize a band of guerrillas, ambushed a column of soldiers and killed them.

Thereafter, until a few weeks ago, the campesinos were more or less safe. But shortly before Easter week the army became so violent that the campesinos feared to come down from the hills to sell their coffee and to make their purchases, and this was enough to cause a little economic crisis in that area at least in terms of retail sales.

A few weeks ago Ruben Figueroa, a very wealthy man, was designated to be the future governor of the state of Guerrero. He began to make the sort of speeches common to such politicians, including statements to the effect that Cabanas was not a bad man, that abuses existed, etc. and that he would like to reach an agreement with him.

OFFERS, THEN THREATS

Lucio Cabanas did not fall into the trap similar to one about a decade ago, in which another peasant leader, Jaramillo, had been lured, then cold-bloodedly murdered by the officials. On the contrary, he offered to meet Figueroa and then kidnapped him.

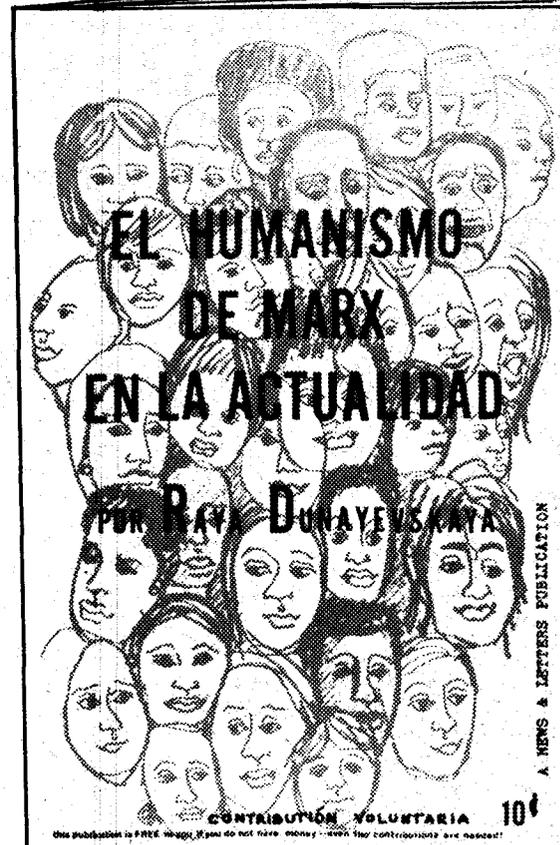
Meanwhile, the PRI (Mexico's ruling party) shows unmistakable signs of decay and ineptitude. First they made veiled, then almost open offers to Cabanas that if he would release Figueroa, he would be "co-opted" in some sense into the ruling class. Recently the tone has changed and the death penalty is being demanded for Cabanas.

This conjunction of economic and political crisis leads me to believe that for the first time in decades a military takeover may be a real possibility, coupled with perhaps outbreaks of armed rebellion.

J. (Mexico, June 18, 1974)

Just off the press—in Spanish

MARX'S HUMANISM TODAY
by Raya Dunayevskaya



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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

see now, there are two standards of justice in this country, one for the rich and the other for poor and working people.

Practically every one of Nixon's aides who has been convicted of a crime has gotten a pat on the wrist or some minor sentence at some institution where life to them can be the same as it was before the sentences. For much lesser crimes, a poor person would be sentenced to years at hard labor, locked in a cell, with no privileges.

Henry Ford II said that inflation rates are 10.9% now and expected to go higher. Although some predict that inflation may decline by 1978 to 8.9%, Henry Ford doubts that it will come down, even though it is much higher than any time in the history of this nation. This, coupled with the high rate of unemployment, has many people living on bare subsistence.

This runaway inflation is the biggest robber of working people that ever occurred in this country. There is no way to put it in jail, but it causes many to go hungry and broke. Some are talking about a depression coming soon. It will be unlike the depression of the 30's. Then, if one could get a small amount of change, you could exist for another day, because prices were down so low.

Today it is not possible. At some gas stations, you must pay 68 cents for a gallon of gas. This is why people will be forced to revolt to survive. Two years ago, it was nothing to drive over town to visit a friend. Today, every time you drive your eyes are glued to your gas gauge noticing how much gas you are using.

People should not have to live under such strains. What we need now is not just a Gerald Ford in place of Crooked Dick Nixon, but a complete change in this society.

300 HUD workers strike

Oakland, Cal. — On July 8 close to 300 clerical and maintenance employees of the Oakland Housing Authority went on strike. Here one of the striking maintenance workers tells his story.

We do the work on the city's HUD-financed housing projects, and our pay averages \$4.20 per hour, compared with over \$6 per hour for people doing the same kind of work in private industry. We're asking \$1.25 per hour increase across the board. We haven't had a raise in three years. OHA also wants to cut the benefits they pay, such as medical, from their present 80% to 50%.

Another major grievance is job classifications. One guy told me, "I have been getting groundsman's pay, but I haven't done groundsman's work in two years. I've been fixing stoves and doing things that maintenance workers should do, but I haven't been getting paid for it. I'm working with people's lives when I fix stoves, and I'm playing a key role in renting these places, but they don't give me what I should be getting."

Nearly all of the maintenance workers are Black, and some of us seem to feel that that is why we aren't getting skilled pay for what we do. A few of the guys are concerned that our Local 18 leadership, which is all white, won't back us all the way, but instead tell us to take whatever they get for us. I heard someone say, "The union decides things with management without asking us. We should get some Brothers into the leadership so we could have some say over things."

Right now they've hired contractors to come in and do some of the work, and the union isn't even trying to stop these guys. Local 18 hasn't gone to any other unions to ask for support, and they even let Teamster deliveries in.

—Striker

Farm rally rejects Teamsters

Salinas, Cal.—More than 3,500 cheering farm workers packed a local high school gym July 11 to hear UFW President Cesar Chavez describe the battle workers are presently waging to stop growers from deducting Teamsters dues from their paychecks. The rally was the third mass farm worker rejection of Teamster leadership in 1974, and followed two months of active organizing on the Teamster ranches by the UFW.

The rally featured several labor leaders, including Mr. Bhagavat, the leader of India's largest farm worker confederation, and over 30 national Catholic leaders. They blasted the collusion between the Teamsters and the growers, which that very day had resulted in yet another farm labor "accident"—18 year old Armando Contreras had been crushed by a Merrill Farms Teamster-driven lettuce truck, and lay in critical condition at the Salinas Memorial Hospital. The Merrill truck did not carry a back-up warning system, a standard feature on UFW lettuce contracts.

Chavez made an eloquent speech in Spanish announcing the union's strategy for cancelling the Teamsters' dues check-off. The workers are tricked or forced into signing the dues card when they start work, so a majority of workers signing a legal statement ending the dues check-off will prevent the Teamsters from collecting. No strikes will be called in the Teamster fields unless the workers walk out and Chavez said that then the UFW will back them 100 percent.

Chicanos set up new school; HEW, McClellan shut it down

Berkeley, Cal. — Recently, the Berkeley Unified School District, under pressure from the U.S. Office of Civil Rights, closed the Casa de la Raza and the Black House. The Office of Civil Rights, prompted by Sen. McClellan of Arkansas, considered the schools to be "in probable noncompliance" with the 1965 Civil Rights Act because of having a singular ethnic curriculum. Here is what a parent of students in Casa de la Raza says:

La Casa started in September, 1971 because of the need felt in the Chicano community for a school that would emphasize the Chicano culture and people. Even with the voluntary integration programs in the Berkeley schools the Chicano students were still way below the average in achievement. We set up the school with La Mesa Directiva — the governing board — having 1/3 parents, 1/3 students, and 1/3 staff, so that the parents, community, and students would have a say in how the school ran.

A NEW KIND OF SCHOOL

La Casa was much different from the regular school system. Not only was Chicano history and culture taught, but also the basic skills necessary in society, such as reading and math. Many of the 125 students were "problem" students in the regular schools, but we found out they couldn't get along because they didn't read well, or didn't speak English well, so they disrupted classes. At Casa, students were dealt with individually, and helped if they had problems. We also helped the parents, if they had job problems, legal problems, etc., because the school was based in the community.

A lot of the teaching didn't come from books, either. They went on trips to factories and to the farm fields to see what problems Chicano workers have. Speakers came to the school from the United Farm Workers, from the Shell strike, even from the Farah strike in El Paso. Indians from the Wounded Knee struggle came to talk. The students studied not only past Chicano heroes, such as Zapata and Pancho Villa, but heroes nowadays, such as Cesar Chavez and Reyes Tijerina, and where the

Chicano movement is going.

CLOSING UNJUST

The Office of Civil Rights thinks we segregate Chicanos but they're wrong. We wanted anyone who wanted to study in a Chicano atmosphere to come. We offered to show them surnames and pictures of students to prove that not all were Chicanos, but they wouldn't even listen. I think they just didn't want Blacks and Chicanos to get together. The decision to close the school was political. They didn't give us due process of law. They were supposed to have a hearing to determine non-compliance with the law, not just probable non-compliance, and then wait 30 days after that to cut off the funds. They never work that fast on a white school that is really segregated.

My children developed pride and freedom from Casa. They learned to reason for themselves. Casa is still there now, even though the school no longer exists. The philosophy lives on, and Casa will function again some day.

—Casa de la Raza parent

WAY OF THE WORLD

Life and death in black and white

by Ethel Dunbar

One day when the temperature was 92 degrees, my husband and I went to Belle Isle to get some relief from the miserable heat. Stretched out on our blankets, we noticed a police helicopter circling overhead, and hovering right over the water. When we got up to see what was going on we noticed a Black man holding back a Black woman who was partly in the water. He was yelling that she couldn't swim, and she was yelling, "Can't some of you men get that child?"

A LIFE IS SAVED

Five or six Black men jumped in, and more people came running up, trying to see where the child had disappeared. Then two white women, a Black man and a white man came up. As soon as they were told what had happened, one of the white women jumped in and came up, yelling to the white man that she had found the child, and he was directly under her. The white man dived in and brought him up.

Everyone assumed the child must be dead, because he had been in the water so long, but the white woman leaned over him and began to give him mouth to mouth resuscitation. They were trying to get the crowd to stand back to give them room, when two mounted police finally arrived. They got the crowd back and by that time the child seemed to be trying to vomit, and the white man and woman who had saved him started to massage his legs to get his blood circulating. He opened his eyes, and the woman cried out, "Thank heaven, he's OK."

QUESTIONS TO ANSWER

She kept thanking the Black man they had come with for insisting they come out to the Island with him because she had been given the chance to save someone's life.

The question that kept turning over and over in my own mind was how all the people with so much race hatred in them would have acted. Would some have said that because the woman was white she should not have saved a Black child's life? Suppose it had been a Black man or woman saving a white child's life, would some have said the same? I was still thinking about something the late Rev. King had said—that hate, without any reason, is a sickness—when the ambulance arrived to take the child to a hospital for further observation.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

Jailed student is latest victim of Yugoslav repression

Yugoslav attacks against dissidents reached a new climax when, on June 25, student Vladimir Palancin was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment, and, on June 28, a new law was introduced allowing the Government to dissolve a Faculty for its opposition.

Student Palancin (who is now out of prison during appeal of his sentence) had been incarcerated since March 18, when he was arrested for daring to read a Resolution against Communist Party corruption, bureaucratization of life, and a call for "a return to Marxist humanism."

The main target is the dissolution of self-management in the philosophy department of Belgrade University. The eight philosophers who have been in the forefront of all the struggles since the mid-1960's against the Tito bureaucracy had been accused, in a 34-page so-called Explanation . . . of "endangering social interests," but 175 (with one abstention) of the 176 faculty members rejected this "explanation," and especially praised Mihailo Markovic who was Director of the Philosophy department and author of a book on Marxist Humanism.

The struggles have been twofold. First and fore-

most, the protests and demonstrations of the students, which began with the 1966 protest against American imperialism's bombardment of Vietnam, had moved to a struggle against the bureaucratic Communist Party rule in Yugoslavia itself, with the seven day occupation, in June 1968, of Belgrade University. The students did not separate their struggles in academia from the revolt of workers for better conditions of labor and for genuine self-management. Their slogans were: "Students with workers," and "We are the sons and daughters of workers."

Secondly, the expressions of solidarity with Vietnam, with Czechoslovakia, with Chile, with Poland, showed that internationalism was as concrete as the philosophy of liberation, Marx's Humanism. It was no accident that the struggle began and is still going on in the philosophy department for it is these philosophers who published Praxis and Filosofija, never separating theory from practice, or action from philosophy.

Thus, on January 14, 1974, when the authorities moved against the philosophers with Explanation . . . they rolled out the Stalinist perversion of Marx's

philosophy of liberation into "Partiinost" (Party dogmatism and domination). Here is an excerpt from Markovic's rebuttal which he was not permitted to deliver to the University Assembly:

For a quarter of a century now, Yugoslav society has not been treated to a lecture on the need for "partiinost" in philosophy, social sciences, literature, art or music. This principle does not exist in Karl Marx—how well the great man knew that philosophy and culture in general are universal, human products which belong to all mankind. One would have to be as much a lover of J. V. Stalin as are the authors of this EXPLANATION . . . to place "partiinost" first above all other demands which might be made of the creative spirit . . .

Just as the move against the students was but a step in the direction of moving against the philosophers who led the struggle, so the legislative move is but a step in the direction of trying to stifle all genuine moves toward self-management as workers' control of production in the factories.

It is imperative that workers, as well as scholars interested in academic freedom, express their solidarity with the Yugoslav dissenters.

Cyprus-Greece-Turkey

The government of Archbishop Makarios, in power since 1960, was toppled first by officers of the Greek military junta who set up Nikos Sampson, a convicted multiple political assassin as President of Cyprus. Once Turkey invaded Cyprus it created a world crisis in which two NATO allies were fighting each other and might draw the two superpowers, U.S. and Russia, into a confrontation in the Mediterranean.

The struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for domination of the Mediterranean made Cyprus a desirable naval base for whichever side could get access to it. Recent gestures by Makarios toward the Soviet Union indicated an agreement in progress and the Greek military junta a convenient method for preventing it.

The slaughter and atrocities on both sides which resulted in the death of thousands of innocent people did not motivate Kissinger as much as the implied threat of a vast Soviet Navy maneuvering around the Island and implying a threat to the Mediterranean flank of NATO. U.S. imperialism hastened to have the United Nations arrange a cease-fire truce, during which Turkey is continuing to enlarge its sphere of control.

Faced with the humiliating circumstances in which the Greek junta was unable to land troops, the junta resigned and called upon Constantine Caramanlis to form a civilian democratic government. The real role of the CIA in planning the overthrow of Makarios may never be known, but the extent of

aid extended to the Military Junta by Peter Koromilas, a CIA agent who acted as a go-between with the butcher Ioannidis, has not been denied by the U.S. State Department.

The voluntary abdication of the junta, despite the jubilation in Greece, does not mean a rosy future for Greece. None of the former military rulers have been arrested. General Ioannidis, the brutal commander of the 20,000-man military police force, still holds his post. Greece has a 32 percent rate of inflation, the highest in Europe, and a foreign debt of \$1.3 billion. Tourism, which provided 40 percent of the national income, has ceased as it has on Cyprus, and the prospect of any government bringing prosperity back is about nil.

But the effect of the events on Greece, where even a little democracy can go a long way, is that it has already opened new roads to the Greek people and forced Kissinger to tell the CIA to lay off and wait for nature to take its course.

South Korea

THE FIVE THIEVES

Long ago peace reigned over the land.

Farmers ate to their fill. Many died of ruptured sides.

People went naked because they became tired of fine silk.

But right in the middle of Seoul there lived five thieves.

Watch the general—he crawls on all fours, with tens of thousands of medals made of gold and silver wrapped around his body.

He misappropriates his soldiers' rice and fills the sacks with sand.

What wonderful war tactics he has.

—Kim Chi Ha

Dictator Park Chung Hee may be right when he senses in South Korea the kind of immediate total opposition to tyranny that was the basis for the revolt of the Thai students who swept their military regime into oblivion overnight. However, his issuing of "emergency decrees", making any expression of opposition to his government punishable by death, will only intensify the opposition.

Park's maintenance of martial law since October, 1972 did not keep thousands of students from open protest and strike last year, and did not stop people from recognizing the truth in the lyrics of the popular poet, Kim Chi Ha.

Park's secret police is estimated at holding up to a thousand political prisoners and already has secretly tried and sentenced 122 including 19 sentenced to death. The same day Dr. Kissinger was lecturing Congress on the priority of national interests over human rights and asking for a 30 percent increase in military aid to South Korea, Park sentenced five political prisoners to death. The poet Kim was sentenced to life imprisonment, changed from a death sentence after they could no longer hide the fact that he was being held.

This terrorist regime, 600,000-man standing army, and a vast network of secret police is financed and equipped by the U.S. government to the tune of \$177 million a year in military aid alone, a policy President Ford was quick to assure Park would be continued uninterrupted.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The National Urban League Convention, held in San Francisco the last week of July, raises seriously the question: why was this convention held at all? It most certainly did not convene to mobilize militant opposition to racism in the United States.

The prevailing tone at this convention was one of open accommodation to the system of capitalism, while criticizing, like a loyal opposition, the alleged warts of the system — inflation, unemployment, inequality and racial discrimination.

Inside the San Francisco Hilton, the overwhelming impression was that this show was some sort of industrial exhibition which a lot of Black people had come to observe. Every conceivable retail and industrial company had a booth to hawk their wares and to lay claim to their liberalism in employment.

The main event for the convention, which had 6,000 Black men and women in attendance, (although only 204 could vote — this privilege being reserved for only heads or executives of the local chapters) was the big name politicians, industrialists and labor leaders, including then-Vice-President of the United States Gerald Ford and I. W. Abel, president of the United Steel Workers Union.

Gerald Ford's appearance before a Black "civil rights" organization was the first time any high official of the Nixon administration condescended to recognize the existence of Black folk other than by the "code" names of: law and order, safe streets, or welfare recipients.

Ford, with a view toward his rising political star, offered himself as a civil rights advocate by contrasting himself to Alabama's Governor George Wallace when he said: ". . . my civil rights record is anything but negative, and it is a long way from standing in the door of a school house in defiance of a Federal Court Order to deny Black children a quality education." This "I'm

Gerald Ford and the Urban League

better than Wallace" attitude is a sham because Wallace never had the power to oppose the Black revolution that the Nixon administration had, which has been applied in every vital area where Blacks made gains, such as school desegregation, jobs and housing.

The real clincher, expressing the mood of the predominantly middle class audience, was Ford's estimation of where the Black movement is today. He said: "Minorities are no longer marching and staging sit-ins to gain access to lunch counters and other public accommodations. The thrust in the 1970's is to own some lunch counters and other business enterprises!" This statement was greeted with great applause, a natural reaction because the underground reason for this convention was to promote greater unity of middle class and skilled Blacks with big business and big labor.

An executive of Kaiser Industries put it this way: "The National Urban League should become active in demanding that there be a tax reduction incentive for business so they can achieve greater expansion!" Every worker knows what "greater expansion" in the plant means—greater automation and thereby greater domination of the machine over living labor.

Big business was not the only ghost in the closet — the other prevalent theme was technological skills. Gerald Ford underscored this clearly: ". . . When we are talking about full employment in the last quarter of this century, we're talking about developing and finding jobs for skilled and professionally proficient people. The unskilled American worker will find himself competing with the unskilled people of the Third World, who will be doing the unskilled work of the world . . ." Wilson Riles, California's Black Superintendent of Education, emphasized this theme: ". . . job positions must be filled by the 'qualified' and not the 'qualifiable', under no circumstances should standards be lowered!"

The failure to expose that their main speaker, Gerald Ford, comes from the very state that fought and won the retrogression against school busing puts the mark

of Cain on Vernon Jordan's leadership which failed, likewise, to honor Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall who declared that anti-busing legislation is the greatest step backwards in the last 100 years.

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