HIGH POLITICS IN U.S.A. — ONE KING ABSOLVES ANOTHER

President Ford's Sunday shocker, both in the timing and the granting of "full, free and absolute" pardon to Nixon for all his criminal acts, known and unknown, only goes to prove that "modern" presidents are no less than kings, constitutional or otherwise.

The arrogance with which Ford uttered the words that his "conscience" cannot, will not, bow to public polls that reveal that the majority of the American people opposed just such pardons makes it all too clear how a U.S.A. president practices kingly absolutism.

Mr. Clean, as against Mr. Corrupt, chose his timing not only to stop actual indictment, a "provable" stain falling on the Nixonlies deep in the heart of Amerikkka, but, above all, to tell the people that they are not to have any say in the matter.

The decadent capitalistic system was willing to

make Nixon, who had been so perfectly produced in its own image, the culprit of Watergate only because it was so utterly certain of the "ultimate" unconditional pardon for Nixon. Whether or not the speedy timing of the pardon was due to the pressures from the extreme right wing, who may have threatened not to endorse "the liberal" Rockefeller for Vice-President if Ford, for "purely political reasons," dared wait for an actual indictment of Nixon, a deal was made before ever Nixon consented to resign. By whatever name one calls it, a deal is a deal is a deal. So why all the crocodile tears on the timing and endless mercy?

As for the Democrats, especially the Judiciary Committee that did vote to recommend impeachment, what exactly are their differences from Republicans when it comes to the capitalistic system? Hadn't they all too eagerly consented to limit the impeachment to Watergate crimes, leaving untouched the wholly lawless secret

bombing of Cambodia, a war that continued along with the South Vietnam war, all carefully nurtured by that other Mr. Clean-Secretary of State Kissinger who has just besmirched himself all over again in Greece, Turkey, Cyprus?

Above all else, in returning to home grounds, what about Defense Secretary Schlesinger's "chain of command" watch while the impeachment proceedings were going on? And now "under" Ford as Commander-in-

No, the real shocker in the disintegrating, corrupt, all-too-powerful and nuclearly armed U.S.A. high politics scheme revealed in Ford's total identity with Nixon's vision of "peace" is that on the horizon, right here, and now, a military junta is not excluded; kingly disregard of the people's wishes is the precursor of neo-fascism in the wings. (See lead, below).



Disgust sweeps U.S. as Ford pardons Nixon

by Charles Denby, Editor

On Sunday, Sept. 8, at 2 p.m., I drove up to the home of a worker named Doug to take him to a meeting. On his porch there seemed to be a heated discussion with several friends that was not about to end. When Doug got into my car, his first words were, "That s.o.b."

I assumed he was referring to someone that he had been discussing with. But then Doug said, "Did you hear that special news broadcast? That s.o.b. Jerry Ford has just pardoned Nixon and cleared him of all charges. How can working people be shocked about anything a politician says or does?

I still think about what a worker once said in a union meeting in a fight with the labor leaders. Some union bureaucrat tried to defend a man by saying he was a politician, but an honest politician.

This worker replied by telling a story of two workers walking alone by a cemetery, and one read the inscription on a gravestone. It read, here lies the body of John Doe, a politician and an honest man. One worker said to the other, "I thought there was some kind of law that prohibits the burial of two men in the same casket.'

FORD'S RECORD: RACIST, ANTI-LABOR

So all this talk about Ford being Mr. Clean and honest puzzles the hell out of me. How do these highlyeducated people and intellectuals think that? Any worker will tell you, we never thought Ford any better than Nixon. His voting record on all labor issues and the question of Blacks was just as bad as any other racist and labor-hater.

Another worker named Murphy said, "What kind of monster has this country created? If Ford's top press aide, ter Horst, could not take it after only one month, what the hell is in store for the American people for two years? Ford said he did not care what the Gallup Poll showed; what he really was saying was, he did not give a damn what the American people said.

This was in his power, and God had advised him to do it. This is why Ford chose Sunday to announce the pardon, to show he had just come from church, and he had meditated with God. Nixon relied on Billy Graham

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Editorial Article

U.S. instigations increase danger of global minefield

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman News & Letters Committees

President Ford's appointment of Nixon's fourstar hatchet man. General Haig, as nothing less than general in command of NATO, is on a par with his continuation of Nixonomic recession, and Kissinger global brinkmanship.

The fact that West Europe's revulsion at being saddled with such a "general" did not stop Ford from making the appointment, means that our Mr. Clean will

not stop playing dangerous games in the global minefield any more than those critical days in August when Nixon's next move was not known, stopped Defense Secretary Schlesinger from toying with a fatal "Seven Days In May" scenario called "overlooking the chain of command."

Paradoxical as it may sound, the corrupt Nixon was made culprit of the Watergate cesspool, that is to say, the patriot-scoundrel was laid on the sacrificial altar of the decadent capitalist system which had brought him to power in its own image.

DISARRAY AND SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY

From the October, 1973 war and its revelation of the disintegration of West Europe under the impact of the Arab use of oil as a "political weapon" when, in fact, it was an economic thunderbolt to the world "order," the global minefield has re-emerged in three other, seemingly unrelated, guises: the downfall of President Nixon, the outbreak of still another war, and world economic recession, all the gold flowing from oil notwithstanding.

The depth of the "West's" many crises has revealed NATO stark naked-it was as impotent when, under the fear of Russian intervention, it was all in one piece in Cyprus as it was when it was all in pieces during the Yom Kippur war.

Now that the abject cynicism of Secretary of State Kissinger and his propensity for global brinkmanship went haywire in Cyprus, will the American imperial system send this Dr. Strangelove back on still another type of shuttle "diplomacy", if not nuclearly armed, surely able to flex nuclear muscle? Or will he be off hiding-in China? He, with the global scheming mind, wants to warm up relations with China, now that Russia, having begun playing with Turkey, has switched to

There will be many other switches, be it in Turkey-Greece-Cyprus, or the Middle East, or regarding the post-WW II world is dead, but no new epoch has arisen once near-revolutions aborted. To probe that we must first of all turn to the most pivotal question of all: the inflation within economic recession as all governments

'Year of Europe" that wasn't, for the simple truth is the aim for the H-bomb.

Helm workers battle scabs, cops in bitter strike

Detroit, Mich. — The strike at Helm has been going on now for seven weeks. Truthfully, we were driven out.

They hemmed and hawed during two months of negotiations. They almost acted like they were weakening enough to make you think they were bargaining in good faith, and then the next day, their position would be changed so that you couldn't possibly accept it.

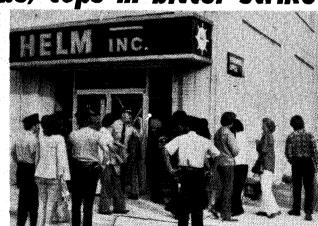
We feel sure that the company was ready to take a strike, and we're as positive that they are trying to break the union.

They asked us to take a moritorium on our wages for a year, with no cost of living. They came around later to say they would give us a five percent raise if we go to 371/2 hours. Five percent of our gross pay would give a woman who's making \$4.29 an hour now, \$7.79 more a week, but you'd be giving them 11/4 hours more of your time.

I've been there 22 years, and up until this last contract, Helm always bargained with the Graphic Arts International Association. But this year he pulled away from the Association, refused to bargain collectively, and was going to go it alone.

The next thing Helm did was sell out most of the bindery equipment, just enough to keep his other operations going, his mailing and packaging. Then his claim for being out of the Association's contract was that he was not a trade bindery anymore.

They presented the final proposal on Friday morning,



Cops harass Helm mailing house strikers

Aug. 9. The committee and the business rep for the union both told them there was no way we could recommend it. At 12 noon we took a vote, and we left the

Later, supervisors were out on the street trying to drag people back in to work. There were at least 13 of these supervisors and employees that signed a resignation from the union. Now in 15-20 minutes time the company cannot convince that many people to come back

(Continued on Page 2)

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Earringhouse locks out women in union drive

San Francisco, Cal. — There are 14 of us women that have been locked out at the warehouse of Earringhouse Imports for five weeks for organizing a union. At the warehouse we handled the jewelry that goes out to 14 retail stores around the Bay Area.

The whole idea of a union started last April when small groups of us began talking at work and a lot of anger about working conditions came into the open.

We need a wage increase since you started here at \$2 an hour and hit a top of \$2.50 after a year. We also wanted benefits such as vacation, insurance coverage, and sick leave. First we learned about unions from Union W.A.G.E., and from there decided to join Service Employees International Union Local 250. SEIU outlined the whole procedure for us, and we shortly had 20 out of the 20 workers signed up. Then we filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board asking for a union election

HARASSMENT BEGINS

At first everything was all right at work, but then the low level harassment started and a sign was posted that said there were longstanding rules against distribution of any literature and solicitation of any information. We knew that wasn't true, so one day we all went to work with T-shirts that said "Leap Ahead—Go 250." That made management very uncomfortable.



Finally the NLRB set a hearing on our petition. Since it was a public hearing and it affected us the most, we felt that we should go. We even offered to make up the time that we would miss. The day before the hearing we were told that either one person could attend, or that we could all go and be subject to dismissal.

Under the National Labor Act, workers have the right to give testimony against the employer. We decided as a group to attend the hearing. The next morning we all signed in at work and then went to the meeting where we were able to describe our jobs and workplace. This was necessary since the employer attempted to eliminate 12 of the 20 workers from the election on the grounds that they were supervisors!

CLUBS AND GUNS

After the hearing we all went back to work. Several hours later, eight security guards with clubs and guns came and positioned themselves around the warehouse. Then one of the bosses came out and told us that we were all fired for disobeying orders and that we were

to leave in five minutes. We picked up our checks and went to the union office.

We began picketing the next morning. We picket the retail stores seven days a week, and with the help of women's labor groups in the Bay Area, we've been very successful in turning people away. The NLRB finally ruled that the company was guilty of an unfair labor practice in firing us, but they haven't been compelled to take us back yet. We are still waiting for that decision

This warehouse has always employed women workers because they know that it would be difficult to get men to work in a warehouse for such low wages, so they hire young unskilled women. Many of the women have families and really need to stick to a job and have a consistent income. This prevails in many work situations. Women just aren't taken seriously on any kind of a job.

-Earringhouse striker

Helm workers in 7-week strike

(Continued from Page 1)

to work. They had these resignations already signed and dated for Aug 9

Management has people come out and try to pull others in by showing them their checks, \$250-\$300 a week. But those women are working their bottoms off to get that. They're not telling how many hours they're putting in

The men and women who are now crossing the picket line are so vicious because they're friends or relatives of management, and they were brought in on the whole deal before it occurred.

POLICE ROLE TO PROTECT SCABS

The police say they aren't taking sides, but they'll crack your head if you're doing anything wrong. We have one out there who brings the law out and reads it.

Yesterday, they loaded three scabs in the police car and were going to drive them across the picket line. I raised so much hell, that they just took them and drove them around to the front and escorted them through the door.

Over a six-week period they have fired a total of 17 of us, and arrested eight. These women are working for a living and supporting families in some cases. It's become a matter of principle to us. We don't give a damn if we never go back to work there — we're not going to give up the way he wants us to.

I need to work but not under any conditions that are imposed, and I intend to fight. I think they know that now after seven weeks.

— Helm striker

WL activist reviews 'Philosophy and Revolution'

From the Detroit Women's Press, June, 1974

Philosophy and Revolution is a philosophical breakthrough for women's liberation as well as every other movement for freedom . . . Although not every chapter deals exclusively with women as a separate category, the whole book deals with freedom and has significance for the women's liberation movement.

Philosophy and Revolution makes it clear that the idea of totally new human relations is broader than that between women and men. All human relations must be new — those between Black and white and production relations, as well as between women and men. An important idea expressed over and over in the book is that freedom is a totality. In a movement that started out scorning theory and philosophy as well as organization, and is now suffering from the lack of both, Ms. Dunayevskaya's book has appeared at a most important time in history . . .

WOMEN CREATE HISTORY

As a women's liberation activist since 1967, I was struck with how her criticisms of Trotsky, Mao, and Sartre seem to be the same criticisms that women's liberation movement has made of most of the Left. According to Dunayevskaya, these men did not see the forces for freedom, the women and men who have fought in freedom struggles all over the world, as Subject, as "Force and Reason," as the only people with the thoughts and actions needed to transform society to one where totally new human relations are possible. Raya Dunayevskaya points out that what is necessary is to see that human beings are "not merely object, but subject not only determined by history, but its creators..."

Ms. Dunayevskaya has interpreted Marx in the only way that feminists can accept. "Vulgar communism's 'sham universality' fails to comprehend that 'the infinite degradation in which man exists for himself is expressed in the relationship to woman'..."

The most exciting (and to me the most difficult) part of Philosophy and Revolution is Part One: "Why Hegel? Why Now?" It is exciting because of the need in the women's liberation movement for a philosophy that sees freedom as a totality. Dunayevskaya starts with Hegel:

"Because the transformation of reality is central to the Hegelian dialectic, Hegel's philosophy comes to life, over and over again, in all periods of crisis and transition . . ."

DIALECTIC A FACT OF LIFE

"The transformation of reality" is also central to women's fight for freedom. Women want a new world, a world where totally new human relationships are possible. The beauty of Hegel as well as Raya Dunayevskaya is that women, or any force fighting for freedom, are not told to wait. Hegel's dialectic, where those fighting for freedom say a powerful "No!" to what is (first negation) and then go on to build something totally new (second negation), can be seen operating in segments of the women's movement.

Part of the movement can also be seen as stuck in the first negation where some women have put all their energies and hopes in culture or alternate institutions, rather than in tearing this society up by its roots and replacing it with a truly human one. Culture is a vital stage; to realize the beauty, strength, and talents that women possess now is very important, just as it was in the Black movement to know that "Black is beautiful." But now we must go beyond that stage to second negation and demonstrate that women and Blacks are beautiful AND REVOLUTIONARY...

The fact that there is a method in Hegel — a method of viewing society not as something to be manipulated and used, but a method for knowing that the force and reason for revolution comes from those human beings who are fighting for freedom — points a direction for today's women's liberation movement. The direction is away from the dead end of culture that accepts what is and away from vanguard party politics, to a philosophy of liberation . . .

- Terry Moon

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.

Bell workers blast contract

Los Angeles, Cal. — The union and company called off the Bell telephone strike at the eleventh hour, but that did not stop the backlash among the workers. Some places had wildcats.

Our local recently became part of the Communications Workers Union. We didn't have a wildcat but there was a near riot at the union meeting to "explain" the agreement. The President of Local 15100, Myrna Jenkins, had recommended approval. People just shouted her down.

The dial clerks were getting nothing from the contract and wanted to know why. The president responded that last time the lower classifications got more and this time the upper were going to get more. In fact, the contract was designed to split skilled from unskilled. Lower paid workers not only got less money, but a lower percentage raise. Cafeteria workers also got nothing.

To all questions about why specific things were not fought for, the answer was "We asked and they said no." The union's scare tactic was that the Bell System was so automated that it would take five or six months for the strike to win anything. But when they asked for the first strike vote before negotiations, they said all that was needed was a one or two day national strike to win.

The younger workers were the most uptight about the settlement, but those close to retirement were also angry because the pension program was almost nothing. One of the big areas which wasn't changed was the absence control program. We still do not have sick pay.

There was plenty of anger at the meeting, but we couldn't vote there. That had to be done by mail and took almost a whole month before results were in. A full third of the workers voted "No".

We have compulsory overtime. They can make you work six days a week, which can end up as much as 12 days in a row. They can listen in anytime they want to make sure you are not "rude" to a customer. You can get suspended and fired for "rude" behavior.

In our local an opposition caucus of women has now begun. I hope we can begin to change things around here.

-Bell Telephone worker

5,000 children face loss of day care

New York, N.Y. — A change in eligibility standards for subsidized day care is throwing some 5,000 children out of centers around the city. Under the new state system, any family earning more than a welfare income will have to pay \$70 per week or take their child out of city day care.

Although the children were to be ineligible as of Sept. 10, mass protest demonstrations delayed any action to the end of the month. Thousands of women took part in City Hall rallies in July and August, and 80 women staged a candle-light vigil on Sept. 11. Organizations have pledged to conduct "fee strikes" by refusing to pay or to remove their children.

The city, state and federal governments are each passing the blame to the other. Meanwhile, women are being forced to work for below the minimum wage or go on welfare. Obviously, the whole purpose of the change is to keep women out of the labor market or at least to insure that they have no reason to fight for better jobs and pay. One picket sign said, "Stop this vicious cycle!"

A Brocklyn woman who has been involved in a day care center there said, "Day care has allowed women to get jobs or education for the first time in their lives. It has been good for the kids too — many mothers have told me they were astounded at the new things their children learned to do."

-Day care supporter

WL NOTES

Nurses in Birmingham, England, claim the honor of the first 24-hour nurses' strike ever held in Britain. Previous strikes were only for an hour at a time. The strike was over the refusal of Barbara Castle, Labour's Health Secretary, to grant an interim pay. As a student nurse said: "... we can't be dedicated and hungry at the same time."

The Brazilian Bar Association has called for the legalization of divorce, calling it a basic human right. There is new hope that in this largely Roman Catholic country, Gen. Ernesto Geisel, Brazil's new president and a Lutheran, will be more open to the idea of divorce.

The United Nations World Population Conference finally included in their "action plan," a short one-sentence paragraph saying that women should have equality of opportunity. This only came after a week of campaigning by women such as Margaret Mead and Betty Friedan.

In an attempt to win women's votes in the upcoming election, Britain's Labour Government proposed legislation against sexual discrimination through an equal opportunities commission. Sex discrimination would be prohibited in employment, training, education and accommodations.

Harlan miners win 13-month strike for union

Harlan, Ky.—The 13-month long strike of the Brookside, Ky. miners and their families, marked by court injunctions, men and women picket battles against scabs, midnight shootings into the homes of striking families, the wounding of a picket and the final murder of a young striker, ended in victory with the signing of a contract on Aug. 29 by the Eastover Coal Co. recognizing the United Mine Workers of America as the union.

The killing of the young miner, Lawrence Jones, by a mine boss, Bill Bruner, marked the beginning of the end of the bitter strike. Jones, a Brookside miner, was blasted with a shotgun by Bruner on Aug. 26, but survived for four days before he died on the evening of Aug. 28. The shooting was the spark that would have exploded into open warfare between the miners and the company, and both the company and union officials

3 A.M. CONTRACT HEADS OFF REVENGE

To head off that certain explosion, the union and company officials signed the contract at approximately 3 a.m. in Washington, D.C. That was the only thing that kept the Brookside miners from avenging the death of Jones. They had won their victory, but at a terrible price.

The victory is very important for the UMW and miners and their families everywhere. Coal operators in eastern Kentucky had broken the union in the late '50s and early '60s. Long strikes and much violence followed the refusal of the operators to negotiate contracts with the UMW, but the companies won then.

UMWA President Arnold Miller, who defeated donothing "Tony" Boyle for the presidency in December, 1972, pledged to organize the area, and threw the union's entire resources behind the Harlan strikers who had voted for UMW representation in August, 1973. The strike won nationwide publicity as the battles raged, with the coal operators throwing their resources behind the Eastover Coal Co., a subsidiary of Duke Power of North Carolina.

MINERS GAIN WIDESPREAD SUPPORT

Brookside miners and their wives picketed in Washington, D.C. to dramatize their fight, and went to North Carolina University in Raleigh, where they gained the support of many students. The UMW also placed fullpage ads in the Wall St. Journal to report to Duke Power stockholders that they were losing money because Duke Power had to buy more expensive coal from other coal companies instead of mining its own at very much less

For all of this, the power company would have probably never backed down — except for the energy crisis. With the coal operators able to triple the cost of their coal, and with the long-range promise of even greater profits from coal as the energy crunch continues, the operators withdrew support of Duke Power. They were also looking to Nov. 12, when the national coal contract expires.

The terms of the Brookside victory include the rehiring of 59 fired strikers, dropping all company, court and NLRB charges, and withdrawing the eviction notices threatened against striking miners' families living in company-owned homes. On the heels of this victory, several other non-union coal mines are negotiating with the UMW for union contracts. The union will now be able to organize many non-union mines in Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia.

These continued victories will give the miners a momentum that will be very important when the Nov. 12 contract deadline arrives. If the coal operators do not agree to the demands of the miners, and they are very significant for both safety and economic reasons, the national strike will put the violent Harlan strike in the

Speed-up or close down is threat at GM South Gate

by Felix Martin

When we first went back to work at GM South Gate after some seven months off, each department got a little pep talk. On the main line the superintendent said that the major reason we had reopened to produce the Vega was due to the good union-company relationship at our plant. But the plant could close down if the workers objected to the speed-up which would end up at 50 jobs coming down the line an hour.

Thus far we have not been put to the test. The production line has been stopping and going every day. We have actually barely got half of the daily production, and there hasn't yet been much pressure put on the

DISCUSS EVERYTHING

When the line has been stopped, the workers have been talking in groups without the foreman harassing them. The topics have been very wide-ranging-from inflation and the Nixon pardon to what has been happening to our dental coverage and the CIA financing of the murder of the elected president of Chile.

All the workers agreed that the Nixon pardon was a deal planned with Ford before Nixon resigned. Some saw it connected with Rockefeller taking control of the government; others even wanted to link it with the Kennedy assassination in Dallas in 1963. What is clear is

that no one trusts the government at all.

There has been quite a bit of talk about inflation. We are protected better than most workers, but even so we are still taking a wage cut. One worker pointed out that when we get our cost of living we also get an immediate increase in both our taxes and in our union dues. COMPANIES RAISE OWN "WAGES"

Another worker commented that when workers want raise in wages they have to strike for it, but when business wants a raise all they have to do is raise prices. like the recent auto price rises. No one could understand how people on set pensions could continue to live on so little.

Coming back to our own plant, the union's paper, The Assembler, printed an article on the dental plan due to go into effect in October. When they sold us the contract last year, they did it on this brand new dental plan, which was supposed to be pre-paid and to start a year after they began talking money out of our pay checks for it. Now we find out it will start, but it will not be fully paid for. There will still be plenty of payments we will have to make when we see the dentist.

The workers are upset against both GM and the union. But as one worker said, "Why fight GM alone? Our enemy is the government, the system. We have to change everything to cover all of this.'

FROM THE AUT

Fleetwood

Racial discrimination is clear to all workers at Fleetwood. White supervisors in the plant don't respect Black workers. One in particular must be dealt with-Billy G. McDonald. He is an out-and-out racist. They always send a Black down to McDonald's section when they want him to be harassed.

One Black worker they sent down to McDonald's busted his hand on a job. It was bleeding, but Mc-Donald didn't even want to let him go to Medicaid. He gave the worker a long argument before he finally let him go. Whenever any Black on, the fourth floor gives management trouble, they send him to McDonald for treatment.

A law against discrimination doesn't mean anything. The only time it has meaning is when you can confront it—and get the law enforced. We need Black workers to get together to oppose discrimination. There is a need for some sort of coalition of workers, floor by floor, to let the racist supervisors like McDnald know that the eyes of the plant are watching him.

-Fleetwood worker, afternoon shift

In the paint shop, a woman and a man have been working two classifications for over six months after filing a grievance on the job. They both paint the deck lid, back, and other areas, plus they put a plug in the four-door. So they are doing painting, plus plug and tape

work. The committeeman just wrote up the grievance against too much work but it should have been against out of classification.

-Fleetwood worker

Ford Rouge

Something had to be Jone or the young new worker they had hired to work on the production line was going to kill himself. We were watching this, and knew the boss had put him on a job that took two men to do, but the worker didn't know that.

We called the committeeman to try to make the foreman put another worker on the job. The committeeman just shrugged his shoulders and said he couldn't do anything about it because the worker was new and didn't have the union's protection. That was crazy, because the young man was trying as hard as he could to keep up with the work and just couldn't do it. Nobody could have done it.

So I just said, to hell with this noise, and went to the labor relations office and told them that if they didn't get another worker to help on that job that they'd have a dead worker on their hands. They got help real quick, and everything worked out o.k., but it just goes to show you how much the union representatives have changed from the fighters they used to be once upon a Acres (12 Mars School 2011) Areas (12)

-ex-Ford Rouge worker



by John Allison

Newly hired workers at the Chrysler plants are shown films and slides on safety, employee rights and responsibilities. Management, after showing the films, serves cookies and coffee. This provision was negotiated in the last contract.

But be not deceived. Management's goal is first, last and always production. The proof of this matter is revealed in the way that management uses the orientation program to defeat the union position that all 1974 grievances must be satisfactorily cleared up before the 1975 model gets underway.

COMPANY GETS JUMP ON UNION

The union and company were supposed to work together in putting the orientation program together, but the company got the jump on the union and put out its own program. Management uses the orientation program to defeat the union's effort to settle long-standing grievances by showing the new employees that they can make a lot of money on the new models by working overtime, staying on the job, making production and forgetting about the union representatives and their grievances.

In an open attack against the union, the message is that the union representatives file grievances because they are selfish and greedy for overtime pay, and that they work all of the overtime.

The union requested management to adopt the film for new hires because they were having problems keeping new members in line. And since management was having the same problem, they were supposed to put out this orientation program together to help each other sit on the rank-and-file workers. Especially the absenteeism and fighting spirit of the younger workers.

ALL AT WORKERS EXPENSE

Whenever the union and management get together, it's always at the expense of the rank-and-file workers. That's true of this orientation film message that everything is production, but from looking at the film, it is clear that Chrysler has helped themselves and at the same time has hurt the union.

Uniroyal speed-up after raise

Detroit, Mich.-When we got a 25c hourly raise a few months ago at Uniroyal, we knew that the company would get it back-out of our hides. And that's just exactly what's been happening — the supervisors have been pushing like crazy for production.

What it all means is that we're working harder and less safely. A couple of workers in the mill room have been burned pretty badly working with hot tire stock that splatters you if you try to work too fast.

We are paid according to piece-work, with 80 per cent the point where you make production, and everything over 80 per cent gets extra pay, up to a limit of 110 per cent. A few months ago the company cut out the 110 per cent limit, and a lot of workers think something fishy is going on, like maybe the company is trying to raise production standards.

The point is that if a lot of workers start going over 110 per cent by killing themselves, the company might try to raise production standards—that's another way of saying speed-up, and another way of saying a cut in wages for most of the workers. Because the company can point to those making over 110 per cent and demand that the standard for everybody has to be raised.

At the same time, some shuffling of workers around the plant is also expected. A worker on aircraft tires said they were starting to close down some of the machines and are taking out a lot of tires that pay well.

Everybody wants to know what's going on, because sure doesn't look good. We keep on trying to get answers from both the company and union, but so far haven't been able to get any information from anybody. -Uniroyal worker

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas: SAN FRANCISCO: PO Box 77303, Station E, San Francisco, Cal. 94107 CONNECTICUT: PO Box 291,

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Detroit 48207 (961-1010) PO Box 5463, Grand Central Sta. New York, N.Y. 10017

Readers' Views

NIXON, FORD, ROCKEFELLER

I thought you were picking on poor Mr. Clean too soon with your cartoon about Frankenstein's Monster in the last issue. But when I heard about Ford's pardon of Nixon I re-read your article - and you sure hit it on the head!

Senior Citizen Philadelphia

Why the outcry over Ford pardoning Nixon? What else would you expect when "The King" is allowed to pick his successor? Whatever happened to "by the people"? Now that Nixon has been placed above the law, what happened to "justice under the law"? So far as I am concerned our Constitution has been circumvented and we have become a dictatorship.

Housewife California

It was disgusting to see the TV newsmen slobbering all over themselves at the supposedly sad moment when that war-mongering race-hating Nixon had to leave. If they hadn't been weeping they might have uncovered what was behind the story that broke a few days later, that the generals were watching closely lest Nixon give some strange military order. Having lived through Kent, secret bombings, benign neglect, Watergate, you couldn't help wondering who they were really watching and what might have happened if the military didn't like what was going on in Washington.

> Angela Terrano New York

When Ford made the big deal about meeting with Blacks and with women I wondered how many he thought he could fool. It wasn't just that the women he met with cover every group imaginable from NOW to the DAR, but that what counts is not who he invites to the White House or the fact that he makes his own breakfast but that he won't give any money to Day Care and wants abortion laws left up to the states. Connecticut has already outlawed the IUD.

Feminist Detroit

There's something new going on in the shops between Blacks and whites. I was in a group recently at lunchtime that was talking about Watergate and Nixon and inflation and Ford and everybody felt that we have had enough. The Blacks openly told the others that they've been ready for years for a revolution in this country. They said all they've been waiting for is the whites. Maybe they won't have to wait much longer.

White Worker California

Old Timers like myself can't believe that a Rockefeller will get to be Vice President, or maybe President of the U.S. I don't have to go any farther back than 1971 to see that the descendants of John D., Sr. are doing business at the same old stand. Nelson Rockefeller (he of the

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Co-Editor Felix Martin O. Domanski Managing Editor

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toothpaste ad smile) acts the part of a nice guy, leaving the sullen dirty work to his agents. His failure to act in 1971 in the crisis at Attica Prison gave a signal to officers to get away with murder, which is what they committed. What happened at Attica is a clear indication of how Rockefeller would act again, but with wider effect, in a national crisis.

"Old Timer" Detroit

Nixon is still with us — in the anti-busing stench of Boston. That citadel of the American Revolution and "democracy" is still the citadel of "American civilization" - alias white racism.

White Mother New York

RACISM

Another Black child, this time a 14 year old, was murdered by the men in blue. The cop "thought" he had a gun. An eye-witness says she saw the cop put the gun to the child's head and pull the trigger. Will the cops get away with it again? No doubt - their racist lawyers are still running the show.

Enraged New York

WAR RESISTANCE

Ford's amnesty is an effort to continue labeling us as law breakers and to divide us from the majority who need amnesty - those now underground and in prisons because of their active opposition to the U.S. war in Indochina, and the half million Vietnam era vets with less than honorable discharges. The illegal U.S. war in Indochina still rages in violation of the January 1973 Ceasefire Agreement, with American advisors and dollars propping up the dictators Theiu and Lon Nol and causing the deaths of as many Indochinese now as in 1972. The criminality of this war policy could not be admitted without granting universal and unconditional amnesty, and we believe that by continuing to struggle for total amnesty, we are also waging a crucial "war to explain the war" to the American people, and resisting continued U.S. aggression.

We want no part of any "trade-off". Nixon is a criminal. War resisters are not. Your action with us now could make the difference. Contact Amex, PO Box 189, Station P. Toronto, Ontario M5S7, Canada, for ways you can help.

War Resister Canada

VIETNAMESE RESISTERS

This summer 110 Vietnamese refugees were deported from Hong Kong back to Saigon. They were captured on a junk and did not have "legal" entry papers to Hong Kong. Aged betwen 5 and 70 years old, they were seeking refuge in Hong Kong from the Vietnam war and conscription. After keeping them in a detention camp for more than two weeks, the British colonial authorities sent them off on a Sunday night so no one would know and might bother them with petitions. When friends and relatives gathered to protest at the airport, 33 people were arrested, 11 of them newsmen.

APS Hong Kong

The request for political asylum was denied by the U.S. Immigration Service to seven South Vietnamese students who came here five years ago on various scholarship programs. During these years they actively voiced their opposition to the Thieu regime and spoke out for selfdetermination for their countrymen. They have pointed out that the repressive policies of Thieu still continue with massive U.S. military and economic aid and that thousands of intellectuals, students, religious leaders, and others have been arrested since the so-called end of the war 18 months ago, and added to the thousands of other political prisoners who were supposed to be released according

to the Paris Peace Agreement. If these students are deported, their lives will be in great danger. Those interested in the case can contact:

Mr. Nguyen Hoang Box 3493 Fullerton, Ca. 92634

PENSIONS

The federal government, management and union leadership have joined forces to strip railroaders of their early retirement option which now provides that with 30 years of service, you can retire no matter what age with a substantial percentage of the pension that would be available if you wait until you're 65 years old.

Claiming that the present railroad pension fund will be completely depleted by 1987 unless something is done now, a federal commission was set up to investi-gate how to "save" the pension. The result is a bill now before the House which, if passed , will mean that railroaders can retire with pension benefits after 30 years of service only at age 62. The bill also contains a clause that says railroaders will never be able to collect social security benefits, even if they paid into Social Security while employed elsewhere. Railroaders, because their pension was set up by an act of Congress, as a favor to the Robber Barons, do not pay into social security while they work for the railroad, and therefore could collect social security only if they had also held other jobs.

My father has 28 years with Penn Central, and they have been on his back enough. It will be the last straw for workers with as many years as that to lose the option to retire with a pension after 30 years service.

Railroader's Daughter New York City

I've been waiting for my pension supplement for a long time, since the government red tape makes for a sixweek waiting period. Why is it that in this age of electronics and space voyages, the government can't get its pension cheques out on time instead of making the elderly wait for so long?

> **Retired Worker** Windsor, Canada

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Because neither Detroit nor Michigan regulates or inspects abortion clinics, Detroit has become a center for danger-ous abortion "mills." The governor has just begun an investigation here, using his "emergency powers." How coincidental that this comes immediately after a shocking series of front-page articles researched by five women reporters from a major newspaper.

These women pretended to be pregnant and in need of abortions. The facts they reported (including that doctors and people with no medical training were ready to perform abortions on them when they were not even pregnant) show that abortion has become a "lucrative business." They listed 11 out of 12 clinics as unsafe and told in detail how referral agencies "prey" on frightened women.

Everyone here is so busy citing morals on abortion that the attitude seems to be that if a woman suffers or dies from an abortion, she gets what she deserves. We need to demand licensing of clinics and respect for our own lives.

Women's Liberationist Detroit * * *

The Mexican Government has been increasingly friendly to bourgeois women's groups and has been incorporating women into key positions. They are under strict control of course, just as is every other progressive or semi-progressive movement here. The latest announcement is the intention to revise certain laws which are notoriously sexist, the most blatant being those laws regarding marriage obligations and the stipulation that a married woman must have her husband's consent before working outside the home. Discussion has already begun around fears that the same thing will happen here that has already begun to happen in the U.S., namely the reduction of workers' protection in response to the cries for "equalizing" the labor laws for men and women.

Correspondent Mexico

Since "equal pay for equal work" is now the law, the separate job classifications of nurse's aide and orderly have been eliminated. Both women and men hospital workers are now called medical attendants

I was at a union meeting where some women tried to bring up the problem of everyone being required to lift 150-pound patients by themselves. Instead of the male union leadership being concerned that lifting that much weight is harmful for both women and men, they warned against women trying to "hit" on the men to get help doing their work!

Disgusted Union Member

Michigan

WORKERS COME ALL COLORS

I was most impressed with the material on Latin America in the last issue, and with the continuity you have in your paper as a whole. Too many papers get caught up with the international scene and lose sight of the importance of what is going on right at home, on the local scene, as well. I hope you get that balance you have with the Latino material,

People see the UFW or the Farah strikes as Chicano issues, but don't realize how many Spanish-speaking people work in the steel mills, and in other industries. Workers come in all colors and the color lines cross back and forth between straight class struggles and minority battles.

Chicano Activist Detroit

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

It appears that the struggle of the dissidents may be won. If it is true, it would be the first time in the history of socialism that bureaucracy decided to destroy some dissenters and failed.

Philosophy and Revolution is impressive, indeed. I don't know of any other contemporary book which is both theoretically sophisticated and profound, and practically militant, in which one can find such a competent analysis of Hegel's Logic, Marx's Grundrisse, Trotsky and Mao's Thought, and on the other hand, African revolutions, East European resistance to state capitalism, the Black movement and women's liberation move-

> Dissident Yugoslavia

The German revolutionary you printed in "Two Worlds", who maintains there is no reason to study Hegel apparently couldn't see that methodology is what is important in continuing the development of the idea of freedom until it really exists in the lives of ordinary people. I believe that Raya Dunayevskaya rediscovered the methodology Hegel and Marx which is grounded on human beings as self-developing subjects seeking to overcome all divisions between mental and manual labor. It is exciting to me, as a Women's Liberationist, that this methodology is made explicit in Philosophy and Revolution and challenges this age to unite theory of freedom with our practice so that we can finally become full human beings. I hope this German revolutionary catches up with the

> Marie Dignan Detroit

Editor's Note: Raya Dunayevskaya's answer to the critique printed last issue in "Two Worlds" will appear next issue.

U.S. instigations increase danger of global minefield

(Continued from Page 1)

RECESSION, INFLATION AND OIL

Prof. Arthur Burns who chairs the Federal Reserve Board with tight-money fists had to say that "if" unemployment does reach 6 per cent, some public works will have to be initiated. That "if" is the joker. He knows very well that "edging 6 per cent" is the "average," an "average" that never has applied to Black unemployment which is twice the amount of white.

Take two other horror phenomena-aiming at zero growth in order to slow down inflation. That last horror everyone, even the rich, even President Ford, does recognize as "Public Enemy No. 1." However, here, too, the intellectuals manage to exude a greater mess on that subject than even the military-industrial complex, its creators. Thus, the latest, elitist, invented and totally abstruse word is "stagflation." It can hardly be called a precise description of the runaway inflation we're experiencing at the very same time when, far from a booming economy, we trend to zero growth. All "stagflation" (stagnation and inflation) is a precise designation of, is their empty, rootless "intellects."

But even if we deal for the moment only quantitatively and follow their statistics, we cannot possibly forget the poor record of the "shell-shocked economists" whose prediction of unsold stocks was a whopping \$7 billion off.

The 1970s have added something new, far, far away from production. Since, if anyone has a very great deal of cash floating about, it's the oil sheikdoms, they have succeeded in inflating the heads of our "shellshocked" economists with even more figures than they can dream up, with or without computers.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies in London has estimated that within six short years, the Arab kingdoms, sheikdoms, emirates, plus the Shah of Iran, will control no less than 70 per cent of the world's total monetary reserve. Think of it. By 1980, the oil-producing countries will have liquid surplus of a more fantastic sum than Midas could evoke - \$400 billion.

NUCLEARLY-ARMED STRUGGLES

The Shah, the kings and the sheiks then proceed to "instigate" delusions about such gigantic industrialization and irrigation of their backward lands, that they dwarf God's parting of the Red Sea for Moses! This doesn't stop either our intellectual "leaders" or the 'intellectual" Shah of Iran from imagining global roles. After all, says the Shah, his country has "an intellectual infrastructure" and is freed of all financial worries.

The truth is simpler: the Middle East countries of kingdoms, sheikdoms and emirates thus far have very little more than sand and oil, oil, while the techno-

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.

Report to the Convention of **News & Letters Committees** Perspectives 1974-75

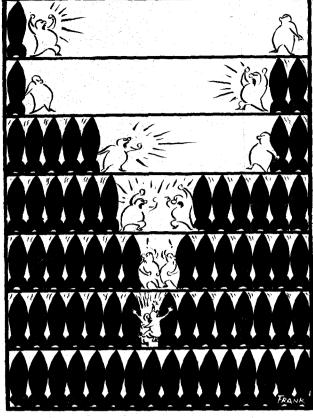
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logically advanced lands have the coal mines, the steel mills, the auto factories, the petrochemical industries, not to forget the military might and enough nuclear bombs to kill the world's population over and over and over again. Nixon hadn't stopped short of introducing the possibility of nuclear fuel into that volatile imbroglio.

Overhanging all, then, is the nuclearly-armed struggle for world power - and all this intensifies as the exploitation of the people in each country brings untold misery - and creative unrest.

Clearly, in our nuclear world not even the fetish of liquidity can long hold back what every country is really for — a stake in the H-bomb. For a singe foothold in that, the poor countries, "pacific" or otherwise, are entering the fray to any extent they can, always at the expense of their teeming, hungry, famished millions. Nixon held out that fatal branch - nuclear fuel - after India showed it could come up with a "little" H-bomb. Are we supposed to believe that the H-bomb will provide food for the 175 million Indians who vegetate below the poverty line of \$30 a year?

PRODUCTION ALONE COUNTS

What all these rulers want to forget is that there is one thing and one thing only that matters and that is production. And in that one thing, the only relationship that counts and defines the whole system is the relationship of constant capital/dead labor to variable capital/. living labor. Labor alone produces all value and surplus value (unpaid hours of labor).

The German ruler, Schmidt, who knows better, tried, instead, to say that the world struggle is for the product -and that product of course was oil-rather than production-of oil or anything else. One thing, however, he could not escape through trickery. Therefore, in saying it is a world struggle for the product, what he threatened those who wouldn't listen to his solution was that, otherwise, they will have to contend with the emerging

When all is said and done, that is correct, and it is it in a nutshell. The laborers from whom all production of values is extracted, with as many hours of it unpaid as possible, aren't just going to sit quietly by and let themselves be exploited. Whether the profits are liquid or otherwise matters little to labor; what they hunger for and will revolt against will produce a mighty "social storm," a revolution.

What, then, is the truth of inflation? Of course, the quadrupling of oil prices has exacerbated the unflagging inflation to so intense a degree that it's easy to see only that as root cause. But long before that scandalous conspiracy between sheiks and American oil monopolists, there was the undeclared Vietnam War in which U.S. imperialism sunk national wealth of no less than \$25-30 billion annually.

Production of armaments isn't production, much less expanded reproduction. All it produces is death and destruction—and inflation. If the World War II holocaust had hidden the Depression-that natural, inevitable consequence of capitalism-it was only for the time of heated-up production-war, destruction, death! And how soon after that holocaust did the Korean War break out? All capitalism ever does is move from Depressions to Wars and back again. Such is the nature of the capitalist

One hundred years ago Marx put it succinctly enough. The only thing the workers "own" is the national debt. And that keeps ever-growing - we have already mortgaged not only our lives but those of our children and grandchildren.

SOCIAL STORMS

The fears that have been enveloping capitalism, ever since the near-revolutions of 1968 nearly toppled it, were

Because of the importance of the special Editorial-Article excerpted from the Perspeclives Report to the News & Letters Convention, RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S reply to the critique of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLU-TION, which appeared last issue, will be delayed until the November issue.

reawakened when the Arabs in 1973 began to use that all-crucial lubricant, oil, as a political weapon, not because they thought the Arabs almighty, but because of fear of the social storms that an economic crisis would

The same intensity of fear reappeared in spring of 1974 when General Spinola came to power: again, not because of fear of Spinola, but because "advanced" capitalism knew that (1) Spinola was reacting to the African Revolutions that were, indeed, undermining Portugal's colonialism, and world neo-colonialism that is bringing it famine. That will be an unquenchable fire that will bring forth the second social revolution. And (2) they know that Spinola's "democratization" is by no means the end, but only the beginning of revolutionary developments he himself truly does not really understand.

In our age of state-capitalism, so very much of the "subjectivity" of the masses—their philosophic-political maturity-is in objectivity itself. It is impossible to talk of the objective situation without being conscious of the revolutionary opposition forces to capitalism and its ideologists, for the masses themselves seek to go beyond spontaneity. They are on the threshold of the unity of theory and practice.

This is what caused the reversal of the staid Economist of London to McCarthy-like hysteria. "The Red Wolf Waiting to Devour Southern Europe," is a desperate cry for "the West" to do some "long range thinking," for thus far, it writes, "if there is any organized, longrange thinking about ideological expansion being done in Europe today, it's still in Moscow that it's happening."

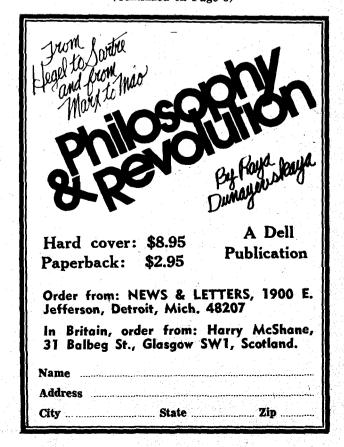
But, in fact, it isn't Russia half as much as their own rebellious masses that is the "danger." Helmut Schmidt had preceded the Economist in calling it by its right name, "social storms." The rulers are all deathly afraid of the passion for philosophy that is inseparable from revolution.

They hope to keep those two separated, first by attributing "ideology" to Russia, and secondly, by calling "ideological revelation" "spurious." But the philosophical-political maturity of the age and the mass passion for philosophy and revolution can by no means be passed off as any sort of conspiracy made "in Moscow" -or Peking.

SUPER-POWERS OUT FOR WORLD MASTERY

Should this belated McCarthyism (just as fascism, it is sure to reappear in new forms so long as capitalism exists), make you embrace either Russia or China because they had had revolutions before undergoing transformation into opposite, state capitalism, remember they, too, are in the forefront of this global struggle for power. Indeed, it is this struggle of the super-powers for single world mastery that defines precisely the mess the world is in, and will bring it down. It is this, just this, triangular world out for single world mastery-U. S., Russia, China - which suits the Chinese expression: "Great disorder under heaven."

A good example of this "great disorder under heaven" is what Teng came to tell the UN about "great reversals." The first was that "there was no longer a socialist world"; the post WW II has ended that. The (Continued on Page 8)



Thousands support UFW International Boycott Day

Detroit, Mich.-Close to 1,000 supporters of the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) marched from Cobo Hall to a rally at Kennedy Square to celebrate International Boycott Day, Saturday, Sept. 14.

The turnout for the march and rally—which featured Vice-President Dolores Huerta as the main speaker-was impressive with contingents from as far away as Ann Arbor and Flint.

Besides many radical and church groups in attendance, many participants were from the UAW, with all four Detroit area regional groups as well as many locals having representation.

Black, brown, and white; young and old; men and women were there. Some UAW "Grey Berets" retirees came out as did an "international" group who marched over the Ambassador Bridge from Canada. Despite the fact the speakers' list was crowded with political hacks, the large turnout marked a renewed boycott effort in

San Francisco, Cal. — "Boycott Lettuce, Boycott Grapes, Boycott the wine that Gallo makes!" With that chant 1,500 farm workers and supporters gathered in San Francisco's Civic Center Sept. 14 to support the United Farm Workers of America and demand that chain stores stop purchasing scab products.

As people gathered for the rally on the steps of City Hall they listened to a Latin music band and speeches from many labor, community, and religious leaders. From there they marched in a line three blocks long to a supermarket that was selling scab grapes at a special discount and jammed the entire parking lot in



News &Letters photo

Mass Detroit rally supports UFW protest

a huge picket line. After that the whole group moved down to picket a Safeway store, which is notorious for its anti-farmworker stands.

This demonstration climaxed International Grape and Lettuce Boycott week, with many activities around the Bay Area. But even though the week is over, the people there vowed to return until all the scabby products are cleared off of Safeway's and other stores' scabby

Racist cops a way of life in Newark and the Bronx

Bronx, N.Y. — I feel that the riot in Newark had to do with racism. It had to do with Puerto Ricans and Blacks. This Mayor Gibson is Black and everything, but the Puerto Ricans weren't too happy about the way things were going. So whatever happened over there is going to keep happening. It will never finish.

SF rally protests Chile tyranny

San Francisco, Cal.-Marking the first anniversary of the Chilean coup on Sept. 11, over 300 demonstrators marched, chanted and sang in front of the Chilean Consulate. The two hour demonstration was called by the United Bay Area Committee in Solidarity with Chile to protest the right-wing military coup and its repressive measures in the past years, as well as U.S. involvement

A new intensity had been added to the demonstraeion, for it came on the heels of revelations by the U.S. that it had spent at least \$8 million to create instability within Chile that would bring about the collapse of Salvador Allende's Popular Front government. The press quoted Kissinger as saying that the U.S. could not stand idly by and watch Chile go Communist due to the "irresponsibility" of its people.

Several hundred people also attended an evening rally and plans were made for a march to the Federal Building specifically aimed at protesting U.S. involvement, and to urge longshoremen to refuse to unload Chilean goods.

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got in office, nothing was done like he said he was going to do. The racism just keeps on going. The cops go on

In New York this is always happening. The other day in my neighborhood a cop saw a man in his car, pulled him out in front of everybody, and took him away. It was from the killing of a store owner the day before. But the cop took the wrong person who had nothing to do with it, and they even beat him up.

The way it started was when this man went to get some spiced ham in the store. The owner gave him the last part of the end that was no good. So they had an argument, and all of a sudden the store owner slapped the customer. He opened his jacket to show he had a .38 and went on slapping the guy from this block to the next.

Everybody was saying to stop and let him go. The store owner didn't want to hear and didn't realize that he dropped his gun on the street. Somebody else picked it up who was watching the customer get beaten and emptied five bullets into the owner.

So the guy who did the shooting got away and the innocent guy who was getting slapped down got put away by the cops. Why, instead of investigating, do the cops just take this man out of nowhere? Everybody knows the store owner was wrong, but the cops stick with him because he's got the money, he owns a store.

This is the way things always are in New York with the cops. They do nothing about all the robberies around here unless you have a store or something. If you have money, you're safe. Otherwise, forget about it.

It's the same in Newark, and I'll bet if they arrest anybody in the shootings over there, it'll be the innocent ones, because that's how it always works.

- Puerto Rican worker

Zip.....

At first Gibson did some things for us, but since he

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Author strives to depict truth of Indian influence in U.S.

This Country Was Ours: A Documentary History of the American Indian by Virgil J. Vogel, Harper Torch-

Virgil Vogel's book is an exciting attempt to outline and project the history and experiences of Indian people "through the documents themselves." He starts with the few remaining fragments of literature and reports of life left from before Columbus and proceeds to contemporary accounts of urban Indian life.

The first half of this book is "documentary history." Although it is divided into five periods defined by white history, Vogel takes care to show not only what was done to the Indians but also the far-reaching influence Indians have had on the development of "white society." A brief summary of each historical period is followed by excerpts from legal briefs, political speeches, military orders, as well as statements by the Indians themselves, in chronological order.

This unusual format is an attempt to answer those histories which ignore Indians entirely or portray them as either noble or bloodthirsty savages. Vogel himself points out the first problem with this method: the "documents" of Indians are mostly in an oral form. Only recently, under the influence of the Indian movement, has there been a concerted effort to write down what is still

Vogel has gone to great trouble to find transcripts of Indians speaking for themselves, but he has often had to turn to friendly whites for the Indian side. Most seriously, Vogel fails to tie it together to show the movement of

The second half of the book is "the Indian perspective" and a lengthy appendix. These contain both valuable information and meaningless facts. The biggest shock is an entire article by Vogel, first printed in 1968, an early form of his introduction to this book, containing a list of Indians who "made it" in the white world.

I can only guess at the number of years Vogel spent compiling this book. That the last two sections of it were allowed to become such an amorphous dumping ground shows more clearly the mistakes of the first, and much greater, part. Vogel has brought us a long, long way but he has stopped short of a real breakthrough.

- Steve Fletcher

N.Y. taxi contract a sellout

New York, N.Y. - The new contract for taxi workers with the fleet owners passed by a two to one margin at the union's ratification meeting. This contract contains almost nothing in improved wages, benefits, or working conditions and is tied to a 25 percent fare hike. If the fare hike goes through, drivers' earnings will drop sharply due to loss of riders and tips. It amounts to the same conditions of work with a pay cut at a time of skyrocketing inflation.

The "selling" of the sellout contract took the form of the fleet owners' threats over TV and radio to lock us out and go broke if they didn't get a "fair" settlement, that is, a sellout contract plus a fare hike. This let the union leadership party off the hook since they could claim they saved our jobs and the bosses didn't "break the union.'

So the Van Ardsdale machine which controls our union made sure they got their 700 supporters (including several hundred retirees) to the ratification meeting to out-vote the angry young drivers who showed up. That this vote does not speak for taxi workers was evident by the turnout of only 1,000 of the nearly 20,000 fleet drivers and inside workers. It was also obvious from the fact that the meeting was mostly white in an industry which has a majority of Black and Spanish workers.

The action of taxi workers has expressed itself in various ways this year. First, there was our opposition to the fare hike, which is why it has been delayed for the last six months. Then there were the strikes at the garage level over working conditions. Most recently, the election for the union's garage committees had workers electing or voting heavily for candidates who opposed the union leadership in most of the dozen or so garages where such candidates ran.

-Taxi driver

Just Off The Press-In Spanish

EL HUMANISMO DE MARX EN LA ACTUALIDAD (MARX'S HUMANISM TODAY)

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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BLACK-RED VIEW Black Panthers face breakup

by John Alan

Two months ago in Oakland, Cal., the daily press proclaimed in front page headlines that Huey P. Newton, the leader of the Black Panther Party, had failed to appear in court for arraignment on several alleged charges of assault. One of the police charges was that Newton had, at 4 a.m. during a street encounter, shot a 17-year-old Black prostitute in the head. They refused to release the teenager's name, or where she was, claiming she was still in a coma.

Newton's \$42,000 bond was revoked by the court and a bench warrant issued for his arrest. The \$42,000 bond had been secured by the properties which housed the BPP Oakland headquarters, as well as those of private sympathetic individuals. All of this property is now in ieopardy and might end up in the hands of a Los Angeles bonding company if the BPP cannot raise the cash.

REPORT SEALE ALSO QUITS

As if this was not trouble enough, a report, not totally verified, is that Bobby Seale, second in command of the BPP has guit the organization after a dispute with Newton. The reason given is that he (Seale) was approaching 40 years of age, and wanted to start a new career!

The disappearance of one leader and the resignation of another does not hark well for the future of the BPP. By nature and structure it has always been autocratic. Because of its early emphasis on para-military organization, decisions came from the top down, and more "Field Marshals" were appointed than in any army imaginable.

This in turn caused no attempt to ever be made to develop leadership out of the hundreds of Black ghetto youth who flocked to the ranks of the BPP ever since 1967, when the Panthers electrified the Black youth by bringing the new concept of self-defense to the Black struggle in the "inner cities" of this country. This concept was given international publicity when they went to the California State Capitol in Sacramento, with their guns, to lobby against a bill that would prohibit the carrying of firearms within the limits of a city.

MAO'S PHILOSOPHY SERIOUS WEAKNESS

But, I must emphasize, it is not simply a matter of the structure of the BPP that reveals a weakness in the present crisis, but rather it is the "philosophy" that Huey, Seale and Cleaver adopted as the theoretical ground for their organization. That "philosophy" was Mao Tsetung's "Little Red Book", and in their adaptation of it, they reduced it to the simple equation: "Power comes out of the barrel of a gun". Underlying this simplification was a certain amount of cynicism on the part of the leadership because they felt that Black ghetto youth could not understand theory.

The exact opposite was true, as the leadership could have found out if they had come down off of the pedestal upon which the media had placed them, and listened to the thoughts of their young rank and file members. Here is what one young ex-Panther told me: "We would read Mao by paragraphs and the Minister of Education would explain it to us. I dug this education, but somehow it didn't seem to relate to our condition. We began to think that all of this was just a front for doing nothing revolutionary. We would talk about this among ourselves but would not go to our leaders and tell them this.'

Vet group wins VA fight

San Francisco, Cal.-On Aug. 16, William Berry. a disabled Vietnam veteran, went to the Veteran's Administration officers for a hearing to increase his disability rating on an injured leg. Berry was supported by a group called the Northern California Veterans Action Coalition (NCVAC) and his case received considerable press coverage beforehand, emphasizing the way veterans get the short end of the stick from the VA.

Berry suffered a knee injury while in Vietnam, and because of it he cannot use one of his legs. His occupation was a truck driver, and since he can't do that anymore he thought he deserved more than the 10 percent. \$28-a-month disability rating that the VA gave him.

The publicity apparently produced some results. Berry's rating was changed to 30 percent disability, giving him over \$70 per month. The NCVAC considers this a small victory, but they're not stopping there.

NCVAC is a coalition of 18 different veterans' organizations formed to fight the conditions at the VA and in society, where national unemployment among Vietnam veterans stands at 22 percent. The veterans' groups charge the VA with being a bureaucracy unresponsive to veterans' problems. Fifty percent of the VA's \$11 billion annual budget goes to paying salaries of the personnel, while many disabled veterans are given disability payments that are far below what they need to live.

A group of veterans at San Francisco State University have organized a jobs committee to help veterans find jobs. A group called Flower of the Dragon in Santa Rosa is doing community work, crisis help, jobs and housing help, etc., with veterans in the Santa Rosa area. For more information on NCVAC or Flower of the Dragon, write to: Flower of the Dragon, P.O. Box 545, Santa Rosa, Cal. 95405.

-Vet supporter

Of course the BPP today is not what it was seven years ago. It has gone through so many zig-zag changes, including no longer being "in the self-defense business as Elaine Brown, the only remaining spokesperson for the Party, puts it. The main activity in the past three years has been "community work", electoral politics under the banner of the Democratic Party, registering voters, and running for various local offices, as well as 'preaching-teaching" at their own church — the Temple of Man in Oakland.

This increasing respectability has not stopped the Oakland police from its campaign of harassment. BPP headquarters have been raided and precinct files removed; occupants have been arrested and held without charges; accusations without any basis have been filed and later withdrawn against leaders and activists within the BPP. And now, Huey has skipped bail, and according to his attorney, had to flee to save his life.

There will be no survival of any Black movement based on Mao's Little Red Book. Its lack of relevance to Black Liberation is the same lack of relevance to be found in the Democratic Party.

However, the problem still remains: the need to understand that a philosophy of revolution, rooted in Black existence and Black struggles for total liberation, can bring a new humanism to all oppressed in the U.S.

Students want voice at Cass

Detroit, Mich. — Cass Tech is supposed to be the "best school" in Detroit. It is not a neighborhood school but instead draws students from all parts of Detroit to the downtown area where the school is located. You have to be accepted by grade averages. We are always being told that more is expected of us, we have more work to do and must adjust to tougher schedules because we are all supposed to want to go to college. Now, since they are always trying to make us feel that we are somehow "better" than the other students in Detroit some might think they treat us "better", that is with a little dignity, too. Actually we aren't treated with any more respect than any student anywhere.

For example, a few administrators and a handful of other people run the entire school. Oh sure, we have a student council. They come to homeroom and congratulate the football team or tell us what they have decided on some petty little thing, but they don't make a bit of difference in how the school is run. Who are the administrators to make all the decisions on what is right for us when there are a handful of them and 4800 of us? We are the students and they aren't. We are never asked our opinions on anything!

Or take the counselors who are never able to really help you with your problems, and who can blame them? The number of students that a counselor has to account for is incredible (between 200 and 300). With all the running around and the paper work that they are given to do, who has the time to help students?

Class schedule problems also make the students angry. Who has the right to tell you that you can't take a subject because it (get this) would give you too many credit hours? Shouldn't we know what we want and what we can or can't handle, instead of being told?

3ut nothing snows how little respect they have for us more than what they call "lunch hour." They give us 20 minutes to stand in line, buy and eat our food. The same lunch that cost 40 cents last year now costs 75 cents and is just as bad now as last year. Many of the students who have full schedules like me have to get up at six o'clock in the morning, and don't get home until four in the afternoon. This kind of food in our stomachs is definitely not helping our learning.

If this is the situation at Cass, I can imagine what it must be like at other schools in Detroit.

-High School student

6 months in Job Corps-and out

There are over 150 Job Corps centers in this country, each containing approximately 500 persons between the ages of 16 and 22. The average person remains in Job Corps about six months.

The publicly-stated purpose of Job Corps is to provide basic vocational training, to help persons in obtaining high school equivalency through GED testing, and to help corpsmen establish good social habits and character. To me this means personal dehumanization and the lack of will to resist anything.

I see Job Corps as a helping hand of the government to the capitalist structure in this country in the form of training youth to be ideal production workers in capitalist industry. Each year 150,000 persons go through Job Corps, and Job Corps has existed for eight years. So when I think of all those trained by Job Corps for capitalist industry, I see the (under) estimate of 1.2 million people. And, Job Corps is only one of a dozen such organizations under the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor.

-Former Job Corpsman

Longshore union officers fight International's demand to resign

San Francisco, Cal.-Battle lines are being drawn at the longshoremen's union local here following the demand for the resignation of local officials by International Vice-President William Chester.

The longshoremen's union local has been plagued with problems resulting from the decline in jobs for which the International bears most responsibility. They hailed the employer plan for mechanization of the industry and Goldblatt, International Secretary-Treasurer, even wrote a book, co-published by the employers and the union, that emphasized and extolled the "sharing" that would come from the "progress."

The result of this employer-union mechanization, as the International admits, is that "there are only as many longshoremen today on the entire Pacific Coast as there were in the Port of San Francisco alone in 1934.'

One side effect of slashed longshore ranks has been financial. Dues income declined drastically and operatings costs rose. A group of new and anti-International local officials attempted to solve this problem, but some top officials conned the membership to go for having the local placed in receivership. Three "monitors" were then appointed.

The anti-International forces have long advocated that their costly building in the Fishermen's Wharf area be leased and that they find another hall within their means. A secret ballot using voting machines was planned, but International Vice-President Chester attempted to prevent this by writing to the registrar of voters to the effect that voting machines would not be permitted on the premises. When this maneuver was defeated and the longshoremen voted to lease the property and move to cheaper quarters, Chester declared the election invalid and asked for the resignation of the local's officials. They've vehemently defied him and the fight goes on.

-SF docker

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and the Jesuit priest, Father McLaughlin, for his religious guidance, but Ford has a straight line to God."

PARDON PART OF DEAL

No one could make me believe that Nixon was not a part of the Watergate mess from the very beginning. This Mr. Clean was one of his staunchest protectors to the very end, and no one can make me believe this whole deal of the pardon was not a part of picking Ford as Nixon's successor to the White House. Before the echo of Nixon's pardon subsided, two days later, Ford leaks that he is thinking of pardoning all Watergate-connected individuals.

Another worker named Robert said, "Could it be true that some people are just beginning to believe there are two standards of justice in this country?

Black people have known for hundreds of years that there are three standards of justice in America: one for Blacks, one for working class whites, and one for the wealthy and rich. The law has never been applied equally.

PRISON FOR TRAFFIC TICKETS

The news media, in interviewing people, mainly go to interview the white middle class, very seldom workers, and rarely Blacks. They finally interviewed some working class whites in California who were being charged and sentenced for \$25 traffic tickets. Some were being sent to prison for similar and lesser crimes. Everyone interviewed said that Nixon and all his aides should be tried and, if found guilty, sent to prison.

But Mr. Clean and Nixon had worked out a way where the public and future generations will never know the truth. Pardoning Nixon means that he can never be investigated by the courts. Ford has also granted Nixon possession of the White House tapes, to do as he sees fit after five years. One can assume that those tapes have dynamite in them, something that would frighten the American people beyond their imagination.

Ford says that inflation is the country's number one enemy, and that is what people will have to fight against. We all know about inflation, but I am thinking new that if we all knew about what was on all of those tapes, we would discover the plans Nixon had for this country were dangarous throat with us.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Farmers join workers to fight European economic chaos

Throughout the European Economic Community, farmers are opposing the Common Market's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), adding a new dimension to widespread revolt of European workers against Market leaders trying to make them pay for the Community's inflation and balance of payments troubles.

The demonstrations, most intense in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and West Germany, have included selling directly to consumers at 30 to 40 percent below regular prices; driving cattle through crowded shopping areas; blocking tourist-jammed summer highways with slow-moving tractors; and disrupting public events, including the Tour de France cycle race.

In Britain and Italy, on the verge of total economic collapse, the recent massive strikes and government counter-measures have bordered on open class war. Despite this, the Italian Communist Party has not only sent out assurances to the U.S. of its intention, if in power, of keeping Italy in NATO, but also boasted of its ability to give "guarantees" of "economic and political efficiency and security."

This is also the basis of Wilson's rise to power in England where, at the annual Trade Union Congress, he was barely able to buy time until after the election with his so-called "social contract." He won't be able to play this game later, when it becomes obvious that his social contract means the use of the trade union movement to discipline workers in accordance with his central plan-increased production, a lower living standard, and more unemploy-

While Germany's Helmut Schmidt has arranged stop-gap loans for Greece and Italy and has been meeting consistently with Market country leaders outside the normal EEC channels, the only action being seriously discussed is another delaying tactic -floating a \$5 billion loan from the oil countries. Schmidt, rather, has turned to the U.S., pleading for communication between Bonn and Washington, D.C., on any policy changes.

Schmidt is looking for a solution to Europe's downspin in the wake of its total disunity and capit-ulation to the oil dictators. "Socialist" Schmidt's rationalization of the capitulation as a move toward a fairer "distribution" of wealth took the form concretely of selling one quarter interest in the industrial arm of the Nazi war machine, Krupp, to the

Shah of Iran.

The ruling class, scared stiff by the economic crisis, is howling for an anti-working class militia to smash strikes and political demonstrations. Already several groups with these aims have been formed. The latest is Great Britain 1975, founded by David Stirling, who also founded the Special Air Service, notorious for its murderous activities against insurgent colonial peoples. The idea of such a militia is being supported by leading Tory Geoffery Rippon and the Tories might well include it in their next election manifesto.

Mozambique

Just as Portugal was officially recognizing the independence of Guinea-Bissau after 500 years of colonial rule, the revolutionary movement in Mozambique was put in jeopardy. Massive revolts broke out in Black areas around Lourenco Marques in the form of looting, burning and stoning of cars, as white reactionaries and a few Blacks, afraid of the consequences of years of selling out to the colonial regime, attempted a North Rhodesia-style seizure of power.

One of the first actions of the reaction was to free over 200 former secret police jailed after the totalitarian regime in Portugal was forced out. The reactionary movement failed, however, and the revolutionary Frelimo forces now control the country.

Britain

In England it is perhaps not too unusual for some crusty old Col. Blimp to spout off some harebrained plan to save the empire from the Bolsheviks. It is quite another matter when a British Officer who was a former NATO Commander of all forces in Northern Europe, General Sir Walter Walker and Col. David Stirling, emerge as the leaders of a fascist-type movement which is prepared to take over the communications sytem, power plants, hospitals and constitute themselves as a quasi-government agency "in time of trouble," which they feel is imminent

While most people in England refuse to take them seriously, Walker claims 100,000 supporters and points to over 30 arch-conservative organizations that have sprung up over the past couple of years. What decadent capitalism vomits out daily is not to be disregarded just because, among other things, the Blimp is a liar in doctoring figures of his sup-porters. The fact that neo-fascism keeps appearing in new forms is the warning that it is way past time to uproot the old system.

The following report from London, by Terry Liddle, bears this out:

On Sept. 7, a mass counter-demonstration by over 3,000 trade unionists and members of socialist, Irish Republicán, women's, squatter's, and gay groups prevented the Fascist National Front from holding a joint meeting with Ulster Loyalists in London's Hyde Park. Two days later, a NF election meeting in East Ham was broken up, despite the bombardment of anti-fascists with chairs and tables.

A surprise appearance was put in at Hyde Park by Pat Arrowsmith, who was on the run from prison where she had been serving 18 months for distributing leaflets informing soldiers how to escape to Sweden rather than fight in Northern Ireland. The anti-fascists prevented her being arrested on the spot, but the police later caught up with her at the offices of the pacifist paper, Peace News.

On a demonstration to mark the anniversary of internment in Northern Ireland police attacked and arrested members of Sinn Fein for wearing alleged political uniforms, black berets!

Dum-dum bullets

Dum-Dum bullets, a hollow-tipped soft-nosed projectile, were invented by a British officer in India to help slaughter rebellious tribesmen on the Northern Frontier in the late 19th century. They did such a brutal job of tearing flesh that they were outlawed by the Hague Convention in 1899 as being too inhuman to be used in "civilized warfare."

Today they are standard issue for the state police of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania as well as the F.B.I. In many areas, individual policemen who buy their own ammunition are purchasing them, although Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles and San Francisco police policy forbids

The Connecticut Civil Liberties Union has started a campaign to obtain Federal legislation to outlaw them in the U.S. as they now are throughout the

U.S. instigations increase danger of global minefield

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second was even more shocking. Suddenly, West Europe and all those technologically advanced countries that were always considered capitalist were now merely called "Second World," "middle countries" with whom the Third World could collaborate.

Finally, the enemy, the super-powers, those designated as out for "hegemony," single world power, were the nuclear titans-Russia and the U.S. Here comes the greatest shocker-it turns out that, though both are superpowers, one (Russia) is "especially vicious," Enemy No. 1. There is no limit to the gall of this super-revolutionary who had rolled out the red carpet for Nixon, told West Europe to remain in NATO as the needed counterweight to Russia, flaunted the possibility of a Bonn-Paris axis-anything, anything at all against Russia.

Moreover, Teng did not just limit his "proof" of Russia as Enemy No. 1 to such obviously counter-revolutionary deeds as the invasion of Czechoslovakia but extended it-and in the very same sentence!-to the creation of the national revolution of the East Bengalis, which he merely refers to as "the dismemberment of Pakistan," which "dismemberment" was "instigated by Russia." And all that was said in the Assembly in which he alone vetoed the application of Bangladesh for membership.

Western capitalism's fetish of liquidity has its counterpart in China's fetishism of "ideology," which Marx had analyzed as "false consciousness," that of bourgeois intellectuals, and to which he counterposed "a new Humanism," the dialectics of liberation.

MAO'S REDUCTIONISM

The latest such "momentous development" (actually, it was stated in 1963 on rural work, but not so designated until a decade later) is blown up as something momentous, a new development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is this: "Matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter."

This bourgeois, philosophical idealism, surpassing the idealism of Hegel himself, was said, and criticized by their leading philosopher, Yang Hsien-chen, and forgotten. Suddenly, what was said to get the rural workers to work harder and harder becomes, a decade later, "an irresistible historical trend today for the people of the whole world, and many medium-sized and small coun-

tries to unite and oppose hegemony of two superpowers," never forgetting, however, that one of those two is "especially vicious" and "has become an internationa mer-chant of death." (Excerpts printed in the New York Times, 4-12-74.)

Mao's reductionism of the creative Subject as maker of history to sheer voluntarism imposed on loo masses by the Chairman is actually a result of what Mass never admitted, but, in fact, everything he says is based on that underlying assumption—his acceptance of statecapitalism as the next stage of humanity's "develop-

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

The opposing revolutionary forces that signify the social storms are on the horizon, strive to be born not only as spontaneity but as Reason. They will not experience release, liberation, until this generation stops burying its head in the sand about so great, so historic a happening as the movement from practice and recognizes it as having initiated a new epoch for mankind.

Whether we look at the U.S. or Europe, Asia or Latin America, the whole Caribbean, the Middle East or Africa, as well as the Black Revolution in America, in the West Indies, throughout the globe indeed, for they are an international people, the pivotal question is this: How many Marxist intellectuals have so much as looked at this movement from practice?

Outside of ourselves - Marxist - Humanists - none. Yet that which began in 1953 and has persisted for two full decades was a totally new phenomenon, not only because that struggle for freedom emerged right under totalitarianism soon after the death of Stalin, but it was itself a form of theory. And it circled the globe.

What is to be done now that the 1970s are upon us and the Movement does begin to recognize that (1) theory is needed, (2) that "Black is beautiful", though true, is insufficient to engage in the final battle where whitey cannot all be lumped together as if there were no class divisions that would help uproot the system, and (3) that all the revolutionary forces - worker, Black, women's liberation, youth - must seek unity, not for unity's sake, but for establishing new principles, new human relations, new creativity?

The latest mass outburst of Puerto Rican youth in

Newark is sounding the tocsin. Ford should listen to it seriously enough to know that the masses have no intention of putting up endlessly with rising unemployment, deepening recession, runaway inflation, and retreats on Black liberation. A new epoch is on the horizon, and the deepest layers are preparing to cross that threshold into a new social order that is of their own making.

This article was excerpted from the Perspectives Report delivered to the Convention of News & Letters Committees on Aug. 31. Copies of the complete Report are available from News & Letters for 50 cents. See ad, page 5.

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