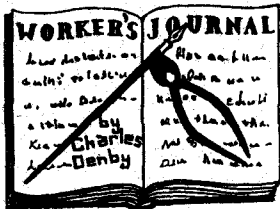


**ON THE INSIDE**  
**Counter-revolution in Chile**  
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**UAW leaders  
 and ranks:  
 the gap grows**

by Charles Denby, Editor

Workers in Chrysler plants have forced the UAW to call a strike against that corporation by their rebellions against speed-up and inhuman working conditions, but many workers were surprised when it really happened.

The leadership of the union is so full of games and tricks when it comes to workers' problems, that many felt the UAW would stall and act up to the deadline, then yell to the workers that an agreement had just been reached. Some are saying they believe that the UAW leaders got together with the company and agreed to call a short strike because some opposition in the union had been saying months ago that the contract was already settled.

**"TIME RAN OUT"**

Throughout the history of the UAW, a strike against any company has meant rebellion against it that brings with it picketing the plants, demonstrations, and many times open hostility between company and union. In this strike, both sides are praising and patting each other on the back, saying how hard they have tried to reach an agreement but time just ran out. One worker said, "This is the strangest strike I ever witnessed in my 30 years here."

These union leaders believe that all workers are dumb and backward, and must be led and taught. Many radicals and liberals think the same way about workers. It is impossible for them to see that workers have a mind of their own, a philosophy of their own. They are seeking a unifying philosophy that will unite their everyday practice with their thinking—that is, a complete change in production relations. That is what the wildcat strikes were all about.

W.A.M., the radical organization that tries to take credit for the wildcat strikes in Chrysler, seems to think that they can be better leaders for workers. They are calling for most of the same things in this new contract that the UAW is asking for, like 30-and-out regardless of age. Walter Reuther picked that slogan up from his opposition long before his death.

No one is against 30-and-out, but it does not begin to solve production relations in the shop, which is what strikes arise from. W.A.M. does not seem to understand the methods workers use in the shops. Workers are ready and determined to make a complete change in our

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# NEWS

# LETTERS

*"Human Power is its own end"*

VOL. 18—No. 8

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## Philosophy and Revolution

# Endless crises throughout the world show need for new human relations

By Eugene Walker

The multiplicity of world crises seems endless, whether one looks at the latest military coup in Chile, or Nixon continuing to move the clock backward on every front beginning with his Southern Strategy of anti-busing, or the abyss of corruption called Watergate, not to mention the imperialistic complicity the world over, including the latest tragedy in Chile, where ITT-CIA played so vicious a part.

If we take a second look at both parties in the Sino-Soviet conflict vying for favor from U.S. imperialism at the very moment it is destroying Vietnam, North and South, Laos and Cambodia—and then go to the other extreme and view the fragmentation of the Left, old and new—it becomes clear that this fragmentation is by no means due only to the counter-revolution against the Left. Rather it is due to the fact that its own activities have been conducted in a separate compartment from a total philosophy of liberation.

The stifling reality is presently crying out for the kind of new relationship of theory and practice that would, once and for all, uproot this exploitative, racist, sexist society. With this in mind, we cannot but greet

the publication of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION\* as the most serious challenge yet for revolutionaries to reorganize their own thought.

### REVOLUTION IN TROUBLE?

According to a large number of prophets, revolution is in trouble. And these are not prize fighters for the status quo speaking and writing, but advocates in theory and in practice of revolutionary social change. On one side are many who dismiss the Third World of technologically underdeveloped lands as not having anything to say on the question of social revolution which would be of interest to the industrial world. The revolutions in the underdeveloped countries, so the story goes, cannot possibly move to socialism since they have no economic base and will of necessity be nationalist revolutions with petit-bourgeois leadership.

On a second side is the argument that so all-encompassing has become the domination of modern man by the advanced industrial state that revolt cannot come from within these industrialized states, or at least not from the working class which is both repressed and satisfied by the technological monstrosity.

And finally, the world dominated by the other nuclearly armed superpower, Russia, is either ignored in terms of revolutionary aspirations or distorted in meaning by those who look through the glasses of the Cold War either from the East or West.

For this reason alone it is refreshing to read the thoughts of one who has not resigned herself to the impossibility of revolution. Raya Dunayevskaya's study is a penetrating and stimulating exploration into the questions of revolution today.

### A LIBERATION OF PHILOSOPHY

The very ground that others dismiss with a wave of the hand—the African Revolutions of the '60s, the East European Revolts against state-capitalism, the new passions of Blacks, anti-war youth, women's liberation and rank-and-file labor in America and West Europe—is the point of departure of her search for the historical and most especially the philosophic threads that in her view will make revolutionary upheaval a reality.

Raya Dunayevskaya's work is at once the liberation of philosophy from the academic ivory towers where it has resided, and the philosophic capturing of the revolutionary practice of the 1950's and 60's. The totality of this project involves a living dialogue, on the one hand, with Hegel on "Absolute Negativity as New Beginnings" and with Marx on his "New Continent of Thought"; and, on the other, with Black workers, Youth, and women's liberationists on the New Left.

This fusion of past and present, of theory and practice, of history and philosophy, of activity and thought—a reinterpretation of the conception of revolutionary praxis—is a sharp break with the stultified thinking that has characterized much of the Left, old and new. It is a challenge to all others to reorganize their thought so that the historic and philosophic roots of Marxism become joined with the freedom activities of today in such a dynamic manner that there is projection towards the revolutions-to-be.

Philosophy and Revolution begins with an exposition of the historic continuity and philosophic identity which, Dunayevskaya argues, today's movement is not

\*Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and From Marx to Mao, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Dell Publishing Co., October, 1973; hardcover, \$8.95, paperback, \$2.95.)

(Continued on Page 7)

Off the press this month

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"... a very impressive and informative work, very thoughtful and original in conception as well as most remarkable in its scope... [It] breaks new ground and should stimulate a good deal of debate and rethinking of many fundamental issues."

—NOAM CHOMSKY

## Alpert's 'Mother Right': racist, anti-theory

By Deborah Morris

Jane Alpert's article, *Mother Right: A New Feminist Theory* (Ms., August 1973), calls for a very serious critical response. In the late 1960's, SDS became locked in internal political struggles that dismissed the Women's movement as irrelevant, and the women ended up by choosing sides with their men, rather than looking for very different grounds than the white, male Left or SDS to give voice to their thoughts and aspirations. It wasn't so much that their men became more important, but that there was no new philosophy of liberation presented that gave them an alternative.

But Alpert takes that defeat and the specifics of the male chauvinism within SDS to conclude, "I will mourn the loss of 42 male supremacists no longer." Such conclusions not only condone those racist murders at Attica prison by the state, but totally ignore the origins of today's Women's movement in the Black struggles for freedom of the 1960's.

'Mother Right' as presented by Jane Alpert lacks a conception of the relationship to history, or how one goes about testing a theory. Alpert attempts to borrow Marx's category of class and apply it to the female sex without any understanding of how Marx developed it. Rather than seeing the self-developing subject become the source of theory as Marx does with the proletariat, Alpert discards the proletariat as dead in this country—a premature act on her part in view of the current workers' revolts in Detroit against conditions of labor.

Just as the proletariat is struggling for a redefinition of their conditions of labor, so women are struggling to throw off society's and men's concepts of them and redefine their own existence in more human terms. Women are emerging as a new historic subject, but not as the only subject, as Jane Alpert proposes, nor nearly as narrow a subject as is her view of women.

In contrast, what Raya Dunayevskaya has done in *Philosophy and Revolution* (see ad and book review, p. 1) is to capture what Marx saw in the self-developing subject, and show how Marx was always looking for new emerging forces. Ms. Dunayevskaya shows the new forces that are emerging historically, and that the Black movement and the Women's movement are not at all inconsistent with Marx's analysis, as Alpert im-



plies, but on the contrary, are the very basis of it. Each is an element that has emerged in the struggle for freedom, and a subject of revolution.

Jane Alpert doesn't see women in the movement of history. There is no attempt at all to show us the creative roles that women have played in our freedom struggle or in the freedom struggles of others. Instead, she would limit us to a cultural revolution based on 'Mother Right,' and that is to define women in the same narrow way that male society has always done, rather than seeing women as part of the quest for universality.

## Reader responds; whites protested sterilizations

The following was received in response to an article by Debbie Brown which appeared in the Aug.-Sept. issue of *NEWS & LETTERS*. The author is a "white working woman" from Milwaukee, Wis.—Ed.

Your article, which was very good, calling attention to the sterilization cases in the South, shows how much the white, male, mass media can divide even those of us in the Movement. Ms. Brown noted that the white women's groups hadn't protested the sterilization cases. That is not true. Several liberal groups including N.O.W., churchwomen's groups and at least two women's caucuses within labor unions objected strenuously to the racism and sexism exhibited.

The news item was buried on the back pages of the newspaper here in a very inconspicuous place. Women who are involved with Planned Parenthood and self-help clinics have also protested but got no publicity. This is an excellent example of the action (or inaction) of the white male media trying to divide us in the same way that workers have always been divided—along racial or color lines.

The sterilizations also show the oppression of young people by this society where young women (under "legal" age) are not permitted to make their own choices about with whom they can associate. This is a serious problem as well. As women we will never be able to control our own bodies until we can be assured of decent health care and a real choice about whether or not we want to have children. Withholding information and care from us is preventing us from having any freedom of choice.

## Women in Russia, China

Once again, women are being used as guinea pigs for the big American pharmaceutical companies' experiments in birth control devices. Only this time, instead of Puerto Rican women being used to test the Pill, they are using Chinese women to test a new intra-uterine device that has yet to receive FDA approval.

China has been promoting birth control to slow down its rapidly increasing population, and we hear so much about how good Chinese women have it these days in general. Well, any government that gets together with U.S. big business to use highly experimental methods to regulate the fertility of its women, and possibly endanger their lives, is oppressing women in a horrible way.

A close friend studied in Russia last year and I asked her about the status of women in Russia. She said that WL was an impossible concept for any of her Russian friends to grasp.

Because of the declining birth rate, all the propaganda posters with women are honoring the "heroic mother." There is no contraception, only some pills for the party bureaucrats' wives. Condoms and abortions are the main birth control methods, and abortions are very dangerous there. The situation for women is certainly worse there than here.

—Feminist, New York

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## ILWU big-shot 'disputes' reveal power struggle

San Francisco, Calif.—Just about the only similarity between the top officialdom of the unions and the working members is that they pack the same union book—after that there are only gaps. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, (ILWU) despite a period of years when it was thought of as a big exception, is just like all the rest in this respect.

Evidence supporting this view is that there is a sharp division at the "top" of our union to the extent that the nominal leader of it, President Harry Bridges, is no longer in control of it.

Recently, however, something has occurred which may be a portent of change that will bring the disputes at "the top" into the open. A few weeks ago the newspapers reported that Bridges, at the International Executive Board meeting, had "recommended suspension of his union's warehouse industry affiliations with the Teamsters Union because of the latter's farm-labor organizing activities," but that it was rejected.

However, Bridges, in the International's house organ, *The Dispatcher* of August 17, had run a column on this issue in which he said that he had "backed away from pushing it because I couldn't get the agreement of all four International officers."

More than just a few dock workers share the opinion that Bridges believes that his militant pose on this issue will strengthen his position among the working longshoremen and warehousemen, where the fight of the embattled farm workers has virtually unanimous support.

But Bridges counts on our having extremely short memories. As part of his quest for power at "the top" he has for years been trying to merge our union with either the International Longshoremen's Association or the bureaucracy of the Teamsters. As recently as January of this year a huge longshore meeting in Los Angeles, demanded by the rank and file, rejected amalgamation with the Teamsters and more than one speaker dealt with the open-secret plot of the Teamster pie-cards to ally themselves with the growers against the farm workers who are with Cesar Chavez.

If the Teamsters aims at that time gave Bridges no pause in his quest for amalgamation with them why should we accept his stated concern now as genuine?

Even if the Bridges' column on a difference among the officials signals the beginning of some open tangling in which we'll learn from each group some truths about the other, we'll also see that the actual division "way up there" in the International is trivial and of a power-freak quality as against the real problems we have in terms of actual income, jobs, and the on-the-job situation. The gaps will remain.

—San Francisco Docker

## Herman Gardens tenants picket slum conditions

Detroit, Mich.—I live in the Herman Gardens public housing project and the living conditions there are deplorable. It got so bad that the people who live there just had to do something about it. Finally, on Aug. 13 we picketed the maintenance department to see if we could get work done that had been promised for over two years.

Eleven months ago contracts were signed to put new roofs on the building, tile on the floors, safety screens on the windows, and solid doors to the apartments. The old roofs were taken off the buildings around the middle of June. Those roofs were still off on August 13. People's clothing, furniture, and everything they owned was destroyed through living in those buildings. When we began picketing, garbage was piled up, roaches were all over people's apartments, rats were inside and outside the buildings. It was just terrible.

As a result of a meeting, we withdrew the picket line with the understanding that these things would be taken care of by certain dates. The people who are supposed to oversee the work and make sure that it's done just don't care, so the tenants themselves are taking on this responsibility. We have a community council and we are going to get this organization functioning as it should.

—Herman Gardens Resident

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## Black Feminists form new national organization

New York, N. Y.—Black women have suffered cruelly in this society from living the phenomenon of being Black and female in a country that is both racist and sexist.

Because we live in a patriarchy, we have allowed a premium to be placed on Black male suffering. No one of us would minimize the pain or hardship, or the cruel and inhumane treatment experienced by Black men. But history rarely deals with the malicious abuse put upon the Black woman, and its effect on her mind and life.

The Black woman has had to be strong, yet we are persecuted for having survived. We have been called "matriarchs" by white racists and Black nationalists; we have virtually no positive self-images to validate our existence. It has been hard for us to emerge from the myriad of distorted images that have portrayed us as grinning Beulahs, castrating Sapphires and pancake-box Jemimahs.

We, not white men or Black men, must define our own self-image as Black women and not fall into the mistake of being placed upon the pedestal—which is even being rejected by white women. As Black Feminists we realized the need to establish ourselves as an independent Black Feminists organization.

Our above-ground presence will lend enormous credibility to the current Women's Liberation Movement, which unfortunately is not seen as the serious political and economic revolutionary force that it is. We also will strengthen the current efforts of the Black Liberation struggle in this country by encouraging all of the talents and creativities of Black women to emerge strong and beautiful, not to feel guilty or divisive, and assume positions of leadership and honor in the Black community.

We will encourage the Black community to stop falling into the trap of the white male Left, utilizing women only in terms of domestic or servile needs. We will remind the Black Liberation Movement that there can't be liberation for half a race.

We must together, as a people, work to eliminate racism from without the Black community which is trying to destroy us as an entire people, but we must remember that sexism is destroying and crippling us from within.

Excerpted from STATEMENT OF NATIONAL BLACK FEMINIST ORGANIZATION, 370 Lexington Ave., Rm. 601, New York, N.Y. 10017.

## EDITORIAL UAW pact: weapon against workers

No sooner had Leonard Woodcock and Douglas Fraser called the UAW out on strike at Chrysler, vowing to "win our just demands," than they announced that the strike was settled—less than two days later. Although the full terms of the new and fantastically complicated contract are not yet known, it is clear that the result is not "a great new advance" but an actual retrogression.

The workers' revolts that swept Chrysler through the summer, first led the company and the union to unite against workers in massive firings and suspensions, and to revive the name of the great "flying squadrons" of UAW history as goon squads to beat up rank-and-file workers. Now that same unity between Townsend and Woodcock is revealed in the new contract. The contract itself is retaliation against the workers.

### EXTEND PROBATION TO 6 MONTHS

As the newspapers began reporting the outlines of the contract, Chrysler workers on the picket lines, and GM and Ford workers in the shops noticed one provision Woodcock failed to mention on TV. New hires will make 45 cents an hour less than other production workers, and will be probationary workers for six months under the new contract instead of 90 days. It is not just a way for the company to make millions in extra profits, although they certainly will. It is not just another means of screening out workers that the company and the union don't want. The six month probationary period means that in every plant there will be hundreds of workers who have no rights, and no representation, even though they pay union dues from the first minute.

Every worker knows the way the company gets speed-up. They put a new hire on the job, and then they add on more and more work. If the new hire can't do it, he's fired. If he kills himself, and keeps the job up, the job gets set like that. One worker said, "In my plant, maybe 25% of the workers have less than six months. They will speed-up everywhere now. It's really not even a union shop under this contract. The man next to you won't be in the union."

When Woodcock announced that he had won "voluntary overtime," he said that there was a promise in the contract that "it will not be used as a weapon against the company." He was telling the truth. This so-called "voluntary overtime" is a weapon against the UAW rank-and-file. It writes into the contract that the company can work you nine hours a day, six days a week. A bitter GM worker heard the news and commented, "Wonderful, we have won the 54 hour week!" Another said, "I figure it this way: it works out to two hours less than eight hours a day, seven days a week."

When the workers formed the UAW, it stood for the forty hour week, and won it. Workers even tried to get "30 for 40", and Reuther gave it lip-service. The new contract writes into law what the UAW leadership long ago gave up in fact—the eight hour day, the forty hour week.

### CAN'T LEAVE WORK

Even worse are the rules you have to follow if you want to take one Saturday off out of three. You must work the two previous Saturdays, and you must work every day, Monday through Friday in the week before the Saturday you want off. A Chrysler worker spelled it out: "You better not get sick, you better not get hurt on the job, or you will never see your Saturday. And if your life is in danger from unsafe conditions on Monday or Tuesday, or any other day, you better not walk out. The company will use it like that. Stay on the job if you want your Saturday."

Never has it been clearer that the last obstacle to workers' control of production is the labor bureaucracy. The new contract, some of whose provisions extend not to 1976, but to 1978, is a blueprint for joint company-union control over auto workers. That blueprint will fail. The revolt in the auto shops that reached a new stage in the occupation of the plants this summer will not be stopped in the months ahead.

## Woodcutters strike in South

Eastabuchie, Miss.—More than 2,000 black and white woodcutters in Southern Alabama and Mississippi are on strike against giant paper and pulp companies. The strike was called by the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association (GPA) after the companies refused to respond to the demands the GPA presented on Aug. 24.

The woodcutters struck these same companies in 1971 and startled the country not only by winning an increase but by forging a new unity between Black and white workers in the Deep South.

Fred Walters, GPA President, said the present strike came because woodcutters can no longer work under existing conditions: "We have to furnish our own tools—trucks, power saws, and accessories. The last few months of inflation have made life impossible for us."

The key strike demands are for higher pay for wood, a standard measure for wood, accident insurance, and recognition of the GPA as bargaining agent for the cutters.

Woodyards in 19 counties in Alabama and Mississippi have been struck, and new locals of the GPA are being formed every day as the strike spreads.

For more information or to send money, write:

GPA, P. O. Box 53, Eastabuchie, Miss. 29436

## FROM THE AUTO STOPS

### Chrysler Mack

I was on picket duty at the plant last week when they announced the settlement of our contract. One older worker said, "If this lousy contract is ratified, I'll retire tomorrow rather than work under it." All of the others agreed with him.

A union bureaucrat came over and while a group of workers rushed over to get their yellow picket cards stamped, we just stood by and laughed. "I don't know why they're running," a worker said, "they'll never see any benefits. This is the craziest strike I ever saw. It really only lasted a day and a half because you can't count Saturday and Sunday. The union is keeping us out for a week, but they made us sign up for picketing like we'd be out for months. What most of these workers don't realize is that the union said nobody would get any strike benefits until October!"

"This contract is so complicated that even Woodcock can't understand it. You have to be a lawyer or accountant to tell what it means." Another worker disagreed, "The company and union had this thing all worked out months ago, and we know what it means — more production and more speed-up!"

Nobody at the gate that day believed what the paper said about the contract. But they weren't so ready to believe the union either. "There's a catch to all the points," a Black worker said, "but the union will make the contract sound sweeter at the ratification meeting. They always sweeten everything up, but why do they have to have the ratification so soon? You need more time to understand these things. Years ago, we went back to work and you had the contract about two weeks before they asked you to vote."

One worker was reading in the paper about health and safety and began to smile: "It says here that the union and company are coming around to check for safety violations. They should come down to the pressroom at Mack. When Hank Ghant broke up the negotiations yelling about safety at Mack, I was happy because I was in the pressroom that day when all these International Reps and Labor Relations guys came in. They

really cleaned the place up for them—better than it's ever been. Even cleaned up the oil that I can never get off my shoes. But you should see it now. It's worse than ever, and the 'inspectors' haven't been back since.

"You know, that's why we had the wildcat strike, and I believe that nobody was surprised when that guard got cllobbered. In fact, I was happy cause he was a real racist and had it coming. But how many people know that 79 guys got fired or suspended. The company knew this was a mass action, even if the papers and TV didn't, so they took everybody's picture and went after them all. Hell, some workers were suspended for hanging around outside the gate. But maybe because of this sell-out contract they'll get nice and take everybody back."

—Mack worker

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—We have been working 6 days a week here at Fleetwood, between 9.5 and 10.3 hours a day. Working the kind of overtime we have been can destroy your life. By the time you get home all you can do is sleep until you go back to work again. This is why everyone has been watching the Chrysler strike to see if they would really get voluntary overtime.

Yesterday Leonard Woodcock said they had won it. He says that voluntary overtime means that no worker can be forced to work more than 9 hours a day. What happened to the 8-hour day? He says that no worker can be forced to work more than 14 hours overtime a week. What is so voluntary about those 14 hours? He says you can ask to take Saturday off—if you have worked the 2 Saturdays before AND IF you ask on Monday, AND IF you aren't absent that whole week! Working Saturday, any Saturday, is overtime!

The only reason I think the union called any strike at all at Chrysler this year is that they were scared of all the hell the Chrysler workers have been raising in their wildcats. We will never win true voluntary overtime or anything else until we all take things into our own hands like those Chrysler workers did.

—Fleetwood Worker

## Woodcock pleads ignorance, GM workers agree

by Felix Martin

The union has been organized at GM for 36 years and the 1973 contract demands look like the proverbial laundry list, with every problem workers can think of mentioned. Time and time again we make small gains for small sections of our union's membership while the basic problems, the reason that this union was founded, go unresolved. The members that we have talked to think that the 1973 contract demands should be centered around the basic problems that face the entire membership of the UAW—job security, workers' fights in the plant, working conditions and wages.

The only way for job security is a sliding scale retirement plan based on 20 years and 25 years and out. This would help to take care of unemployment. The only ones not working should be those retired at a scale above poverty level with all benefits. If we who work don't rate this, let us quit now. The only job security is full employment, and "30 and out" won't do the job.

### MANAGEMENT HAS ALL THE RIGHTS

Every contract has the management rights clause. We all know it: "The right to hire; promote; discharge or discipline . . . the schedule of production, the methods . . ." etc., etc. This one paragraph eliminates any rights workers have in the plant. All too long have the corporations been able to speed up lines, create unsafe working conditions, close plants, subcontract work and force long hours of overtime.

We as workers must have a say in maintaining order in the plant over the foremen who are causing too much trouble. We must have a say in the way products are manufactured, the schedule of production, and all other things that affect our personal lives and the future of our communities.

Working people have spent most of their waking hours in the plants, factories, foundries and mines. Here we have been killed, disabled, diseased, humiliated, disciplined and mentally disturbed. We are living in 20th-century technology. But with all this technology we still can't have a decent place to work, a decent pace to work at, decent hours, decent toilet facilities, decent places for coffee and lunchbreaks, decent representation in the plants, in short decent treatment as human beings.

Woodcock says he doesn't know the answers. Well we workers do. Let him get the mildew off of the seat of his pants, come out of his carpeted, air-conditioned office, into his limousine and drive down to any hell hole production plant and work for a month or a year on the line and we will guarantee him that he will find the answers.

### WAGES DECLINING

The last few years should have convinced everybody in their right mind that it is not high wages that cause inflation. But Woodcock is not convinced. On the contrary, he calls for "restraint and responsibility" on labor's part in the negotiations. Meanwhile, real wages are declining and profits are at an all time high. Naturally corporate executives' salaries and bonuses are going up and up.

Well what are we going to do? Watch the companies break records off of our sweat? Are we going to sit and complain and work 50 to 60 hours a week while it lasts to keep soybean hamburger, or maybe just cheese, on the table? Or are we going to fight back? Let us look at what the workers did at Chrysler. The company and the union leadership understand that. But it cannot be Chrysler wildcaters alone. We all must join in.

## High seniority workers ousted by Penn Central

I work on the Penn Central. The railroad is really trying to get rid of high seniority men because retirement after thirty years goes into effect in October. Also if they lay off a worker they have to buy his job by giving him a large percent of the next five years' pay. But if they fire you, you don't get anything.

Early in the year I wrote a grievance against a supervisor for harassment of me and the other men I work with. A short while later I was fired on fake charges after over twenty years with the railroad. After a hearing between the union and the Penn Central Company I was reinstated, but they still haven't given me my back pay. They are offering to pay me for half the time I was fired, but if I take only half pay I'll be admitting I did something wrong in the first place.

The company policy is to have one non-union job for every union job so when the union strikes, the non-union men keep the railroad going. A non-union job means lower wages, no company health program and no job security.

Once again Penn Central is crying broke. The courts are trying to force them to liquidate in October. So the future of railroad employees is up in the air. We don't get social security because of the special federal pension program we have. If you lose your job at forty or forty-five it means starting all over again.

—Penn Central Railroad worker

**EDITORIAL****COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN CHILE: THE END OF ILLUSION**

The end to which Nixon-Kissinger-ITT-CIA-Anaconda Copper had worked so diligently, ever since 1970 when Salvador Allende became the first popularly elected Marxist President in South America, was finally achieved on Sept. 11, by the bloody coup in Chile.

So vicious was the bombardment of the 18th century presidential palace, that it was reduced to ruins in a matter of hours. Not content with that, Dr. Allende's official residence was also bombed. No less than 1,000 persons died along with President Allende in the attack on the palace alone. Allende supporters were warned that they would be rounded up and any who "resisted" would be "shot on the spot." Many were. Within the first two days, over 3,000 were held aboard ships in Valparaiso harbor; all officials of the Allende government and the leftist parties that supported it were under arrest; and a round-up was launched for the 10,000 political refugees from other military regimes in South America who had been given asylum in Chile.

A measure of the resistance, and of Allende's support, is seen in the fact that violent fighting continued for days in the capital's industrial suburbs between troops and workers who attempted to hold the factories. The heaviest assault — of planes, tanks and artillery — was on a textile plant on Santiago's outskirts where the government reported "a majority were taken alive"; more than a thousand were arrested. Thousands more were killed or arrested at the University of Santiago, the Teachers College and the Technical University.

**AMERICAN IMPERIALISM'S BLOODY HANDS**

There is no one on either the Left or the Right who does not believe that the dirty hands of American imperialism were plunged deep into this bloody counter-revolution. Who can possibly believe that it was by mere "coincidence" that Henry Kissinger had summoned Nathaniel Davis, U.S. Ambassador to Chile, for a hurried trip to Washington and sent him back in time to be there for the coup? Who believes that it is an "accident" that U.S. ships were in Latin American waters at that very moment? Who does not know that the "Anderson papers" revealed ITT's plot to stop the election of Allende in

1970, and their offer of one million dollars to the White House to that end?

The truth is that once Allende's election was confirmed, ITT intensified their attack to a fever-pitch, advocating everything from fomenting discontent within the Chilean military to economic isolation, and eventual economic chaos. As one of the exposed memos put it: "Everything should be done quietly but effectively to see that Allende does not get through the next six months." The Nazi-connections ITT nourished as far back as 1933 and their present intimate ties to the CIA prepared it well for its dirty role.

Despite ITT, Nixon, and the native oligarchies, in his first year in office Allende had succeeded in achieving agricultural reforms aimed at giving the land to the peasants, had begun to make his country independent of foreign-owned firms like Anaconda Copper and Kennecott Copper corporations, and had attempted to wrest control of Chile's institutions from the privileged minority. Even in the face of a wildly skyrocketing inflation — which had reached an annual rate of more than 300 percent this year — the masses of the peasant and the workers continued to support him against the middle-classes, who opposed these reforms.

**WORKERS' RESISTANCE**

When the rightists called for a "strike against the government", urging people not to leave their houses on June 21, the day the Workers Central Union had called for a demonstration, the workers responded by gathering one million strong in Constitution Square, many of them coming from outlying suburban shanty-towns despite the transport strike, arriving in their work vehicles — tractors, garbage trucks, and the like. When 150 troops attempted an attack on the presidential palace on June 29, and when the middle-class truck owners and professionals called a "bosses' strike" to paralyze the economy, the workers' response was the seizure of 45 factories and a call for the formation of combat squads.

So alarmed at this popular mobilization was the military, that the Navy issued orders that only commissioned officers could carry weapons. Sailors loyal to Allende were arrested and tortured for their opposition

to coup-minded officers. If the present take-over is a massacre instead of a civil war, it is not because the workers and peasants are not resisting the coup, but only because they are not armed.

**ALLENDE'S TRAGIC ILLUSION**

The tragedy has become fact, unfortunately, not only because of the oligarchy which resisted Allende's agricultural reforms; the comprador bourgeoisie which was in collusion with U.S. imperialism against the nationalization of basic industries; and the native fascist party Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Liberty) — but also because of the fantastic illusions of reformism. Because Allende gained power through a popular election, he thought he could rule with the military intact. Indeed, he tried to invite them into the government, as if they would obey him just because he was the duly-elected "commander-in-chief".

Worse still, he did not create a workers' militia for self-defense — for coping with the counter-revolution that was preparing its coup ever since he gained power; for making sure that workers' control of production, and not just nationalization of industry, would be the only guarantee of socialism. There was no way to fight the Communists' fantastic slogan of "No civil war" — their own way of keeping the masses unarmed — because, for entirely different reasons, Allende believed it was possible to avoid it.

Solidarity with the Chilean masses begins with understanding that the tragedy in Chile, while it will fall most bloodily and most immediately on the Chilean workers and peasants, does not end at Chile's borders. It is a tragedy for all of Latin America, where American imperialism and the military oligarchies have now gained a vicious new strangle-hold on the entire continent. To the long list of aborted revolutions of our life-time we must now add tortured Chile. It is long past time for us to learn that there is no way to achieve a victory without unifying philosophy and revolution. The two cannot be separated.

**DEFEND THE CHILEAN MASSES! SHOW YOUR OPPOSITION TO AMERICAN IMPERIALISM!**

**CHILEAN COUP**

Minutes after the news of the military coup in Chile was announced, an ad hoc committee got on the phone and organized a protest rally in downtown San Francisco. Over 200 angry young militants picketed the Federal building with home-made signs reading: "Chile is not another piece of real estate for Nixon", "I.T.T.—International Treachery & Tricks," "Support the Chilean Workers," and "Get the CIA Out of Chile."

The day after the murder was verified the financial pages of the local "liberal" daily cynically headlined: "Copper Gains on Allende Ouster," and noted the favorable market reaction on the N.Y. Stock exchange. Anaconda Copper bosses shot IWW Union organizer Joe Hill, but now the claim is Allende shot himself with a machinegun! Can anyone believe it?

Protestor  
San Francisco

Over a thousand angry New Yorkers gathered at the UN on the evening of the fascist coup in Chile. Angela Davis and other speakers accused Nixon of engineering the coup and expressed their support for the Chilean socialists and workers.

The "Marxists" of Chile, whether of the reformist or Castroite variety will be of little assistance in the fight ahead.

Reformism has shown itself to be as hopeless a road to new society as the guerrilla movements of the 60's. When will the new generation of revolutionaries learn that it is not a strategy from above, but the self-activity of the oppressed which makes a revolution possible?

Activist  
New York

**THE PRESS—FREE AND OTHERWISE**

The press has played up the "strikes" of the middle-class professionals and truck owners in Chile as if they were the "masses." We have heard very little of the worker and peasant demonstrations for Allende's reforms. The strike of the copper miners' got headlines, but not the fact that the rightists were using the miners' anger at skyrocketing inflation for their own reactionary purposes, or, more important, the fact that the minute the rightists made their attempted coup on June 29, the miners apparently remembered their class identity and immediately ended their strike. Our "objective" press will now shed tears for the murder of democracy in Chile!

Disgusted  
Detroit

The Nixon counter-revolution against workers and all minorities in this country has had such sweeping ramifications that we are sometimes forced to dig and to get news of the many struggles of rank-and-filers for basic rights, human dignity, or even survival.

The Farah Pants workers in El Paso, Texas are one of the groups of workers who have been virtually excluded from our "free press." They have been on strike since April '72 — 17 long, bitter months of arrests, beatings, injunctions.

If it weren't for the strength of the Chicano Movement's quest for freedom, I wonder where they'd be today?

Here in Detroit, the same young Mexican-Americans that picket A&P every week also walk picket lines at Hudson's for the Farah Boycott.

Farah boycotter  
Detroit

**Readers'**

The treatment of Watergate by the mass media in East Europe is very instructive. The papers publish, only occasionally, a few lines on new developments of the affair. The only exception is an East German foreign affairs weekly which published a short summary of the "case." They are almost totally silent about Nixon's role. News of his self-defense is published, but not much of what he is accused of. Rare are the instances in which glimpses of American public opinion on Watergate are given.

It is evident that Brezhnev does not wish to see his partner at the summit painted like what he is. In previous years, no occasion was spared to show the "ugly face" of decaying capitalism. The collusion of so-called Communists and their capitalist counterparts cannot be made more clear.

Correspondent  
East Europe

**AUTO WILDCATS**

I don't work at the plant where your wildcat story came from, but it doesn't matter. The conditions are the same. Your paper really told the truth about the Chrysler wildcats.

Auto worker  
Detroit

What a great issue the last one was! The stories on the rebellions in the auto shops were exciting mainly because they brought out the revolutionary nature of the workers that so many people, bourgeois and Left alike, have been trying to disprove.

Activist  
New York

The role of the "vanguardists" like Progressive Labor's WAM, that tried to take credit for the recent Chrysler wildcats, is pure and simple "manipulation." I've met with some of these kinds of fakers on the Left and it was a frighten-

ing experience, because it gave me an idea of what life might be like living under Stalinists.

Observer  
Oncida, N.Y.

**WOMEN AND WELFARE**

The new minimum wage law, which would have given thousands of poor working people, including women household workers, a little better wage was vetoed by Tricky Dick. The man who has brought food to an unbuyable high while spending millions of tax dollars on his private palaces, axed the minimum wage increase because it would be "inflationary."

In addition, lackeys in his administration have proposed a new rule to keep people off welfare. If adopted, local welfare agencies would be able to refuse aid to families whose husbands and fathers are in prison but plan to live with their families upon release.

Either a woman and her children would have to risk starvation if she couldn't work and wanted to keep her family together after her husband got out. Or, a woman would have to break up her marriage and family in order to survive on welfare.

Member N&L WL  
New York

My child is in a federally funded child care center where we pay according to ability. Now the Federal government is telling us that they aren't going to fund these centers any more. They are going to kick out the children of working mothers and replace them with the children of welfare mothers. Those welfare mothers are then going to be placed on workfare programs.

I don't dispute the right of welfare mothers to child care, what bothers me is that they are forcing those of us who already work to quit our jobs and stay home, and go on welfare so that we can

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## TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*  
and *Philosophy and Revolution*

(Editor's Note: We print below excerpts from one section of the "Draft Perspectives Report" prepared for the Convention of News & Letters Committees. Copies of the complete report are available for 50c from News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207.)

Phase 4 should have been entitled "How to Bring on a Recession." Like the planned unemployment when the Nixon Administration first faced unemployment and the falling profit rate it was determined to shoot upward, it has now removed price controls so that uncontrollable inflation can go hog wild. Among other things, this forces the poverty-stricken Blacks to face the very question of survival altogether, the poor whites to spend more, and even the middle class to save and borrow less, not to mention the slowdown in production.

Does Nixon expect us to have suffered a total loss of memory when, in his plunge to the state-capitalistic Phase 2, his Economic Report read: "By the end of 1972, American anti-inflation policy had become the marvel of the rest of the world . . . Largely because of this change, the rest of the world is willing to hold increasing amounts of dollars." Since then, the dollar has had to be devalued twice; wholesale prices rose 25 percent annually, profits and food costs skyrocketed and unemployment remained at an "average" of 5 percent, though it was actually over 8 percent in industrial cities, and twice that amount among Blacks, especially youth. Now rush to individual free enterprise and uncontrolled multi-national corporations and you are assured that the booming profits will hasten recession in 1974. Already we have a considerable lowering of production and no hold on wild inflation.

AS AGAINST THE labor bureaucracy that was playing around with management over "30 and out" and still continues to do so, the proletariat broke out into wildcatting, first and above all, over the inhuman conditions of labor, and secondly, for a decent wage

## Economics phase-out, global politics phase-in

to stop running a continuous losing race against runaway inflation. The very UAW bureaucracy—whose class-collaborationism did not stop even at the point of odious informing on who were the "radicals" at Chrysler plants, but went the whole hog to the class enemy when it called upon the police to eject workers from the factories they occupied—had, at the same time, to admit the unsafe conditions that would now have to be given a high-priority rating.

Whatever cover-up the labor bureaucracy will desire for its class-collaborationism and its sure betrayal at contract-signing time, nothing can hide the fact that it is the prop for the whole exploitative system. The stench of Watergate may not be on them, but that is only because Nixon never invited them that high up. The point is that the lying, forensic style of the President characterizes the labor bureaucracy as well. They are indeed the last barrier to labor's control over its working conditions. But it is clearer to see the profound corruption inherent in patriotism as the last refuge of the scoundrel in the Watergate Hearings.

THE ANALYSIS OF Watergate has already been dealt with in "The Politics of Counter-Revolution: Watergate and the 'Year of Europe'" (News & Letters, June-July, 1973). The "Year of Watergate" with its profound corruption, endless flow of money, enemy lists, bugging of the Oval Office so that anyone who entered that inner sanctum was unknowingly and with malice aforethought taped, clearly put the "Year of Europe" in the shade. It will not end when the Watergate Hearings end. It will remain a continuing sore with its ambience over international as well as national developments.

The latest technological horror in the global "perspectives" (1) is the "battlefield nuclear weapon" the U.S. wishes to impose on Europe, specifically West Germany. Such a dehumanized way of fighting inhuman wars is what Dr. Strangelove Kissinger has the gall to call "the philosophical underpinnings of a common defense concept." On the more immediate front, Nixon wishes this "common defense concept" linked to the trade advantages he wants from the Common Market. Nevertheless, so great is the nuclear and economic

might of U.S. imperialism, so fearful are the European ruling classes of a "repetition of 1968," that, despite West Germany's fear of and Western Europe's resistance to Pax Americana, the International Monetary Fund has helped shore up the dollar; the devaluations have made U.S. goods so attractive abroad that this has gained a surplus in foreign trade. No doubt some sort of trip, though no "summit," will be convened to allow for "new principles" that can be passed off for a "New Atlantic Pact" before the "Year of Europe" ends.

Or will they "move" 1974 into 1975 to continue with France's delusion that she is "middleman" when not only U.S.-Russia are conniving sans her benefit, but West Germany is definitely not bowing to the lesser economic power? Where the two superpowers listen at all, it is China, not Western Europe or Japan, who is heard. Though she is in every way in as big a crisis, it is not only "in the long run" that none can disregard 700 million human beings. At this very moment she holds

(Continued on Page 6)

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

## Views

ke care of the kids because we can no longer afford child care.

Hospital Worker  
Los Angeles

One of the ways many women have been trying to take their own welfare and the welfare of their children, into their own hands is by forming cooperative day care centers.

Connecticut has an entire book of standards for health and fire regulations that a center must meet before being approved to open. In theory, these are to protect children, but in reality, these regulations are so stiff that they prevent almost anyone from starting a center. About one out of 100 centers applying for health certification passes.

These regulations make the cost of day care prohibitive to anyone except government and big business, who are not about to provide anyone with day care.

WL Activist  
Connecticut

### RACISM AND SEXISM

Information taken from the 1972 annual reports of 609 TV stations (about 10 per cent of the total in the U. S.) reveals that 77 per cent of the commercial TV stations are "pure white" in managerial positions; 50 per cent employ no racial minorities in any professional capacities; and 55 per cent do not employ minorities as technicians; 81 per cent hire only white as sales personal. It should come as no surprise that 75 per cent of the women employed are in office or clerical jobs.

Race Relations Reporter  
Nashville, Tenn.

Auto companies collect government funds for training "hard-core" unemployed—often getting back as much as 50 percent of the wages they're paid when they're first hired. These new hires, who are usually Black and sometimes female, are given the most rot-

ten jobs, and if they don't quit, are usually laid off after 89 days since they would be covered by the seniority protection of the union contract at 90 days. Of course, the company can still count these workers as meeting goals for the hiring of non-white and female workers as required by the government.

The new UAW contract, by establishing a lower rate of pay for these new hires, has now officially sanctioned these sexist-racist practices.

Disgusted  
Detroit

### AMNESTY

Most of the intense anti-war struggle of the late 60's was on campuses, the bastion of the middle and upper classes. Regardless of ideology, the main fuel of resistance in this movement was the draft. This was the point at which the key issue of individual (and implicitly, class) self-determination came into play.

It was the de-escalation of the use of the draft — by the fall of 1970 — which sapped the energy, intensity and breadth of this movement. But the class character of anti-war resistance changed at this time, too — with the growth of inservice GI resistance uniting Black and white working class youth in rank-and-file militant struggle against militarism and the imperialist state apparatus.

This was followed by positive opposition by anti-war vets. And both resulted in a large-scale, two-part effort by the state to (1) replace the use of American boys in execution of imperialist military operations, especially in Indochina and (2) to quell the GI resistance through "pacification" combined with systematic removal of militants from the rank-and-file. This last was accomplished by the three-fold strategy of quick, less-than-honorable discharges, stockade sentences, and headline trials of scapegoats such as Billy Dean Smith.

It is against this backdrop that amnesty becomes important to the working class movement. It demonstrates that

while imperialism dehumanizes all sectors of the society held captive under it, it especially victimizes the working class. Thus amnesty focuses the class-consciousness of the anti-war movement, and makes it further align itself with the working class in a unified struggle to oppose the mind and body control of state-capitalist society.

Amnesty Organizer  
Canada

### BRITAIN AND RUSSIA

Prince Philip and his daughter Princess Anne have gone to Russia for horse-riding competition, and the Russian press is declaring their desire to improve relations with Britain. The British government will do anything to get exports as is seen in the decision to sell planes to Spain.

There is, however, the clash on foreign policy with the likelihood that Britain will set the pace against Russia at the coming European Security Conference. Britain is spending more than any other European country on NATO, and, taking into account the GNP, twice as much as America.

There is a strong feeling here about the intensified struggle against the "dissidents" in Russia. It looks as if the leaders are really alarmed. The struggle is more open now.

The Moscow Trial is featured in the press. The Russian bureaucrats did everything possible to degrade the two victims in public. Nobody with a grain of sense will be fooled by the display of two men who "confessed." Yet there is a new generation who know nothing of the "confessions" of the 30's. Stalinism is not dead.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow

### ITALY

The first thing the new "center-left" government that took over did was to pass two decrees to endear them to the people. (It is becoming always more common for the government to make decrees rather than leave the vote up to the Parliament.) The first law is against an increase in rents until Jan. 1974. The second decree forbids an increase in prices of some 20 articles—

above all, food.

However, everyone knows that it is impossible to control the price of food in a capitalist system. For these decrees the government has consulted almost exclusively the labor unions. Thus the unions have more or less agreed that they will not ask for a new increase in wages when the new labor contracts are due in Sept. Thus Italy is really following U.S. capitalism. What is more, it is the Italian CP that is leading us toward this "new" society.

Correspondent  
Italy

### THE LEFT

The freedom rally here for Czechoslovakia on Aug. 22, the anniversary of the destruction of Prague Spring five years ago by the Russian tanks, was very small. Almost entirely attended by Czech-Americans. It was amazing to me that none of the young radicals in New York showed up. There are rallies every week to support freedom struggles in Africa, Asia, Latin America and West Europe. Do the radical youth of America deny the legitimacy of their brothers' and sisters' struggles for socialism with a human face in East Europe, or do they simply not care?

One Who Does  
New York

What causes Mao's state-capitalism to be so attractive to radical intellectuals, WL women, and Black revolutionaries? Why are so many willing to exchange one master for another, a white Nixon for a Third World dictator? It has to be more than the appeal of "elitism," and seeing themselves on top "after the revolution." It has to be what you are always talking about — the lack of philosophy. Instead of "End the war" or "Peace now," it is now Mao's Red Book which they think will solve all the problems.

Except for N&L no real Marxism has been developed for the U. S. All other radicals seem to try to adapt another country's philosophy for the U. S., whether it is Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism, of Russian Communism, or Maoism.

Marxist-Humanist  
Connecticut

## UFW takes strike to cities, asks for support

New York, N. Y.—Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers Union, has called a halt to picketing of the grape and lettuce fields during harvest, due to the violence provoked by the growers, Teamsters, and police. Instead a caravan of over 200 cars and a bus traveled across the country, bringing farmworkers and their families to all the major cities to help make the grape and lettuce boycott effective.

In New Jersey, 50 of the arriving farmworkers began their activity Sept. 11 by sitting in the Shop-Rite offices in Elizabeth, until they were arrested. Sixteen of them vowed to stay in the offices until Shop-Rite agreed to sell only UFW grapes and lettuce, so they spent the night in jail charged with trespassing. An all-night vigil was held outside the jail by other farmworkers.

One of the farmworkers who just came from California talked about the strike. "I'm from the Coachella Valley. The union had contracts with 36 large farms there, and only two renewed it. The rest signed with the Teamsters. And most of the people there thought they were still under Chavez.

"When I landed in jail, they gave us mattresses and blankets. There were 500 of us. We were all arrested together in Bakersfield. We started yelling 'Cesar, Si!' and chanting and making noise, so they took away our mattresses and blankets and shoes, and watered us down with hoses." All the farmworkers arrested are demanding separate jury trials. Yet no migrant farmworker will be on the juries, since they generally can't register to vote.

Despite rumors to the contrary, the Teamsters are still out to break the Farmworkers. A farmworker said, "I think the Teamsters, who are so big and powerful and wealthy, are covering the loss of the growers, just so they can break the Farmworkers Union. They think we won't hold out for a year because we're so poor and so small. They think they'll break us in a minute. But we're just going to hang on, until we get our contracts."

### BOYCOTT A&P, GALLO

The priority target of the Farmworkers in New York is still A&P. They are calling for a total boycott of the store until they agree to sell only UFW lettuce and grapes.

A boycott of Gallo wines is also being called for. All labels of Gallo, including Paisano, Thunderbird, Carlo Rossi, Eden Roc, Red Mountain, Boone's Farm, Spanada, Tyrolia, Ripple, and Triple Jack, are not to be bought. Gallo is the largest wine producer in the country, cornering one-third of the U.S. market.

The military is still buying tons of scab lettuce and grapes for servicemen. At Hunts Point Terminal Market the other morning, where most of New York's produce comes in, and where the United Farm Workers have a

## RCA dumps students

New York, N. Y.—One of the largest corporations in the U.S., RCA, is trying to deal another hard blow to Vietnam vets—Blacks, Latin Americans, and others of the already hardest hit. RCA has decided to "phase out" their electronics training schools without any consideration for the 3,000 students yet to complete their training or for the 800 new applicants for the next term.

A large percentage of these students are vets and may lose their benefits if unable to complete these courses. Many foreign students from Africa, Asia, and poorer nations will lose their visas and have to leave the country if the schools close.

RCA has decided that education does not fit in with their profit picture. This has meant faculty lay-offs as well which have reached into the 15-year seniority bracket.

One Vietnam veteran said, "There are no schools around that can replace the RCA Institute for quality of training or cost, and the state ones don't look like they'll give us transfer credit. So we could lose our GI and Vets' benefits."

"I fought over there and developed a heart condition and nervous breakdown. There's those who lost their hands, their legs. None of us have a chance at any job without this training—then we'll have a 50-50 chance."

## FREE FIRE ZONE

Short Stories  
by  
Vietnam  
Veterans



Edited by Wayne Karlin, Basil T. Paquet, and Larry Rottmann. Copyright 1973.

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### California cannery workers support UFW strikers

picket line every morning, a driver contracted by the Army to deliver the vile vegetation refused to cross the UFW picket line. He told the picketers he had 800 boxes of scab lettuce, and he was turning right around with them.

The farmworkers need support, especially accommodations, food, and clothing. More farmworkers from California are expected. If you have room you can spare, or help you can give, contact the United Farm Workers office in your city. In New York it's: United Farm Workers, 331 W. 84th St., New York, N.Y. 10024.

## U.S. exiles in Canada

New York, N. Y.—More than 20,000 American exiles remain in Canada in constant danger of deportation into the hands of American military or courts. Many "illegal" exiles—war resisters, both draft refusers and deserters—live a hand-to-mouth existence as day laborers or occasional workers. All of them fear that the Canadian government may ultimately find and deport them.

These American exiles, who are in Canada "illegally," now have one final opportunity to legalize their presence in Canada and to bring stability to their lives. An exile who becomes landed under this new law will still have the choice to return to the United States if an amnesty is granted.

For a period of 60 days following the enactment of the amendment of the Immigration Appeal Board Act, every person now living in Canada (arriving there before Dec. 1, 1972), no matter how he or she entered or under which conditions he remains, may apply for landed immigrant status with the Canadian authorities.

It is expected that the Canadian government will be extremely lenient this last time in applying the standards for becoming "landed" and that almost all applicants will qualify. But, the Canadian government has made it very clear that this will be one last opportunity for "illegal" residents to legalize their status.

We urge you to be in touch with any war resisters you know in Canada who could profit from this bill. For more information write: Americans for Amnesty  
235 East 49th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10017  
(212) 371-7080

## Scotland: TUC leaders betray

Glasgow, Scotland—The TUC is meeting at Blackpool and the decisions do not reflect the wishes of rank and file trade unionists. It is inevitable that further talks with Heath will take place.

Jack Jones is blossoming out as a statesman but still trying to retain his reputation of being on the left. He speaks of industrial action on old age pensions but continues to attach importance to talks at Downing Street. There will be an increase of one pound (about \$2.50) per week in the month of October. It may suit Heath to add to his own popularity by making a further increase. This would add to the prestige of Jones even if all the other issues are lost.

The TUC has a new Secretary. His name is Len Murray. If ever there was a crawling careerist, he is one. He is a weakling and yet he will lead the trade unions to Downing Street. Heath will have reason to be happy when he meets this fellow.

The truth is that apart from the victory won by the miners through strike action, there is little to boast about at the TUC Conference. The workers continue with unofficial strikes but there is no official interest. The courage of the rank-and-file shows no signs of lagging.

Unfortunately, the fear of unemployment has led to squabbles about war work. Newcastle shipyard workers are annoyed about naval orders going to the Clyde, and Lower Clyde shop stewards are complaining about the orders going to the Upper Clyde.

The political ambitions of a number of trade union leaders are affecting the whole movement. We are suffering from a set-back because of reluctance on the part of the so-called leaders to face up to the situation.

—Harry McShane

## DOING AND THINKING

### Gainesville 8 victory

By Chris Norwell

The jury in the Gainesville 8 conspiracy trial has returned a not-guilty verdict for all the members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, thus chalking up another loss for the government. Since the Spock trial for aiding draft resisters in 1967 ended in Dr. Spock and his fellow defendants being freed, the government has lost every major conspiracy case it had brought.

The Chicago 8, Huey Newton, the Panther 21, the Catonsville 9, Bobby Seale, the Harrisburg 7, Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee, the Camden 28, Ellsberg and Russo, and now the Gainesville 8; all have ended with the people on the juries not accepting the government's case. The people aren't believing the government lies against radicals. That could be one reason the government is trying to tamper with the jury system, making it smaller, for instance, so that they can return more verdicts favorable to them.

The jury in the vets' trial was composed of mostly student youth and a few Blacks. It only took them 2½ hours to decide the vets were innocent. The vets themselves showed how ludicrous the whole trial was when they brought up only one defense witness, compared to the government's many informers and similar scum.

Although the government hasn't won a conspiracy case in the courts yet, they haven't given up trying. The Indians of Wounded Knee are soon to face the American justice system, the prisoners who demanded their freedom at Attica are coming up for trial. Nixon's regime won't take no for an answer, and they'll try even harder now to suppress revolt.

Which makes us wonder who the real conspirators are. Not that we have to wonder. Watergate and the Nixon spy system are obvious enough.

Kent State, Jackson State, and Attica were violent examples of Nixon's conspiracies against people, not to mention the conspiracy against the Indochinese people with Mao and Brezhnev playing along. Cutting off welfare, inflation, unemployment, throwing out social programs in favor of military ones; all these and more show the capitalist conspiracy in the hands of the state.

All this should tell us that Nixon and his cohorts will be fought at every level, right up to a revolution to change the entire society. We must defend all political prisoners of this racist regime and at the same time develop a unity of a philosophy of liberation coming from and uniting with the struggles of the working class. Otherwise the real conspirators might win in their bid for total control.

## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

the ace in Cambodia which means the whole Indochina peninsula and the "presence" of both the U.S. and North Vietnam.

WHETHER OR NOT the "Nixon Doctrine" of making Asian kill Asian continues to operate in Southeast Asia depends not so much on U.S. might as on the Sino-Soviet conflict, plus the Prince who cast his eyes aside when his own country was first bombed; and now labors to make sure there will be no unity in the Indochina peninsula. Put more concretely, Sihanouk is actually flirting with the U.S.—Chou En-lai made sure his telegram to Sen. Mansfield promising "peace with honor" was no mere show. Sihanouk is as anxious as Mao to have an "American presence" there! What each calls the struggle against "Russian hegemony" actually means a struggle against a North Vietnamese "domination" in any unified Indochina peninsula. To close one's eyes to the sinister moves by Mao's China is to help U.S. imperialism remain in Southeast Asia, in Europe, and throughout the world—everywhere that China-Russia cast their eyes for "equal" world domination.

The world crises, the intra-imperialistic fighting, whether called private capitalism or state-capitalism, the two-party or the single-party state, the overripeness of its decay, demand that we prepare for uprooting the system before the multiplicity of its crises the world over retrogresses humanity to a stage of barbarism.

\* For that matter, Chou told a similar thing to the Japanese ruling politicians: that he "understood" their treaty with the U.S.; that it was necessary to remain under the U.S. nuclear umbrella (see The Manchester Guardian, 2/14/73). And long before then, at the very moment he touts a "revolutionary" line in East Europe, he tells West Europe, West Germany especially, that an "American presence" is needed.

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# Endless worldwide crises show need for new human relations

(Continued from Page 1)

fully conscious of, but must become so, if we are to have revolution-in-the-making rather than missed moments. Where much of the new left had proudly rejected any conception of theory or, like Cohn-Bendit, felt that it could be picked up along the way, Dunayevskaya traces historically the necessity of theoretical preparation for revolution. Such preparation must begin by a rediscovery of the philosophy of liberation of our age—Marxism.

## PREPARATION FOR REVOLUTION

Theoretical preparation for revolution is no catch phrase, nor is it something one can will by merely reading the essential books and writing out the essay of the moment. It must instead involve a full awareness of what Marx meant by praxis. It is a coming together of practice and theory in so dynamic a manner that theory is a form of revolutionary practice and practice itself contains theory.

More than any other place it is today's United States, though her vision is global, that both allows and drives Dunayevskaya to search for the historic and philosophic roots to match the present day passion for freedom. The Black Dimension, the anti-war youth, the women's liberationists, the workers on wildcat—all are the creative engines of revolution—which she sees demanding a return back to the labors which created the philosophy of human liberation, Marxism, and which in turn will help release today's struggles to make the leap to absolute freedom.

Dialectics, which materialists have at best equated to the class struggle combined with the party to lead, and which would-be Marxists in power have tried to redefine without the class struggle to be what they willed it to be, is instead shown by Dunayevskaya to be both the class struggle, and thus objectively based, and the self-movement, the subjectivity, from below of the forces of freedom in thought as well as in action. Just as the very struggles of the fifties and sixties—in East Europe, in Africa, in America—contained the dialectic methodology implicitly within, so it is today's struggles that become the challenge to which she devotes Part

III of Philosophy and Revolution. "Economic Realities and the Dialectics of Liberation."

## REVOLTS FOR HUMANISM

Perhaps most maligned in the post World War II world are the East European Revolts that have been in permanence since East Germany and Hungary in the early and mid 50s. Dunayevskaya analyzes these and the later revolts as a movement from practice which is itself a form of theory. She links the activities of masses in Poland and in Czechoslovakia of the late sixties and seventies with the serious questioning of what is Marxism that has been occurring among East European thinkers since the East German and Hungarian mass activities. Those revolts were not just against Russian domination, but were a search for the humanism of Marx. The East European revolts are not a regional question but a challenge for revolutionaries, especially revolutionary philosophers to reorganize their action and thought.

The scope of the work is most remarkable, covering as it does 200 years of revolution in fact and in thought, digging deeply into the dialectic of Hegel, Marx and Lenin, jamming them up against what she calls "Alternatives"—not only revolutionaries like Trotsky and Mao, but also a committed intellectual like Jean-Paul Sartre who remains an "outsider looking in"—and ending with the problems of our day, in the United States, in Africa, in Europe, in Asia.

The work is divided into three parts, and each part has three chapters, each of which is a presentation, at one and the same time, of what the philosophy and the revolution were when they happened and what they are from the vantage point of today.

## HEGEL, MARX, LENIN: PHILOSOPHICALLY WELDED

Dunayevskaya deftly cuts off today's Marxists who wish to "deHegelize" Marx and thus separate him not from Hegel alone, but from the dialectic methodology which enables Marx to discover that specific subjectivity—the sensuous human praxis of the proletariat—which will bring on the downfall of capitalism and give birth to a new society. Thus, in comparing the Grundrisse to Capital she traces through the dynamic relationship of the movement from revolutionary practice in the thought of Marx since it was the working class struggles of the 1860's for the shortening of the working day, during and after the Civil War in the United States, which caused Marx to restructure the Grundrisse into what we now know as Capital. It is the unity of the movement from practice and from theory within Marx's works to which many of today's Marxists seem totally blind. This is all too obvious in the latest Mao-tinged introduction to the translation of the Grundrisse by Martin Nicolaus. The same holds true in her analysis of Lenin's philosophic break with his pre-1914 Materialism and Empirio-Criticism and his post-1914 Philosophic Notebooks.

Space does not permit an analysis of the Lenin chapter which concludes Part I, nor of the three chapters on Trotsky, Mao and Sartre which constitute Part II. Each chapter in the work is an original piece of Marxist scholarship as well as integrally related to the present day. This makes the third section of the work—"Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation" most exciting. There, one is immediately taken by the world-wideness of the movement.

It was almost the whole continent of Africa saying no to Western Imperialism; East Europe daring to seek a Marxist freedom from the state-capitalism of Russia; Cuba and Vietnam challenging America; Sheng-wu-lien as the left opposition within China calling for an end to "the red capitalist class"; the French proletariat against modern industrial capitalism; the Black dimension in the United States. It was thus a movement within each country to be rid of oppression, both colonial and native.

Dunayevskaya explores the totality of the movement not only in the numerous battles to negate the unfreedom of present day reality, but also the myriad of creative forms that arose during these battles. The workers' councils and strike committees in East Europe, the African mass activities and search for African Socialism, the worker-student action committees in France, the self-activity in the Detroit Revolt, the emergence of a women's liberation movement within the American new left—all are the new forms pushing themselves up.

## THE 60'S: "BORN ANEW"

For those of us who lived in the 1960's as participants—Freedom Rides and Free Speech Movement, picket lines around Woolworths and peace marches up Market Street, Sit-Ins and Teach-Ins, Freedom Highway and Mississippi Summer Project, S.F. State College and Columbia—there was the exhilaration, the camaraderie, the being-part-of-the-Movement, almost a rebirth of each of us. Many of us who were of the 60's will find Philosophy and Revolution as much an intellectual being born anew as the 60's were in practice and emotion.

Surely, a rebirth in revolutionary theory to match and help give form to the revolutionary activism of the 60's is a prime necessity. Only in this way will the 60's not be a footnote to history but the source of new beginnings for social revolution in the 1970's.

Dunayevskaya shows how the 1950s and the 1960s

disclosed this precise aspect of the dialectic, a movement from practice, as the crucial one for our age—one that no previous age had been able to see in as clear a manner. For Dunayevskaya, the maturity of recent freedom activities—in the questions asked, in the forms of struggle taken—showed that this movement from practice toward theory which itself contains revolutionary theory is not alone in Hegel's Absolutes, it is in life itself.

## PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION A UNITY

This dual discovery—from revolutionary philosophy and from revolutionary practice—form the basis of Dunayevskaya's work. It is important to note the inseparability of her discoveries. The discovery of the movement from practice to theory within the dialectic itself compels a new way of looking at the movement which emerged from practice. The revolutionary totality which is implicit in that movement is what Dunayevskaya concentrates on. In turn, the movement from practice itself opens up a new vision for comprehending the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic as integral to the movement toward revolution.

Here is how she expresses it: "For Marx the dialectic of liberation . . . not only 'concretized' the Hegelian dialectic as 'algebra of revolution', it also, and above all, emerged from history, proletarian history, from the actuality of the freedom struggles. The Marxian dialectic was thus not a mere standing of Hegelian philosophy on its feet instead of its head. It is true that it had been standing on its head and had to be anchored in reality; but Marx saw masses not merely as 'matter' but as Reason. It was not they who were 'practicing' Marxism. It was Marx who was universalizing their praxis."

Because Dunayevskaya follows the movement both in its revolutionary totality and its contradiction, we cannot fail to see how great is the challenge to this generation, how hard is the task that is still to be done. It is a self-freeing task, but a self-freeing that must be conscious of itself to fulfill itself. Dunayevskaya's contribution toward that task opens totally new paths in thought as well as in action. It is an indispensable work for every serious revolutionary.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

### UAW: leaders and ranks

(Continued from Page 1)

lives in these plants. But all W.A.M. did was get all of their own people thrown out of the plant, along with dozens of innocent workers as happened after the wildcat strikes.

There are other questions that some workers are asking and thinking about. We have just gone through a city primary election in Detroit. The leaders of the UAW supported a white City Councilman named Ravitz for mayor, and refused to support a Black that had come up through the ranks of the union before being elected State Senator.

This caused concern among the Black community, and even among some Black labor leaders. The white labor leaders pretended that the Black man, Coleman Young, did not have a chance—there was no big money backing him.

A Chrysler Mack worker told me that for the first time in 30 years of working there, not one piece of campaign literature for the UAW candidate was passed out at the plant gate. Ravitz never once appeared at the plant. Coleman Young won the nomination over Ravitz. Some workers are saying that Ravitz did not appear at the plant because the big majority of workers are Black, and the UAW had gotten the news on how they felt about Coleman being bypassed for Ravitz.

## UAW BOWS TO RACISM

It is a known fact that few whites will vote for Blacks in this city. Racism in elections is as bad or worse than most places in the South, and the UAW has never stood up and fought against racism. They did not really fight against Wallace and his racist supporters.

It was not until Black workers began to show their resentment against racist white workers supporting Wallace in the shops that the unions made some lukewarm statement against Wallace. It was because of the racist attitudes of white labor leaders and their belief that Black workers and Black people as a whole are dumb, that they spent thousands of workers' dollars on a losing candidate.

Another worker said, "The company and the union are so concerned about money that new workers can break almost any company rules as long as they do not interfere with production. What older workers in past years were fired for, superintendents and foremen see young workers doing today and turn their heads."

He said, "I do agree that it will take a complete change and reorganization of this union from top to bottom. This philosophy of liberation must begin at the point of production. We must break the stranglehold of the company and union over us to be free again."

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## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

# 10th Chinese Communist Party Congress revises constitution

According to Hsinhua (official Chinese News Agency) communique published in NYT, Aug. 30, 1973, the Communist Party held its "lively" no-one-knows-where-congress on Aug. 24-28. This most secret and briefest Communist Party Congress revised the Constitution that resulted from the chaos of three years of the so-called Cultural Revolution, 1966-69. This had to be done since the Constitution adopted at the 9th Party Congress had designated Lin Piao as "Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms and successor."

Whether the ex-Defense Minister was shot because he opposed Mao's suddenly rolling out the red carpet for President Nixon, or his plane crashed as he tried to escape to Russia after an unsuccessful coup against Mao, as now alleged, Lin is now declared to be nothing short of a "bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary, double-dealing renegade and traitor."

The reporter on the revision of the Constitution was one Wang Hung-wen, a newcomer to the leadership who is supposed to prove just how "proletarianized" and "young" the leadership has become. Wang is 36 years old, a former textile worker who had,

with the Red Guards established by Lin, become one of its leaders in Shanghai. He read out of the Party not only the dead Lin but also Chen Po-ta, the long-time Secretary and ghost writer for Mao. Like Lin, he was not only one of the original leaders of the revolution that brought Communism to power in 1949, but, specifically, a leader of the Cultural Revolution which ousted Liu Shao-chi and the party leaders who had "opposed Mao Tse-tung Thought." Presently, he is declared not only to have been part of the "Lin Piao anti-Party clique", but nothing less than an "anti-Communist, Kuomintang element, Trotskyist, renegade, enemy agent and revisionist."

The 1,249 delegates "unanimously" voted for the expulsion of Lin and Chen and adopted the revised Constitution. All one can conclude from Wang's call for "future Cultural Revolutions" is that that is the euphemism for purges! Now, however, the emphasis is on "United and don't split."

In any case, it was not the newcomer to the leadership who gave the chief, the Political Report. Chou En-lai did that. Clearly, he is the formulator and executor of China's foreign policies. And, whereas words were still used to speak against "hegemonism of the two super-powers, the United States and

the USSR", the specific thrust was against "surprise attack" by Russia which is now referred to as "social imperialists."

As for the world revolution that had been touted, that has been reduced to "the struggle for production." Daily the press in China headlines "Happy to collect nightsoil for the revolution." "Learn to operate the pneumatic hammer for the revolution." "Conscientious pig raiser." The giveaway in all these exhortations is that they themselves admit that the emphasis on these "heroes" must continue to counter-act what they call the "bad" attitudes to production.

Finally, while the Congress called for "millions" of successors to Mao, the facts are these. In a country of 750 million human beings, the Communist Party which is supposed to have 28 million members, elected a Central Committee of 319 members, of whom only 25 constitute the Politburo, and the actual Committee that runs the country is the Standing Committee of 9! The only thing new in the Congress is that, instead of Lin Piao who was sole Vice-Chairman, there are now 5 vice-chairmen. Mao, of course, remains the one and only head.

## Soviet dissidents

With two victims, Victor Krasin and Pyotr Yakir, already tried, convicted and exhibited to the press in a style reminiscent of the Moscow trials, the stage is being set for the arrest and trials of nuclear physicist Andrei D. Sakharov and noted author Alexander Solzhenitsyn. "If I am declared killed or suddenly mysteriously dead, you can infallibly conclude, with 100 percent certainty that I have been killed with the approval of the KGB or by it," said Solzhenitsyn.

Sakharov held a news conference at which he accused Soviet psychiatrists of injecting a depressant drug, halopirdol, into dissident physicist Leonid Plyusch in Dnepropetrovsk Prison Mental Hospital. He also noted that the wife of General Pyotr Grigorenko, held in a mental hospital, reported that her husband has become totally indifferent under the drugs he has been receiving.

A violent campaign is raging in the Soviet press against those who dissent from the Soviet regime, by writers, authors, musicians, composers, and conductors who are worse than prostitutes for the Soviet police state. This doesn't mean it is restricted to the people in the arts—the revolutionary dissidents suffer in silence since the "West" doesn't even offer the protection of headlines.

## South Africa



Another Johannesburg massacre has taken place as striking Black miners protesting less-than-living wages have been mowed down by the machine guns of the white racist police at a gold mine. They killed 12 Black people and severely wounded nine others at Carltonville, at the Deep Levels Gold Mine where Black miners had struck for better pay.

The workers' demands for a living wage were rejected by the white racist management and, when they threatened to take over company buildings, the white racist police claimed "provocation" and mowed them down with machine guns!

The police attack on the peaceful strikers was met by a violent reaction in the Black community before communications on the results were cut off by the white racist government of South Africa.

Needless to say there is not a word of protest on the massacre from the Nixon Administration that considers the apartheid government their favorite trading partner and is disregarding the UN requests for a boycott of its goods.

## Israeli-Arab relations

A combination of Palestinian commandos and the Israeli military command seems to be highly unlikely, yet the rumor mill indicates that Israeli military commanders would not be opposed to some Palestinians taking over the Kingdom of Jordan as a Palestine homeland, if only they would keep out of Israel and cease terrorist activities.

The plot of Abu Daoud, the Palestinian leader who was arrested when he attempted to enter Jordan last winter dressed as an Arabian Sheik in an effort to take over the Jordan government, sought to establish a base for a return of the "commandos" to Jordan.

Interviews with the Fedayeen leaders by George Geyer of the Chicago News indicate that the effort not only had their support, but that such Israeli leaders as Moshe Dayan and Golda Meir, the Prime Minister, pushed the idea that they would have no opposition to the Palestinian "Homeland" being located in Jordan rather than the territory now occupied by Israel.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

By John Alan

From all reports, the recently concluded 4th Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, held the week of Sept. 9 in Algiers, was a dismal failure. It was a study in the "rhetorics of the obvious" as Jamaican Premier Michael Manley put it, even though 60 Chiefs of State and Government heads attended to "reaffirm the principles of non-interference and national independence and to try once again to unite the underdeveloped world in a common front against the wealthy western nations," and to "end the pillage of the underprivileged nations."

What is so tragic is that the Conference demonstrated how fragile the concept of "non-alignment" is, and even more depressingly revealed how the Sino-Soviet conflict, in less than a decade, has debilitated the revolutionary fervor of some of these Third World nations.

### A BITTER CHANGE

One can hardly constrain a feeling of sadness, when we realize that the host country, Algeria, less than 20 years ago was conducting a bitter war against the savagery of French colonialism, and the best philosophic expression of that was posited by Frantz Fanon, a Black man from Martinique, who saw the struggle of the Algerian people as a mighty effort to "restore the human being to his proper place—the very center of any social structures!"

In Fanon's words, the Algerian Revolution would be "the oxygen which brings about, and sustains, a new kind of human being." But this centerpiece of Fanon's philosophy of what the African and the other Third

## Sino-Soviet conflict dominates Non-Aligned Nations Conference

World revolutions were all about was shunted off into the wings of the Conference, while sharp clashes raged around whether the "non-aligned" should or should not support the world interests of the Soviet Union.

It was not by chance that such a debate took place. Those who favored the world interests of China, while keeping a low profile at the Conference, made such a debate inevitable.

### SINO-SOVIET SPLIT ERUPTS

The fact that the deposed head of the Cambodian Government, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, rose (despite the objection of Conference Chairman Boumediene) to point out to Fidel Castro—who had passionately defended the Soviet Union—that the USSR continues to have diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol Government, was not a simple virginal objective observation.

What was clearly being imposed upon the Conference was the Sino-Soviet conflict—a conflict which is inimical to forward movement by the African and Third World peoples to complete their liberation.

We must burn into our memory that the State-Capitalist systems of Russia and China had nothing to do with the liberation struggles of African and Third World peoples to free themselves from the bondage of Western imperialism. Originally, in many cases, Peking and Moscow were either opposed, or at best remained neutral, to the ideas of freedom that surged throughout the Colonial and semi-colonial countries during the late 1950's. Their interest in the Colonial world, defined by supplying a limited amount of economic "aid" after the imperialists had been sent packing, was part of the

strategy of the Cold War, and in essence and in purpose was the very opposite of the goals of the Colonial revolution.

Frantz Fanon may have been hazy on many points, but philosophically he was clear that the purpose of the colonial revolutions was to liberate the "Wretched of the Earth," the most lowly element of man within the structure of the colonial hierarchy, not just the elite who were to occupy and warm over the seats of the departing colonial masters. To him, the "Wretched of the Earth" were not clay, to be shaped by the hands of a group of political potters. Instead, they were those who, by their revolutionary actions, became the thinkers as well — projecting and building a new system of values "superior to that which exists." What was his task, and their task? — "to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth."

### THE GIANTS DO AWAIT

Although at this Conference the Sino-Soviet conflict was front and center, at meetings the United States, as the richest and most powerful consuming nation, was the chief target. There were fears expressed by some of the 76 delegates and observers, real fears, that the new detente between the United States, Russia and China would sell out the interests of the "non-aligned nations."

It was the young reactionary Colonel el Qaddafi, of Libya (who wants to return to the ancient laws of Islam), whose pessimistic comments startled the Conference. Almost prophetically he said: "When the Conference ends, the giants will be awaiting us."